

## CURRENT THEOLOGY

### *Sources Chrétiennes*

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. The reasons are many; they need not be developed here; but two may be mentioned.

First, such a study admirably serves to bridge the gap that has been created, in the opinion of many, between theology and spirituality. The Fathers of the Church are not only teachers of Christian doctrine but masters of the spiritual life; not only do their works give guidance to the mind in its search for the truth of God, but they also afford inspiration to the whole soul in its search for God Himself. In this respect, patristic study offers a valuable completion of, and possibly a necessary corrective to, the more rigidly intellectualist mentality created by the student's immersion in Scholastic thought.

Secondly, the works of the Fathers present Christian thought in an earlier stage of its formation—a formation certainly not uninfluenced by the intellectual and spiritual problems of the ages in which the Fathers wrote, and by the currents of philosophic thought and human aspiration which were abroad in those ages. In these works, therefore, the student may see theology, as it were, at work at the fundamental task of its own development, its vital assimilation of all that is true in human thought, its sensitive response to the problems and needs of the Christian soul, as these are created by man's inescapable necessity of living his Christian faith in the context of a particular age. The Fathers were witnesses to the Church's traditional faith, and its doctors; but their witness was not uttered, and their doctrine was not formed, *in vacuo*. They spoke as living men, to living men, whose souls were stirred by man's permanent restlessness, his desire for God, but whose thinking and living were conditioned by the temporal exigences of a

passing epoch that was simply a stage in the march of our total humanity towards the *vir perfectus*. Consequently, the Fathers not only give us their witness itself; they also are models for our own manner of witnessing.

From this standpoint, therefore, their high value is that they introduce us to two problems that are indeed extremely delicate but that must be faced quite honestly—the problem of the development of Christian thought through its historical past, and the problem of the address we are to make to our own intellectual and spiritual world. Admittedly, there are immense possibilities of intellectual agony opened to one who would wrestle with the problem of the “relativities” inherent, certainly in theologies, and even in a sense in the statement of faith itself. However, these agonies must be undergone, if theology is to be perennially alive, and if faith is to be “the power of God unto salvation” for those who believe in every age, against the seductions of rival faiths. And the Fathers are our earliest models of this type of intellectual courage.

However, it is easier to prove that the Fathers of the Church ought to be read, than it is to get students of theology, or cultivated men of the world, to read them with profit. We are all familiar with that definite, if undefinable, reality known (in Whitehead’s phrase, to which Carl Becker has given striking development) as a “climate of opinion.” And we know, too, that in the patristic climate of opinion the uninitiated rather tends to gasp for breath. It is to this problem and its solution that the recently inaugurated series of patristic texts, *Sources chrétiennes*, directly addresses itself, with altogether remarkable success.

As stated in the Preface to the first volume (*infra*), the premise of the collection is that it is initially necessary “to create in regard of the Fathers of the Church a climate of comprehension”: “If the Fathers are difficult, it is because we are greatly ignorant of their mentality. They represent for us a cultural domain almost as remote as that of India or China. It is, then, necessary to illumine from within the world that was theirs, and give an introduction to it by showing the kind of people who dwelt therein and the way they approached things; and thus, having given the reader a key to this world, one can let him have the pleasure of discovering treasures whose existence he would otherwise not have suspected.”

This premise and purpose of the collection have determined the choice of the patristic works to be published in it; they will be, “not the easiest, but the most characteristic.” And the “principal originality” of the series, the Introduction with which each work is furnished, is inspired by the same desire to facilitate its “complete understanding” by recreating the climate of

opinion wherein it was conceived. The Introductions are "not purely scientific, nor again too elementary, but cultural in the large sense, in that they attempt to situate the text in its own intellectual and spiritual world."

The collection, *Sources chrétiennes*, is under the general editorship of RR. PP. Henri de Lubac, S.J., and J. Daniélou, S.J. The titles so far announced or in print comprise some fifty-three works of the Greek Fathers, and some seventeen of the Latin Fathers. Also promised are certain Syriac texts, and other religious but non-Christian texts which are important for the history of Christian origins. The whole idea is genial, courageous, and edged with contemporaneity; the competence of the collaborators is uniformly high. We have here to do with an enterprise of profound importance, that deserves to be known and followed in the English-speaking world. To this end, the volumes that have so far appeared, and come to hand, are here described. (The collection is published by the Éditions du Cerf, Paris, and the Éditions de l'Abeille, Lyon.)

I. GRÉGOIRE DE NYSSE: CONTEMPLATION SUR LA VIE DE MOÏSE, OU TRAITÉ DE LA PERFECTION EN MATIÈRE DE VERTU. Introduction et traduction de Jean Daniélou, S.J. 1942. Pp. 175.

It would have been difficult to make a better choice of a work with which to open the collection, *Sources chrétiennes*. Gregory of Nyssa is rightly regarded as the founder of mystical theology—the heir of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and their corrector, and the progenitor of all the writers, in East and West, who have attempted the description or doctrinal formulation of the ultimate Christian experience of the divine presence in the soul. Moreover, Gregory's *Life of Moses* is primary among the sources of his doctrine, in that it is the single work that gives, in broadest and most complete lines, his basic theory of the spiritual life. Finally, Daniélou's authority as an interpreter of Gregory is of the highest order, as attested by his *Platonisme et théologie mystique: Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris: Aubier, 1944). His Introduction to the *Life of Moses* (45 pp.) is fascinating in its lucidity and condensed completeness.

Gregory of Nyssa was a literary artist, versed in the culture of his age, wrought upon by all its ideas; this aspect of the man is dealt with in the first part of the Introduction, "La culture profane." Particularly interesting is Daniélou's suggested derivation of Gregory's allegorism from a "cultural fact of wider reach" in the Hellenistic world, both pagan and Christian—its view of the universe, as determined by the idea of "participation." The old problem of Gregory's philosophic dependencies is handled very briefly, but with surety; Daniélou accepts the general position assumed by E. von

Ivanka, and further indicates Gregory's philosophical originality—his clear distinction (against the rationalism of Eunomius) of the knowability of the attributes of God from the external creation, and the incomprehensibility of His *ousia*.

The second part of the Introduction, "L'interprétation spirituelle de l'Exode," leads into the problem that is fundamental for an understanding of the *Life of Moses* and of Gregory's work in general. The life of Moses, particularly in its four great episodes, is taken by Gregory as the prototype of the Christian soul's ascent to God, and Moses himself is regarded as the model of virtue. This manner of spiritual exegesis is in the tradition of Philo; Daniélou maintains, however, that, as found in Gregory, it is not Philonian; it exists "in a different order of reality," transformed by its dependency on another source—the typical exegesis of Exodus, sketched in the New Testament, chiefly by St. Paul, and tentatively developed by the Fathers of the first centuries. Its essential premise is not Platonic but Christian—the idea of the pre-existent Christ, and of the events and institutions of Exodus as having both an historical and a spiritual reality, the latter being their prefiguration of Christ, the historical Christ and the "total Christ," living in the Church and in the individual soul. The method of Gregory, then, consists in "generalizing to the whole of Exodus what St. Paul had done for a few of its episodes" (p. 24). There is suggested here the central thesis of Daniélou's larger work, that the Platonic elements of Gregory's thought are radically altered, in their bearing and content, by being transported to another plane, in consequence of their contact with Christian doctrine and experience.

In the third part, "La théorie de la perfection," Daniélou discusses, again in terms both of Gregory's dependencies and of his originalities, the theory of perfection as consisting essentially in progress. As against the Greek ideal, Christian perfection is movement, not achievement. Its goal is the recovery by the soul of its true nature, the image of God in it; but as against the Platonic idea of the soul's return, by successive purifications, to a divinity immanent in itself, Gregory asserts the restoration of the image of God "by the movement whereby the soul turns away from that which is exterior, in order to turn to God, that God may communicate Himself to it" (p. 29). The soul's likeness to God then, "will be its unceasing transformation into Him" (*loc. cit.*). The created spirit is the image of God in that it is, like Him, a sort of "infinite," and, unlike Him, an "infinite in movement." And the paradox of an imitation of the immobile God by a mobile creature is resolved in the notion of progress. It is by the steadiness, the unceasingness of its progress, its keeping always on the march along the right way,

that the created spirit is, in its own fashion, a participation in the immobility of God.

There are two basic aspects to this theory of progress. First, there is the essential role of freedom; man cannot refuse to change, for change is in his nature; but he can refuse to progress. By his right use of freedom he moves along the way; by the choice of evil he "marks time." And this necessary option confronts him at every moment; it is the "point of departure of the book" (p. 30). And Gregory, in Greek fashion, puts the accent on the role of freedom. However, grace, especially the grace of faith, has its even "more fundamental" role (p. 33). The deification that is the very nature of the soul is radically inaccessible to it; the soul cannot reach it, unless it be gratuitously given by God. Hence the sole way of progress is the way of faith; this is the second aspect of Gregory's theory. At this point, Daniélou writes: "Gregory rigorously maintains both aspects. No one has taught more emphatically the gratuity of the supernatural, but at the same time no one has so made it constitutive of the being of man" (p. 34). The matter is left there; but one could have wished for a bit more development, since this is a neuralgic point in a contemporary controversy.

From Gregory's general theory of progress Daniélou moves on to the conditions and stages of progress, in the fourth part, "La doctrine spirituelle." The primal law operating is that of human solidarity, in the fall and in the restoration by Christ. Hence the choice put to human freedom is not between good and evil in the abstract, but between participation in fallen humanity or in humanity risen in Christ. At the center of Gregory's mystical theology, therefore, as also at the culmination of the *migration mystique* itself, there stands Christ, the Word Incarnate; in Gregory there is neither subordinationism nor gnosticism. And with the idea of union with Christ as being itself the ascent of the soul to God, there goes the idea of progress as a series of self-divestments, to which correspond a series of communications of divine gifts in Christ. There are three successive stages, of which the life of Moses furnishes the types: the stripping off of the passions, progress in the way of faith under renouncement of all human aids (involving entrance into the "darkness of God"), and the contemplation, in the Word, of the order of ultimate reality. Here God is "found," but only in the sense that one learns that "to find God is to seek Him without ceasing" (p. 43). Gregory's final vision is that of beatitude itself as an eternal progress, that is, however, (in contrast to progress in this life), not the filling of a deficiency but simply the enlargement of a capacity that is at every moment full. Consequently, "the initial theme of the epectasis, which controls the whole book, is likewise is final secret" (p. 43). The soul's incessant stretching forward to

its perfection is its unceasing consent, by love, to the transforming action of God in it. That this consent issues from love precludes for Gregory the idea that perfection is simply gnosis, contemplation; the love that is its inspiration issues, too, in action—moral, ascetic, apostolic.

There are indeed many questions that might be raised in connection with Gregory's spiritual doctrine, his manner of exegesis, his philosophical intuitions; Daniélou's Introduction touches them, without pretending to discuss them at length. At all events, its signal merit is its achievement of its own aim—that of creating for the reader a climate of opinion and a pattern of ideas that will enable him intelligently to approach Gregory's own lovely text. That this aim has been achieved with brilliant success will appear to every reader as he goes on into the text. The translation has literary quality (I have not undertaken to check renditions). And the notes are added with discretion, serving always to illuminate a phrase, indicate the provenance of an idea, clarify an image, etc.

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II. CLÉMENT D'ALEXANDRIE: LE PROTREPTIQUE. Introduction et traduction de Claude Mondésert, S.J. 1942. Pp. 187.

The Introduction to the present translation of Clement's *Hortatory Address* is divided between the man (pp. 7-24) and his work (pp. 25-37). On Clement himself several of Mondésert's ideas merit attention. To begin with, he believes that a fresh investigation of texts (cf. Bardy) has succeeded in distinguishing the classes of Clement from the official Catechetical School of Alexandria. "It is very probable that Clement never exercised at Alexandria an official function as catechist. Origen was the first to assume it" (p. 11). Then, too, despite the influence of Clement on Origen and the continuity between them, Mondésert casts doubt on the thesis that Origen was, properly speaking, Clement's pupil. Again, he considers it indisputable that Clement renounced his projected trilogy after having executed the *Hortatory Address* and the *Tutor*, or at least postponed its completion. The *Miscellanies* allowed him to treat informally a number of topics of interest to him at the moment, and the treatment of these themes naturally overflowed into subjects planned for the *Teacher*.

Mondésert strives with commendable success to situate Clement in the history of Christian literature. An apologist from one angle, Clement compensates for a somewhat wearisome polemic by a constructive presentation of Christian truth as the "true philosophy," an apology all the more captivating for its mystic ardor. The first Christian humanist, he finds the

solution to the problem of Christian culture in Christ as *Λόγος παιδαγωγός*. As theologian his tendency is to put perfection, and so salvation, in "gnosis." Consequently the theologian is scarcely separable from the philosopher. His originality, as Tixeront noted, consists in having introduced into the idea of perfection the Platonic element of knowledge, and into its moral aspect the practice of the Stoic *ἀπάθεια*. At any rate, with him begins at Alexandria the magnificent effort to elaborate the content of Christian revelation into a human science, a kind of philosophy. In spirituality Clement appears, after Philo, the initiator to some extent of the Greek tradition which numbers, among others, Macarius, Evagrius, Maximus and Dionysius.

Mondésert portrays the seductive appeal of the *Hortatory Address*, destined for Alexandrians, mostly Greek in culture, reared in the religious traditions of Hellenism, which they maintained from habit rather than conviction; sincerely attentive to the mystery of truth and concerned for the problem of salvation; syncretistic, ardent, confused, respectful and curious, yet strangely hesitant. Clement takes the stand of a convinced Christian, but one well-informed on pagan cults and Greek philosophy. He presents masterfully the only true Master, the divine Logos, who offers men His transcendent revelation; he proclaims the rights of the Christian over the cosmos. Mondésert outlines the work briefly, with observations on each of the twelve chapters, from the artistic "New Song of Salvation," through the attack on paganism and the positive approach to Christianity, to the lyric conclusion on the mission of the Logos to renew the earth, the loving mercy of God, and the sacrifice of Christ.

A select bibliography (pp. 38-39) cites some French studies, with the frank admission that the best of the bibliography on Clement is in English or German. The translation is made on the text of Stählin, not reproduced here, but promised for a second edition already in press.

III. ATHÉNAGORE: SUPPLIQUE AU SUJET DES CHRÉTIENS. Introduction et traduction de Gustave Bardy. 1943. Pp. 175.

Almost completely overlooked by antiquity, Athenagoras reveals himself to some extent in his Plea or Embassy. In fact Canon Bardy, opening his Introduction with an account of Athenagoras and his work (pp. 7-44), recreates apologist and apology by commenting on the title, "Plea of the Christian philosopher, Athenagoras of Athens, for the Christians." The Athenian betrays himself by an instinctive love for order and peace, moderation in tone and style, innate sympathy for men and things, affection for his time and city and empire. He is a philosopher in the broad sense of the term. Aware of its limits, he still prefers to draw his arguments from pure reason.

Of no philosopher does he speak with such intelligent sympathy as of Plato; for all that, his Platonism, is shallow and eclectic. He is all too ready to adopt the formulae of Stoicism. Yet he is a Christian with all his soul, apparently lured from paganism by the spectacle of Christian life. He is not a fanatic like Tatian; hardly an enthusiast like Justin; and his knowledge of the Bible is superficial. But, without taint of Encratism or Montanism, he is a lover of virtue, and it is calumny on this score alone that can rouse his wrath.

The *Legatio*, whose composition Bardy convincingly places in the year 177, was certainly not heard by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, probably never even reached them. Its outline, developed by Bardy at fair length, is simple: an exordium (cc. I-III), then the charges of atheism (IV-XXX), incest (XXXII-XXXIV), and anthropophagy (XXXV-XXXVI). Athenagoras "knows where he wishes to take us and does not forget it. That merits for the Embassy a place all its own among the apologies of the second century."

The doctrine of Athenagoras (pp. 44-65) is limited in the Introduction to three essential features: God, the Trinity, and finally angels and demons. For him there is but one God, whose existence and unicity are demonstrable from pure reason, confirmed irresistibly by God and His prophets. The God of reason is uncreated, eternal, invisible, impassible, incomprehensible, Creator and Conserver of the universe. Bardy is sensible of the difficulties and obscurity involved in Athenagoras' doctrine of a general and particular providence, and cites the efforts of Ubaldi, Schwartz, and Puech to unravel the mystery.

On the Trinity two points strike us: the very precise affirmation of the Trinity, and the insistence on divine unity, where for the first time in the history of the dogma of the Trinity the theological influence of the Fourth Gospel is evident. Did Athenagoras compromise the reality of the Persons? Bardy concludes that it is better to recognize his firm affirmations of the Trinitarian dogma than to blame him for the imperfections of his formulas. His faith surpasses his theology.

Angels and demons are for Athenagoras fundamental to the faith. Bardy deals with his ideas on their existence, creaturehood, functions, and freedom; the fall of some angels through pride; his interpretation of Genesis on the seduction of the daughters of men by the sons of God. "His demonology is in sum that of his time. It has real affinities with that of Plutarch. It sounds for all that a profoundly Christian note."

Bardy concludes with a discussion of the manuscripts, editions, and translations of the *Legatio* (pp. 65-69). The text is not reproduced, but the present translation has been made from the editions of Geffcken (1907) and



Ubaldi (1921). Bardy feels no obligation to follow either to the least detail. Preferring fidelity to phraseology, he offers a literal translation intended to serve those who would like to follow the details of the original as far as possible.

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IV. NICOLAS CABASILAS: EXPLICATION DE LA DIVINE LITURGIE. Introduction et traduction de S. Salaville, A. A. 1943. Pp. 309.

Nicholas Cabasilas Chamaetos (†c. 1380), rightly considered one of the greatest spiritual writers and most profound theologians of the Byzantine church, is much less well known than his works. He was the nephew of Nilus Cabasilas, Bishop of Thessalonica from 1361 to 1363, and it was long believed that he succeeded his uncle in that see. This is certainly false. When he was a candidate for the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1354, Nicholas was not even a cleric. And there is nothing to prove that he ever became one. We would be surprised today perhaps to see a layman writing homilies, theological treatises, and works on asceticism and the liturgy, but at Constantinople there were always lay theologians, some of whom wore the imperial diadem. Even in our times the lay divine is not rare in the Eastern churches.

The best known and most revealing work of Nicholas Cabasilas is his *De Vita in Christo* of which a detailed summary is given here. In this work Nicholas shows himself an original thinker, by no means reduced to copying the "Blessed John" (Chrysostom), the "admirable Basil," and the "divine Dionysius," as was so often the case with Byzantine authors. His touch in mystical matters is lighter than that of Dionysius; he understands the supernatural better, and in his pages our Lord, while not less divine, is more human. Among the many treasures of the *De vita in Christo*, the beautiful pages devoted to the Eucharistic Christ as the Heart of the Mystical Body are perhaps the most striking. For Nicholas the blood of Christ purifies the conscience of sin and from the Heart of the Mystical Body true life flows to the members. As the members of a human body live through the head and the heart, so those who eat the Son of Man live as Christ Himself, as far as Christ is concerned. The Eucharist is the center of our supernatural life and the Eucharistic Christ is the heart of this life. We must love each other in the Heart of Jesus Christ.

In his long Introduction to the *Expositio Liturgiae*, Salaville has been well advised to treat at length of the more celebrated *De Vita in Christo*. He has made it serve as a setting for the *Expositio*. The latter is a methodical and

doctrinal exposition of the rites and formulae of the Byzantine Mass. With the exception of certain words about the consecration and epiclesis, the work is worthy of high praise from the theological and ascetical viewpoint. The controversialists of the seventeenth century, notably Bossuet, frequently appealed to Nicholas as a witness of the real presence and transubstantiation. That he does teach these doctrines is clear. Indeed he goes to lengths in realism: the union produced by Holy Communion is so intimate that Christ, who is with the communicant in life, will not abandon his holy remains; He is united to his soul and He does not abandon his ashes.

Salaville's excellent Introduction on the life, works, and doctrine of Cabasilas is easily the best available. His translation of the *Expositio* is smooth and makes interesting reading. In addition to many footnotes which teem with erudition, there are a score of longer notes. Those on the consecration, the epiclesis and the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass are particularly important.

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V. DIADOQUE DE PHOTICÉ: CENT CHAPITRES SUR LA PERFECTION SPIRITUELLE; VISION, SERMON SUR L'ASCENSION. Introduction et traduction de Édouard des Places, S.J. 1943. Pp. 192.

This is the first complete French translation of the very important ascetical works of Diadochus. Though little is known of the life of this fifth-century bishop, he played a major role in the ascetical controversies of his time, particularly that with the Messalians. The work of Dörr on the conflict of Diadochus with these adversaries is utilized and supplemented in the present book; however, while Dörr is restricted in his consideration of the doctrine of Diadochus to the points of contrast with the errors of Messalianism, Des Places is primarily interested in the teaching of the author himself. The consequence is the first carefully detailed study of the principal tenets of his spirituality.

As a master in asceticism, Diadochus dealt with three principal themes, God and grace, the discernment of spirits, and the virtues of the spiritual life. Though the first of these themes is concerned frequently with the rejection of the false doctrine of Messalianism, it indicates a solid spirituality based on grace, received in baptism, and manifesting itself throughout the progress of Christian life. The second theme on the discernment of spirits strikes a familiar note of modern spirituality, and many of the phrases of Ignatius of Loyola on this subject echo the writings of Diadochus. The treatment of the virtues of the spiritual life, love, poverty, silence, obedience, humility,

etc., reveal a sane balance and moderation of doctrine which have made Diadochus, together with Evagrius Ponticus, the master of Eastern spirituality. In this latter section, it is especially in the doctrine of prayer by the invocation of the Holy Name that one may recognize the modernity of Diadochus; the counsels given in this matter are recalled by St. Ignatius in the second and third methods of prayer, and are continued in the modern insistence on ejaculatory prayer.

After a brief treatment of the language and style of Diadochus, Des Places indicates the influence that Diadochus has wielded, especially in the East. This influence is particularly noticeable in the work of Maximus the Confessor. In the West, although the works of Diadochus were not directly known to Ignatius of Loyola or to Theresa of Jesus, they were translated into Latin in 1570 by the Jesuit Francis Torres. However, it is only within the last thirty years that the editions of the works of Diadochus have strongly recalled the spirituality of this author to the modern historians of spirituality.

The Introduction closes with a select bibliography of texts of Diadochus, translations, and various individual studies. These latter are divided according to whether they antedate or succeed the classical study of Dörr.

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VI. GRÉGOIRE DE NYSSE: LA CRÉATION DE L'HOMME. Introduction et traduction de Jean Laplace, S.J.; notes de Jean Daniélou, S.J. 1944. Pp. 256.

Perhaps no other single notion is capturing such wide interest in a variety of circles today as that of the "image of God in man." It is being recognized as the necessary inspiration of social reconstruction; and this fact has made it the object of considerable philosophical interest. Theologians, too, are turning to it in the contemporary effort to give fuller theological and metaphysical explanation of man's mysterious capacity for the supernatural. Hence the present volume has a particular value. Maréchal has pointed out that the doctrine of the image of God in man, and of man's participation in the divinity, of which it is the pendant, stands at the center of Gregory of Nyssa's mystical theology. And perhaps the primary source for Gregory's doctrine is the *De Hominis Opificio*. This is not the sole value of the work, but it is a highly important one, from the contemporary viewpoint. Laplace gives the work a "place apart in Christian literature. It is the first treatise devoted by a Christian thinker to the anthropological problem" (p. 6).

The Introduction is very satisfying, in its evocation of Gregory's intellectual and spiritual milieu, and in its statement of the leading themes in this

particular work. In the first part, "La forme littéraire," Laplace writes some enlightening pages on Gregory's use of symbolism, and on his general literary method—his "approche inventive" through circling about a darkly luminous center, "whose mystery, always present, is never exhausted," but is steadily grasped with fuller conviction. In this case the central unifying notion, with which the book opens and closes, is that of the "grace of the divine likeness, in which God from the beginning created man" (p. 13). Furthermore, Laplace detects in the movement of the book the rhythm of a drama—the drama of human life itself as faith reveals it. Man is the "marvel of the world," the image of God; but he is in misery, for he is not what he was and should be, nor apparently can he be. How did this tragic situation come about, and how shall there be liberation from it? The central point of the answer is Gregory's theory of the "two creations." It lifts the mind to the perspectives of eternity, to view in them the human situation, and in the courage of the vision to descend into time for the laborious but ultimately triumphant work of the "return to the image."

The second part, "Les sources philosophiques," traces Gregory's debt to stoic and Platonic thought and language, and maintains the thesis that Gregory detached these elements from their meaning within the systems whence they were taken, and imparted to them the unity of his own mind, which was Christian, formed by the Scriptures: "If the thought of Gregory finds its nourishment in every philosophy, it has its source, its rule, its unity in the word of God" (p. 30). Ultimately, it is the Christian answer, found in Scripture, that Gregory gives to the eternal anxious human question: "What is man?" And his answer "is irreducible to the essays of the ancient philosophers" (p. 35).

The section entitled, "La doctrine," is at once so dense and so detailed that it resists summarization. Nine themes are treated: evolution, the image of God, the two creations, the unity of the image, multiplication of individuals and life in the "passions," the metaphysical explanation of evil, the apocatastasis, time, and matter and its two states. The documentation in each case goes beyond the *Creation of Man*; and there is constant concern to indicate both the sources from which Gregory drew and the transformations he effected in his derived material, as he brought it into his biblical categories. The sections on the image and on the two creations deserve special study. The modern reader will perhaps be most impressed by the joyous mystique of freedom that Gregory draws from his doctrine of the image; as it vanquished the sad determinism of the Greeks, so, too, it makes the modern "liberal" sort of thing seem very pale. And very tawdry, too, when Gregory's concept of freedom as the dowry of man is joined with its

profoundly religious and deeply humanistic complementary concept of "purity" as the ideal of one who is by nature and grace image of God (Gregory's "purity," or "spiritual liberty," is the Christian *apatheia* in its fullest sense). Again, immanent in Gregory's theory of the two creations—in itself a very difficult theory, in whose interpretation Laplace, I gather, agrees substantially with Daniélou—is a concept of time as history—duration as having direction and meaning—that is important from the modern standpoint. On the other hand, Gregory's doctrine on the absence of sexuality from the image will seem, in its ancientness, a novelty. Laplace is perhaps not as successful as Daniélou (*Platonisme et théologie mystique*, pp. 55 ff.) in placing it in the perspectives of Gregory's thought, although normally—as in the brief treatment of the apocatastasis—his success in this regard is satisfying. In fact, his Introduction as a whole is admirable for the purposes of *Sources chrétiennes*, and valuable, too, simply as an essay on the thought of Gregory. P. Daniélou's notes are wontedly to the point; he brings his great patristic erudition to bear on illuminating the particularities of Gregory's thought in relation to its sources.

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VII. ORIGÈNE: HOMÉLIES SUR LA GENÈSE. Traduction et notes de Louis Doutreleau, S.J. Introduction de Henri de Lubac, S.J. 1944. Pp. 262.

Père de Lubac is not convinced that Origen is the "mad allegorist" he has been made out to be. Hence he embarks on a work of clarification: he will compel a precise statement of accepted judgments and he will find out what Origen the exegete actually thought. For his purpose he envisions not one Introduction, but three, dealing respectively with the literal sense (*Homilies on Genesis*), the spiritual sense (*Homilies on Exodus*), and the doctrine of the homilies (*Homilies on Leviticus*). The Introduction at hand purposes (1) to exorcise the prejudice which so often clouds the allegorism of Origen in misunderstanding, (2) to penetrate the attitude of mind which lurks behind his allegorical approach, and (3) to open the full-scale investigation of his doctrine on the sense of Scripture by studying intimately the literal sense.

First, then, the opposition to Origen (pp. 6–22). De Lubac ranges swiftly through the anathemas pronounced on Origen's hermeneutics and proceeds to cut a swath across them. Briefly, his rebuttal (bolstered by trenchant argumentation too detailed to be so much as indicated here) reduces itself to the following topical ideas.

1) Almost invariably the examples cited to prove that Origen disowned the reality of biblical history are taken from his commentaries on the account

of the terrestrial paradise, the temptation and the fall—a basis too limited for such a generalization, a page of sacred history unique in character and incapable of being compared with the story of the Macchabees. (2) Origen owes much to pagan philosophers and to Philo. But, beware of confusing culture and doctrine! For Origen there is always question essentially of a history, interiorized but in no wise destroyed. (3) We are still unduly impressed by the remembrance of ancient rows. Yet Jerome and Theophilus are too passionate; Epiphanius lacks knowledge and judgment; the School of Antioch is unfair to the point of absurdity. (4) Some historians have turned too willing an ear to a Photius, who could not find allegorical exegesis in the primitive tradition of the Church, or a Porphyry, unable as he was to realize the originality of the Christian attitude in the face of the twofold Testament. (5) Origen is not read. Were he read, many of the charges would fall of their own weight, e.g., the *ad hominem* analogies he draws against Celsus between some biblical accounts and Greek myths. (6) Finally, the prejudices pure and simple. De Lubac scores the distrust of all “spiritualism”; the forced opposition between letter and spirit, reality and symbol, knowledge and mysticism; the notion that Origen’s method of exegesis has been condemned, e.g., by all the Fathers; our prosecution of a doctrine and practice of spiritual understanding which we no longer understood but did not dare reject openly in ourselves; an extreme literalism no less deadly, no less contrary to tradition, than extreme spiritualism. De Lubac believes that we are witnessing a *volte-face*, the beginnings of a wider agreement that Origen’s exegesis is, at bottom, thoroughly traditional. The thesis is vouched for by an imposing array of Fathers.

The second stage of De Lubac’s development (pp. 22–40) appears to be an effort to reach the mind behind the allegory, to dissect the man and his motives. It is shown that the predominant force motivating Origen’s allegorism is not the anxiety of the apologete in the face of the lettered pagan world. Above all, there is no evidence of a desire to Hellenize. He is preoccupied even more with Jew and Gnostic. Each in his own way refuses to see anything but the letter; both he can reach with one stroke, the spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures. Thus he will effect, on the one hand, a release from Judaism without denying Scripture, and, on the other, a harmony of the two Testaments against Gnosticism. And all the while he is utterly unconscious of innovation.

De Lubac insists that Origen’s formation was entirely Christian, even entirely ecclesiastical. Hand in hand with a tender devotion to the person of his Savior (the search for the sense of Scripture is a search for the voice of Christ) goes a lively care for orthodoxy, which is the secret of his allegorism.

Even when his method of interpretation does not appear an imperative condition of orthodoxy, he still holds fast to it as to the mode traditional in the Church and prescribed by God Himself. The principle of his exegesis he finds in St. Paul, with a restricted number of applications. But the scope is infinite, because the principle is unlimited: if the Law is spiritual, it is such as a whole. The facts happened after the flesh; they are to be grasped according to the spirit.

This persuasion of Origen, De Lubac claims, is not only sincere; it is in great measure justified. Origen lives in the Bible and draws the pith of his theology from it. His rule is to conform himself, even in the most personal exegesis, to the Church's norms of interpretation. For Origen allegorical interpretation is a retrospective justification of the liberating work of Christ. Not a shield for the rash, the rationalistic, the esoteric, but the mystical outpouring of a superabundant faith in the divinity of Scripture. To believe that Origen transformed Christianity for the perfect into a philosophical wisdom, abandoning the Cross to beginners, is to be unfaithful to his thought. Redemption by the blood of Christ is perhaps the dogma of his predilection; the preaching of the Cross is essential for all.

With the above as propaedeutic, De Lubac is prepared to discuss the literal sense in Origen (pp. 40-55). For the Alexandrian the Bible is full of mysteries, hidden everywhere, beneath the slightest shade of thought or detail of vocabulary. But Origen never affirms the mysterious element in Scripture to the detriment of its historical character. In His Scripture as in His earthly life the Word has need of a body: the historical sense and the spiritual are like the body and divinity of the Logos. We must, therefore, first believe that things transpired as they are recounted, but we would err to rest therein. Be it episode or precept, the principle is the same—both contain divine depths, but preserve their literal meaning, the normal basis for spiritual understanding. The marvelous does not embarrass him: "astounding in its telling, magnificent in its meaning." Even the immoral is no motive for doubt; only more reason for seeking the spiritual.

At this juncture we are brought face to face with specific difficulties. For Origen there are certain episodes, admittedly few, which are "purely spiritual." Sometimes Scripture "intermingles with the history details which did not take place, others which were impossible, others which could have happened but as a matter of fact did not." These are providential stumbling-blocks, intended to stimulate minds to find a meaning worthy of God. Were everything clear and consistent, we would discover only the natural sense. A strange conception, De Lubac admits, but its import is not to be exaggerated. Origen does not abuse his principle. He denies the

letter in cases far less numerous than he himself seems to say, and almost always in trifling points. To understand his thought exactly, we must remember that his terminology differs from our own. When he refuses the literal sense to anthropomorphism, parable, metaphor and figurative expression, we agree with him on the fact, but we prefer to call it the "figurative literal sense." When he claims that Scripture always has a spiritual sense, but not always a corporeal, let Origen explain it. And, when he does, you may speak of inadequate vocabulary or paradoxical subtlety, but you must admit that, in focus, his doctrine is very reassuring.

De Lubac explains very neatly the category of texts in the *De Principiis* which Origen wishes understood only according to the spirit. He shows how, paradoxically, a spiritualizing Origen with one stroke saved the Apocalypse and refuted the millenarian error, then upheld by the very *solius litterae discipuli* who held him suspect. He analyzes deftly such surprising phrases as "non historiae narrantur." And, above all, he has captured the implicit reasoning which serves Origen as justification for exegeses bold enough to discourage even a Freppel. Briefly, it is often the spiritual sense itself which makes the letter credible. Without a secret intention the Spirit would never have had such facts recorded in Scripture. By themselves these facts would have had no reason for existing; their very oddness would render them improbable. The scandal is not that the wars in Josue and Judges took place; the scandal would be that the Holy Spirit intended to transmit the account to us with no higher purpose in view. The thing in itself may be so insignificant as to be unworthy of God; edification comes from insight into "the grandeur of the mystery" contained therein.

Yet we shall not be entirely at ease when reading the *Homilies* unless we adopt Origen's point of view. He envisages the Old Testament in so far as it is old; not precisely in what it was, but what it became after, and by reason of, the coming of Christ. He does not deny the letter of the Law; he declares it henceforth, in that letter, surpassed, dead, buried.

In conclusion De Lubac introduces us more proximately to the *Homilies on Genesis* (pp. 55-62). Sixteen in number, they were preached at Caesarea of Palestine after Origen's banishment from Alexandria, probably much later, and have been preserved, save for rare short fragments, only in the translation of Rufinus, who probably had less room for serious alteration in this literary genre than in works like the *De Principiis*. They are "animated from beginning to end by a double movement, oratorical and spiritual, which is in all probability that of Origen himself" (p. 59).

It was in his homilies to the people that the Christian preacher ran afoul of his problem. When the order of the day called for a rugged tale from the



patriarchs or some ritual law of Leviticus, how was he to edify, how reply to the question, "To what purpose are such things read in church?" The answer is a principle: The Law is spiritual. Such is the master idea, practical and traditional, that gave birth to these homilies in the evening of a long life adventurous in thought and action.

De Lubac's Introduction is born of rebellion. It is a provocative challenge to entrenched ideas and as such fairly courts counter-attack. Here and there a step in the presentation suffers from lack of clarity; that is perhaps inevitable in compressed argumentation. Even the most sympathetic reader may still nurture the suspicion that the defense has not quite cleared Origen on all counts. Be that as it may, De Lubac has furnished us (here and in vol. XVI) with one of the most significant contributions to the understanding of Origen's exegesis in modern scholarship.

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VIII. NICÉTAS STÉTHATOS: LE PARADIS SPIRITUEL ET AUTRES TEXTES ANNEXES. Texte, traduction et commentaire, par Marie Chalendar. 1945. Pp. 100.

Nicetas Stethatos (Pectoratus) commands the historian's attention if only for the momentary public appearance he made in connection with the sombre events of 1054. The vehemence of his polemic against celibacy and the use of unleavened bread in the Latin discipline ("dogs," "hypocrites," "liars") yielded nothing to the ardor with which he assailed the *Filioque*. Michael Caerularius, never one to overlook such chance windfalls as might further the task at hand, carefully publicized Nicetas' denunciations of Latin waywardness. When the stage was thus set the doors of the Roman churches were shut and almost overnight there began the schism that has lasted for nearly a thousand years. Oddly enough, Nicetas drops out of the picture once his pamphlets have done their work and there is a tradition that he retracted his flaming utterances and died serenely.

It may seem a broad leap from the *Libellus contra Latinos* to the Olympian mysticism proposed in *Le paradis spirituel*, here published for the first time, but Nicetas Stethatos was equally at ease as controversialist or mystic. A tendentious note marks even his loftiest writings and the present *opusculum* is no exception to the rule.

A work of less than 300 lines, *Le paradis spirituel* is a brief outline of mystical doctrine. The source of the text now published is a thirteenth-century MS from the National Library at Paris. It is followed by six short bits dealing with freedom of choice, the powers of the soul, prayer, etc., all presumed to be by the same author and printed with translation into French

after the longer mystical treatise. As the editor points out, the *Paradise* is hardly an original work since it leans heavily on a chapter from the *Divinorum Amorum Liber* by Symeon the New Theologian, and bears striking resemblances to whole passages found in Maximus the Confessor. Still the treatise has its own peculiar value as a link between the earlier writings of Maximus and John Climacus and the subsequent Orthodox mystics such as Gregory Palamas and the Hesychasts.

Somewhat indicative of the character of the work was the refusal of the Bollandists to publish it. No doubt it seemed to smack too much of the religion of subjective experience set over against the prerogatives of an official *magisterium*. Symbolic of the Holy Spirit dwelling within the soul is the tree of life in the garden of Eden. Man's sensible nature, on the other hand, is represented by the tree of the knowledge of good and of evil, whose fruits are pleasure and pain. Depending on the capacity of individual souls this dual knowledge, good in itself, is a blessing or an evil. Man's task is to dominate the passions and all of creation, so that with Adam he may work in the spiritual Eden of the mind and there discover God's design in nature and contemplate the divine ideas that deify. Since the Fall, however, we do not enter this way of divinization except by the narrow gate of humility; this is the lowest rung of the ladder, the way of ordinary souls. At the other extreme is the proficient who, living by charity, has already entered into the sanctuary of God. Such a one, though he be unlettered, is the rightful teacher of the world for he enjoys the interior charismatic gifts which confer a kind of infallibility. By the practice of virtue he has recovered the image of the Trinity in his soul; no one is his master, but he is the master of all.

There is in all this a typically Greek intellectualism—contemplation by pure reason—which is betrayed in the very title of the work, *τῆς ὁνομασίας παράδεισος*. Along with this is what has been called, for lack of a better name, pneumatocentrism. Should these terms seem odious, let it be remembered that they only represent tendencies. But the tendency is not without its dangers, since it implies a mentality which, relying on human intelligence plus the private inspiration of the Holy Spirit, easily becomes impatient of all external authority. And who, viewing the tragic events of 1054, would deny that this very cast of mind played its part in the schism?

The translation from an unadorned Greek text is smooth and careful and the observations of the editor throughout the Introduction and commentary are adequate and informative. Perhaps a small section might have been added to the Introduction indicating, in a way less general than was done, the specific contributions, if any, offered by Nicetas to the growing library of mystical writings.

IX. MAXIME LE CONFESSEUR: CENTURIES SUR LA CHARITÉ. Introduction et traduction de Joseph Pegon, S.J. 1945. Pp. 174.

Since there is, as yet, no critical edition of the *Capita de Charitate* by Maximus the Confessor (580–662), the present translation is based on the Migne text (PG XC). It consists of four hundred condensed maxims or chapters on perfection drawn from the early Fathers and arranged for easy memory in four groups of one hundred. Pegon has prefaced his translation of an obscure Greek original with a valuable Introduction (pp. 5–65), wherein he endeavors to set forth both the sources and originality of Maximus' spiritual doctrine. He maintains an early date of composition in opposition to Didier and Mme. Lot-Borodine, both of whom reserve the work for the maturer years of this great defender of the apostolic faith against Monothelism.

In addition to an important and well-ordered analysis of Maximus' teaching on the psychology of sin and temptation, the most interesting feature of the Introduction is the place given to Evagrius Ponticus as one of the chief but unacknowledged sources of Maximus. It will be remembered that certain gnostic and stoic elements were not entirely absent from the writings of Evagrius. Thus even before the condemnations pronounced by the sixth, seventh, and eighth ecumenical Councils, his works were not openly read in Eastern monasteries. His ideas, nevertheless, made common coin during the sixth century, so that, together with the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius, the current of his thought in matters contemplative was felt almost everywhere.

Aside from the fact that Maximus' *Capita* follow in form the pattern given vogue by the appearance in 380 of the *Capita Practica* of Evagrius, the work of Maximus also shows its dependence on the earlier composition by the re-appearance in it of the specialized vocabulary of Evagrius. Maximus, however, does not merely reproduce mechanically the thoughts of Evagrius. There is in fact so little of the scrapbook technique, such as is found in the *florilegia*, that we have here a genuine attempt at synthesis, rendered all the more acute when Maximus uses the vocabulary of Evagrius to express a typically Dionysian idea! To illustrate this hybridism let us first look at what constitutes the essence of contemplation for Evagrius and for Dionysius.

Evagrius teaches that *νοῦς* is connatural with the soul. To uncover it within him, man must abolish the consideration of visible things by *ἀπάθεια*. This done, his mind takes hold of the *imago Dei*, man's true nature, that slumbers within him. And having thus induced an "infinite ignorance" towards created things, the soul, without ever going out of itself or leaving the plane of knowledge, gains an hyper-knowledge of God through the con-

templation of the immanent *νοῦς*. The retreat from creatures Evagrius calls a "going forth from beings" towards knowledge.

Dionysius on the other hand offers only that negative knowledge that comes when, entering the "divine darkness" by faith, the soul in ecstasy plunges in love beyond self and beyond knowledge. This is the Dionysian "going forth from self" in love and the technical word used is *ἐκστασις*. The term used by Evagrius for his "infinite ignorance," or retreat from creatures towards knowledge, is *ἐκδημία*.

If these two concepts of mysticism summed up in the two words seem irreconcilable, Maximus gives no indication of it. He will speak, for example, of a transcendent ignorance—an Evagriian notion—but will express it by the typically Dionysian compound, *ὑπεραγνωστῶς*. Or he will say that the spirit goes forth (*ἐκδημῆ*) in an ecstasy of love. The problem then is real.

Can the calm, self-discovering process of Evagrius that ends in knowledge be reconciled with the ecstatic, blind, mystical *élan* of Pseudo-Dionysius that is climaxed in love? In a word, in fusing the terms used by Evagrius and Dionysius, did Maximus really succeed in reconciling their apparent differences in theory, so as to bring them into a higher unity?

To begin with, Maximus knew enough of Aristotelian metaphysics to see that things can be distinct without being separate. In like manner the segmentation of man's inner life into really distinct parts did not recommend itself to his synthetic genius. That is why Maximus, when faced with the necessity of giving the primacy to love or knowledge, set out—consciously, it would seem—to show that Evagrius and Dionysius do not contradict each other, but that love and knowledge exercise a mutual causality, almost as though they were two aspects of the same thing. "Join love and knowledge," he pleads (IV, 59); for if love (which is charity, when its origin lies in the divine activity) is not merely a means to knowledge, as Evagrius would seem to hold, yet it does effect knowledge, so that wherever divine knowledge is present, there charity also is at work. Knowledge intensifies charity and charity frees the soul from the relative non-knowledge that follows upon resting in visible forms. No, love is not inferior, nor a step to knowledge, but to love is to know. Knowledge, then, is the gift bestowed as a bonus on him who loves, and charity is given to him "who has been judged worthy of knowledge." Charity is operative; it is a principle of action and it alone puts the passions to rout. *Apatheia* is acquired in a way totally different from that of the Stoics. It is not as though a man sitting down and taking account could, by force of will, so abolish passion that he would, as Evagrius thought, uncover within him the fulness of *νοῦς*. Rather, for Maximus, even though it requires man's eager cooperation and constant

effort in the practice of temperance, knowledge always remains essentially a gift of God. "If you have received from God some gift of knowledge, though it be but partial, beware lest you neglect charity and temperance, for they, while deeply purifying the passions of the soul, ceaselessly open the way to knowledge" (IV, 57).

The *Capita de Charitate* is a loosely organized work, one that seems to be almost without definite plan, but it is a mine of spiritual wisdom. While there is no danger that it will replace the *Imitation* as a guide to religious living, it is not without its value for prayerful hearts.

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X. IGNACE D'ANTIOCHE: LETTRES. Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes de Th. Camelot, O.P. 1945. Pp. 148.

Père Camelot gives us those pearls of primitive Christian literature recognized by Polycarp as breathing "faith, patient endurance, and all edification that looks to Christ" (*Ad Philippenses*, XIII). A pithy Introduction (pp. 5-45) opens with the witness of Eusebius, supplemented by internal evidence, on the sketchy outlines of Ignatius' life, letters, and grim end. A brief consideration of the corpus of letters takes us from the collection made so reverently by Polycarp shortly after composition, through the bitter debates on the three recensions, to the definitive establishment of the "middle form" through the efforts primarily of Zahn, Funk, Lightfoot, and Harnack. It is with wisdom and forethought that Camelot speaks of "letters" in preference to "epistles," for we are face to face not with artificial composition of a determined literary genre, but with the personal and spontaneous, the product not of art but of circumstance, formless yet original, forging language from the heart rather than the mind.

The doctrine of Ignatius is skillfully spun by Camelot on the spindle of unity (pp. 14-39). There is for Ignatius but one God, with the emphasis on God's self-manifestation through Christ. Christ and the Father are one. Christ Himself is one: *σᾶρξ*, i.e., complete human nature in its concrete reality, and *πνεῦμα*, i.e., divine nature. The Christian is one with Christ his Life, whose humanity and divinity are the object of his faith and love, while his whole life aims at reproducing the unity of Christ with His Father—a mystique of imitation realizing a mystique of union. The unity of Christians with Christ is translated by the unity of Christians among themselves, a unity sustained by love, nourished by the sacrament of unity, and incarnate in a visible Church with a hierarchical organization to preserve that unity. Each local church (*ἐκκλησία*) rejoices and sorrows with every other, but above the local churches towers the Church Universal, the Body

of Christ, with its own unity incarnate in the Roman Church. In fine Ignatius' place in the history of Christian thought resolves itself into the idea of a witness to tradition who impresses that tradition with the original stamp of his strong personality (pp. 39-41).

A select bibliography follows (pp. 42-43). The text, Funk-Bihlmeyer (1924) with significant variants indicated and occasional deviations, is divided not by the traditional numbering of paragraphs, but after the development of thought. Confronted by the inevitable Ignatian dilemma, literal translation or paraphrase, Camelot, well aware of its perils, plumps for the literal, though not slavishly. Copious footnotes evidence an insight into the problems evoked by Ignatius, and familiarity with the pertinent literature.

One stricture. It is understandable for Camelot to claim that Ignatius "a certainement connu et utilisé le texte de saint Jean"; it is a mistake to add, "le fait n'est mis en doute par personne" (p. 25, note 1). I may be pardoned for referring to my articles, "Did St. Ignatius of Antioch Know the Fourth Gospel?", *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES*, I (1940), 1-26, 130-156.

XI. HIPPOLYTE DE ROME: LA TRADITION APOSTOLIQUE. Texte latin, introduction, traduction et notes de Dom B. Botte, O.S.B. 1946. Pp. 84.

The discovery of the *Philosophumena* in 1842 sounded the call for Hippolytus' resurrection; more and more of his works were exhumed and his true features have been restored. Dom Botte inclines to the belief that Hippolytus was Roman, or at least Latin, in origin; he has the impression that Hippolytus "thinks in Latin and that he employs the language of Plato not because it is more familiar to him than Latin but because it is the universal language and that of the Church." He is confident, too, that the *Traditio* represents the state of the liturgy and discipline as it existed in Rome at the beginning of the third century. For, even should it date from the schism, it would not lose its documentary value. Here we have a man of tradition, a practical mind, a priest of Rome for some years, writing on a subject he knows, under his own name, at Rome, to readers who can verify his data. It is a strange quirk of fate that the *Traditio* fell so swiftly into oblivion in the West, yet found so extraordinary a future in the East.

To reconstruct the original we have but a Latin translation and some Greek or Oriental adaptations which have all more or less deformed the primitive text. Dom Botte specifies the value of each witness—the Latin version, the *Constitution of the Egyptian Church*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Epitome*, the *Testament of Our Lord*, the *Canons of Hippolytus*—to discover how each can assist his reconstruction. He has a word of evaluation

for preceding editions: Funk (1905), Schermann (1914), Connolly (1916), Easton (1924), Jungklaus (1928), Dix (1937). He does not ambition to replace the indispensable critical edition of Dix. First, because the present edition is addressed not to textual critics but to the Christian public, especially to "priests and young theologians who wish to recapture in this old text the life-beats of the primitive Church." Then, too, "to be truly useful, the apparatus would have to be far more complete than even that of P. Dix." Still he aims at a text as close to the original as possible. Doubtful reconstructions and important variants are noted. The Latin text, where it exists, is followed in principle; otherwise the Sahidic, Arabic, and Ethiopian versions of the *Constitution of the Egyptian Church*. The chapter titles have been modified in the interests of clarity. Botte's notes are fairly few, but with sufficient bibliographical indications for further study on the discipline and liturgy of Rome.

Since the *Traditio* is a document unique for the liturgical history of the first centuries, Botte indicates, almost too sketchily, items of interest therein, particularly on the Eucharist and ordination. He challenges the contention of Dix that the epiclesis is not to be found in the *Testament of Our Lord*. Nor does he believe that for Hippolytus martyrdom replaces ordination. Rather, "the confessor is the equal of the priests and deacons in dignity"; he has not the right to exercise their functions. "As such he has a place apart in the Church and his ordination to the diaconate or priesthood would not constitute an elevation. Only the episcopal consecration will be for him a promotion." Botte notes that the functions of the bishop are nowhere else enumerated with greater precision. All in all, though Hippolytus does not satisfy our curiosity on all points, "what he does give us is infinitely precious and constitutes a solid point of departure for the study of the Roman liturgy."

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XII. JEAN MOSCHUS: LE PRÉ SPIRITUEL. Introduction et traduction de M.-J. Rouët de Journal, S.J. 1946. Pp. 297.

The present work puts at our disposal, in a new French translation, the collection of edifying, and often quaint, stories of the monks of the desert, which John Moschus collected in the sixth century. The work has had, of course, a great influence on ascetical literature, and its flowers have been culled by many masters of the spiritual life.

In his Introduction, Rouët de Journal repeats our incomplete and scattered knowledge of the life of Moschus, and then attempts to give some idea of the contents of the work itself. This is a difficult task, since the nature of the work—a series of tales, some long, some brief, gathered from the visits of

Moschus to the monks of Palestine, Egypt and Sinai—almost necessarily precludes any definite order or plan. Hence, one finds jumbled together the accounts of the motives of the monks in leaving the world, their virtues, their weaknesses, their astonishing ascetic practices, their general mode of life. However, theology and liturgy are not neglected. The influence of the Nestorian heresy is noted, and the efforts of the monks to keep their retreats free from this influence are marked. Liturgical practices, with regard to the sacraments and the Mass, are also to be gleaned from the pages of Moschus. To these subjects are added accounts of the supernatural and the bizarre. Of all of these various facets of the work, P. Rouët de Journel gives an adequate foretaste.

It is beyond the scope of the Introduction to enter into a criticism of the tales which Moschus has collected; and the author of the *Meadow* has himself sedulously refrained from personal comment on the stories that he has edited. However, it should be noted that, although many of the events related have the authentic ring of realism, the collection does not lack strange and exaggerated tales. Even if it is admitted that none of these stories is without its lesson, it is also clear that the virtues which these lessons impress are to be carefully separated from the exaggerations in which they are clothed. There are indeed flowers of great beauty in the *Spiritual Meadow*, but there are also those of such exoticism that they are to be admired in vision, and not in imitation.

The translation is clear and crisp. S. Vailhe, in his review of the work (*L'Année théologique* VIII [1947], 320), has noted an occasional weakness in translation, but it remains a valuable and available form of the collection which has inspired so many of the examples of virtue found in classical ascetical treatises.

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XIII. JEAN CHRYSOSTOME: LETTRES À OLYMPIAS. Introduction et traduction de Anne-Marie Malingrey. 1947. Pp. 228.

When St. John Chrysostom succeeded Nectarius in the see of Constantinople in 398, there existed in the city a community of devout ladies, under the leadership of St. Olympias, devoted to prayer, penance and works of charity. The new bishop assumed personal direction of Olympias, which direction was continued without interruption even during his years of exile from his see (404–407); and the seventeen extant letters under review cover this period. The present work supplies the Greek text of this correspondence, together with a splendid translation in French. A scholarly Introduction of more than ninety pages furnishes the complete historical milieu.



Accurate information relative to text, previous translations and sources is provided; and with ample justification, based on internal evidences, the present author abandons the chronological order of the letters long since considered classical, while for purposes of reference the customary classification as found in Migne is also indicated.

*Sources chrétiennes* aims, not at presenting the Fathers as witnesses of an era that is ended, but as the wholesome nourishment for people of this age, precisely because in the Fathers there are certain categories which are those of contemporaneous thought. The present number concurs admirably with this design. Replete with historical, psychological and ascetical interest, the communications graphically sketch the generous example of Olympias, her relations with Chrysostom from the date of his assignment to the see of Constantinople, her loyalty and devotedness to him even during his painful expatriation. While thus disclosing the intimacy of two saints united through the most delicate affection, the letters form a beautiful memorial of his noble-hearted spiritual daughter, canonized by the Church. The central theme, however, is the problem of human suffering, and this is discussed, not in a speculative manner, but as it was then actually experienced in two magnanimous souls, undergoing simultaneously the most severe and most protracted misfortunes and tribulations. John is the spiritual director of his competent disciple, and throughout he is occupied principally in consoling, instructing, strengthening, congratulating her, till at times his letter assumes the proportions of a treatise expounding the psychology and the theology of adversity. He appeals to the native nobility of the character of Olympias, reminding her of his admiration for her deeds of valor and his consequent confidence in her under existing affliction. Exalted principles of conduct are emphasized, and she is instructed in the use of her intellect during the combat. Through compelling motivation her will is aroused and sustained, and the chastening, sublimating results of trial are vividly depicted. Often delightful touches of John's Greek culture and scholarship, which he did not disown in his later days, are in evidence, and even in his correspondence he is frequently the golden-tongued orator. In addition to cogent natural motives, the rich eternal reward subsequent to loving endurance, the strengthening example of the saints, of the Apostles, of Christ is kept before the mind of Olympias. And yet with all this motivation, the attentive reader will miss something and may be surprised, the more readily if he is familiar with Chrysostom's intimacy with St. Paul and his admiration for him. Unlike the Apostle, John scarcely alludes to the role of suffering in the Christian life as a continuation, a prolongation of the life of Christ in us. The doctrine of the mystical body is not stressed, and hence the participa-

tion of the Christ-life by His members is overlooked. If this forceful motive be annexed, the perusal of this correspondence will afford relief to the multitudes who today are undergoing so much suffering in mind as well as in body.

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D. J. M. CALLAHAN, S.J.

XIV. HIPPOLYTE: COMMENTAIRE SUR DANIEL. Introduction de Gustave Bardy. Texte établi et traduit par Maurice Lefèvre. 1947. Pp. 403.

The earliest extant Catholic commentary on a whole book of the Bible is that of Hippolytus on Daniel. It dates from 202–204, from the beginnings of his exegetical career, and is a creature of circumstance (pp. 9–18). For the Montanist preaching and the persecutions launched by the edict of Septimius Severus had turned the problem of the world's end into a veritable Christian obsession, especially at Rome. Eyes turned to Hippolytus, as the foremost defender of the faith at Rome and an eloquently simple preacher, a man at the peak of his fame who had already composed a work *On Christ and Antichrist*. His reply was the *Commentary on Daniel*, because no other book of the Bible is so charged with references to the world's last days. Despite the hypothesis of Bardenhewer and the direct approach to the reader, Bardy insists that the *Commentary* was not delivered orally before being written.

Discussing the exegesis of Hippolytus (pp. 19–54), Bardy attributes to him a threefold preoccupation: he is historian, moralist, and allegorizer. He is interested in history in so far as it forwards the understanding of the Bible. He experiences no difficulty in believing the inspired accounts, but, with history of value only as a preparation, his intense interest is in the prophecies and his predilection is for the prophecy of weeks.

His moral recommendations flow immediately from Scripture; for Daniel not only specifies the final catastrophe, but also gives encouragement and advice for the present. On the one hand, courage and confidence in God is its message to the persecuted; on the other, watchfulness and patience, for in Hippolytus' chronology the *parousia* will not take place before 300 years. He would have his hearers pray God not for a speedy coming, but that they may not see the day; Severus is enough without asking for Antichrist! We may note that Bardy can discover in the *Commentary* no trace of the millenarianism which Hippolytus may elsewhere have espoused. He does seem to see in the Church a society of saints, with no room for renewed forgiveness. It is perhaps regrettable that Bardy touches the latter problem as lightly as he does.

"In Christianity, more than anywhere else," declares Bardy, "allegorism is a necessity." He shows Hippolytus far removed by origin and temperament from the exaggerations of Ps.-Barnabas. But the book of Daniel is itself orientated towards allegorization. Hippolytus, however, is not content simply with the key furnished by the sacred author, and in some cases, as that of Susanna, his ingenuity leads to happy results. Bardy would accuse us of being picayune, were we to point out that the same character represents now one thing, now another. "An allegory ought . . . to be rich enough to group about a central theme all sorts of secondary images which serve to specify its traits and develop its meaning." Hippolytus' interest in numbers is unflagging. The tradition had come down from the Pythagoreans, through Oriental speculation and Philo; Daniel is rich in numerical indications; and Hippolytus improves upon Daniel. Symbolism lifts, e.g., the veil that shrouds the date of the world's end in mystery: according to the six days of creation, the world will last 6000 years, i.e., 500 after the birth of Christ.

The theology of the *Commentary* (pp. 54-63) gives no place to speculation, only to the belief of the Church. There is no hint of the schismatic to come. The fundamental dogma of faith is the existence of God. Of His attributes, Hippolytus underscores omnipotence. With the Father is the Word, to whom are attributed all the theophanies of the Old Testament, even the apparitions of the angels. When dealing with the Word incarnate, Hippolytus shows himself a faithful echo of Irenaeus. The third term of the Trinity is the Spirit, the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the prophets, commentators, and interpreters. The *Commentary* offers no serious handle for a charge of subordinationism.

The Greek text, attractively printed, is that of Bonwetsch (1897), save for preferable readings given by certain Greek fragments. The translation follows the Greek wherever possible, but with necessary recourse at times to the Old Slavic version. The notes help without overwhelming, and there are four indices: analytical, scriptural, proper names, and Greek words, the last-named unfortunately marred by a disproportionate number of mistakes in accent.

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WALTER J. BURGHARDT, S.J.

XV. ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE: LETTRES À SÉRAPION SUR LA DIVINITÉ DU SAINT-ESPRIT. Introduction et traduction de Joseph Lebon. 1947. Pp. 211.

It is not particularly easy to bring to life St. Athanasius, as a man, from his works. He was not a born writer (if there is such a thing); his intellec-

tual genius was not highly personal, nor greatly systematic, nor at all speculative; his general culture, though solid, was not exquisite or extensive. His greatness was of another order, that only inadequately comes to expression in literary work; it lay in his force of character, and in the indomitable firmness of his faith. He is in a sense the type of the "Father" of the Church—the man of faith. As such, he was indeed "the Great." And his writings are great because he put himself, in this sense, into them. But, in consequence, what one finds in his works is not so much the man as the faith; the man appears only as a flamelike conviction, an unwearying zeal for the truth.

From this point of view, Lebon's Introduction to the important *Letters to Serapion* is good; Athanasius himself hardly "comes through" it, but his faith, and the arguments for it, do. The author is known for significant studies on the text of Athanasius; and his competence is revealed in a rather exhaustive treatment of the literary problems raised by the *Letters*—their text, literary genre, authenticity, the distinction of the four letters, their chronology, etc. These are matters of specialized interest. Of greater value to the cultivated Christian who wants simply to read the *Letters* intelligently is Lebon's careful evocation of their immediate context—the error that caused Serapion (a man of distinction, Bishop of Thmuis) to initiate the correspondence, the reconstruction of Serapion's end of it, and the analysis of the content of Athanasius' replies.

The *Letters* are important because they mark the first entrance into public discussion (probably at the time of Athanasius' third exile, in 356) of that prolongation of the Arian error which was the assertion that the Holy Spirit was merely a creature. Our knowledge of the error is meager; Lebon very nicely assembles the known details. The error seems at the time to have been confined to Serapion's own diocese; it arose in certain fairly cultivated Christian circles, antinicensine in tendency, as the result of a reaction against the doctrinal excesses of Arianism, that, however, did not quite carry these men over into complete orthodoxy; they still "arianize" with regard to the Holy Spirit. The existence of such a group—doubtless men of good will, but confused, and not a little obstinate—in the highly diversified camp opposed to the Nicene doctrine is entirely understandable. The fact that they seem to have been orthodox in their doctrine on the Son explains, from a polemic point of view, Athanasius' insistence on the illogicality of their position, by his repeated use of the argument that the situation of the Spirit in relation to the Son is the same as that of the Son in relation to the Father; the Spirit, therefore, is not a creature.

Lebon explains the reasons why Athanasius sustains the primarily negative thesis, "The Holy Spirit is not a creature"; apart from polemic reasons,

there is Athanasius' resolute maintenance of scriptural perspectives and language; the Scriptures, in fact, do not apply to the Holy Spirit the name "God." There follows a rather lengthy exposé of Athanasius' doctrine, in its complete orthodoxy, that is, however, not yet fully developed. The demonstration is grouped under three headings: the existence of the Holy Spirit within the Godhead, His relations with the two other Persons, and His mode of origin. On this last point Athanasius remains strictly within the affirmations of Scripture, on the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father; the further development of the dogma is only implicit in his thought.

The special purposes of *Sources chrétiennes* are perhaps less fully achieved in this Introduction. Nevertheless, it is a valuable theological essay, that would admirably serve the purposes, for instance, of a seminar in the theology of the Holy Spirit.

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JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY, S.J.

XVI. ORIGÈNE: HOMÉLIES SUR L'EXODE. Traduction de P. Fortier S.J. Introduction et notes de H. de Lubac, S.J. 1947. Pp. 274.

P. de Lubac resumes his penetrating study of Origen's exegesis with a thorough treatment of the so-called spiritual sense. He opens the discussion by analyzing "the triple sense of Scripture" (pp. 9-33). All historians of Origen recognize the fact that he distinguishes in the Bible a threefold sense. They do not always perceive that Origen understands and applies his tripartite division in two different ways. Mode I, more immediately conformed to the scheme outlined in *De Principiis*, embraces the following senses: (a) historical, the narration of facts or the text of laws; (b) moral, the application to the soul, without necessarily interjecting any Christian idea; (c) typical or mystical, relative to Christ, the Church, all the realities of faith. Mode II seems at first almost identical with the former: (a) historical, as above, with reference to Jewish matters; (b) mystical, relative to Christ and the Church; (c) spiritual, relative to the soul. But the spiritual sense of Mode II is utterly different from the moral sense of Mode I. In both instances there is question of the soul. The moral sense, however, treats of the soul in itself; the spiritual sense deals with the "anima in Ecclesia," in the bosom of which are reproduced, actually and on the individual level, the mysteries shown forth historically and on the social level in Christ and His Church. The spiritual sense deepens the mystical sense, interiorizes it, completes it by applying it. The mystery of Christ, prefigured by the history of the Old Testament, attains its plenitude in the Christian soul.

Origen delights to compare the threefold sense of Scripture to the human

trichotomy: body, soul, spirit. Hence the "corporeal," "psychic," "pneumatic" senses. Yet the obvious Platonic prejudice is balanced by a Christian independence. His tripartite distinction is not a simple "application of psychology to hermeneutics"; it emanates still more consciously from reflection on Scripture. The triple sense of Mode I is presented as a means of outstripping Philo, for it culminates in the Christian mystery. Mode II is integrally based on this mystery, totally independent of Philo. Here the human trichotomy is inadequate; here the soul is the spouse of the Logos as the whole Church is the spouse of Christ. Origen's supreme master in exegesis is Jesus: "It is of me that Moses and the prophets spoke."

To understand the Law spiritually is to pass from the Old Testament to the New, from history to mystery. Here Origen is inexhaustible; this is what gives to his exegesis a noble unity. The conclusion is pointed by De Lubac: Origen is very sober on the essence of his symbolism, if not in the unfolding of his symbols. His ingenuity, virtuosity, and subtlety are extreme, but always at the service of that one profound intuition, the relation of the letter to the spirit, the Old to the New, trite to us today, but a subject of ceaseless astonishment to the third century: the *one* spiritual sense, Christ and His prolongation, the Church.

Even the New Testament offers a mystical sense; even the Gospel has a letter that kills. De Lubac realizes that *De Principiis*, taken at face value, would strip many Gospel events of reality. But he finds Origen's actual treatment reassuring; he sees in the theory of "transformation of episodes" and "corporeal falsity" simply what we might call stylization or a pliant historicity. In seeking a hidden sense, Origen does not deny the facts. Nevertheless the typical sense does serve him as an expedient for resolving difficulties—actually not without danger for the integral preservation of the letter. The essential for Origen, however, is this: just as each object of the Old Testament was a sign of the New, so each object of the New, each earthly accomplishment of Christ, in fact the whole Christian economy, is a sign orientated towards a reality in the world to come, so that the New Testament is intermediary between the Old Law and the "eternal Gospel." There are three Testaments, three Paschs, three Peoples.

De Lubac's next step is entitled "Histoire et Èsprit" (pp. 34-52). Origen's symbolical construction is reared, in principle, on the soil of the historical. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of a genuine historical sense, of history in any modern acceptation. But De Lubac believes it would be intemperate to say that Origen had no idea of an historical development of revelation; time, he saw, is indispensable for perfection. One exception. Dazzled by the grandeur of Moses, swept away by controversy, Origen at-

tributed to the religious geniuses of Israel a wisdom and understanding equal to that of the Apostles; Moses, e.g., grasped the hidden meaning of all that he wrote.

The meaning of history, however, is not wed exclusively to the idea of development. It embraces, too, the before and the after, the concept of the central role played by certain all-transforming acts. The heart of Origen's doctrine is the creative power of the coming of Christ. The Christian meaning of history affirmed by Origen implies a consequence, the understanding of which will specify, if not correct, some notions of the spiritual sense expressed in previous pages of the Introduction. With the Christian event the Law has become spiritual. But it is not so much our understanding that passes from letter to spirit; it is primarily the things themselves. Christ came not to show the profound meaning of Scripture, but to create it by an act of omnipotence, His death and resurrection. Since Christ Scripture has lost, in a way, its literal sense; the death of the letter is the birth of the spirit. Historically considered, precisely as ancient, the first Testament is not objectively susceptible of a spiritual interpretation. True, the Gospel makes the Law understandable, but then Scripture is eyed from the viewpoint of God and His eternity, not from that of man and his earthly history; no longer in its temporal composition by a human author, but in its permanent inspiration transcending all time, in the divine intention.

In sum, Origen's exegesis is an effort to assure the passage from story to spirit. His aim is not to eliminate history but to "understand" it—an attitude that sunders him from Philo, for whom history has no finality and consequently no "sense." Origen is not a modern historian, interested in the past as past, but he did possess and appreciate, De Lubac insists, that sense of history which is one of the essential categories of Christian thought. The preparation has passed; the prefiguration remains. What happened, happened for others; the text that relates it was drafted for us. In sacred usage we read the Bible not as a document of the past, but in the Spirit of the New Testament—hardly a misconception of history. Further, the history is not only mediatory; its whole role is "to pass." To be understood in its spirit, the content of the New Testament should give way to a movement of transcendence. The spirit is not discovered save by anagogy. History is not simply a figure of other histories, but a figure of the intelligible, of the whole sphere of the kingdom of heaven. To this order is the history ordered.

We come now to "the foundations of the spiritual understanding" (pp. 52-75). To say that there is a spiritual sense in the Bible is equivalent in Origen's view to saying that the Bible is inspired. Origen, moreover, does

not see biblical truth as a simple absence of error. Scripture partakes of God's Truth. That imposes itself, if we regard not merely Him who inspires it but Him also whom it announces. The spirit of Scripture is the Holy Spirit; the word of God which is Scripture is, in its essence, the Word. For Scripture is like a first incarnation of the Logos. This double relation of Scripture to the Word and the Spirit is a pledge of its profound unity; all is unified in the one only Logos to whom the one only Spirit leads. To understand the history means to unravel progressively the one spiritual sense—concretely, Christ.

From this master-idea of scriptural unity flow a procedure and a principle. The procedure: "spiritualiter spiritualia comparantes." Clarify one Testament by the other, one book by another, one text by a second. From the historical point of view such a method seems to multiply the arbitrary. But this human arbitrariness, De Lubac notes, is not as detrimental as feared, by reason of the divine sense which it desires to disentangle. Deceptive for the historian, it is frequently fruitful for the believer. What Origen recommends basically is St. Paul's analogy of faith. The principle: there is a double inspiration, for the Spirit who inspired the composition inspires the interpretation. The true exegete is the Paraclete. The reading of Scripture, guided by the analogy of faith, is itself based on the living rule of the Church.

Origen sees the understanding of Scripture as a gift, rather a question of purity of heart than facility of mind. In the face of obscurity he asks humility. His absolute faith in a spiritual sense does not involve a canonization of his own efforts to discover it. Reserved and modest in proposing his personal views, he envisions his exegeses not as the very intelligence of Scripture, but merely as "intelligentiae spiritualis exercitia." All in all, his minute procedure, fantastic and naive though it appear at times, has something very natural about it—the desire to incarnate his intuition in an infinity of details, all of which will more or less express the dominant idea. All we can do for the present is produce a germ of intelligence, for our knowledge is still partial and precarious. One day we shall partake of God's sublime understanding in the perfect contemplation of His Scripture, His Word.

Origen's doctrine of the spiritual sense embraces Scripture, the soul, and the universe. There is a congeniality between Scripture and the soul; what we call in Scripture "spiritual sense," we call in the soul "image of God," both constituted by Christ. Soul and Scripture clarify each other. The same divine breath brought both to birth, and the same divine face gleams in both, for in both the same substantial Word resounds.

After the soul it is the universe which should form the subject of spiritual reading. Once again there is a deep-seated identity; Scripture is like another



world, constructed on the model of the first, composed like it of the visible and the invisible. In both the light of the Word sparkles, and the visible reveals the invisible. There are many "logoi," only one Logos. The Augustinian tradition will complete this doctrine by specifying the role played by the Bible, "that other world" given to sinful man to help him recover the meaning of the world. "But already in Origen the idea of the intelligence of Scripture finds its consummation in that of a universal symbolism which furnishes its framework and as it were its final justification." In both "worlds" God is the author of the least details; in both obscurities lurk; both bear the imprint of Wisdom.

All in all, it is an entrancing introduction to Origen. The scholar will doubtless find flaws and the pedant will cavil. Few will fail to pay tribute to Père de Lubac, and through him to Origen, for revealing so warmly how theology and spirituality may wed, must wed, to the deathless advantage of each.

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XVII. BASILE DE CÉSARÉE: TRAITÉ DU SAINT-ESPRIT. Texte grec, introduction, traduction et notes de Benoit Pruche, O.P. 1947. Pp. vii + 286.

Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto* is essentially a defense of the faith, a justification of the divinity of the Spirit against the Pneumatomachi. With the *Letters* of Athanasius to Serapion it constitutes the source par excellence of the theology of the Third Person, a theological work of astonishing influence in East and West. Pruche's long Introduction (104 pages) opens on "Le climat du traité" (pp. 1-12). He sketches the occasion of this work begun in 374, finished at the close of 375—the demand that Basil justify his doxology, "Glory to the Father, with the Son, *with* the Holy Spirit," and his decision to treat thoroughly the problem of the Spirit. He shows us Basil in full maturity, paints his physical and moral features, notes his limitations, sees in him above all a bishop. He outlines the moral, economic, political, and religious milieu, all adding up to critical years for Basil, with especial emphasis on the οὐσία—ὁπόστασις conflict then splitting Orient and Occident.

There follows a fascinating exposé of "L'économie" (pp. 12-39). Strangely enough, in this work devoted to the divinity of the Spirit, Basil never declares that the "Holy Spirit is *God*." In fact, this specific doctrinal reticence was Basil's normal procedure. Pruche finds its inspiration in the conduct of Athanasius towards the semi-Arians; in his eyes men like Basil

of Ancyra, fearful of Sabellianism, afraid that *ἁμοούσιος* says too much and confuses the Persons, are enemies in terminology alone. Basil, for his part, realizes that "the whole Church is breaking up . . . and there is a great shipwreck." If he proclaims baldly the divinity of the Spirit, all will be lost—his freedom, his church, the feeble of his flock. He therefore admits to communion whoever will confess that the Spirit is not a creature. Athanasius and Gregory of Nazianzus term this the "economy" of Basil, admire it, defend it. His purpose—to arrest heresy and strengthen weakness—was blessed with success, and his "economy" may well have the tacit approval of the Church in the Symbol of Constantinople. But the more menacing attitude of the Pneumatomachi, the development of the heresy, forced Basil to modify constantly his policy of silence. What began with a purely negative declaration of principle on the nature of the Spirit ended in an affirmation equivalent to consubstantiality. Here are the progressive stages: (1) deny that the Spirit is a creature; (2) do not separate Him from Father and Son; (3) include Him with Father and Son in a "same" glorification. For Basil *ἁμότιμος* is based on *ἁμοούσιος*, and is actually an equivalent expression; and the Pneumatomachi knew it. To this conclusion—*ἁμοσιμία* (consubstantiality unmentioned but always subjacent)—*De Spiritu Sancto* forges on relentlessly.

"La structure du traité" (pp. 39–63) begins by indicating the progression of Basil's thought, the organization of his ideas, the grouping of several themes around that central motif, the legitimacy of his doxology. It closes with a glimpse at his style. But the heart of this section is an analysis of his theological method. For at the time of our treatise Basil found himself in possession of a method of theological investigation which he employed consciously, with remarkable poise, and impressive flexibility. We can but outline the principles which that method obeys. (1) "To speak of God' is first to seek conformity with certain data of faith which it is imperative to recognize, at least *in globo*, at the outset of the discourse. Within this datum thought will stir without cease, yet never able to lose sight of it, for the purpose is to explicit the datum, defend it, make it as intelligible as possible, and thus arrive at the clearest, most precise perception of the notions from which one has set out, in order to arrive at 'contemplation' of the mysteries of faith" (p. 61). The theologian works with the human, with human language which speaks to him of God (in *De Spiritu Sancto* it is a single syllable: *σὺν*), but always in the perspective of life's end, the God of whom he speaks. (2) The data of theology are primarily scriptural, but (3) not isolated from the tradition of the Fathers and the unwritten practice of the

Church. In fact, the exclusive source of Christian doctrine is the word of God communicated by Scripture, such as "the Ancients" or "the Fathers" have understood it and the living faith of the Church has interpreted it. (4) Besides being the authorized interpreter of Scripture, tradition has a second function: it is the qualified artisan of theological construction, with the task of opening up, specifying, elaborating the primary data of Scripture and so of sweeping the understanding to the "contemplation" of faith. (5) Ever conscious of the hierarchy of sources, the theologian may make prudent use of the purely profane doctrine and dialectic developed by the wise of this world. In this connection Pruche shows how Basil profited from Plotinus on the process of Christian deification through the Spirit; the inspiration is undeniable, the orientation is original.

The fourth section of the Introduction, "Thèmes doctrinaux" (pp. 63-94), singles out for special study two themes more purely Basilian: (1) The Spirit, "source of sanctification," as "intelligible Light" deifies the soul by progressive illumination in granting it participation in His own light to render it "spiritual" like Himself. (2) The Spirit, "Breath come forth from the mouth of God" in ineffable wise, is thereby distinguished from the Son, perfect "Image" begotten by the Father. Pruche concludes the section with a discussion of Basil's originality. "St. Basil seems to us vigorously nourished by the doctrine of St. Athanasius, particularly the *Letters to Serapion*, the first above all. But this doctrine, thoroughly assimilated, long meditated, served him as point of departure for fruitful developments still more profound which make him truly 'original.' In particular he opened the way to a theology of the procession of the Holy Spirit by way of 'Breath' exhaled by God. He grasped the sanctifying role of the Spirit in really new perspectives—doubtless the prolongation of insights of Athanasius; yet ideas like those of perfection, sanctification, 'deification' implied therein are met with again unified on a loftier level, where the mysterious operations of the Holy Spirit originate, through a mode of causality reserved to Him, in the bosom of the indivisible and inseparable action of the three divine Persons, 'unique Principle of all that is.' If he was inspired by the image dear to the Bishop of Alexandria—the Holy Spirit, illuminative Power of the Son—he revealed its hidden treasures and reared on it a theory of the Spirit-Illuminator that was extremely exact and of undoubted originality, and so brought to the doctrine of deification new worth and enrichment" (pp. 93-94).

The text reproduced is that of the Maurists (as reprinted by Sinner and Jahn in 1839) with corrections from the edition of C. F. H. Johnston (1892). Pruche argues against Erasmus for the authenticity of the later chapters, and he does well; Erasmus was drawing a rather fine bow. Pruche lists the

manuscripts used by the Benedictines and Johnston for their editions, and closes the Introduction with a decidedly useful select bibliography. And yet the climax of an intriguing piece of research is surely the lexicon of principal Greek words employed in the treatise; covering twenty pages, it is a dictionary in miniature.

*Woodstock College*

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XVIII. ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE. CONTRE LES PAÏENS ET SUR L'INCARNATION DU VERBE. Introduction, traduction et notes de P. Th. Camelot, O.P. 1947. Pp. 322.

The special interest that has always attached to these two works (really one) warrants their inclusion in *Sources chrétiennes*; they are the only works of Athanasius that antedate the Arian crisis of 323. Written when he was probably in his late twenties, they are a sort of licentiate essay, in which the young theologian gives testimony at once to the soundness of his education and to his own special, as yet not fully developed, gifts. He is still writing according to the rules of a decadent rhetoric, which, however, do not entirely throttle the native eloquence of heart, born of a convincingly triumphant faith, that will later give its special accent to his pages. He shows how he has personally assimilated the lessons of these whom he calls his "blessed masters," Justin, Origen, Irenaeus, others perhaps unknown; and he shows, too, occasional flashes of original insight. The young deacon of Alexandria, who suddenly leaped to prominence in 325, was clearly a man of intellectual and spiritual maturity.

Camelot's Introduction is very good, excellently suited to the purposes of *Sources chrétiennes*. There are some well-written and erudite pages on preliminary matters—Athanasius himself, the date of this work, its text, its style. And the rather full exposé of the content of the work in its two parts (whose unity is well indicated) takes constant account of the provenance of Athanasius' ideas. The refutation, from rational sources, of polytheism and idolatry, which forms the subject of the *Contra Gentes*, appears as definitely second-hand. In speaking of the origins, development, interpretation, and falsity of idolatry, Athanasius restates traditional positions. There are, however, some personal notes, as for instance, in his interest in the psychological origins of idolatry, his views on the natural immortality of the soul, etc.

The second treatise, *On the Incarnation of the Word*, is the more interesting, especially in its development of the answer to the famous Christian question, "Cur Deus homo?" Camelot succeeds very well in situating the thought of Athanasius, indicating his possession of traditional clarities, and also the

questions that he leaves unanswered (pp. 67, 81), because they had not yet been asked. It is extremely interesting to view the synthesis of soteriology possessed by a young theologian of the early fourth century, and see the categories in which it is framed, and then to compare it with the synthesis presented to the modern undergraduate. In the Greek tradition, Athanasius accents the renewal of humanity, the renovation of the image of God in man, by the fact of the Incarnation; however, he is likewise sure on the notion of redemption, the payment by the death of Christ of our debt. He makes important what is not a modern theme in his development of the Incarnation as designed to restore to man the knowledge of the true God. And he is enthused by the great Pauline theology of the resurrection; the Cross is for him, as for the Fathers in general, a glorious mystery. Sorrow and death are not, as it were, its face, but its reverse; it is not so much a mystery of death as of triumph over death. In these perspectives, too, Athanasius develops the great Greek themes of incorruptibility and immortality as the Christian heritage; our redemption was a "vivification." This aspect of it gives to Athanasius' faith that marvelous conquering quality, so striking in the age when the Church was emerging from the catacombs, bringing newness to an old pagan world, expelling its demons, overthrowing its idols, bringing forth from hearts made young the lovely fruits of purity and charity. Athanasius delays with delight over this "proof" of the resurrection—the transformations it has effected in the world and in the human soul. The moral fecundity of Christianity was, of course, a central thesis of the apologists; but none of them linked it as closely as Athanasius to the great theological principle that dominates the treatise *On the Incarnation of the Word*—the presence and life of Christ in the Christian. The Christian is more than the disciple of a peerless Master; he is one in whom the mysterious purpose of the Incarnation has been wonderfully verified: "The Word became man in order that we might become God." This idea of the "divinisation," the "verbification" of the Christian by the Word made flesh will later become the pivot of Athanasius' argumentation against Arius. Clement of Alexandria first broached the idea; but Athanasius was the first to give it its proper dimensions in Christian thought and life. Their outline is already grasped in the work of his youth.

Camelot concludes his highly successful Introduction with a brief, select bibliography; other literature is indicated in the notes, which are normally short and in character *ideengeschichtlich*.

XIX. HILAIRE DE POITIERS: TRAITÉ DES MYSTÈRES. Texte établi et traduit avec introduction et notes par Jean-Paul Brisson. 1947. Pp. 176.

Brisson's stated purpose is to reset this recently discovered *Treatise* "in the ensemble of Hilary's work, to examine its method, and to situate it in the exegetical work of the fourth century, the more exactly to appreciate its proper value" (p. 8). Part I, therefore, deals with "Le milieu et le genre" (pp. 7-14). Brisson sketches the career of Hilary, emphasizing the struggle against Arianism as the dominant feature of his life, and his place as one of the artisans of intellectual unity between East and West. "It is at the point where that current begins to expand which led to the creation of a Christian thought proper to the Church Universal and no longer merely to some churches, that the *Treatise on Mysteries* inserts itself" (p. 10). The *Treatise* is not sacramental but exegetical. In its conciseness and rapidity it contrasts with the ensemble of exegetical work of the time, including Hilary's own. A select number of episodes is expounded, from Genesis and Exodus, Josue and Osee, at times so briefly as to verge on obscurity; expected conclusions are not drawn; the development is chronological rather than logical; the great problems of interpretation are left aside. Here *tractatus* means a written work not previously delivered by word of mouth, while Hilary's use of *libellus* suggests a précis of spiritual exegesis for the faithful.

The second stage of Brisson's Introduction is an effort to draw Hilary's "Méthode et doctrine" on the interpretation of Scripture not merely from several principles propounded expressly in the *Treatise*, but especially by following his concrete procedure in the *Treatise* and by utilizing other of his exegetical works (pp. 14-41). We shall simply cull main conclusions. (1) Hilary sees in the Old Testament essentially an ensemble of figures which represent spiritually the historical realities of the life of Jesus in His mortal, glorious, or Mystical Body. To appreciate the nuances of Hilary's figuratism, Brisson enters upon a valuable lexicographical excursus to establish the Latin words used by Hilary to render those two essential terms in the vocabulary of spiritual exegesis, *τύπος* and *ἀντίτυπος*. (2) In his application of the principle, viz., that the meaning of the Old Testament figures can be grasped only by considering them in the light of the Gospel, there is unity and variety. Variety because, save for rare passages where the New Testament gives a clear interpretation of the Old, the exegete is guided only by his docility to the inspirations of the Spirit; unity because beneath all this is the same process of comparison—persons, facts, texts. (3) Hilary rejects not the literal sense but an exegesis which refuses to outstrip the letter. The historical episodes are, in a way, the foundation of the figurative sense. In

fact, Hilary denies that all Scripture has a spiritual sense. (4) The Old Testament is really but one great figure, whose many refinements trace progressively from the origins of humanity the stages of the life of Christ in the Church. The Old Testament is a pedagogy of humanity unto the complete revelation. For Hilary the two Testaments are one.

"Tradition et originalités" in the *Treatise* come next on Brisson's agenda (pp. 41-60). He shows that many of Hilary's interpretations are to be inserted into the tradition of spiritual exegesis which was born with the Church, found its principle and application in St. Paul, had its grand principles formulated ever so clearly by Irenaeus, echoed and re-echoed through Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Cyprian, Novatian, and Zeno of Verona. Internal criticism has persuaded Brisson that, at least for the *Treatise*, Hilary's sojourn in the East was not as decisive for the orientation of his exegesis as has been believed; the principle of figuratism, and many of the interpretations, had been adopted before his exile. Primarily from a fundamental difference in exegetical method, Brisson concludes "with sufficient probability that, if the influence of Origen has been exercised on our *tractatus*, it was not in preponderant fashion, but merely on points of detail and specifically where Origen is inserted most faithfully into tradition" (p. 53). Hilary's exegesis is more Christological and ecclesiological, Origen's more moral and mystical; Hilary's more historical, Origen's more allegorical. In the historical events of the Old Testament Hilary seeks the figure of other historical events accomplished in Christ and His Church, while Origen searches for the image of transcendent realities. Without excluding a direct use of Irenaeus, Tertullian, or Cyprian, Brisson finds it highly probable that Hilary was more eager to follow Origen, where he found him in harmony with tradition. At all events, he believes, it is to the traditional element that we must assign the greatest role in the study of the sources of the *Tractatus*.

To reveal the originality of the *Treatise* is to situate it in this tradition. Hilary desired to discover to us, with the help of selected examples, the meaning of the whole Old Testament. The *Treatise* is interesting (1) as an effort of systematization not attempted before, and (2) as an attempt to put at the disposal of preachers (and so of the faithful) a broad view of the Old Testament which would enable them to situate each *lectio divina* in the general context of figures intended to announce to us the secret plans of God. To Brisson the originality of the *Tractatus Mysteriorum* appears to consist in this, that it constitutes a meeting-point for traditional exegesis in all its simplicity and the learned exegesis of East or West; Hilary "has enriched the former with the substance of the latter as far as the immediate profit of the faithful permitted" (p. 59).

Dealing finally with the text itself (pp. 61-70), Brisson begins with the manuscript tradition. Then he proposes reasons, against Wilmart and Feder, for relegating to an appendix a text preserved by Berno of Reichenau, while referring it to a lost *Liber Officiorum* and making all reservations on the Hilarian authorship of the fragment. Brisson recognizes the vagueness of his conclusions as to the text used by Hilary for his scriptural quotations, but the citations do witness a Latin version of the Bible used in the Church of Gaul in the middle of the fourth century.

Text and translation are followed by an index of scriptural citations, another of biblical names, and a third of technical terms. Of Brisson's Introduction we may say truthfully what he himself has indicated of Hilary's exegesis: scholarship has enriched tradition without withering it.

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