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 978-1-107-58601-7 - Origen's Doctrine of Tradition
 R. P. C. Hanson
 Excerpt
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INTRODUCTION

THE DATE AND ORDER OF ORIGEN'S WORKS

IN order to determine as far as we can the date and order of Origen's works, we must first establish the dates of the main events of his life. Eusebius tells us (*H.E.* vi. 2) that Origen's father Leonidas was martyred when Laetus was governing Alexandria under Severus, and that at that time Origen was seventeen. This would mean that Origen must have been born in 186¹ and his father martyred in 203.² By 204 he was presiding over the Catechetical School. Daniélou has some interesting remarks on this school.³ The school-teaching which Origen took on when he sold, as Eusebius tells us (*H.E.* vi. 3), his secular books was not that of a general school of the liberal arts, such as Gregory describes him as keeping later in Caesarea, uniting the study of philosophy and of Scripture, nor was it delivered to a group of disciples imbibing and spreading outwards the influence of their master, such as he probably conducted while he was in Athens much later, and such as was probably conducted by Clement of Alexandria and by Pantaenus, his master, before him. But it was with a Catechetical School in the strict sense, for the instructing of catechumens before baptism, that Origen, young as he was, must have been entrusted, in default, perhaps, of any other through persecution. He was probably the first to be thus officially the head of a Catechetical School in Alexandria.⁴ Eusebius tells us (*H.E.* vi. 19) that Origen, some time before he left Alexandria, handed the teaching of the catechumens over to Heraclas, and confined his teaching to the more advanced pupils.

¹ Halévy puts Origen's birth at 186 ('L'Origine de la Transcription', etc., pp. 335-41). Daniélou puts it at 185, and Leonidas' martyrdom at 202 (*Origène*, p. 22).

² So Lawlor and Oulton, Vol. II, p. 192. We can disregard, with Eusebius, Porphyry's statement that Origen was brought up a pagan. See *H.E.* vi. 19.

³ *Origène*, pp. 25-6, 29; he is relying mainly on an article by Bardy in the *Revue Biblique* (2e série, pp. 84ff.).

⁴ Bishops entrusted learned laymen with such an office, and thence developed the order of *lector*; there is some reference to this in Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* (12).

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A letter of Origen quoted in *H.E.* vi. 19 and Eusebius' comments on it make it clear that what Origen then ran was a sort of Christian University, where the teaching included references to pagan philosophy and to the doctrines of heretics.

Not long after 204 Origen must have performed his act of self-castration,¹ and at about the same time he converted from heresy Ambrosius, who was to become his life-long friend and patron.² He visited Rome with Ambrosius,³ probably in 212, though Cadiou would date this visit 210–11.⁴ Cadiou also quotes S. Jerome as saying, in his *De Viris Illustribus* LXI, that at Rome Hippolytus greeted Origen among his hearers during a lecture.⁵ He wants to place Ambrosius' conversion during this visit.⁶ Bardy, however, agrees with Lawlor and Oulton in dating the visit 212.⁷ A visit to Arabia shortly after this (*H.E.* vi. 14) may be dated 214.⁸ Further we are told (*H.E.* vi. 16) that Origen found a copy of the 'Sixth' or 'Seventh' versions of the Psalms in a jar in Jericho in the time of Antoninus, the son of Severus, which suggests 215 as the date of Origen's first visit to Palestine, and to Caesarea in particular (mentioned in *H.E.* vi. 19).⁹ Then in 232¹⁰ Origen left Alexandria finally, was ordained presbyter in Palestine, visited Athens for the first time, and later Asia Minor, and settled at Caesarea in Palestine. The authority for this is *H.E.* vi. 23, which dates Origen's ordination by the accession of Pontianus to the see of Rome, and of Zebinus to that of Antioch. There is also *H.E.* vi. 26, which, speaking of Origen's move to Caesarea, says ἔτος δ' ἦν τοῦτο δέκατον τῆς δηλοουμένης ἡγεμονίας (i.e. Alexander Severus'), which brings us to 232. This is confirmed by the statement, also in *H.E.* vi.

¹ Lawlor and Oulton, p. 194, place this in 210 at latest.

² *H.E.* vi. 23. See Lawlor and Oulton, pp. 213–14.

³ *H.E.* vi. 14, 16. See Lawlor and Oulton, pp. 201, 203–4.

⁴ *La Jeunesse d'Origène*, p. 62.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 84.

⁷ G. Bardy, 'La Règle de Foi d'Origène', p. 167.

⁸ Lawlor and Oulton, p. 201. Cadiou would date this 214 or 215 (*La Jeunesse d'Origène*, p. 107).

⁹ Lawlor and Oulton are ambiguous here. On p. 201 of their work they date this first visit to Palestine as 'c. 216', yet on pp. 203 and 206 they date it as 215. Rauer apparently dates it 216 (Introduction to his edition of the *Commentary* and *Homilies on Luke*, pp. xiii–xv).

¹⁰ So Lawlor and Oulton and Field (*Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt, Praefatio et Prolegomena*, p. 1). Denis (*De la Philosophie d'Origène*, p. 390) dates it 231, Cadiou (*La Jeunesse d'Origène*, p. 392) 230–1.

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26, that 'not long after' Demetrius was succeeded by Heraclas as Bishop of Alexandria, having been bishop for forty-three years. Now *H.E.* v. 22 tells us that Demetrius became bishop in 190, so this would put his death, very appropriately to this scheme of dating, at 233. Lawlor and Oulton point out¹ that the only evidence for Origen's return to Alexandria after his visit to Greece mentioned in *H.E.* vi. 23 (a return assumed by several scholars)² is the statement of Photius, apparently based on Rufinus' translation of Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen*, that Origen was ordered to depart from Alexandria. Jerome merely says *damnatus*, not 'banished' (*Epistle xxxiii*).³ It is much easier to reconcile what we know of his journey with the assumption that when Origen left Alexandria for this journey he left it for good, having appointed Heraclas as his successor in the Catechetical School. He cannot have left Alexandria earlier than 230, the date of Pontianus' accession (*H.E.* vi. 23); he was ordained presbyter in Caesarea (*ibid.*); he held a debate with a heretic in Athens, staying in Athens long enough for a garbled account of the debate to have reached Alexandria before he returned to Palestine,⁴ and with another heretic in Antioch. Moreover the news of his ordination must have had time to reach Alexandria, and to cause Demetrius to write a new series of letters to bishops against him (in addition to a former series mentioned in *H.E.* vi. 19). All this would hardly leave time for Origen to return to Alexandria and be expelled by 232. Anyway, Eusebius nowhere says that Origen was *expelled*, only that he left; and Origen's own reference in the *Commentary on John* says 'we were rescued from Egypt' (ἐξαιλικύσθημεν: vi. 2). Again, it was probably on his journey to or from Athens that Origen had an interview with the Empress Mammaea at Antioch (*H.E.* vi. 21). This interview took place in the reign of Alexander Severus (which is all that the ἐν τούτῳ of *H.E.* vi. 21 implies). Some scholars would place it in 218, but Mammaea was not then the Emperor's mother, as Eusebius calls her, but his aunt, because Elagabalus was then on the throne.⁵ Now, it is known that Mammaea was at Antioch in the

¹ Op. cit. pp. 218–19. ² E.g. Cadiou, *La Jeunesse d'Origène*, p. 372.

³ But a later council under Demetrius degraded Origen from the priesthood. See Cadiou, op. cit. p. 392.

⁴ Fragment of a letter of Origen quoted in Rufinus' Epistle prefixed to Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen* (*P.G.* xvii, 624–5).

⁵ Cadiou (op. cit. pp. 334–8) suggests 224–5 as the best date for this interview, for he thinks that it coincides with the commencement of the *Commentary on*

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winter of 232 with her son. Eusebius does not say that Origen went to the interview from Alexandria or returned to Alexandria from it. He may have gone there from Caesarea, or on his journey back from Greece.¹

It is probable that between the years 235 and 237, during the persecution of Maximin, Origen was staying in Caesarea in Cappadocia with (for at least part of his stay there) Firmilian its bishop (see *H.E.* vi. 27). Eusebius tells us that Origen gained some of Symmachus' writings (ὑπομνήματα) from a certain Juliana, who had received them from the hands of Symmachus himself (*H.E.* vi. 17). Lawlor and Oulton believe² that these writings could not have been Symmachus' translation of the Old Testament. They argue thus: Palladius in his *Lausiaca History* says that Origen received these writings from Juliana in Cappadocian Caesarea when he was in hiding 'from the hostility of the Greeks', and he quotes a note by Origen himself found in a very old book. 'The hostility of the Greeks' is an ambiguous phrase, but it may well have been from the hostility of pagan persecutors that Origen was hiding, and if we assume that it was, we can best date this residence in Cappadocia as 235–7. This makes it impossible that the writings of Symmachus gained from Juliana should have been his version of the Old Testament, because Origen uses that version in a note on Psalm 4. 1,³ and we know that his *Commentary on Psalms 1–25* was written before he quitted Alexandria (see below). The five years' residence with Origen at Caesarea of Theodorus, also called Gregory (by others, not Eusebius, called Thaumaturgus), is best placed after the persecution of Maximin, as we know that Gregory was born in 218 and visited Caesarea when he was about twenty. Lawlor and Oulton⁴ date this visit 238–43 (see *H.E.* vi. 30).

In the years 243 and 244 must be placed Origen's second visit to Athens,⁵ which must have been a fairly long one, considering the amount of work Origen did there (see below, p. 15).⁶ And during this

John, on the strength of a reference in that work to an absence of Origen from Ambrosius and a return: μετὰ τὸ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα κεχωρισθαι ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλων (I. 2). Daniélou (p. 34) apparently puts it in 218.

¹ See Lawlor and Oulton, pp. 219–20.

² *Op. cit.* pp. 204, 230.

³ *P.G.* xii, 1132–3.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 221–2.

⁵ Lawlor and Oulton, p. 224.

⁶ Koetschau for some reason dates this visit 240. See the Introduction to his edition of the *Concerning Prayer*, p. lxxvii. But if we accept Lawlor and Oulton's suggestion concerning Gregory's residence with Origen, this date is an unlikely one.

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period we can with probability place Origen's contact with two eminent pagan scholars, Plotinus and Longinus. The relation between Origen and these two is one of the thorny questions of Origenistic scholarship, and we must set out here some of the evidence. It almost all derives from Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*. In this *Life* Porphyry tells us¹ that Plotinus was in Persia with the imperial armies when the younger Gordian was murdered there. This took place in 244. Plotinus thereupon made his way to Rome. Then Porphyry has a paragraph which mentions Origen: Ἐρεννίῳ δὲ καὶ Ὀριγένει καὶ Πλωτίνῳ συνθηκῶν γεγνηκότων, μηδὲν ἐκκαλύπτει τῶν Ἀμμωνίου δογματικῶν, ἃ δὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροάσεσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκεκάθαρτο, ἔμεινε καὶ ὁ Πλωτίνος συνὼν μὲν τισὶ τῶν προσιόντων, τηρῶν δὲ ἀνέκπυστα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου δόγματα. Ἐρεννίου δὲ πρώτου τὰς συνθήκας παραβάντος Ὀριγένους μὲν ἠκολούθει τῷ φθάσαντι Ἐρεννίῳ, ἔγραψε δὲ οὐδὲν πλὴν τὸ περὶ τῶν δαιμόνων σύγγραμμα, καὶ ἐπὶ Γαλλίηνου ὅτι μόνος ποιητῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς. There is of course in this no actual statement that it was in Rome that Origen met Plotinus. Rather the assumption is that they both studied under Ammonius in Alexandria (as indeed we know that at least Plotinus did earlier), and there made this agreement not to divulge Ammonius' teaching. Then, considerably later in the *Life*,² during a description of Plotinus' life in Rome, Porphyry mentions Origen again: Ὀριγένους δὲ ἀπαντήσαντός ποτε εἰς τὴν συνουσίαν πληρωθεὶς ἐρυθήματος ἀνίστασθαι μὲν ἐβούλετο, λέγειν δὲ ὑπὸ Ὀριγένους ἀξιούμενος ἔφη ἀνίλλεσθαι τὰς προθυμίας, ὅταν εἶδῃ ὁ λέγων ὅτι πρὸς εἰδότης ἐρεῖ ἃ αὐτὸς μέλλει λέγειν· καὶ οὕτως ὀλίγα διαλεχθεὶς ἐξάνεστη. Though this again does not actually say that Origen met Plotinus on this occasion in Rome, the inference is strong. It is, however, very difficult indeed to imagine when the two could have met in Rome, as Plotinus did not go there till 244 or 245, and Origen, as far as we know, did not go there after 211. It should be remembered that Porphyry (as he tells us himself)³ did not meet Plotinus till long after Plotinus came to Rome—to be precise, in the tenth year of Gallienus (263), when Porphyry was thirty, by which time Origen must have been dead for nearly ten years. The memory of the incident of Origen's meeting Plotinus, as related to Porphyry, presumably by Plotinus himself, might well have become blurred.

Later still in his *Life* Porphyry quotes from a Preface of one of the

¹ Sect. 3, p. 8.

² Sect. 14, p. 14.

³ Sect. 4, p. 7.

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books of Longinus, in which the author mentions among contemporary philosophers Πλατωνικοί μὲν Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ὠριγένης, οἷς ἡμεῖς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου προσεφοιτήσαμεν, ἀνδράσι οὐκ ὀλίγω τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εἰς σύνεσιν διενεγκούσιν.¹ Longinus lived from c. 213 to 273. He studied at Alexandria and taught for thirty years at Athens before going further east for a more adventurous life which was to end with his execution after the fall of Zenobia.² Where could he have for some considerable time sat at the feet of Ammonius and Origen, as he tells us he did? Ammonius no doubt he attended in Alexandria, and conceivably that is where he frequented Origen's school too. But this is not a very likely conjecture, because Longinus must have been at the most nineteen when Origen left Alexandria for good. Athens is a much more probable place for the meeting of Longinus and Origen, either in the year 232, when Origen first visited it, or, much more probably, in 244 and 245. We know from the letter already referred to³ that on his first visit to Athens Origen gave lectures attended by, among others, heretics, and that he was treated as something of a celebrity there. It is easy to imagine that Origen gave lectures which non-Christians could attend, of a philosophical nature, during his second stay at Athens, and that Longinus attended them. We may also with some confidence conjecture that it was at Athens and at this period (244–5) that there occurred this meeting between Plotinus and Origen described by Porphyry. The route from Persia to Rome would almost certainly lie through Athens for a man such as Porphyry, and he may well have spent some time lecturing there before going on to Rome. The question of the philosophical treatises ascribed by Porphyry and Longinus⁴ to Origen will be discussed later. It is perhaps enough to claim at the moment that an encounter of Origen with Plotinus in Athens in 244 or 245 would put the final nail into the coffin of the legend of 'Origen the pagan'.

Somewhere towards the end of the reign of Gordian,⁵ Origen paid

¹ Sect. 20, p. 19.

² See the article 'Longinus, Cassius' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1937 ed. The author apparently believes in the myth of 'Origen the pagan'.

³ See p. 3, n. 4.

⁴ Later in this same Preface (Sect. 20, p. 19) Longinus has the phrase, referring to Origen and the philosophers of his class, καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι τούτων γέγραπται τισιν, ὥσπερ Ὠριγένει μὲν τὸ περὶ Δαιμόνων.

⁵ Lawlor and Oulton, p. 224, suggest 244.

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his second visit to Arabia, mentioned in *H.E.* vi. 33, to recover Berullus, Bishop of Bostra, from heresy. Gordian reigned from 238 to 244, so we shall have to place this visit before the second visit to Athens, and therefore in 243 or 244. About 248 Origen paid his third visit to Arabia, mentioned in *H.E.* vi. 37, in order to bring back to the faith some heretics who were erring concerning the fate of the soul after death.¹ In 249–50 Origen suffered as a Confessor during Decius' persecution (*H.E.* vi. 39). By 254 he was being attacked, according to Denis,² by Eustathius of Antioch for his tendency to allegorize. We are told by Eusebius that Origen died some time during the reign of Gallus (251–3), aged sixty-nine. Photius, on the other hand,³ alleges that Pamphilus, in his *Apology for Origen*, said that Origen died in Caesarea during the Decian persecution, but that others said that he survived 'till the reign of Gallus and Volusianus', and died in his sixty-ninth year in Tyre. Migne points out in a footnote⁴ that Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 37) says that Origen survived Decius' persecution, as his letters written after it testify. Photius mentions these letters, but is not sure of their authenticity. Eusebius collaborated with Pamphilus in the *Apology*, and yet says nothing of the story of Origen's death during the persecution, so that, even though the relevant part of the *Apology* does not survive, we may dismiss Photius' statement as a wrong reading of Eusebius. But his other tradition, placing Origen's death in Tyre, may be right, for we have independent evidence that he was there at the end of his life. Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 19) quotes quite a long passage from Porphyry about Origen (and there can be no question whatever about this being Origen the Christian) in the course of which he says: ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ κἀγὼ κομιδῆ νέος ὢν ἔτι ἐντετύχηκα, σφόδρα εὐδοκίμησαντος καὶ ἔτι δι' ὧν καταλέλοιπεν συγγραμμάτων εὐδοκίμοῦντος, παρειλήφθω, ὠριγένους, οὐ κλέος παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτων τῶν λόγων μέγα διαδέδοται. The place where Porphyry is most likely to have met Origen is in Porphyry's native town of Tyre⁵ and the most likely date is about 253, when Porphyry would have been about twenty or twenty-one, which answers well to his

¹ See below, pp. 17, 18.

² *De la Philosophie d'Origène*, p. 408.

³ Quoted by Migne, Preface to Rufinus' translation of Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen* (*P.G.* xvii, 536–7), from *Biblioth.*, codex cviii.

⁴ *P.G.* xvii, 535.

⁵ That Porphyry came from Tyre we know from his *Life of Plotinus*; see, for instance, Sect. 21, p. 21.

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description of himself as κομιδῆ νέος.¹ We may therefore with fair probability say that Origen moved to Tyre before his death and died there. But we cannot adopt Eusebius' dating, 'the reign of Gallus', if we are to put Origen's birth at 186 and maintain that he died at the age of sixty-nine, or if we are to take seriously Porphyry's statement that he wrote his treatise *That the King Alone is Creator* during the reign of Gallienus.² One cannot read Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* without being struck by the fact that the author is taking great care with his chronology, greater care than one could ever imagine Eusebius taking. I believe, therefore, that we can on this occasion trust Porphyry rather than Eusebius, especially since Porphyry actually met Origen at the end of his life, and assume that Eusebius made a mistake and for 'Gallus' should have written 'Gallienus', and that Photius in his 'till the reign of Gallus and Volusianus' is simply reproducing what he found in Eusebius.³ It is reasonable, then, to place Origen's death at Tyre, not in 253, but about 255.⁴

Eusebius (*H.E.* vi. 24) gives us a list of Origen's works which were written before he left Alexandria for Caesarea. This includes the first five books of his *Commentary on John*, the first eight books of his *Commentary on Genesis*, a *Commentary on Psalms 1–25*, the *Concerning First Principles*, the *Commentary on Lamentations*, and his *Stromateis*. This last Jerome describes as Origen's first work in point of time, and he adds that *On the Resurrection*,⁵ which is not mentioned by Eusebius, was his second.⁶ Contrary to the statements of several scholars, Eusebius gives no direct information concerning the order of Origen's early works. He merely says ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ ὠριγένηι τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφᾶς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγένετο ἀρχή (*H.E.* vi. 23), and goes on to

¹ The *Life*, Sect. 4, pp. 6–7, tells us that in 263, when he met Plotinus, Porphyry was 30.

² See above, p. 5.

³ Incidentally, Porphyry could not be calculating Gallienus' reign from the moment that he gained sole power (260), but from his association in power with Valerian (263), for he tells us that he met Plotinus in Rome in the tenth year of Gallienus. Gallienus only reigned alone for eight years.

⁴ Cadiou (*La Jeunesse d'Origène*, p. 257n.) says that, 'selon l'opinion la plus commune', Origen died about 252, and that this was the view of Valois. Redepending gave the date as 254, Baronius as 256.

⁵ Parts of this work can be recovered from Methodius' attack on Origen and Pamphilus' *Apology for Origen*.

⁶ See Denis, p. 390.

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describe how Ambrosius urged Origen to this task and supplied him with labour. The ἐξ ἐκείνου is a very vague indication of date, and must not be pressed too closely. Most scholars agree that it means about 218, but nobody can be sure.¹ Then, a little later (vi. 24), Eusebius gives us the list, already mentioned, of Origen's works which were certainly written before he left Alexandria to reside in Caesarea. But he does not give us any further indication of their date or order, except that he says of the *Stromateis*: κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου συντάττει βασιλείαν, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο ὀλόγραφοι δηλοῦσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν τόμων ἐπισημειώσεις.² This means of course that if we accept the date 218 as that intended by the phrase ἐξ ἐκείνου, Jerome's statement that the *Stromateis* was Origen's first work cannot be accurate, as Alexander Severus did not begin his reign till 222.

Cadiou places *On the Resurrection* about 215, and he would assign the same date to Origen's *Commentary on Lamentations*, because of the resemblance of its theology to that of the *Commentary on Psalms*, and its appropriateness to a period when Origen had just seen Jerusalem for the first time.³ Neither point, of course, supplies a very accurate indication of date. Koetschau agrees with Cadiou in so far as he places *On the Resurrection* (which he calls 'eine Art von Vorarbeit zu de *Principiis*') before 218. With this, he argues, are consonant both the close connection between the *Concerning First Principles* and *On the Resurrection* and the fact that Origen seems to have left off studying Hebrew under a Jewish master some little time before writing this work; Eusebius tells us that it was in the reign of Caracalla (who died in 217) that Origen studied thus.⁴ Of the *Commentary on Lamentations*, Klostermann, its editor, can say no more than that it was written before 231.⁵ Cadiou places the *Commentary on Genesis* next after *On the Resurrection*, and the *Stromateis* (a work putting theological and

¹ Daniélou's statement (p. 36), 'À partir de ce temps, nous dit Eusèbe, Origène lui aussi (comme Hippolyte) commençait les commentaires sur les saintes Écritures', is too confident.

² Koetschau has pointed out that the chronological indication can apply only to the *Stromateis* and not to the other works mentioned in this passage. See his Introduction to the edition of the *Concerning First Principles*, p. x.

³ *La Jeunesse d'Origène*, pp. 115–16, 119.

⁴ See Koetschau's Introduction, p. xi; *H.E.* vi. 16; *Concerning First Principles* i. 3, 4 and iv. 3. 14.

⁵ Introduction to his edition of the remains of this work, pp. xxxviii, xxxix.

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philosophical ideas side by side without strict order, in imitation, perhaps, of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromateis*) about 222.¹

Next in order Cadiou places the two philosophical treatises mentioned by Plotinus and Longinus,² *That the King Alone is Creator* and *Concerning Demons*, on the grounds that this is the only time, shortly after the completion of the philosophical *Stromateis*, that Origen is likely to have written purely philosophical treatises. The difficulty is that, as we have seen, Porphyry says that the former of these was written during the reign of Gallienus. A further difficulty is created by the fact that Longinus in the Preface already referred to classes Origen among the philosophers who preferred teaching their disciples orally to writing, and seems to imply that the work on demons was his only published one. Porphyry appears to support this when he says in the passage from the *Life of Plotinus* quoted earlier:³ 'But he wrote nothing except the *Concerning Demons* and, in the reign of Gallienus, *That the King Alone is Creator*.' It is difficulties such as these which have given rise to the desperate theory of 'Origen the pagan'. Porphyry, however, could not possibly have thought that Origen wrote nothing more than these two philosophical works, as his references to Origen in the earlier part of the passage quoted by Eusebius in *H.E.* vi. 19 show, and his very evident dislike, observable in the same passage, of Origen's habit of allegorizing. It is not, I think, too strange an hypothesis to assume that where Plotinus and Longinus refer to Origen's works as if he only wrote one or two, they intend his *purely philosophical* works, and do not mean their words to apply to his specifically Christian and theological works. We have no really sound reason for doubting that Origen did write these two philosophical works, or that the second of them must be placed in the reign of Gallienus, about 253. We might allow Cadiou the *Concerning Demons* as a work of Origen's earlier days as a writer, or we might place it late in Origen's life with the other. We can certainly heartily agree with him in exploding 'Origen the pagan'.⁴

The *Commentary on Psalms 1-25* Cadiou places between 214 and 218, making it Origen's first work. With Harnack, Cadiou imagines that Eusebius (in *H.E.* vi. 23, 24) implies that the *Commentary on John* was the first of Origen's commentaries, and that in this Eusebius was

¹ *La Jeunesse d'Origène*, pp. 248, 249. ² See above, pp. 5, 6 (n. 4).

³ See above, p. 5.

⁴ See *La Jeunesse d'Origène*, pp. 252-6.