# Philo in Early Christian Literature

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SECTION I II

JEWISH TRADITIONS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE



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HALAKHA IN THE LETTERS OF THE APOSTLE TO THE GENTILES
Peter J. Tomson

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A SURVEY
David T. Runia

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David T. Runia

# Philo in Early Christian Literature

A Survey

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*to my very dear father-in-law*
***the Reverend J. W.** Deenick,*
*who many years ago gave me his* ***Suicerus***

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# Preface

Most introductory accounts of the writings and thought of Philo of Alexandria reserve a little space, usually at the end, in order to point out that his works were preserved through their reception in the Christian tradition. If their survival had been left in the hands of his fellow Jews, these precious documents would have been lost to posterity, together with almost the entire heritage of Alexandrian Judaism. While I was doing research for my doctorate on Philo's use of Plato's *Timaeus,* this aspect of the reception of his writings and thought increasingly began to intrigue me. The rivalry between the Church and the Synagogue from the very start of the Christian movement is well-known. Why did the Christians take the trouble to preserve the works of this particular Jewish writer? What did they find in them that they found attractive and useful? Did these writings come to exercise any influence on the development of Christian thought? When I looked for answers to these questions, I found that the whole subject had received no more than a cursory and scattered treatment in the scholarly literature. If one wished to learn more about this theme, there was no satisfactory account to which one could turn. So I began to do some initial research on the subject.

Some time afterwards, in 1987, I was approached by Peter Tomson and Pieter van der Horst, members of the Advisory Board of this series. They asked whether I would be prepared to contribute a monograph on the theme of Philo's reception in the Christian tradition. In the light of my research plans it seemed only logical to accept the invitation, yet I was very hesitant. The terrain was dauntingly vast, requiring investigation into numerous authors and works, beginning with the New Testament and going right through into the Byzantine and Medieval periods. How could one expect to cover this entire field with any degree of competence, especially when much of the pioneering work was yet to be done? These misgivings were countered by a fruitful suggestion. Tomson suggested that the best course would be to aim at a survey of the subject, based in the first place on the results of existing scholarship, which could be augmented by my own findings, and could also give some pointers in the direction of further research on the subject. I found the suggestion attractive, and the result is this book. The background I have outlined will explain why secondary literature assumes a greater prominence in my study than is normally the case. Many a time I had to resist the temptation to delve more deeply into in-

triguing aspects of my theme, in the knowledge that if I did not press on, the aims that had been set for me would not be attained.

The study is divided into four parts. In Part One I give the background that must be presupposed for our subject: the legend of Philo Christianus, the fate of his writings, the methodology to be used in this study, the aspects of Philonic thought that are of particular relevance to our theme, and finally a brief sketch of the general development of scholarly research. In Part Two Philo's reception in Greek-speaking authors will be examined, beginning with the New Testament, the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists, then moving on to Alexandria, and from there to Palestine, Asia Minor and Byzantium. Our investigation will concentrate on authors writing up to 400 AD. The treatment of authors later than this date will be rather cursory. The subject of Philo in Byzantium will remain almost entirely unexplored. In Part Three we pass on to the authors of the West who wrote in Latin. Here too we concentrate on the period up to 430 (the death of Augustine), with only a brief look at the subsequent period. In Part Four a number of general conclusions are reached on the basis of the findings of the survey and some pointers are given for further research. We end with a final look at the place of Philo as a Jew in the Christian tradition. In an Appendix a complete list is given of all the direct references to Philo that have been located in the Church fathers. Here the cut-off point is 1000 AD. The majority of these texts have been discussed in the main body of the book.

Now that my study have been completed it is a great pleasure to be able to thank all the scholars and institutions who have assisted me in its preparation. I begin with the two scholars already mentioned, P. J. Tomson (Brussels) and P. W. van der Horst (Utrecht), who encouraged me to write the book and guided me during the years of research and writing. I thank them too for offering valuable suggestions during their reading of the manuscript. Other scholars who read drafts of parts of the study were G. J. M. Bartelink (Nijmegen), A. P. Bos (Amsterdam), A. van den Hoek (Harvard), J. van Oort (Utrecht), L. van Rompay (Leiden), G. E. Sterling (Notre Dame), K.-H. Utheman (Amsterdam), J. J. S. Weitenberg (Leiden), R. McL. Wilson (St. Andrews), J. C. M. van Winden (Leiden). These scholars were able to assist me in the areas of their special expertise and saved me from numerous errors. Another group of scholars was generous in assisting me with various kinds of bibliographical information: Tj. Baarda (Amsterdam), M. Baltes (Münster), R. van den Broek (Utrecht), H. Crouzel (Toulouse), H. Daiber (Amsterdam), C. Hammond Bammel (Cambridge), J. Mansfeld (Utrecht), E. F. Osborn (Melbourne), J. R. Royse (San Francisco), J. Whittaker (Newfoundland). I would like to add a special word of thanks to my friend Roberto Radice (Milan), whose bibliographical labours were often the starting point of my investigation, and who supplied me with copies of various *rariora Philoniana* from his splendid collection.



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Leiden
Easter 1993

# List of abbreviations

(a) General abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ANRW | Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt |
| Biblia Patristica | AA. VV., ***Biblia Patristica, 5*** vols. and Supplément (Paris 1975-1991) |
| C-W | COHN, L. – WENDLAND, P., ***Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt, 6*** vols. (Berlin 1896-1915) |
| CCG | Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca |
| CCL | Corpus Christianorum Series Latina |
| CPG | GEERARD, M., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, **5** vols. (Turnhout 1974-87) |
| CPL | DEKKERS, E., ***Clavis Patrum Lutinorum*** (Steenbrugge 19612) |
| cscо.ss | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Scriptores Syri |
| CSEL | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum |
| ET | English translation |
| G-G | GOODHART, H. L. – GOODENOUGH, E. R., 'A General Bibliography of Philo Judaeus', in GOODENOUGH, E. R. ***The Politics of Philo Judaeus: Practice and Theory (New*** Haven 1938; repr. Hildesheim 1967) 125-321 |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte |
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| PG | Patrologia Graeca, ed. J. P. MIGNE |
| PL | Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. MIGNE |
| PLCL | COLSON, F. H. – WHITAKER, G. H. – MARCUS, R., ***Philo of Alexandria in Ten Volumes (and Two Supplementary Vols.),*** Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge Mass. 1929-62) |
| PLRE | JONES, A. M – MARTINDALE, J. R. – MORRIS, J., ***The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. I A.D. 260-395*** (Cambridge 197 1) |
| RAC | Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum |
| RE | PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft |
| R-R | RADICE, R. – RUNIA, D. T. ***et al., Philo of Alexandria: an Annotated Bibliography 1937-1986,*** Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 8 (Leiden 1988, 19922) |



| | |
|---|---|
| SBL | Society of Biblical Literature |
| SC | Sources Chrétiennes |
| SNTS | Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas |
| SPhA | The Studia Philonica Annual |
| TLG | Thesaurus Linguae Graecae |

(b) abbreviations used for Philonic treatises

| | |
|---|---|
| ***Abr.*** | ***De Abrahamo*** |
| ***Aet.*** | ***De aeternitate mundi*** |
| ***Agr.*** | ***De agricultura*** |
| ***Anim.*** | ***De animalibus*** |
| ***Cher.*** | ***De Cherubim*** |
| ***Con templ.*** | ***De vita con templativa*** |
| ***Con.*** | ***De confusione linguarum*** |
| ***Congr.*** | ***De congressu eruditionis gratia*** |
| ***Decal.*** | ***De Decalogo*** |
| ***Det.*** | ***Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*** |
| ***Deus*** | ***Quod Deus ist immutabilis*** |
| ***Ebr.*** | ***De ebrietate*** |
| ***Flacc.*** | ***In Flaccum*** |
| ***Fug.*** | ***De fuga et inventione*** |
| ***Gig.*** | ***De gigantibus*** |
| ***Her.*** | ***Quis rerum divinarum heres sit*** |
| ***Hypoth.*** | ***Hypothetica*** |
| ***Ios.*** | ***De Iosepho*** |
| ***Leg.*** | ***Legum allegoriae*** |
| ***Legat.*** | ***Legatio ad Gaium*** |
| ***Migr.*** | ***De migratione Abrahami*** |
| ***Mos.*** | ***De vita Moysis*** |
| ***Mut.*** | ***De mutatione nominum*** |
| ***Opif.*** | ***De opificio mundi*** |
| ***Plant.*** | ***De plan tatione*** |
| ***Post.*** | ***De posteritate Caini*** |
| ***Praem.*** | ***De praemiis et poenis, De exsecrationibus*** |
| ***Prob.*** | ***Quod omnis probus liber sit*** |
| ***Prov.*** | ***De Providentia*** |
| ***QE*** | ***Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum*** |
| ***QG*** | ***Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim*** |
| ***Sacr.*** | ***De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*** |
| ***Sobr.*** | ***De sobrietate*** |
| ***Somn.*** | ***De somniis*** |
| ***Spec.*** | ***De specialibus legibus*** |
| ***Virt.*** | ***De virtutibus*** |

PART ONE

# Introduction

Chapter One

# Philo Christianus

## 1. *How Philo became a Church Father* honoris causa

Philo the Jew from Alexandria lived from about 15 BC to 50 AD. His life thus exactly coincides with that of Jesus, whose life and teachings led to the foundation of the Christian Church. It is hardly surprising that neither Jesus himself or the nascent Christian communities are mentioned in Philo's writings. He does tell us in one of his treatises that he used to travel to Jerusalem in order to pray and offer sacrifices,[1] so it is not entirely impossible that he was actually present in the city during the dramatic events of the end of Jesus' life, which are recorded in full detail in the New Testament and briefly alluded to by Josephus.[2]

Yet three centuries later Philo was regarded as an important witness to the beginnings of the Church, and by the end of the Patristic period he had virtually achieved the status of a Church Father. It is by no means rare that extracts from his works in the Byzantine *Catenae* are headed with the lemma Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου, Philo the Bishop.3 It was because of this process of 'adoption' that a large proportion of his writings have survived to this day. I wish to commence my survey of Philo's fate in the Christian tradition with a brief account of the story of Philo's Christianization.[4] This will form a valuable piece of background information to be borne in mind as we proceed through the centuries. In this chapter I will present the bare outlines of the story. Further aspects will be later filled in as we study the individual authors whose testimony is involved.

[1] *Prov.* 2.107.

[2] The superficial resemblances between the Carabas incident recorded by Philo in *Flacc.* 36-40 and the crowning of Jesus described in Matt. 27:27–31, Mark 15: 16-20, John 19:2–3 has often struck scholars; see Giordano (1974). On the controversial *Testimonium Flavianum* (Jos. *Ant. 18.6344* I have been persuaded by the observations in Schürer (1973-87) 1.428, which advocate its partial authenticity. Schreckenberg most recently, at Schreckenberg-Schubert (1992) 39, concludes that 'it could very well contain a genuine nucleus'.

[3] Cf. Royse (1991) 14-15 (with further references).

[4] Surprisingly no single study has collected together all the material on Philo's 'Christianization' in a manner that can easily be consulted. Best collection of details in Bruns (1973a); cf. also Conybeare (1895) 318ff., Billings (1919) l-3.

We can trace the gradual development of Philo's Christian status by accumulating the details as they occur in *testimonia* found in the Church fathers and other Christian sources.5 The first recorded witness to make an explicit connection between Philo and the Christians was Eusebius in his celebrated *Ecclesiastical History,* written at the beginning of the 4th century. Eusebius supplies the following pieces of information?

(1) Philo was a very learned Jew from Alexandria, who excelled in the fields of biblical study, general culture and philosophy (with special interest in the Platonist and Pythagorean schools) (2.4.2).
(2) Philo led an embassy to the Emperor Gaius at the time that the Jews were suffering on account of the crimes committed against the Christ (2.5.6).
(3) Philo in his *De vita contemplativa* is a witness to the way of life of the first Christians in Egypt, after Mark had begun to preach the gospel there (2.16-17).
(4) Philo is said to have met Peter in Rome during the reign of Claudius (2.17.1).
(5) Philo is said to have read his account of Gaius' impiety in the work Περὶ ἀρετῶν (On *the Virtues*)[7] to the assembled Roman senate, with the result that his works were admired and thought worthy of deposition in libraries (2.18.8).

Jerome, writing some 80 years later, in his account of Philo in the *De viris illustribus*, largely follows Eusebius, but adds the following new details?

(6) Philo was of priestly descent (§11).
(7) The meeting with Peter took place when Philo visited Rome a second time for an audience with Claudius;9 the two men formed a friendship, and this is why Philo was so favourably disposed to the followers of Peter's disciple Mark (§ 11, cf. §8 on Mark).
(8) There is proverb on Philo in circulation among the Greeks, ἢ Πλάτων φιλωνίζει ἢ Φίλων πλατωνίζει ('either Plato Philonizes or Philo Platonizes'), on account of the similarity of their doctrines and style (§ 11).[10]

5 Many of the texts cited in this section are collected and printed by Cohn-Wendland (1896–1915) 1.xcv–cxiii.
6 On Eusebius' historical and legendary information on Philo see further § 10.2. According to Martin (1988) 294 there is also a legend that Philo met the infant Jesus on his flight to Egypt, but I can find no evidence for this (it is not mentioned in the article of Bruns cited).
7 The work in 5 books, of which *Flacc.* and Leg. are parts; see further Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.859-864.
8 On Jerome and Philo see below §15.1.
9 This must be implied by the words cum *secunda vice venisset ad Claudium*. Perhaps there is a connection with Claudius' famous edict to the Alexandrians, not mentioned by Eusebius, but found at Jos. *Ant.* 19.280ff.
10 On the proverb see further below §11.5, 15.1 (where we argue that 'Greeks' refers to Christian Greek writers or theologians).



A years earlier Epiphanius, presumably on the basis of Eusebius, rather confusedly reports: 11

(9) Philo pays a visit to the community of the Iessaioi at Lake Mareotis, who are actually Christians. He is given lodgings, joins them in their customs, and attends their Pascha celebrations *(Adv. Haer.* 1.295).

Attention was drawn some years ago by Bruns to further legendary material in the *Acta Johannis* of Pseudo-Prochorus (dated to the 5th century):[12]

(10) Philo discusses the Law and the Gospel with the apostle John, but is not impressed until the latter heals a sick man. John enters Philo's house and heals his wife of leprosy. Philo asks pardon for his anti-Christian diatribes, is baptized and receives instruction for the rest of the day.

In the *Canons* of the Syriac author Maruta of Maipherkat, we find an account of the origins of monasticism containing a new detail:[13]

(11) The order of the monks had a different name in the time of the Old covenant, as is testified in the letters which Philo prepared for James, the brother of the Lord.

Also not well known is the remarkable report of the Armenian translator, probably written in the 6th century.[14] I give a paraphrase of the information it gives that is not found in the earlier tradition:

(12) Philo was a Jew of great wisdom, but it is not certain to which of the twelve tribes he belonged, for in fact at least two *diasporae* took place, one under the Persian kings, the other under Antiochus. On the latter the book of Acts informs us (cf. 2:5-13). Those Jews who disputed with Stephen were for the most part from Alexandria (cf. Acts 6:9), and Philo is believed to have belonged to their number (!). For at that time he was prefect of the city of Alexandria (!), and he was sent as an ambassador to Gaius Caesar, from whence he returned in ignominy (!).

Most interestingly another document by a Syriac author, Barḥadbšabba 'Arbaya, bishop of Ḥalwan in c. 600, relates Philo to the Christian school of biblical exegesis at Alexandria:[15]

11 On Epiphanius and Philo see further below § 11.4.
12 Text at Zahn (1880) 110.6–112.11, partially translated by Bruns (1973a) 142. Prochorus is meant to be a writer from Apostolic times (cf. Acts. 6:5). For the dating cf. Henneke–Schneemelcher (1965) 2.575, and now Junod-Kaestli (1983) 2, who argue with some force that the author is to be located in Syria, and perhaps more specifically in Antioch (but do not mention the inclusion of Philo). Bruns is perhaps a bit optimistic in thinking that original material of the legend is preserved here. As Zahn (1880) liv points out, the incident is set on Patmos, and it rather curious that Philo should be is presented as a literal interpreter of scripture. For another spurious reference to Philo's wife see Royse (199 1) 80.
13 Noted by Harnack (1899) 47. A recent translation is given by Vööbus (1982) 9.
14 On the date see below n. 128. I have not seen any discussions of this text, an extract of which is given by C-W 1 .cvi; full text in Aucher (1822) vii-xi.
15 *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools, 375.6-376.4;* text and French translation in Scher

(13) The director and exegete of the school was **Philo** the Jew, who mastered the art of allegorical interpretation and began to explain scripture by means of allegory to the detriment of the historical meaning of scripture.

Finally Photius in the 9th century, in addition to themes already mentioned, reports that: [16]

(14) **Philo** is said to have been initiated into the doctrines of the Christianity, but later fell away through grief and anger (***Bibl.*** 105).

From this brief overview it is clear that the legend of **Philo** Christianus had a wide circulation and contained a number of curious items of information. We should not, however, conclude that all Patristic writers who mention **Philo** accept these legends unequivocally and regard him as a Christian without further ado. The Church fathers whose testimony on **Philo** we will be analysing are well aware that Phi10 is a Jew who lived at the very beginning of the Christian Church. It will emerge in the course of our analyses that there are two ways of approaching **Philo** in relation to the Christian tradition. In the one **Philo** is seen as a Jew who, on account of the content and method of his exegesis, stands rather close to the Christian tradition and can be usefully adduced in its support (sometimes against contemporary Jews with whom the Christians are in combat). Less often **Philo** is portrayed as a Jew who fails to recognize the distinctive message of the Christian faith, and for that reason should be criticized, or even condemned. At a less sophisticated level we find the same double trajectory of a positive and a negative attitude in some of the legends outlined above. In Eusebius (l-5) **Philo** is not explicitly presented as a Christian, but he stands so close to the early Christians that his evidence is invaluable. In Epiphanius (9) and Jerome (6-8) he is close to conversion, while this step is actually taken in the reports given in Ps.Prochorus (10) and Photius (14). In **Barḥadbšabba** (13) **Philo** appears to retain his Jewish identity, but operates in a Christian educational environment. In the Preface to the Armenian translation (12) and Photius, however, the accounts end on a negative note. The implication is that even **Philo** cannot shake off Jewish recalcitrance.

Not all the material set out above is necessarily legendary in character. The historical veracity of the information on **Philo's** priestly descent, for example, has recently been defended with considerable verve by **Schwartz.**[17] Also the report of the deposition of **Philo's** works in Italian libraries may just possibly have a historical basis.[18] But it is clear that the details that

(1907). For the full text of this remarkable passage, brought to my attention by my colleague L. van Rompay, see below §12.5. The author also implicitly connects **Philo** with the Arian heresy; see further below § 11.2.

16 *Bihl.* 105, *2.7* 1.40–72.26 Henry.

17 Schwartz (1984).

18 See below §1.4, §14.3 on the thesis of Lucchesi.



specifically concern Philo's interaction with early Christianity are legendary in character, and spring from the desire of early Christian apologists to relate the beginnings of their movement to important and distinguished representatives of Greco-Roman society, including famous members of the Jewish communities of the **time.**[19]

From Eusebius' formulation of his account it is apparent that the legend of **Philo** Christianus predates him. The story of his meeting is introduced with the words ὃν καὶ λόγος ἔχει ***(2.17.1).*** Bruns argues that the phrase indicates a written source, but this view is too rigorous, since the phrase need not mean more than 'tradition maintains'.*0 If it was an identifiable source, who can it have been? It is not likely to have been Clement or Ammonius of Alexandria, Bruns argues, since Clement nowhere gives any inkling that he knows of this legend, and it is not likely that Ammonius should know what was unknown to Clement.21 The only other remaining candidate is Hegesippus (***flor.*** c. 170), of whom Eusebius writes that he collected much material in 5 books on the Apostolic age which the Church historian was able to exploit (4.8.2).[22] But in the very same year that he published his article new evidence appeared, namely Morton Smith's discovery of a mysterious letter of Clement of Alexandria, which does not mention **Philo** (although it may quote from him), but does record that Mark arrived in Alexandria from Rome and composed his Gospel there.23 Thus if the letter is genuine, at least this part of the account was known to Clement. Just before Eusebius introduces the legend about **Philo** he relates a story about Peter and Mark's Gospel, the source of which is explicitly said to be the ***Hypotyposeis*** of Clement (2.15.2).[24] Moreover it is ***a priori*** likely that the source of the legend was Alexandrian. So, contrary to the conclusion reached by Bruns, I think it probable that the beginnings of the legend of **Philo** Christianus are to be located in a lost work of Clement, the first Church father explicitly to record **Philo's** name.

19 See the list given by Bruns (1973a) 144 n. 23.

20 Ibid. 141; **the** evidence given in his note is not strong. Note that the same phrase is used of Pantaenus at **5.10.1.** It occurs in all 11 times in the work. The conclusion on 144 that the various elements of the **Philo** legend are to be traced back to this source seems somewhat precipitate. It is likely that accretions **occurred** as time went by.

21 *Ibid.* 144. Ammonius, who appears to have been a contemporary of Origen, wrote a work entitled Περὶ τῆς Μωυσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας (Eus. *HE 6.19.10).*

22 *Ibid.* 144. Grant (1980) 68, however, does not include the Philonic material among what he thinks Eusebius took from Hegesippus.

23 Smith (1973) 446-452; Mark's arrival in Alexandria at line 19; cf. also Griggs (1990) 19-21. On the possible quote from QG 4.67 cf. Smith (1973) 54. Grant (1980) 51, 72 agrees that Clement was probably Eusebius' source.

24 On this lost work cf. Quasten (1950-86) 2.16-17, **Méhat** (1966a) 517-522; the description in Photius ***Bibl.*** 109 gives the impression that it may have contained Philonic material.

## 2. How *Philo* fared in later Pagan tradition

Cohn and Wendland begin the *prolegomena* to their monumental and still unsuperseded edition of Philo's writings with the following words:[25]

> The preservation of Philo of Alexandria's writings, which were almost entirely neglected by Jews no less than by pagans, was wholly dependent on the Christian Church. When Philo's ethical doctrines and his method of interpreting the Old Testament were seen to be in close agreement with the sacred scriptures of the Christian Church, his works were enthusiastically and diligently read and taken over by ancient ecclesiastical writers.

Can this judgment, which after all was made almost a hundred years ago, still be regarded as valid?

Two ancient pagan authors have regularly been regarded as having had some acquaintance with Philo's writings, the philosophers Numenius and Plotinus.26 The Neopythagorean Numenius hailed from Apamea in Syria and the date of his *floruit* is thought to be the mid-2nd century.[27] We may be certain that he was interested in Jewish traditions, as indicated by his well-known statement that Plato was nothing but a 'Moses who spoke in Attic', his allusion to Gen. 1:2, and four other possible references to aspects of Judaism.[28] Origen, countering Celsus' scathing attack on preposterous Christian allegories, mentions Philo and Numenius in the very same paragraph. The difficulty, however, is the lack of primary evidence, since most of Numenius' works have disappeared. Whittaker, though defending the view that Numenius could have descibed his highest god with the Septuagintal title ὁ ὤν, nevertheless takes a conservative position on the relation between Philo and Numenius: 'that Numenius was familiar with the writings of Philo has not been proven, but his sympathy with the syncretistic approach practised by the Alexandrian Jew is not in doubt'.29 Other scholars such as Waszink and Van Winden are prepared to be more positive in their appraisal, and regard it as almost certain that Numenius had actually read Philo.[30] A strongly dissenting position has recently been

[25] C-W1.i (my translation from their Latin).
[26] I regard Calcidius as a patristic author, see further § 13.3.
[27] Cf. Dillon (1977) 361, who notes that contact with philosophical circles in Athens or Alexandria is uncertain.
[28] Fr. 8, 30 Des Places; cf. also fr. 1, 9,10, 13, 56. The material is conveniently assembled at Stern (1974-84) 207–220.
[29] Whittaker (1978) 145; cf. (1967) 197ff. Other scholars who are inclined to be careful are Nock (1943) 77, De Lange (1976) 16, Dillon (1977) 378-379.
[30] Waszink (1966) 50, Van Winden (1965) 123 (both authors are interested in the sources of Calcidius, cf. below §13.3). Other positive views at Harl (1966a) 153, Baltes (1975) 257 n. 67, Des Places (1975a, b), Radice (1991) 133. Particularly emphatic is the verdict of Praechter in his famous handbook (1920[11]) 585: 'Ohne Zweifel war er mit Philon und iiberhaupt der



taken up by Edwards, who opts for a minimalist view and regards the interest that scholars think Numenius to have had in Judaism highly exaggerated.3' If Eusebius, ever on the lookout for material to support the theory of *praeparatio*, had found passages with more explicit and more sympathetic views on Judaism, he would have included them. Edwards does not pronounce on the relation to Philo.[32] One might equally argue that the *combination* of Judaism and Platonism in Philo *would* appeal to the philosopher. The speculative nature of Edwards' accumulated arguments does no more than demonstrate the difficulties caused by lack of evidence.

In the case of Plotinus, a century later, the problem differs, because we are in possession of his entire *œuvre*. Was Plotinus acquainted with the writings of the Jewish exegete-philosopher who had lived two hundred years earlier in the same city where he himself sat at the feet of his teacher Ammonius Saccas? Here too the question has given rise to scholarly controversy. In a recent article devoted to the question I have given a brief *status quaestionis*.[33] It emerges that in the first half of this century, no doubt under the influence of the *Religionsgeschichliche Schule*, many attempts were made—by scholars such as Norden, Jonas, Pohlenz, Bréhier, Puech-to relate Plotinus' philosophy to currents of 'oriental thinking', whether this be Gnosis, Gnosticism, Judaism or even Indian thought. That there was some connection can hardly be denied, as Merlan has shown at least in the case of Judaism.[34] But this approach has gone out of fashion, largely-it would seem to me-due to the powerful influence of Festugière. In his great study on the *Corpus Hermeticurn* and Greek philosophy he attempted to show that various later doctrines, among which the unknowability of God is a prominent example, are the results of *autonomous* developments in the history of Greek philosophy, and that no assumptions of oriental influence are required to explain them. A fine example of this paradigm-change can be seen in the discussion on the origins of the Plotinian doctrine on the Logos. In his 1940 dissertation A. H. Armstrong had stated?

> If we are to look for a source for the conception . . . outside Plotinus' own thought, it is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance to the Logos of Philo... [The] resemblances by themselves would not be so striking. They could be explained by the common philosophical heritage of the two thinkers, and especially by their dependence on the Stoic tradition. What seems to bring

jüdisch-alexandrinischen Theosophie wohl vertraut. Aber bemerkenswert bleibt, daß er als Nichtjude die gleiche Ansicht vertritt wie Philon.'
[31] Edwards (1990); cf. esp. 68 on Origen and Eusebius.
[32] Contra Edwards (1989), where he rejects a 'Philonizing' use of God as ὁ ὤν.
[33] Runia (1991b) 36-42.
[34] Merlan (1963-64); see the appendix on Plotinus and the Jews.
[35] Armstrong (1940) 107-108, cf. also 70-74; note that Armstrong had earlier (1936) published an article in which he argued against Bréhier's view that Plotinus was influenced by Indian philosophy.

> Plotinus in these treatises very close to Philo is the fact that his Logos is, more than any other hypostasis in the *Enneads*, presented simply as an intermediary between the Divine and the material world. In the same way the Logos of Philo is simply an intermediary between God and the material creation... If we are to look for any external source for the doctrine, it seems that the only resemblance to it in the work of any earlier thinker is to be found in Philo's description of his Logos.

This conclusion is strongly attacked by Rist in his 1967 monograph on Plotinus. 'Logos', he points out, is an extraordinarily ambiguous term in ancient philosophy and Armstrong's account of its role both in Philo and Plotinus is not exact enough.[36] Together with other modern scholars, Rist minimizes the connections between Philo and Plotinus, arguing that similarities are due to the common relation to the Middle Platonic tradition.37 Rist ends his short discussion with a most interesting comment:38

> So far the evidence that Plotinus knew Philo is at best inconclusive. And there are more general considerations. Who did read Philo in antiquity? As far as one can tell, the only people to do so were Jews and Christians or at least persons interested in Judaism. Numenius may have read him; on *a* priori grounds at any rate Plotinus did not.

Here, in the frank admittance of an *a priori* position, the Festugière paradigm overplays its hand. Given Plotinus' strong intellectual curiosity and the contact he had with Gnostics and Christians, the burden of proof might well be thought to rest on those who *deny* that he would have taken the trouble to read at least some of Philo's work, to which-in Alexandria at least-he will have had easy access.39

The extent to which Philo actually exerted influence on Plotinus' thought is quite a different matter, and is difficult to adjudicate on account of the immensely thorough way in which he absorbed and reshaped the work of his predecessors. In my article I gave a case-study of these difficulties by examining a theological theme that occurs in Philo, Numenius and Plotinus, namely the conception of God as the 'One who stands' (ὁ ἑστώς). The emphasis on this theme is marked in Numenius, yet finds no convincing parallels in Middle Platonism, whereas in Philo there are at least 15 texts where

[36] Rist (1967) 99-101; cf. also the careful statement by Chadwick (1967) 145, and the learned note at Boot (1984) 2 1.

[37] Cf. Dodds (1932) 3 10; Schwyzer (195 1) 575f.; Winston-Dillon ( 1983) 285f. As so often there is a divide between philologists and philosophers, with the latter more prepared to see influence in the transmission of ideas; e.g. Elsas (1975) 98, 117, 121, 204f. in his discussion of Plotinus' relation to Gnosticism. A differing line is taken by the Patristic scholar Crouzel (1956) 33: 'Mais l'hellénisme païen n'a pas été sans subir à son tour l'influence de la Révélation, dans le Moyen Platonisme en la personne de Numénius, dans le Néo-Platonisme sur Plotin, par l'intermtdiaire de Philon et peut-être d'Ammonius Saccas.'

[38] Rist (1967) 101.

[39] See the conclusion at Runia ( 199 I b) 52.



either God or the wise man are described as ὁ ἑστώς or ἑστώς.[40] In Plotinus the theme appears in two important passages in his treatise 6.9, On *the Good or the One.* I argue that, although these texts on their own cannot prove that Plotinus read Philo, they do become more comprehensible if the Philonic background is taken into account, as probably transmitted through Numenius. In his *Life* of *Plotinus* Porphyry informs us that Plotinus used to have Numenian commentaries read out loud as part of his school curriculum, and he was even accused by some of plagiarizing Numenian doctrines.41

So far the conclusions are hesitant and limited: apart from a specific but untraceable influence on Numenius, and a possible general influence on Plotinus, Philo's writings had no impact on later pagan Greco-Roman thought or literature in antiquity. This position has just been strongly challenged by Radice in an extended monograph on Philo's doctrine of creation.[42] Radice argues that it is mistaken to think no influence was exerted by the Judaeo-Christian tradition on the development of Greek philosophy. Philo, inspired by the biblical view, was the first to develop the doctrine of the Ideas as thoughts of God. Through this doctrine he acted as a *catalyst* for Middle Platonism.[43] Radice thus takes over the older view of Scarpat that it is quite plausible that Seneca was influenced by Philo.[44] The lack of direct reference to Philo in Platonist writings can be explained through the tendency of ancient philosophers to conceal their sources, with Philo's Jewish background giving them an additional reason to do so.45 From the view of methodology Radice's position is reminiscent of Wolfson's assertion that the central doctrine of the unknowability of God was introduced into later Platonism through the intervention of Philo's scripturally based thought, a view that has been decisively rejected by all scholars.46 Both base their position above all on philosophical analysis, and counter objections that no clear instances of dependence can be shown are countered through a refusal to accept arguments from silence.[47] The fate of

[40] Cf. Runia (1991b) 47–51.

[41] *Vita Plotini* 14.12, 17.1 H-S[2].

[42] Radice (1989); summary in Radice (1991); discussion in Martin (1990ac), who is basically positive about Radice's rewriting of the history of Middle Platonism; Winston (1992) is more hesitant.

[43] Radice (1991) 133; he adds in a footnote that it would be wrong to call Philo the movement's founder, since this would imply that he and the Middle Platonists shared the same views and goals.

[44] Scarpat (1965).

[45] Cf. Radice (1991) 132 n. 27.

[46] See the informative discussion in Mortley (1973) 5-l 1. On Wolfson's grand thesis see further below §3.2.

[47] Cf. Wolfson's explicit statement at (1947) 2.158: 'Of course I am aware of the opinion prevailing among some scholars today that no pagan authors of that time read the works of Philo. But neither the absence of any mention of his name nor the absence of any direct quotation from his writings definitely proves that he was not read, or that those who had

Radice's bold thesis will have to be awaited, i.e. whether it receives the same response as that of Wolfson, or whether it can persuade scholars that the Hellenic and the Judaeo-Christian traditions are not as autonomous as has generally been assumed.

Finally we should note that there is a single case where it can be proven beyond all doubt that a pagan author did read Philo. The author of the late ancient novel ***Aethiopica,*** Heliodorus, in his description of Egypt (9.9.3) appropriates some words almost ***verbatim*** from Mos. 2.195, where Philo says that the Egyptians deify the Nile (θεοπλαστοῦσι) and regard it as a counterpart of heaven (ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ). The discovery of this remarkable parallel can be traced back to the 18th century Frisian scholar Tiberius Hemsterhuys.[48] The suggestion of Nock and Goodhart-Goodenough that a common source is involved can be shown to be wrong, because the verb θεοπλαστεῖν is otherwise used by Philo only.[49] Heliodorus tells us that he was Phoenician from Emesa in Syria. His date has proved difficult to determine, with more scholars opting for the 4th than the 3rd century AD.[50] It can easily be imagined that an ancient novelist would be attracted to Philo's dramatic descriptions of Moses' childhood and later career. His location in Syria, not so far from the library in Caesarea, will have given him easy access to the work, one of most popular and best-known of Philo's writings. But Heliodorus is an isolated phenomenon. As Nock has said, if Philo aimed at spreading literary propaganda for his native Judaism, 'there is no evidence that [his] intention had any sucess; there is one citation of him in Heliodorus, and that is all in pagan literature.' Even if much has been lost, the fact that his name is never mentioned in the literature still extant does speak volumes. Was the situation any different, we may now ask, among his own Jewish people?

### 3. *How Philo fared in later Jewish tradition*

Very soon after Philo's death the face of Judaism changed. In Palestine the destruction of the temple in 70 AD, followed by the failure of the Bar Kochba

read him were not influenced by some of his ideas.'

48 See my discussion at Runia (1990a) 134-139.

49 Cf. Nock (1933) 286, G-G 250; Nock acknowledges his debt to Geffcken (1920) 277 as the source of his information.

50 Cf. Runia (1990a) 135-136 with references. I point out that one source, the Church historian Socrates, says that Heliodorus was a Christian and wrote the novel in his youth, but that the credibility of this report may be called into question. This view has been challenged by Hilhorst (1992), who argues that it is quite plausible that a 4th century author should compose a work in a pagan genre. Then his use of Philo would not be remarkable. I am not convinced. Heiiodorus is a common name, and the possibility of confusion or coalescence is considerable.



revolt in 133-135, meant the end of an era. In Alexandria the fortunes of the Jewish community were, if anything, even more dramatic. After the large-scale Jewish revolt in Egypt and Cyrenaica in 115-l 17 AD, which claimed thousands of victims on both sides of the struggle, the once flourishing Jewish community in Alexandria passes into decline and (in our sources at least) virtual oblivion. The situation in Alexandria will later reclaim our attention.51 The question now is whether there was any *Nachleben* of Philonic writings and doctrines in Judaism outside Alexandria, and especially in the Judaism that developed after the Council of Jamnia, which it is now customary to call 'Rabbinic Judaism'.

A preliminary aspect that deserves to be emphasized is that, although in numerical terms Alexandria's Jewish community was very strong during its heyday in the 1st centuries BC and AD, its influence on Judaism was not correspondingly large. From the religious and ideological point of view the centre of the Jewish world remained fixed in Jerusalem. One might in this connection quote the conclusion reached by M. Simon on the basis of a careful survey of the evidence:[52] 'The importance of Alexandrian Judaism in any case belongs to the Christian side rather than to Jewish history, in which it no doubt represents no more than a very brilliant interlude.'

In his account of the events of 38-40 AD in Alexandria Josephus introduces Philo into his account, describing him as 'highly distinguished' (ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἔνδοξος) and 'not unskilled in philosophy' (φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος). This description need not entail that Josephus was acquainted with his works. It is generally agreed, however, that Josephus does show dependence on Philo in certain areas, not only in his account of political events, but also in his paraphrases and exegesis of the Pentateuch. In his vast bibliography on the Jewish historian, Feldman claims that the subject remains largely unexplored, but he nevertheless manages to cite about 10 studies on the question.[53] The situation in the centuries that follow is much more controversial. A good starting point is the verdict of a scholar who is notoriously eager to emphasize the connections that Philo had with contemporary and later Palestinian Judaism, H. A. Wolfson:[54]

51 see below §7.1.

52 Simon (1967) 31 (my translation).

53 Feldman (1984) 410-418, 936-937. Of major scholars on Lewy and Heinemann have denied Josephan dependence on Philo; cf. R-R 1115. We note esp. that Josephus' use of Philo's exegesis of Genesis has been extensively studied by Franxmann (1979). See now also Schwartz (1990) 40–43, 51–54.

54 Wolfson (1947) 1.43. The relationship between Philo and the Rabbinic tradition has above all been explored by Belkin in his 1940 monograph and many shorter English and Hebrew contributions summarized in R-R ***passim.*** On this body of scholarship see now the judicious remarks of Cohen (1992). Earlier Sandmel (1956) l-26, (1979) 127-134 argued with some force that both Wolfson and Belkin did not pay enough attention to the considerable chronological problems involved in comparing Philo and the Rabbis, and so consistently exaggerated the connections and overlaps between them.

> On the whole the relation between the parallel traditions in Philo and the rabbis may be assumed to be of a fourfold nature. First, some of them undoubtedly emanate from a common source, the traditions of early Palestinian Judaism which the Alexandrian Jews had brought with them from their home country. Second, some of them are later innovations independently arrived at by the rabbis and Philo, owing to the common method of interpretation employed by them. Third, some of them may have been borrowed by Alexandrian Jews from their contemporary Palestinian Jews through the various channels of intellectual communication that existed between them. Fourth, some of them were probably borrowed by Palestinian Jews from the works of Philo. Nowhere in the Talmudic literature, however, is there any evidence that the knowledge of Philo reflected in it, and for that matter the knowledge of any other Greek philosopher, is directly derived from literature; more likely it all came by hearsay.

Wolfson concedes that there is no direct mention of Philo in Rabbinic literature. By implication, therefore, he joins other scholars in rejecting the suggestion of L. Finkelstein that the word ***peloni*** in ***Midrash Tunnaim*** may conceal a reference to Philo.[55] Even if the Rabbis may have derived certain ideas at first or at second hand from Philo's writings, they made no effort to preserve his memory. He did not belong to the tradition of the oral Torah.

We do have at least one example of how a 3rd century Jew in Palestine had contact with Philo's works, Rabbi Hosha'ia of Caesarea. At the very beginning of ***Genesis Rabbah,*** the Rabbinic midrashic commentary on Genesis, Rabbi Hosha'ia gives the following comment on Gen. 1: 1[56]:

> The Torah declares: 'I was the working tool of the Holy One, blessed be He.' In human practice, when a mortal king builds a palace, he builds it not with his own skill but with the skill of an architect. The architect moreover does not build it out of his head, but employs plans and diagrams to know how to arrange the chambers and the wicket doors. Thus God consulted the Torah and created the world, while the Torah declares, 'in the beginning God created (1: 1)', 'beginning' referring to the Torah...

Numerous scholars have noted the similarity between the image used by the Rabbi and Philo's striking image of the founding of the city in *Opif.* 17-18.57 Since the Rabbi lived in the same town and at the same time as the Church father Origen, it is highly probable that his knowledge of Philo was derived through the intermediation of the great Christian scholar and exegete. We shall return to the Rabbi in the following section, when we discuss the transmission of Philo's writings.

How are we to explain the attitude of the Rabbis? Did they 'condemn

[55] Finkelstein (1934), on which see Winston (1985) 59 n. 2; cf. also Poznanski (1905) 27 n.2.
[56] Translation in Freedman-Simon (195 1) 1.1.
[57] Cf. Wächter (1962) 42-50, Urbach (1979) 198-200, Winston (1985) 25 (with further references). On the image (almost certainly inspired by accounts of the founding of Alexandria) and the differences between Philo and Hosha'ia in its use see Runia (1989b), esp. 410–412.



him to silence', as Weiss has argued?[58] Or should we take the view of Winston that they were simply not interested in the Philonic project?[59] It is true that the Rabbis could do little with Philo's method of appropriating ideas from Greek philosophy in order to expound scripture. But one wonders whether this is a sufficient reason, since occasionally some philosophical ideas do filter down, as we have just seen, and moreover Philo's works contain an enormous fund of purely exegetical material that the Rabbis could have exploited.[60] In the absence of any direct evidence, it is worth considering whether the Rabbis were encouraged to reject Philo as an exegetical predecessor precisely because his thought had been exploited by prominent Christian thinkers such as Clement, Origen, Eusebius. The process of rejection would then run parallel to the rejection of the Septuagint as an acceptable Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The chief purpose of the radical revision undertaken by Aquila in the 2nd century appears to have been polemical, to oppose the Christian take-over of the LXX with a translation that was more faithful to the Masoretic text.[61]

A further question concerns the fate of Philo's writings in Jewish and Islamic thought in the 'medieval' period. Here the results of research are scattered and confused, even though some of the evidence has been circulating for nearly a century. In 1905 Hirschfeld and Poznanski, following the lead of the Russian scholar Harkavy, noted that in the works of 10th century Karaite writer Jacob Qirqisani and in fragments of the Cairo Geniza there are references to an 'Alexandrian' who may be Philo.[62] One fragment yields a text under his name which shows affinities to the beginning of Philo's ***De decalogo***, though it certainly cannot be considered a translation or even a paraphrase.[63] How could Philonic material have reached the region of Palestine, Syria, and even Babylonia at this time? Two suggestions have been made. (1) Poznanski thought that Philo may have become known via a Syriac Christian translation, or, less likely, via an Arabic translation.64 As we shall see, however, there is no evidence that such translations ever

[58] Weiss (1966) 319. The German term 'Totschweigen' is more graphic.
[59] Oral remark at the Philo Seminar, SBL conference, San Francisco, November 1992.
[60] On the Rabbis and philosophy Guttmann (1964) 45 affirms that 'rabbinic Judaism was little affected by the scientific philosophy of the Greeks. Only the most popular forms of these Greek doctrines, in which they were spread among the masses, whether orally or in writing, seem to be echoed in the Talmud' (cf. also Urbach (1975) 29). Broadie (1981) has made a detailed attempt to show that the 4th century Samaritan author Marqah shows extensive parallels with Philo and Hellenistic Judaism, especially in the area of philosophical doctrines. But he declines to argue that Marqah actually read Philo (p. 8).
[61] Cf. Goodman in Schürer (1973-87) 3.493ff., Dorival in Harl-Dorival-Munnich (1988). I observe that the same parallelism is suggested by Harl (1966a) 156 n.3.
[62] Cf. Hirschfield (1905), Poznanski (1905), cf. Harkavy (1894).
[63] Cf. Poznanski (1905) 24-26, with reference to ***Decal. 2-17.***
[64] Poznanski (1905) 28-30.

existed.[65] (2) Harkavy's theory was even more radical: the Magharian sect to whom, according to Qirqisani, the 'Alexandrian' belonged should be identified with the Essenes, who were the sister-community of Philo's Therapeutae. In about 790, in a remarkable anticipation of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, an Arab found some ancient writings in a cave near Jericho. It is argued that these writings may have given the Karaites access to the thought of Philo.[66] The difficulty with this theory, as both Lévy and Nikiprowetzky have pointed out, is that the writings found are explicitly described as written in Hebrew letters, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the view that Philo was ever translated into Hebrew in the ancient world.[67] The upshot is, therefore, that even if Philo were the 'Alexandrian', we have no idea how the information came to be transmitted. Much more recently Wasserstein has appealed to Poznanski's theory in an article in which he points out parallels between Philo and Abraham Ibn-Ezra's *Commentary on the Psalms.* But the same scholar also points out that in the medieval period there were more contacts between Jewish and Christian thinkers than is often thought, and that Ibn-Ezra may have gained contact with Philonic ideas indirectly via Christian sources.68 The question of the extent of knowledge about Philo and his writings by both Jews and Arabs in the early Islamic period is most intriguing, and it would be highly desirable if more research could be done in this area. One must suspect, however, that more evidence will have to be unearthed before solid results can be reached.[69]

## 4. How *Philo's* writings survived

The result of our enquiries so far is a complete vindication of the judgment of Cohn and Wendland that the survival of Philo's writings was entirely

[65] See below §1.4 and n. 133.

[66] Harkavy (1894, 1984) 59-60, further developed by Kahle (1959) 16-28. The subject has been taken up recently again by Fossum (1987) 316312, who supports Harkavy's hypothesis, and tries to strengthen it by suggesting that the figure of the angel-demiurge in Magharian thought is related both to the Philonic Logos doctrine and proto-Gnostic developments. Much earlier Revel (1911-13) had argued for Philonic influence on the Karaite Halachah. The view that the Karaites had knowledge of Philo is also accepted by Chiesa (1984) 28-29 (who states that the path from Philo to Qirqisani cannot be retraced with certainty), and Weinberg (1988) 180 n. 15.

[67] Ltvy (1965) 7-17, Nikiprowetzky (1966) 329.

[68] Wasserstein (1983–84), esp. 110-l 11.

[69] Note also the controversy between Belkin and Werblowsky on whether there is Philonic influence on the Zohar via an ancient Alexandrian Midrashic tradition: cf. Belkin (1957–58) (for which see the summary at R-R 118), Werblowsky (1959), Finkel (1962). Another medieval Jewish writer who had some knowledge of Philo was Josippon, the adapter of Josephus; cf. the Hebrew edition of Flusser, cited at R-R 298.



dependent on the intervention of the Christian authors.70 Pagans were not greatly interested in his thought; Jews either ignored him or condemned him to silence. What remains to be seen is how this process of transmission actually took place. In a sense the subject of the survival of Philo's writings is commensurate with the theme of my entire monograph, and I will be returning at regular intervals to the evidence that various Church fathers give on how the corpus was accessible to them in their particular situation. What I wish to do now is give a brief outline of how Philo's writings were preserved in the Patristic and Byzantine periods. This task is all the more necessary because the major research on this subject was done at the turn of the century,[71] and yet there is no straightforward account to which the reader can be referred.72 A schematic presentation of my account is given in the diagram on the following page, which illustrates the various stages of transmission from Philo's library to our modern critical edition. In the diagram unbroken lines indicate connections that are more or less solidly based on evidence. Dotted lines represent speculative links that are unproven.[73]

The place to begin, once again, is Eusebius' notice on Philo in his Ecclesiastical History. Following the practice of ancient biographers he includes in his account of Philo a catalogue of writings.[74] At first sight the list seems rather strange, quite different from the way our modern editions are arranged, but on closer inspection the divergences are for the most part limited to the order in which the works are presented, as can be seen from the following list, which gives the works in the Eusebian sequence:

***The Exposition of the Sacred texts***

| | |
|---|---|
| Allegories of the Sacred Laws | = ***Leg.***, or ***Leg.*** to ***Post.*** |
| Problems and Solutions in Genesis | = ***QG*** (Armenian/Latin) |
| Problems and Solutions in Exodus | = ***QE*** (Armenian) |
| Two books on agriculture | = ***Agr., Plant.*** |
| Two books on drunkenness | = ***Ebr.*** (one book lost) |
| On what the sober mind prays for and disavows | = ***Sobr.*** |
| On the confusion of languages | = ***Conf.*** |
| On flight and discovery | = ***Fug.*** |
| On meeting for the sake of learning | = ***Congr.*** |
| On who is heir of divine things or on the division into equal parts and their opposite | = ***Her.*** |

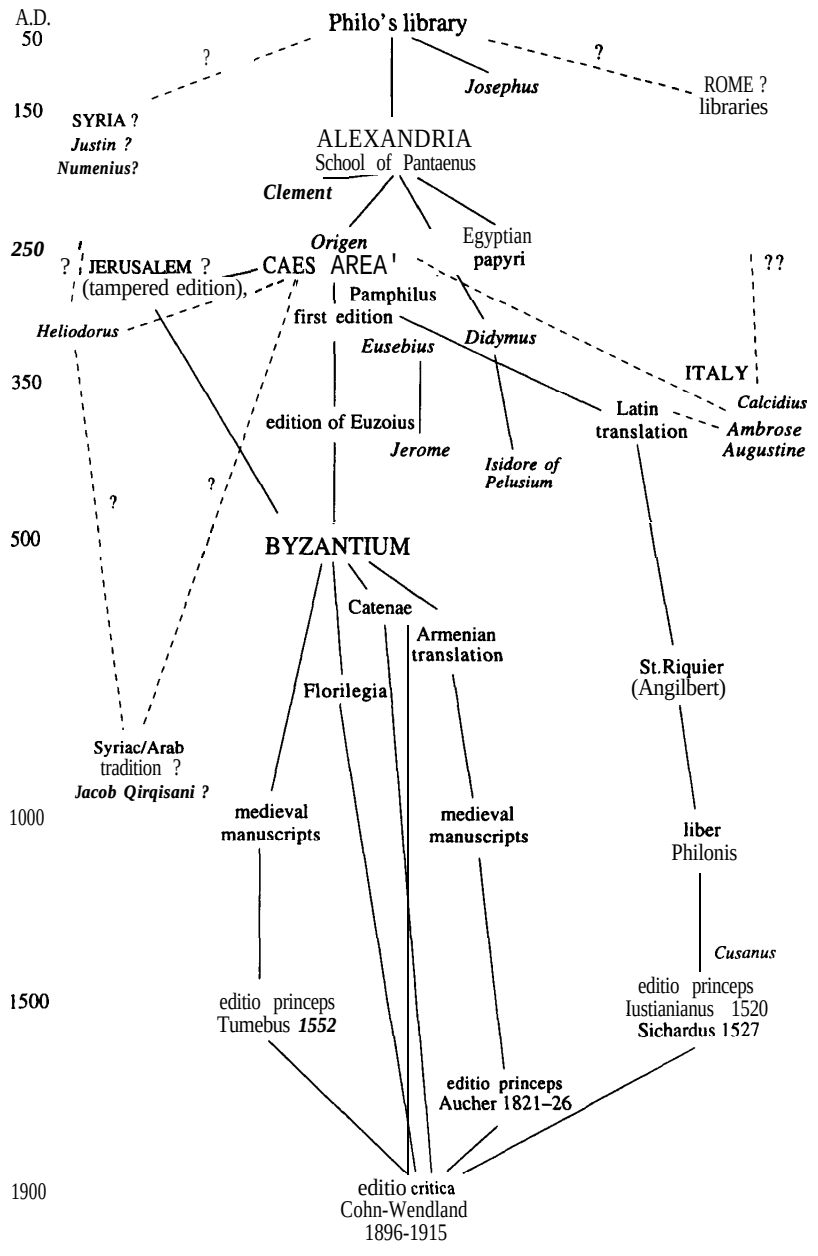
[70] See above at n. 25.

[71] See esp. the prolegomena to all six volumes of C-W (1896-1915); Conybeare (1895); Cohn (1899); Schürer (1901–09[4]) 633-695, capably updated by Morris in Schürer (1973-87) X13-870.

[72] Recently I have given a brief account in Runia (1991 b) 4347, some details of which I have now revised. See also Lucchesi (1977) lff.

[73] The diagram refines the earlier presentation in Runia (1991b) 44.

[74] ***HE*** 2.18.1–8. Cf. the ***Vitae*** of philosophers in Diogenes Laertius, some of which also include lists of works based on library holdings.




Schematic representation of the history of the transmission of' thc Philonic corpus



On the three virtues which Moses describes with others = ***Virt.***
On those whose names are changed and why = ***Mut.***
[in which he refers to two books On Covenants[75] = lost]
On migration = ***Migr.***
On the life of the sage who gained perfection in righteousness, or on the unwritten laws = ***Abr.***
On the giants or on the unchangeability of God = ***Gig.-Deus***
On that dreams according to Moses are divinely sent, 5 books = ***Somn.*** l-2 (rest lost)
Problems and Solutions in Exodus, 5 books = doublet (2, 5 extant)
[On the tabernacle = ***QE*** book 2[76]]
On the Ten Commandments = ***Decal.***
On the Laws specially relating to the main divisions of the Ten Commandments, 4 books = ***Spec.*** 1–4
[On the animals for sacrifice and the kinds of sacrifice = ***Spec.*** 1.162–256]
On the rewards laid down in the Laws for the good and the punishments and curses for the wicked = ***Praem.***

***The single works*** (μονόβιβλα)

On Providence (i.e. book 2 only[77]) = ***Prov.*** 2
On the Jews = ***Hypoth.*** (?)[78]
On the politician = ***Ios.***
Alexander or On whether irrational animals possess reason = ***Anim.***
That every bad man is a slave = lost
That every good man is free = ***Prob.***
On the contemplative life, On suppliants = ***Contempl.***
On the Hebrew names in the Law and Prophets = spurious[79]
On the virtues = ***Flacc.***, ***Legat.*** and 3 lost books.

Naturally there are a good many difficulties raised by this list, which it will not be profitable for us to discuss in detail in the present context. The important questions concern the list's extent and provenance. For its extent we should distinguish the following aspects:
(1) All the works that we still possess in their entirety are present with the exception of the following: ***Opif.***, Mos. (2 books), ***Aet.*** (extant in Greek), ***Prov.*** 1 (extant in an Armenian version). We should note that what Eusebius calls ***Legum allegoriae*** almost certainly refers to the entire sequence from Leg. to ***Post.,*** and may also include ***Opif.*** (from which he quotes in his ***PE).*** The omission of Mos. and ***Aet. are*** probably due to oversight. But he certainly did not have access to ***Prov.*** 1, since he knows ***Prov.*** 2 (which he cite in ***PE)*** and refers to it as single treatise.

[75] Cf. ***Mut. 53*** (an interesting indication that Eusebius had actually studied the works he records.
[76] Cf. Cohn (1899) 417 n. 30, Royse (1976-77) 54-55.
[77] Cf. Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.865.
[78] Cf. Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.867.
[79] Eusebius' formulation makes it quite clear that he is sceptical about the attribution.

(2) Eusebius has access to a number of works that we no longer possess: 2nd book of *Ebr.*, 3 books of *Somn., Hypoth., 3* books of *QE*. He may have also had the twin treatise of Prob., but it is also possible that he ascertained its existence from the opening words of *Prob.*

*(3)* There are also works that we know, mainly from internal references, that Philo wrote, but that Eusebius does not mention.[80] He himself clearly implies that he had not seen the treatises On *covenants*. Other works that appear not to have been available to him are a book *On rewards* (cf. *Her.* 1), lives of the Patriarchs Isaac and Jacob (cf. *Ios.*1), the complementary work to *Contempl.* (cf. *Contempl.* 1),[81] the sequel to *Aet.* (cf. *Aet.* 150).

Since the pioneering findings of Schürer it has been widely accepted that our corpus nowhere extends beyond what Eusebius records. This result encourages the further deduction that the contents of his list must reflect a crucial watershed in its preservation.[82] While this is conclusion is undoubtedly for the most part correct, it does lack the necessary precision. There are in fact four writings that would appear to escape its net:

(a) the treatise *Prov.* 1, as noted above under (1).

(b) the fragment De *Deo* from the treatise giving exegesis on Gen. 18.[83]

(c) the treatise *On numbers*. Some years ago Terian published an Armenian fragment which he assigns to this work on the basis of strong arguments.84 Moreover two glosses in the Latin translation of Philo suggest that the 4th century translator had access to this work.85

(d) there are scattered references in the Byzantine tradition of the *Florilegia* to a work *On piety*, which may have belonged to *Virt.* or have been a separate treatise.86

So in all there are six works of which we possess the text in full or have fragments that are missing in Eusebius' list, surely too many to be all the result of oversight. So it would seem that the line of transmission of which he is a witness may not have been as exclusive as scholars maintain. This is, of course, not to call into doubt the great significance of his information. The next question is: where did this come from?

There can be no doubt that Eusebius' list reflect the holdings of the Episcopal library at Caesarea, the city of which he was bishop from about 3 15

[80] On Philo's lost works see Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.868, and my more complete list at (1992e) 87.

[81] Unless this was *Hypoth.*, which I do not think very likely.

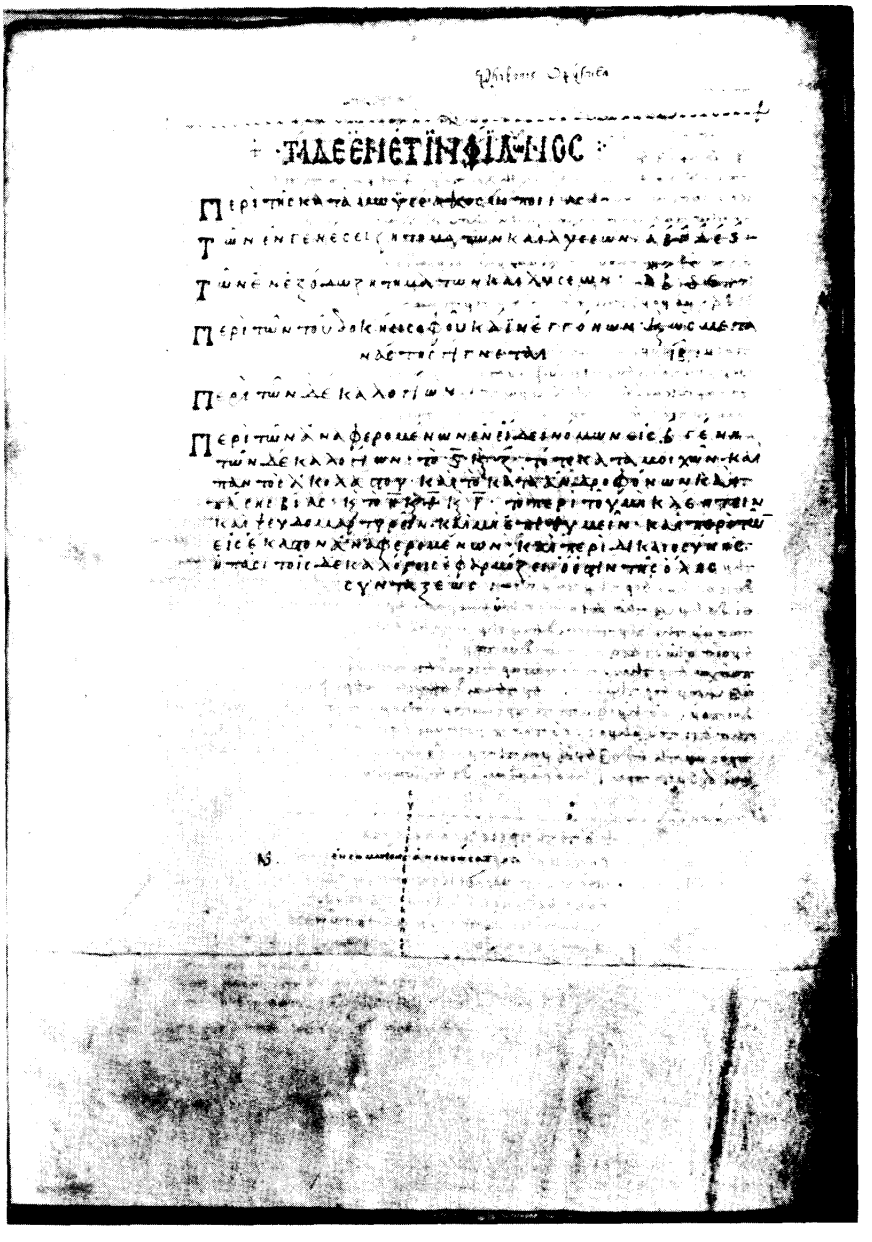
[82] First made by Schiirer (1901-09) 3.643 (reiterated by Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.822), taken over by Barthtlemy (1967) 59, Luccesi (1977) 9.

[83] Since Siegert's retranslation and commentary, (1988), there can be no doubt concerning the fragment's authenticity.

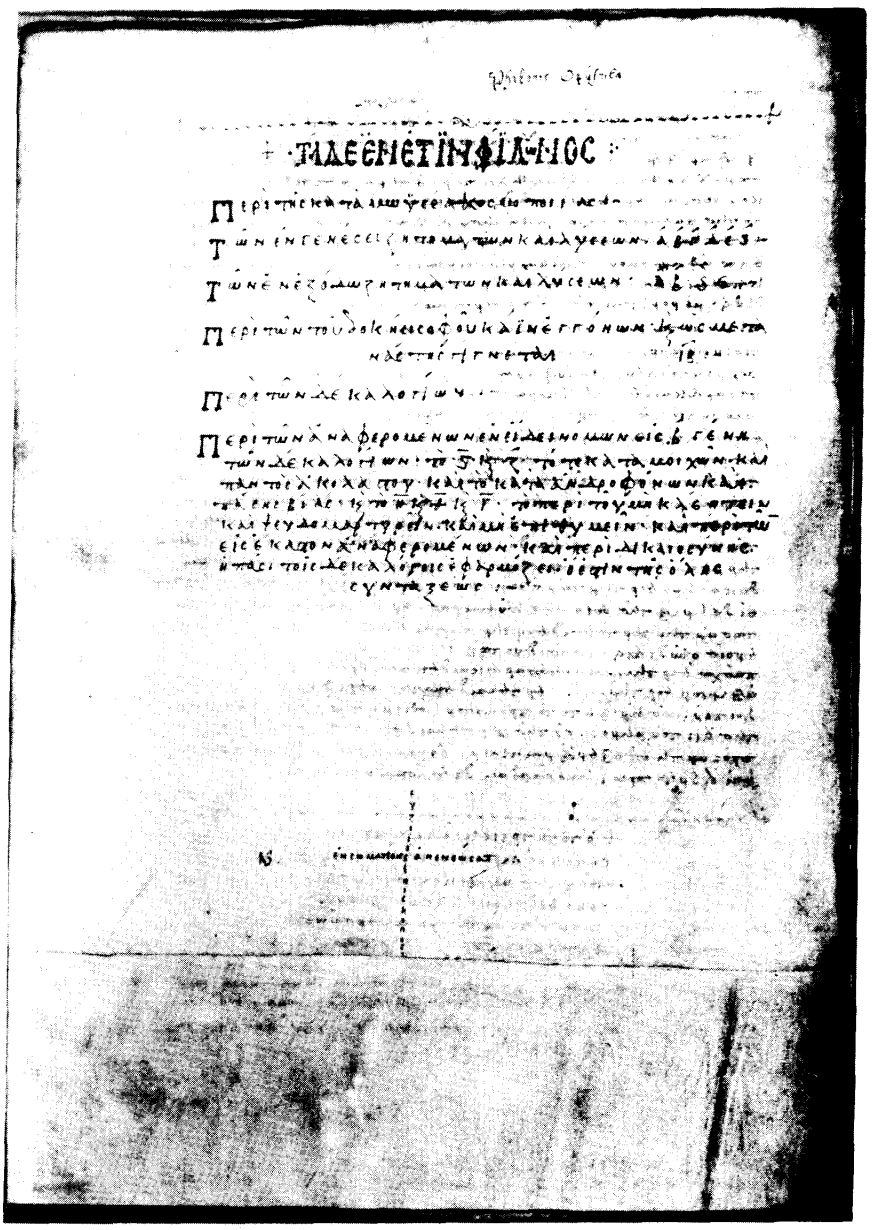
[84] Terian (1984); cf. 18 l-1 82, where he argues convincingly against my suggestion (cf. Runia (1986) 204, first published in 1983) that the text came from a missing part of *QE*.

[85] Cf. Petit (1973) 2.89, overlooked by Terian.

[86] The question is controversial; cf. Royse (1980) 162, Runia (1991c) 132-133.



CODEX VINDOBONENSIS THEOLOGICUS GRAECUS 29:
parchment codex, XIth century, actual size 34 x 24 cm.
fol. 146 verso here shown contains the pinax of the original contents of the ms. and the 'cross' of Bishop Euzoius of Caesarea.
For a description of the ms. see Cohn-Wendland (1896-1915) 1 .xxxv-vii.
Photograph by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



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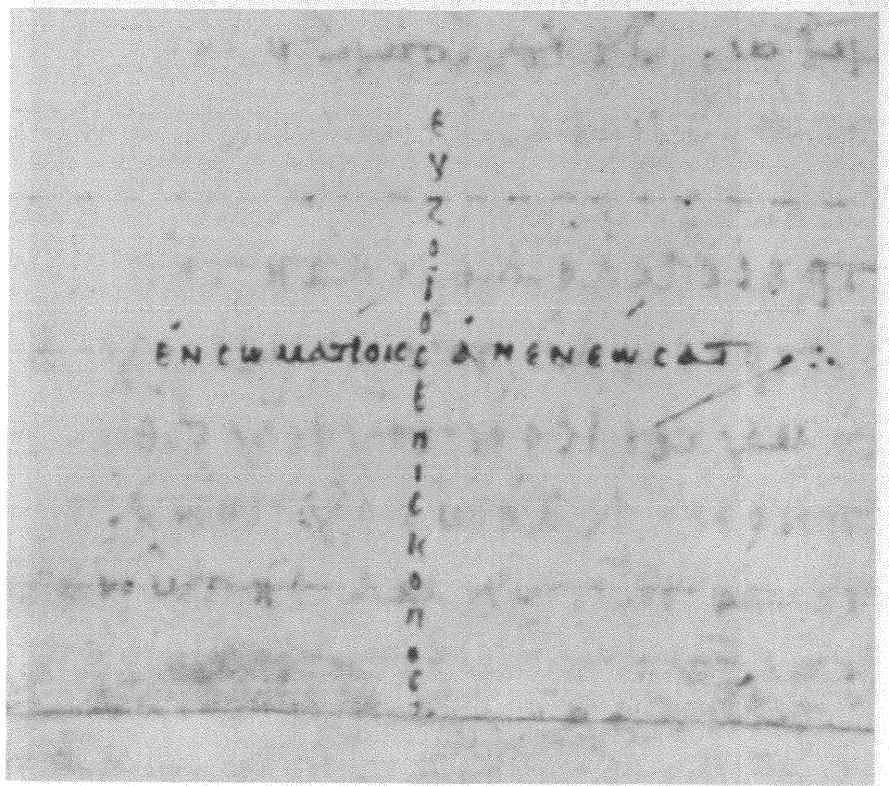


The 'cross' of Bishop Euzoius of Caesarea, magnified to about twice the actual size, recording that Euzoius had the writings of Philo transferred to parchment codices.
Transcribed the text reads: Εὐζοΐος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο.
Photograph by courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



until his death in 339. In his youth he had been the assistant of the priest Pamphilus who had devoted much energy to placing the library on a firm foundation, basing it on the remains of the personal collection of books that Origen had brought over from Alexandria when he established himself in Caesarea in 233.[87] Further information is provided in an 11th century Viennese manuscript, Codex Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 29, which its present state only contains the first half of *Opif.*, but originally contained a larger selection of treatises. Preceding the text we read the following pinax (see the photo facing the previous page):[88]

τάδε ἔνεστιν Φίλωνος
Περὶ τῆς κατὰ μωυσέα κοσμοποιίας
Τῶν ἐν γενέσει ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων Α′ Β′ Γ′ Δ′ Ε′ Ζ′
Τῶν ἐν ἐξόδω ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων ~~Α′~~ Β′ καὶ Ε′
Περὶ τῶν τοῦ δοκήσισοφοῦ κάϊν ἐγγόνων καὶ ὡς μετανάστης γίγνεται ΙΒ′
Περὶ τῶν δεκαλογίων
Περὶ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἐν εἴδει νόμων... ὅ ἐστιν τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως.

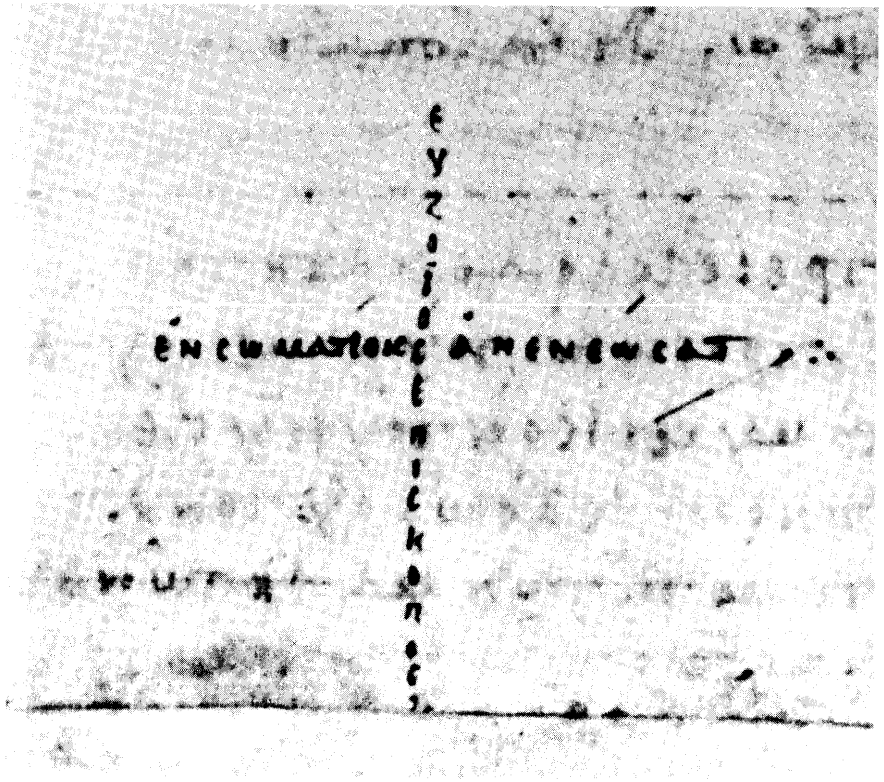
Originally, therefore, the codex contained *Opif.*, *QG* 1–6, *QE* 2, 5, *Post.*, *Decal.*, *Spec.* 3–4. This means that when the archetype was copied out, the *Quaestiones* still existed in Greek, but that three of the books of *QE* were unavailable.

Even more remarkable is the fact that lower down on the same page we read the following words in the form of a cross (see photo opposite):

ε
υ
ζ
ο
ϊ
ο
ς ἐν σωματίοις ἐπίσκοπος ἀνενεώσατο

This statement that 'Euzoius the Bishop had new copies made in codices' is confirmed by Jerome who informs us that Euzoius, bishop of Caesarea from about 376 to 379, found the library of Origen and Pamphilus in a

[87] Further details are discussed below at §9.1, §10.1.
[88] On the codex cf. C-W 1.iii, xxxvi (with transcription of the pinax), G-G no. 112, Royse (1976–77) 54 and n. 84, Morris at Schürer (1973–87) 3.822, 827. I cannot explain why the number 12 is placed after the title of *Post.* The double accentuation of δοκήσισοφοῦ is authentic.



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[88] On the codex cf. C-W I.iii, xxxvi (with transcription of the pinax), G-G no. 1 12, Royse (1976–77) 54 and n. 84, Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.822, 827. I cannot explain why the number 12 is placed after the title of Post. The double accentuation of δοκήσισοφοῦ is authentic.

parlous state and had its works transferred to parchment.89

Part of the history of Philo's writings can thus be reconstructed with a fair degree of plausibility. Origen must have possessed copies of most works in his private library, and he took these with him when he moved from Alexandria to Caesarea. (Whether copies had circulated earlier in Palestine and Syria we do not know for certain; this depends on whether we think that Numenius and Justin reveal contact with Philonic thought.90) Towards the end of the century they passed into the care of Pamphilus who made sure they were catalogued and preserved in good condition in the library of the Episcopal school, a task in which he was assisted by Eusebius. Nearly a century later Euzoius had the writings transferred to more durable codices, and from there they passed on into the mainstream of Byzantine tradition which has resulted in some 65 mss. dating from the 9th to the 17th centuries (in which some treatises are much better represented than others).91 An interesting glimpse into the fortunes of transmission is given by the pinax cited above. Eusebius records 5 books of the *Quaestiones in Exodum*, and presumably these were available to him. By the time that the pinax was compiled only two were left (exactly those still extant in the Armenian). The mention of Book 1 (i.e. A) may have been crossed through because it was so damaged that it could no longer be copied out.92

But by the time that Origen took his copies to Caesarea nearly two centuries had passed since Philo's death. The first Church father whom we know to have made extensive use of Philo based on direct reading was Clement of Alexandria, as we shall later examine in some detail. Clement was a formative influence on Origen, and they both worked in the same environment, the so-called Alexandrian catechetical school or Didaskaleion, established or taken over some time after by 150 by Pantaenus.93 The hypothesis put forward by Barthelemy that it was the school of Pantaenus that rescued Philo's works from the debris of Alexandrian Judaism after the revolt in 115-l 17 AD would thus seem eminently plausible.94 Eusebius tells

89 De. ***vir. ill.*** 113, ***Ep.*** 34.1, cited by C-W and Schürer *loc. cit.* Barthelemy (1967) 58 notes that Sophronius' translation of the first passage renders Jerome's ***in membranis instaurare*** with ἐν σωματίοις ἀνανεώσαι, the same expression as in the codex.

90 See above § 1.2 and the further discussion at $6.2. Drijvers (1970) 25ff. had argued that texts in the ***Dialogue on Fate*** of Bardaisan (154-222) suggest contact with Philo's ***De providentia***, which would mean that copies were available in Edessa before the time of Origen. But in a private communication he now tells me the source was probably Alexander of Aphrodisias.

91 See G-G, nos. 35–49, 76–110, 112-126, and the palimpsest analysed in Alexander (1977). These mss. represent the ***direct*** tradition. The oldest is no. 107, a 9th century palimpsest, Vat. gr. 3 16. The treatise ***Post.*** mentioned in the pinax cited above is now extant in but a single ms.

92 For further discussion on the complex history of ***QE see*** Royse (1976-77) 53ff., Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.828.

93 On the (rather obscure) early history of this institution see further below §8.1.

94 Barthelemy (1967) 60.



us that Pantaenus was busily engaged 'commenting on the treasures of divine scripture'.95 It may be supposed that he established or built up a reference library of scriptural exegesis, in which his learned Jewish-Alexandrian predecessor received an honoured place.

Naturally Origen did not take the only copy of Philo's writings from Egypt to Palestine. Copies of Philo's writings continued to circulate for many centuries in Alexandria. In the 4th century they are extensively used by the leading exegete of the Alexandrian school, Didymus the Blind.96 Further evidence is gained from papyri finds in lower Egypt. In 1889 a complete papyrus codex containing the text of *Sacr.* and *Her.* was found in a specially prepared niche in the wall of a Greco-Roman house in Coptos.97 It is certain that the writer of the codex was a Christian, for not only are certain peculiarly Christian abbreviations used, but also scraps from the Gospel of John were put to use as padding in the binding. The owner too will most likely have been a Christian, because imminent persecution is the probable reason for the concealment. This further entails a date before 3 12, perhaps the great persecution of Diocletian (285). Examination of the papyrus itself also suggests a 3rd century dating. Cohn-Wendland, who used the papyrus for their edition, argued that the text is so closely related to the Caesarean tradition that it must come from there, and Roberts goes even further in suggesting that it may have come from the scriptorium of Origen himself. I find this implausible. A codex located in upper Egypt is more likely by far to come from Alexandria. This conclusion is given some support by the second papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus, which has also been dated to the 3rd century and is of Christian provenance.98 It survives in a far less well-preserved condition, but its remains indicate that it was a codex of considerable bulk (the highest page number preserved is 289). The contents have been thoroughly analysed by Royse, whose reconstruction suggests that it contained the following sequence of treatises: *Sacr.*, *Leg.* 1, *Leg.* 2, *De pietute, De ebrietute* 1 (the lost book recorded by Eusebius), *Ebr., Post., Det.*99 Noteworthy is that it may have contained a treatise not mentioned in the Caesarean list, which suggests an Alexandrian origin.100 That copies of Philo's (by no means straightforward) allegorical treatises

95 ***HE 5.10.4:*** τοὺς θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματιζόμενος.

96 ***See*** further below $10.4.

97 For a full discussion see Roberts (1963) 11-15 (I would like to thank James Royse for making a copy of this rare item available to me); see also Roberts (1979) 8, and 26ff. on the abbreviations of divine names. Roberts claims that the codex is 'beyond reasonable doubt the earliest bound book extant'; cf. (1963) 14.

98 Cf. Barthelemy (1967) 59.

99 See thorough analysis and discussion by Royse (1980), who lists the various fragments at 156.

100 But there are uncertainties on account of the difficulties surrounding ***De pietute; see above*** n. 86.

should be found in provincial towns more than 500 km from Alexandria is remarkable proof of the extent to which his thought had penetrated Christian circles.

If we turn now to the manuscript tradition, which is based, as we have seen, on the Caesarean tradition, a further remarkable feature requires explanation. In certain manscripts of Philo's allegorical treatises the biblical quotations are 'aberrant', i.e. they deviate from the Septuagint text as we possess it. This feature of the ms. tradition has, as may be suspected, attracted a considerable amount of attention. What does it tell us about Philo's Bible, and why do these quotations only appear in a part of the ms. tradition? The historian of the Cairo Geniza, Kahle, was convinced that these quotations represented not only Philo's original text, but also reflected his Bible, so that we have evidence here of a Greek Bible that was adapted in order to conform more to the Hebrew original.[101] Katz, in contrast, argued that the aberrant quotations were added later on the basis of the post-Philonic translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion by a Christian from the Antiochean school in the 5th century.[102] We take our point of departure from the fascinating study of BarthClemy, which is the most recent contribution of importance on the subject.103 The Swiss scholar accepts the view of Katz that these do not stem from Philo's having used another biblical text, but are the result of scribal tampering, i.e. the work of a 'retoucheur'.[104] It emerges that a clear division can be made between treatises and manuscripts that have been tampered with, and those that have not. BarthClemy deduces that this is the result of two separate editions, the one which he calls α-β (it consists of two parts), the other ω.[105] Analysis of the tamperings shows that the interpolator must have been a Jew who systematically (though far from exhaustively) replaced Philo's LXX text with the more literal translation of Aquila, and also introduced some changes into Philo's commentary on the text. We should look a little more closely at these changes, for they tell us something about Jewish reaction to Philo's writings during the Patristic period:

(1) Most obviously the interpolator objected to Philo's use of the Septuagint text, which had now become Christian property, and preferred the version of Aquila. [106]
(2) Three times the word λόγος is replaced by νόμος, i.e. the change of perspective from a Logos doctrine related to Greek philosophy to the Torah-centred thought of Rabbinism (with anti-Christian polemic in the background). [107]
(3) In *Agr.* 51 the reference to the Logos as πρωτόγονος υἱός (first-born son) is replaced by 'the archangel whose name it is not necessary to mention', i.e. Samma'el the angel of death in Rabbinic thought. [108]
(4) The name Jesus (= Joshua in the LXX) is changed to Joshua. [109]
(5) At least 10 times in *Somn.* 1 the words 'as Moses says' *vel sim.* are changed to 'as Holy scripture says', i.e. objection is made to the conception that Moses was the author of the Torah.1 [10]

BarthClemy argues that such tampering with Philo's works is most likely to have happened in the scriptorium of Origen, to which we know Jews had access. Copies must have been requested of some or all of Philo's treatises, and these were interpolated before leaving the scriptorium (i.e. the edition α-β). Somewhat speculatively it is further suggested that these copies were destined for the Library at Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) founded by Bishop Alexander, an intimate friend of Origen.[111] The main body of Origen's Philonic texts naturally remained untouched, and these formed the basis of the texts used by Eusebius and preserved for posterity by Euzoius (i.e. the edition ω).[112] Finally BarthClemy argues that the identity of the 'retoucheur' may have been Rabbi Hosha'ia himself, because there are a number of striking similarities between the content of the interpolations and opinions of the Rabbi preserved in Rabbinic writings.' [13]

Turning out attention now westwards we find that by less than a century and a half after Origen's death at least some of Philo's writings were available in Italy.[114] In the first place we possess an ancient Latin translation of two of Philo's works, *QG* 4.154-245 (probably the original book 6[115]) and *Contempl.* 1-41 (where it breaks off in midstream), preserved in a number of medieval manuscripts.[116] Both works are of inferior quality and are clearly by the same translator. The date of the translation is fairly certainly about 375-400, its location probably Italian.[117] Of greatest interest is the

[101] Kahle (1959) 247-249. His thesis of a plurality of Greek Bibles has not met with favour; cf. Harl-Dorival-Munnich (1988) 183.
[102] Katz (1950).
[103] BarthClemy (1967). The criticisms directed at Katz by Howard (1973) are pertinent, but he is unaware of Barthélemy's study. The latter rejects his argument decisively at (1978) 390.
[104] BarthClemy (1967) 45-46.
[105] *Ibid. 60-66.*
[106] *Ibid. 46-54;* BarthClemy insists that only Aquila was used.



[107] Barthélemy (1967) 54-57; the texts are *Deus* 57, *Plant.* 8, 10 (that Clement read λόγος here is apparent from *Protr.* 5.2, cf. Van Winden (1978) 208f.).
[108] BarthClemy (1967) 68-69.
[109] *Ibid. 57;* the texts are *Virt.* 66, 69 (cf. also Runia (1991c) 122-127).
[110] BarthClemy (1967) 61-62.
[111] *Ibid. 70;* it is argued that, because of the later spread of the mss., it must have been a well-established library. Eusebius also used this library; cf. Grant (1980) 41-43.
[112] The texts *Agr.* 51 and *Plant.* 8-10 cited in *PE 7.13.3-5* are uncontaminated.
[113] Barthélemy (1967) 66-76, and see above §1.3.
[114] The situation in the West prior to this is unclear; see further §13.
[115] Cf. Royse (1976-77) 44ff.
[116] Mss. listed at G-G nos. 298-324, Petit (1973) 30-46; *editio princeps* Iustinianus (Paris 1520). The most complete manuscript (L in Petit) has been lost, and editors are forced to rely on the edition of Sichardus (Base1 1527). Edition of QG 4.154-245 by Petit (1973); of *Contempl.* by Conybeare (1895) 146-153, C-W 6.xviii–xxix.
[117] Cf. Conybeare (1895) 138-145; Petit (1973) 7-15. Lucchesi (1977) 106-l 17 is tempted

extra material contained in this indirect tradition, not only a number of glosses, but also 11 *quaestiones* not found in the Armenian version, and a reference to the lost *On numbers*.[118] The text behind the translation of *Contempl.* would appear to belong to the same tradition as our medieval manuscripts, i.e. originating in Caesarea. It is likely that both Ambrose and Augustine were acquainted with this translation.[119] From Italy the textual tradition of this translation can be traced via the monastery of St. Riquier in Western France to a considerable diffusion in medieval Europe, where it was known as the *Liber **Philonis***.[120]

The bishop of Milan's acquaintance with Phi10 certainly extended beyond what was contained in the Latin translation. In fact we shall discover that he exploits Philo's works more than than any other Church Father that we know.[121] Moreover his reliance on Philo's text is in many cases so detailed that it may even be possible to draw conclusions of a text-critical nature. This at least is the view of Lucchesi who has devoted a monograph to the subject.[122] We shall examine his theses in greater detail in the chapter devoted to Ambrose,[123] but at this point two aspects may be briefly mentioned. (1) It is certain that Ambrose had a copy of QG at his disposal that contained 48 chapters of Book 3 that are not preserved in the Armenian translation. (2) Ambrose extensively paraphrases ***Sacr.***, which is preserved not only in the ms. tradition, but also in the Coptos papyri. Lucchesi concludes on the basis of a detailed comparison that Ambrose's text differs both from the Caesarean and the Alexandrian tradition of textual transmission. How could this have occurred? Lucchesi's hypothesis is unexpected. He takes note of Eusebius' statement that, as the result of Philo's public appearances in Rome during the reigns of Gaius and Claudius, his treatises were so admired that they were deposited in libraries.[124] If the libraries referred to were in Rome (which is not said), then Ambrose may have gained access to these copies through the intermediation of the priest Simplicianus who had spent time there. This conclusion, while exciting and not on a *priori* grounds entirely impossible, is in our view considerably more audacious than the evidence allows.125

by Pitra's identification of African elements, but concludes that the case cannot be sustained.

118 See above n. 84-85 and text thereto; note that three fragments in the ***Catenae*** correspond to these missing chapters.

119 Cf. Petit (1973) 1.12, 'il est très probable qu'Ambroise et Augustin ont connu et utilisé notre version'; see further § 15.2.

120 See Petit (1973) 1.14, and below § 15.3.

121 See below § 14 *passim*.

122 Lucchesi (1977).

123 See further below § 14.3.

124 ***HE 2.18.8; cf.*** Lucchesi (1977) 19.

125 See further below §14.3. In support of the Roman hypothesis is the fact that Josephus, who almost certainly used Philo (see above § 1.3), spent many years at Rome.



The other translation of Philo that was certainly made in ancient times is the Armenian version, covering about more than a quarter of the entire corpus. The contents of this translation can be summarized as follows:[126]

(a) works lost in the original Greek: QG l-4, ***QE*** l-2, *Prov.* l-2, *Anim.*

(b) works preserved in the original Greek: *Leg.* l-2, *Abr., Decal., **Spec***. 1.79-161, 3.1-63, *Contempl.*

*(c)* two fragments otherwise unattested: *De Deo,* arithmological fragment.[127]

The general scholarly consensus is that the translator was an Armenian Christian, working in Constantinople in the second half of the 6th century.[128] He belonged to the so-called Hellenizing school of Armenian translators, who also produced translations of Greek philosophical and patristic works. The most pronounced feature of this school was its close adherence both in syntax and vocabulary to the original text.129 This makes the translation highly valuable from a textual point of view,[130] although the possibilities of accurate retroversion should not be overestimated.[131] Why was this translation produced? The theory of Lewy was that its purpose was not in the first place theological, but rather in order to prepare Armenian students in the preliminary subjects of the trivium.132 This view does not seem on *a priori* grounds to be very compelling, at least in the case of Philo. Admittedly the three philosophical treatises have a general content, but the majority of the works translated are entirely exegetical in subject matter.[133] The interests of the Hellenizing school appear to have been rather broad, ranging from technical philosophical treatises to theological and controversial works.[134] As was noted above, the translator in his preface notes that Philo is a Jew. If it correct that the translation was made in the capital, then Philo's inclusion in this curriculum testifies to his reputation in 6th-century Byzantium.

126 Useful overview in Siegert (1989); see esp. table on 366-367, which gives the locations of the treatises in the editions of Aucher (1822), (1826), and Aa. vv. (1892).

127 See above above n. 84 (not mentioned by Siegert).

128 Cf. Terian (1981) 6-9, Siegert (1989) 358-361, and the extensive list of references to studies on the Armenian translation cited by Morris at Schürer (1973–87) 3.821. The mss. are listed by G-G, nos. 338-376, imperfectly according to Terian (1981) 14-25.

129 Cf. Mercier (1978–79), Terian (1981) 9-14.

130 Both Conybeare (1895) 7ff. and Cohn-Wendland (1896-1915) 1.lii–lvi, 6.xi–xii are very impressed with the quality of the Greek text behind the translation. With regard to ***Contempl.*** the former scholar declares (7): 'To it therefore belongs, wherever its pronouncement varies but is clear, as much weight as belongs to all the Greek codices put together.' This seems a great exaggeration. Lucchesi (1977) 91-105 argues that the Armenian translation must have been based on Euzoius' edition.

131 Recently attempted by Siegert (1988) for De ***Deo;*** cf. Runia (1989d) 401402.

132 The theory of Lewy (1936) 15-16, approved by Terian (198 1) 8-9.

133 As pointed out to me by my colleague Dr. J. J. S. Weitenberg.

134 See the list at Terian (198 1) 7-8.

There is no evidence whatsoever that a Syriac translation was made of any of Philo's works.[135] But this should not be taken to mean that he was unknown in the Syriac tradition.[136] In our account of the legend of Philo Christianus two Syriac reports were listed, one in Maruta of Maipherkat on Philo and the monastic movement, the other in Barḥadbšabba 'Arbaya on Philo as director and exegete of the Alexandrian school.[137] In his *Commentary on the Psalms* the Antiochene exegete Theodorus of Mopsuestia prefaces his exposition on Psalm 118 with a brief treatise in which Philo is attacked as an allegorizer. This work was translated into Syriac and is still extant in that version.[138] Despite the negative publicity on Philo's allegorism in both Barḥadbšabba and Theodore, Philo is listed as the *philosophus spiritualis* in a long list of exegetes used in the East-Syrian Church.[139] Finally in the *Commentary on the Old Testament* by the 9th century exegete Išo'dad of Merv two quite elaborate references are made to Philo.[140] Since it is very unlikely that Išo'dad was able to read Greek, he must have found this information in a Syriac source. These isolated passages, however, do not constitute a sufficient basis for the supposition that (some of) Philo's works were circulating in a Syriac version. There is also no evidence that Philo was ever translated into Arabic.[141] Such a development is, of course, less to be expected, on account of the heavy exegetical bias in the Philonic corpus. A work such as the *De Providentia*, however, would certainly been of interest to philosophically orientated Arabs such as Qosta ibn Luca and al-Shahrastani.

We return now to the history of the Greek text. There are two important, but rather complex, channels of indirect transmission which remain to be considered.

(1) Much Philonic material is preserved in the so-called exegetical *Catenae* (or *Chains*).[142] Modelled on ancient scholia, these works record excerpts from scriptural commentators in the margins of or interspersed between the sacred text.[143] In addition to Patristic writers, both Philo and

[135] The suggestion of Poznanski (1905) 28, discussed above in §1.3, is purely speculative.

[136] This survey of Philo in the Syriac tradition is provisional. My colleague Prof. L. van Rompay (Leiden) and I hope to return to the subject and give it a more complete treatment at a later date.

[137] See above §1.1 (11), (13).

[138] See our discussion of this document, first translated by Van Rompay (1982), below at § 12.5.

[139] Text at Vandenhoff (1899) 29. The date of the document is unknown (the ms. is rather recent), but according to Van Rompay it is likely to go back to an ancient tradition.

[140] Texts at Van den Eynde (1958) 56, 120–121.

[141] As my former colleague Prof. H. Daiber (Amsterdam) informs me in a private communication. See also the discussion above in §1.3 on the Karaites.

[142] On Philo in the *Catenae* see Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.825, Royse (1991) 14–25 (with further references).

[143] Very recently Petit (1992) argues that the tradition of the *Catenae* may be much more unified than has hitherto been thought. On the basis of this theory she has embarked on a integral edition of the ***Catena*** in ***Genesim***.



Josephus are cited. Philo is cited mostly, as is to be expected, for the *Catenae* on Genesis and Exodus, although he is also cited for Numbers, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Proverbs, and even New Testament chains.[144] For the Genesis *Catena* only QG is used; for the Exodus ***Catena QE*** is the main source, but is supplemented by some extracts from Mos. 1.[145] The passages are introduced by the lemmata Φίλωνος, Φίλωνος ἑβραίου, Φίλωνος ἐπισκόπου(!). The tradition and transmission of these works are complex. One of the main reasons is that they are closely related to (and sometimes interrelated with) another work, the *Commentary on the Octuteuch* of Procopius of Gaza (c. 465 – c. 529).[146] The extensive use of the *Quaestiones* in this form of literature almost certainly contributed to the loss of the direct manuscript tradition.147 The net result for us, however, is that a considerable number of fragments of QG and ***QE*** are preserved in their original Greek.[148]

(2) A different genre is that of the Greek *Florilegia* or anthologies.[149] The most important of these was the ***Sacra Parallelia*** of Johannes Damascenus (c. 675 – c. 750). In its original form it had three sections, on God, on man, and on vices and virtues in parallel chapters. As the author explicitly states in his preface, he has included material from the Jewish authors Philo and Josephus, because in the area of exegesis they have a contribuition to make.[150] Later during the Byzantine period even more extensive compilations were made.151 Unfortunately the riches they contain is scarcely accessible because the few existing editions are outdated and poor, and many remain unedited. Numerous extracts from Phi10 have been included in these collections, sometimes introduced by the name of the author and the work they are taken from, sometimes just by Philo's name. From the time

[144] Cf. G-G nos. 151-252, CPG 4.185-259. Note that the 39 texts of Philo in the *Catena* on the Song of Songs are from Philo's namesake, the bishop of Carpasia, as Royse points out, (1991) 133.

[145] Cf. Petit (1978) 16–19, Royse (1991) 16-17 (who disagree on some points).

[146] Procopius is rather free. with his use of Philo, who is never mentioned by name. Cf. the analyses of Harris (1886), Wendland (1891). The latter's attempt to extract the Philonic material is not very exact, as Royse (1991) 23 points out. Petit (1978) 19 even suspects an intermediate source. See further below $12.6.

[147] Cf. the remark of Wendland (1891) 30, cited by Royse (1991) 17.

[148] Collected in Petit (1978).

[149] On Philo in the ***Florilegia see*** Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.824, and the lucid introductory account at Royse (1991) 26-39 (both with further references). A list of manuscripts is found at G-G, nos. 50-75, 143-150 (according to Royse (1991) 26 to be used with caution).

[150] PG 95.1040B, 1044B; text cited by C-W l.cix (who regard the work as inauthentic, but this is far from certain, as Richard (1964) 476 in his masterly survey of the genre concludes).

[151] Esp. the collections attributed to Maximus the Confessor and Antonius Melissa; cf. Royse (1991) 28ff.

of Mangey onwards much energy has been expended in extracting and identifying them. Recently Royse has brought the references to these extracts and their locations together in a valuable listing.[152] At the same time he demonstrates how the method of the *Florilegia* has led to a large number of misattributions, which he calls *spuria Philonica*.[153] These extracts are valuable from a number of different points of view. (a) They are generally cited *verbatim,* and so yield valuable textual information.[154] (b) They preserve a number of fragments from works now lost. e.g. a long passage from the 4th book of the *Legum allegoriae* (exegesis of Gen. 3:22).[155] (c) They reveal which parts of Philo were attractive to Byzantine readers. In the *Florilegia* extracts are often cited on account of their aphoristic character.[156] But there is also more serious usage, as we see, for example, in Johannes Damascenus' citation of a section from *Mut.* on the names of God.157

The various strands of the direct and indirect transmission of Philo's writings have now been traced. As can be seen in our diagram on p. 18, the Byzantine and Medieval periods of transmission-which are still as yet largely unexplored--end when the manuscript tradition was converted into printed form in the *editiones principes* of Turnebus (1552) for the Greek works, Iustinianus (1520) and Sichardus (1527) for the Latin translation, and finally Aucher (1822-26) for the Armenian translations not preserved in the Greek.158 The tradition as a whole first comes together in the great critical edition of Cohn and Wendland published in 6 volumes from 1896 to 19 15.[159] Philonists are fortunate that this massive job was done by two scholars trained in the great German tradition of 19th century textual criticism. If it were done afresh, improvements could certainly be made. But it is most unlikely that such a project will be carried out in the foreseeable future.160 Two other areas of research have a greater urgency. Firstly, a proper edition needs to be made of the fragments of Philo, now a sorry field of *disiecta membru* scattered in many scarcely accessible scholarly publications. It is to be hoped that James Royse will complete this task soon,

[152] Royse (1991) 148-223. The most important collection is still found in Harris (1886).

[153] Most of 61 spurious texts at Royse (1991) 59-133 come from the florilegia. They are spurious because they can be demonstrated to derive from another author.

[154] They are regularly cited by C-W in their apparatus, but there is no index. Care is required here, however, because slight adaptation is difficult to determine.

[155] Cf. Harris (1886) 8. The text actually refers to Deut. 30:15, 19, but comparison with *QG* 1.55 and *Deus* 50ff. shows that the main biblical lemma was Gen. 3:22.

[156] Cf. the fragments from *Prov.* 2 and *Anim.* collected at Hadas-Lebel (1973) 355-356, Terian (1 98 1) 263 respectively.

[157] Cited by C-W at *Mut.* 8-14; cf. Joh. Dam. *Expositio fidei* 9, 31.10-1 3 Kötter.

[158] Strictly speaking the former is the *editio princeps*, but Sichardus' edition of 7 years later is much more important for the history of the text, as we noted above at n. 116.

[159] Joined by S. Reiter for volume 6 published in 1915.

[160] This judgment is based on a thorough critique of the textual tradition of *Virt.* in Runia (1991c).



perhaps in time for the 100th anniversary of the first volume of the critical edition.[161] Secondly, far more research can be done on the history of the transmission and exploitation of Philo's writings. The story outlined in this section needs to be told in far greater detail, and a fascinating tale it will be.

## 5. How *Philo* lost his status as honorary Church Father

We cannot leave the story of Philo Christianus without noting that it also has a sequel, namely how Philo gradually lost that status and reverted to what he had been all along, a Jewish author writing in Greek. I can only give the briefest sketch, because-once again-most aspects of the interpretation of Philo from the 15th to the 18th centuries remain unexplored. The only 'modem' account is that of Billings, which is both very brief and lacking in reliability.[162] According to Billings the 17th century was dominated by a discussion on the orthodoxy of Philo's views on the Trinity. The historian of dogma D. Petavius (1583-1652) attacked Philo as being a Platonist rather than an proponent of orthodoxy, while P. Allixius (164 1–17 17) defended the old Eusebian tradition that eminent Jews anticipated the doctrines of Christianity. A important turning point came with the dissertation of J. A. Fabricius in 1693, in which in the briefspace of 12 pages he argued with philological competence that the main thrust of Philo's thought was Platonist. The same scholar later produced the famous and influential *Bibliotheca Graeca,* in which a chapter is devoted to the writings and thought of Philo, containing the first scholarly account of his life and writings.163 From this time onwards Philo gradually loses his status as a honorary Church father and theological authority, and comes to be studied primarily as a rather unusual author from the Greco-Roman world, who supplies much useful information in the areas of classical philolology, ancient history, philosophy and theology on the one hand, and no less valuble material on the contemporary state of Judaism on the other.

[161] His edition announced at *SPh 5 (1978) 138.* On the preliminary work cleared away in his 199 1 monograph, see my review article, Runia (1992e).

[162] Billings (1919) 4-9; he admits that much of his information is at second hand.

[163] Fabricius (1693), (1705-28, 1795[4]) 4.721-754; on this remarkable classical scholar see Sandys (1903-08) 3.2-3. I have in my possession a copy of the last edition of the Philonic Vulgate, published in 1729 at Frankfurt by Chr. Schoettgenius (not in G-G, but cf. C-W 1.lxxiv). As the editor tells the reader in the preface, he came across a number of copies of the 1691 reprint of the edition of Turnebus-Hoeschelius-Gelenius (= G-G 402), which he intended to preface with his own account of Philo's life and work. But when he perceived the competence of Fabricius' account, he decided not to burden the world with his researches (except a few points), but rather to print Fabricius' chapter. The episode illustrates the direction Philonic studies were taking a little more than a decade before the appearance of Mangey's great edition of 1742.

How gradual this process was can be illustrated by an example from the end of the 19th century. The question of Philo's relation to the beginnings of early Christianity as posed by Eusebius was taken up again, but now using the newly developed methods of *Altertumswissenschaft*. *How* could Philo's description of his Therapeutae so closely resemble what we know about early Christian monasticism, although this movement does not appear to commence until some 3 centuries later? As we shall see, this is a real puzzle which even today has not led to scholarly agreement on all points.164 In 1879 a novel approach was taken by Lucius, who argued that Philo's De *vita contemplativa* was a late 3rd century Christian writing written under Philo's name as an apology for emergent Christian monasticism.165 His thesis received the seal of approval from the eminent triad of German scholars, Zeller, Harnack and Schtirer. On account of this popularity Conybeare regarded it as worth his while to refute it in a long and learned excursus to his edition of the treatise.[166] Using a vitriolic but highly entertaining method of argument, he shows how Lucius' view is really a continuation under a different form of the old controversy between Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars on whether there was any apostolic authority for the institutions of monasticism. The ancient scholar Eusebius and the 19th century scholar Lucius agree that Philo's descriptions are suspiciously Christian, but draw opposed conclusions. For Eusebius the Therapeutae are proto-Christians; for Lucius it is proof that the work is not Philonic, but written later under his name. Conybeare, using the same methods of philology, shows that the work must be Philonic, and that any theological repercussions are irrelevant to the philological issue in question.*67 Although Conybeare did not persuade all scholars (most notably not Schürer), to my mind it can be argued that his monograph, published less than a hundred years ago, represents the definitive end of the legend of Philo Christianus.

The pendant to Philo's loss of his status of Church Father *honoris causa* is the rediscovery of his status as a Jewish author. As we noted above, the Rabbinic form of Judaism developed after Philo's death neglected or rejected the Philonic heritage. It was not until the late 16th century that Jews started to take notice of him again, stimulated by the printing of his works both in the original Greek and in Latin translations. By far the most interesting account was given by the Italian Jew, Azariah de' Rossi, who gives an analysis of Philo's thought in his Me *'or 'Enayim (Light of the Eyes)* published in his native town Mantua in 1573.[168] De' Rossi is decidedly

164 See further below § 11.4.
165 Lucius (1879).
166 Conybeare (1895) 258-358.
167 See esp. Conybeare (1895) 320ff. One argument, however, does not convince, namely that Philo was so little known in Christian circles that a forgery in his name would be pointless.
168 On De' Rossi see Marcus (1948), Weinberg (1988), Touati (1988-89).



ambivalent on Philo's orthodoxy, reaching the following conclusion:[169]

> This was a man who, in my opinion, fell between two stools and about whom no decision can be reached... I will not pass an unconditional verdict on him and absolutely absolve or convict him. I shall not call him Rav or sage, heretic or sceptic. My only name for him shall be Yedidya the Alexandrian.

De' Rossi's account led some other Jews to take an interest in Philo, such as Yashar of Candia (Joseph Delmedigo) and the learned Venetian Rabbi Simone Luzzato.[170] Luzzato interestingly argues that Philo was aiming at the wrong audience. Writing in 1638 he declares:[171]

> [Philo's] works have been translated from Greek into Latin, but have not to this day been translated into Hebrew. Had Philo put his mind to teaching the Jews, rather than to converting the Greeks, perhaps he would have reaped greater fruit from his labor, honored the nation more and gained greater praise than he found among the Greeks.-[for] ... his brethren were already disposed to the apprehension of his doctrine.

But the real acceptance of Philo as part of the Jewish heritage does not come until the 19th century, when the scholarly study of Judaism began in earnest. One of the notable features of 20th century Philonic scholarship is the increasing attention being paid to Philo in the context of Jewish studies.172 Indeed there have been a number of efforts to make Philo a Rabbi *avant la lettre*.[173] But that is another story, which I shall not start to recount here.

169 Quotation at Weinberg (1988) 165. She persuasively argues that De' Rossi may be trying to counter the appropriation of Philo in Christian circles.
170 See Winston (1985) 9-10, (1990) l-2 (with further references, to which I am indebted).
171 I cite the translation of a passage from his *Discourse on the Condition of the Jews*, translated by Septimus (1987) 419. Septimus thinks that Luzzato's picture of a Philo who unhappily writes for gentiles instead of his own non-philosophical brethren is (perhaps unconsciously) influenced by autobiographical considerations. Philo is mentioned only once by Luzzato's younger contemporary Benedictus Spinoza, but the reference, derived from De' Rossi, is in fact to Ps.Philo; cf. Winston (1985) 9 n. 7.
172 See the statistics and comments at R-R xxvii.
173 E.g. Neher (1986) on Rav Hanazir (and cf. the studies of Belkin noted above at n. 54).

Chapter Two

# Preliminaries

## *1. Aim, scope and method of this study*

The aim of this study is to investigate the reception of Philo's writings and Philonic thought in early Christian literature. By 'early Christian literature' I mean writings written by Christians in the period until about 400 AD, i.e. up to the Cappadocians, Didymus the blind and Isidore of Pelusium in the case of Greek authors, and Jerome and Augustine in the case of authors who write in Latin. Christian writers are taken in a broader sense than just the Church fathers in the catholic or orthodox tradition. Some Gnostic and dissident (i.e. non-orthodox) Christian writers will also be included in our survey.

Reception is a broad term, and for this reason it covers rather nicely the broad spectrum of ways of taking up Philo's writings and thought that occur in the Patristic period. It can range from direct citation by name to vague references taken at second hand, from extensive exploitation to fleeing allusions. It covers usage in which approval is given to the ideas taken over, as well as cases where Philo's views are subjected to attack. It will be part of our task to discriminate between these various ways of 'receiving' Philo.

A major difficulty in our project occurs in determining what falls under the description 'Philonic thought'. In the case of direct use of Philo's writings there is of course no difficulty. The problem lies in the fact that, although Philo did not stand alone as representative of Hellenistic Judaism, he is the only major author to survive.[1] Recent scholarly analysis has confirmed that Philo stands in a long line of Alexandrian exegetes of scripture, many of whose views he records in his works.2 Outside Alexandria too there must have been a considerable body of Jewish writing in the Greek language, and at least some of these works will have borne thematic resemblances to the doctrines we find in Philo. When the first Christian writers began their work

[1] I do not include Josephus under this rubric here, because, although his works are in Greek, most of the distinctive themes of Hellenistic Judaism are scarcely to be found in them.
[2] Cf. Hay (1979–80), Goulet (1987) and my review notice on this study, Runia (1989e). But recognition of this background goes much further back, e.g. in Gfrörer (1831), who speaks of the 'Jewish-Alexandrian theosophy' (cf. esp. vol. 2 *passim*), and more famously Bousset (1915), who postulated a 'Jewish exegetical school' at Alexandria.



and started to write in Greek, they will have drawn on this body of work which has now disappeared. So when direct usage of Philo is not proven, the detection of 'Philonic thought' may not reveal direct reception of Philo's writings at all, but rather of themes that derive from the same tradition to which Philo belonged. From the 3rd century onwards this problem gradually disappears, for by then Philo is already emerging as the only author of Hellenistic Judaism whose writings have survived *in extenso*. One of the tasks of this study will be to bear this question in mind as we proceed, and to see what conclusions can be drawn from the material we have surveyed.

The method that has been adopted in the presentation of the results of our survey can be outlined under a number of headings.

1. For all the writers and writings which we shall examine it will be important to take into consideration the *historical context* in which they are to be placed. How is it likely that they will have come into contact with Philo's writings or themes derived from or related to them? How will their intellectual and ecclesiastical context have influenced them in the way they made use of Philo? In general the discussion of each author will begin with a brief outline of these historical themes.

2. A second question to be addressed is whether it is possible to determine with accuracy whether an author made *direct usage* of Philo's writings. This question can best be approached by looking at direct references to Phi10 by name, or by searching for identifiable anonymous citations of Philonic material. Such references, which begin with Clement, will be discussed as a foundation for the further examination of themes and influences. A full list of such references will be given in the Appendix. It would be naive to think that a direct mention of Philo necessarily means that the author has his information at first hand. References can be taken over from one author to the next. The later the author we are studying the more likely this becomes (and by the Byzantine and Medieval periods it is the rule rather than the exception). In studying authors who refer to Philo, it will thus in all cases be necessary to watch out for the distinction between direct and indirect usage. The determination of direct usage will be of extra interest because it can yield information about the fate and distribution of Philo's writings, and thus can complement the brief history of survival that was presented in the 1st chapter. Which Philonic works, for example, were most popular among the Fathers, and why did some of them come to be lost? Can the usage of the Fathers supply us with any valuable information on the status and transmission of the Philonic text?

3. Having ascertained the manner in which an author has come into contact with Philo's work, it will then be time to look at the thematic *aspects* of the process of reception. These will naturally vary from author to author, but generally fall into two categories, exegetical themes based on motifs drawn from scripture, and philosophical themes that are discussed independently of any scriptural base (even if very often a link with biblical

texts remains). In the next section of this chapter I shall give an outline of some of the main themes in Philo's writings that Christian writers are interested in, and which we should be on the lookout for.

4. A further aspect of our theme that will often be specifically addressed is what Philo's reception in Christian writers tells us about the *relation between Jews and Christians* in the period of the early Church. As we have already observed, Philo is sometimes regarded as virtually a Church father, sometimes as very much a Jew. This difference in perspective must placed be against the background of the often very strained relations between the two religions and their adherents during this period. In this context the act of specifically adducing Philo's name, or conversely of deliberately concealing it, can have special significance.

5. Because our monograph aims to give a survey of its subject, a direct consequence is that *secondary literature* will play a greater role than is customary. The extent and scope of Christian literature in the first four centuries AD is so great that examination of individual authors will lean heavily on research that has already been carried out by others. In a number of cases—e.g. Van den Hoek on Clement, Lucchesi and Savon on Ambrose—a monograph has been published which can serve as focal point of our presentation. More frequently, however, given the scattered (and often rather unsatisfactory) state of scholarship, the relevant secondary literature has to be gathered together from all sides and organized in such a way that insight is yielded into the *status quaestionis.* In my collection and citation of secondary material I have tried to be reasonably complete (except in the case of the superabundant research on Philo and the New Testament), so that the reader can gain an impression of the current state of research.3 In this task I have been greatly assisted by a number of indispensable compendia, among which the bibliographies on Philo take pride of place.[4] This method will explain the proliferation of references in the footnotes (indicated in the most economical way possible), which have then been brought together in the bibliography. Because of the unusually heavy emphasis on secondary literature, it seemed best to base the index of modern authors on their publications, and thus combine it with the bibliography itself.

6. During the survey some effort will be made to draw attention to particular problems that are encountered, especially of a methodological kind. Moreover it is part of the task to point out lacunae and desiderata as they emerge. These threads will be drawn together in the final chapter, which will attempt to outline further avenues of research on our subject.

[3] If there has been a certain preference for works in English, French, German (and occasionally Dutch) above Italian, Spanish, Hebrew and other languages, this is because these studies have been more easily accessible to me.

[4] I. e. G-G, Hilgert (1984), R-R, and the annual bibliographies in *The Studia Philonica Annual.*



## 2. Main themes in *Philo*

Point of departure for this study is the *corpus Philonicum*, the body of writings, whose preservation and transmission has been outlined in the 1st chapter. Knowledge of these writings and their contents on the part of the reader will for the most part have to be assumed.5 Nevertheless for purposes of orientation it may be of some value briefly to list those themes in Philo's writings and thought which are of importance for his reception in the patristic period.

The conventional but most informative way of dividing up Philo's writings remains the following double tripartition:[6]

(a) the *exegetical* writings, to be further subdivided as:
  (i) the Allegorical Commentary, containing exclusively elaborate allegorical exegesis of Genesis, with the addition of other relevant texts from the Pentateuch (21 treatises);
  (ii) the Exposition of the Law, containing an account of the creation of the cosmos, the lives of the patriarchs, the Decalogue and the special laws related to the individual commandments, involving primarily a literal mode of exposition, but also including some symbolical or allegorical explanations ( 12 treatises)
  (iii) the *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus,* involving systematic pairing of literal and allegorical exegesis (6 treatises);
(b) the *philosophical* treatises: a small group of works which directly examine philosophical questions with a minimum of references to scripture (5 treatises);
(c) the *historical-apologetic* treatises, either defending various aspects of Jewish culture or describing contemporary events involving the Jewish community of Alexandria (4 treatises).

What this subdivision tells with absolute clarity is that Philo's thought is

[5] There is no single comprehensive modern introduction to Philo that can be unreservedly recommended. The introductions of Goodenough ( 1962[2]) and his pupil Sandmel (1979) are idiosyncratic and not always reliable, but contain valuable introductions to individual writings. Williamson (1989) concentrates entirely on a limited number of themes, with no reference to secondary literature. Winston (1981) has compiled a splendid anthology of systematically organized Philonic passages. Many of the articles in the special Philo-volume in ANRW, Haase (1984), can be used for purposes of orientation.

[6] This division (or variants thereof) has been standard since Cohn (1899); for more details see Runia (1986) 64-65 (with further references, to which add Morris in Schürer 3.825-868). The only doubts concern the two books of *Mos.,* which might have been meant as introductory rather than as part of the Exposition of the Law, and *Opif.*, which, although written as part of the Exposition, can also be regarded as a kind of introduction to the Allegorical Commentary. The numbers of treatises given are based on the editions, but are sometimes rather arbitrary; e.g. the 4 books of QG are in fact 6, while *Gig.–Deus* should form a single treatise.

primarily concerned with the exegesis of scripture, and that his scriptural interpretation is far from uniform, involving various levels and differing perspectives. The Church fathers thus had considerable choice in what they could borrow (or react against). Schematically, therefore, the following areas of interest can be outlined.[7]

1. ***The scope and status of scripture.*** Scripture is effectively restricted by Philo to the books of Moses, i.e. the Pentateuch. The remaining books of the Septuagint are attributed to 'disciples of Moses', and possess only derivative authority. Moses is the inspired prophet, whose intimacy with God is such that his thought and writings serve as the means of communication between God and his people, and, by extension, between God and mankind in general (although other forms of communication are not ***a priori*** excluded).

2. ***Hermeneutics.*** Because most aspects of **Philo's** thought have scripture as their starting point and constant explicit or implicit point of reference, the question of how scripture should be read is constantly at the forefront. Philo distinguishes between two ways of reading scripture, generically best described as literal (κατὰ ῥῆμα) and tropological (κατὰ διάνοιαν) exegesis. The fundamental assumption is that the interpreter will not be constrained to elicit any meaning that is unworthy of God or his prophet. Non-literal exegesis takes place in accordance with certain rules, which Philo does not codify, but which can be extracted from his procedures, e.g. his consistent use of etymology to explain biblical names and integrate them into his allegorical exegesis.

3. ***Exegesis.*** Philo divides the Pentateuch into three parts: (1) the ***account of creation,*** explaining the ordered structure of physical reality and laying the foundation for man's life and the Law by which it is to be lived; (2) the ***historical*** part, dealing with the lives of the Patriarchs and Moses, who leads the people of Israel from Egypt to the Promised land; (3) the ***legislative*** part, which outlines God's laws to his people and to mankind in general, accompanied by the rewards and punishments for those who obey and disobey them respectively. What does Philo aim to achieve in his exposition? Philo does not deny the scripture records the lives of real people, ancestors of his nation, who lived long ago. But he is not very interested in history as such, whether this is taken as 'national' or 'salvational' history. His primary concern is scripture's significance in the here and now, both for the Jewish community in Alexandria and elsewhere, and for the individual person in that community or outside it. So Philo is at pains to explain that the Law is to be observed, and he expounds it in a way that relates it both to the words of the prophet and to actual practice in

[7] Because this outline has no more than a mnemonic purpose, I omit almost all references to texts or secondary literature.



the Jewish community.[8] But he is also keen to explain to his readers what the Law means. Not only the prescriptions of the Law, but also the rest of the Pentateuch with its stories and genealogies and names and numbers, are fraught with spiritual significance, and this is where **Philo's** real interest lies. This significance is laid bare through the application of symbolic or allegorical interpretation, which can be applied in differing ways. In ***physical*** allegory symbolic exegesis is given in terms of the physical structure of the cosmos or some of its parts, including man. This kind of allegory shows how the Law is profoundly congruent with 'nature' (cf. above all *Opif.* 3) or the created structure of reality. More important for Philo, however, is ***psychological*** allegory, i.e. the 'history' of the soul. Here various approaches are possible, notably in terms of the conflict between the rational and irrational parts of the soul (represented by Adam–*nous* and ***Eve-aisthesis)*** and between the soul who inclines to the good (Abel-Seth) and the soul that inclines to the bad (Cain). But the primary theme is the soul's relation to God and the Logos through which she is related to God. Man's life, as symbolized above **all** by the Patriarch Abraham and by the prophet Moses himself, is a sojourning amid the corporeal and a quest for the realm that transcends the corporeal. Man's goal is obedience to, knowledge of, and communion with God, to the extent that this can be attained.

4. ***Religious themes.*** When describing **Philo's** thought one can speak of philosophical religion or religious philosophy. It will be instructive for us to examine the two components separately, though for Philo they belong inextricably together.

(a) ***God.*** **Philo's** writings and thought are relentlessly theocentric. God is the creator of the universe, and within it of man, who is related to him, however, distantly, through his logos. God is the Supreme being. He is not, however, (just) a principle, but 'someone' (we would say a 'person') to whom one can relate.

(b) ***Providence.*** Because God is creator, he cares for and is concerned about his creation. This providential concern is reflected in his revelation of the Law, and also in his dealings with his people Israel.

(c) ***Worship.*** Man's responds to God through worship. Because God alone is creator, it is idolatrous to worship anything or anyone else, since they must belong to the created order. Worship is a state of mind, but it is also embodied in specific acts (ritual). Indeed such acts encourage a right state of mind, for the worshipper reflects on what his acts symbolize.

(d) ***Law.*** Worship as it is embodied in deeds is regulated by the Law revealed to Moses, which extends down to detailed practices of everyday life. The Law can be summarized in the twin excellences (ἀρεταί) of piety

[8] The actual relation between theory and practice in Philo's Exposition of the Law has been a source of controversy for many years. I like Sander's description of his exegesis as 'bookish'; cf. Sanders (1991) 104 on sacrifices.

towards God (εὐσέβεια) and benevolence towards fellow-men (φιλανθρωπία). Feasts, sacrifices, offerings, prayer, diet-all is set out in the Law, and Philo enjoins his readers to live accordingly. But his own interest is above all in what these injunctions signify. He shows, for example, a strong tendency to 'spiritualize' sacrificial practice.

(e) *Israel.* Philo is convinced that God has a special relationship with his people. This may be seen as a specific instance of God's providential relation to creation, and is generally referred to in political and cultural terms. Doctrines of election or a special covenantal relation scarcely occur in his writings. Israel-'he who sees God'-is the Jewish people, but at the same time a spiritual concept, the soul that rises to God. Israel is thus not confined to the Jewish nation. Joining God's people means breaking away from established habits in an act of repentance (μετάνοια), for which the paradigm case was Abraham, who broke away from his heathen ancestry and became father of the Jewish people.

(f) *Eschatology.* Right action according to the Law and its embodied ἀρεταί will result in reward; wickedness will result in punishment. In *Praem.* Philo gives a striking vision of the future of the Jewish people. But in the remainder of Philo's writings such political eschatology is almost always supplanted by a spiritualized eschatology in terms of a life after death for the soul in a disembodied state.

(g) ***Grace.*** God is gracious both at the macrocosmic level in creation and at the microcosmic level in his dealings with man. If man sets aside any thoughts of pride and self-esteem, and recognizes his nothingness (οὐδένεια) before God, he will be rewarded with the gift of grace, leading to blessedness in the intimate relation with the divine presence (to the extent possible), as in the case of God's friend Moses.

5. *Philosophical themes.* There can be no doubt that Philo is interested in philosophy and knows a lot about it (as particularly witnessed by the group of philosophical treatises). To the deep regret (and not seldom irritation) of many modern readers, however, Philo is far from systematic in his treatment of the philosophical and theological issues to which his exegesis of the books of Moses give rise, and which are inherent in the Jewish worldview which he embraces. The matter is controversial, but I for one am convinced that a reasonably coherent body of ideas can be distilled from his writings. The following inventory of the more important themes illustrate the direction of his interests.

(a) *The doctrine of God.* God is the first principle, origin and goal of all things. Man has the task to orientate himself unreservedly towards God. But to what extent is knowledge of and interaction with the supreme principle possible? God, Philo posits, is unknowable in his essence (negative theology), but discloses himself in his ceaseless activity (positive theology). Conceptually, therefore, God is to be thought of in both transcendent and immanent terms.



(b) *The doctrine of the Logos.* The Logos, or Reason-principle, in Philo's thought may be described as that aspect of God which is turned towards creation.[9] The question rises as to whether it is separable from God himself. Philo appears to vacillate on whether he should regard it as a separate hypostasis or not. Most often (but now always) he considers the Logos at the most conceptually separate from God. At a lower ontological level, however, divine ***logoi*** can also be equated with ***angels.***

***(c) Protology.*** The seven days of the Mosaic creation account are meant not temporally but structurally, signifying the order (τάξις) of the created realm. But this realm is modelled on a higher realm, the incorporeal world of ideas located in the divine Logos. Philo's cosmology is also hierarchical, the supra-lunary world with the regular motions of its inhabitants is more felicitous than our world of becoming (but this does not mean that the stars and planets should be worshipped).

(d) *The* ***doctrine of man.*** Man's double creation signifies his status as border-dweller between two worlds, the world of the corporeal to which he is tied with his body, the world of the incorporeal to which he can aspire with his rational soul. This is possible because the 'true man', i.e. man's immortal rational part, is created 'according to the image of God', i.e. is related to the divine through the Logos.

(e) *The doctrine of the soul.* The soul furnishes the dynamic element in man's makeup. Lusting after the irrational pleasures of the corporeal, she falls into sin and disgrace. But through repentance and insight there is a turning towards the rational and the divine. The end of her journey is seeing God (Israel) or trusting in God (Abraham), the latter representing not an irrational but a supra-rational 'faith'.

(f) *Free* ***will and ethics.*** Man is unique in that he can choose to follow the course of good or the course of evil. For the former liberation from the shackles of passion is required. At the highest level, i.e. the ***exemplum*** Moses, this will result in total absence of passion, but in other men a reasonable moderation (μετριοπάθεια) is the most that can be reached. Pursuit of the good results in a life of excellence (ἀρετή). Philo's understanding of individual excellences incorporates many ideas from Greek philosophical ethics, but there are differences, e.g. in the above-mentioned view that the highest ἀρεταί are piety and love for mankind. The body, with its recurrent appetites, is to be kept on a short leash. Without going to extremes, Philo shows a marked tendency towards asceticism.

(g) *Epistemology.* Because of Philo's emphasis on man's role as a rational creature, the concept of knowledge plays a central role in his thought. He is, however, far from working this out in a technically detailed and philoso-

[9] To summarize Philo's Logos doctrine in a few words is a hopeless task. The reader is referred to accounts in Winston (1985) 14-21, Runia (1986) 446-45 1, Tobin (1992) (who also illuminates the biblical and philosophical background).

phically satisfactory manner. What interests him most is the knowledge that man in general can attain of the divine, which is identified with the knowledge that the man of God, the prophet Moses, has attained and laid down in scripture. Opposed to this γνῶσις is the realm of opinion that leads nowhere. Philo's acute awareness of the limits of human knowledge occasionally lead him to make statements with a sceptical tendency.

(h) *Arithmology.* Philo is not very interested in intricacies of logic and demonstrative science. The one subject in this area that attracts him might be called 'applied mathematics'. Scripture contains large quantities of numbers, e.g. the days of creation, the ages of the patriarchs, the measurements of the tabernacle etc. Philo is convinced that these cannot be without a significance that goes beyond their literal meaning, and so makes extensive use of the science of arithmology, which discloses the symbolic and philosophical meaning of numbers, albeit in a not very profound way.

6. *Relation to currents of philosophical thought.* It is clear that Philo's portrayal of biblical thought has a philosophical orientation, and is heavily indebted to currents of contemporary philosophy.[10] Elements of Platonism, Stoicism (esp. in ethics), Neopythagoreanism, Academic Scepticism and other ideas are present in his thought, but are almost never explicitly labelled as such, because Philo is convinced that Greek philosophical views are secondary in comparison with the philosophy of Moses. This means that, apart from the philosophical treatises, Philo furnishes little direct information on Greek philosophy. School doctrines could for the most part only be recognized by those Fathers who were already acquainted with these bodies of thought.

7. *Historical and apologetic interests.* The group of historical-apologetic treatises furnishes important information on the defence of Jewish culture and tradition, and how it was threatened by political developments in Alexandrian in the time that Philo lived. But apologetics extend further than this. Philo is at all times acutely aware of the precarious place of Jewish religion and culture in the Greco-Roman world of his day. Indeed in a sense it can be said that every single line he wrote has an apologetic interest, and that his works are directed both at people *within* the Jewish community who might be distracted by the dominant Hellenistic culture of their city, and also to people *outside* the Jewish community who are attracted to its religious traditions. Recent commentators have stressed that Philo's loyalty and devotion to Judaism is strong, and that specific references to Jewish belief and practice often lie behind the general Hellenizing form of his writing. At the same time one must beware of going to opposite extreme and neglecting the very strong tendency in Philo to spiritualize and to universalize the Jewish heritage. He is profoundly convinced that what

[10] For my views on the relation between exegesis and philosophy in Philo see Runia (1986) 535–546.



God has revealed to Moses and the Jewish people is of the greatest value to mankind everywhere. One might even speak of a personal mission, although he does not explicitly speak in such terms. This balancing-act between particularism and universalism could, needless to say, only serve to make his thought more attractive for his early Christian readers.

Chapter Three

# The State of Research
## General Perspectives

One more introductory task remains before our survey can commence with the first collections of Christian writings. It will be worth our while briefly to look at general and synoptic studies that have been done on the subject of Philo and the beginnings of Christian literature and thought. As was already indicated in the preface, such treatments are rare and far from comprehensive or satisfactory. It is this situation that forms the *raison d'être* for the present study.

### 1. *Synoptic presentations*

The first and still most comprehensive general account of Philo's influence on the Christian tradition is to be found in the monograph entitled *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des alten Testaments an sich selbst und nach seinem geschichtlichen Einfluss betrachtet*, published by the Gymnasium professor and chaplain C. Siegfried in 1875.[1] In his prefatory remarks the author writes:*

> Bei der Darlegung des Einflusses, den Philo ausübte, hatte ich, wie ich auch hier noch einmal hervorheben will, zunächst nur den *auslegungsgeschichtlichen* im Sinne; es war aber natürlich zur deutlicheren Erkenntniss des letzteren bisweilen unvermeidlich, auch den allgemeineren, der von ihm ausgieng, wenigstens in Umrissen zu zeichenen. Eine Tendenz habe ich dabei nicht verfolgt, wie ich in unsrer parteisüchtigen Zeit hier ausdrücklich erklären will. Dies Buch is Niemandem zu Liebe und Niemandem zu Leide geschrieben. Die Aufgabe, die ich mir stellte, war eine historische und lediglich mit den Mitteln historischer Forschung ist ihre Lösung versucht.

Siegfried's reference to the controversialist atmosphere still surrounding Philo is most interesting. He wishes to read Philo from a historical perspective, and is not interested in disputes between Protestants and Catholics or

[1] Siegfried (1875). He taught at the Gymnasium of Pforta, famous as the institution that educated both Nietzsche and Wilamowitz within a single decade.
[2] Siegfried (1875) iv.



between Christians and Jews. There is therefore a slight overlap with the definitive end of the legend of Philo Christianus, which, as I argued above, occurs in the monograph of Conybeare published 20 years after Siegfried's book.[3] This is emphatically not to affirm that religious and 'weltanschauliche' factors no longer play a significant role in the way that Philo is read.[4] The Jewish, Christian or secularized background of modern scholars who write on Philo is generally transparent. The difference is that modern scholarship is not interested in settling scores in the area of religious controversialism.

We also learn in the above quote that Siegfried's specific subject is Philo as *expositor* of scripture. This is a most fruitful perspective for more than one reason. As we have seen, Philo's thought is founded on his exegesis of the Mosaic writings. By examining the scriptural basis of Philo's doctrines and the hermeneutical rules which underlie his exposition, Siegfried's work penetrates to the roots of Philo's thought. No less important for our subject, however, is that fact that what the Church Fathers appreciate more than anything else is his contribution to the interpretation of scripture. So from this perspective Siegfried was able to cover the more important aspects of the patristic appropriation of Philo.

In the second part of his study, entitled *Der geschichtliche Einfluss der philonischen Schriftauslegung*, Siegfried first devotes a chapter-inevitably brief-to Philo's influence on later Jewish exegesis, and then turns to the Christian tradition, Beginning with the New Testament, followed by a long chapter on the Greek Patres, and ending with a shorter chapter on the Latin Patres, Siegfried's account covers nearly 100 pages crammed with detailed references to the sources in question.[5] In its comprehensiveness this collection is still unsurpassed more than a century later. Both the method of interpreting scripture and the contents of the interpretation are examined. Siegfried is particularly interested in philological questions, e.g. Philo's (lack of) knowledge of Hebrew and the nature of his Greek vocabulary and style. This interest induces him to pay special attention to the role of etymologies, both in Philo's interpretations and in alleged Patristic borrowings. Clearly, therefore, as a collection of material this study is a valuable contribution.

In terms of method, however, we must have serious reservations about what Siegfried has put before us. It has to be said that the method is essentially compilatory, presenting long lists of parallels (based on a prodigiously detailed reading of the sources), but with little or no critical

[3] See above § 1.5.
[4] Siegfried's own views come to the fore in the final words of the book (399), when he affirms that the comprehensive and spiritually rich system of allegory, when it is in conflict with the truth, nevertheless is destroyed by the power of simple facts. This is the statement of a Protestant theologian.
[5] Siegfried (1875) 303-399.

examination of what these parallels are actually based on. The author is aware of the problem, and prefaces his discussion of Philo's influence with the following words:[6]

> Wir müssen hierbei freilich einen Vorbehalt machen, der überhaupt für die ganze folgende Darstellung von Bedeutung ist. Einflüsse Philo's lassen sich in vielen Fällen ganz bestimmt nachweisen, in sehr vielen aber blos vermuten. Nicht jede Uebereinstimmung in der Lehre oder in der Auslegung ist sogleich ein Beweis unmittelbarer Einwirkung Philo's. Für solche Fälle werden wir uns begnügen das Gemeinsame festzustellen und bitten nur im Allgemeinen um ein günstiges Vorurteil für unseren vielgelesenen und oft benutzten Schriftsteller. Denn mehr als einen höheren oder geringeren Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit hier aufzeigen zu wollen, wiirde ein Missbrauch des Wortes quod post hoc ergo propter hoc sein.

These reservations are admirable, but do not help the reader when he or she is faced with such a mass of material. The problem is at its most acute in the case of the etymologies, where Siegfried consistently records texts of later authors which contain the same etymologies given by Philo. But, as he himself recognizes, these cannot all be the result of a direct reading of Philo's works. Siegfried's account fails to make the necessary distinctions (a) between general Judaeo-Hellenistic and specific Philonic influence in the case of the New Testament and the pre-Clementine writings, and (b) between direct and indirect influence in the case of the Fathers. Despite its great merits as a collection of material and a witness to the author's diligence, even for its time it cannot be regarded as a fruitful treatment of the subject of Philo's presence in and influence on the early Christian tradition.

A successor to Siegfried's account is given by Heinisch in his study entitled ***Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese (Barnabas, Justin, und Clemens von Alexandria)*** published in 1908.7 Its aim is to take the sketch given by Siegfried and fill it out with greater accuracy, concentrating on the tradition of the Alexandrian school of exegesis. Like Siegfried, Heinisch treats both hermeneutical principles (Part I) and content of the exegesis (Part II). Unlike Siegfried the organization of his material is wholly systematic, so that there are no continuous discussions of the authors studied. The critical analysis of the material certainly represents an advance beyond Siegfried, but here too the distinction between parallelism and direct influence is insufficiently sharply made.8 The title makes clear,

6 *Ibid.* 275.

7 Heinisch (1908). I pass over in silence the essay of Karppe (1902) with the promising title 'Philon et la patristique', which does no more than enrich banal observations with references to texts taken from Siegfried without any form of acknowledgement.

8 As a curiosity it might be mentioned that Heinisch too ends with a negative verdict on allegory, sharpening Siegfried's position, but also-presumably unconsciously-reproducing some of his predecessor's phraseology *verbatim* ('zuletzt an der Macht der schlichten Tatsachen... zu Grunde gehen').



however, that Heinisch only covers a very limited part of Philo's reception in the Christian tradition, namely by a number of 2nd century authors.9 For this reason his contribution can best be considered together with other detailed treatments of the authors concerned.10

The only other reasonably comprehensive treatment of Philo and the Patres that has been produced is the lexicon article inobtrusively published a few years ago by Solignac amid the bulky pages of the ***Dictionnaire de Spiritualité***.[11] This contribution is a veritable jewel. It combines much relevant and useful information with sharp and accurate judgments within the brief compass of 8 columns of finely-printed text. Beginning with Clement (demonstrable direct influence before then is denied), it briefly treats the more important Church fathers, taking each time as starting point the evidence that shows that they were actually acquainted with his works. In his final paragraph Solignac notes that he could have also presented the same material in terms of the Philonic themes taken over, notably the allegorical method of interpreting scripture, the double creation of the cosmos and man, the role of the Logos in creation, the integration of philosophy in scripture. Noteworthy too is his conclusion:** 'Even if the Fathers felt obliged to criticize Philo and to go beyond him, the use made of his works reveals that they recognized the 'Jewish roots' of Christianity'. This little article has been an inspiration in the preparation of our study, which attempts to follow the same critical approach.

## 2. Some general perspectives on our theme

In spite of the very limited nature of these overall presentations, we should not conclude that the important role of Philo and Philonic themes in the beginnings and development of Patristic thought has been completely overlooked. As a rule studies on Philo himself do not dwell at any length on this aspect: they only mention it by way of passing or as a final parting.* [3] A different situation is encountered when we turn to works that focus on the beginnings of Christian philosophy, theology and dogma. In this section a brief survey will be given of some studies in this area which have paid par

9 The sequel on Origen promised in the preface was never published.

10 See below 95.3, $6.2, §6.4, 48.2, 98.5; note also the critique of his treatment of Clement by Van den Hoek (1988) 7-9.

11 Solignac (1984); the part of the article dealing with Philo himself was written by Nikiprowetzky and posthumously published.

12 Solignac (1984) 1373.

13 Some examples: Völker (1938) 348-350; Danitlou (1958) 214; Chadwick (1967) 156-157; Sandmel (1979) 163; Winston (1981) 35-37, (1985) 10; Runia (1986) 549-552; Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.889.

ticular attention to the role of Philo. These views will form a useful background to the more detailed account that will be given in the present study.

Any point of commencement is arbitrary, for, as we have already seen, discussion of Philo's role in the beginnings of Christian thought has-at least since the time of Eusebius-never ceased, even if there has been a great deal of variety and development in the manner that the subject has been dealt with. We take as our starting point the towering figure of Adolf von Harnack, whose ***Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*** will ever stand as the supreme monument of German patristic theology at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.[14] The liberal Protestant theologian's famous dictum that 'das Dogma ist in seiner Conception und in seinem Ausbau ein Werk des griechischen Geistes auf dem Boden des **Evangeliums'**[15] brought into focus the issue of Hellenization of Christianity for at least a generation, and even today it is not without influence.[16] In the 'Presuppositions for the History of Dogma' at the beginning of the work Harnack sketches in the background to the first dissemination of the Gospel in three short sections, describing Pharisaic and Apocalyptic Judaism, Hellenistic Judaism, and Greco-Roman 'Religionsphilosophie'. Especially the second of these makes fascinating reading. Hellenistic-or more specifically **Alexandrian—Juda**-ism, by devaluing the importance of ceremonial law and its observation, converts the Jewish religion into a universalizing ethics and a monotheistic cosmology:[17]

> Diese Juden und die von ihnen bekehrten Griechen bildeten gleichsam ein Judenthum zweiter Ordnung ohne das ganze Gesetz... Dieses Judenthum hat den Boden **für** die Christianisirung der Griechen sowie **für** die Entstehung einer **grossen**, gesetzesfreien Heidenkirche im **Reiche** bereitet...

Speaking in very general terms, Harnack does not relate this conception of a pre-Pauline 'freedom from the Law' to what we read in **Philo,** who in his famous pronouncement in ***Migr.*** 86-93 places the emphasis quite differently. As 'rational religion', he continues, this Judaism stripped off its national

[14] Harnack (1909-10). I cite the 4th and final edition rather than the English translation, reprinted in 1961, because the latter is based on the 3rd edition of 1894. Harnack made many changes to his work in the course of 4 editions between 1885 and 1910, though he claimed in the foreword to the last edition that he made no 'prinzipiellen Aenderungen'. A fine analysis of the development in Harnack's thought in this work is given by Meijering **(1985),** who shows how **nuanced** Harnack's main position is, in contrast to the rather stereotyped versions of it that are often attributed to him.

[15] Harnack (1909-10) 1.20, (1961) 1.17.

[16] One suspects that the emphasis on the Jewish roots of Christianity prevalent in much modern theology was made easier through the application of 'Harnack's razor' which allowed much of the tradition of theology and dogma to be sliced away as (illegitimate) Hellenization.

[17] Harnack (1909-10) 1.124, (1961) 108.



characteristics and was flattened down into a barren moralism. Harnack then turns to its intellectual **aspect:**[18]

> Die »**jüdisch-alexandrinische Religionsphilosophie**« ist ein Sammelbegriff **für** alle die Erscheinungen auf dem Boden des Judenthums, die von der **griechi**-schen Philosophie, in der Regel freilich ganz **oberflächlich, berührt worden** sind. Den Namen **»Philosoph«** verdient nur **Philo.** Das theologische System, das er als das mosaische, von Gott geoffenbarte ausgegeben und mittelst der **alle**-gorisch-exegetischen Methode **aus** dem A. T. erwiesen hat, ist im wesentlichen identisch mit dem System des **durch »platonische«** Elemente versetzten Stoicismus, der sein pantheistisch-materialistsches **Gepräge** verloren hatte. Am **nächsten** steht **Philo** dem Posidonius, dem **gegenüber** ihm kaum etwas Originales zukommt. Aber die **Originalität** besteht in der **Verknüpfung** jener grossartigen Gott-Welt-Erkenntniss, die Wissenschaft und Religion zugleich war, mit der Religion des Moses.

'Scientific' Christian theology could only commence if a spiritual meaning was found in scripture, i.e. the unpromising material of the Old Testament was combined with the Gospel and both with the religious and scientific culture of the Greeks. In this **Philo** was the master, for he was the first to a large degree to have poured new wine into old bottles, a justified but at the same time highly risky process.[19] Hamack summarizes his results **thus:**[20]

> ...die Kirche ist **nicht** ein **Gewächs, welches** einen **Theil** seiner Kraft **aus** dem jiidischen Boden gezogen hat, ***sondern sie ist die Schlussentwickelung der Synagoge selbst, sofern diese sich iiber die Welt ausgedehnt hatte und mit Abstreifung ihrer Eierschalen sich als Weltreligion etablirte...*** Und dennoch **wäre** es der **grösste** Irrthum, in der christlichen Kirche nur den so zu **sagen** von selbst entstandenen Abschluss der **jüdisch-synagogalen** Entwickelung und Propaganda **zu** sehen. Diese ist vielmehr **verkümmert**... Sie hat dadurch bewiesen, dass ihre Kraft **nicht** ausreichte... So ist sie zuletzt wieder von der Versuchen, Weltreligion zu sein, zur Volksreligion strengster Art zuriickgekehrt.

Not every aspect of this interpretation can be discussed. What is striking is that Hamack three times uses the imagery of soil and growth to express, positively and negatively, the relation between Hellenistic Judaism and nascent Christianity, the same imagery he also used to formulate his central Hellenization-hypothesis.[21] It would seem that what is being described here is of fundamental importance for his whole thesis. Dogma is

[18] Hamack (1909-10) 124-125; cf. (1961) 109-l 10. Here is a case where Harnack introduces significant changes between the 3rd and 4th edition, playing down the intellectual pretensions of Hellenistic Judaism and **Philo**. This was perhaps under the influence of Wendland, whose handbook he cites in a footnote to this passage. Cf. **Wendland** (1907, **1912**[2]) 203-210, where he argues that the influence of **Philo** on early Christianity has to reassessed (i.e. played down), and that it does not become significant until the Alexandrian theologians.

[19] I am paraphrasing Harnack (1909-10) 131-132; cf. (1961) 116 (again altered).

[20] Harnack (1909-10) 132 (his emphasis); not yet in the 3rd edition.

[21] See text above to n. 15. The same metaphor is used yet again for **Philo** and Alexandrian Judaism at (1909-10) 1.502, (1961) 2.175.

the result of Hellenization; for Hellenization it is necessary to connect Jewish religion with Greek 'Religionsphilosophie'; this connection is first made in Hellenistic Judaism, and above all by Philo.

Harnack returns to the question of Philo's influence when discussing Clement and Origen. In Alexandrian theology 'the task begun by Philo and continued by Valentinus and his school, was now taken up by the Church'.22 With Clement 'ecclesiastical Christianity reaches the same level as Judaism reached with Philo, and without doubt Philo exercised great influence on Clement'.[23] Origen is 'the Christian Philo', as well as the 'rival of the Neoplatonists'.[24] It is fair to conclude, I believe, that Harnack ascribes to Philo, in theoretical terms, a very important role in the beginnings of Christian thought, but that he fails to work out in any detail how this influence was realized in actual practice.[25]

Harnack's statement on Clement is cited nearly half a century later by a scholar writing from a totally different perspective, the Jewish-American historian of philosophy Harry Austryn Wolfson. In 1947 Wolfson had published the most ambitious book on Philo ever written, in which he asserted that Philo's religious philosophy set the stage for more than a millenium and a half of philosophizing, until the Philonic edifice was torn down by Spinoza.[26] Medieval philosophy is for Wolfson 'that system of thought which flourished between pagan Greek philosophy, which knew not of Scripture, and that body of philosophic writings which ever since the 17th century has tried to free itself from the influence of Scripture', and its founder was Philo.[27] This claim was far easier to make than to prove, so directly after his book on Philo Wolfson set out to show how the main themes of Philonic philosophy were received in the Patristic period. The result of his research was the study *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, in which the above-mentioned citation is to be found.[28]

What does Wolfson mean when he claims that Patristic thought is founded upon the Philonic system of thought? Not that the Fathers were in constant direct dialogue with Philo, that it to say, that Philo's works were at all times lying open on their desks. Wolfson argues that the *principles* and *main themes* of their thought were taken over from Philo. These are (a)

22 Harnack (1909-10) 1.347; (1961) 2.11.
23 Harnack (1909-10) 1.643; (1961) 2.325.
24 Harnack (1909-10) 1.347; (1961) 2.11.
25 Philo is referred to relatively infrequently in the remaining volumes. Some interesting remarks are made on his relation to the Logos-theology of Arius and Athanasius.
26 Wolfson (1947); cf. esp. 1.114-l 15, 198-199.
27 Wolfson (1961) v, summarizing the main thrust of his grand view of the history of philosophy. I cited this passage at Runia (1984) 114, in a study in which I attempt a general evaluation of Wolfson's theory.
28 Wolfson (1956); the quotation is on p. 11. For a fascinating account of the genesis of the book see Schwartz (1978) 157-176.



the allegorical method of interpreting scripture,[29] (b) the subordination of philosophy (or reason) to scripture (or faith),[30] and (c) the appropriation of a number of scriptural presuppositions (six of the eight recognized by Philo: the existence and unity of God, the creation of the cosmos, divine Providence, revelation of the Law, existence of the ideas; the unity of the cosmos is tacitly dropped, the eternity of the Law rejected).[31] With this common basis, it is no wonder that numerous themes in Philo's thought reappear and are further developed by the Fathers. For a crucial example we may turn to the theory of the Logos:[32]

> Not exactly a departure from Philo but only an addition to him is the doctrine of the Incamation, for in its ultimate formulation the Incarnation became a new stage in the history of the Philonic Logos-a Logos made immanent in a man after its having been immanent in the world.

In Phi10 the Logos has three stages: transcendent-untreated, transcendent-created, immanent. The Christian doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos in a man amounts to a fourth stage, parallel to Philo's third immanent stage; in both cases the analogy of soul and body is used. Because the Fathers coalesce Philo's first two stages, they too have three stages in their Logos theory.33 Wolfson emphasizes in his preface, however, that it would be a mistake to see too close a relation between Philo and Patristic thought:[34]

> The development of Philonic problems into Patristic problems... is a development which is only partly due to internal growth; for the greater part it is due to external accessions. Similarly the Philonic framework . . . is an expansible framework, serving only to determine the form of the inquiry, but not to limit its scope. . . . of the three problems dealt with in this first volume, only the first-Faith and Reason-may be considered as a direct development, with some variations, to be sure, of the problem as presented in Philo; the other two problems-Trinity and Incarnation-have an origin and history apart from Philo.

Wolfson thus concentrates primarily on the subjects which are specifically Christian. Other themes closer to Philo's thought-such as the doctrines of God, creation, free will, ethics-are set aside.35

No scholar, we may conclude, has emphasized the influence of Philo on Patristic thought as strongly as Wolfson. How important is his massive

29 Wolfson (1956) 24-72; the Fathers combine Philonic philosophical allegory with New Testament non-philosophical allegory, which has a different origin, but uses similar terminology.
30 Ibid. 97-101.
31 *Ibid. 73-96.*
32 *Ibid.* viii; this statement is sharply attacked by Osborn (198 1) 241.
33 Wolfson (1956) 364-372.
34 *Ibid.* vii.
35 Perhaps they might have received treatment in the 2nd volume, which Wolfson never published (and to which reference is tacitly dropped in the 2nd and 3rd editions).

study for our subject? Once again the words of his preface are illuminating:[36]

> The material with which we had to work here is of the same kind as that in Philo--terms, formulas, and analogies scattered throughout the writings, in this case, not of one man but of many men of successive generations. These we tried to piece together into a unified and continuous system. The method which we have employed in trying to integrate these scattered terms and formulas and analogies is that which we have chosen to call the **hypothetico–deductive** method of text study.

Wolfson's method is the key to his work, and it is highly idiosyncratic, as all scholars will agree, although this qualification is not necessarily meant in a pejorative sense. It assumes that philosophers systematically develop or react against the views of their predecessors in the history of philosophy. Because these systematic perspectives are often not clearly expressed or even deliberately concealed, it is the historian's task to reconstruct them:[37]

> Words, in general, by the very limitation of their nature, conceal one's thought as much as they reveal it; and the uttered words of philosophers, at their best and fullest, are nothing but floating buoys which signal the presence of submerged unuttered thoughts. The purpose of historical research in philosophy, therefore, is to uncover these unuttered thoughts, to reconstruct the latent processes of reasoning that always lie behind uttered words, and to try to determine the true meaning of what is said by tracing back the story of how it came to be said, and why it is said in the manner in which it is said.

Few historians of philosophy will be prepared to claim that they do not indulge in some systematic reconstruction in their analyses. Wolfson is unique is making this practice the cornerstone of his method. Paradoxically as a historian of philosophy he is fundamentally a-historical in his approach. To be sure he is careful to sketch in the historical context in his opening chapter.38 And he makes statements which can be taken in a historical sense, for example when he says that 'under the influence of Philo non-literal philosophic interpretation was introduced into Christianity by Clement of Alexandria.. .'[39] But he does not attempt to show how such influence took place and how it can be proven. What his study amounts to is the (for the most part) diachronically presented and systematically analysed *interrelation between texts* belonging to a single tradition. Thus, to give one controversial example out of many, when he speaks of 'John's identification of Paul's pre-existent Christ and wisdom with Philo's Logos

[36] Wolfson (1956) vi.
[37] ***Ibid.*** vi-vii, citing his study on Philo, (1947) 1. 107.
[38] Wolfson (1956) 1-I 1; even here he cannot resist hypothesis, describing the beginnings of Christianity as Philo 'would have described' it, had he known of these events.
[39] Wolfson (1956) 57



and the Wisdom of Solomon's wisdom',[40] he does not ask how the Gospel-writer may have been acquainted with Philo's (or Paul's) views, but brings together their ideas.

Scholars have generally rejected Wolfson's method as being excessively systematic. Also his profoundly Judaeo-centric view of the history of philosophy, with the two turning-points located in the figures of Philo and Spinoza, has found few supporters in the long run, although many readers were initially overwhelmed by Wolfson's erudition and systematic rigour when his studies first appeared. Here is not the place to give a detailed evaluation.41 Basically I am sympathetic to the view that philosophical influence cannot always be measured by direct discussion and appropriation, i.e. that strictly historical methods may fall short. Moreover I am convinced that every reader of Wolfson's book on Patristic philosophy can learn much about how ideas prominent in Philo were further developed in the works of the Church Fathers. But the method of systematic reconstruction used by Wolfson is so different to the analysis of reception to be given in this study that in my survey I will only sporadically have occasion to cite his works.

In the period after 1947 general discussion of Philo's relation to the Patristic tradition tended-how could it be otherwise?-to be dominated by Wolfson's two great studies. Two interesting examples may be given. When his book on Phi10 appeared it was given an enthusiastic welcome by the French Patristic theologian, Jean Daniélou. He concludes his long review with an approval of Wolfson's main thesis:[42]

> There can be no doubt that he [Philo] stands at the beginning of a new era of philosophical thought. Philo has laid down, for the first time in the history of philosophy, the fundamental demands of biblical revelation with regard to our knowledge of God. The Fathers of the Church will have only to continue what Philo has begun. Here again, however, this will not be merely a matter of imitation... This work . . . has filled a considerable lacuna in the history of philosophy; for Philo is an essential link in the chain of that history. Between pagan Platonism and Christian Platonism he represents biblical Platonism, that is, an initial revision of Platonism in terms of revelation. Now it is upon this first revision that the Christian theologians will take their stand when they attempt to make a second revision of Platonism in the light of the New Testament.

In a footnote, however, he adds a serious reservation, arguing that Wolfson sees Christian theology too much as a mere continuation of the theology of Philo. In his review of the volume on the Philosophy of the Church fathers his judgment is much more reserved.[43] The reader's expectations are cheated, he argues, because Wolfson does not offer a history of Patristic

[40] Cf. Wolfson (1956) 177 and the resumé at xvi.
[41] I have tried to reach a nuanced judgment in my article cited above in n. 27.
[42] Daniélou (1948b) 588-589.
[43] Daniélou (1956).

philosophy at all. By concentrating on the subjects of Incarnation and the Trinity, he enters on the domain of 'scientific theology', based on biblical revelation in the New Testament. It is wrong to argue that Christian dogmas in their very essence derive from biblical data interpreted within the framework of Greek philosophy, as **Wolfson** does in the case of the interpretation of the Logos in John.[44] In his monograph on Phi10 published in 1958 he takes issue with Wolfson's presentation of **Philo's** thought as perfectly coherent.[45] Finally, and most significantly, in his history of the development of Christian doctrine during the 2nd and 3rd centuries published a few years later, almost no attention is paid to the possible formative role that may have been played by **Philo.**[46]

Our second example of the influence of Wolfson's thesis is the position of the Dutch historian of philosophy Cornelia de Vogel. In the monumental third volume of her ***Greek Philosophy*** she devotes a surprisingly long section to **Philo,** even though Patristic philosophy is not dealt with in this work.47 Partly this is to be explained by her view that he is a crucial witness for Prae-neoplatonism (as she still names what we now call Middle Platonism). But this is not the way she begins her selection of **texts:**[48]

> With **Philo** a new element comes into the history of philosophy, namely Revelation. Since, however, **Philo** was an Alexandrian Jew of Hellenistic culture, bred in the Greek philosophy of his age, the question arises as to what prevails in his thought: either Revelation in Scripture or Greek philosophy.

She proceeds to criticize the view of **Wolfson** for being too systematic in his presentation, and also **Philo** himself for insufficiently clearly distinguishing between natural reason and revelation. **Philo** is not a great philosopher, and his ideas reflect the syncretistic philosophy of his age.49 This view would seem perfectly in line with that of Hamack, and hardly justified the attention paid to him in her handbook. But a quarter of a century later, in her last extensive article, she returns to the subject and puts forward a more positive view.[50] **Philo** is now regarded as an important vehicle for Platonist ideas, yet his thought cannot be reduced to purely Platonic (or Stoic) philosophy. **Philo's** God is the God of Moses, one and strictly transcendent, yet also a Person. **Philo's** Logos is not primarily the Stoic Logos, because the sacred history of Jews knew the Word of God.51 Thus **Philo** stands at the beginning of a new era. Christian authors not only drew extensively on many of his ideas-particular emphasis is placed on the relation to

[44] Daniélou (1956) 596.
[45] Daniélou (1958) 143
[46] Daniélou (1961a).
[47] De Vogel (1950-59) 3.353-376.
[48] ***Ibid. 3.353.***
[49] ***Ibid. 3.354.***
[50] De Vogel (1985), esp. 7-l 8.
[51] ***Ibid. 9.***



Athanasius—,[52] but also 'borrowed much from his method of exegesis and his spiritual attitude'. For both **Philo** and the Fathers philosophy was not a matter of just the intellect only; it had to penetrate man's entire life, including his moral behaviour. In modem language, De Vogel concludes, this view of 'philosophy' might interpreted as meaning 'religion' taken in the sense of religious or spiritual **life.**[53]

It is in this context interesting briefly to mention an article by De Vogel's long-time colleague at Utrecht, K. J. **Popma,** which examines the attitude that the Church Fathers developed towards the Greek ***paideia.***[54] **Popma** argues that 'it is not too much to say that **Philo** occupies a key-position for a correct understanding of the Fathers' evaluation of **culture.**'[55] In opposition to De Vogel who saw a distinction between synthesis and antithesis in the Patristic views on Bible and culture, **Popma** regards all Patristic thought as involving cultural synthesis.56 There is, however, a division to be made within this position, namely between those who 'reveal a spirit of solidarity with regard to the surrounding culture of which they are themselves a part, and those who reject this **solidarity.**'[57] The former group are precisely those who follow the line of **Philo,** notably Clement and Origen (who is seen as the source of many regrettable developments in the history of the Church), whereas the latter is represented by the figures of Tatian, Tertullian and Lucifer of Cagliari, who deliberately pass over **Philo** in **silence.**[58]

Much closer to the views of De Vogel, and indeed also of **Wolfson,** is the account of the Italian scholar Giovanni Reale, in his five-volume history of Greek philosophy. Like De Vogel, he includes a lengthy chapter on **Philo,** even though Patristic philosophy is left out of consideration.59 The motivation for this is **clear:**[60]

> The attempt to fuse together Jewish theology and Greek philosophy made by **Philo,** for all its uncertainties and numerous problems, constitutes an event of exceptional importance not only in the context of the spiritual development of Hellenism and of Judaism, but also in more general terms, inasmuch as it

[52] See further below § 10.2.
[53] De Vogel (1985) 17.
[54] **Popma** (1973).
[55] ***Ibid. 97.***
[56] A difference in religious conviction has to be taken into account here: De Vogel was a convert to Roman Catholicism from Protestantism, **Popma** a Reformed Protestant and a follower of the Amsterdam school of Reformational philosophy. The article is dedicated to Prof. Vollenhoven.
[57] ***Ibid. 99.***
[58] ***See*** further on the silence imputed to Tertullian below at § 13.2.
[59] Reale (1978) 247-306; cf. English translation, (1990). Anticipating the study of Radice discussed above in $1.2 (see text at n. 42), Reale argues a connection between Philo and Numenius, leading to influence on Plotinian thought.
[60] Reale (1978) 250 (my translation).

> inaugurates the alliance between biblical faith and philosophical reason, which was destined to have such great success as the Christian message spread, and from which the categories of thought in the following centuries had to spring forth.

Following Wolfson Reale argues the relation between philosophy and Revelation, with the former ancillary to the latter, was to become canonical both in Patristic and Scholastic thought.61 He also argues, again in agreement with Wolfson, that Philo is the first thinker to develop a true doctrine of creation, in opposition to the theory of demiurgic activity proposed by Plato and other Greek thinkers.[62] In later publications he argues that Phi10 already propounds the doctrine of ***creatio ex nihilo*** which is generally regarded as novel to and characteristic of Patristic thought.63 What Reale has not done, in contrast to both Wolfson and De Vogel, is to show how Philo's revolutionary new position is further developed in Christian thought. This further chapter falls outside the scope of his studies.[64]

Turning now to the distinguished Anglican theologian Henry Chadwick, we find that he takes a slightly different position. His account of Philo and Beginnings of Christian Thought in the ***Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*** could not begin more positively:65

> The history of Christian philosophy begins not with a Christian but with a Jew, Philo of Alexandria.

But on closer view his position is more nuanced:[66]

> Philo stands closer to the 2nd and 3rd century Christians that to the Judaism of the Talmud, and is much less 'rabbinic' than Paul.. . By contrast his work was of great importance for the early Christians. It goes without saying that the differences are substantial and not less striking than the similarities. But there can be no question that the affinities are of the first importance.

When he reaches comparison with specific writers, Chadwick tends to emphasize the differences. In the case of Justin 'the comparison [with Philo] is in the main a long catalogue of dissimilarity.' Clement does not produce 'a hellenized Christianity precisely parallel to Philo's hellenized Judaism; his main problems are different from Philo's and are approached from quite another angle'.67 In the case of Origen, 'his work resembles Philo more

61 Reale (1978) 264-265.
62 ***Ibid. 279-283.***
63 ***See*** Reale (1979), Reale-Radice (1987) liv-lxxii; developed and somewhat modified in Radice (1989), esp. 365ff. For disagreement with this position see Runia (1986) 289–290, Winston (1992).
64 Reale (1978) 297 also cites with approval the monograph of Maddelena (1970). which, as Nikiprowetzky pointed out in his review (1975), is the most profound modern attempt to present Philo as a *Philo Christianus* who anticipates and prepares many Christian doctrines.
65 Chadwick ( 1967) 137.
66 ***Ibid.*** 156–157.
67 Chadwick (1966a) 142, cf. ( 1967) 179–1 80.



closely than Clement's.. . But Origen's evident debt to Philo must not be used to put Origen into a Philonic strait-jacket with the effect of obliterating the important differences between them.'68 We shall be returning to these nuanced views when we deal with Philo's relation to the individual Christian thinkers that Chadwick cites.69

For a final example we turn to the book entitled ***The Beginning of Christian Philosophy*** by the Australian theologian Eric 0sborn.70 Here an attempt is made to elucidate the beginnings of Christian thought, as witnessed in the writings of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian and Clement, with virtually no references to Phil0 at all.[71] Christian philosophy takes its cue from the speech of Paul on the Areopagus. Here the main problems are found ***in nuce***.[72] Osbom advocates a problem-orientated approach. He thus radicalizes the position of Chadwick: since the problems of early Christian thinkers differ from those of Philo's Judaism, there is no deep affinity between them.73 It is above all a question of method. Many scholars do little more than 'play the doxographer', finding parallels and thinking this is a sufficient explanation. It is this verbal (or doctrinal) atomism which marks the work of Wolfson, leading him to the absurd conclusion that 'nothing new happens after Philo'.[74] 'What is new after Philo, Osborn retorts, is the way in which Clement and others combine many ideas in different ways.' In subsequent publications, however, Osborn recognized that this position is too one-sided, especially in the case of Clement, and accordingly revises it.75

An interesting conclusion can be drawn from our brief survey of seven general perspectives on the role played by Philo in the development of early Christian thought. The four historians of philosophy (Wolfson, De Vogel, Popma, Reale) adopt a more positive view than the four theologians (Harnack, Daniélou, Chadwick, Osborn). The reason for this division is not far to seek. The theologians are most interested in the origin and development of distinctive Christian doctrines and attitudes; for these Philo represents at most a preparatory stage. The historians of philosophy focus on the underlying continuities of thought, especially as related to the major Greek philosophical positions. In this area Philo clearly led the way for those Christian thinkers who had a philosophical awareness (and perhaps also for those who did not). The contrast that I make here is above all a matter of emphasis. A rigid distinction between philosophy and theology for

68 Chadwick (1967) 183.
69 See below esp. §8.6 (b), $9.5.
70 Osborn (1981).
71 According to the index there are only five brief references to Philo in the entire work.
72 Osborn (1981) 8-10.
73 This argument is not stated in the book, but is implicit; see the argument on Clement in Osborn (1987), discussed below at $8.6 (b).
74 Osborn ( 198 1) 24 I ; see further n. 32 above.
75 See further $8.6 (b) with reference to Osborn (1987) and (forthcoming).

Philo and early Christian thinkers up to Augustine soon runs into trouble, and understandably so. Theological problems very often involve philosophical issues, while philosophical problems no less often have a theological focus.

### 3. *Work in progress and tools of research*

At the present time, to my knowledge, there are few projects of any extended scope being undertaken on the subject of Philo in early Christian literature. The research being carried out by James Royse (San Francisco) on the fragments of Philo has already been mentioned. His projected edition will shed valuable light on the transmission of Philo's works in the Patristic period, and also on the contributions of some individual Christian users of Philonic corpus, but the main focus will be on the Philonic material itself.

Some promising research on our subject at present is being carried out by the Argentinian theologian and historian of philosophy José Pablo Martin. After doing his early work on 2nd century Christian theology,[76] Martin turned to Philo. The title of his monograph on Philo, *Filon de Alejandría y la génesis de la cultura occidental,* is clearly programmatic. Without wishing unreservedly to subscribe to the Wolfsonian thesis, Martin states that he will attempt to describe a number of conceptual moves that Philo makes, because, going beyond their Greek, Jewish and Hellenistic roots, they represent a new and highly significant movement of thought in the history of European philosophy.[77] Since then he has published a number of articles investigating Philo's influence during the initial stages of Christian theology in the 2nd century.[78] It is his intention to publish the results of his researches in a monograph on Philo and 2nd century Christian thought.[79] The definitive results of this research will have to be awaited, but we do already have an interesting first instalment in an article which looks at the *status quuestionis* on 'Philo and Christian thought in the Second century'.[80]

[76] Martin (1971).
[77] Martin (1986a) 1; cf. also his important article on Philo's exegesis of Ex. 3: 14, which he assigns the central place in Philo's thought and considers fundamental for an evaluation of his place in the history of philosophy, Martin (1983).
[78] Martin (1986b), (1989), (1990b), all on Theophilus; (1982) on Barnabas, (1987) on Tatian; see further below chapters 5-6.
[79] As Prof. Martin has informed me in a personal communication. It is to be hoped that it will be published in a form and language that will make it more generally accessible to the scholarly world than his publications so far, which are mainly in Spanish and published in Journals that are not easy to locate in Northern European and North American libraries. Prof. Martin knows from bitter experience how intensely difficult it is to engage in serious scholarship in a country far away the main centres of Europe and North America, and without the resources to maintain close links with other scholars.
[80] Martin (1988).



Martin argues that this subject is important. It precedes the period of Alexandrian theology, of which we know for certain that Philo was extensively read. Many scholars begin their treatment of Philo's influence from this point only. But by then important developments had taken place in the Christian thought. Is Philo of no relevance for these?[81] The subject is also 'truly difficult', on account of the poor state of the evidence, but more importantly on account of the intractable methodological issues involved.** It is just as wrong to postulate interaction and the dependence purely on the basis of verbal parallels, as it is to reach a predetermined verdict purely on the basis of dogmatic presuppositions.[83] Martin delights in showing how differing methodological viewpoints have led to the diversity of results reached by scholars.[84] It is here that he thinks a contribution can be made. The emphasis on correct, or at least self-conscious, methodology seems to me entirely salutary, and it is to be hoped that Martin can pursue this line of thought further in a productive direction. In the meantime the provisional results of his research will be incorporated in our survey.

The ***instruments of research*** that are available for studying the subject of Philo's reception by the Church fathers are very limited in number. The two most important are to be found in the great critical edition of Philo's works by Cohn and Wendland. At the end of the introduction of volume 1 they print the most important Ancient, Patristic and Byzantine testimonia to Philo and his writings. It is most useful to have all these texts together in one place.85 This collection has formed the starting point for my more complete list of all the references to Philo in Patristic writings which is found in the Appendix to this study (I do not, however, print the texts in full, so for purposes of consultation the older collection retains its value). Moreover, during the course of their edition, Cohn and Wendland refer to a large number of Patristic texts in the *apparatus testimoniorum* to their text. Unfortunately these references have not been indexed in the edition itself, and so are difficult to consult. An index of all references (except those to the *Cutenue* and *Florilegia*) has recently been published in *The Studiu Philonica Annual.*[86] A valuable, but rather undigested, list of references to Philo in Christian literature of both East and West is also found in Goodhart and Goodenough's bibliography.[87] As for modern literature on the subject, a comprehensive coverage is found in the bibliographies of Goodhart

[81] Martin (1988) 264-265.
[82] ***Ibid. 290.***
[83] ***Ibid. 263.***
[84] ***See*** esp. the analysis at ***Ibid. 267-278.***
[85] Cohn-Wendland (1896–1915) 1 .lxxxxiv–cxiii.
[86] Runia (1992a); J.R. Royse has promised to supply the remaining indices in the near future.
[87] Goodhart–Goodenough (1938) 298–304.

and Goodenough (up to 1937),[88] Hilgert (from 1935 to 1981),[89] Radice and Runia (from 1937 to 1986),[90] and in *The Studia Philonica Annual* (from 1986 onwards).

Some instruments have now become available through developments in computer technology. Firstly we mention the splendid computerized index of all references to the Bible in the Greek Church Fathers in course of publication under the title ***Biblia Patristica***. So far the Greek Patres up to the Cappadocians have been indexed (and **Philo** is included in a **Supplement**).[91] Since many of the Patristic borrowings from Phi10 are exegetical in nature, this index is an invaluable instrument for tracing exegetical themes through the tradition with reference to specific biblical texts. But, needless to say, one has to have a good idea of what one is looking for; otherwise the search will be a drawn out affair, with no guarantee of success. Similarly the text of **Philo** and of a good number of the earlier Church Fathers (up to the 4th century) has been converted to electronic form in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database. This can be used for discovering lexical, and to a lesser extent thematic, resemblances and dependencies. Once again, however, the search can only be fruitful if it is directed to a **well**-defined goal.92

[88] Goodhart–Goodenough (1938), esp. 282-307.
[89] Hilgert (1984), esp. 73-8 1; cf. also Trisoglio's valuable listings, (1984), esp. 596-599 on Patristic research.
[90] Radice-Runia (1988) *passim (see* indices for individual authors), taking over all the material from Radice's earlier bibliography, (1983).
[91] Aa vv. (1975–91), five volumes and the Supplement so far.
[92] Discussion of the limitations of computer searching at Runia (1990a), esp. 133-139.

PART TWO

# Philo in the East

Chapter Four

# Philo and the New Testament

There are two reasons why it is appropriate that our survey should start with the New Testament. Firstly, this collection of writings represents the oldest surviving documents of Christianity, almost contemporary with Philo himself. According to legendary reports Philo had encounters with some of the writers. Even if this can hardly be true, we cannot avoid the question: what kind of contacts may have existed between Philo—and the Judaism which he represents—and the earliest Christian authors? Secondly, within a century and a half the body of writings collected together in the New Testament gained canonical status.[1] To the Hebrew Bible of Judaism, together with its mainly Alexandrian Greek translation, was added the Christian New Testament, also written in Greek. For the Church and the Fathers all three became Scripture. Any cross-currents between the New Testament and Philo's writings will clearly be of significance for the reception of the latter in the Christian community.

The subject of this chapter would be more suited to a separate book. Even then, however, it would be far from easy. As a non-specialist, I hesitate to say anything about the single most exhaustively studied book in existence. Even on the limited subject of the relation between Philo and the New Testament the amount of scholarly literature that has been produced is vast. More has been written on this subject than on Philo and the rest of the Christian tradition put together.[2] Moreover, no detailed survey of the material exists.3 Accordingly I will not aim at any kind of comprehensive coverage in this chapter, but rather concentrate on those persons and documents which are thematically most closely related to Philo, bearing in mind at all times our orientation towards the later Patristic period.4

[1] As outlined in Von Campenhausen (1968), Koester (1982) 2. I-15.

[2] See bibliographies at G-G 290-297 and *passim*; Hilgert (1984) 73-79; Trisoglio (1984) 723-726; R-R *passim (see* index). For relevant statistics see R-R xxvii-xxix.

[3] Introductory accounts are found at Daniélou (1958) 199-214, Sandmel (1979) 148-163. G. E. Sterling (Notre Dame) is at present preparing a study on Philo and the New Testament.

[4] No mention will be made, for example, of Philo and the Synoptic Gospels, on which a number of stimulating studies have recently appeared, e.g. Zeller (1988), Shuler (1990). But

## 1. A common background

Christianity emerged as a religious movement from the matrix of Second Temple Judaism, of which also Philo was a part. One might speak of the two religions as 'Rebecca's children', coming out of the same womb.5 Philo and the New Testament thus share a common background.

A shared feature that immediately strikes the eye is the fact that both use the same language, Greek. This led Chadwick, in an article on Philo and Paul, to make the following bold claim:6

> ... I believe the theology of the hellenistic synagogue, as recorded in long printed and familiar texts of Greek speaking Judaism, still throws more light on the world of St. Paul, St. John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, than any other single non-Christian source. There is nothing surprising in this conclusion. We cannot take too seriously the basic fact that the New Testament is entirely in Greek. It is orientated toward the non-Palestinian world. It would be very strange if its principal theologians did not disclose substantial parallels with the writings of Philo, Josephus, and the author of the Wisdom of Solomon . . . To me, at least, it seems clear that of all the non-Christian writers of the first century A. D. Philo is the one from whom the historian of emergent Christianity has most to learn...

This statement makes us want to know more about the face of Judaism in the time of Philo. Is it legitimate to make such a clear-cut distinction between the Hellenistic synagogue which conducted its affairs in Greek and the Hebrew-Aramaic world of Palestinian Judaism?

Since Chadwick wrote this distinction has been the subject of fertile discussion. In his epoch-making book Hengel sought to undermine it, claiming that 'even Palestinian Judaism must be regarded as Hellenistic Judaism'? As research on the subject advances, it is becoming ever more clear how profoundly hellenized many aspects of life in Palestine were.[8] But Hengel goes a step further, speaking not of 'hellenized' but of 'Hellenistic', and this seems to me less than helpful. The diaspora Judaism in a great cultural centre such as Alexandria differed from Judaism in Palestine. The question is how we interpret this difference. It is, I would argue, largely a matter of emphasis.

Some scholars, notable among them Jacob Neusner, have emphasized the variety in the Judaism of the Second Temple period between 63 BC and

the relation is evidently less close.

5 Cf. the title of Segal's study, (1986).

6 Chadwick (1966b) 287,288.

7 Hengel (1974) 252.

8 See the substantial survey of the evidence in Schürer (1973-87) 2.29-80; for a very illuminating example see the study of funerary epitaphs by Van der Horst, (1991), esp. 129–132.



66 AD, and have even gone so far as to speak of 'Judaisms'.[9] It is not correct, according to this view, to speak of a single 'normative' form of Judaism.[10] The rabbinic form of Judaism that became dominant from the 2nd century onwards should not be retro-imposed on an earlier period. The main forms of Judaism, as developed by Pharisees, Essenes, Sadducees and diaspora Jews, differed in significant ways that began to fall away in the period from 66 to 135, as rabbinic Judaism took shape. James Dunn has recently exploited this emphasis on variety in order to show how Christianity began as a movement of renewal within Judaism, but, as the rabbis tightened the boundaries, emerged from it and became a separate religion."[11]

The other side of the coin is to emphasize what the various forms of Judaism shared in common. This is the approach of Sanders, who argues that, although Judaism of this period was unquestionably diverse, there are sufficient unifying factors to allow us speak of a 'normal' or a 'common' Judaism.12 This Judaism is focussed on the Temple, the Law and its observance, and the land of Israel, but also has a common theology. Diaspora Judaism shares in these features to a large degree, motivated by solidarity and the sense of being 'in exile' from their native land (but not obeying any kind of central command). Diaspora Jews could not focus their worship on the Temple cult to the same degree, and their more intimate contacts with Hellenistic culture brought about some modifications in their observance of the Law. But their intention to live a law-abiding Jews is thereby not diminished. Sanders makes extensive use of Philo to support these conclusions on the relation between diaspora and native Judaism.[13] The use of the Philonic evidence is clearly selective,[14] but he argues that this is legitimate because, although Philo is a special and no doubt atypical case, he does inform us about the common practices and views current in the community in which he lived.

As I hinted above, I think that these two seemingly opposed positions are not all that divergent, because in effect they are two sides of the same coin. Judaism has a sufficiently common base to retain its unity (I would

9 E.g. in the title of Neusner–Green–Frerichs (1987).

10 The celebrated term of George Foot Moore, (1927-30).

11 Dunn (1991), esp. 23 l-259.

12 Sanders (1991). esp. 47–49 and *passim.* Sanders is prepared still to speak of 'normative' Judaism, if this is properly qualified. Normal becomes normative through internal assent and social pressure, but there were no means actively to enforce it, especially not in the diaspora.

13 Sanders (1991), and more specifically on observance of the Law in (1990) 254-308. Another scholar who stresses the single world of Judaism, of which Philo is part, is Naomi Cohen; see her articles, (1987) on legal prescriptions, (1990) on political background. Similarly Tomson (1990) 37–47 argues that Philo's thought has a strong halahkic component.

14 A striking case is his citation of *Spec.* 1.303 on the doctrine of election. In fact Philo presupposes the doctrine, but is sensitive to its particularism, and so generalizes it to 'those who are truly men' (οι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωποι); cf. Winston's comment in (1981) 38 1.

resist the plural's). Philo belonged to this Judaism, but gave it a particular stamp which makes him a distinctive example of the diaspora synagogue. The role of the Greek language is highly important, as Chadwick was right to point out.16 For this reason it is better to speak of Greek-speaking than Hellenistic or Hellenized Judaism. Chadwick might have added that it was equally significant that both Philo and the New Testament read the same Greek Bible. The writings of the New Testament emerge from this Judaism, with differing degrees of consciousness as to what their attitude to Jews and Judaism should be. In chapter one I cited the preface of the Armenian translator of Philo's works, who identifies Phi10 with those members of the Alexandrian synagogue at Jerusalem who were in dispute with Stephen (Acts 6:9).[17] I could not resist placing an exclamation mark behind this statement, because it is of course pure fantasy. Taken symbolically, however, the intuition is not all that unsound. ***Chronologically*** Philo could have been among this group. There is much in Stephen's account of the history of Israel that reminds us quite strongly of Philo (most notably the reference to Moses' education at Acts 7:22).[18] Luke is using the speech in order to define incipient Christianity with reference to the hellenized synagogue.19 It is an example of what the shared background of Christianity and Judaism meant in practice. Let us now see how this common background works out in the case of Philo and individual protagonists in the New Testament.

## *2. Paul*

Appropriately we commence with Paul, author of the oldest documents in the New Testament. What could be more intriguing than to juxtapose the near-contemporaries Philo and Paul (Philo was perhaps 20 years older)? Like Philo, Paul was a Jew of the diaspora, who grew up in a city of some cultural distinction (Tarsus had its own school of philosophers). Like Philo, Paul read the Bible in its Greek version.[20] He too had a respectable training in Greek letters, rhetoric and popular philosophy,[21] although his philosophical knowledge cannot be compared with that of Philo. But Paul, unlike Philo, actually resided in Jerusalem for a time, and, according to Luke

15 Agreeing with Sanders (1990) 257.

16 Cf. also Borgen's discussion at (1987b) 207; he retains the term Hellenistic synagogue, and speaks of 'two different linguistic and cultural settings of Judaism'. The safest solution is to avoid the term Hellenistic Judaism completely, as advocated by S. Cohen in (1987) 37.

17 Cf. above §1.1 (12).

18 See detailed discussions by Hanson (1959) 94-96, Barnard (1966) 57ff.

19 Well seen by Haenchen (1972[7]) 280–28 I, and cf. Koester (1982) 2.89-91.

20 Cf. Schürer (1973-87) 3.143.

21 As emerges in careful analysis of his writings; cf. Malherbe's exemplary collection of essays, (1989).



(Acts 22:3) 'sat at the feet of Gamaliel'.[22] He underwent a conversion experience, and became the 'Apostle to the gentiles'. Alexandria was not on his route, and he may never have set foot there. We have no way of knowing whether he had ever actually heard of Philo.

Let us begin in the most general terms. Chadwick, in an article entitled 'St Paul and Philo of Alexandria', presents a long list of thematic parallels between the two thinkers. Here is a selection:[23]

(1) The central arguments of Romans l-2: knowledge of God from his creation; the hallmark of paganism as worship of the creature instead of the creator, idolatry that leads to moral failure; the inwardness of true religion.

(2) The contrast in 1 Corinthians between milk and food as foods that correspond to differing spiritual capacities and the antithesis between ψυχικός (psychic) and πνευματικός (spiritual).

(3) Provocative similarities to and differences from Paul's hymn to love (ἀγάπη) in 1 Corinthians 13 (but Philo lacks the apostle's passion).

(4) The freedom and 'free speech' of the pure soul before God in Galatians.

(5) The psychology of faith and the language of grace.

(6) Themes in Phi10 that anticipate developments in Christology, such as the typology of Adam, the incarnational language used of Moses; above all the language of Colossians reminds us strongly of Philo.

Chadwick ends with a ***caveat.*** The parallels he has collected may so easily obscure the vast difference between Paul and Philo in terms of temperament and attitude, the difference between the man with the prophet's call and the speculative thinker inclined to mysticism. They are sufficient, however, to demonstrate 'the extent to which St. Paul was able to draw upon the highest aspirations of the Greek synagogue'.[24]

A more systematic presentation of the relation between Paul and Philo is presented by Sandmel.[25] The American scholar summarizes his views with characteristic pithiness as follows:26

> What Paul and Philo have in common is a view of the transcendance [sic] of God, and the need to find a way to bridge the gap. They share in common a reserved dualism, in which the material side of man is evil, the immaterial good... Their differences are striking. Philo was, shall we say, a pedantic master of the Greek legacy; Paul was relatively unlearned. Philo was a rationalist; Paul was emphatically not so. In Philo, allegory is architectonic; in Paul, allegory is sporadic and arbitrary. Paul lived in a world inhabited by a devil, and

22 This information is not universally accepted by scholars, e.g. Koester (1982) 2.99.

23 Chadwick (1966b) 292-306, listing much more material than can easily be summarized

24 ***Ibid. 306.***

25 Sandmel (1979) 150–154, summarized in (1984) 38-39.

26 Sandmel (1984) 38.

governed by principalities, the 'elements' of this world; Philo a rationalist, reflects none of this.

Sandmel's main points can be summarized under four headings.

1. ***Transcendence.*** Philo and Paul share the conception of God's complete transcendence, as opposed to man's situation in the body. Both solve the problem that this causes in similar ways, although the terms central to each are different. In Philo the key word is the Logos, in Paul Christ. In more than one sense these two terms amount to the same, for they both suggest the 'mechanism' (his term) whereby the transcendent God becomes immanent. But there is an acute difference. Philo's Logos is static and timeless, unconnected with time and space; in Paul there is a crucial event, when the Christ became Jesus who lived and died and rose again in recent past history. Similarly the apocalyptic strain in Paul is without resonance in Philo.[27]

2. ***The Law.*** For both thinkers, Sandmel claims, there existed somewhat similar problems in the Law of Moses. For both the Patriarchs are the true norm, and the laws in Exodus have to be related to that norm. But Philo is convinced that man is able to and should observe the Law, whereas Paul regards this view as overestimating man's nature and abilities, so that observance becomes futile. (In passing we should note that the famous passage in ***Migr.*** 86-93 on symbolism and observance of the Law has often been compared with the Pauline position; Philo's view has been associated with Paul's opponents in Galatians.[28])

3. ***Salvation.*** There is no echo in Philo of the Pauline doctrine of salvation by faith only,[29] but the salvation that both Philo and Paul seek is the same, namely release from the bondage to the flesh and 'this world'. Both use the language of the mysteries to describe that release.30

4. ***Doctrine of man.*** Sandmel emphasizes the dualistic tendencies that mark both Paul's and Philo's anthropology. 'In both there is found a dualism in which man is composed of a material side which by assumption is evil and an immaterial side which by assumption is good. In both man is challenged to rise above body and live in the 'intelligible world', as Philo phrases it, or in the 'spirit' as Paul does.'31

[27] Chadwick (1966b) 295, however, undercuts the antithesis between Philo and Paul on this point by pointing to the most 'eschatological' passage in Philo, ***Pruem.*** 127-172.

[28] Borgen (1988) 234ff.

[29] Though Paul's interest in the 'psychology of faith' is shared with Philo, as pointed out by Chadwick (see above). The paradigm of faith for both is Abraham (cf. Gen. 15:6). It must not be forgotten, however, that πίστις as a term and a concept is much less frequent in the Pentateuch than in the NT.

[30] Esp the remarkable passage 2 Cor. 12: 1-9. For an interpretation of Paul as a converted apocalyptic mystic, see Segal (1990). Note that passages such as 1 Cor. 15:5 1, Phil. 3. 17ff. assume a different anthropology than Philo would accept.

[31] Sandmel (1979) 150.



This final category of anthropological themes and related views on the nature of the spiritual life arguably constitute the most significant area of overlap between Philonic and Pauline thought. Elaborating on Sandmel's account, we shall examine these in a little more detail. The following three aspects stand out.

(a) ***Terminology.*** The distinction that Paul makes between spiritual persons (πνευματικοί), psychical persons (ψυχικοί), and fleshly (σαρκικοί) (fleshly) or earthly (χοϊκοί) persons32 cannot but remind us of Philo's tripartite division of man into mind-soul-body (νοῦς-ψυχή-σῶμα) or into spirit-soul-body (πνεῦμα-ψυχή-σῶμα).[33] For the opposition between spirit (πνεῦμα) and flesh (σάρξ) one might adduce the whole of the treatise ***De Gigantibus-Quod Deus,*** which has that antithesis, derived from Gen. 6:3, as its central theme.34 But, as will emerge in the course of our discussion, this terminological resemblance is in the final run rather deceptive.

(b) ***Exegesis.*** Paul relates his anthropological statements to exegesis of the two texts that play such a crucial role in Philo, Gen. 1:26–27 and 2:7. Most famous are his words in 1 Cor. 15:44b–49, in which the second of these texts is quoted?

> If there is a physical body (σῶμα ψυχικόν), there is also a spiritual ( πνευματικόν) body. Thus it is written, 'The first man Adam became a living being (εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν)'; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit (εἰς πνεῦμα ζῳοποιοῦν). But it is not the spiritual which is first, but the physical, and then the spiritual. The first man was from the earth, a man of dust ( ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός); the second man is from heaven (ἐξ οὐρανοῦ). As was the man of dust, so are those who are of the dust; and as is the man of heaven, so are those who are of heaven. Just as we have borne the image of the man of dust (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοϊκοῦ), we shall also bear the image of the man of heaven (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου).

The man made from earth, i.e. Adam and his children, is compared to the man from heaven, Christ. The first Adam received the divine spirit, and so his children can convert from ψυχικοί to πνευματικοί through the final Adam, Christ.36

(c) ***Spiritual life.*** Both Paul and Philo agree that man has the capacity to live his life at diverse spiritual levels. Paul's distinction between νήπιοι (infants) and τέλειοι (perfected), and between σαρκικοί and πνευματικοί

[32] Esp. 1 Cor. 2:6–3:4, 15:46–49, Gal. 5:13–6:5.

[33] Much literature on this subject: see esp. the fine study of Pearson (1973), also Brandenburger (1968), Sellin (1982).

[34] See the detailed analysis in Runia (1987), esp. 125ff.

[35] RSV translation; cf. also Rom. 8:29, Eph. 4:24, Col. 3: 10.

[36] On Paul, Philo and exegesis of Gen. 2:7 cf. Pearson (1973) 15-26, Sandelin (1976) 26-53. On the basis of a meticulous examination Sellin (1986) 171 concludes: '...daß 1 Kor 15,45f. ein Reflex philonischer Gedankengänge ist. Nahezu alle Grundzüge des aus Philos Schriften erschlossenen Denkens spielen in 1 Kor eine Rolle, die meisten sogar in Kap 15 – und dort wiederum geballt in V.45f.'

runs parallel to Philo's scheme of departure from bodily passions, through progress, to perfection.[37] In the well-known passages 1 Cor. 2:6–3:4 and 8: l-7 Paul relates the state of spiritual perfection to the possession of σοφία (wisdom) and γνῶσις (*gnosis*).[38]

How can this long list of parallels and common themes shared by Paul the Jew from Tarsus and **Philo** the Jew from Alexandria be explained, and what do they amount to? The mere fact of being parallel is insufficient to make them important, as **Sandmel** must have realized, having himself gained a certain notoriety through his sharp denunciation of the **'parallelo**mania' **practised** by biblical scholars in their use of **Philo.**[39] Or could it be that he was hoist with his own petard?

It is clear that **Sandmel,** a distinguished liberal Jewish scholar, presents a very ***hellenized*** portrait of Paul. Here he follows in the footsteps of his teacher Goodenough, who argued that Hellenistic Judaism, interpreted as a marginal form of Judaism heavily influenced, if not transformed, by contact with Greek mystery religions, was responsible for the rapid Hellenization of Christianity, and that Paul played a crucial role in that process.40 In Sandmel's view Paul and **Philo** are using the same hellenized categories of thought, which have their origin in the Greek-speaking synagogue.

A somewhat similar theory was put forward with considerable vigour about a generation ago, namely that both **Philo** and Paul represent a form of proto-Gnostic thinking or Gnosis. Against this background the powerful strand of dualism in both thinkers could be explained. Man is in bondage and needs to be liberated, both from his body, and from his subjugation under the authority of malevolent 'powers and principalities' (this is more Pauline than Philonic, **Philo's** view of the cosmos is less **negative**[41]**).** Both Paul's above-cited words on the heavenly Adam and **Philo's** conception of the ideal man were brought in relation to the proto-Gnostic mythological conception of the heavenly man as Anthropos or ***Urmensch.***[42] In recent years this view has lost favour.[43] In my view much depends on how Gnosis and Gnosticism are defined. Gnosis, if taken to mean a negative view of man's position in the world, is not very objectionable, but has little **expla-**

[37] Horsley (1978) has called the basic presupposition 'spiritual elitism'.
[38] The two passages have respectively been analysed by Pearson (1973), esp. 27–43, Horsley (1981).
[39] Sandmel (1962).
[40] See Goodenough's final statement of his position in Goodenough-Kraabel (1968), and Sandmel's critique in (1979).
[41] As pointed out by Chadwick (1966b) 304.
[42] See for example the studies of Jervell (1960), Schenke (1962), on Paul, **Philo** and exegesis of Gen. 1:26. Wedderburn (1973), covering the same ground, sharply criticizes the invocation of Gnostic mythology.
[43] But will no doubt return. The recent book of Haim Maccoby, (199 1), revitalizes the view of a Paul tainted by Gnosticism; see esp. his chapter 2.



natory value because it cannot be related to any particular religion or school of thought. This is not true of Gnosticism, which developed into a powerful religious movement. If, however, Gnosticism is rigorously defined as characterized above all by a 'tragic split in the deity', and as a deliberate revolt against the Jewish notion of a creator God, then it is evident that our understanding of both Phi10 and Paul is little advanced by an appeal to this movement, even in an incipient **stage.**[44]

More recently scholars have been looking in other directions. An important insight has been that Paul is not writing abstract theological or philosophical treatises, but reacting by epistolary means to actual situations in various early Christian communities. Both Pearson and Horsley have suggested that much of the terminology and conceptuality used by Paul in 1 Corinthians which is reminiscent of **Philo** has been taken over from his opponents and adapted to his own views, so that he can persuade the congregation to come over to his position. This would also apply to the use of the texts from Gen. l-2. The hypothesis is put forward, based largely on Philonic parallels, that this community had been strongly influenced by ideas prevalent in the Greek-speaking synagogue, perhaps through the mediation of Apollos, who according to Acts **18:24** was a Jew from **Alex**andria.45

This approach, though not devoid of speculative elements, is attractive because it allows the differences between Paul and **Philo** to be placed in better perspective. Paul is sensitive to the affinities between **Judaeo**-Hellenistic ideas and his own Christ-centred perspective, and is prepared to borrow from his opponents for tactical purposes. It is, however, extremely important to reflect on how deep the parallels go. Many of them only appear to be valid at the superficial level of terminology. When we penetrate to a deeper level the differences between Paul and his opponents (and also **Philo)** is profound. This point has been strongly brought forward by Sanders in his classic study on Paul and Palestinian Judaism. For Sanders Paul's 'flesh' differs from **Philo's** 'body', and Paul's 'spirit' is not the same as **Philo's** 'soul'. Arguing against **Sandmel,** he **affirms:**[46]

[44] Cf. Pearson (1973) 84: 'Gnosticism arises on Jewish soil out of a profound disillusionment with the God of the covenant, the God of time and history and the created order.' Further argument in Pearson (1983). See also the survey in Van den Broek (1983), esp. 56-6 1, 68-69. Earlier Wilson (1958) 261 had concluded: '**Philo** could in a sense be called a Gnostic, much as Paul or Clement of Alexandria, but in the narrower sense adopted in this study he is not a Gnostic, although there are indications that Christian Gnosticism was foreshadowed, if not actually anticipated, by a Jewish.'
[45] Cf. the studies cited above in n. 37-38; also Perkins (1982), Sellin (1982), (1986) 175. On Apollos Pearson (1973) 18. Other Pauline opponents of relevance to his relation to Philo are those in 2 Corinthians, on whom see Georgi (1964, 1986), Koester (1982) 2.120ff., and in Galatians (see above n. 28 and text thereto).
[46] Sanders (1977) 553.

> When Paul speaks of the conflict between 'spirit' and 'flesh' (Gal. 5:16–25) it would be better to capitalize the two words. The conflict is between God's Spirit and the Flesh, the power which opposes God... The Spirit which is here engaged in struggle is the same Spirit which Christians have, which dwells in them; it is not the human spirit at war against corporeality. Paul does sometime relate the Flesh to human lusts and desires in a way reminiscent of **Philo's** σῶμα/σῆμα conception, but the similarity is not profound. Paul does not present the human aspiration as being the liberation of one's own spirit from the bodily tomb. The human need is rather to become one with Christ Jesus and to have the spirit of God.

Two older contributions can be adduced to support this view. Many years ago Hommes argued from a philosophical point of view that ultimately **Philo's** thought is Platonic and is rests on a Platonic dualism, whereas Paul conceives man as a unity of soul and body. In contrast to **Philo,** Paul's 'heavenly man' is an actual man, Jesus Christ. **Philo** thinks in philosophical terms, so that there is an unbridgeable chasm between spirit and matter. Paul thinks in eschatological terms, i.e. the whole man is saved through a new creation in Jesus Christ.47 For Robinson, viewing the question from the perspective of biblical theology, Paul takes over his use of the terms 'flesh' and 'spirit' from the Old Testament. σάρξ stands not for a part of man, but rather the whole man in a particular perspective, i.e. man in his contrast to God. πνεῦμα too does not represent a part of man, but rather man inasmuch as he is open to God and transmits the life of **God.**[48] Now also in the case of **Philo** one can argue that 'flesh' and 'spirit' symbolize attitudes to God. But in my view it is undeniable that **Philo** is influenced by Greek anthropological dualist ideas, and that the two terms tend to indicate separate parts of man rather than man as a whole. This means that it is not possible for **Philo,** as it is for Paul, to dissociate σῶμα from σάρξ, so that the body can become 'glorified', i.e. directed wholly towards God as a 'spiritual body'.49 Certainly the apocalyptic-eschatological component in Paul's thought, nowhere more forcefully presented than in 1 Cor. 15, in the same passage that introduces the two Adams, decisively distinguishes him from **Philo.**[50] For Paul there will be a resurrection of the body; this view is impossible for his opponents in Corinth, and also for **Philo.**[51]

We conclude, therefore, that in the area of anthropological categories, on which our discussion has concentrated, the parallels between **Philo** and Paul occur above all on the *terminological* level. Paul, his opponents and

[47] Hommes (1937), written from the viewpoint of Calvinistic philosophy; summary at R-R 54.

[48] Robinson ( 1952) 17–26.

[49] ***Ibid.*** 26–33.

[50] The apocalyptic expectation of the coming triumph of God is seen as the central focus of Paul's thought in the impressive studies of Beker (1980) and (1982).

[51] See also the sound judgments of Hay **in** his study on the psychology of faith in Hellenistic Judaism, (1987) 910f.



Philo are using the same terms, but mean something quite different by them. It is because he looks too much to terminological similarities that Sandmel's hellenized portrait of Paul fails to convince (the same applies to a lesser degree to Chadwick). It is tempting to conclude that it will be more profitable to compare Paul with other forms of Jewish thought e.g. the Pharisaic Judaism that he may have imbibed at the feet of Gamaliel. But here too we would find that he is not an easily reducible figure. In the final words of his study Sanders argues that Paul in essential ways differs from both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism (his terms):52

> ... it does appear that it may be just as difficult to peg him as a Hellenistic Jew who thought that Christ presented the true mystery or true *gnosis* as it is to characterize him as a Rabbinic Jew who thought that Jesus was the Messiah. In his letters Paul appears as one who bases the explanations of his Gospel, his theology, on the meaning of the death and resurrection of Jesus, not as one who has fitted the death and resurrection into a pre-existing scheme...

**Philo** and Paul had much in common because of their shared background of Judaism in a Greek world; their experience and the way it was brought to focus in their thought, set them far apart.

A final more specific subject that should not be overlooked is the theme of grace, not least on account of the recent monograph by Zeller, which examines χάρις in both **Philo** and Paul and makes some insightful comparisons.53 Once again we find a pattern of similarity and difference. For both thinkers grace is **centred** on the relation between God and man. Grace expresses man's utter dependence on God, leaving no room for any pride or feelings of human autonomy. Good works that people perform and the special gifts (χαρίσματα) that they possess in order to be able to perform them are received through grace, and should elicit the only appropriate response, thanksgiving.

When these agreements are placed in a wider context, however, significant differences emerge. **Philo's** views on grace are tied in with his views on creation and man's place therein. For Paul grace is **focussed** on the cross of Christ, within an apocalyptic-eschatological framework. For **Philo** grace does not conflict in any way with observance of the Law, since it is the Law that shows man how to reach his goal in ascent to God. Paul, on the other hand, attacks any form of reliance on the Law. Justification is by grace, not by the works of the Law. Paul, as Zeller persuasively argues, has a much more radical view of the unconditionality ('Gratuität') of grace than **Philo,** for whom there always remains a correlation between grace and worth (even if such worth may never be a source of pride). For **Philo,** we

[52] Sanders (1977) 555-556. Note the echoes of Goodenough here.

[53] Zeller (1990), specific comparison at 197-201; see also useful summary by Hay in his review at ***SPhA 4 (1992)*** 174f., which I have found helpful.

might conclude, grace is more ontological, for Paul more soteriological.[54] These conclusions, it will be observed, accord with the main line of argument presented above.

## 3. The Epistle to the Hebrews

The New Testament book that shows the most affinity to Philonic thought is unquestionably the Epistle to the Hebrews. The origin of this work, which took a long time to establish itself in the New Testament canon, is unfortunately shrouded in mystery. We do not know who the author was. He was certainly not Paul, although his thought shows certain affinities with Pauline Christianity. Other possibilities are Barnabas or the Jewish-Alexandrian Christian missionary Apollos, whose candidature was first suggested by Luther.[55] Also the letter's destination is not clear: Rome is the best candidate (because of 13:24), but other communities such as Corinth or Alexandria are possible.[56] The *terminus ante quem* for the date is about 95 AD, when Clement of Rome makes clear references to the letter. Many scholars favour a much earlier dating, before the fall of the Temple in 70 AD.[57] This dating, of course, brings the letter closer to the time of Philo.

There is a vast body of scholarship on the relation between Hebrews and Philo.[58] Every commentary-and these appear at very regular intervals-feels the need to make a pronouncement on the issue.[59] There are also quite a number of specialist monographs.60 A sound summary of the *status quaestionis* has recently been given by Feld:[61]

> Trotz alledem läßt sich eine direkte Abhängigkeit des Hebr vom Werk Philos wohl nicht nachweisen, erst recht nicht, daß der Verfasser Philo persönlich gekannt hat und möglicherweise sogar Hörer von dessen Auslegung der Schrift am Sabbat in einer Synagoge zu Alexandrien gewesen war. Umgekehrt läßt sich allerdings nicht ausschließen, daß der Auctor ad Hebraeos Kenntnis von dem Werk Philos gehabt haben kann. Die Darlegung der letztlich verschiedenen theologischen Grundauffassungen beider Autoren trägt in dieser Argumentation nicht. So wird man mit ziemlicher Sicherheit annehmen können, daß der Autor in den exegetischen Methoden des hellenistischen Judentums gebildet war, und mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß er diese Bildung in Alexandrien erhalten hat.

54 My formulation, not Zeller's.
55 Feld (1987) 3523 affirms that of all the authors suggested (which cover nearly all personalities of early Christianity) the only serious candidates are Barnabas, Apollos or an unknown author; Attridge (1989) l-6 advocates agnosticism.
56 Bruce (1987) 3513-18, Feld (1987) 3588-91; Grant (1986) 180 chooses for Alexandria, but this position is rare, as the overview given by Attridge (1989) 9-13 shows.
57 Bruce (1987) 35 13-18, Feld (1987) 3591-93. Attridge (1989) 6-9 is again agnostic.
58 See listings at G-G 294, R-R 433 (index).
59 Most recently Wilson (1987) 22-24, Attridge (1989) 29-30, Weiss (1991) 100-103.
60 Unfortunately a number of the monographic contributions are rather inaccessible, e.g. Leonard (1939), Maar (1964), Sowers (1965); the first two are not even cited in the massive study of Williamson (1970).
61 Feld ( 1987) 3550.



The opinion referred to that the author knew Philo personally, may have sat as his feet, and was later converted from Philonism to Christianity was put forward by Spicq on the basis of a lengthy examination of thematic parallels and convergences.[62] These were answered point by point in a very long study by Williamson, the *ad hominem* argumentation of which makes for rather tedious reading, but which contains most of the relevant material.63 The English scholar allows that the author may have had acquaintance with Philo, but asserts that this is unproven, and that the change of thinking that he must then have undergone was so radical that his supposed former background does not contribute to an understanding of his purpose in the Letter.64 Similarly Hurst in a detailed discussion, which concentrates especially on the 'Alexandrian' or Platonizing interpretation of Hebrews, concludes that the purported Platonic/Philonic background is 'not proven'.65 It will not be profitable for us to delve further into scholarly controversies.66 Instead we shall briefly list and comment on the main linguistic, hermeneutical and thematic connections that exist between the two thinkers.

1. *Language.* A large number of terms and phrases in Hebrews, not all of which are derived from the LXX, belong to the characteristic vocabulary of Philo. Some of the more striking examples are: ἄθλησις, αἰσθητήριον, αἴτιος σωτηρίας, ἀμήτωρ, ἀπαύγασμα, γνόφος, δημιουργός, δυσερμήνευτος, ἱκετηρία, Λευιτικός, μετριοπαθέω, πανήγυρις, πολύτροπος, σκιά, τύπος, ὑπόδειγμα, χαρακτήρ. Surely an impressive list, but more important than words are the uses to which they are put.[67]

2. *Biblical interpretation.* A striking feature of Hebrews is the manner in which the author relates theological argument to scriptural interpretation of the LXX, The concentration on the Pentateuch is noteworthy-nearly half

62 Spicq (1952), esp. 89. In (1987) 3608 he remains convinced of his thesis: '11 apparait de plus en plus probable que l'auteur de Hébr. soit un *juif* converti d' Alexandrie (his emphasis).'
63 Williamson (1970). In a judicious review Daniélou (1971) 49 concludes that the conclusion of Spicq is possible, but that Williamson's view is more probable.
64 Williamson (1970) 578-579.
65 Hurst (1990) 7-42; see esp. the conclusion on 42. Unfortunately this excellent study came to my attention to late to be fully integrated in my discussion. Hurst concludes that there seems to be a special affinity between Hebrews and the kind of OT exegesis found in Acts 7 (but this again seems to have some affinities with what we find in Philo...).
66 In what follows I am indebted to Spicq and Williamson, but will not give references. The relevant discussions can easily be located.
67 Rightly Williamson (1970) 133ff., but he is too negative on the evidence he has amassed.

the direct quotations of the OT and more than half the allusions refer to it[68] —, though Philo's virtual exclusiveness is not taken over. More specifically the use of four texts-Gen. 2:2, Ex. 25:40, Jos 1:5, Prov. 3:11–12—is so close to Philo that coincidence must be ruled out.69 The author distinguishes between elementary and deeper knowledge (symbolized by the Pauline 'milk' and 'solid food', cf. 5: 1 1–6:1), claiming that he will initiate his readers into the deeper meaning of Scripture. But, it is vital to note, this deeper knowledge is not allegory of the Philonic sort, but rather what is generally called 'typology'. Melchizedek, Moses, the tabernacle, the wanderings of Israel are 'types' or foreshadowings or prefigurations of what was to happen and what will happen to Christ and his people.70

3. *Important themes.* Only the most significant of the themes common to Philo and Hebrews can be listed.

(a) *The Logos.* The description of the Son at Hebr. 1:2-3 as **κληρονόμον πάντων, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν [ὁ θεός] τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ**[71] presupposes a Logos theology which is somewhat less developed than Philo's, closer to what we find in the Wisdom of Solomon.[72] Best known is the text that the Logos is **ζῶν καὶ ἐνεργὴς καὶ τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον καὶ διϊκνούμενος ἄχρι μερισμοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ πνεύματος** (4: 12).[73] This cannot fail to remind us of Philo's Logos-cutter (**λόγος τομεύς**), though the context differs, being neither cosmological nor anthropological in the theoretical sense, but rather the laying open of the human heart.

(b) *Priesthood and cult.* Central to the entire argument of Hebrews is the notion of Christ as faithful and merciful high-priest (3:1–5:10), a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek, who is holy and exalted, and unlike human

[68] Listed by Spicq (1952) 1.33 l-333.

[69] Note esp. the text at 13:5b, a composite text derived from Jos. 1:5, Deut. 31:8 and possibly Gen. 28:15, which is cited *in exactly the same form* by Philo in *Conf.* 166; cf. Williamson (1970) 570ff.

[70] See Hanson (1959) 89-96 (who also adduces the typology of the speech of Stephen in Acts 7), Sowers (1965) 75-138, Schröger (1968) *passim (see summary* 306f.).

[71] RSV translation: '. ..the heir of all things, through whom also he created the world. He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature.'

[72] Cf. Daniélou (1958) 210f., Williamson (1970) 410, both emphasizing that **ἀπαύγασμα** is shared with Wisd. 7:25 (but not, note well, **χαράκτηρ**). Somewhat obscure is the statement in 11:3 that the ages were established **ῥήματι θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὸ βλεπόμενον γεγονέναι**. Williamson (1970) 372ff. is right, in my view, in arguing against the view that the author has the Philonic intelligible world as model of creation in mind, but wrong in asserting that *creatio ex nihilo* is meant. This is surely a less sophisticated way of describing the process that Philo defines as **γένεσις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι** (*Deus* 119). In both the author's and Philo's LXX the primal situation was described as **ἀόρατος** (Gen. 1:2), while God's word brings light, and hence **φαινόμενα**, in Gen. 1:3 (cf. *Somn. 1.75-76).*

[73] RSV translation: 'For the word of God is living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the division of soul and spirit.'



priests is made perfect forever (6:20–7:28).[74] Human priests serve in a tabernacle that is a shadow (**σκιά**) and copy (**ὑπόδειγμα**) of the heavenly tabernacle (**σκηνή**), as indicated by the divine instruction to Moses recorded in Ex. 25:40 (8:1–6). One compares the frequent texts in which the high-priest is identified with the divine Logos (e.g. *Migr.* 102, *Fug.* 108ff.).

(c) *Dualism.* The comparison of the earthly and the heavenly tabernacle is couched in terms that, on the surface at least, are undeniably drawn from the coalescence of biblical and Platonist language such as we find in Philo. In addition to 8:5 just cited, we note also 9:24, where Christ the high-priest enters 'not into a sanctuary made with hands, a copy of the true one (**ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν**), but into heaven itself.' A particularly interesting example of dualism is Hebrew's description of Abraham's sojourning in search of a heavenly fatherland, the city with foundations that have God as 'craftsman and maker' (**τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργός**) (11: 10).[75] But for the author there are not only two worlds, but also two ages and two covenants. History, which is to be equated with the history of salvation, is important to him in a way that is not the case for Philo. His dualism, as numerous scholars have emphasized, is eschatological rather than ontological. For this reason too, there is rather surprisingly perhaps, no allegorization in Hebrews, but rather a consistent adherence to typological interpretation.77

(d) Moses. Undoubtedly Moses occupies a special position in Hebrews, especially in 3:1-6 (where Num. 12:7 is cited) and 8:5ff. (where Ex. 25:40 is cited).[78] Compare ***Leg.*** 3.102-103, where both two texts are found. But in Hebrews Moses remains associated with the 'shadow' that in Philo is the province of Bezalel; Jesus' glory is of a higher order. Is the author reacting

[74] De Jonge (1983) 4-7 emphasizes that the high-priest motif in Hebrews is analogous to, but not *derived* from Philo. On Melchizedek cf. *inter alios* Horton (1976) 54-60, 156ff.

[75] Cf. Mercado (1967), Braun (1970), Bitter (1983) 1. Braun 323 sees two chief differences: a different attitude to time (see following note) and a differing evaluation of the heavenly origin of the soul.

[76] Eccles (1968) 224f.: *'Heilsgeschichte* dominates the argument of Hebrews. Christ is not the Mystagogue who, like the Moses of Philo, leads the individual illumined soul to the mystic vision of the Absolute. In Hebrews Christ is the incarnation of God within history, the one in whom eschatological fulfillment of the *Heilsgeschichte* occurs. Salvation comes to those who accept the kerygma in faith, and are thereby granted the gift of eternal life and membership in the eschatological community.' See also Williamson (1970) 150ff.; Braun ( 1970); useful overview in Sharp (1984). Two dissenting views are: MacRae (1978), who distinguishes between the 'realized' Alexandrian eschatology to which the author subscribes and the apocalyptic eschatology of his readers, to which in the interests of paraenesis he accommodates his language; Thompson (1982) 152-160, who sees the Platonic elements in Hebrews as the beginning of Christian philosophy, even if the author himself was not a philosopher (158).

[77] Cf. Hanson (1959) 83.

[78] Cf. Sowers (1965) 115-l19; Williamson (1970) 449ff. is again too negative.

against (i.e. over-trumping) the special place of Moses in Hellenistic Judaism (as also in Stephen's speech)?79

(e) *Perfection.* The distinction between milk and solid food already mentioned is directly related to the process of spiritual perfection (6:1), in which the believers follow the lead of Christ himself (5:9, 7:28). As in the case of Philo and Paul, patterns of thought are similar, but the way they are concretely worked out differ.[80] The best example is perhaps that of faith (πίστις). The celebrated encomium in chapter 11 certainly has points of contact with Philo, but the central focus, the things not seen (1 1:1, πράγματα οὐ βλεπόμενα), belongs to a different world of thought.81

It is time to reach a conclusion. Examination of the evidence has shown, to my mind, that the author of the Hebrews and Phi10 come from the same milieu in a closer sense than was discovered in the case of Paul. I would not be at all surprised if he had had some form of direct contact with Judaism as it had developed in Philo's Alexandria.82 Linguistic, hermeneutical and thematic correspondences are impressive. But the thought-worlds are markedly different. The antitheses ontological versus eschatological dualism and allegory versus typology sum up much of the difference. But the crucial point of divergence, as Weiss points out, lies in the area of christology.83 It is the author's recognition of the Christ and his self-sacrifice which furnishes the dynamics that inform his eschatology, typology and soteriology, impelling them in a direction away from the Philonic heritage (in the broad sense) with which he must have been familar.

## 4. *The Gospel of John*

We now reach the remaining New Testament book with which Philo has been frequently associated, the Gospel of John. Its famous opening words, 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God', and indeed the whole of its prologue (1: 1-18) have

79 Thurston (1986) speculatively goes a step further and argues that he reacts against a Christology identifying Jesus with Moses, Adam etc.

80 Balanced conclusions in Carlston (1978). Dey (1975) devotes an entire monograph to 'patterns of perfection' which, he argues, are intrinsically related, both in Philo and Hebrews, to a mystical immediacy to the divine which goes beyond the world of intermediaries common to both authors. Hebrews would appear to be read too much in philosophical–ontological terms here.

81 Williamson (1970) 309ff., Hay (1987) 909.

82 Attridge concludes in his extensive commentary, (1989) 29: '... there are undeniable parallels that suggest that Philo and our author are indebted to similar traditions of Greek-speaking and -thinking Judaism.' But he refuses to pin this down to Alexandria, remarking in a note (5, n. 44) that 'neither rhetoric, philosophy, nor the Greek scriptures were confined to Alexandria'.

83 Weiss (1991) 103; cf. also Attridge (1989) 27.



repeatedly been brought into relation to one of Philo's most central ideas, the doctrine of the Logos. As so often in New Testament studies there is no agreement on date, authorship, and location. Was the author the son of Zebedee, or 'the beloved disciple', or leader of the Johannine community, or any combination of the three? There is some measure of agreement that the Gospel was written within the Johannine community, most likely during the final two decades of the first century, and that this community had its locus of origin in the Syrian or Palestinian churches, but may have later moved to Ephesus, the source of the Gospel according to the tradition.84 Recently Dunn has argued that it is in John's Gospel that the break between Judaism and Christianity becomes tangible.[85] On this view it is fitting that we treat this document last. Is it likely that something of Philo's thought reached the evangelist in his part of the world?

By far *the* most detailed and penetrating critique of John's relation to Philo was presented by the New Testament scholar C. H. Dodd in his classic study *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel.86* In the first part of the book, entitled 'The background', an entire chapter is devoted to Philo. In Dodd's view there are three main areas in which Philonic material illuminates John, it being important in each case to note not only the similarities but also the differences between the two authors.

(a) There is a real affinity in the use of symbolism, the chief examples of which being (i) light as symbol of the relation of the Deity to man and the world, (ii) God as the fountain from which life-giving water streams, and (iii) the symbol of God as a shepherd (but in Philo this is applied primarily to the universe and the individual soul, whereas John keeps close the biblical idea of God as shepherd of the community of Israel). It is true that in all these cases Philo and John share the Old Testament background, so it is necessary to penetrate deeper into their respective thought.

(b) For both Philo and the evangelist to know God is the chief end of man and the source of his highest blessedness. They share the language of worship, faith and love, though Philo goes beyond John in his mystical awareness of absolute being, in which he is Platonically influenced. Indeed it can be said that both share a common notion of eternal life, which is to know the μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεός (only true God), and for both such knowledge is at least in part a matter of faith and love.

(c) Two aspects of Philo's Logos doctrine are of relevance for John. Firstly

84 For the two-staged approach see Brown (1979) 56, 178. Koester (1982) 2.178 stresses a Syrian origin; Dodd (1953) 452 adheres to the tradition; Robinson (1985) controversially opts for both apostolic authorship and Ephesian location, but argues for a much earlier dating, perhaps even prior to Mark, certainly prior to 70 ad.

85 Dunn (1991) 220-229.

86 Dodd (1953) 54-73. A difficulty in summarizing the chapter is that Dodd writes about Philo in order to illuminate John, whereas we are interested in what there is in John that is reminiscent of Philo.

there is the role of the Logos as medium of intercourse between God and the world. God is known in and through his Logos. But in spite of Philo's language of personification, he does not really think of the Logos in personal terms as John does. Secondly Dodd is struck by the texts in Philo in which the Logos is equated with the archetypal man.87 Here in his view the parallelism with the Fourth Gospel is remarkable. He speculates that, just as both Philo and John speak of the true God (ἀληθινὸς θεός), so the evangelist would have used the Philonic phrase ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος (true man), had he not been bound by tradition to the Aramaizing expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (the son of man). (Here Dodd shows that he is a child of his time, and is surely skating on thin ice; it is noteworthy that it was precisely these passages that were being brought by the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* in relation to the Gnostic theory of the *Urrnensch.88)*

Dodd concludes his overview with the following words:[89]

> It seems clear, therefore, that whatever other elements of thought may enter into the background of the Fourth Gospel, it certainly presupposes a range of ideas having a remarkable resemblance to those of Hellenistic Judaism as represented by Philo. The treatment of those ideas is indeed strikingly different. In particular there is one decisive difference: the evangelist conceives of the logos as incarnate, and of the ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος as not merely dwelling as νοῦς in all men, but as actually living and dying on earth as a man. This means that the Logos, which in Philo is never personal, except in a fluctuating series of metaphors, is in the Gospel fully personal, standing in personal relations both with God and with men, and having a place in history.

He thus appears to edge away from asserting that John actually was acquainted with Philo, and sees the relation as one to Hellenistic Judaism. Later in the book, when discussing the Prologue and its seeming duality of Old Testament and Judaeo-Hellenistic conception, he affirms:[90]

> The ambiguity which (from our point of view) enters into the Johannine conception of the Logos could be understood if we assumed that the author started from the Jewish idea of the Torah as being at once the Word of God and divine Wisdom manifested in creation, and found, under the guidance of Hellenistic Jewish thought similar to that of Philo, an appropriate Greek expression which fittingly combined both ideas.

The Prologue can thus be seen as account of the life of Jesus under the form of a description of the eternal Logos in its relations with the world and with man, while the rest of the Gospel is an account of the Logos under the form of a record of the life of Jesus. It is the central statement καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (and the Logos became flesh) that binds the two, and in so doing

87 Texts cited in Dodd (1953) 69-71: ***Abr. 8-1*** 1, ***Det. 22,*** Somn. 1.215, *Opif.* 146, ***Plant. 42, Leg.*** 1.31-32, ***Fug.*** 71, *Conf.* 62-63, 146, 41, *Spec.* 3.37, 4.14, *Mut.* 181.
88 See above at n. 42.
89 Dodd (1953) 73.
90 ***Ibid. 278.*** Comparable conclusions in Daniélou (1958) 204-210.



the entire Gospel, together.[91] Dodd, convinced of the influence of Philo (or someone like him) and philosophy, sees a creative confluence of ideas.

Much more recently Thomas Tobin has reached much the same conclusion, focussing his enquiry on the hymn which is part of Prologue to the Gospel.[92] Having examined the three themes of (i) the reality and functions of the Logos, (ii) light and darkness, and (iii) the Logos and the Heavenly man, Tobin concludes?3

> On the basis of the parallels between the hymn of the Prologue and some of the biblical interpretations of Philo of Alexandria, one is led to the conclusion that the hymn in the Prologue, like Philo of Alexandria, was part of the larger world of Hellenistic Jewish speculative interpretations of biblical texts. That tradition developed through successive but similar interpretations of basically the same biblical texts, in this case the texts of Genesis l-2 . . . The argument is not that the author of the hymn had read Philo of Alexandria; the parallels are not close enough to maintain that kind of position. But the parallels do show that both the author of the hymn and Philo of Alexandria were part of the larger tradition of Hellenistic Jewish biblical interpretation and speculation. Both were making use of similar structures of thought and were expressing those structures through the use of similar vocabulary, even though the results were very different.

But the further development of the author that the Logos had become incarnate in Jesus would have been quite unimaginable for Philo. Moreover the hymn then became incorporated in a Gospel which drew more on the interpretations of Palestinian midrashim than the traditions of Hellenistic Judaism.94

The further aspect of the relation between Palestinian and Hellenistic backgrounds to the Gospel has been studied by Borgen, who was able to show convincingly that the pericope 6:31–58 on manna from heaven is related to *Leg.* 3.162-168 and ***Mut.*** *253-263* because both writers have taken over themes from Palestinian Midrashic exposition of the Old Testament:[95]

> John did not depend upon Philo, but was a parallel phenomenon. John reflects common Jewish features in his exegesis and drew on haggadic and halakhic traditions, especially from early Merkabah mysticism. The method of paraphrase seems to solve the difficult problem of sources both in Philo and John. Both Philo and John interpreted Jewish traditions under influence of non-Jewish thought-categories and ideas.

Similarly Borgen argues that the term Logos in the Prologue builds upon an exegesis of Gen. 1:3 which is found both in *Genesis Rabbah 3.1-3* and

91 Dodd (1953) 285.
92 Tobin (1990). He follows Brown (1966-70) in regarding the original hymn, adapted by the evangelist, as covering l:l-5, 10–12b, 14, 16. See further his excellent synoptic article on the Logos in Tobin (1992).
93 Tobin (1990) 268.
94 ***Ibid.***
95 Borgen (1965) 3.

Philo's *Somn.* 1.75.96 Yet another theme that is shared by John, Philo and Rabbinic Judaism, according to Borgen, is that of divine agency, as exemplified in the texts 1: 18 and 6:46, which should be related to Philo's statements on the heavenly Israel.[97] A different approach to this same subject is presented by Meeks, who argues that the divinization of Christ in John is illuminated by Philonic evidence in a double way.98 Christians apply Jewish traditions about the quasi-divine status of Moses and Patriarchs to Jesus in an exaggerated way that is unacceptable to the Jews. Their polemical statements against Jesus' divinity in the Gospel are rather similar to what Philo says of the emperor Gaius, that he though a man makes himself God (*Legat.* 162-165).

Another very recent study, which concentrates on the text of the Prologue and compares it verse for verse with Philonic ideas, has been published by Hofrichter. It is argued that there is undoubtedly a dependence on Philo's contemporary and up-to-date theological concept of the Logos.99 Indeed the application of the concept to the person of Jesus might be inspired by role that Moses plays in Philo.[100] The study concludes with the striking words, which I am not sure I know how to interpret:[101]

> Das Gespräch zwischen Kirche und Judentum muß wohl dort wieder aufgenommen werden, wo es abgebrochen wurde: in der von der Theologie Philos von Alexandrien geprägten hellenistischen Synagoge von Jerusalem.

Perhaps what is meant is the thesis of Dunn that John's Christology marks the point where they ways of Judaism and Christianity divide; hence to this point modern discussion should return.102

Finally it will be of interest to give one small example of a valuable paralelism between Philo and the Gospel's Prologue.[103] The opening words famously state:

> ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.
> In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with (the) God, and the Logos was God.

The evangelist (or the hymn he takes over) makes an explicit distinction

96 Borgen (1972) 120.
97 Borgen (1968) 144ff. (with cross-reference to Dodd on 147, but with a new emphasis on the possible relation to Merkabah mysticism suggested to the author by E. R. Goodenough just before his death). Cf. also Urban-Henry (1980), who relate the statements of Jesus 'Abraham rejoiced to see my day' and 'before Abraham was, I am' (John 8:56–58) to Philo's doctrine of the Logos.
98 Meeks ( 1976).
99 Hofrichter (1986) 337-359.
100 *Ibid.* 345ff.
101 */bid. 367.*
102 *See* above n. *85.* Dunn further argues that the author considered himself remaining within the bounds of Jewish monotheism (229). He too pleads for *rapprochement (250).*
103 *I owe* this example to my colleague Prof. P. W. van der Horst (Utrecht).



here between God with and God without the article. The only place in a reasonably contemporary document where we find a similar distinction is in Philo, at Somn. 1.229, where exegesis is given of Gen. 31: 13, and it is claimed that the title of God without the article is given to his 'most ancient word' (πρεσβύτατος λόγος). Haenchen, who notes the parallel, argues that θεός is not identical with ὁ θεός, and that somewhat concealed here is a 'Christology of the subordination of the Son'.[104] He also points out that Origen gives precisely this interpretation. For our subject this triangular relation between Philo, John's Gospel and the greatest of the pre-Nicene theologians is of more than ordinary interest.

In conclusion it must be said that, in spite of the studies we have cited, the consensus of Johannine scholarship adopts a very cautious approach to the subject of the relation between Phi10 and John, taking the view that the connections between them should not be exaggerated, or even kept to a minimum. Brown, the author of an exhaustive and authoritative commentary on the Gospel, on the basis of a short discussion rejects Dodd's (tentative) direct connection.[105] He concludes that the evidence points towards a common background shared by both Philo and John, but is also prepared to subscribe to the counterfactual assertion of his French namesake Braun, namely that even if Phi10 had never existed, the Fourth Gospel would most probably not have been any different than what it is.106 It would be difficult, perhaps even impossible, to refute this position. But it should certainly be qualified by two remarks: if Philo had never existed, (1) we would know a lot less about the background of the Gospel's thought, and (2) the interpretation of the Gospel by the Church fathers would not have been the same.

## *5. Results in Patristic perspective*

So far the relations that exist between Philo and three central New Testament writers have been examined in some detail. A large number of convergences have been discovered, though in every case the differences were as great, if not greater, than the similarities. In none of the three cases was there any evidence of a direct connection. On the other hand, the hypothesis of a 'common background' was confirmed. In some cases the proximity is greater than in others; it certainly is greatest in the case of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Our perspective has been rather different from the way the subject of 'Philo and the New Testament' is usually looked at. If Philo is examined by New Testament scholars, it is

104 Haenchen (1980) 116-I 18.
105 Brown (1966-70) I.lviii; cf. Sandmel (1979) 159: 'The Gospel of John owes no direct debt to Philo, only to the milieu of Philo.'
106 Brown (1966-70) I.lviii, citing Braun (1964) 2.298.

invariably for the purpose of casting light on the New Testament or its background, an entirely laudable procedure, though one to be used with the requisite caution. The reverse process, i.e. that the New Testament is used to shed light on Philo, almost never occurs.[107]

Our aim in this chapter has been somewhat different again. The importance of the thematic convergences that have been discovered is to be seen above all in the perspective of the development of later Patristic thought. As we shall see, many of the Patres, whether they believed the legend of Philo Christianus or not, saw significant affinities between the authoritative writings of the New Testament canon and what they read in Philo's treatises. This will have contributed to the attraction which they felt for Philo's thought. On the basis of the findings in this chapter it may be concluded that the affinities which they found were by no means illusory. They were understood, however, in a different way, not as the result of historical proximity, but as two perspectives of differing value and status on the revealed truth. I shall conclude this chapter with two more examples of New Testament passages with significant parallels to Philo, which in our account so far have received insufficient attention.

## *6. Two final examples*

(a) *The Christological hymn in Colossians.* Christological issues have been raised above in relation to Paul, John and Hebrews. The evidence that Philo supplies, especially on Wisdom and Logos theology, has been put to good use in the clarification of the developments that took place in early Christology.[108] But that is now not our concern. Instead we take a brief look at the well-known hymn at Colossians 1: 15–18:[109]

> He is the image of the invisible God (εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου),
> the first-born of all creation (πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως);
> for in him (ἐν αὐτῷ) all things were created,
> in heaven and on earth,
> visible and invisible (τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα),
> whether thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities—
> all things were created through him (δι' αὐτοῦ) and for him (δι' αὐτόν).
> He is before all things (πρὸ πάντων),
> and in him all things hold together (τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν).
> He is the head of the body of the Church.. .

There is much here that is very close to what is found in Philo:[110]

(i) the concept of 'image' (εἰκὼν) so fundamental to Philo's linkage of Genesis and Plato;
(ii) God's invisibility;
(iii) the term 'first-born' (πρωτότοκος, though Philo's preference is for πρωτόγονος[111]);
(iv) the language of 'prepositional metaphysics', in which the notion of agency has an important place;[112]
(v) the contrast between visible and invisible (which Philonically is the distinction between intelligible and sense-perceptible reality);
(vi) the pre-existence of the Logos.

On the other hand we may surmise that Philo:

(i) would not describe the created realm as κτίσις (creation);[113]
(ii) would be uncertain as to what was meant by 'thrones or dominions or principalities or authorities';
(iii) would not speak of all things being established *in* the Logos;[114]
(iv) most importantly, would totally fail to understand the final line, as well as the second part of the hymn in vv. 18-20.

The Fathers interested above all in corroboration of the revealed truth, are impressed by the positive side of the balance sheet, although they could also draw attention to the negative side if it suits their purpose.

b. *Paul's allegorization of Hagar and Sarah.* In responding to his opponents in Galatians Paul compares the two wives and sons of Abraham (4:21–31). For our purposes the most interesting lines are (22-26):

> Now it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and one by a free woman. But the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, the son of the free woman through promise. Now this is an allegory (ἀλληγορούμενα): these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery; she is Hagar. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia; she corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother.

[107] With the exception of the discussions noted above in n. 3.
[108] See for example Dunn (1980) 220-228 and his conclusions at 258-268, but his perspective on Philo's Logos theory has been strongly contested by Downing (1990); also Hurtado (1988) 45ff. A classic example of how a study which takes Christological issues as its starting-point can make an important contibution to Philonic research is the monograph on the notion of the 'divine man' by Holladay (1977).
[109] RSV translation (slightly modified). There is a scholarly consensus that an early Christological hymn has been adapted here; cf. Hurtado (1988) 101 (with further references). The question of the letter's authenticity continues to divide scholars; e.g. pro Kümmel (1982) 342, *contra* Schenk (1987) 3327, Koester (1982) 2.263ff. (who emphasizes that it does belong to the history of the Pauline churches). Paul speaks of the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ at 2 Cor. 4:4.



[110] See especially Sanders (1971) 75-87 (with further references).
[111] πρωτότοκος in Philo always refers to the first-born progeny of man or animal, e.g. *Cher.* 54. πρωτόγονος used of the Logos at *Agr.* 51, *Conf.* 63, 146, *Somn.* 1.215; cf. also *QG* 4.160.
[112] Cf. Dörrie (1969), Runia (1986) 171-174.
[113] The word is found only at *Mos.* 2.51 in the meaning of the founding of a city as compared with the γένεσις τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως. The verb κτίζω and the noun κτίστης are more common; note esp. *Opif.* 24, Somn. 1.76.
[114] Because the author (like Paul in Rom. 11:36) uses the 'Stoic-Gnostic' rather than the 'Platonist' prepositions preferred by Philo; see the reference in n. 112.

This is the only occasion that the word ἀλληγορέω occurs in the New Testament, although there are some other passages in the Pauline letters that can be considered allegorical.[115] One cannot speak of **typology** here, since the characters involved are symbols of other realities, rather than historical prefigurations of later events. Nevertheless it is clear that the kind of allegory that Paul practices here is very different to what is found in **Philo,** who in ***Congr.*** interprets the two women as representing wisdom and the encyclical studies respectively. A distinction may be made here between Palestinian and Alexandrian methods of interpretation.116 Paul's allegory is not philosophically motivated. He does not try to exploit difficulties in understanding the literal text of scripture as **Philo** does. The allegory, though involving non-literal or symbolical interpretation, does remain tied to a historical, or perhaps more accurately a 'salvation-historical' conception.[117]

How would the Church fathers read this passage? Many of them regarded Paul's appeal to allegorical methods as a scriptural authorization for the use of allegory in the wider sense, including allegory such as Phi10 **practised.** Paul's fanciful and rather obscure interpretation could encourage creative efforts of their own, often with reference to Philonic example. It is especially interesting to trace the history of interpretation of this particular biblical motif in the Church fathers, for the tradition gives them a choice, as it were, between the Philonic and the Pauline interpretation. We find that Clement, Origen, Didymus and Ambrose opt for the former, while **Tertul**lian, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Cyril, Isidore of Pelusium give preference to the latter."*

[115] Hanson (1959) 78ff. discusses 1 Cor. 5:6–8, 9:8–10, 10:1–11, 2 Cor. 3:13–4:6. But Rom. 5:14 is straight typology.
[116] Cf. **Wolfson** (1956) 24-43, Hanson (1959) 78-83.
[117] But to say that **Philo** 'liquidates history' on the basis of ***Congr.*** 180, as **Sandmel** does in (1979) 150 is too crude. **Philo** respects the historical existence of the Patriarchs, but finds that the ill-treatment of Hagar by Sarah requires a non-literal interpretation.
[118] Some of the relevant material has been collected in Henrichs (1968a). See also our discussions below in §8.2a(i), 10.4, 10.5.
A special thanks to the **Philo** Seminar of the Society for New Testament Studies and the Research Group in the History of Philosophy at the Free University who discussed draft versions of this chapter, made helpful suggestions, and saved me from diverse errors.

Chapter Five

# The Apostolic Fathers

The collection of early Christian writings conventionally known as the Apostolic fathers, the core of which is formed by the pastoral letters of Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp, does not represent a homogenous body of writings, but rather a group of works written between 90 and 160, i.e. in the period between the New Testament writings (but not their formation into the Canon) and those of the Apologists.1 There is overlap with both groups, for the ***Diduche*** is at least as old as the later New Testament writings, while **Quadratus** and the ***Letter to Diognetus*** would be better placed with the Apologists. It is a period during which Christianity spreads rapidly in the geographical sense and is developing its claim to being a universal religion separate from Judaism, but the focus of its activities is mainly inwards. Situated on the edge of Greco-Roman society, the Church is not yet ready for the confrontation with the dominant culture which the Apologists will undertake.2

The relation of these writings to **Philo** and Hellenistic Judaism is in the main not very close, and little research has been devoted to the question.3 We shall confine our conspectus to brief observations on three **writers.**[4]

## 1. *Clement of Rome*

In the Pastoral letter that Clement, bishop of Rome from 92 to 101, writes to the congregation of Corinth, admonishing them for their spirit of contention and exhorting them to seek harmony and concord, two passages have been brought in connection with **Philo.** Van Unnik, explaining with great mastery of detail the background of the term εἰρήνη βαθεῖα in 1 Cor. 2.2, points out a number of parallel passages in **Philo,** which show that the

[1] Various editions. I have used Funk-Bihlmeyer-Schneemelcher (1956).
[2] See sound observations on the corpus (for readers of Dutch) in Klijn (1966–67) 8-13.
[3] There are, for example, practically no references to **Philo** in the classic 5 volumes of commentary by Lightfoot, (1889-90).
[4] See also chapter 7 on Alexandria, where we examine the *Letter to Diognetus* and some writings generally grouped under the title New Testament **Apocrypha** or Pseudepigrapha (to which the *Letter of Barnabas* should actually belong).

context of the term is Augustan political thought, in which the peace and concord of unity is contrasted with disharmony and dissension of civil strife.5 The earliest examples that Van Unnik finds are all from Judaeo-Hellenistic literature, but he sees no reason to conclude that its origin lies here.6 There is of course no question of any direct contact between Philo and Clement, only a shared background, the Judaeo-Hellenistic nature of which should, I believe, be emphasized more than Van Unnik has done (though he is looking only at a single phrase).

A second, more interesting, passage that has been brought in relation to Philo is the beautiful 'cosmological' chapter 20 on the elements of creation which, keeping within their ordained bounds, benefit man and beast, and so reveal God's lovingkindness. Jaeger has drawn attention to the image of springs of water which unceasingly offer their life-giving breasts to mankind (20.11).7 He points out parallels in three Philonic passages, ***Opif.*** 38, 133, ***Aet.*** 66. The last-named passage is derived from the Peripatetic author Critolaus. Behind the convergences of the four passages, Jaeger argues, lies a tragic poetic fragment which portrayed the earth as a pregnant woman and its springs as the breasts of a feeding mother. For Philo and Clement Jaeger, using the questionable methods of ***Quellenforschung***, postulates a common Stoic source which they both used, no doubt independently of each other.

Another aspect of this chapter may be noted, namely the strong echoes of the Mosaic creation account, and especially of the divine commands given in the works of the six days.

(a) the heavens are subordinated to the creator, day and night, sun, moon and stars fulfilling their ordered course; vv l-3, cf. Gen. 1:3-5, 14-18;

(b) the earth brings forth its gifts, not deviating from what has been ordained; vv. 4-5, cf. Gen. 1: 11-13;

(c) the sea does not exceed its bounds as its waters have been gathered together; v. 6, cf. Gen. 1:9-10 (note esp. εἰς τὰς συναγωγάς, cf. Gen. 1:9 εἰς συναγωγὴν μίαν).

(d) summarizing at the end: 'the great craftsman (δημιουργός) and master (δεσπότης) of all things commanded (προσέταξεν) them to be in concord and peace (ὁμονοίᾳ), benefitting (εὐεργετῶν) all things'.

The mixture of Greek cosmology and Mosaic creational themes is rather reminiscent of Philo, even if composed on a much less sophisticated level. Most striking is the use of the Platonizing term 'demiurge', and the emphasis on divine command, also prominent in Philo's commentary.*

5 Van Unnik (1970).
6 *Ibid. 277-278.*
7 Jaeger ( 1959).
8 See my comments at Runia (1986) 108,223.



Unquestionably a Hellenistic-Jewish background lies behind Clement's formulations here.

## *2. Ignatius of Antioch*

Condemned to death and longing for the prize of martyrdom, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, wrote seven letters to various Christian communities in Asia Minor and Rome during his journey under escort to the capital. The letters show clear affinities to and developments of themes in two of the New Testament writers discussed in our previous chapter, Paul and the Gospel of John.9 Recently a splendid commentary on the letters has been published by Schoedel , which ***inter alia plurima*** makes valuable comments on the relation to Philo. The question of whether Ignatius may have read Philo is not asked: presumably it is out of the question. Philo furnishes parallels, and these are considered to be of some importance:10

> Rather different is the problem of the relation between Ignatius and Hellenistic Judaism. Parallels involving Philo, Josephus, and others are frequently noted in the commentary. Philo, of course, is particularly well represented. It is often the case, however, that references to pagan sources seem as relevant as references to Philo; and in any event, the cumulative weight of the parallels is not overwhelming. Yet it would be wrong to underestimate their importance... One conclusion to be drawn from such material is that Hellenistic Judaism rather than Gnosticism often provides the background for an understanding of Ignatius' spirituality.

The themes that Schoedel considers most important in this context are theological and anthropological. Ignatius goes further than the New Testament writers in stressing God's transcendence. Note, for example, how negative epithets used to describe God in Judaeo-Hellenistic thought are applied to Christ in a way that anticipates later diophysite christology (*Poly.* 3.2):"

> Observe the times. Look for him who is above time (ὑπὲρ καιρόν)—non-temporal (ἄχρονος), invisible (ἀόρατος), for our sakes visible (ὁρατός), intangible (ἀψηλάφητος), impassible (ἀπαθής), for our sakes passible ( παθητός), one who endured in every way for our sakes.

God is beyond temporal and spatial categories, and this is shared by Christ who existed with him before the ages ***(Magn.*** 8.2). God's oneness is acknowledged, but subordinated to the emphasis on his revelation through

9 Koester (1982) 2.282f.
10 Schoedel(l985) 17.
11 *Ibid.* 19, *267;* his translation. The stress on incarnation is directed against docetist opponents, who in Schoedel's view may have been inspired by ideas from Hellenistic Judaism; cf. *ibid. 17,* 155f.

Jesus Christ, who fully shares in his divinity. Schoedel sees parallels with Philo in Ignatius' emphasis on unity and concord: unity in the Church with the bishop as its head, communion with God through Christ.12 The Christian 'attains' God in death – the conviction of immortality playing an important role in the desire for martyrdom –, but already 'possesses God' here and now.13 In anthropological terms, Ignatius takes over the Pauline antithesis between spirit and flesh, a dualism in line with his theology. In one intriguing text, however, he attempts to surmount the opposition in a rather aphoristic way:14

> Fleshly people (σαρκικοί) cannot do spiritual things (πνευματικά), nor yet spiritual people do fleshly things; just as faith cannot do the things of faithlessness, nor yet faithlessness the things of faith. But what you do even according to the flesh, that is spiritual; for you do all things in Jesus Christ.

In at least two aspects Ignatius is far removed from Philonic thought. Firstly he shows almost no interest in the Hebrew scriptures: there are only three quotations and a further handful of allusions, none of which are to the Pentateuch. There is polemic against Christians who regard the Scriptures as 'archives' which have the final word.15 Secondly the biblical doctrine of creation is taken for granted but almost no emphasis is placed on it (the term κόσμος is always used in the negative sense of that which is opposed to God).16 Two conditions for an interest in Philo's thought during the Patristic period are thus here noticeably absent, unlike the third author whom we shall now examine.

## 3. *Letter of Barnabas*

The ***Letter of Barnabas*** is closer to a paraenetic homily presenting scripture-based argumentation than a real letter. From the viewpoint of both form and content it shows marked similarity to the Letter to the Hebrews, though lacking the sustained power of the latter's theological argument. The author of the work is unknown (it is very unlikely to have been the missionary Barnabas), and its dating and place of origin have been the subject of lively scholarly debate. A date between 95 and 130 is probable.17 For

12 Schoedel (1985) 18-21, 53 (with subtleties on the question of Ignatius' 'mysticism' that are not so germane to our discussion).

13 Schoedel (1985) 29: 'The expression "to attain God" [τυγχάνειν θεοῦ], then, takes its place with others in the letters that describe the relation between God and human beings in terms of a deep communion verging on or passing over into mysticism.' Similar, but not identical expressions at ***Gig.*** 61, ***Migr.*** 49.

14 See comments 23-24, translation at 63.

15 Schoedel(1985) 17, 207f. on ***Phd. 8.2.***

16 Schoedel(1985) 14, 17–18.

17 Extensive discussion in Richardson-Shukster (1983), arguing for a date during or just after the reign of Nerva (96-98); Barnard (1966) 46 and Pearson (1986b) 15 1 argue for a date close to or a little later than the Jewish revolt at Alexandria in 115-l 17.



the place of origin there are two strong candidates, Palestine-Syria and Alexandria.18 Hanson, Barnard and Pearson are confident that the document is of Alexandrian provenance, stressing the similarities with Hellenistic-Jewish exegesis found in Philo.19 Prigent argues against this view. He concedes that there are important parallels. Philo, for example, is the only source that joins Barnabas in linking up Gen. 25 and 48, while the similarities in the symbolism of sacrifice, circumcision, sabbath, and dietary laws are striking. But he affirms that the Alexandrian character of the exegesis and similarities to Philo have been exaggerated, and finds more points of contact with developments in Palestine in Syria, e.g. at Qumran and in Rabbinic thought.20

In an illuminating article full of acute observations, Martin has demonstrated that the examination of points of contact between Barnabas and Alexandrian Judaism (Aristobulus, Letter of Aristeas, Wisdom of Solomon, Philo) carried out by scholars so far has been partial, superficial and sometimes downright erroneous.21 He briefly outlines seven topics in which these points of contact have been insufficiently studied:

(i) the double creation of man (cf. ***Burn.*** 6.8–19);22
(ii) the sabbath and eighth day (cf. ***Burn. 15.1-9);***
(iii) the rays of the sense-perceptible and the divine sun (cf. ***Burn.*** 5.10);
(iv) the exegesis of the two goats (cf. ***Burn. 7.6-10);***
(v) the exegesis of the heifer in Num. 19 (cf. ***Burn. 8.1-6);***
(vi) the exegesis of the serpent on the pole in Num. 21 (cf. ***Burn. 12.5-7);***
(vii) exegetical themes and anti-Judaic polemic (cf. ***Burn. 9.4,*** 14.4).23

18 The issue is complicated by the fact that the author is at least partly a redactor, who takes over material from existing documents. This is very clearly the case for the final chapters § 18-21, introduced by the words μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχήν. The doctrine of the 'two ways', the one of light and life, the other of darkness and death presented here is closely related to the same theme in the ***Didache***; both are thought to go back to a Jewish source. Cf. Audet (1958), Prigent-Kraft (1972) 12-21. Audet 254, 259 sees *rapprochements* with themes in Philo, citing ***Spec***. 2.62-63. Also ***Spec***. 4.108-109 and the exegeses of Deut. 30:19, Num. 20:17–20 in ***Deus*** 50, 145ff. are relevant, but Philo characteristically converts the polarity in terms of virtue and vice.

19 Hanson (1959) 98-100; Barnard (1966) 41-72; Pearson (1986b) 211–213. All three authors stress the connection with Stephen's speech in Acts 7 (which is again closely related to Hebrews, cf. above §4.3). Barnard's suggestion that the author was a converted Rabbi is strongly reminiscent of Spicq's position on the author of the Letter to the Hebrews.

20 Prigent (1961), summarized in Prigent-Kraft (1971) 20–24.

21 Martin (1982).

22 But the paraphrase of §6.12–13 'una cosa è la plasmazione del Figlio, altra quella dei singoli uomini' is odd. Barnabas interprets the plural in Gen. 1:26 as God talking to the Logos (cf. §5.5), an exegesis that later recurs in Justin ***Dial 62.1.***

23 See further remarks on anti-Judaic polemic below.

The observations, Martin affirms, are not sufficient to allow the conclusion that the Letter is an Alexandrian document (and certainly not that there is a direct dependence on Philo),[24] but rather that the author had a thorough acquaintance with Judaeo-Hellenistic exegetical traditions. The task that remains to be done, he concludes, is a further study of the hermeneutics of Hellenistic Judaism and the tension in it between allegory and historical explanation and between universalist and particularistic thought. Such an enquiry will allow the relation between it and early Christian thinkers such as the author of the Letter to become more clearly defined.

For our purposes there are four points that should be emphasized.

(a) The aim of the Letter is to instruct its readers 'so that after your faith you may obtain complete (or perfect) knowledge (τελεία γνῶσις) (1.5)'. The times are evil and the worker of evil has the power, so our task must be to search the ordinances of the Lord; if we have the fear of God, endurance, patience and self-mastery to reinforce our faith, then wisdom (σοφία), understanding (σύνεσις), knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) and gnosis (γνῶσις.) will joyfully accompany them (2.2-3). It is apparent that the deeper knowledge or ***gnosis*** of which the author speaks is to be achieved through the proper understanding of scripture in non-literal, i.e. allegorical or typological terms.[25] The continuity here with Philo is highly significant.

(b) But closer attention should be paid to Barnabas' method of scriptural interpretation.[26] When, for example, in 13.5 he cites Gen. 48:13–19, in which Jacob blesses the younger Ephraim instead of the older Manasseh, he interprets the text typologically: the brothers represent Israel and 'this people' (i.e. the Christian sect), and Jacob's unexpected action shows that the Christians are heirs of the covenant. How different to Philo's allegorical exegesis which turns on the distinction between recollection (ἀνάμνησις) and memory (μνήμη), inspired by the respective etymologies.[27] Such philosophical exegesis is totally foreign to Barnabas' thought-world. Much closer to Philo is his interpretation of the Jewish dietary laws. When Moses says 'do not eat pork', what he means is 'do not associate with men who are similar to swine, who when they flourish forget the Lord, but when they are in need remember him again.' This interpretation is not so far removed from Philo's diatribe against desire at *Spec.* 4.100ff. With respect to chewing the cud the similarities are a lot closer (compare 10.9 with *Spec.* 4.107). A major difference remains, however, for according to Barnabas Moses

[24] Cf. Hanson (1959) 99: '... the Epistle of Barnabas shows no sign of influence from Philo whatever.'

[25] Cf. Koester (1982) 2.277, who points to the use of the term γνῶσις in the introduction to exegeses in 6.9, 9.8 (cf. also 10.10). I would see a stronger connection between this use of the term and the perfect knowledge of 1.5 , 2.3, 13.7 than envisaged by Martin (1982) 174 n. 6. For the Septuagintal phrase πρόσεχε ἑαυτῷ alluded to in Barn. 2.1 and 4.6, cf. ***Migr.*** 8.

[26] On Barnabas' hermeneutical methods compared with Philo, cf. Heinisch (1908) 58-61.

[27] Cf. *Leg.* 3.90, *Sobr.* 27-29.



pronounced these doctrines (δόγματα) in spirit only, but the Jews, in accordance with the desires of the flesh, take them to refer to food literally (10.8). (The same similarity and difference is found concerning circumcision; compare 9.1-4 with *Spec.* 1.8-11.) For Philo, as the famous passage at ***Migr.*** 89-93 makes quite clear, allegorical interpretation of the injunctions of the Law does not justify non-observance, let alone abrogation.

(c) As already indicated, there are numerous thematic and exegetical points of contact between Barnabas and Philo.[28] Especially noteworthy is the large number of texts from the Pentateuch that are dwelt on. But the actual interpretations that the author supports are in most respects at a great remove from Philo's thought. Texts that are given a philosophical interpretation in Philo refer in Barnabas either to Christ, to the imminent end of the world-the eschatological emphasis is even stronger than in Hebrews-, or to the relation between the people of the Old and the New Covenant. It is fair to say, I believe, that if Christian thought had developed exclusively along the lines explored by Barnabas, there would have been little interest in a more direct usage of Philo, in spite of all the common elements which we have observed.

(d) Finally, the anti-Judaism of the Letter is pronounced, much stronger in fact that anything we read in the New Testament.[29] Indeed the work can be regarded as a kind of precursor of the ***Adversus Ioudaeos*** literature that will be come to prominent in the relations between the Christian and the Jewish communities. The Covenant which God swore to the Patriarchs was indeed offered, but the Jews were unworthy to receive it on account of their sins, as indicated by the incident of the Golden calf. Moses was given the Covenant as a servant, whereas the Christians have received it from Christ himself. The purpose of his incarnation was partly that the sinfulness of the Jews could become complete (!), but also that the Christians could be ransomed out of darkness and become a holy people. Martin rather tenuously suggests the exploitation of Hellenistic-Jewish themes in this polemic, e.g. in the gradation of knowledge received from Moses and Christ.[30] More important, in my view, is the fact that anti-Jewish polemic can stand by side with material drawn from Jewish sources without any conflict being felt by the author. Such mental dissociation was a necessary condition for the Christian appropriation of Philo.

[28] Themes: sacrifice §2; man made in the image §5–6 (esp. Gen. 1:26,28), purification §8, circumcision §9; arithmology §9.8 (Gen. 14:14, but the technique used differs from Philo's methods); dietary laws §10, sabbath §15 (note Gen. 2:2, also exploited in Hebrews 4:4), the temple §16. See further discussions scattered through Heinisch (1908).

[29] Cf. Schreckenberg (1982) 174-178. We will be referring frequently to this excellent analysis of this genre of literature in the course of our study.

[30] Martin (1982) 181f.

Chapter Six

# The Apologists

Towards the middle of the 2nd century the Christian communities, steadily gaining in strength, begin to direct their attention outwards towards the society in which they lived. Right from the beginning this dimension had not been entirely lacking, as Luke perceived when he presents the apostle Paul as delivering a sermon to a group of assembled Athenian philosophers on the Areopagus (Acts 17:16–34). Paul's speech contains various themes that are a clear continuation of the tradition of Jewish apologetic. Nevertheless it was not until the 2nd century that more strenuous and systematic efforts were made to present the salient points of the Christian message to audiences whose basic view of the world was based on the accumulated tradition of Greek philosophical thought. The first group to attempt this task are generally known under the collective title of the Apologists.[1] Their interest in philosophical and theological questions naturally brings them much closer to Philo than the New Testament writers and the Apostolic Fathers. We shall now examine their relation to the Philonic legacy, paying most attention to the figure of Justin Martyr, unquestionably the greatest of these early Christian 'theologians'. As we noted in one of our introductory chapters, much of this ground has been covered by Martin in his valuable *status quaestiunis* on 'Phi10 and Christian ideas of the second century' .[2]

[1] Texts collected in Goodspeed (1914), which as a collection still remains unsuperseded. In recent years there has been considerable work done on the texts of individual authors. The following works should be noted: new editions of Athenagoras by Schoedel (1972), Marcovich (1990a) (*Legatio* only); new edition of Justin's ***Apologies*** by Wartelle (1987), of ***Dial. 1-9*** (with extensive commentary) by Van Winden (1971); new edition of Tatian by Whittaker (1982). For a text and translation of Theophilus (not included in Goodspeed) see Grant (1970). The most recent comprehensive study of the Apologists is by Grant (1988).

[2] Cf. Martin (1988), and above §3.3, where we note that he intends to publish a monograph on this subject.



## 1. *Aristides*

The address of Aristides is made to the Emperor Hadrian, i.e. before 138 AD, making it most likely the oldest of the Apologists' writings.[3] The transmission is unfortunately imperfect, and hence rather complicated. The most complete version is in Syriac, but there are also fragments in the original Greek and Armenian extracts, as well as adaptations in a Byzantine romance, all of which do not always correspond to the Syriac. Point of departure still has to be the text and commentary of Geffcken published in 1907.[4] In the title of the work Aristides calls himself an 'Athenian philosopher' (φιλόσοφος Ἀθηναῖος), perhaps using the term in the broad (and rather vague) sense that is common in the 2nd century. But it is also possible, as Geffcken suggests, that there is a direct connection with the Judaeo-Hellenistic tradition, in which σοφία represents the wisdom revealed by God through his prophets (and especially Moses) and φιλοσοφία is the pursuit of that wisdom by those who desire the truth.[5] What is in any case clear is that the author of this apology shows a surprisingly favourable attitude towards Judaism. The main body of the address (§2–13) enumerates the religious beliefs and practices of various nations (Chaldeans, Greeks, Egyptians). The Jews are superior to these, for they worship God alone (§14), but are inferior to the Christians because they refuse to recognize Christ (§15–17).

The favourable stance towards Judaism can be interpreted in more than one way. Grant sees it as evidence that the work is very early, written well before the Bar Kochba revolt.[6] O'Ceallaigh, on the other hand, has argued that the bulk of the work was originally written by a 'proselyte to Hellenist Judaism', and that this Jewish work of the 2nd century was interpolated, probably in the late 4th century, in order to convert it to a Christian apology.[7] Van den Broek basically agrees, affirming that 'there are strong indications that the main body of this apology was written by a Jew indeed, but there is no evidence which precludes the view that this Jewish work, in an admittedly awkward manner, was already Christianized in the second century' .[8] If the basic document underlying the apology was derived from, or

[3] Quadratus may be older, because according to Eusebius ***HE 4.3.1-2*** he too addressed his work to the Emperor Hadrian. But conventionally Quadratus is reckoned with the Apostolic Fathers.

[4] Geffcken (1907); for further details on the text see the overview of Van den Broek (1988) 203.

[5] Geffcken (1907) 31-32. For the polyvalence of the term φιλοσοφία in Philo see Nikiprowetzky (1977) 97-i 16.

[6] Grant (1988) 39.

[7] O'Ceallaigh (1958) 227 and *passim*.

[8] Van den Broek (1988) 205.

was closely related to, Hellenistic Judaism, then clearly the relation to Philo as the best-known author of Greek-speaking Judaism is an important subject. Neither author, however, goes into detail on this aspect.

In fact the only scholar to examine the relation of Aristides to Philonism in any detail was Geffcken, who in his acerbic but remarkably well-informed commentary repeatedly draws attention to Philonic parallels.9 These emerge most forcefully at two points. Firstly at the beginning of the work (§1), where the author presents a concise account of God's nature (οὐσία) and his relation to the cosmos. A whole bevy of negative and positive divine attributes-God as unbegotten (ἀγένητος), containing, not contained (περιέχων 06 περιεχόμενος), perfect/complete (τέλειος), incomprehensibe (ἀκατάληπτος), unnameable (ἀκατονόμαστος) etc.-induce Geffcken to conclude:[10] 'So ist denn so ziemlich der ganze Abschnitt aus der alten Philosophie und Philon, d.h. der durch ihn uns vermittelten Anschauung zu erklären; denn die Lektüre Philons selbst läßt sich natürlich nicht im einzelnen nachweisen.' Secondly the polemical section on the worship of false gods which forms the main body of the work (§2–13) reveals many thematic similarities to passages of Jewish apologetic in Philo such as *Decal.* 52-81, *Spec.* 1.12-31, *Contempl. 3-9.*[11] Indeed in a number of cases Geffcken appears to place insufficient emphasis on thematic continuities between Philo and the Christian apologist. I give two examples. (a) In §3 the deviant thought (πλάνη) of the Chaldeans is introduced: these people did not recognize God, but 'began to worship creation rather than their creator' (ἤρξαντο σέβεσθαι τὴν κτίσιν παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα αὐτούς). The formulation, as Geffcken points out,[12] undoubtedly reveals the influence of Rom. 1:25. The theme of the cosmic idolatry, however, connects up with the many passages in Philo in which the 'Chaldeans' are accused of 'honouring and worshipping the works of the world instead of the creator of the world'.13 (b) Geffcken fails to observe how Aristides' presentation of both the Jewish and the Christian religion is structured by the conception of the parallelism between piety (εὐσέβεια) and benevolence (φιλανθρωπία) (§1.3, 14, 15–17), which for Philo are the two chief virtues.14

9 Geffcken (1907).

10 ***Ibid. 40.*** Van den Broek's article, (1988), concentrates on this passage, attempting to show that it uses the same source as the gnostic writing Eugostus the Blessed (NH III,3, V,1). The provenance of this source is not indicated, but it is strongly implied that it is a Greek philosophical source.

11 Geffcken (1907) xxvii: 'Philon... gibt feste Formen einer apologetischen und polemischen Literatur wieder.'

12 ***Ibid.*** 51.

13 QG 3.1, cf. *Congr.* 49, *Migr.* 179 etc. The theme of the Chaldeans is more complex in Philo, because in certain texts they are also associated with astrological determinism (e.g. ***Her.*** 97-99). In Philo they represent not so much a historical group of people but rather a particular (and reprehensible) mentality.

14 Cf. *Virt* 5195, ***Decal.*** 119, and our remarks above at §2.2(3d). Geffcken (1907) 36 writes: 'Christlich [i.e. not Stoic] ist der nächste Satz von der Gottesfurcht und der Menschenliebe.' The Jewish background is ignored, also in his comments on $14.

15 The account is certainly stylized, and has been the subject of copious discussion: cf. detailed analysis by Van Winden (1971), briefer comments at Grant (1988) 50ff.

16 The fact that Justin attended various philosophical schools does not preclude Palestine as the location of his conversion, as Skarsaune (1987) 246 rightly points out.

17 Cf. Schreckenberg (1982) 182-183,200.

18 See above §1.2–4.

19 On Numenius and Philo see above § 1.2.



There is undeniably a considerable difference in sophistication between the simple apologetic presentation in Aristides and the complexities of Philo's presentation of the Jewish religion. It is to be agreed with Geffcken that a direct connection between the two is not likely. Further investigation, however, is likely to yield valuable insights into the continuities between Jewish and early Christian apologetic.

## *2. Justin Martyr*

Justin is the best-known and most influential of the Apologists. Born in Flavia Neapolis in the Samaritan part of Palestine, he grew up in an urban upper-class milieu. At the beginning of his *Dialogue with Trypho* he gives an account of his conversion to Christianity.15 First he tried out various philosophical teachers, settling for the school of the Platonists. But then the course of his life was changed as the result of a conversation he had with an old man by the sea. Where did this conversation and the subsequent conversion take place? Was it in Palestine, or had Justin already moved to one of the major centres of Asia Minor such as Ephesus?[16] We do not know. Later Justin moves to Rome, where he sets up an informal school of Christian learning, until at some time between 162 and 168 he is accused, condemned and executed for his Christian beliefs.

Justin is an important early representative of the new Gentile Christianity. Though raised in Palestine, he does not approach the Gospel through the background of an inner involvement with Judaism, though, as his dialogue with the Jew Trypho shows quite clearly, the question of the relation between the two religions is very important to him.17 On the other hand, the location of his activities falls outside the direct influence of developments in Alexandria. As we saw earlier,[18] the fate of Philo's writings during this period is wholly obscure. Justin does not mention Philo or any other non-biblical Jewish author by name. The only evidence is indirect. If it is concluded that Numenius had knowledge of Philo, then copies of his writings must have been circulating in Syria in the 2nd century, and then contact on the part of Justin with these works is not impossible.[19] There is also no hard evidence on the availability of Philo's writings in Rome during

the period that Justin was active there. Lucchesi's suggestion that he may have consulted copies of Philo's works deposited in Roman libraries a century earlier is altogether speculative, and not backed up by any solid arguments.[20] Indeed another, equally speculative hypothesis, can be put forward, namely that Justin did ***not*** have access to Philo's works in Rome, whereas he had read them and used them earlier when in Palestine. This might furnish an explanation for the fact the undoubted similarities that exist between the two authors are always rather imprecise. The exegetical themes are remembered, but never exactly; there are no precise verbal reminiscences, only the same or similar terms. But this hypothesis suffers too from a lack of any kind of solid evidence in its favour.

The question of Justin's acquaintance with and relation to Philo and Philonic thought has in fact been a source of considerable scholarly disagreement. Through the research of earlier scholars such as Siegfried, Heinisch, and Goodenough an extensive dossier of parallel material between Philo and Justin was compiled.[21] Wolfson, consistent with his chosen methodology, regards Justin as in continual dialogue with Philo's intellectual heritage.[22] Only a few years ago De Vogel asserted with complete confidence that Justin Martyr must have known Philo.[23] But most recent commentators have reacted against the earlier view and shown a good deal more reticence in their verdicts. Chadwick concludes:[24] '...although there are a number of correspondences between Philo and Justin in minor details the comparison is in the main a long catalogue of dissimilarity... If Justin read Philo, he was not deeply influenced'. This view is implicitly supported by Osborn and most recently Skarsaune. Shotwell and Barnard express even graver reservations on a possible direct relation between the two thinkers.[25] In our report of the various positions we shall first look at philosophical and theological themes, and then turn to the more specific area of biblical exegesis. But the reader is warned that, given the centrality of exegesis in both authors, the division is somewhat artificial.

A good starting-point for our survey is Goodenough's monograph, ***The Theology of Justin Martyr.***[26] This was his first major publication, and it contains in germ many of the views and insights which he was later to work out in greater detail. Already he places a strong insistence on the division

[20] Lucchesi (1977) 19. See further above §1.4 and below § 14.3.
[21] Siegfried (1875) 332-340; Heinisch (1908) 62-64, 125-291 ***passim;*** Goodenough (1923).
[22] Wolfson (1956), e.g. 21, 192.
[23] De Vogel (1985) 12.
[24] Chadwick (1967) 164–165.
[25] For references see the discussion below.
[26] Goodenough (1923); it was in fact his Oxford Ph.D. thesis, published oddly enough in Jena. A summary in Eccles (1985) 1 I-14, but this intellectual biography is disappointingly brief in its treatment of Goodenough's scholarly formation. Cf. also the useful summary of similarities between Philo and Justin given in Goodenough (1953-68) 1.47–52.



between Judaism proper (as he calls it) and Hellenistic Judaism.[27] Both strands find their way into Christianity and specifically into Justin's thought, but it is Hellenistic Judaism which furnishes his theology with a theoretical basis. Fundamentally Philo's views were typical of his Judaeo-Hellenistic background, even if he was more deeply a philosopher than most others, so it is above all with Philo that comparison will be fruitful.

Goodenough admits there are no extensive verbal parallels between Justin and Philo. But, he argues, to leave the matter at that in the face of the obviously profound influence which Philonic conceptions and methods had upon Justin's theological manner and matter would be to beg the entire question.[28] On the other hand:[29]

> ... Justin's aim was something quite different from Philo's. Where Philo allegorized the Old Testament to justify his being a Greek metaphysician, Justin allegorized the same book to find continuity between Judaism and Christianity. We shall see that on the metaphysical side Justin's Christianity is, like his exegesis, a weak Philonic reflection and adaptation. Justin was not primarily a metaphysician but a Christian propagandist... His traces of Philonic exegesis are thus naturally scattered. The astonishing fact is that in one so different in spirit and aim from Philo, so much that is recognizably Philonic is yet to be found.

Important examples of the influence of Philonism are found in Justin's attitude to the Law (i.e. basically a reflection or imitation of an eternal moral principle) and his doctrine of God (especially the notion of transcendence).[30] But it is especially the concept of the Logos in both a pre-incarnate and incarnate state that betray indebtedness to Hellenistic Judaism in general (including the Wisdom tradition) and Philo in particular. Goodenough concentrates on the following aspects.[31]

(a) The-argument from theophanies in the Old Testament. Justin uses material from Judaism and Philo, but pushes the argument further than Philo in order to show that the pre-existent Christ is a 'second God'.

(b) The imagery used to describe the origin of the Logos in the Father (especially the concept of emanation[32]).

(c) The cosmic significance of the Logos as expressed especially in the celebrated theory of the ***Logos spermatikos***, i.e. that all rational beings (including the philosophers) share in the universal Logos.[33]

[27] Goodenough (1923) 33.
[28] ***Ibid.*** 116; i.e. the method followed by Goodenough here is not so very different from that of Wolfson (on which see above §3.2). The crucial difference between the two lies in their differing conceptions of Judaism and Philo's place in it.
[29] Goodenough (1923) 116-117.
[30] ***Ibid.*** 117-122 (Law), 123-138 (God).
[31] ***Ibid.*** 139–175 ***passim.***
[32] This was gain a central place in Goodenough's presentation of Logos theology in his brilliant but controversial By ***Light, Light (1935).***
[33] With important consequences in the area of anthropology, 2 13ff.

(d) The various titles given to the Logos: God (θεός); Lord (κύριος); Power (δύναμις); Angel (ἄγγελος); Rising (ἀνατολή, from Zech. 6: 12); Rock (πέτρα); Beginning (ἀρχή); Day (ἡμέρα, according to Goodenough probably equivalent to φῶς in Philo); Man (ἄνθρωπος); Israel/Jacob; First-born (πρωτότοκος); Many-named (πολυώνυμος).

Justin's contribution is above all to emphasize the personality of the Logos and thus to develop a subordination to the Father which is quite different to what we find in Philo. But as a Logos doctrine it is still recognizably the logos of Philo which Justin in mind.[34]

Much of the argumentation on the figure of the Logos common to Phi10 and Justin is directly or ultimately derived from OT texts, and thus will involve us in the question of Justin's exegesis. But first. a few 'footnotes to Goodenough' should be mentioned. On the concept of the λόγος σπερματικός Holte agrees that it is 'most likely that the term... emanates from Philo', but immediately adds that the content that the term is given is obviously Justin's invention.[35] Waszink investigates the same matter with more precision and concludes that three factors determined Justin's selection: the fact that it was a well-known Stoic term (after all the Apology in which is occurs is addressed to the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius), the influence of the parable of the sower in Matt. 13, and the frequent occurrence of the image of sowing and planting in Philo.[36] The implication is that Justin must have been acquainted with Philo's writings. Hegermann, in his investigation of the role of the Logos in creational and cosmological contexts agrees that there is a significant continuity between the Philonic tradition of Hellenistic Judaism and Justin.37 The subject of Justin's conception of the pre-existence of Christ has been analysed in detail in a Harvard dissertation by the Greek scholar Trakatellis.[38] The general approach and a good many of the conclusions are reminiscent of Goodenough. It is argued that both the terminology (προϋπάρχειν, δύναμις λογική, γέννημα etc.) and the conceptuality of pre-existence stand closer to Philonic than to Platonic and Middle Platonist evidence.39 With respect to the OT theophanies, and especially the exegesis of Gen. 18-19, Trakatellis concludes that it is unlikely that the similarities between Philo and Justin

[34] Goodenough (1923) 174-175; similar view at Williams (1987) 127 on the antecedents of Arianism.

[35] Holte (1958) 127-128 and ***passim;*** strangely he seems completely unaware of Goodenough's monograph.

[36] Waszink (1964b) 390.

[37] Hegermann (196 I) 71-77. See also the very recent contribution of Hofrichter (1992) 187–193, who in a discussion of Justin and Philo's doctrine of the Logos argues strongly that Justin is dependent on Philo for his subordinationist theology.

[38] Trakatellis (1976).

[39] ***Ibid.*** 11–52; note the conclusion on 46–47.



are the result of coincidence.[40] Christ's pre-existence also plays a role in the divulgence of logos to prophets and philosophers in pre-Christian times. The concepts of *orthos logos,* law of nature (νόμος φύσεως), and ***spermatikos logos*** as introduced by Philo certainly played an important role in the formulation of Justin's theory.[41] The strong emphasis that Justin places on Christ's pre-existence means that the incarnation comes to be interpreted in terms of humiliation followed by exaltation, a theological scheme that is, of course, very far removed from Philo's doctrine of the Logos.[42]

A strong reaction against the positive perception of Philo's influence on Justin is found in the monograph by Barnard published in 1967. 'Far too much has been made of Philo's influence on Early Christian theology', the English scholar affirms rather apodictically.43 Taking the apologist's account of his conversion seriously, he argues that Justin passed directly from Middle Platonism to Christianity, and that in the case of his doctrine of God 'it is quite unnecessary to bring in Philo'.[44] It is the same with the Logos doctrine. Barnard examines all the Philonic titles that Goodenough had outlined, and firmly denies that these prove dependence. Both Philo and Justin have used the same source, namely the Old Testament.45 A similar negative assessment is found in Osborn's study. The *Leitmotiv* of the monograph-the centrality of the notion of truth in Justin's thought-leads the Australian scholar to make the following suggestion?

> Justin's attitude to philosophy and to Judaism is governed by his sense of the autonomy of the truth which God gives. He is surprised that a Jew wants to speak to him as a philosopher. Philosophers can't tell Jews anything which they would not learn better in their own scriptures... Justin talks philosophically to the Gentiles but not to the Jews. He uses the first part of his discussion [with Trypho] to dispose of the possible relevance of philosophy and then concentrates exclusively on the scriptures. If Justin knew anything of Philo, he does not show it. His use of the scriptures is different. Perhaps Justin delibe-

[40] Trakatellis (1976) 53-92; note esp. 64, 7 1.

[41] ***Ibid. 93-135; see*** esp. 107, 122. He aligns himself with his teacher H. Koester, who argued-unconvincingly in my view-that Philo's use of the concept of νόμος φύσεως by Philo is strongly innovative; cf. Koester (1968) ***passim.***

[42] ***See*** the concluding remarks in Trakatellis (1976) 173-l 84.

[43] Barnard (1967) 82.

[44] Barnard (1967) 83 (cf. the similar views of Chadwick cited above at n. 24). On Justin's debt to Middle Platonism see Andresen (1952-53); Lilla (1971) 4-6 and ***passim;*** specifically on negative theology the fine article of Palmer (1983). Andresen's article, arguing 'daß Justin nicht von dem originalen Platon, sondern von dem zeitgenössischen Platonismus beeinflußt ist (165)', has been regarded as a decisive breakthrough in the study of Justin's thought. But as far I can judge the name of Philo does not appear a single time in the course of the entire argument. This is surely an important oversight. I have not seen Henao Zapata (1971) on Justin's debt to a Platonizing mystical metaphysics in part transmitted via Philo (summarized at R-R 205).

[45] Barnard (1967) 92-96.

[46] Osbom (1973) 73.

> rately ignored Philo, because he did not consider philosophy was the way to talk to Jews.

It is true that, when talking to Jews, Philo's exegesis might be more useful than straight philosophy. But in fact the division cannot be maintained with any kind of rigour, since the key to Philo's thought lies precisely in the convergence of philosophy and exegesis. And why should he not use material from a Jewish writer when addressing non-Jews if it proves useful?

The question of Philonic influence on Justin's exegesis remains. Every scholar who touches on the relation between Philo and Justin has had to say something on this subject, but-since Siegfried and Heinisch two scholars have undertaken to give it more specific and detailed treatment. In a general study on Justin's biblical exegesis Shotwell examines the canons of non-literal exegesis which Siegfried claimed Justin had taken over from Philo. He argues that it is more likely that Justin obtained these direct from the Palestinian Rabbinic tradition or from previous Christian interpreters, especially since he fails to give any actual examples of philosophical allegory.47 Later on in the monograph Shotwell devotes an entire section to the relation between Philo's and Justin's exegesis, but his analysis remains on a rather superficial level.[48] Fourteen Pentateuchal texts common to both are analysed.49 Justin keeps closer to Rabbinic interpretations than Philo did.50 The conclusion we are given reads as follows.51

> It is quite possible that the Judaism Justin knew was of the type that could furnish him with his knowledge of Palestinian Judaism, and, at the same time, with a knowledge of a Hellenized Judaism similar to that of Philo. If this is the case, there is no need to assume that Justin was dependent on Philo.

This is not very helpful, because we are given no idea of what kind of Judaism this might be.

Fortunately a far more comprehensive investigation into the traditions anterior to Justin's exegesis has recently published by Skarsaune.[52] The Norwegian scholar assumes-uncontroversially-that Justin as exegete had teachers from whom he learnt, just as he himself passed on material to disciples in his own school. The aim the study sets itself is to determine the extent of the traditional material Justin used, disentangle its provenance, and grasp its theological profile. More clearly than Shotwell Skarsaune recognizes that Jewish material could have been taken directly

47 Shotwell (1965) 38-47.
48 *Ibid. 93-l 13.*
49 *Ibid. 94-99.* The texts are Gen. 1:1-3, 1:26–28, 2:7, 3:22, 9:3, 15:6, 18:1–3, 18:8, 32:35, 38:25, Ex. 3:2, 3:14–15, Deut. 21:23, 32:7–9. The list is far from complete.
50 Shotwell (1965) 99. Asserted in this unqualified way the statement is somewhat curious, because Philo in fact antedates the Rabbis entirely.
51 *Ibid. 103.*
52 Skarsaune (1987).



from Jews, or may have already been part of Christian exegetical traditions which he inherited. He points out that Siegfried's canons of exegesis are not even specifically Rabbinic, since they correspond to usual ways of reasoning in the Hellenistic world.[53] Shotwell is right, however, in concluding that Justin's type of allegory is much closer to the Rabbis than Philo.[54]

The results reached by Skarsaune can be summarized along the following broad lines.[55] Justin used two main anterior Christian exegetical traditions: (a) the 'kerygma' source, a Judaeo-Christian tradition which has already passed through Gentile Christian hands before reaching Justin, in which Christ is above all the one who fulfils OT messianic prophecies (but without emphasis on his pre-existence); (b) the 'recapitulation' source, in which Christ is the second Adam and has power over Satan and the demons because he is God's son, the first-born before every creature (here pre-existence is a central theme). Justin himself makes at least two significant additions: (i) Pauline testimonies, though these exist in tension with the 'kerygma source'; (ii) the section on the theophanies.

Skarsaune concentrates-refreshingly-on the thematic content of the traditions he unravels, and in the case of the two main anterior traditions he sees little need to discuss possible Philonic provenance of exegetical material. This is very different in the case of the theme of the divine theophanies, which he subjects to a detailed examination.56 The arguments of Trakatellis are weighed and in many (but not all) cases found wanting:[57]

> If there is any influence from Philo on Justin's treatment of the theophanies, it is at best distant, and mainly operative in some general modes of argument rather than in concrete exegesis of texts. In the latter respect, Justin exhibits a marked independence of Philo, often directly contradicting or ignoring Philonic exegesis.

It would appear, therefore, that Skarsaune joins the majority position of the last 25 years in denying a strong relation between Philo and Justin.

But in the very last paragraphs of the book we are in for a surprise. We read that it is important to recognize the missionary context, i.e. that Jews and Christians were engaged in missionary competition addressed towards Gentile God-fearers. Hence the double phenomenon of close contact with Jewish exegesis and sharp polemic against Judaism. Hence also the extensive appropriation of themes from Jewish apologetics.[58]

53 Skarsaune (1987) 2-3, citing Daube (1949), (1953).
54 Skarsaune (1987) 250, and cf. n. 50 above (the formulation here is better).
55 See the conclusions at 425-434; not all details and nunaces can be given in this summary.
56 *Ibid. 409-424.* The discussion is explicitly placed in the context of the 'two gods' testimonies (cf. also 209). But insufficient account is taken of possible Rabbinic backgrounds here; the author seems unaware of the fundamental (though sometimes somewhat speculative) study of Segal (1977).
57 Skarsaune (1987) 423-424.
58 *Ibid.* 433–434.

> The present study has made me believe that Goodenough was basically right: Justin is heir of much of the apologetic tradition of Hellenistic Judaism, except that Goodenough unduly took Hellenistic Judaism to mean Philo. I think there is still work to be done in relating Justin to the whole scope of Jewish apologetic and missionary literature in Greek. This might also bring Justin's originality as an apologist into sharper focus. It might then turn out that his contribution to the missionary and apologetic tradition of the Church not so much is a Hellenistic concept of God-this may already have become part of this tradition through the mediating role of Jewish apologetics-but rather the anti-Platonic argument of the Old Man in Dial. 3-7. What in any case seems clear to me, is that 'hellenization' and profound influence from Judaism should not be seen as alternatives.

We have thus come back full circle back to Goodenough, except that during the journey Philo appears to have fallen by the wayside.

It may prove well impossible to determine with precision whether Justin was acquainted with Philonic thought or exegesis. Verbal parallels are insufficient to determine the matter, while exegetical parallels are notoriously difficult to pin down.[59] At least three hypotheses could be put forward to explain the facts as we have them:

(a) Justin knew Philo and drew from him, but did so in a very free way, which makes it impossible to determine his debts with precision;

(b) Justin gained acquaintance with Philo early in his career, but later lost track of his works, so that similarities are obscured by the passing of time and personal development;60

(c) Justin is acquainted with themes from Hellenistic Judaism, but through other channels, which differ from Philo.

From our account it is clear that in recent years scholars have moved decisively from hypothesis (a) to (c). Hellenistic Judaism is no longer identified with the body of Philonic thought, but is regarded as a more diverse phenomenon, of which Philo was no more than a single strand, and perhaps not even a very representative one at that. The great difficulty is that this form of Judaism is more a supposition than a reality.61 Scholars who like to trace the precise trajectories that ideas take find themselves confronting a no man's land. Recent research on Justin has not yet found a way across.

Finally, a further argument against Justin's direct acquaintance with Philo might be that his best-known pupil, in what remains of his writings, appears to have very little affinity with Philonic thought. Tatian the Syrian, who like his slightly younger contemporary Tertullian came to Christianity from a rhetorical rather than a philosophical background, adopts a more

[59] But it certainly would be useful to make a more exhaustive list of biblical texts shared between the two authors.

[60] My unproven hypothesis, suggested above.

[61] One might make an exception for certain works transmitted under Christian aegis, but very likely going back to Hellenistic Jewish originals; see below on two Ps.Justinian treatises, §11.1 and n. 3.



negative attitude to Greek *paideia* than his teacher. The connections with Judaeo-Hellenistic thought are present, but in a much weaker form. In a brief survey Martin has put forward a number of passages which deserve further examination for possible connections with Philonic thought, especially on the nature of the soul, and the relation between spirit (πνεῦμα) and matter, but his suggestions remain tentative.[62] Fragments suggest that later in his career Tatian may have moved to a position with Gnostic (subordination of the creating God) and Encratite (rejection of marriage) features. This brings him closer to the Gnostic teachers of Alexandria, to be discussed in the following chapter, but not to Philo.[63]

## 3. *Athenagoras*

Probably in the autumn of 176 a Christian named Athenagoras presented a πρέσβεια or 'Embassy' to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus.64 The event may have taken place in Athens, as Grant suggests, for in the unique ms. which contains this work Athenagoras is called 'an Athenian Christian philosopher'. There is another tradition concerning Athenagoras which most scholars have rejected,@ but which Barnard in his monograph discusses at some length.[66] The rather unreliable 5th century Church historian Philip of Side is reported in a 14th century codex to have declared that Athenagoras was the first head of the school in Alexandria, flourishing in the times of Hadrian and Antoninus, to whom he addressed his Embassy. He embraced Christianity while wearing the garb of a philosopher, and became the teacher of Clement, whose pupil in turn was Pantaenus. There are two obvious mistakes here. The Embassy is addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, and we may be certain on the basis of Eusebian evidence that Pantaenus was the teacher of Clement, not his pupil. Barnard is not prepared, however, to dismiss this tradition out of hand and tries to supply additional arguments for the assertion that Athenagoras may have been active in Alexandria. One of these is directly relevant to our purpose:[67]

[62] Martin (1988) 284-285, referring to his article (1987). In her translation with introduction and notes, Whittaker (1982) does not refer to Philo.

[63] see below §7.3.

[64] Grant (1988) 100, drawing on Barnes (1975); Marcovich (1990a)1 opts for 177.

[65] Grant (1988) 196, Schoedel(l972) ix, Pouderon (1989) 20–29.

[66] Barnard (1972) 13-18.

[67] *Ibid.* 16–17 77, repeated in his review of Grant (1988) at ***JTS 40*** (1989) 613. The image of the flute is not'in Philo, but the comparison with a musical instrument does occur. Schoedel (1972)21 adduces Plutarch *Mor.* 436F as well, but the Philonic texts are closer.

> Another small pointer in the Alexandrian direction is Athenagoras' use of the Philonic terms ἔνθεον πνεῦμα and ἔκστασις λογισμοῦ in *Leg. 9;* direct use of Philo by early Christian writers seems to have been confined to those associated with Alexandria.

Although Athenagoras does not use the two terms in question in quite this Philonic form, his statement is certainly rather close to texts on divine inspiration such as we find ***Her.*** 259, ***Spec.***1.65, 4.49, QG 4.196. More than this is required, however, to prove an Alexandrian connection for Athenagoras' work.68

From a literary and formal point of view the apologetic work of Athenagoras is superior to the writings we have hitherto discussed. The main theme (§3–36) refutes the charge that Christians are atheists. The reply is that Christians agree with the higher thought of the philosophical tradition in opposition to the polytheism of popular religion. Various themes familiar to readers of Philo occur, such as God's unity, God as intellect (νοῦς), God's power (δύναμις), God's Logos, God's Providence, God's location. The question for us is whether Philonic provenance of such themes is likely or mandatory. The three scholars who have investigated the text in some detail pay comparatively little attention to this question. Schoedel comments on what he calls the 'topological proof for monotheism' in §8:[69]

> Some of the language about the One is reminiscent of the doctrine of the Eleatics which could have been known to Athenagoras in a revised Hellenistic form. The talk about the 'place' of God may have been borrowed from the Church's anti-Gnostic debate. And inevitably Stoic and Platonic (or Philonic) themes may be identified. Yet the controlling argument is the biblical emphasis on God's power...

This place accorded to Philo here seems rather limited, given the fairly striking parallels that Schoedel mentions in a note to the text.70 Geffcken, from whom most of these parallels are taken, is more positive:71 'Wir werden gleich sehen, daß der Kern aller dieser Beweisftihrungen und Anschauungen hellenistisch ist und durch Philon seine Erkllrung erhält.' But the German scholar is not so much interested in Philo for his own sake. He is above all intent on showing that Athenagoras' chief debts are to later philosophy (especially Stoicism) and not to Plato and Aristotle. Barnard's comments too are disappointing.[72] But he is right to point out that Athenagoras is less influenced by the philosophical ideas of Middle Platonism than

68 Most recently Pouderon (1989) 29 affirms that in his view the suggested parallels appear to have little weight.

69 Schoedel (1972) xv, citing various authorities for these views. On the question of God's 'place' (τόπος) see also §8.3(iid) on Clement.

70 Schoedel ( 1972) 17–19.

71 Geffcken (1907) 177; see his commentary 168–193.

72 Barnard (1972); see especially 94ff. on the Logos.



Justin.[73] Also relevant is the fact that Athenagoras hardly refers to the OT. This means that, unlike in the case of Justin, it is impossible to place him in relation to anterior exegetical traditions. An interesting exception is the allusion to Gen. 6:1-5 at §24.5, in which the fallen angels lust after maidens and succumb to the flesh. The emphasis on the flesh, also found in Philo *Gig.* 19-57, suggests at the very least a Hellenistic-Jewish background.74 Martin again puts forward a number of parallels between Philo and Athenagoras that he thinks require further investigation. Provisionally he concludes that in his view the apologist 'appears to be a typical case of an encounter between Greek philosophy and Christianity that does not depend on the previous encounter between Greek philosophy and Judaism'.75

Another treatise, entitled On the resurrection ***of the dead,*** has come down to us under the name of Athenagoras, but the attribution is highly controversial. Grant has vigorously argued that the work is later than Origen, emphasizing that it refers to the problem of 'chain-consumption' (i.e. corpses eaten by animals which are later consumed by men, so that the same elements have belonged to the bodies of more than one person) which was apparently first raised by 0rigen.76 Grant's arguments are not accepted by Barnard, who affirms that 'the treatise . . . fits in remarkably well with the climate of the late-second century'.77 This view is supported by Pouderon, who after two lengthy contributions concludes that its authenticity 'parait difficilement contestable'.[78] Schoedel gives the arguments for both sides.79 It is not clear, he asserts, that there is any fundamental difference between the view of resurrection in the Embassy (§3 1, 36) and that found in the other treatise specifically dedicated to the subject.[80] On the other hand it cannot be denied that there are substantial similarities in writers belonging to the post-Origen tradition, Methodius and Gregory of Nyssa, both of whom are familiar with the same Galenic medical theories that the author of the treatise is acquainted with. Schoedel thus concludes:[81]

73 Barnard (1972) 96.

74 Note also that Sap. Sal, 7:25 is cited at $10.4. The comments of Pouderon ( 1989) 270ff. are fairly superficial. He regards Athenagoras' demonology as indebted to philosophical traditions, Jewish apocalyptic tradition and the New Testament.

75 Martin (1988) 286 (my translation). His explanation of the parallels depends in part on his agreement with Radice that Philo may have exerted influence on the course of Greek philosophy; see our remarks above in §1.2.

76 Grant (1954). Further literature on the controversy is also given at CPG 1.29.

77 Barnard (1972) 28-3 1, quote at 30.

78 Pouderon, (1986), (1989); quote at (1989) 114.

79 Schoedel(l972) xxv ff.

80 At ***Leg.*** 37.1 Athenagoras writes: ἀλλ' ἀνακείσθω μὲν ὁ περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος. Either he did write the account at another time, or the statement encouraged a later reader to hunt for a treatise on the subject of resurrection that might have been his.

81 Schoedel (1972) xxviii.

Either Athenagoras anticipated in a remarkable way the theological developments of a later period, or the treatise is not by Athenagoras. It seems more likely that the treatise is to be understood against the background of the debate over Origen's view of the resurrection. The extended life of that debate makes it unwise to attempt a more precise dating.

Schoedel thus opts for the view that it is inauthentic. Most recently Lona has examined the issue from a 'theologiegeschichliche' viewpoint. The interest in the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead that the work betrays supports a dating in the 4th century, when there is a particular interest in anthropological questions, as evidenced by writings by Gregory of Nyssa and Nemesius of Emesa.[82]

I have dwelt on this question of authenticity at some length, because in one aspect, which has not been noticed hitherto, the relation to Philo is relevant to this debate.[83] At *Res.* 12.6 the author posits an essential, difference between the form of life granted to the lower animals and the eternal life allotted to human beings:*4

ἑρπετοῖς γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ πτηνοῖς καὶ νηκτοῖς ἢ καὶ κοινότερον εἰπεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλόγοις τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἀπένειμεν θεός, τοῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαλματοφοροῦσι τὸν ποιητὴν νοῦν τε συνεπιφερομένοις καὶ λογικῆς κρίσεως μεμοιραμένοις τὴν εἰς ἀεὶ διαμονὴν ἀπεκλήρωσεν ὁ ποιήσας, ἵνα γινώσκοντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν ποιητὴν καὶ τὴν τούτου δύναμίν τε καὶ σοφίαν νόμῳ τε συνεπόμενοι καὶ δίκῃ τούτοις συν διαιωνίζωσιν ἀπόνως, οἷς τὴν προλαβοῦσαν ἐκράτυναν ζωὴν καίπερ ἐν φθαρτοῖς καὶ γηΐνοις ὄντες σώμασιν.

For God has assigned this fleeting form of life, I think, to snakes, birds, and fish, or, to speak more generally, to all irrational creatures; but the Maker has allotted an unending existence to those who bear his image as creator in themselves, are gifted with intelligence, and share the faculty for rational discernment, so that they, knowing their Maker and his power and wisdom and complying with law and justice, might live without distress eternally with the powers by which they governed their former life, even though they were in corruptible and earthly bodies.

What is striking here is the use of the verb ἀγαλματοφορέω, used to express the creation of man according to the image in Gen. 1:26. This word belongs to a collection of terms that we might call *verba Philonica*, words that are common in Philo but found nowhere else in pre-Christian Greek, and that are then taken over by the Church fathers from their reading of Philo's works. In my study of these words I cite the following list:[85]

ἀγαλματοφορεῖν, 'to be an image-bearer'
ἀνθρωπολογεῖν, 'to speak of God in human terms'

[82] Lona (1990). On these writings see further below 912.3, 12.4.
[83] The remainder of this paragraph has been treated at fuller length in Runia (1992g)
[84] Text and translation Schoedel (slightly modified, because he fails to translate the words τὸν ποιητὴν).
[85] Further details, with examples and references, at Runia (1992g) 315-316.



ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν, 'to have the feelings of a man'
ἀνθρωποπαθής, 'having human affections'
ἑξαήμερος, 'pertaining to the six days of creation'
ζωοπλαστεῖν, 'to mould into a living being'
ζωοπλαστής, 'moulder of living beings'
θεογαμία, 'marriage of gods'
θεοπλαστεῖν, 'to mould as a god, deify'
θεοπλάστης, 'god-moulder'
θεοφράδμων, 'God-interpreting
θεόχρηστος, 'divinely inspired
κοσμοπλαστεῖν, 'to mould as a cosmos'
μεγαλόπολις, 'great city' (adjectival)
πρωτόπλαστος, 'first-moulded' (of Adam)
σεμνηγορεῖν, 'make solemn pronouncements about', 'worship'
σεμνοποιεῖν, 'magnify, extol, worship'

The list shows a clear concentration in two areas: (i) the exposition of the Mosaic creation account with its emphasis on God as creator of the entire universe, and (ii) the Jewish apologetic struggle against every form of polytheistic religion. In the case of ἀγαλματοφορεῖν it is the first-named subject area that is relevant. The term appears to have its origin in a metaphor drawn from Greek religious and cultic practice, i.e. the carrying of images in a procession. But in Greek philosophy the metaphor is especially applied in an anthropological context, namely to the relation of the mind to the body.86 The actual term, however, is only found in Philo, the Fathers, and the Byzantine tradition dependent on them, as indicated in the following table?

| | |
|---|---|
| Philo | 16 instances |
| Athenagoras (?) | 1 instance |
| Origen | 1 instance |
| Eusebius | 3 instances |
| John Chrysostom | 1 instance |
| Nilus of Ancyra | 3 instances |
| Hesychius | recorded in lexicon |
| Leontius of Byzantium | 1 instance |
| *Souda* | recorded in lexicon |

From this list it may safely be concluded that the the presence of the term ἀγαλματοφορεῖν in the Athenagorean treatise means that the author had either read Philo or was posterior to writers such as Origen and Eusebius who stand in the Alexandrian tradition. If the author was Athenagoras, it is most probable that he must have had an Alexandrian connection (Barnard's hypothesis), for how else would he have gained access to Philo's writings in the period before Clement. Since this connection is unlikely, this lexical aspect is a further indication that the treatise belongs to the 3rd or (more likely) 4th century.

[86] Examples given in Runia (1992g) 3 18-3 19.
[87] Referencesin *ibid. 3 19-320;* see also further below § 11.3 on Eusebius.

## 4. Theophilus of Antioch

According to Eusebius HE 4.20 and 4.24 Theophilus became the seventh bishop of the church at Antioch in 169. He wrote three elementary treatises addressed to Autolycus, works against the heretics Hermogenes and Marcion, as well as other treatises. Of these only the first-named work is still extant. Like the works of the Apologists we have discussed so far, it discusses specifically Christian doctrine hardly at all (although unlike the earlier works it does cite the New Testament in an incipient form), but rather engages in a defence of Christianity against attacks from the outside. Hence Theophilus is generally given a place among the Apologists. Contrary to the other Apologetic writings, however, the work is multi-volumed and frequently rather didactic in character. It may well contain catechetical material in use in Antioch at the time.[88] The formal organization of the three books leaves much to be desired. Of greatest greatest interest for our subject is the discussion of the doctrine of God in Book 1 and above all the lengthy exegesis of the early chapters of Genesis which occupies the bulk of Book 2 (1 l-32).

Once again the relation between the Apologist and Philo is disputed and has proved difficult to resolve. Geffcken contemptuously asserted that Theophilus did not have a single independent idea of his own, taking all his material from Justin, Philo, the Stoics and various anthologies.89 Heinisch, in contrast, argues that Theophilus' allegorizing owes nothing to Philo:[90]

> Sein Gebrauch der Allegorie, mehr Anwendung der Schrift als Exegese derselben, erklärt sich aus der Neigung jener Zeit zu dieser Auslegung und seiner umfassenden Belesenheit in der griechischen Literatur, welche ja zu einem großem Teil der Allegorie huldigte.

There can be little doubt that this judgment was on the wrong track. Detailed investigations during the last forty years have revealed how strong the Apologist's debt was to Judaism, and especially to Hellenized Judaism. Though writing quite some time after the Bar Kochba revolt, he is remarkably sympathetic to Judaism. Grant has suggested that this attitude may reflect on relation between Jews and Christians in Antioch at the time, and that Theophilus has been strongly influenced by a continuing presence of

[88] For a general characterization see Grant (1970) ix-xix (whose text and translation we have used for this discussion), (1988) 143-174. Grant has written about a dozen studies on various aspects of Theophilus' historical and theological position.

[89] Geffcken (1907) 250. Throughout his entire monograph he judges his Apologists above all by the structural coherence of their writings, which at least in part explains his quite virulent hostility towards the disorganized bishop.

[90] Heinisch (1908) 39; cf. also Siegfried (1 875) 340, who is very restrained in his enumeration of parallels.



Jewish Christianity in that city.[91] The amount of specifically Christian doctrine in the work is in fact remarkably limited.92 Grant concludes succinctly:[93] 'In almost every respect his apology is defence of Hellenistic Judaism as well as of Jewish Christianity.'

Not surprisingly the American scholar has dwelt-in his usual somewhat staccato and piecemeal fashion-on Theophilus' relation to our most copious Hellenistic-Jewish source. With respect to the doctrine of God Grant points out most appositely:[94]

> Like Philo of Alexandria, Theophilus sets forth a doctrine of God essentially Jewish in nature even though expressed in the language of Middle Platonism. He says that "we acknowledge (1) a God, (2) but only one, (3) the Founder and Maker and Demiurge (4) of this whole cosmos, (5) and we know that everything is governed by providence, by him alone (3.9)." These five points are exactly the same as those listed by Philo in a "creed" placed toward the end of his treatise ***On the Creation*** and noted by Erwin Goodenough. Theophilus is an heir of Hellenistic Judaism and presumably reflects some of its major developments in the second century.

On the doctrine of Sophia and Logos he remarks:[95]

> It is hard to tell why Theophilus' language is as loose as it is when sometimes he treats Logos as different from Wisdom, Sophia (1.7; 2.10, 16, 18)-and in the manner of Philo calls Logos and Sophia God's hands but is willing to speak of God's one hand even when discussing the creation (2.18 versus 1.4–5)—and like Philo identifies God's Wisdom with his Logos (2.10, 22).

An important factor in Theophilus' appropriation of Jewish exegesis is the implicit anti-heretical stance of his theology.96 Hence his strong emphasis on creation. By far the most interesting passage for our purposes is 2.10-3 l, which expounds the narrative in Genesis on creation and the early history of man. Grant attempts to show that this exegesis is essentially Jewish by making a lengthy list of parallels drawn from the Rabbinic collection ***Bereshit Rabbah*** and Philo's *Quaestiones* in *Genesim*. These, he concludes, 'prove that Theophilus' exegesis is essentially Jewish in origin', although at certain points it has clearly been Christianized.[97] The American

[91] Grant (1972); assent at Martin (1990b) 314, but emphasizing that Theophilus himself was not a Jewish Christian.

[92] Grant (1988) 165-174.

[93] Grant (1970) xviii.

[94] Grant (1988) 167. The reference is to Goodenough (1962) 37, who speaks of 'the first creed in history'.

[95] Grant (1988) 169. On Theophilus' invocation of Logos and Sophia in exegesis of Gen. 1:1, 1:26 see further Zeegers-Vander Vorst (1976), who rightly contrasts his emphasis on absolute monotheism with Justin's 'second God'), and also Segal (1977) 225-227.

[96] Grant (1972) 102ff. (Saturninus), (1988) 157, 160 (Marcion)

[97] Grant (1972) 157–160. Nautin (1973) 70 rightly points out that the whole of Book II, which begins with polemic against pagan polytheism, is indebted to Jewish apologetic. In his analysis of early Christian exegesis of Gen. I: l-2 he opposes the literalism of Theophilus to

scholar does not, however, come to a definite conclusion on whether Theophilus was directly indebted to him. His position, however, may be compared to that of Hanson, who affirmed?*

> That Theophilus was not prepared to indulge in wholesale allegory is evident from his acount of the garden of Eden (2.24). He shows no sign of specifically Philonic allegory, but at one poit he does reproduce from Philo the thought that God judged only man fit to be created by his own hands (2.18). But it is more likely that Theophilus found this sentiment in a contemporary *Reader's Digest,* of the sort that he used plentifully to supply him with philosophical opinions, than that he had read Philo or had been seriously influenced by him.

One is surely obliged to ask what sort of *Reader's Digest this* might be, one that contained philosophical views, or one that contained exegetical themes. Both alternatives seem entirely fanciful.[99] Nevertheless, the view that there was no direct dependence certainly represents the scholarly *communis opinio*.[100]

In a sequence of three articles, which together virtually amount to a monograph, Martin has unleashed a forceful attack on this position.101 In his first article he confines his attention to the treatment of the six days of creation (2.11-18). A list is presented of some fifteen points in which there are significant correspondences can be detected:

(i) light as ἀρχή of creation;[102]
(ii) God's having no need of light;
(iii) the term and concept of a *hexumeron;*
(iv) the characteristics of the seventh day;
(v) the genesis of the four elements;
(vi) the double creation of the heavens;
(vii) the separation of the waters from the earth;
(viii) the didactic function of certain moments in creation;
(ix) the sun and the moon;

the Platonizing views of Clement and Origen derived from Philo (cf. 86-92); but cf. below n. 103.

98 Hanson (1959) 110.

99 Moreover the example given is wrong. Philo nowhere states that man was created by God's hands only, but rather has to confront the question why in the case of man only God is said to have helpers (cf. *Opif.* 72, Fug. 68); Theophilus too asks this question, but gives a Christianized answer similar but different to Philo's, that God spoke to his Logos and Sophia. The reference to divine hands at *Opif.* 148 is casual, and by no means explains Theophilus' text.

100 Here we might also note the study of Bolgiani (1975) on the asceticism attributed to Noah at 3.19. The important parallel at QG 2.49 is adduced and is seen to contain Haggadic material. But Bolgiani does not appear to affirm that the bishop derived the idea from reading Philo (contrary to what is suggested at R-R 238).

101 Martin (1986b).

102 The interpretation of Gen. 1:1 in 2.10, to which Martin does not refer, is thought by Nautin (1973) 73 to indicate that Theophilus had read Philo, since ἐν ἀρχῇ is not taken literally (cf. *Opif.* 26); but it should be noted that his interpretation is quite different.



(x) the function of the triad in the order of creation;
(xi) the symbolism of the creation of the animals;
(xii) the evil of fevers;
(xiii) the creation of man by the hands of God;
(xiiv) exegesis of 'let us make man';
(xv) the recapitulation of the *hexameron.*

After discussing these shared themes the Argentinian scholar lists other similarities between Theophilus and Hellenistic-Judaic exegesis (including Aristobulus and the Letter *to, Aristeas*). In a second article he examines Theophilus' exegesis of Genesis 2-5 in relation to Philo's anthropological ideas. His findings are that Theophilus is at all times represents a developed form of Philonic OT exegesis, but that he opposes his predecessor in one essential point, namely Philo's platonizing assumption of two levels of intelligible and sense-perceptible interpretation.[103] On the other hand Philo's ethical and moral interpretations are taken over. In the third article Martin looks more closely at Theophilus' theological ideas and his views on prophecy and wisdom. Again he concludes that there is both dependence on Philo and independent criticism of his views.

What conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this material. Martin argues that three hypotheses can put forward. The relationship can be explained:[104] (a) by exegetical themes being held in common by Philo and Rabbinic Judaism;[105] (b) by the presence of Philonic traditions in Jewish or early Christian exegetical material developed in Syria; (c) by direct knowledge on the part of Theophilus of Alexandrian-Jewish exegetical works, and in particular those of Philo. The first two hypotheses are plausible enough, but the former is chronologically difficult, while the second is lacking in evidence. Martin thus opts for the third alternative. There is no reason, he argues, why there could not have been an affinity between Antiochean Christianity and Hellenistic-Jewish traditions. Theophilus' relation to Alexandrian exegesis is definitely closer than that of Justin and Athenagoras, even if he avoids Platonizing allegorization and stays closer to the typology of an Aristobulus.[106]

The collection of material that Martin has assembled is excellent, but his conclusion is somewhat disappointing. After all a period of more than three centuries divides Aristobulus from Theophilus. In fact it seems to me that an insufficiently clear distinction is made by him between what he calls

103 It should be noted, however, that at 2.13 the bishop speaks, with reference to Gen. 1:1, of an 'invisible heaven'. Although it is not made clear what he means by this, it is surely reminiscent of the exegesis at *Opif. 29-36.* This casts some doubt on Martin's conclusion at (1990b) 317 that Theophilus opposes both Philo's anthropological *and cosmological* dualisms (my emphasis).

104 Martin (1986b) 175.

105 Effectively the position of Grant and Zeegers-Vander Vorst.

106 Conclusion at 177.

'ideological continuity' and 'direct dependence'. The former means that Theophilus records and reacts to exegetical traditions contiguous with Philo's Alexandrian Judaism; the latter entails direct access. Only in the latter case would we be able to conclude that Philonic material was in circulation in Syria at the end of the 2nd century.

In order to show how truly difficult these matters are, it will be worthwhile briefly to examine the two texts which, to my mind, show the most direct affinities between Philo and Theophilus. Because lexical matters are essential for adjudication, the texts have to be cited in the original.

The first text is that noted by Grant in the passage cited above, in which Theophilus presents a credal statement (3.9):[107]

ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἕνα, τὸν κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, καὶ προνοίᾳ τὰ πάντα διοικεῖσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μόνου, καὶ νόμον ἅγιον μεμαθήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ νομοθέτην ἔχομεν τὸν ὄντως θεόν, ὃς καὶ διδάσκει ἡμᾶς δικαιοπραγεῖν καὶ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ καλοποιεῖν.

We too confess God, but only one, the founder and maker and demiurge of this entire cosmos. We know that everything is governed by providential care, but by Him alone. We have learned a holy law, but we have as legislator the real God, who teaches *us* to practise justice and piety and beneficence.

If we compare *Opif.* 170-172, it must be admitted that the resemblance is striking. All of Philo's five δόγματα implicitly present, and the further point that God is a lawgiver who has taught us to do justice and show piety could not be more Philonic, even if in *Opif.* the emphasis is on Moses, not God, as lawgiver. On the other hand, the *literary* relation between the two passages is rather distant. The following points can be observed:

**ὁμολογοῦμεν:** Theophilus' passage is explicitly credal, Philo's is not. The contexts are not the same. Theophilus' purpose is explicitly apologetic. Philo's passage is exegetical, summarizing the teachings of the Mosaic creation account. Moreover Theophilus does not structure his passage in the didactic way used by Philo, with five points and a summary.

**θεόν**: the existence of God is not emphasized as such, though it is implied, since the previous chapter attacks atheists, whom Philo too has in mind.

**τὸν κτίστην καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν**: Philo emphasizes that the cosmos is created, not that God is its creator. But at §171 he speaks of God as δημιουργός. For κτίστης in an apologetic (and semi-credal) context see *Virt.* 179. But the term is not used in *Opif.* Moreover by means of this term Theophilus probably wishes to indicates God's creation of the cosmos *ex nihilo*, as explicitly stated in 2.4. This doctrine is conspicuous by its absence in *Opif.*

The doctrine of the cosmos' **unicity,** which Philo gives surprising emphasis, is hardly found in Theophilus, but may be implied in τοῦδε τοῦ *παντός* κόσμου.

Theophilus' emphasis on a **single providence** (perhaps directed at Platonist views of a double providence) is not found in Philo's 'creed'.

[107] Already alluded to in Grant (1988) 177 cited above at n. 94; see also Martin (1990b) 304. Translation by Grant (slightly modified).



There can be absolutely no doubt, therefore, that the affinity between the two texts is strong, and that 'ideological continuity' is assured, i.e. the presence of Judaeo-Hellenistic motifs in the background cannot be denied. To my mind, however, the literary resemblances are insufficient to *prove* 'direct dependence' beyond all doubt.

The second passage is taken from Theophilus' exposition of the Mosaic creation account. Having cited Gen. 1:3–2:3, he introduces his exegesis with words that are clearly reminiscent of the beginning of Philo's treatise on the same passage. We place the two texts side by side:[108]

Philo, *Opif.* 4

τὸ μὲν οὖν κάλλος τῶν νοημάτων τῆς κοσμοποιίας **οὐδεὶς** οὔτε ποιητὴς οὔτε λογογράφος **ἀξίως ἂν** ὑμνῆσαι **δύναιτο**· καὶ γὰρ λόγον καὶ ἀκοὴν **ὑπερβάλλει** μείζω καὶ σεμνότερα ὄντα ἢ ὡς θνητοῦ τινος ὀργάνοις ἐναρμοσθῆναι.

The beauty of the thoughts contained in the creation account can not be adequately praised by any poet or prose writer, for they transcend speech and hearing, having a weight and solemnity too great to adapt to the organs of a mortal being.

cf. Philo Leg. 2.12

πρότερον μὲν ἐν τῇ **ἑξαημέρῳ** τὰ γένη τῶν παθῶν καὶ τὰς ἰδέας εἰργάζετο…

Earlier in the account of the six days he made the genera of the passions and the ideas…

Theophilus *Ad Aut.* 2.12

τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐξαημέρου **οὐδεὶς** ἀνθρώπων **δυνατὸς κατ' ἀξίαν** τὴν ἐξήγησιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν πᾶσαν ἐξειπεῖν, οὐδὲ εἰ μυρία στόματα ἔχοι καὶ μυρίας γλώσσας ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ μυρίοις ἔτεσιν βιώσει τις ἐπιδημῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔσται ἱκανὸς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀξίως τι εἰπεῖν, διὰ τὸ **ὑπερβάλλον** μέγεθος καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς σοφίας τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς οὔσης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προγεγραμμένῃ **ἑξαημέρῳ.**

No man can adequately set forth the whole exposition and plan of the six days' account, even if he were to have ten thousand mouths and ten thousand tongues. Not even if he were to live ten thousand years, continuing in this life, would he be competent to say any thing adequately in regard to these matters, because of the surpassing greatness [Eph. 1:19] and riches of the Wisdom of God [Rom. 11:33] to be found in this six days' account.

Once again strong affinities of subject matter are apparent, although in the context of the cited passage Philo explicitly praises Moses as author, whereas Theophilus emphasizes that the divine Logos speaks through him as through an instrument (2.10). But here too there are *literary* resemblances to consider:[109]

(1) the formulation of the encomium is verbally very similar (the bishop weaves in a Homeric allusion, whereas Philo resorts to an image);
(2) both writers use the verb ὑπερβάλλω; Theophilus actually cites Eph. 1:19, as Grant points out, but the text might have been suggested to him by Philo's text;

[108] Translations by the author (Philo), Grant (Theophilus).
[109] Cf. Martin (1986b)155, but without emphasis on verbal parallels.

*(3)* Theophilus is the first Christian author to use the term 'Hexaemeron', which before him is only found in the one cited passage from Philo.[110]

But even in this case I fear that the literary resemblances are insuffiently exact to convince a hard-nosed sceptic.

It is time to reach a conclusion. It is certain that Theophilus' work discloses extensive contacts with Greek-speaking Judaism. Because he 'does not cite Philo by name and gives no identifiable quotations, it cannot be considered certain that he was acquainted with the Alexandrian's writings. The considerable body of parallels and disagreements collected by Martín reveal thematic rather than literary resemblance. The key here lies in the extent to which Judaeo-Hellenistic apologetic and exegetical material was disseminated in the Jewish diaspora in the period after the Bar Kochba revolt, and in the extent to which this material would have been accessible to a bishop working in Antioch. If such material was not available, then Martin's hypothesis must hold. If it did exist and was accessible, then the resemblances are best explained through an appeal to this missing body of Judaeo-Hellenistic thought. Recently some astounding archaeological discoveries have been made in Asia Minor, notably at Sardis and Aphrodisias, revealing how strong Judaism remained there from the 2nd to the 4th centuries.111 Even as late as the 4th century the synagogue at Sardis was considerably larger than the church. What we need are comparable discoveries in the literary realm.[112] Then the problem we have confronted in this section (and the section on Justin) may finally be resolved.

## 5. Irenaeus

Finally we turn to the famous Christian theologian who is generally not counted among the Apologists, but both in terms of his (original) location and chronology stood very close to them. Irenaeus knew the writings of Justin and Theophilus. Before moving to the West and becoming bishop of Lyons he received his formation in Asia Minor, probably in Smyrna. His major work, ***Adversos haereses,*** was written in the 180's.[113] Its title indicates the changed situation, for, instead of directing arguments at eminent pagan authorities, Irenaeus turns his attention inwards to the church communities which he sees as under the dire threat of heresy.114 A

[110] Cf. Van Winden (1988) 125 1. See also our list of ***verba Philonica*** above in the previous section.
[111] Cf. ***inter alia*** Seager-Kraabel (1983), Van der Horst ( 1989).
[112] Unless a Jew engraved an important text on stone, as the Epicurean Diogenes did at Oenoanda!
[113] Grant (1988) 182.
[114] As Le Boulluec (1985) 133-253 has examined in great detail, Irenaeus takes over the



theology is based for the first time on a clear notion of tradition: as Irenaeus stresses in the letter to Florinus which Eusebius has preserved, he himself sat at the feet of Polycarp, who had had conversations with John, who had known the Lord. Irenaeus follows Justin in what was to become 'mainstream Christianity'.

Did Irenaeus have any knowledge of Philo? The question has received little attention. Certain themes from Hellenistic Judaism will have come his way via Theophilus.[115] But what about more direct contact? In 1937 Montgomery-Hitchcock, in arguing against Loofs' theory of Irenaeus' dependence of Theophilus' lost work against Marcion, claimed that it could be proven that Irenaeus (like Theophilus) was familiar with Philo, and that this familiarity explained their common use of the phrase 'hands of God' .[116] More concretely Smulders in 1958 published a brief article in which he claimed to have located a quotation of Philo:[117]

| Philo, De ***cherubim*** 77 | Irenaeus, ***Adv. haer. 4.39.2*** |
|---|---|
| ἴδιον μὲν δὴ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὃ οὐ θέμις ἐπιγράψασθαι γενητῷ, ἴδιον δέ γενη τοῦ τὸ πάσχειν. | Facere enim proprium est benignitatis Dei; fieri autem proprium est hominis naturae. |
| For it is God's property to act, a property that cannot lawfully be ascribed to any created being; but it is the property of a created being to undergo action. | For it is the property of God's beneficence to act. but it is the property of human nature to undergo action. |

As he recognizes the broad context is quite different, but there is a thematic similarity in the stress on man's fundamental passivity within the context of the doctrine of creation. It is possible that a common source is involved,"* but Smulders thinks it more likely that Irenaeus knew Philo's words and 'transformed them into this profound axiom of Christian spirituality'.[119] If we look at the linguistic side of the purported parallel it has be admitted that the relation is rather close (inasmuch as we can penetrate through the Latin translation). The subject matter, however, is rather general, so the possibility of coincidence cannot be ruled out.

notion of heresy from Justin and develops it into an immensely powerful instrument in defence of what he regards to be the Apostolic tradition.
[115] Grant (1988) 185.
[116] Montgomery-Hitchcock (1937). Note, however, our cautionary remarks above at n. 99. The claim that in their use of trinitarian expressions Theophilus is dependent on Philo, whereas Irenaeus is not, is also open to considerable doubt.
[117] Smulders (1958). The Latin translation is ancient, but does not express Irenaeus' own words, making the judgment on literal correspondence more difficult
[118] Smulders says the words 'sound like a proverbial expression'. 'Philosophical' would be more accurate; cf. Wolfson (1947) 2.131ff. on instances in Philo (note esp. Leg. 2.33, 3.105, also Clem. Alex. ***Quis Dives*** 12.1).
[119] Smulders (1958) 156.

The only other scholar to expatiate on the subject is Lanne.[120] In a detailed examination of Abraham's sojourning, he is struck by a text in the ***Demonstratio praedicationis*** *apostolicae* (§24), in which the patriarch's 'sojourning' (ξενιτεία) is interpreted in terms of the quest for God. Here, as also in §10, Irenaeus is much closer to Philo than to other Jewish traditions. Unlike Ambrose, Lanne claims, he does not plagiarize the Alexandrian, but takes over the broad lines of his intepretation of Abraham as set out in the ***De Abrahamo.*** Thus Irenaeus is a link in the chain of tradition that connects Philo to later Christian monasticism.[121]

It is perhaps not untypical of scholarship on Irenaeus that in a recent study on the theme of man as God's image in his thought-a more central Philonic theme can hardly be imagined-, the entire question of a relation to Philo and Alexandrian thought is hardly raised.[122] Martin's suggestion that a more substantial study is required, paying much attention to the themes of ***pneuma*** and ***sophia, can*** only applauded.[123] One must fear, however, that similar problems to those surrounding Theophilus can hardly be avoided.

[120] Lanne (1974); cf. also his earlier study on the interpretation of Seraphim and Cherubim, (1955), in which associations with Philonic theology are also claimed. At (1974) 185 n.2 he cites Orbe (1969) 340 as affirming that Irenaeus knew Philo 'con toda probabilidad' (non *vidi).*

[121] Lanne (1974) 185–186, cross-referring to Guillaumont (1967). See on this link further below §11.4.

[122] Fantino (1985); better is the brief discussion at Crouzel (1956) 63ff. in the context of Origen's thought.

[123] Martin (1988) 289–290.

Chapter Seven

# Alexandria before Clement

## *1. The beginnings of Christianity in Alexandria*

Philo lived all his life in Alexandria, dying there in about 50 AD, and it is in his native city that his writings must have first circulated, even though we know nothing about the extent of their distribution.[1] As we have earlier seen, it is a resident of Alexandria, Clement, who first gives us evidence of direct knowledge and use of Philo's works.[2] Clement arrived in Alexandria in about 180. What happened to the Philonic legacy in the intermediate 130 years? What influence did it have on nascent Alexandrian Christianity?

Some hundred years ago Harnack affirmed that 'the most serious gap in our knowledge of the earliest history of the Church is our almost complete ignorance of the history of Christianity in Alexandria and Egypt'.[3] The most recent historian of early Egyptian Christianity, C. W. Griggs, also speaks of 'the unexpected and enigmatic silence of traditional literary sources', although he is able to make use of more documentary evidence than Harnack had available to him.[4] Why this strange silence? In his epoch-making book on orthodoxy and heresy Bauer thought he had the answer. Earliest Christianity in Alexandria was-in the perspective of later developments—heretical, profoundly influenced by gnostic and syncretistic ideas.[5] Later on the evidence was covered up. Eusebius was acutely aware of the importance of the Church of Alexandria. But when he wished to describe its beginnings, he could find no material at hand and so had to invent some, discerning in Philo's Therapeutae the first Egyptian Christians.[6]

In the last decade or so an intense re-investigation of the question of Christian origins at Alexandria has led to the conclusion that Bauer's thesis in the strong form outlined above is untenable. The evidence available is very limited, but is thought to point to the conclusion that Jewish mission-

[1] The first reference to Philo is at Josephus *Ant.* 18.259-260, dating to about 40 years after his death. It describes him as φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, but says nothing about his writings.

[2] See above §1.4, and the next chapter below.

[3] Harnack (1902, 1924[4]) 2.706, cited by Klijn (1986) 161, Ritter (1987) 161.

[4] Griggs (1990) 28.

[5] Bauer (1934, 1964[2]) 49-64.

[6] *Ibid. 50.* Cf. above § 1.1, and below § IO.

aries from Jerusalem first brought the Gospel to Alexandria, and that the beginnings of the Church there must be sought, as elsewhere, in the Synagogues.7 Various scholars have pointed to the undeniable continuity between Judaism and early Christianity in Alexandria.* In Philo a number of varieties of Judaism (even including an apocalyptic strain) are visible,[9] and these may have exerted various kinds of influence on nascent Alexandrian Christianity. As Pearson aptly points out, if lack of evidence forces extrapolation, then this must be done even-handedly:[10]

> The earliest Christians of Alexandria are to be placed in this variegated Jewish context. We should surmise that a variety of beliefs and practices were represented in Alexandrian Christianity almost from the beginning. If Walter Bauer and others can extrapolate backwards in time from such early second-century gnostic teachers as Basilides, Carpocrates, and Valentinus, it is equally valid to extrapolate into the first century other varieties of Christianity, including more "orthodox" ones, such as are represented in other early second-century literature. One can plausibly trace a trajectory backwards from Clement of Alexandria, and such second-century texts as the ***Teachings of Silvanus*** to a first-century religious Platonism represented on the Jewish side by Philo and on the Christian side by Apollos. Of course it is also highly likely that less intellectually sophisticated varieties of Christianity existed in first-century Alexandria.. .

There is also general agreement, however, that the dramatic events of 115–117 must have formed a watershed in the relations between Jews and Christians in the city.[11] The Jewish community was pulverized to such a degree that all intellectual vitality was lost, and Hellenistic Judaism as it had developed in Alexandria appears virtually to have died out.12 It is no doubt significant in this regard that Clement in his copious writings betrays no certain interaction with living Jews or an active Jewish community (in contrast, as we shall see, to Origen in 3rd century Caesarea).[13]

Turning now to the situation as it developed in the 2nd century, we are on the safest ground if we postulate a extensive pluriformity in the Alexandrian Church, encouraged by an ecclesiastical structure that was considerably looser and less 'monarchic' than in Antioch and elsewhere.14 Van

[7] See Barnard (1966), Roberts (1979), Van den Broek (1979a), Koester (1982) 1.219ff., Pearson (1986ab), Klijn (1986), Ritter (1987), Griggs (1990) 32-34, Pearson (1990b). A particular difficulty is caused by the fact that, because of Alexandria's situation, archaeology has been able to supply almost no evidence. It is to be hoped that eventually efforts in this area will be successful; see Pearson (1986b)155.

[8] Which means, in effect, that Eusebius' intuition was not wholly without foundation!

[9] Pearson (1986a) 208f.

[10] Pearson (1986b) 149.

[11] See especially Roberts (1979) 58ff.; Van den Broek (1990) 102.

[12] This contrasts pointedly with the 2nd century finds in Asia Minor noted in the previous chapter.

[13] Van den Broek (1990) 11 I, arguing against Wilken (1971) 41; see further below §8.5 (d).

[14] The term 'pluriformity' is used by Van den Broek (1989), ***passim;*** Griggs (1990) 32 speaks



den Broek has usefully distinguished six separate groups, each with a distinctive direction of thought:[15]

(i) Jewish Christians, whose number will have strongly declined after 117;
(ii) Apocalyptics, as evidenced in the ***Oracula Sibyllina***, who were convinced that the last days would soon come, as prophesied in the scriptures;
(iii) The 'simpliciores' or ὀρθόδοξοι, who adhered to the 'naked faith' and considered all philosophical or theological speculation superfluous;
(iv) Encratites espousing a radical asceticism that even went so far as to deny salvation to those not practising complete abstinence;
(v) Gnostic Christians, for whom the salvation brought by Christ was the acquisition of a special spiritual insight concerning the transcendent origin of the elect and the radically evil nature of the cosmos;
(vi) Platonizing Christians, who used Greek-philosophical concepts to make their faith intellectually more acceptable.

We shall be returning to this typology at various stages of our discussion in order to place the evidence at our disposal in the broader context of the Alexandrian situation. To this evidence we now turn.

## *2. Early documents*

The early documentary evidence is scanty, and nearly all of it is disputed. As we already noted in our discussion in Philo and the New Testament, there is a possibility that the speech of Stephen in Acts 7 discloses a connection with Alexandrian Judaism.[16] Barnard has argued that the speech rests upon good historical traditions;[17] other scholars emphasize that it is a Lucan composition and can tell us nothing about the views of Stephen or his 'Hellenist' associates.18 A compromise position is possible. Clearly Luke intends his 'set speeches' in Acts not so much to depict historical events but representative occasions, e.g. when Paul addresses the philosophers on the Areopagus. Stephen's speech may be meant to illustrate the new Christian message against the backdrop of a Hellenstic-Diaspora Judaism such as was prevalent in Alexandria and some of the other localities mentioned in Acts 6:9. It is striking that the term σοφία, a key word in Hellenistic Judaism, is used by Luke only in this context (6:3, 10, 7:10, 22) and not elsewhere in Acts.19 Hence the not inconsiderable thematic similarities

of an 'undifferentiated Christianity'. It is best to avoid the term 'pluralism' with its modern connotations.

[15] Van den Broek (1989) 72-8 1. As Annewies van den Hoek points out to me, there are some problems with this typology, especially in distinguishing between (d), (e) and (f); cf. also our remark in §7.3. below about Christian Gnostics and Clement.

[16] Cf. above §4.1, with references to Hanson and Barnard in n. 18.

[17] Barnard (1966) 58.

[18] E.g. Koester ( 1982) 2.90.

[19] Pointed out by Barnard (1966) 70.

between the speech and Philo's writings. These have, however, so far not been systematically investigated.

Two other documents that are likely to reflect on the early Alexandrian situation are the Letter to the Hebrews and the ***Epistle of Barnabas,*** both of which we have already discussed. A good number of scholars believe that they are of Alexandrian provenance, although this has not been proven.[20] These documents are too early to be comfortably located in Van den Broek's typology, but the eschatological emphasis that is particularly strong in ***Barnabas,*** but also present in Hebrews, inclines us to see them as precursors of the first rather than the last three. Both documents do contain (quasi) philosophical-allegorical themes which look back to **Philo** and will later re-emerge with full force in Clement (i.e. the sixth group), but these themes do not determine the main direction of their thought.[21]

One further early document deserves briefly mention, the so-called ***Kerygma Petrou*** or ***Preaching of Peter***.[22] Clement, the only author to mention the work, preserves six fragments. This makes it likely that Egypt, and perhaps more specifically Alexandria, is its place of origin. Von **Dobschütz** and Schneemelcher have seen it as a witness to the transition between early missionary preaching and the apologetic literature of the 2nd century. They assign a date at the beginning of that century.[23] The themes of Jewish apologetic literature that are developed and Christianized in Aristides, Athenagoras and Theophilus are already present in the few fragments we have of this work. In frag. 2 (= Clem. ***Str.,*** 6.39) we find a relatively unsophisticated but effective piece of negative theology. God is described in the following terms:

> ὁ ἀόρατος, ὃς τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ, ἀχώρητος, ὃς τὰ πάντα χωρεῖ, ἀνεπιδεής, οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐπιδέεται καὶ δι' ὅν ἐστιν, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀέναος, ἄφθαρτος, ἀποίητος, ὃς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν λόγῳ δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ.
>
> ***The*** Invisible who sees all things, the Uncontained who fills all things, the One who is in need of nothing, whom all things need and through whom they exist, the Incomprehensible, the Everlasting, the Indestructible, the **Uncreated,** who made all things through the word of his power.

We discern here that a continuity with Philonic apologetic themes similar to that which we saw in Aristides and **Athenagoras**[24] must have also existed in Alexandria.[25]

[20] E. g. Hanson (1959) 99-101 (both), Barnard (1966) 46 (Barnabas), Pearson (1986a) 212 (Barnabas), Grant (1988) 176 (both). See further above §4.3, 95.3.

[21] See further above §4.3, §5.3.

[22] Fragments translated with commentary by Schneemelcher in **Hennecke-Schneemelcher-**Wilson (1965) 94-102.

[23] *Ibid.* 96-97, following the lead of Von **Dobschütz** (1893) 66; cf. also Geffcken (1907) xxxiii.

[24] See above §6.1, §6.3.

[25] To my knowledge no scholar has commented on this continuity.



## *3. The Christian Gnostic teachers*

A feature of the Alexandrian church which distinguished it from other Christian churches in the 2nd century was the prominent role accorded to its teachers. It would appear that the spiritual leaders of the church were not bishops or even presbyters, but gifted teachers, who worked within the ecclesiastical organization, but without having a specific office. It has been speculated that in this unusual structure the Alexandrian church was continuing the organization of the earlier Jewish community, i.e. the Christian teachers carried on the traditions of the earlier Jewish teachers (or rabbis ***avant la Zettre)***.[26] A connection with the position of **Philo** in the Alexandrian Jewish community is not difficult to imagine, but must remain speculative, since we do not know what place **Philo** had within its structure.[27]

The best known of these teachers before the time of Pantaenus and Clement are Basilides, Carpocrates and Valentinus, all of whom appear to have had a considerable following in the Christian community. From the (scanty) evidence it is apparent that these men were both Gnostics (as this religious movement has come to be known) and Christians. The question of whether they were Gnostic Christians (i.e. their Christianity was primary, as Bauer argued) or Christian Gnostics (i.e. their Gnosticism was primary) continues to divide scholars. We are attracted to Pearson's view that Gnosticism first developed independently of Christianity-possibly in a Jewish **matrix**—and should be regarded as a separate religious phenomenon.[28] At the same time it is incorrect to play down the Christian status of these teachers, not only because the figure of Christ plays a significant role in their systems, but also **because** they make frequent appeals to the New Testament scriptures, which apparently by this time were circulating-in Alexandria.[29] Because in our view the Gnosticizing doctrines of these men distinguish them clearly from the mainstream of Christian

[26] Van den Broek (1989) 81, (1990) 109.

[27] See chapter 8 on the Alexandrian school tradition. In his monograph on the role of the 'teacher' in 2nd century Christianity, Niemeyr (1989) 232 argues as follows: '**Philon** hat also **großen Einfluß** auf die Theologie der christlichen Lehrer des zweiten Jahrhunderts **ausgeübt,** nicht aber auf die Gestalt ihrer **Lehrtätigkeit,** denn seine Schriften **enthalten** keinen Hinweis auf ihren **'Sitz** im Leben' und auf eine **mögliche Lehrtätigkeit** ihres Verfassers und **Philon** kann den christlichen Lehrern des zweiten Jahrhunderts nicht mehr persönlich bekannt gewesen sein, da er bereits **um** das Jahr 50 starb.' This statement overlooks the possibility that in Alexandria something of the tradition in which **Philo** worked may have been passed on to the early Christian teachers.

[28] Pearson (1990a) 6-9; on the putative Jewish background cf. Pearson (1984a). The case for a Christian or post-Christian origin of Gnosticism is argued by Yamauchi (1983), Pttrement (1990).

[29] Pearson (1990b) 198-208. Tertullian reports (perhaps not very reliably) that Valentinus, when he later moved from Alexandria to Rome, nearly became Bishop of that city, i.e. Pope!

thought, we prefer to speak of Christian Gnostics. Nevertheless it is surely legitimate and mandatory to assign to them a particular place in the Alexandrian church of the 2nd century, as Van den Broek has done (i.e. the 5th group in his typology).[30] The dividing-line between the two last categories in this typology is not entirely clear-cut. Clement polemicizes with great vigour against all three groups and brands them as heretics, but does not hesitate to call his ideal Christian the 'true Gnostic'. We should note, finally, that both groups have a strong element in common, namely their extensive appropriation of doctrines from contemporary Middle Platonism (although it would be wrong to call them Middle Platonists ***tout court***).[31] This element only makes the question of the possible relation to Philo more pressing.

Research on these Gnostic teachers is, however, most unfortunately hampered by the almost total loss of their writings, which constrains us to take recourse to the polemically motivated second hand reports in the Church Fathers. ***Prima facie*** it would be a most interesting exercise to explore possible connections between Philo and Basilides, who flourished in Alexandria in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century.[32] For example, in the fullest report of his doctrine given by Hippolytus[33] the notion of the three 'sonships' might tempt us to recall Philo's depiction of the Logos (or the noetic cosmos) and the cosmos as God's two sons, with man as image of the image (cf. ***Opif.*** 25) as equivalent to the third sonship. Moreover the Great Archon, in undertaking his presumptuous creative activity, is described as regarding himself as κύριος καὶ δεσπότης καὶ σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων (Lord and Master and wise Architect), the final term being precisely that of Philo's memorable image in ***Opif.*** 17. Most remarkable of all is the placement of Ex. 6:3-the same text that Philo brings to bear on the namelessness of God in ***Mut.*** 13-in the mouth of the Archon of the Hebdomad.34

[30] A corollary to this position is that much of the many facetted phenomenon falls outside the scope of this survey. Siegfried (1875) has three remarkably well informed pages on Philo and the Gnostics (341-343). For the most recent treatment of Philo's relation to Gnosticism in general see Pearson (1984b).

[31] Emphasized by Whittaker (1987) 121– 123, who argues that the remains of these thinkers can inform us about strands of Middle Platonist doctrine now lost. Cf. also Dillon (1977) 384-389 (but the term the 'Platonic underworld' is not entirely felicitous).

[32] There has been virtually no scholarly investigation. In the case of the ineffability of the οὐκ ὢν θεός Wolfson (1957) 156 saw a reaction against Philo; but Whittaker (1969) sees rather a common Middle Platonist background (see also his further article (1992)). For a concise summaries of Basilides' thought (with literature) see Muhlenberg (1980), Layton (1989); remaining fragments published by Völker (1932) 38-57 (mainly later reports). Layton argues that Basilides was the first Christian philosopher, and that he should not be 'mislabeled' a Gnostic (149 n.17). From a philosophical viewpoint, however, Basilides' cosmogonical speculations have peculiar features.

[33] Text and translation now in Osborne (1987) 282-309.

[34] On the exegesis of the text in Philo see Runia (1988a) 76ff. When I point out on p. 88 that



In the case of Valentinus the problem of evidence is equally acute. Egyptian-born and a contemporary of Basilides, he received his education in Alexandria, where he joined the Christian church and was active as a teacher until about 140, when he moved to Rome. Of his writings we have only a handful of fragments, preserved mainly by Clement, unless scholars are right in assigning to him the ***Gospel of Truth*** found at Nag Hammadi. As far as we can judge, Valentinus' thought combines theological and philosophical themes with strong mythopoeic features. The more fantastic systems of Valentinianism were later developed by his followers.35

The general consensus of opinion is that Valentinus must have known Philo's writings. In 1949 Quispel attempted to prove the matter by drawing attention to a verbal parallel between Philo ***Opif.*** 71 and the report of Valentinus at Didymus ***De trin.*** 3.42.[36] But the theme of the mind bedazzled by its approach towards God as highest principle is too common in Middle Platonism to make a Philonic origin certain. The issue was again raised in a paper on the Valentian myth of Sophia by the Cambridge theologian Stead. He conceded to his colleague Chadwick that he could not ***prove*** that Valentinus knew the works of Philo, but insisted that 'the two men had much in common, and that one can reconstruct most of the presuppositions of Valentinus merely by rearranging Philo's mental furniture'.37 Stead argues that traces of both Sophia as mother of all and fallen sophia, who administers the world, are found in Philo. But since he must concede that nowhere in Philo Sophia (or the Logos) is regarded as in any way blameworthy, the link he suggests with Hellenistic Judaism seems dubious.[38] At the International Conference on Gnosticism held at Yale in 1978 he returned to the subject in his paper with the challenging title 'In Search of Valentinus'.[39] To judge by the scanty fragments,[40] Stead argued, Valentinus should be described as a 'biblical Platonist'. At three points he found similarities to Philo:

(i) The description of Adam in fr. 1 is reminiscent of Philo's exegesis of Gen. 1:26 in terms of the Ideal man.[41]

(ii) The oblique (and obscure) reference to the act of creation in fr. 5 uses the term image (εἰκών) in the double sense also found in Philo.[42]

exegesis of Ex. 6:3 is very rare in early Christian writings (the best example being Justin ***Dial.*** 126.2), I should have noted the Basilidean text.

[35] On Valentinus and Valentinianism cf. Rudolph (1987) 317-323, Layton (1987) 217ff.; fragments at Völker (1932) 57-60, Layton (1987) 223-264 (including the ***Gospel of Truth).***

[36] Quispel(1949) 431432.

[37] Stead (1969) 90.

[38] Stead (1969) 97.

[39] Stead (1980).

[40] Stead follows the collection in Völker (1932).

[41] Stead (1980) 81-82.

[42] ***Ibid. 83-88.*** The comparison with Philo's Logos to elucidate the making of the cosmos ***by***

(iii) Valentinus' Aeons can be elucidated by the relation of rational souls to the intelligible world such as found in Philo's Platonist 'myths' at *Gig.* 12-15, *Somn.* 1.138, *Plant.* 14.43

Not all aspects of Stead's paper managed to persuade his critical audience,[44] but the thematic continuities that he depicted between Philo and Valentinus were not challenged. More recently both Layton and Pearson have agreed that Valentinus probably knew Philo's works.45

From the viewpoint of temperament the Christian Gnostic teachers discussed in this section were certainly more radically inclined than Philo. The possession of gnosis introduced for them a radical divide between the elect and other people. One cannot help being reminded of Philo's polemic against the radical allegorizers of the Law in his day, who, he says, 'as though they were living alone by themselves in a wilderness, or as though they had become disembodied souls..., overlooking all that the mass of men regard, . ..explore reality in its naked absoluteness'.46 We might indeed see here a continuity between Philo and Clement, since the latter attacks the Gnostics constantly for making the possession of gnosis the condition for salvation rather than the simple faith of ordinary believers.47 On the other hand, it has been argued by Van den Hoek that there is a certain shift in emphasis between Philo and Clement in their view of God and his relation to creation, which is caused by a reaction against a doctrine of 'natural salvation' of the Christian Gnostic teachers. Clement refuses to equate God and 'nature' (φύσις), because he is afraid that the decisive role of Christ in salvation history will be overlooked. Here the Gnostic teachers stand closer to Philo.[48] This observation must make us regret all the more intensely the fact that we are unable to trace more clearly the direct contact that these men may have had with the legacy of Philonic thought.

a subordinate power (85) is less happy, though the author is careful to qualify his statement. On the double notion of εἰκών cf. Runia (1986) 163.

43 Stead (1980) 92-95; but he notes (93) that Philo may be closer to Basilides than Valentinus. See also below 97.4 (c) on the *Authentikos Logos*.

44 Discussion at *ibid. 95-102.*

45 Layton (1987) 217 (basing his view on a passage in the Gospel of Truth (36.35-37.2) which may build on QG 1.8), Pearson (1990b) 202. Dawson (1992) 145-182 makes extensive comparisons between Philo and Valentinus without pronouncing on the historical relation between them. He argues that Valentinus' overt disregard of Judaism masks a 'thoroughgoing' subversion' of Judaism's essential truths (176).

46 *Migr.* 90 (translation Colson).

47 Cf. Van den Broek (1989) 79. Fallon (1976) argues that Valentinus' pupil Ptolemy builds on the Philonic (or Judaeo-hellenistic) distinction of different levels of the Law, but reinterprets these so that the normativity of certain parts is rejected. This Gnosticism is, moderate, with a concern for the 'psychics' below the 'perfect' in the Gnostic hierarchy.

48 Van den Hoek (1988) 226; see further below §8.2. Cf. also the remarks of Colpe (1979)



## *4. Second century documents*

A number of other documents are thought to shed light on the intellectual situation in 2nd century Alexandria. We shall end this chapter with a brief survey of their bearing on the Philonic legacy in Alexandria up to the time of Clement.[49]

(a) *The Sentences of Sextus. In* 1959 Chadwick conclusively proved that this work, which enjoyed great popularity in the later Christian tradition,50 was compiled, probably at Alexandria, between 180-210. Its plan was to take pagan moral maxims, intersperse them with specifically Christian material, and thus 'bring the moral wisdom of the Greek sages under the wing of the church to whom all truth belongs'.[51] Van den Broek sees a relation with the group of Encratites which formed part of the pluriform Alexandrian church.52 Chadwick points out, however, that the attitude towards Greek philosophical thought is very similar to that of Clement and Origen (who is the first to cite the work).[53] This raises the question of earlier Alexandrian sources. But Chadwick does not investigate this aspect fully, and only refers to Philo in passing.54

(b) *The Teachings of Silvanus.* This most interesting treatise was discovered as part of the Nag Hammadi cache (VII, 4). It soon emerged on detailed investigation that the document was not Gnostic, but explicitly anti-Gnostic, warning the reader not be defiled by 'strange kinds of knowledge' and not to think that the creator of all creatures is ignorant.55 The most detailed research on the work's relation to its sources and other contemporary witnesses has been carried out by Zandee. In an article comparing it to Philo's thought he discovers the following common elements:[56]

(i) the conception of the transcendence of God, based on Platonic categories of thought;

(ii) the doctrine of personified Wisdom;57

(iii) anthropology based on Platonism, but also showing Stoic features;

105-107 on how the Philonic Logos-doctrine is differently adapted by Clement and his Valentinian opponent Theodotus.

49 The chronology involved is not very precise, and there is inevitably some overlap with the following chapter.

50 A damaged text was also found in the Nag Hammadi library (XII, 12).

51 Chadwick (1959) 160.

52 I.e. the 4th group in his typology; see Van den Broek (1989) 76.

53 Chadwick (1959) 160-162, 107.

54 *Ibid. 174* on *Contempl. 16.*

55 Pearson (1983) 82.

56 Zandee (1974); results summarized at Pearson (1983) 81.

57 In some respects the work can be called an example of Christian Wisdom literature; cf. Schoedel(1975).

(iv) stress on the importance of virtue and the struggle against the passions, coupled with a decidedly negative attitude towards the body;
(v) use of the allegorical method of interpreting scripture.

Zandee does not conclude that the author knew Philo's writings, but rather that his work reveals the same intellectual and religious atmosphere as Philo. This also emerges in a further study, in which the Dutch scholar compares the document with Clement and frequently illustrates the common Alexandrian background with backward references to Philo.[58] In a final treatment, published post-humously as part of a massive text, translation and commentary on the work, Zandee concludes9

> The Teachings of Silvanus are in a large part comparable with the theological speculations of Philo. Although the author of Silv is a Christian and Philo a Hellenistic Jew, they share a common task of trying to translate the biblical message with the help of the philosophic language and conceptions of their time. Since the author of Silv also shows similarities with Clement and Origen, we could speak as well of his contacts with an "Alexandrian" type of theology. As is the case with Philo, the author of Silv reflects the influence of both Stoic and Platonic patterns of thought. The similarities between them all belong to such things as the conception of God, religious anthropology, and ethics.. . So we see [in conclusion], that as well in respect of the contents as in connection with the literary form [i.e. the use of allegory] there is a great similarity between Silv and Philo.

On the basis of Zandee's research and his own further observations, Pearson reaches the following weighty conclusion:60 'It is the Philo-like Christianity of ***Silvanus***, rather than the primitive apocalypticism of ***Barnabus***, or the acosmic radicalism of the Gnostics, that ultimately carried the day in the development of Christian theology in the patristic age.'

(c) The *Authentikos Logos.* This treatise, another of the Nag Hamrnadi trove (VI, 3) is not Gnostic (nor in the first instance Gnostic Christian), but a document which is a product of and illustrates the thought of Alexandrian Platonizing Christians (i.e. the sixth group in our typology as in the case of the previous treatise). This is the thesis of Van den Broek, and it is supported by a wealth of arguments.[61] A vital clue to its provenance is the theory of the Logos which it puts forward. According to Van den Broek this needs to be interpreted in the light of Philo's allegorical speculations,

58 Zandee (1977).
59 Zandee (1991) 516,522 (Silv is the abbreviation for the work commented on). The study is an extreme example of the method of commentary by means of the recording of parallels.
60 Pearson (1986a) 216. Van den Broek (1986a) has recently claimed that the work must dated to the early 4th century, because it contains examples of Origenist and Athanasian thought. But since the author was primarily a compiler, the work also contains material from earlier periods of Alexandrian theology. This conclusion involves a change of mind on the part of the author, cf. (1979b) 290.
61 Van den Broek (1979a).



although there may also be Valentinian accretions?*

> The view of the *Authentikos Logos* that the soul receives or takes a Logos which makes its mind see must be seen in the perspective of Philo's explanation of the angels as Logoi. Valentinus must have got acquainted with it in his native town Alexandria. It is conceivable that Philo's interpretation of the angels was adopted by the Christian Platonists of Alexandria. In any case, the apparent relations with Philonean ideas makes it highly probable that the *Authentikos Logos* was written in Alexandria and represents views which were current amongst the educated Christians of that city.
> In Alexandria... there were also non-Gnostic Christians who considered Christianity the true philosophy which to a very great extent could be expressed in Platonic or (which did not make much difference) in Neopythagorean terms. In the steps of Philo, the Bible was read in the light of the philosophy of the time; emphasis was laid on the rational aspect of man; the salvation of the soul was to be obtained through knowledge and continence; it is doubtful whether the belief in bodily resurrection was maintained.

Because in later times works such as this one were considered insufficiently orthodox-even compared with those of Clement and Origen-they were not deemed worthy of preservation. Only the chance find of an unusual Christian monastic library of the 4th century63 has given us the chance to learn more about the intellectual atmosphere in Alexandria in the century after Philo's death.

(d) The *Testimony of Truth.* A third Nag Hammadi writing (IX, 3) differs from the previous two. It is definitely Christian, but marked by such radical Encratic and Gnostic features that it must be placed in the 4th or 5th group of Van den Broek's typology (even though it brands Valentinians as heretics). Pearson, its editor and translator, list a large number of themes which are reminiscent of Philo, chief among which are:[64]

(i) the distinction between the senses and the eyes and ears of the mind (particular in reference to exegesis of Gen. 3:5–7);
(ii) denigration of the flesh, the body and pleasures, the goal of the Gnostic being to be 'stripped of the body' (cf. Moses' *telos* at *Virt. 76);*
(iii) the dividing power of the logos of the Son of man (cf. Philo's *Logos tomeus* motif);
(iv) use of the allegorical method of interpreting scripture.

This amounts to 'reminiscence of, if not use of, Philo'. The author has used dualistic themes from Hellenistic Judaism, as found in Philo and derived from Platonism, but has turned them 'in service of a radical Gnostic dualism profoundly different in spirit from Philo's religiosity and Platonist philosophy?

62 Van den Broek (1979a) 280-28 1.
63 The most plausible theory about the Nag Hammadi cache is that it came from a nearby Pachomian monastic community; see Robinson (1977) 12-21.
64 Pearson (1983) 80; his edition of Codices IX and X was published in 198 1.
65 *Ibid. 80.*

*(e) The Letter to Diognetus.* Our last document is a very different work, perhaps the most attractive of all early Christian apologetic writings. Neither the identity of the author nor the place of composition are revealed in the work itself. Marrou's arguments in favour of a date towards the end of the 2nd century and a location in Alexandria have met with some favour, if riot with universal approval.[66] His further suggestion that the author was Pantaenus, the teacher of Clement, is alas unprovable.67 If the work is Alexandrian, then it should be placed in the second group of our typology, the orthodox or ***simpliores***, for although there are a number of characteristic Alexandrian themes, the philosophical sophistication shown is insufficient for membership of the 6th group. The reminiscences of Phi10 are accordingly of a rather general nature,68 with one exception. The affirmation that Christians 'dwell on earth, but have their citizenship in heaven'69 may, as Marrou suggests, be a direct recall of **Philo's** description of the 'Mosaic sages' who are called 'sojourners' in ***Conf.*** 77–78.[70] **The** theme of **παροικία** or **ξενιτεία** (sojourning) is one of **Philo's** most characteristic themes.71 Recently **Blanchetière** has argued that Marrou should have underlined the debt to Hellenistic Judaism **and Philo** more heavily, and that possible connections to Stoic and Platonist ideas should also be taken into account.72

## 5. Conclusion

Although the beginnings of the Christian church at Alexandria are shrouded for us in a mist of ignorance, it is reasonable to assume that there was a great deal of continuity with the large and highly influential Jewish **community** of **Philo's** time. By the 2nd century, when the influence of Judaism had abated, a pluriform situation developed in which a diversity of views was able to flourish. Continuities of thought can be discerned between most of these various groups and Philonic thought, although it cannot be proven that any of them had direct access to his writings. The Christian **Gnostics** share much in common with **Philo** and Hellenistic Judaism, but they introduce a radical twist which separates them sharply from Philonic thought. The greatest continuity is found with the group of Platonizing Christians, who attempted to make use of Greek philosophical ideas in their attempt to understand the Christian message and make it presentable in the **intellec-**

66 Marrou (1951) 241-268.
67 Marrou (1951) 266; Grant (1988) 178 describes it as 'possible though not certain'.
68 E.g. Geffcken's suggestion (1928) 19 that the analogy between the soul in the body and the Christians in the cosmos owes something to *Opif.* 53, 69; cf. **Marrou** (1951) 172.
69 §5.9, ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται.
70 Marrou (1951) 135; but cf. also Hebr. 11:9–10,13:14.
71 See esp. the study of Bitter (1982), and also above §6.5 on Irenaeus.
72 Blanchetière (1989), esp. 188-190.



tual climate of Alexandria. Of all the documents studied the *Teachings of Silvanus* shows the most direct similarity to Philonic writings, although there still remains a difference in level of sophistication. This difference will now disappears as we turn our attention to the most famous institution of the early Alexandrian church, the Catechetical School.

Chapter Eight

# Clement of Alexandria

After all the 'ifs', 'maybes' and 'probablys' of the previous chapters it is a great relief to reach an author of whom we may be absolutely certain that he knew about Philo, had read his writings, and even had some of them, as it were, on his desk. Clement is the first Christian author to make explicit mention of Philo, twice calling him a 'Pythagorean' and once referring to one of his works (the *De vita Moysis*). We know little about the circumstances and events of Clement's life.[1] According to the tradition he was born in Athens (probably around 145) and came from a pagan background. Perhaps his traditional birthplace is symbolic, but if so, it is appropriate, for it is very likely that Clement was first deeply imbued in philosophy before he became a Christian. After some *Wanderjahre*, perhaps set in motion by his conversion, he settled in Alexandria between 175 and 180. There, according to tradition, he became a pupil of Pantaenus and joined him in the work of the Catechetical school. Many, though not all, of his writings appear to have been written in Alexandria. After some 25 years in Alexandria he left the city, and spent the remainder of his life elsewhere, most likely in Jerusalem, dying some years before 221. Decisive, both for Clement's career and his knowledge of Philo, was his involvement in the Catechetical school in Alexandria. So it is here that we should begin.

## 1. *The Alexandrian catechetical school*

The major historian of the early Church, Eusebius, does not mention the school until Book 5 of his History, when he reaches the reign of Commodus and the person of Pantaenus. 'From ancient custom, he informs us (5.10.1), a school of sacred learning had existed among the Alexandrians.' Pantaenus was head of this school, both in his writings and in oral instruction commenting on the treasures of scripture. At this time he was joined by Clement as pupil and collaborator (5.10.4).[2] Later Clement is described as

[1] The following is based on Nautin (1961) 138-141, Méhat (1966a) 42-54.

[2] Eusebius ***HE 5.10. 1*** : ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς [i.e. the Alexandrian Christians] συνεστῶτος.



being in charge of the school and having had Origen as one of his pupils (6.6.1). In at least two respects Eusebius' account is far from clear. Firstly is he correct in assuming that the school had a catechetical function within the Alexandrian church? Bardy argued that Eusebius' account is anachronistic, and that that the 'school' did not function as an official centre until the time of the young Origen. But such doubts are probably misplaced, provided we do not see the 'school' too much in terms of an official *institution*.[3] It would appear that Pantaenus and Clement undertook their teaching duties with the encouragement of the existing ecclesiastical establishment, even though their activities-to judge by Clement's apologetic tone in his *Stromateis-did* cause controversy in some circles. Secondly Eusebius' words definitely imply that the school existed before Pantaenus took charge. Why then does he only mention it here for the first time? Is it because he lacks information, or is he-from his own apologetic viewpoint on behalf of orthodox tradition-engaged in a cover-up? It is possible that Pantaenus took over the 'school' from earlier members who had a more Gnostic orientation.4 Eusebius would then have a reason for denying real continuity.[5]

The scholastic activities of Pantaenus and Clement are consistent with the important role that was accorded to teachers and teaching in the early Alexandrian Church.6 It is highly plausible that the practice of exegesis and teaching forms a continuation of earlier activities by students of the Law in the Jewish community of Philo's day. In an article on theological education at Alexandria Grant remarks:'

[3] A convincing refutation of the views of Bardy (1937) and (1942) is given by Méhat (1966a) 62-70. Further discussions of the catechetical school in Bigg (1886), Roncaglia (1977), Tuilier (1982), Grant (1986), but none of these accounts are entirely satisfactory. Note that also in the case of philosophical schools the arrangement were most likely less 'institutionalized' than we are often inclined to think; cf. for example Goulet-Cazé (1982) 232-257 on the 'school' of Plotinus. Brown (1988) 104 gives a suggestive description: 'It is difficult for a modern reader to enter into the intensity of the ***didaskaleion,*** of the small study-circle of male and female disciples that would gather for years on end around a single spiritual guide.' The concept of an Alexandrian school has played an important role in the history of theology, as set out in the articles of Harnack (1896), Chadwick (1957), and with specific reference to 19th century historiographical aspects Le Boulluec (1987).

[4] Roberts (1979) 54 goes well beyond the evidence when he affirms: 'If Valentinus and Basilides taught in Alexandria, the obvious place for their teaching would have been the School... Pantaenus' function as head of the School may well have been to cleanse it of Gnostic influence.' Pearson (1990b) 210 is more careful when he suggests that 'Pantaenus took over the leadership from a Gnostic teacher'.

[5] As Van den Hoek (1990) 179 points out, Eusebius had special connections with the Alexandrian school through his teacher Pamphilus, who had had connections with two heads, Origen and Pierius. Neymeyr (1989) 42-45 too easily assumes Eusebian ignorance.

[6] See above §7.3.

[7] Grant (1986) 180; texts cited are ***Contempl. 3*** 1, ***78.***

> The best precedent for the Christian schools of Alexandria seems to lie not in Philo but among the Therapeutae by the Mareotic lake, described in Philo's work *On the Contemplative Life*. Certainly their leader is an ideal theological teacher. "He does not make an exhibition of clever rhetoric like the orators or sophists of today but follows careful examination by careful expression of the exact meaning of the thoughts." What this teacher is discussing is "some question arising in the sacred writings," or he may be solving "one proposed by someone else." Another resemblance appears in the exegetical method. "The exegesis of the sacred writings treats the inner meaning conveyed in allegory," for the Bible is like a living creature with the letter for its body and the invisible meaning for its soul. Such Therapeutae would be ready for Alexandrian Christianity.

The continuity that Grant detects here is, I think, convincing (and sheds further interesting light on Eusebius' non-historical adoption of the Therapeutae as proto-Christians). I am less happy about the contrast he makes between Philo and the Therapeutae, for these 'ascetics' are given an idealized description by Philo, and so the activities he records may well reflect what took place in the synagogues which he describes elsewhere as 'schools' of Mosaic learning.[8] Unfortunately Philo's general descriptions make it virtually impossible to determine in what kind of scholastic context he himself operated, so that it is hazardous to specify a more direct connection between him and the later school of Pantaenus and Clement.9

For more than one reason, therefore, the Alexandrian school must be given a central place in our investigation. In the metropolitan ***milieu*** of Alexandria it had a central function as an educational centre, enabling Christian theology to reach a level of sophistication higher than that attained by the Apologists and Irenaeus hitherto, and making possible the rich tradition of speculative Alexandrian theology that was to flourish in the succeeding centuries. The open and relatively positive attitude towards Greek philosophy is a direct continuation of the attitude underlying the philosophically orientated exegesis found in Philo. Another aspect of the school is no less imporant. As Van den Hoek has usefully pointed out in a recent contribution on Clement's 'Alexandrianism', his activities as writer were only made possible by grace of his access to a well-stocked library. His literary and scholarly approach to learning 'is only possible in a place where a tradition of scholarhsip exists and where reference material is readily available. The multitude of sources that reached him-whether in

[8] Cf. *Mos. 2.216, Spec. 2.62.* On this texts, which refer to synagogues and not to 'secular' schools of learning, see Nikiprowetzky (1977) 177-180.

[9] Culpepper (1975) 197-214 usefully examines the question of Philo's school, but concurs somewhat hastily with the views that Philo was an 'Einzelgänger' and that there were no direct links with the later Alexandrian school (213). On the 'school tradition' anterior to Philo to which he bears witness in his writings see above §2.1 and n. 2. The tradition recorded in a Syriac author that Philo himself was director of the Alexandrian School is doubtless legendary; see above §1.1(13), §1.4.



the form of extracts or complete works-proves how richly endowed his immediate environment was.'[10] The role of the Alexandrian school as a scholarly resource centre has a further aspect whose importance for our subject can hardly be overestimated. As we saw in our account of the transmission of Philo's writings, it was in all likelihood the school of Alexandria, under the leadership of Pantaenus, that was directly responsible for their preservation. Since Clement is the first writer we know to make extensive use of these writings, it is reasonable to assume that copies were kept in the school itself or were in the possession of its members.11 Barthélemy speculates that, if it had not happened that someone in this environment stumbled across the books of the learned Jew and discovered that they were useful for purposes of the study of the scriptures, these would have certainly been lost to posterity, just as happened to the remainder of Alexandrian Jewish literature.[12] The (unstated) assumption here is that there was a lack of continuity with an earlier phase of Alexandrian scholastic activity. Because of our ignorance concerning the origin of the Alexandrian school, we cannot know how the rescue operation was effectuated. That it took place is certain.

## 2. Foundations

As already indicated, Clement mentions Philo four times by name. All four texts are located in the first two books of the *Stromateis*, in which by means of a wide-ranging discussion involving a vast amount of historical and philosophical material Clement defines his relation as a Christian scholar and 'gnostic' to the anterior traditions of Greek philosophy and the Jewish Bible (in Greek). At 1.31.1 Philo is reported as recording the etymologies of the names Hager and Sarah. He is next invoked, together with Aristobulus, as having copiously demonstrated the antiquity of the Jewish race and the fact that the philosophy in their sacred writings predates Greek philosophy (1.72.4).[13] In 1.151.2 he cites Philo's De *vita Moysis* as evidence of Moses' training in the Greek *paideia* (not realizing that this relates uncomfortably to his previous allusion to Philo).[14] The fourth

[10] Van den Hoek (1990) 190. Once again a comparison with the 'school' of Plotinus is illuminating. The activities descibed by Porphyry in *Vita Plotini* 14 imply the existence of some kind of school library.

[11] There may be a hint that the former is correct in the variation in use of Philo throughout the *Stromateis; see* below §8.4.

[12] Bartheltmy (1967) 60; see further above §1.4.

[13] The reference here may be general, or more specifically to the largely lost *Hypothetica*, as Wendland (1896b) 770 suggested.

[14] Interestingly Clement too makes the connection with the account in Stephen's speech in Acts 7; see our comments above in §7.2.

reference at 2.100.3 has the most interesting context. Having reached the end of an extensive set of paraphrases from Philo's De ***virtutibus,*** Clement states that Plato's *telos* ('becoming like unto God') is the same as that of Moses. The reason is either that he hit on it independently or that he was instructed by a divine oracle. In order to support the first possibility Clement cites a passage from Philo. If this is from ***Mos.*** 1.22 (on Moses!), as thought by editors and commentators,[15] then the citation must be from memory, because apart from the phrase αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις there is no verbal similarity at all. Twice, at 1.72.4 and 2.100.3, Clement calls Philo 'the Pythagorean'. The epithet is somewhat puzzling. Given the contexts, there is clearly no intent to conceal Philo's Jewishness (at 1.147.2 Josephus is called ὁ Ἰουδαῖος). Since in the following line Aristobulus is described as 'the Peripatetic', it seems that Clement wants to indicate the philosophical school to which he thinks Philo is most closely related. But 'Pythagorean' hardly seems to be very suitable in Philo's case.[16]

It would be rash to conclude that these four texts were the only passages in which Clement is indebted to Philo. Indeed it emerges that they form no more than the tip of the iceberg. As early as Potter's edition of the extant works of Clement published in 1715 it was recognized that he had made extensive use of Philo's writings and that it was necessary to identify such usage for the proper understanding of the text.[17] Mangey came to the same conclusion in his remarkable edition of Philo's complete works in 1742.[18] But it was not until the end of the 19th century that the task was taken to hand in a systematic way. In their still unsuperseded critical edition of Philo's Greek writings Cohn and Wendland print large slabs of Clementine material below the Philonic text.[19] In 1905–09 Stählin published his definitive text of Clement's writings in the series Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller. In his apparatus criticus he identifies numerous places where Clement uses or alludes to Philo. These references were considerably expanded by Friichtel and Treu in their later revisions of Stählin's text.[20] It would be rash to affirm that no more uses of or allusions

[15] Cf. C-W 4.124, Stählin-Früchtel-Treu (1905-1985) 2.168 (with a cautionary note added by Friichtel).
[16] See also the further remarks below at §8.5 (b), (d).
[17] Potter (1715), reprinted as volumes 8 and 9 of Migne's Patrologia Graeca.
[18] Mangey (1742).
[19] Cohn-Wendland (1896-1915); cf. esp. 1.236–242, 2.3–7, 3.72–79, 87–109, 4.119–135, 153-159, 221-228, 5.268-332. There is no *index testimoniorum* in tlhe edition itself, but this has been supplied in Runia (1992a), with references to Clement at 90–91. Wendland also wrote an important preparatory study on the significance of the Clementine evidence for the establishment of Philo's text, (1896a).
[20] Stählin-Früchtel-Treu (1905-1985) *passim; see* the latest list in 4.47-49 (= 1980⁴). The revisions also incorporate material from Stählin's translattion (1934-38). Note that Friichtel also made important contributions to the task of identifying Philo's fragments, which before the advent of computer assistance was immensely difficult; cf. R-R 14-19. The



to Philo remain to be discovered in the intricate mazes of Clement's writings, but we may be sure that the bulk of this arduous labour has been carried out by the scholars just mentioned and others who have made less conspicuous contributions. The result is in fact an outstanding example of how an extremely difficult task—after all one virtually needs to know the whole of Philo by heart in order to accomplish it-can be achieved through the cumulative effort of generations of scholars.

Once the identifications had been made, it became possible to place the study of Clement's use of Phi10 and Philo's influence on Clement on a secure footing. The first to attempt this was Heinisch, who once again followed in the footsteps of the earlier pioneering, but rather unsatisfactory attempt of Siegfried.[21] Since then a substantial but rather disorganized literature has developed on the subject. Fortunately a study has appeared a few years ago which for the first time examines Clement's use of Philo with the required thoroughness, combined with an exemplary attention to methodological issues. This excellent piece of research is now the best introduction to the subject, as long as we bear in mind that the study does not cover the ***entire*** subject (it confines its attention to Clement's main work, the ***Stromateis).*** Nevertheless the best course for us will be to begin by examining the results of this monograph, before turning to other aspects of the subject.

## 3. *A recent study on the use of Philo in the* Stromateis

In 1988 the Dutch scholar Annewies van den Hoek published a study entitled ***Clement of Alexandria and his Use of Philo in the*** Stromateis: *an* ***Early Christian Reshaping of a Jewish Model.22*** Aware of the complex nature of her theme, she commences with a section which examines previous work done on the subject in order to determine the correct methodology to be used in her research. The method of Heinisch was unsatisfactory because it vacillated between an analytical and a thematic approach (8).[23] The importance of the scriptural basis for Clement's use of Philo was first seen by Mondésert, but he confined his analysis to a few examples and had difficulty in defining the relation between biblical and philosophical usage.[24] Wolfson and Lilla, on the other hand, develop broad theories on the philosophical debts that Clement had to Philo without paying sufficient at-

intimacy of his knowledge of the entire Philonic corpus must have been truly remarkable.
[21] Heinisch (1908) *passim;* Siegfried (1875) 343-35 1.
[22] Van den Hoek (1988); in the present section references to this study will be mainly placed in the main body of the text.
[23] Heinisch (1908).
[24] Mondésert ( 1944).

tention to the textual and literary basis in his writings.[25] Van den Hoek's greatest debt, from the methodological point of view, is to the formidable studies of Méhat, who was the first to tackle the disconcerting literary structure of Clement's 'carpetbags' and show through a painstaking analysis the various methods and techniques that were used to put them together.[26]

The point of departure for Van den Hoek's research is the identification of Philonic material that has been made in the above-mentioned GCS edition. According to Stählin and his revisors Philo has been used on more than 300 occasions in the ***Stromateis.*** On this basis Van den Hoek sets out her aim as follows (20):

> Our study intends to review all the material from Philo that is included in the Stählin-edition, to reorganize it to reflect the perspective of Clement himself and to assess its importance for Clement. Attention will be directed towards the form of the borrowing and the technique of citation. The attempt will be made to recreate Clement's working methods: as it were, to look at him at his desk. It will be asked what books were on the desk at a given time, and how accurate or inaccurate was he in using them. What was his technique of writing when he adapted this material from 'outside'? Was it directly from outside or did it already belong to his cultural and intellectual baggage? Because we deal with one source here, namely Philo, and not a variety of authors, it is possible to develop a framework that is made to measure for the situation. In this case, an important part of the framework is testing for the degree of literality in a borrowing. The question is posed whether or not the borrowing represents a real quotation, one in which the adapted source is clearly recognizable even if not totally literal or a paraphrase.

It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between quotation, paraphrase and reminiscence, and examine how these different types of usage function in the structure of the Clementine text. Since not every kind of borrowing should be placed on the same level, the following hierarchy of usage is established (22):

A certain dependence (quotation and paraphrase)
B probable dependence (paraphrase and reminiscence with support from the context)
C unprovable dependence (reminiscence)
D non-dependence on Philo.

By means of this literary-analytic approach an attempt is made to show how Clement used Philo both on a technical level and in his use of theological concepts. Similarities and differences in their situation have to be

[25] Wolfson (1956); Lilla (197 1).

[26] Méhat (1966a). Van den Hoek was also able to use his unpublished complimentary thesis (1966b). For a brilliant example of how to follow the train of Clement's thought see Le Boulluec's commentary on book 5 (198 I), which contains much discussion of material drawn from Philo in this book.



investigated, in order to show how Clement adapts his borrowings to suit his own purpose within the framework of his position in the 2nd century Alexandrian church.[27]

The subsequent structure of the study is determined by the nature of the material. Van den Hoek identifies four main blocks in which Philo is extensively used, four shorter sequences, and a large number of isolated references. We shall briefly review the main themes that come to prominence in her analysis.

(a) ***Four main blocks***

(i) The Hagar and Sarah motif. In ***Str.*** 1.28-32 Clement makes extensive use of the allegory on the relation between Sarah and Hagar developed by Philo in De ***congressu*** in order to illustrate his views on the proper relation between philosophy and faith. The entire passage is a medley of quotes from the book of Proverbs, passages taken over from Philo, and Clement's own adaptations. The context is polemical: Clement is responding to those who regard philosophy as useless or even dangerous (45). The concept of wisdom, however, is profoundly altered by Clement, for it is no longer linked to the Law, as in Philo, but to Christ (46).[28]

(ii) The story of Moses. In ***Str.*** 1.150-182 the context is clearly apologetic: Clement wants to show that Hebrew wisdom is older than Greek philosophy, and that Plato must somehow have been indebted to it. Philo's no less apologetic biography of Moses comes in handy for this purpose. In §150–157 he takes up diverse pieces of Philo's narrative account without making any noteworthy changes. In §158–182 the usage is more schematic. The emphasis on Moses the perfect man is taken over from Philo, but the Hebrew lawgiver loses his uniqueness. The true Lawgiver is the only-begotten Son (65-66). There are christological reasons for dropping the title of high-priest that Philo gives to Moses (64).[29]

(iii) The Law and the virtues. In book 2 Clement discusses faith, knowledge and virtuous conduct as part of baggage of the person who is on the way to the perfection of ***gnosis.*** In the course of the passage §78–100 devoted to the theme of the virtues (ἀρεταί) copious use is made of Philo's

[27] Although Van den Hoek places a good deal of emphasis on the differences between Philo's Judaism and Clement's Christianity and is aware of the polemical focus of much of Clement's argument, I believe she might have said a lot more about his concrete situation in the Alexandrian church, such as we have outlined in this and the previous chapter. This aspect gains more attention in her subsequent 1990 article cited above in n. 10.

[28] Further discussion of the career of this remarkable Philonic allegory in the Church fathers in Henrichs (1968a), and in another shorter study by Van den Hoek (1987); see also above §4.6 and n. 118.

[29] On the difficult question of how Clement's division of the Mosaic philosophy in 1.176ff. relates to that of Philo, discussed by Van den Hoek at 60-62, see also the separate study by Méhat (1972).

treatise De *virtutibus*.[30] Using what Van den Hoek calls a 'cut and paste technique' Clement quotes Philo *verbatim or* gives dense paraphrases at regular intervals, moving through his scroll as he does so. He is particularly attracted to Philo's use of biblical injunctions based on the Mosaic Law. This is because he is implicitly arguing against the antinomianism of Marcion. Law and faith must be seen as a unity, for God the giver of the Law is good and just. The Law educates to Christ, who then takes over as the Teacher (112). For this reason Clement allegorizes much more than Philo, in order to raise the prescriptions to a new spiritual context.[31]

(iv) The temple, vestments and the high priest. Clement's treatment of these themes occupies *Str.* 5.32–40, as part of a longer discussion of the hidden meanings in the symbolism of the Mosaic cult. He thus stands in a long tradition of exegesis of Ex. 26-28, and Philo 'is by no means the only author who contributes material. Philo's influence, according to our author, is primarily in the area of *formal* structure, i.e. he supplies a sequence of themes, but does not determine the direction of Clement's thought. The symbolism presented by Philo is predominantly cosmological, with a link to anthropology via the macrocosm-microcosm relation. Clement, on the other hand, is continually concerned with the history of salvation, emphasizing the double movement, of Christ downwards in incarnation and of the true Gnostic upwards to the spritual realm (146).

(b) *Short sequences*

(i) *Str.* 2.5-6, based on *Post.* l-24. Clement takes over the biblical markers furnished by Philo (Ex. 20:21, 33:13, Gen. 22:4), substituting Jer. 23:23 for the last text. Both authors address the question of how God is to be attained by wisdom or knowledge. Clement himself adds the theme of the hidden character of the truth. Interestingly he appears to have wound through his scroll backwards on this occasion (152).

(ii) *Str.* 2.46-52, drawing on *Congr.* 83-106, *Post.* 22-29. Once again various biblical texts are taken over from Philo. Clement's chief interest is once again man's orientation towards God in *gnosis,* giving stability to the soul. The interposition of extracts from Philo-especially those concerning symbolism of the numbers 3, 9 and 10—is particularly abstruse. Indeed it is only possible to make sense of the train of thought if one is aware of the Philonic background (159).

(iii) *Str.* 5.67-68, drawing on *Sacr.* 84, 95-100. Philo's exegesis of Lev. 2: 14 is connected up to his attack on the use of anthropomorphic language

[30] On the textual value of Clement's usage see Wendland's article cited above in n. 19, and my own analysis of the textual transmission of this particular treatise in Runia (1991c).

[31] At 111 Van den Hoek finds it 'striking' that Philo allegorizes so little in this work. This may have above all a formal reason, because the treatise belongs Exposition of the Law, which contains relatively little allegory. Elsewhere Philo is just as keen as Clement to use allegory in order to raise the Law to a higher spiritual level.



to describe God through the theme that neither God nor the true gnostic is subject to the passions.

(iv) *Str.* 5.71-74, drawing on *Post.* 14-20, *Somn. 1.64-66.* The chief theme here is the notion of place (τόπος), which in one sense can and in another sense cannot be applied to God.[32] The treatment here is more philosophical than in the earlier use of *Post.* in Book II. It is worth noting that Clement is the only early Patristic author to cite Gen. 22:3–4, clearly deriving the text from his reading of Philo.[33]

(c) Isolated *references*

Van den Hoek sifts through the remainder of the identifications made by the editors. It turns out than many texts referred to are really too general to indicate a direct relation, so she finds herself disqualifying quite a number passages as D's according to the classification noted above. Nevertheless a long list of A's and B's is retained (C's occur less often).[34] The more important themes and topics contained can be summarized as follows:

(i) Pentateuchal motifs, including etymologies of Patriarchal names;[35]
(ii) many more texts on theological themes;
(iii) man's relation to God, e.g. in the themes of 'following God' (2.69), and 'likeness' (ὁμοίωσις, 2.100, 5.94);
(iv) a number of texts in which Platonism and Philonic themes are strikingly brought together (1.168, 4.3, 4.155, 163, 5.93-94).
(v) various ethical themes.

It is apparent from this summary that in these isolated passages many of the same Philonic motifs used in the longer sequences reappear.

We turn now to the conclusions that Van den Hoek reaches on the basis of the extensive analyses just outlined. These can be brought together under four headings.

1. It is necessary to make a sharp division between Philonic works that Clement uses *in extenso (Post., Congr., Mos., Virt.),* works he certainly refers to but in a much briefer fashion (Leg., *Cher., Sacr., Somn., QG),* and works he appears to have read but only recalls from memory (e.g. *Opif.*)

[32] An important theme also in the Apologists; see above §6.3 and n. 69 on Athenagoras. Clement's preoccupation may result from disputes with the Valentinians (172, citing Le Boulluec).

[33] Based on *Biblia Patristica* vols. l-4. Origen cites the text at *Horn. in Gen.* 8.6 without comment. See further Harl (1986) 193. On the Platonic themes here in relation to Philo see below §8.5 (b). See also the extensive discussion in Wyrwa (1983) 272-278 (neglected by Van den Hoek), who regards 973-74 and §78 as especially interesting 'weil hier Platon in schulphilosophischer Deutung aufgenommen und mit Philon zusammengebracht ist (272).'

[34] See the statistics on 223-224. The disqualification of certain texts, however, is certainly too severe. For example it is unwise to label the explicit reference to Philo at 1.72.4 with a D (179), for, as we saw above at n. 13 Clement may be referring to the *Hypothetica.*

[35] Cf. 222; more on these in Treu (1961).

(210). In his use of the first group Clement uses a very distinctive method or *technique* (214ff.). The Philonic exemplar is considerably abbreviated, generally by first quoting a few lines verbatim, then paraphrasing a section, then jumping to a following quote, and so on. The sequence is determined by the unfolding of the scroll of the original, usually in a forward direction, but on one or two occasions in reverse. The jumps that are made are often determined by the biblical texts in **Philo** to which Clement is attracted. There can be no question of plagiarism, however, for Clement is constantly in dialogue with his source (216). In some passages **Philo** is not the only author consulted, but in a 'process of accumulation' citations from other authors are added in a highly associative (and sometimes rather abstruse) way (216). A puzzling aspect of Clement's usage that remains to be explained is why his use of **Philo** is predominantly anonymous (we recall only four explicit references), whereas in the case of other authors-whether pagan or Jewish or Christian or Gnostic-he usually keen to name his sources.[36]

2. Much of the material drawn from **Philo** has an *apologetic* background which makes it highly suitable for Clement's purposes (218). Very often, however, it is also possible to discern a specifically *polemical* concern behind the appropriation, especially in relation to heretical opponents such as Gnostics (esp. Valentinians) and followers of **Marcion**[37] and church members who have no time for a philosophical understanding of Christianity (220).

3. What are the *criteria* that Clement uses in his selection of Philonic material? Here Van den Hoek reaches the most important conclusion of her book. It is particularly the *biblical* component of **Philo's** thought to which Clement is strongly attracted (220). Almost exactly half of all Clement's certain borrowings (61 out of 125) are directly related to biblical interpretation. Of these 35 involve allegorical interpretation, 26 biblical exposition without the use of allegory. A second large component consists of borrowings that focus on philosophical or theological concepts, i.e. 59 out of the remaining 64 instances. The main subjects here are the (1) doctrine of God, (2) knowledge and wisdom concerning God, (3) ascent, contemplation and becoming like God (ὁμοίωσις), (4) the virtues, and (5) some philosophical classifications. But here too, many of these passages are directly related to biblical texts (31 out of 59). This means, in fact, that a remarkable 74% of Clement's borrowings are related more or less directly to biblical exegesis.

4. Finally Van den Hoek draws some noteworthy conclusions on the

[36] Van den Hoek does not actually draw attention to this problem in her 1988 study, but raises it at (1990) 190: 'His borrowings are often literal, and he often mentions his source by name. Philo remains strangely unacknowledged, but this omission is an exception rather than the rule.'

[37] By the time of Clement the notion of 'heresy' is firmly fixed, as studied in great depth by Le Boulluec (1985) 263-438.



shifts in meaning that have taken place between Philo and Clement. She emphasizes two points. Firstly, **Philo's** thought is predominantly *theocentric* and *cosmocentric,* focussed on the history of creation. Clement is not uncomfortable with this background, but consistently gives the material an *anthropological* turn, focussed on the history of salvation which has the incarnated Logos, Jesus Christ at its centre.[38] Secondly, the role of the Law is different in the two authors. For **Philo** the Law of Moses is primary, incorporating all the virtues in its prescriptions. Clement has a markedly positive attitude to the law, but for him it must remain subordinate. It leads to Christ, but is simultaneously brought to fulfilment by him. Awkward prescriptions in the Mosaic law are allegorized away. In **Philo** virtue is coupled closely to the Law; Clement, in contrast, subordinates it to wisdom and knowledge. Virtuous action consists in following Christ and culminates in martyrdom, a notion that is quite foreign to Philonic thought.

The concluding words of the study summarize its findings in a trenchant way (229):

> **Philo's** vision that made it possible to link philosophical concepts with the biblical message was of great influence... On this track **Philo** found a follower in Clement; the latter hungrily swallowed **Philo's** words and eagerly absorbed his thoughts; he used **Philo's** inventions and misused them to provide his own. Many of the twisting threads of Clement's theological thinking are taken from **Philo** but they are woven into a very different tapestry.

The exceptional value of this monograph for our subject is immediately apparent. Clement is one of only two authors whose use of Philo has now been studied in a methodologically conscious way.39 The study is honest about its limitations. It does not cover the entire subject. Only the *Stromateis* have been analysed; Clement's other works fall outside its scope.40 The larger subject of **Philo's** influence on Clement's thought, and particularly on his philosophical and theological views, is addressed at most in an indirect way. We shall return to this question in the final section of the chapter. It is the considerable merit of Van den Hoek's study that it furnishes a very accurate basis on which this larger question can be discussed.

## 4. *Other writings*

Also in the case of the other writings of Clement, a lengthy process of identification of Philonic material has taken place, largely distilled in the apparatus and indices of Stählin-Früchtel-Treu. This material has not yet

[38] We might say that Clement anticipates Plotinus and Augustine in this emphasis.

[39] The other is Ambrose in the study by H. Savon; see below § 14.4.

[40] Dr. Van den Hoek informs me that she hopes to carry out the same investigation on the remainder of the Clementine corpus when time permits.

been given the in-depth analysis provided for the ***Stromateis.***

The chronology of Clement's writings has been a subject of controversy. It was long thought that the ***Stromateis*** were his last work, left unfinished upon his death.[41] MChat has convincingly rejected this view and suggested that an alternative chronology can be tabulated as follows:42

| | |
|---|---|
| Death of Pantaenus | circa 190 |
| ***Protrepticus*** | circa 195 |
| ***Paedagogus*** | circa 197 |
| ***Stromateis*** I | circa 198 |
| ***Stromateis*** II-V | **199–201 ?** |
| Departure from Alexandria | **202 ?** |
| ***Stromateis*** VI-VII | **203 ?** |
| ***Quis dives salvetur*** | **203 ?** |
| ***Eclogae propheticae*** | **204 ?** |
| ***Hypotyposes*** | **204–210** ? |
| ***De Pascha*** | 213 ? |
| death | 215 ? |

It is noteworthy that the results reached by Van den Hoek strengthen Méhat's hypothesis, although she does not actually point this out. Direct usage of Philo in the ***Stromateis*** is most prominent in the first five books (it is most frequent in books I, II and V), and comes to a virtual halt in books VI and VII. Van den Hoek records only three 'A' references for these books, all of them from ***Quuestiones in Genesin*** (3.3 at 6.80, 1.91 at 6.84-85, 3.43 at 6.138). The conclusion may be drawn, therefore, that by the time he wrote the last two books of the ***Stromateis*** Clement in all likelihood no longer had direct access to the writings of Philo that were available to him earlier in Alexandria, except a copy of QG. The remainder of the allusions in these books must thus be based on his memory. This conclusion is supported by the fact that works which (according to MChat) are later than the ***Stromateis (Quis dives, Eclogae Propheticae)*** appear to contain virtually no Philonic material. The really intriguing question is how much Philonic exegesis was retained in the lost ***Hypotyposes,*** which gave a kind of exegetical survey of the contents of both Old and New Testaments.[43] Without doubt it could not have covered the entire Bible in equal depth. Photius tells us it showed a special interest in the books Genesis and Exodus, and his critical remarks on some of the (in his view) heretical doctrines it contains strongly suggest the continued influence of Philonic philosophical exegesis.[44] Because the work is entirely lost, we have no

41 Von Arnim (1894), followed by Harnack (both cited by Mthat (1966a) 517).

42 Mthat (1966a) 42-54 (table on 54). It is necessary to stress that this chronology is tentative; much of it is not based on hard evidence.

43 On this work cf. Quasten (1950-86) 2.16-l 7, MChat (1966a) 5 17-522, and our remarks above in §1.1 and n. 24.

44 See the extract from *Bibl.* ***109*** cited at Quasten ***ibid.,*** = fr. 23 Stählin-Früchtel-Treu.



idea whether Clement needed to have had direct access to Philo's writings when he wrote it.

A corollary of these findings is that usage of Philo should be no less prominent in works written before the ***Stromafeis,*** i.e. the ***Protrepticus*** and the ***Paedugogus.*** This is indeed the case, although, as indicated above, little detailed research has been carried out. An exception is the brief article by Van Winden which locates four Philonic quotations in the ***Protrepticus*** and shows-in anticipation of Van den Hoek's research-'how Clement had Philo's writings, so to speak, on his desk, when he was writing his *Protrep* ***ticus'.***[45] Particularly interesting is the adaptation of ***Plant. 3-9*** at the beginning of the work.[46] The 'new song of the Logos', which replaces the old song of the myths is described in cosmological terms taken directly from Philo's 'phyto-cosmological excursus' at ***Plant. l-27.*** This is an important piece of evidence for the continuity of the Logos doctrine from Alexandrian Judaism to Alexandrian Christianity.47

## *5. Other themes*

Although within the limitations of the study of the ***Stromateis*** nearly all topics associated with Clement's use of Philo are touched on in more or less detail in Van den Hoek's monograph, much of her research is presented in an analytic and fairly piecemeal manner. Other scholars have attempted to deal with the question of the relation between Philonic and Clementine thought in a more general and synthetic way. In the final section of this chapter we will examine some of these studies with the aid of an evaluative typology. But first we should take a separate look at a number of specialized topics.

(a) ***Biblical interpretation and exegetical themes.*** Although none of Clement's extant writings is a commentary in the strict sense of the word (in contrast to Philo), they nevertheless abound with exegetical material.

Certainly the statement that Clement 'regards matter as timeless [i.e. pre-creational] and ideas as introduced from certain words of scripture' very strongly suggest an exegesis of the Mosaic creational account influenced by Philo. We might compare esp. ***Str. 5.93-94*** on the creation account, on which Van den Hoek (1988) 196 writes: 'The whole passage is scarcely intelligible without Philo in the background.' Also Photius' mention of disgraceful exegesis of Eve's formation from Adam (cf. esp. Leg. 2.28-30) and the angels' intercourse with women (cf. Gig. 6ff.) are suggestive.

45 Van Winden (1978), quote on 208; cf. Van den Hoek (1988) 20, quoted above at the beginning of 98.3. Does she here, just like Clement does sometimes, unconsciously echo her fellow-countryman?

46 ***Plant.*** must thus be added to the list of Philonic works which Clement used directly; cf. Van den Hoek (1988) 210.

47 For further studies on this continuity see the references below at n. 76. At *Protr.* ***67*** Van Winden uses the quote from Philo ***Somn. 2.258*** to settle a problem in Clement's text.

Heinisch argues that Clement's distinction between literal and allegorical interpretation of scripture is strongly dependent on Philo. A few examples are given, while the rest of the material is dealt with sequentially in the second half of his book.48 Den Boer in his Dutch doctoral dissertation emphasizes the associative manner of Clement's allegories. In the section devoted to specific allegories he refers on numerous occasions to material drawn by Clement from Philo, but the discussions do not go down very deep.49 Grant and Hanson give brief characterizations of Clementine allegory, both emphasizing its Philonic debts. Grant points out that, unlike Philo, Clement sees the need to give an argued defence of the method, which he sets out in *Stromateis* book 5. The central argument that the important ideas in scripture are expressed enigmatically comes from Philo.[50] Hanson, who sees Clement as a vital link in the chain from Phi10 to Origen is highly critical:[51]

> Clement... does not indeed show quite the same tendency to undermine historical narratives by allegory as Philo does, or as Origen does after him. He has, in fact, a stronger grasp upon the doctrine of the Incarnation than Origen. But in most other respects he has surrendered wholeheartedly to the Philonic tradition of exegesis. The temptation to use this tradition for much the same purposes as Philo used it, to introduce into the biblical text a philosophical system which is not there, was too great for him. He is the first Christian writer to use allegory for this purpose, and he provided an example which Origen followed with deplorable eagerness...

Hanson rightly points out that Clement has produced many allegories of a Philonic character without being directly indebted to Philo. He does not make clear, however, whether this is the result of Clement's own creative efforts, or whether he was indebted to unknown Christian (or even Jewish) allegorizing predecessors. The example of the Letter *of Barnabas* will have played a strong legitimizing role for Clement here, for he unreservedly accepts its apostolic authority.[52]

For an example of the study of individual exegetical themes we might mention a number of studies by Daniélou. Among the exegetical topics he analyses are the figure of Adam, Paradise, Noah's ark, Isaac and his marriage to Rebecca, the life of Moses.[53] The French tradition of the study of early Christian exegesis has been continued in recent years above all in

[48] Heinisch ( 1908) 65ff., 125-292, conclusion on 292; see the critique by Van de Hoek (1988) 7-9.

[49] Den Boer (1940); specific allegories in chapters 7-l 1.

[50] Grant (1957) 85-89.

[51] Hanson (1959) 117–121, quote at 120.

[52] Grant (1957) 88.

[53] Daniélou, esp. (1950), but also (1947) on Isaac, (1953b) on Paradise, and in general (1961a); on the last named theme also Bietz (1973), on Noah also Lewis (1978). Some general remarks at Simonetti (1981) 37-41 who sees a debt to Philo especially in the area of cosmological exegesis.



the project La Bible d'Alexandrie, which presents translations and commentary on the books of the Pentateuch, with frequent reference to exegesis in Philo and Clement.[54] The emphasis, however, is firmly on the text being given exegesis, so that few conclusions are reached on the exegetes themselves and the influence of the one upon the other.

One cannot help noticing that-apart from the study of Van den Hoek—most of the research on Clement's use of allegorical interpretation and its relation to Philo dates back to three decades or longer ago. There is certainly room for more thorough-going research in this area.

(b) ***Philo, Pluto and Platonism.*** As we have already seen, Clement twice calls Phil0 a Pythagorean.[55] Even if the precise reason for the epithet is somewhat mysterious, it is certainly at least partly explained by the close connection between (Middle) Platonism and (Neo)-Pythagoreanism in the time of Clement.56 It is interesting to observe, should there be any doubt on the matter, that we can actually ***prove*** that Clement was aware of the close connection between Platonism and Philonic thought, if we read on his texts carefully. As we already noted earlier,57 Clement takes over Philo's interpretation of the place (τόπος) seen from afar (Gen. 22:4) in terms of God's transcendence, and then immediately adds that 'the region of God is hard to attain, <the same> God whom Plato called the region of ideas, having learned from Moses that He is a place that contains all kinds of things and in their totality'.[58] Clement thus makes a direct connection between Philonic and Platonic thought, both of which he considers to be derived from Moses.

The same passage is analysed in detail by Wyrwa in his thorough and impressive study on the Clementine 'appropriation' of Plato and Platonism in the ***Stromuteis.*** He regards this passage-together with another a page further on in which Ex. 20:21 is cited[59]—as particularly significant because one can trace with great clarity how Clement entwines Philonic material

[54] See Harl (1986) on Genesis (with as a special study on the first 5 chapters the splendid work of Alexandre (1988)), Le Boulluec-Sandevoir (1989) on Exodus, Harlé-Pralon (1988) on Leviticus, Dogniez-Harl (1992). Lack of indexation makes these French studies hard to consult, except on specific texts. Specifically on the first verses of Genesis see also Nautin (1973), esp. 86–88, Van Winden (1973).

[55] See above at n. 16.

[56] Philo's extensive use of arithmology may also have contributed to the epithet. Quite a few of these themes are taken over by Clement; cf. Van den Hoek (1988) 124ff.,152ff.,196–197, 202–204. The passage *Opif.* 13-28 may have been particularly significant in this regard; cf. ***ibid. 196.***

[57] ***Seen.*** 32.

[58] ***Str.*** 5.73.3,part of the longer passage 5.71-74 discussed above as one of Van den Hoek's 'short sequences'; for δυσάλωτος cf. ***Post.*** 18; for χῶρα or τόπος ἰδεῶν cf. ***Cher.*** 49, *Somn.* 1.62-65, going back to Plato ***Rep.*** 509d2, ***Phdr.*** 247c2. ***See*** further Le Boulluec (1981) 252f., Van den Hoek ( 1988) 168f.

[59] ***Str.*** 5.78, on which cf. Le Boulluec (1981) 258, Van den Hoek (1988) 194.

with 'Schulplatonismus'.[60] Philo is in fact referred to in countless footnotes of this extensive study, but he rarely makes it into the main text. This occurs for two reasons: (i) the author makes no direct connections between Philo and Middle Platonism; (ii) though taking the role of scriptural exegesis fully into account in his analysis, he appears to underestimate its importance from a systematic point of view, and thus does not inquire in any depth how Clement comes to make his connections between Platonism and the biblical text.61

A detailed aspect of the relation between Plato, Philo and Clement is examined in the Zürich dissertation of Riedweg, namely their use of the terminology of the mysteries in order to represent contemplative activity and the 'experience' of God. Riedweg emphasizes that Clement takes over from Philo a theme which, when compared with Plato, represents an original adaptation of the motif, namely its application to the allegorical interpretation of scripture. The deeper meaning of the text is a 'mystery', to be studied in contemplation and disclosed by the initiated interpreter.[62]

(c) *Ethics and Christian mysticism.* The most extensive thematic study on Clement ever published is the analysis of his doctrine of ethical perfection by Völker.[63] The same scholar had earlier published monographs on Origen and Philo, in the latter of which he had notoriously argued against those who would make Philo the origin of Christian mysticism and thereby discredit it on account of its alleged non-Christian origin. Philo's synergistic conception of the 'perfect man' (τέλειος) already indicates the fundamental difference, for true Christian mysticism must be centred on the 'in Christ' (ἐν Χριστῷ) and the Sacrament.[64] In the later study the tone is less polemical. In its final chapter an attempt is made to place Clement's doctrine in its historical context. It is no doubt significant that the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists are first outlined, whereas Philo is interposed between them and Clement's Alexandrian 'successor' Origen. Viilker emphasizes that Clement's dependence on Philo is even stronger than first appears.65 In his views on the nature of sin and its origin in man's free will, the nature and practice of repentance, the conscience, the virtues, the concept of true knowledge (γνῶσις), there are in every case strong points of contact. Also their vacillations--Schwa&en is one of Völker's favorite

[60] Wyrwa (1983) 272-279.
[61] See particularly the 'systematischer Ausblick' on 317-322. For a much more extensive inquiry into the triangular relation between Philo, Platonism and Clement see the study of Lilla discussed at some length in §8.6 below.
[62] Riedweg (1987), esp. 87-92. 133-137, 159-161.
[63] Viilker (1952).
[64] Völker (1938) xii. The study on Origen was published in 1930.
[65] Viilker (1952) 617-623, with much more detail than can be adequately summarized here. The conclusions are not documented, and seem to be based on a swift comparison between the results of the two monographs.



terms-run parallel, e.g. in a negative and a positive attitude to the world, and their indecision between recognition of the primacy of the will and deference to Greek intellectualism. But each time Clement does not just slavishly copy Philo, but reads him from a Christian viewpoint. Philo lacks the warmth and passion that is infused in the Christian's expositions on love towards one's fellow man (φιλανθρωπία), faith, and the role of the Logos. *Gnosis* too occurs not just through divine grace, as in Philo, but is more concretely received, through the reception of the Holy Spirit in baptism as the result of the intermediation of the son. A fine example is Clement's doctrine of the perfect man's impassibility (ἀπάθεια). This is based, not so much on the imitation of God (μίμησις θεοῦ) as is the case in Philo, but on the following of Christ's example through love. Just as Philo has conflated Stoic and Platonic elements in his doctrine of 'becoming like unto God' (ἐξομοίωσις πρὸς τὸν θεόν) and brought it in relation to biblical texts and views, so Clement has carried the process one step further and founded the relationship on the Sonship of Christ.66

Basically the technique used by Clement is the same as that by Philo, but carried out at a different (i.e. higher?) level.67 There is a nucleus of thought-Christian in Clement's case, as it was Jewish in Philo's-, around which foreign material is built up layer by layer. The well-trained eye sees cracks and faulty joints, but the sound intentions of the builder can be discerned.68 A sharp eye, however, will detect an obscurity in this summary. Does the Philonic material used belong to the nucleus, or the surrounding layers? Völker's own detailed analysis of the absorption of Philonic themes in Clement's ethical doctrines suggests that the image is inadequate.69

Other studies on ethical themes in both writers, such as by Merki on 'assimilation to God' (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ) and by Classen on the canon of virtues,70 do little more than juxtapose the relevant material, without any attempt to pin down the changes and developments that have taken place. A far more ambitious analysis is given in the monograph of Lilla, to which ample attention will be paid in the final section.

(d) *Clement and Philo's Judaism.* It is well known that there is not a single indication in Clement's writings that he had any direct contact with Jews or the Jewish community.[71] He generally refers to them in a neutral

[66] Völker (1952) 622f.
[67] Note the change in imagery: in the earlier monograph Philo's use of Greek philosophical terminology and doctrines is compared to 'scaffolding'.
[68] *Ibid. 623.*
[69] Telling here is the fact that both monographs have virtually the same structure.
[70] Merki (1952), successive chapters on Philo, Clement and Origen in preparation for the doctrine of Gregory of Nyssa; Classen (1979); the same triad also in Raasch (1968) on 'purity of heart'.
[71] Cf. Van der Broek (1990) 111 cited above in §7.1. Schreckenberg (1982) 2 1 I remarks:

way, or names them together with the Gentiles. The Judaism that Clement is above all interested in is the Judaism of the scriptures, whether of the Old or the New Testament. As we noted earlier, the fact that he calls Phi10 'the Pythagorean' is not evidence that he is trying to conceal Philo's Jewish origin.72 But it *is* perhaps a hint that Philo is on the way to losing his special Jewishness and becoming the Church Father ***honoris causa*** of later times. As we saw in the first chapter it is not impossible that the legend of Philo Christianus began in one of Clement's lost writings.73 What Clement learns from Philo in the area of Judaism is exclusively biblical exposition.

### 6. *Clement's debt to Philo: an evaluative typology*

How, then, are we to evaluate Clement's use of and debt to Philo? We conclude our survey with a number of contributions which attempt to give a more general answer to this question. For the sake of clarity these can be divided into three different positions, which together form a useful evaluative typology, and to which we have given the labels maximization, minimization, delimitation.

(a) *maximization*

The strongest affirmation of a decisive dependence of Clement on Philo is certainly to be found in the study of Wolfson, which as a scholarly study *sui generis we* have already introduced in an earlier chapter.74 As one example out of many we cite the following summary of a discussion of four Clementine passages:75

> Combining all these passages from Clement we may gather the following general view of his own theory of ideas. The ideas constitute an intelligible world, which is contained in the Christian Logos as in a place. The Christian Logos has two stages of existence, during the first of which it is identical with God, but during the second it is a distinct personal being. Accordingly, the ideas too, which are contained in the Logos, may be said to have the same two stages of existence. All this is acknowledged by Clement to have its source in the Barbarian philosophy, that is, the scriptural philosophy as formulated by Philo, and it is this Barbarian philosophy which, according to him, is also the source of the Platonic theory of ideas. He thus definitely attributes to Plato the Philonic view that the ideas are contained within a Logos and that the Logos had two stages of existence.

'Ausgesprochen antijüdische Aussagen fehlen bei ihm, und man kann fast sagen, daß er die Juden freundlich ignoriert oder doch die apologetische Kontroverse mit ihnen nicht sucht, sondern sie eher beilhfig abtut.'

72 See above at n. 16.

73 The *Hypotyposeis*; cf. above n. 43.

74 Wolfson (1956); cf. above §3.2.

75 ***Ibid.*** 269: the passages are ***Str.*** 4.155, 5.73, 5.16, 5.93.



For the systematic interpretation of the Logos, Wolfson thus affirms, Clement is dependent on Philo, who also had a double Logos theory.76 Moreover Clement reads this Philonic philosophy back into Plato, so that Plato too is seen by Clement to have a theory of the Logos. But, it is important to note, though Clement places his own emphases, there is nothing really special about his particular debt to Philo. All the prominent Church Fathers, such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, are building on the foundations of Philonism. This is a consequence of Wolfson's fundamentally a-historical approach.

An author who in part follows Wolfson's lead is Mortley. He begins his monograph on Clement's hermeneutic thought with a chapter on the doctrine of transcendance.77 Historically Wolfson's claim that Philo was the originator of the notion of the unknowable and ineffable God cannot be sustained. But he is right in emphasizing that Philo, 'in adapting the conceptual structures of the Bible to those of hellenistic philosophy, created the patristic presentation of the unknown God'.78 As such it was taken over by Clement, as it had been by Justin and Pantaenus before him.

Much more historically orientated, but agreeing with both previous scholars that the influence of Philo is direct and fundamental, is the monograph of Lilla.79 Its aim is to 'discover the line which separates the Platonist and the disciple of Philo from the Christian and to determine the nature of the Christianity which provides his 'Platonic' problems with a satisfactory solution'.80 Convinced, like Philo, that the Logos penetrated the cosmos as a 'divine effluence' and so was also active in the development of Greek philosophy, Clement followed both Philo and Middle Platonist authors in eclectically 'realizing a synthesis of the 'best' philosophical doctrines'.81 Clement has learnt from Philo that philosophy is both the preparation for and the key to the understanding of scripture.

In order to achieve his aim Lilla embarks on a thorough examination of the Philonic and Platonist doctrines that Clement has included in his synthesis. The study is a veritable gold-mine of information. In the domain of ethics, he opposes the view of Völker that philosophical doctrines make no

76 Philo's double Logos theory is outlined at (1947) 226–240. Note that 'double' is meant in the sense that the ***transcendent*** Logos is double in nature, (1) as the mind of God identical with his essence, and (2) as a created intelligent and intelligible being; Wolfson also adds a third immanent stage. For further comparative remarks on the Logos doctrine of Philo and Clement from the 'religionsgeschichtliche' and theological angle respectively, see Colpe (1979), Williams (1987) 117-131.

77 Mortley (1973) 5-l 1.

78 ***Ibid. 9.*** For Mortley Philo is in fact the spiritual father of Arianism; see below § 10.2.

79 Lilla (1971), a revised Oxford doctorate written under the supervision of H. Chadwick.

80 ***Ibid.*** 8.

81 ***Ibid. 55.*** The words 'synthesis', 'syncretism' and 'eclecticism' are rather uncritically used. This view of Middle Platonism was strongly attacked by Dillon (1977) xiv and *passim*.

substantial contribution to Clement's thought.82 'The whole structure of Clement's ethical system appears to be deeply influenced by the ethical doctrines of Philo, of Middle Platonism, and of Neoplatonism.'[83] Only with regard to the highest ethical ideal, does Clement depart from Middle Platonist ethics and join both Philo and the Neoplatonists Plotinus and Porphyry in arguing for a total destruction of passions (ἀπάθεια).[84] What distinguishes Clement from Phi10 and the whole Platonic tradition is the way in which this state is achieved. For Clement the role of Christ the Logos is decisive. For Philo the Logos remains the immanent law of the universe, without the concrete, personal intervention that Christ effectuates.85

Turning to the crucial conception of knowledge (γνῶσις) in Clement, Lilla sees here too a substantial Philonic contribution. 'The identification of *gnosis* with contemplation, the stressing of the necessity of fleeing. away from the sensible world, and the tendency to regard the νοῦς as that part of man which alone can enable him to contemplate the intelligible, world are the three elements which connect Clement's ideal of the contemplative life with the Platonic tradition and with Philo.'[86] But Clement's representation of the high priest's going into the Holy of Holies moves far beyond the Philonic allegorical presentation and its Platonic background; 'it plunges directly into Gnosticism. Actually only Gnosticism can enable us to appreciate it fully'.[87]

The final part of the book gives further discussions on Clement's cosmology and theology, in which more details are given on his appropriation of key Philonic doctrines and interpretations.** Lilla's method is perfectly clear, and his conclusion follows with full consistency:*9

> Clement has produced a process of Hellenization of Christianity which is closely parallel to the process of Hellenization of Judaism which is characteristic of Philo's work... He wanted to transform his religious faith into a monumental philosophical system, to which he allotted the task of reflecting the absolute truth. He was well aware of the fact that he could not have built up such a system without making use of the materials represented by the Platonism of Philo and of the second century A.D.

82 Lilla (1971) 60.
83 Ibid. 112.
84 *Ibid.* 113; but no explanation if forthcoming as to why Philo, who actually precedes the heyday of Middle Platonism should all of a sudden side with the Neoplatonists (who are even later than Clement himself).
85 *Ibid.* 114–5.
86 *Ibid. 165.*
87 *Ibid.* 181. Again the term 'Gnosticism' is rather uncritically used. Lilla's usage seems to be close to 'Gnosis' than 'Gnosticism' in terms of the well-known distinction made at the Messina conference in 1967.
88 But note (a) that he regards Clement as taking over three important Philonic views on the interpretation of the creation account in Genesis, namely (i) the division into intelligible and sensible reality, (ii) the eternal pre-existence of matter, (iii) creation as an event, but not in time (cf. 189-199); (b) he follows Wolfson in affirming that there are three different stages in both the Philonic and the Clementine Logos (200f.), but disagrees with him on the issue of whether Philo was the first to enunciate the principle of the unknowability of God (218).
89 *Ibid.* 232.



Precisely on account of its predominant emphasis on Clement's sources, however, this study, for all its competence, has remained rather controversial. The method is surely excessively reductionistic. Clement's thought is almost fully ***reduced*** to its component parts, for the most part taken over from other traditions and then covered with a thin topping of Christian adaptation and application. There is no central locus which guides and determines his thought.[90] The assumption that Clement's aim is a 'philosophical system' is nowhere argued for. A strong attack on Lilla's book was made by Osborn, who argues that it is a classic example of the 'doxographical approach' to history of philosophy, because no attention is given to the problems and the argument that drive the thinker in question forward.91 This brings us to the second position in our typology.

(b) ***minimization***

It cannot be denied, of course, that Clement read and used Philo. But it is quite well possible to minimize, or even to deny, the significance of that usage. Such a view has already been seen in Völker's treatment of Philonic themes in Clement's thought. This view is further refined by Chadwick in some brief but concentrated remarks in his chapter on Clement as the 'liberal puritan'?2

> Despite all Clement's censorious complaints against the plagiarism and theft of the Greek poets and philosophers, he is inwardly less critical of the classical tradition than Justin, whose expressions are so much more positive and welcoming than Clement's. In particular his acceptance of Platonism is more thoroughgoing, partly because he stands to much greater degree than Justin under the direct influence of Philo and therefore thinks of many Platonic doctrines as coming to him with Biblical authority to support them.

In a note to this passage, however, Chadwick adds:[93]

> Clement's debt to Philo is large but measurable and is not to be exaggerated... Though minor borrowings are frequent, Clement is not simply producing a hellenized Christianity precisely parallel to Philo's hellenized Judaism; his main problems (notably faith and logic, free will and determinism, and the correct evaluation of the natural order) are different from Philo's and are approached from quite a different angle.

90 Cf. also Van den Hoek (1988) 18: 'Lilla states that his objective is an exact determination of Clement's relation to others, but the question emerges if a method that attaches Clement so firmly to several disparate traditions does justice to Clement's own identity.'
91 Osborn (198 1) 28 1; cf. our remarks on Osborn's position above at §3.2.
92 Chadwick (1966a) 45.
93 *Ibid.* 141f.

This final sentence was the starting point of an important article by Osborn on precisely our subject, 'Philo and Clement'.[94]

The puzzle to be faced in adjudicating Clement's relation is why he should take over so much material from a thinker whose problems are so different from his own, and moreover not acknowledge the debt. It is Osborn's conviction that philosophy is primarily argument, and that the history of philosophy should be orientated primarily in terms of the problems faced by thinkers and the solutions which they brought to bear on them. From this perspective there is a world of difference between Philo and Clement. In spite of the material they share in common, there is a real discontinuity between them, which the collection of superficial linguistic parallels may easily conceal. This is both a matter of temperament. and the result of a difference in their situation. The achievement of Philo and his predecessors is to create a new language, what Osborn called the 'language of biblical hellenism',[95] but they have not been constrained to think through the relation between them. Clement, in contrast, does have to make a firmer response to Hellenism because of the apologetic weakness of Christianity, which lacked the prestige and dignity of an ancient ethnic religion.96 This means, for example, that Clement sees the relation between faith and knowledge much more clearly than Philo. 'Truth for Clement is accessible to faith, a logically defensible means which is of little consequence to Philo.'[97] In spite of his main thesis on the importance of argument, Osborn's judgments seem somewhat apodictic. That particularism in Philo has the upper hand over universalism has to be argued for.98 I am not convinced that it has. Philo's crucial assumption of the rationality of the Law (and the Logos it embodies) is much more important than Osborn allows for. Philo's allegory may seem to us arbitrary,99 but that is not how Philo saw it, and Clement was in full agreement with him. Osborn's contribution lies above all in the remarks on the differences in method and situation. Particularly suggestive is his remark that Clement may have wanted to play down his actual debts to Philo for fear of alienating people who might be inclined to move over to the Marcionite position.100 In a second article[101] Osborn is able to take into account the new survey of material provided by Van den Hoek. It does not cause him to change his mind, but the tone is less severe,[102] as is indicated by the following two quotes:

94 Osborn (1987).
95 *Ibid. 40,* cf. *46.*
96 *Ibid. 46.*
97 *Ibid. 41.*
98 Cf. what Osborn calls 'Philo's narrow nationalistic view of God' at *ibid. 36.*
99 Cf. *ibid. 44.*
100 Cf *ibid. 35; see* also Van den Hoek's observation in the text to n. 31.
101 Osborn (forthcoming, but already presented at the SNTS conference in Milan, 1990).
102 Absent is any reference to the view that Philo is a 'theosophist' rather than a philosopher, which is prominent in the earlier article, esp. 41–44. This position, which goes back to Gfrörer (1831), is anachronistic and decidedly unhelpful.



> Philo does not dictate the questions for Clement; he provides the structure within which Clement answers his own problems.
> … Philo provided elements in the setting for Clement's account of faith and knowledge, but little of its structure and substance.

(c) *delimitation*

The third and final position in our typology differs from the previous two primarily in its orientation. Its starting-point is the text rather than the system or the problems. It will be readily agreed that Clement's *Sitz im Leben* differs in important ways from that of Philo, yet he found it worthwhile to draw on Philo at great length. It is necessary to *determine* what Clement found attractive and important in the Philonic legacy. Pioneer in this approach was in fact Mondésert, because he was the first to emphasize the component of biblical exegesis in the debt. But in the rather one-sided negative result he reaches—he claims that Philo's exegetical borrowings are neither the most interesting for him or for us[103]—in fact brings him closer to the views of Chadwick and Osborn.[104] Taking up his cue, Méhat and Van den Hoek have pursued this position with greater success.105 There is not need to repeat their views. Rather we shall bring this chapter to a close by drawing a few threads together.

It cannot be emphasized enough that in all probability Clement, because he had had a pagan philosophical training before he became a Christian, will have read Plato before he gained acquaintance with Philo.[106] Most likely he did not come across Philo until he reached Alexandria and joined his last teacher Pantaenus.[107] This means that Philo did not teach Clement Platonism, but rather *how to connect his Platonism to biblical thought,* and specifically to biblical exegesis, above all through the use of allegory. Osborn is quite right to talk about the appropriation of a biblical language, but to my mind fails to see how important a move this was. On the basis of a philosophically imbued biblical language Clement is able to build up his position of a reasonable faith, bending neither to the *simpliciores* on the one side nor the Christian Gnostics on the other.[108] Although it is methodically sound to begin with the passages in which textual borrowings are trans-

103 Mondésert (1944) 183, cited by Osborn (forthcoming).
104 Mondesert (1944); see text above at n. 24 and the critique of Van den Hoek (1988) 9-11.
105 See above §8.3.
106 Van den Hoek fails to stress this point sufficiently.
107 Nautin (1961) 139 points out that Clement's mention of teachers in the East is geographically very vague and may include Syria. So one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that he first came across Philo's writings there. But the list starts in Greece. His intellectual formation began in Athens, and Plato will have been his first love.
108 Two of the groups in Van den Broek's analysis of the Alexandrian situation outlined above in 47.1.

parent, it should be recognized that his debt is larger than these cases alone. The legacy of Alexandrian Judaism enabled him to develop a theology that was biblically based, but also able to accommodate his Platonizing philosophical convictions. It furnished a new starting-point for more than two centuries of Alexandrian Christian theology. Again Chadwick and Osborn are quite right to point out the great difference that Clement's new situation as a believer in Jesus the Christ and a member of his church makes. There remains a gap, I believe, between the third position and the previous two which needs to be bridged. What, we need to ask further, are the wider philosophical and theological implications of a thought in which scripture is read through the lenses of both Plato and Philo? Much has been achieved in the study of Clement's debt to Philo. It is in fact the most thoroughly studied terrain in our monograph. The way further forward lies in the quest for an answer to this question.

Chapter **Nine**

# Origen

## *1. From Alexandria to Palestine'*

Origen (185-253) represents the following generation of the Alexandrian school. Eusebius describes him as Clement's pupil.2 This may be a speculative deduction from a passage in a letter of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, for no there is no direct evidence to support it (and Origen was only 17 when Clement left Alexandria for good in 202).[3] It is abundantly clear, however, that Origen is the spiritual heir of Pantaenus and Clement. Indeed his theology and exegetical activity could have had no other place of origin. Unlike Clement, Origen was born into a Christian home. But he too spent a considerable time obtaining a training in Greek literature and philosophy (he probably had the same teacher as Plotinus), and even ran his own school as a ***grammatikos*** for a time. Origen became more and more attracted, however, to the study and exposition of scripture, and at a decisive moment he decided to sell his books of secular literature. Origen is the last of the -great teachers of Alexandria to operate in relative independence of the Church hierarchy. Like his distinguished predecessors he belongs to the segment of the Alexandrian Church with strong intellectual interests. In time he becomes their leader and spokesman. Just at the same time, however, his bishop, Demetrius, was busy converting the relatively open organization of the church of Alexandria into a tightly structured hierarchy. Origen's independence and intellectualism were a thorn in the bishop's flesh. Demetrius criticized various views that Origen developed on doctrinal questions, and refused to make him a priest. In the end the tensions in the relationship between bishop and scholar became too much.

[1] A shortened version of this chapter was presented at the 5th International Origen conference held at Boston in August 1990 and published in its proceedings, Runia (1992f).

[2] *HE* 6.6.1.

[3] As suggested by Nautin (1977), with reference to 6.11.6. In what follows I largely follow the magisterial reconstruction of Origen's life and chronology offered in this study. Based on a minute examination of the evidence in Origen's writings and other sources, it contains speculative elements, but the overall portrait is persuasive. Among more recent synoptic studies it is followed by Trigg (1983), cf. 264, but criticized by Crouzel (1985), cf. esp. the long note on p. 18.

In 233 Origen makes the decisive move to the city of Caesarea, the important civil and ecclesiastical administrative centre on the coast of Palestine.4 Just like sometimes happens to distinguished academics in our own time, Origen was made an offer by the bishop of Caesearea, Theoctistus, that he could not refuse. Not only would he be ordained as priest, but he would also receive the facilities that he needed to continue his biblical studies. This consisted of a pool of stenographers, a scriptorium where books could be copied out, and the possibility of attracting a coterie of disciples in a new 'school' of sacred learning. As we have already seen in our account of the survival of Philo's writings,[5] this move of Origen is of decisive importance for our theme. Origen must have taken a virtually complete set of Philo's writings with him as part of his library. These copies were absorbed into the library of the Episcopal school at Caesarea, and form the basis for the text of Philo's works that we today still possess.

The question that we have to address in this chapter is why Origen took the trouble to take all those rolls or codices with him. What was Philo doing in his library? Does he continue Clement's extensive usage of the Philonic corpus? These questions becomes all the more intriguing if we take into account the evidence of Gregory Thaumaturgus, whose letter of thanks informs us about the curriculum of the school at Caesarea.6 After initial training in dialectic, physics, geometry, astronomy and ethics, the pupil moves on to theology, for which first the texts of ancient philosophers and poets are read, followed by the scriptures. In a beautiful passage Gregory describes how Origen was given the remarkable spiritual gift of penetrating into the meaning of God's prophets (§173–183).[7] But where was the place for Philo in this programme, if Origen moved straight from the philosophers to scripture?

## 2. *Foundations*

In order to answer this question foundations have to be laid. Regrettably it must be said that, in marked contrast to the research done on Philo and

[4] On this city at the time of Origen see the excellent survey of McGuckin (1992), and also further below §11.1.

[5] ***See*** above § 1.4.

[6] There has been some dispute as to whether this work is really by Gregory or not; Nautin (1977) 8 l-86, 183-196 ascribes it to a certain Theodore; Crouzel (1979) and (1985) 18 retains the traditional ascription.

[7] Interestingly this very section contains reminiscences of Philonic themes: (1) §176 the concept of the 'friend of God' to whom oracles are given or made clear (for Philo the great example being Moses, cf. *Opif.* 5, 8, ***Cher.*** 49, but also Abraham at ***Abr.*** 273); (2) §183 the negative interpretation of 'working the soil' (Gen 4:2; cf. QG 2.66, *Sacr.* 51, ***Agr.*** 21; unfortunately the section of the Allegorical Commentary dealing with this text is lost).



Clement, this task has been far from adequately carried out. A number of reasons conspire to make this the case. Origen was a far more prolific author than Clement. Not for nothing his nickname was Adamantios, 'man of steel'. Because in later centuries the Origenist legacy became doctrinally suspect, by no means all his works have survived, and the writings that we do still possess have a complex history of transmission. A few works have been preserved in the original Greek. A greater number remain in (not always faithful) Latin translations by Rufinus and Jerome. Of the rest fragments are scattered throughout the ***Catenae*** and various other later sources.8 The standard text in the series Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, consisting of 12 volumes,[9] contains a considerable number of references to texts where Origen alludes to or makes use of Philo. But the majority of these volumes only have a scriptural index, and there is no comprehensive index such as was produced for Clement. For the fragments we still in many cases have to consult the edition of Delarue dating from the 18th century.10 The volumes in the series Sources Chrétiennes contain no more than sporadic annotation, and are also-for the most part-imperfectly indexed.11 The best list of passages in Origen which are in some way indebted to Philo is to be found in Cohn and Wendland's edition of Philo, but it is obviously far from complete.12 There is, in short, no list of ***loci Philonici*** in Origen such as could form the basis of a study comparable to that of Van den Hoek on Clement.

The lack of a solid foundation for the study of Philo's influence on Origen has been a chief reason, in my view, for the fragmentary and disjointed way in which the subject has been treated in the scholarly literature. Numerous studies touch on the topic of Philo and Origen briefly, but none deal with it in a primary way.[13] This makes the task of providing a lucid and informative survey of the subject difficult indeed, especially given the vast amount of scholarship that has been produced on Origen's life and thought. In this situation the best place to begin is with the direct evidence of usage in the writings themselves.

As Chadwick has pointed out, 'Origen's work resembles Philo more

[8] Cf. CPG 1.141-182 and highly useful overviews in *Biblia Patristica* 3.9-31, Berkowitz-Squitier (1986) 236-239.

[9] Published between 1899 and 1955, mostly unrevised.

[10] Delarue (1733), reprinted by Lommatzsch (1831) and Migne (= PG 11-17).

[11] A shining exception is SC 227, a comprehensive index to the translation of *Contra Celsum* ***by*** Borret (1967-76). For the same work Chadwick (1953) had already set a good example. But the index in SC 312 to the translation and commentary by Simonetti-Crouzel (1978-84) of the ***De principiis*** is disappointing.

[12] See now the index of passages at Runia (1992a) 94-95. The pioneering treatment of Siegfried (1875) 35 l-362 is insufficiently critical.

[13] A list of studies in the index of R-R 448. Coverage in the comprehensive bibliographies of Crouzel is patchy; cf. (1971) 667, (1982) 324.

closely than Clement's, mainly because, except for the two great works ***De principiis*** and ***Contra Celsum***, its form is almost entirely a series of massive commentaries and expository sermons on the Bible.'[14] In the surviving works Origen seldom mentions Philo's name. At C. ***Cels***. 4.51 he cites Celsus' attack on 'allegories on the Law' and argues that his opponent must be referring to the works of Philo and perhaps the earlier Aristobulus. He continues:[15]

> But I hazard the guess that Celsus has not read the books, for I think that in many places they are so successful that even Greek philosophers would have been won over by what they say. Not only do they have an attractive style, but they also discuss ideas and doctrines, making use of the ***myths*** (as Celsus regards them) in the scriptures.

A little further on at 6.21 Origen hints at a particular example of allegory:[16]

> But Moses, our most ancient prophet, says that in a divine dream our forefather Jacob had a vision in which he saw a ladder reaching to heaven and angels of God ascending and descending upon it, and the Lord standing still at its top; perhaps in this story of the ladder Moses was hinting at these truths [the Platonic doctrine of the journey of souls through the planets] or at yet more profound doctrines. Philo also composed a book about this ladder, which is worthy of intelligent study by those who wish to find the truth.

The book that is meant here is ***Somn.***, but it is clear from the context that Origen is thinking particularly of the passage at ***Somn.*** 1.133-145, in which Philo gives an explanation of the dream that makes use of Platonist doctrines.[17] The only other direct reference to Philo by name[18] is found in the ***Commentary on Matthew 15.3*** (exegesis Matt. 19:12), where we read:[19]

> And Philo, who enjoys a high reputation among intelligent people for many subjects discussed in his treatises on the Law of Moses, says in the book entitled On ***that the worse is accustomed to attack the better*** that 'it is better to be made into a eunuch than to rage after sexual intercourse' (= ***Det.*** 176).

This is a intriguing passage, for its author, when writing it, must surely have been reminded of the drastic deed which he himself carried out many

[14] Chadwick (1967) 183.

[15] Translation Chadwick (1953) 226 (his emphasis). The Greek text reads: στοχάζομαι δὲ τὸν Κέλσον μὴ ἀνεγνωκέναι τὰ βιβλία, ἐπεὶ πολλαχοῦ οὕτως ἐπιτετεῦχθαί μοι φαίνεται, ὥστε αἱρεθῆναι ἂν Kai τοὺς ἐν Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφοῦντας ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων· ἐν οἷς oil μόνον φράσις ἐξήσκηται ἀλλὰ Kai νοήματα Kai δόγματα Kai ἡ χρῆσις τῶν, ὡς οἴεται, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν μύθων ὁ Κέλσος.

[16] Translation Chadwick (1953) 333f. The final sentence in Greek is: περὶ ἧς καὶ τῷ Φίλωνι συντέτακται βιβλίον, ἄξιον φρονίμου καὶ συνετῆς παρὰ τοῖς φιλαλήθεσιν ἐξετάσεως.

[17] On this passage see Runia (1986) 229.

[18] But for an *indirect* direct reference see the passage in Jerome discussed below at n. 137.

[19] My translation; the first part of the text reads: καὶ Φίλων δέ, ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν εἰς τὸν Μωυσέως νόμον συντάξεων αὐτοῦ εὐδοκιμῶν Kai napa συνετοῖς ἀνδράσι, φησὶν ἐν βιβλίῳ ᾧ οὕτως ἐπέγραψεν . Περὶ τοῦ τὸ χεῖρον τῷ κρείττονι φιλεῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὅτι..



years earlier, and which he now implicitly repudiates in his exegesis of this biblical text.[20] The remark is certainly complimentary, though it is difficult to judge whether the words 'for many subjects' indicate a qualification.

It is no coincidence that two of these three direct references are in the apologetic work ***Contra Celsum***, which moves beyond the exposition of scripture and places the Christian religion in the wider context of the Greco-Roman world. Unlike Clement, Origen is not in the habit of 'dropping names'.[21] Indeed he never mentions Clement himself by name, even though it is patent that he learned much from his predecessor.[22] But Origen's references to Philo are not confined to these three texts. I have located some 12 or 13 texts in which Philo is clearly referred to, but ***in anonymous terms.***[23] It will be of interest to record how Origen actually makes his debt clear to the reader (indicated in bold type):[24]

a. C. ***Cels.*** 5.55: Nevertheless even on this subject (Gen. 6:2) we shall persuade those who are able to understand the prophet's meaning that **also one of our predecessors** has referred this text to the doctrine concerning souls who were desirous for life in a human body which he said, giving a figurative explanation, is called the 'daughters of men' (cf. Gig. 6-18).
b. C. ***Cels.*** 7.20: We declare therefore that the law is two-fold, namely literal and figurative (**πρὸς διάνοιαν**), as **also some of our predecessors have taught.**
c. ***Sel. in Gen. 27:*** 'And God completed his works which he had done on the sixth day (Gen. 2:2).' **Some** [interpreters], considering it absurd that God, in the manner of a builder who requires several days to finish his building, should have completed the cosmos in several days, say that all things occurred at the one moment, and hence they postulate this: they think that it is for the sake of order (cf. ***Opif.*** 13, 67) that the account of the days and what is created in them has been made.
d. ***Sel. in Gen. 44:*** **One of our predecessors** has observed that it is the wicked man who loves the affairs of birth and becoming and regards his birthday as important (cf. Gen. 40:20, ***Ebr. 208;*** perhaps a paraphrase of (j) below)
e. ***Horn. in Ex. 2.2:*** **Some** (exegetes) **before us** have said that those mid-wives (Ex. 1:17) symbolize rational teaching (cf. ***Her.*** 128). [25]

[20] He never refers explicitly to this act of his youth, but there is no reason to doubt the testimony of Eusebius *HE 6.8* (cf. Trigg (1983) 53, Crouzel (1985) 27). The Commentary is dated by Nautin (1977) 412 to the final years of Origen's life.

[21] This fact vitiates the conclusion drawn by Koch (1932) 221 (cited by Skard (1936) 25 n. 2) that Origen did not use Philo extensively because he refers to him so little.

[22] The only hard evidence that Origen knew Clement and his writings lies in the fact that he too wrote a work entitled *Stromateis*. But see further below §9.7 at n. 145.

[23] It should be borne in mind that anonymous references are very common in ancient literature. They can be explained on various grounds: a different view of the importance of originality, stylistic criteria (names are ugly), the difficulty of looking up and giving references etc. Note also that often a plural reference (e.g. some.. . others) can indicate a single source.

[24] My translations; for the texts see Runia (1992f) 334-336. C-W in their testimonia in vol. I only print one anonymous reference. Full references are given in the Appendix.

[25] At *Sel. in Ex.* PG 12 285 Origen gives an exegesis of Ex. 12:7 which he introduces with the

f. *Horn. in Lev. 8.6:* On this matter (Lev. 13: 12-14) **some** (exegetes) **before me** have also said that the living **colour** [of the leper's flesh] indicates the principle of the life that is in man (cf. ***Deus*** 125-126).

g. *Horn. in Num. 9.5:* **Some,** however, **of those who have interpreted this passage** (Num. 17:13) **before us,** I recall that they have said that the dead are understood to be dead in their sins through the excess of their wickedness, while the alive are those who remain in the works of life (cf. *Her.* 201, *Somn.* 2.234-235).

h. Horn. *in* ***Jos.*** 16: **Some of our predecessors** too have observed in their investigation of the scriptures that people are called 'elder' (i.e. **πρεσβύτεροι**) or 'of senior age' not because of a long life, but are adorned with this epithet on account of the maturity of their faculties and the worthiness of their life (cf. *Sobr.* 16-20, QG 2.74 etc.).

i ***Horn. in Jer. 14.5:*** **One of my predecessors** has tackled this passage (Jer. 15: 10), saying that these words are spoken not to the bodily mother, but to the mother who gave birth to the prophets. Who gave birth to the prophets? The Wisdom of God (cf. ***Conf. 49).***

j. *Comm. in* ***Matt.*** 10.22: And while their lawless reason rules over them, they revel in their birthdays, so that the movements of their genesis is pleasing to that (kind of) reason. Indeed **one of our predecessors** has observed that the birthday of Pharaoh is recorded in Genesis and recounts that it is the wicked man (**φαῦλος**) who, being in love with the affairs of birth and becoming, celebrates his birthday. But we, taking our cue (**ἀφορμή**) from that **interpreter,** discover that nowhere in the scriptures is a birthday celebrated by a righteous person (cf. ***Ebr. 208*** **and d.** above).

k. *Comm. in* ***Matt.*** *17.17 (exeg.* Matt. 22:2 **ἀνθρώπῳ**): **One of our predecessors,** who composed books on the allegorization of the sacred laws, presents some texts in which God is described [reading **διηγουμένας**] as having human feelings and other texts in which his divinity is revealed. For the view that God is spoken of as a man who exercises care over mankind he used as a (proof-)text 'the Lord your God nourished you like a man nourishes his son (Deut. 1:31)', while for the view that God is not as a man he used the text 'not like a man is God deceived (Num. 23:19)' (cf. ***Deus*** 53-54 and below n. 105).

l. *Comm. in* ***Matt.*** frag. ***ad*** 25:30: He says 'outer darkness', where there is no illumination, perhaps not even of a bodily kind, but certainly no visitation of divine light.. . [He says this] perhaps also for another reason.. ., since we read **one of our predecessors who gave an exposition** on the darkness of the abyss (Gen. 1:2) and said that the abyss and the darkness were outside the cosmos (cf. the void at *Opif.* 29).[26]

m. *Comm. in Joh. 6.25 (exeg.* John 1:28): This descent **some** have understood as hinting at the descent of the souls into the bodies, interpreting the daughters of men (Gen. 6:2) in allegorical terms as indicating the earthly tent (i.e. body) (cf. *Gig.* 6-18 and a. above; note that the etymology of Jordan as **κατάβασις** is also Philonic, cf. ***Leg.*** *2.89).*

phrase **τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν**. It is natural to think of Philo here, but the exegesis differs from what we find in *QE* 1.8, so we cannot be certain. See further §12.3d(i).

[26] The reminiscence is not very exact, and may be to another exegetical tradition.



From these passages it emerges that Origen regards Philo above all as an exegete of scripture. He is described as an interpreter (j), teacher (b) and expositor (1). He is praised for his sharp perception (cf. h, j). He supplies the exegete with ideas that can be further pursued (j). His views are held in respect by intelligent men (passage from ***Comm. in Matt.*** cited above), among whom *Origen* himself is clearly to be included. He is well-known for having **practised** allegorical exegesis (k, cf. the texts from C. ***Cels.*** cited above). In fact, **all** the texts we have assembled deal directly with scriptural exegesis **in one** *way* **or** another, with the majority involving allegorical interpretation. Most striking of all is Origen's emphasis on the fact, mentioned in **all** but three of the passages that the cited exegete is a *predecessor.* This suggests that he saw his own activity very much as part of an exegetical tradition, which clearly goes back at least as far as Philo.[27]

It is therefore with the subject of the interpretation of scripture that we should begin our discussion. But before we do so we are now in a position to add a further question to the one posed at the end of the previous section. **Why** does Origen, when he does refer to Philo, so frequently speak of him in ***anonymous*** terms?

## *3. Biblical interpretation*

As we have already seen, the interpretation of scripture lies at the very centre of Origen's writings and thought. Like Philo Origen believes that the figurative form of biblical exegesis is superior to the literal, and is to be gained through application of the allegorical method in the broadest sense of the term. Moreover many specific examples of textual interpretation are common to both authors. After the Second World War intensive research was carried out on Origen's biblical interpretation, with some attention necessarily being paid to the influence of Philo. It will worth our while briefly to look at the contribution of six scholars.[28]

[27] Caroline Hammond Bammel points out to me an interesting text on the subject of circumcision in her edition of Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Commentary on Romans, 2.9.358-362 (see* Hammond Bammel (1990) 163): hactenus nobis de circumcisione carnali pro uiribus dictum sit. Age iam secundum eum qui dixit quia lex spiritalis est, et qui de his quae referuntur in lege dicit quod per allegoriam dicta sint, quid etiam allegoricis legibus de ea sentiendum sit uideamus. Scio multorum de hoc ferri dicta uel scripta... Quite rightly a reference is given to Philo *Spec.* 1.1-l 1 in the *apparatus fontium,* for Origen may well be thinking of this text. The allegorical explanation given is similar. But the reason for the injunction to carry out the act on the eighth day naturally differs from Philo's suggestions at QG 3.49.

[28] It is better to present these in a logical rather than chronological order, since some of the authors published more than one essay on the subject, in which they cross-refer to each other's work.

In his highly influential studies on the entire Patristic and Medieval exegetical tradition De Lubac goes back to its starting point in Origen and the roots of Origen's exegesis in earlier Jewish and Christian thought.[29] Crucial to his interpretation is the view that Origen's exegesis is a profoundly *Christian* enterprise. Admittedly the connections between Origen and Philo are considerably stronger than between Origen and Greek philosophical allegory.[30] Both concentrate on scripture, both have an interest in 'moral' allegory, both are interested in numerical symbolism and etymologies. More importantly, because he stands in the Alexandrian tradition, Origen follows Philo (and Clement) in his understanding of anthropomorphic language and his conviction that the deeper meaning is deliberately concealed. But, De Lubac continues?

> The difference [between Origen and Philo] is much more profound than the resemblances. And the material resemblances themselves are in every way to be explained by a different principle. The Law only has spiritual significance for Origen because Jesus reads it to us, and to the extent that it is Jesus who reads it to us. As for the spiritual elaboration which can he followed through the course of the Old Testament, that is only justified in the final analysis by the coming of Christ, and Philo was unable to understand its meaning. Between Philo and Origen lies the entire Christian mystery.

The contribution of Philo, though considerable, does not affect the structure of Origen's thought. The spiritual meaning of a text as applied to the individual soul is not regarded as superior to the collective application to the Church, and this second aspect cannot be divorced from the historical meaning of scripture embodied in the literal sense. Historical and spiritual meaning thus find their common focus in the person of Christ.

In a second treatment De Lubac returns to the celebrated text in the De *principiis* which draws a parallel between a tripartite structure of man and a triple sense of scripture: 'Just as man consists of body and soul and spirit, so too scripture has been given for man's salvation through God's providential dispensation.'[32] Superficially, and especially when presented in the order literal-moral-spiritual, this scheme would seem reminiscent of Philo. But De Lubac strongly emphasizes two points. (a) Origen more usually has the spiritual meaning follow on from the literal or historical, which then in turn illuminates the moral interpretation. This allows the moral meaning to be integrated into a profoundly Christ-centred exegesis. When, in contrast, the moral meaning comes straight after the literal, it gives rise to the moralizing speculations which have given 'allegorism' a

[29] De Lubac (1947), (1950), (1959-61).
[30] De Lubac (1950) 159.
[31] *Ibid.* 164 (my translation).
[32] *Princ.* 4.2.4. Van den Hoek (1989) has shown that the comparison of a text to man's make-up in terms of body (letter) and soul (meaning) has a Judaeo-Christian origin, passing from Philo to Clement and Origen.



bad name. It is the latter procedure which is closer to Philo, but it is less typically Origenic.[33] (b) In any case Origen goes beyond Philo because Philo has no doctrine of a triple meaning of scripture. There is nothing in Philo that corresponds to the mystical or spiritual sense in the Christian tradition.34 The view of Wolfson[35] that Origen's doctrine is a modified form of Philo's division into literal, physical and moral allegory is criticized for being forced, the result of the author's 'pan-Philonist zeal'.[36] In fact Origen usually drops Philo's physical or cosmic allegories.37 Certainly it is wrong to say that 'Origen substitutes for the term "physical" in its comprehensive Stoic and Philonic sense the term "spiritual" or "mystical",'[38] for he always associates the third sense with theology or enoptics,[39] and certainly not physics. The criticism of the American scholar's excessive schematism is clearly correct, but it does lead to a noteworthy concession. Wolfson's view would have been less indefensible if he had compared Origen's third sense to certain passages in Philo, notably in *De migratione Abrahami,* which speak of an itinerary of the soul towards salvation.40 In spite of this similarity, however, it is wrong to affirm that Origen has modified Philonic exegesis or Jewish exegesis in general. Through his central focus on the Christian mystery he has left this exegesis behind.[41]

Largely consonant with these verdicts, but containing some different nuances are the various discussions by the other French Cardinal-scholar, Daniélou. We will focus on his account in the *Supplément* to the *Dictionnaire de la Bible.42* Because it gives a rich collection of examples, this succinct account is the best introduction to the influence of Philo on Origen's exegesis. Daniélou places more emphasis on the fact that for Origen scripture is essentially spiritual in nature. It is thus in his view necessary to separate the two strands of typology and allegory more clearly than De Lubac did. Origen's typology stands squarely in the Christian tradition. The Law of the Old Testament retains a certain value, but after the coming of Christ it needs to be left behind. The mistake of the Jews in Origen's view

[33] De Lubac (1959-61) 1.201-204.
[34] *Ibid.* 204.
[35] Wolfson (1956) 57-63.
[36] De Lubac (195961) 1.204f.
[37] Cf. De Lubac (1950) 163 n.133, where he points out that the cosmic interpretation of the high priest's vestments is retained, as in Clement.
[38] Wolfson (1956) 58.
[39] De Lubac (1959) 205, referring to the celebrated division of the three disciplines-ethics, physics, enoptics-leading to perfect knowledge, as set out in the Prologue to the ***Commentary on the Song of Songs.***
[40] ***Ibid. 206.***
[41] ***Ibid.*** 207. Note also on the same page the affirmation that what is often called Philonism in Origen and other Patristic authors is really fidelity to the doctrine of the Epistle to the Hebrews.
[42] Daniélou (1960); cf. also (1948a) 139–205, esp. 179-190 on Philo; (1950) 193–200.

is to remain attached to figures and symbols when reality is present.[43] In effect there are two meanings of scripture, the literal and the Christocentric. The latter is revealed in the complex network of typological meanings located in the Old Testament and explored in the New. These relate both the soul and the Church to Christ. The mystery of Christ is thus explicated via typology at various levels.

So far Origen stands in the tradition. But there are also influences from outside, which introduces highly dubious elements into his exegesis.44 Prime among these influences is Philo. Philo and Origen are both great geniuses, who come to remarkably analogous forms of thought. Philo lays the foundation for western theology, and Origen in the Alexandrian school takes over his programme.[45] From Philo he takes over the fertile doctrine that the literal sense of scripture must cede to the figurative meaning. But other debts are less happy, notably the notion that *all* scriptural passages have a spiritual meaning, to be extracted via allegory.[46] Not only does Origen take over methodological procedures from Philo, but also particular exegetical themes, which, focusing as they do on the moral aspects of the soul, introduce a foreign element into his biblical interpretation.[47] A particularly interesting example is his exegesis of the holding up of Moses' arms. In the very same *Homelies on Exodus* Origen can interpret this theme not only in terms of the Christian's ability to raise his hands in prayer through the power of Christ's cross (3.3), but also in accordance with the Philonic interpretation of raising one's thoughts and actions away from earth and up towards heavenly and immaterial realities (11.4).[48]

More severe than Daniélou is the Anglican scholar Hanson in his well-known study *Allegory and Event*.[49] Hanson finds much in Origen to admire: for the first time in the Christian church we have a competent, even sophisticated expositor. Nevertheless Origen's understanding of scripture is defective, for in one important respect his thought remained outside the Bible and never penetrated within it, namely on the subject of the significance of *history* as focused above all in the doctrine of incarnation.50 He was unable to fathom these depths on account of the strong influences he

[43] Danielou (1960) 894.
[44] *Ibid. 898,* 'des influences étrangères, qui introduisent dans son exégèse des elements très contestables'.
[45] *Ibid.* As we noted above in §3.2, Danielou is one of the few Patristic scholars who was initially sympathetic to the views of Wolfson.
[46] *Ibid. 900.*
[47] *Ibid.* 901.
[48] *Ibid. 902.* Danielou notes that in another passage Origen confesses that he prefers the Philonic interpretation; cf. *Horn. Reg.* 1, PG 12.1006A-B.
[49] Hanson (1959), partly building on his earlier monograph, Hanson (1954).
[50] Hanson (1959) 362-363.



underwent in his contacts with non-Christian thinking, prominent among which was the thought of Philo:[51]

> From Philo he [Origen] borrowed abundantly, far more abundantly than he acknowledged openly, though he does not deliberately conceal his debt to Philo, as (in my opinion) he does his debt to Clement of Alexandria. In the works of this great Alexandrian Hellenistic Jew Origen found the materials for his doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture, the tools whereby he was to overcome the stubborn particularity and reconcile the glaring inconsistences of the Bible; here he found the means of reading into the Bible whatever non-biblical ideas were congenial to his own theological system, while professing (and no doubt sincerely imagining himself) to be a particularly enthusiastic and faithful interpreter of the thought of the Bible.
>
> It was from Philo... that Origen derived his use of allegory... and it was in imitation of Philo that he turned traditional Christian typology into non-historical allegory. We can therefore reasonably claim that the particular parts of Origen's interpretation of Scripture which are irreconcilable with the assumptions of the scholars of today derive largely (but not solely) from sources extraneous to traditional Christianity, from a Platonic attitude to history and a Philonic attitude to Holy Scripture.

According to Hanson Philo's influence on Origen's allegorical practice is both profound and pernicious.[52] In direct opposition to De Lubac he argues that the doctrine of the three senses of scripture is not an attempt to emancipate Scripture from Philonic exegesis, but rather 'to go one better than Philo', i.e. to 'out-Philo Philo'.[53] Scattered throughout the study are many examples of themes that Origen takes over from Philo.[54] Even 'more impressive than occasional borrowings', however, are the 'innumerable examples of Origen himself using allegorical interpretations of a Philonic sort which are not to be found in Philo himself'.[55] 'Philo was the chief influence upon Origen in his attitude to historicity', as evidenced in his attitude to scripture.56 Presumably Philo is not entirely responsible for Origen's failure to appreciate the importance of history for biblical thought. There is also the contribution of Platonism. But it is via Philo that this a-historicism enters into his biblical interpretation, Since this is regarded as the fundamental flaw of Origen's thought, it is plain that Hanson both maximizes the influence of Philo on Origen, and judges it in a negative sense.

The conclusions reached by Grant in his essay on Origen's spiritual

[51] Quotes at Hanson (1959) 361, 368. The implied discontinuity between Jewish and Christian thought would be less strongly emphasized today.
[52] *Ibid.* 235-258.
[53] *Ibid.* 237.
[54] But the reader has to work hard to find them. They are nowhere listed or summarized; see the list of references at 395-396 (Philo is not listed in the index).
[55] *Ibid. 249.*
[56] *Ibid. 269.* Cf. also 282: 'The step from Paul's allegorization to Origen's, a step into the non-historical world of Hellenistic allegory, can only be taken with the aid of Philonic exegesis. And that is precisely how Origen does achieve this step.'

understanding of Scripture proceed along similar lines to those of Hanson, but with some different emphases.[57] Analysis of Origen's self-defence in Book 4 of the De *principiis* shows that 'while, like other allegorizers, he can admit the historical reality of much of his text, his ultimate concern is not with history at all. Like his theology his exegesis is fundamentally spiritual and unhistorical. He is the heir of the Greek allegorizers, of Philo, and of the gnostics.'[58] This exegesis is based on a rigorous doctrine of verbal inspiration, i.e. through the Logos or the Spirit God is author of every detail of Scripture. The prophets and evangelists were instruments of the Spirit. But, although Origen's terminology often recalls that of Philo, he is more careful to emphasize the self-consciousness and free will of the prophets, i.e. the Spirit is permanently, not intermittently, present.59 Grant argues that, although Origen is clearly indebted to Philo in his allegorization, he actually. goes beyond him in that he rejects the historicity not only of events in the distant and semi-mythical past of the Genesis narratives, but also of events in the recent past, e.g. in the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels.[60] The method, Grant concludes, obviously leaves something to be desired, but it did allow the allegorizers to translate the Gospels into terms meaningful in their own environment. They could thus pass from the Letter to the Spirit.61

Finally brief mention should be made of the studies of Crouzel, which in their comprehensiveness mark a milestone in scholarship on Origen.[62] Crouzel strongly supports the position of De Lubac that mystical-spiritual and not intellectual knowledge, as gained through the understanding of scripture, is the aim of Origen's thought. Christian symbolism and traditional exegesis are integrated into a Platonic view of the universe which Origen shares with his predecessors Philo and Clement. The higher world of the spiritual mysteries is reflected in the lower imperfect world of sense-perceptible symbols. But this representation does not mean that biblical symbolism is not done justice, for it gives expression to the necessary structure of all religious knowledge, which can only grasp the divine by means of human symbols.[63] When, however, Crouzel discusses the method

[57] Grant (1957) 90-104.
[58] *Ibid. 96.*
[59] *Ibid. 97;* cf. also Chadwick (1967) 184. Burkhardt (1988) has shown, however, that the doctrine of ecstatic inspiration attributed to Philo is based on a tendentious reading of a few Philonic texts.
[60] Grant (1957) 101-102, arguing by means of examples from the early Book 10 of the *Commentary on John* that the source of such "bold" allegorizations must be Greek grammar and rhetoric. He admits (104) that Origen probably toned down his radicalism later in his career.
[61] *Ibid.* 104.
[62] Crouzel (1956) (also discussed below in §9.6), (1961), (1962), (1985).
[63] Crouzel (1961) 246.



and content of Origen's spiritual understanding of scripture, he makes virtually no reference to his debt to Philo. This is partly caused by the fact that he deliberately concentrates on the thought of Origen, leaving aside questions of sources and intellectual environment.64 But the matter goes deeper. Like De Lubac Crouzel considers that Origen's debt to Philo is not essential to his central concerns. It is limited to the general influence of a shared world-view and the specific influence of some useful ways of understanding scriptural passages. But in his view Origen transforms these influences in a way that makes the Philonic starting-point scarcely relevant.

These six scholarly treatments of Origen's debt to Phi10 in his biblical interpretation represent strongly divergent points of view. Much is gained in clarity if they are related to the state of modern scholarship on Origen. As Berner has shown in a most useful analysis, a fundamental divide exists between two interpretations of Origen's achievement.65 The one group of scholars sees Origen as a fundamentally systematic thinker, who is attempting to reach an intellectualist and primarily philosophical understanding of the Christian tradition. Central to this understanding of Origen is interpretation of his major systematic opus, De *principiis.* The other group regards Origen as a man of the Church, for whom intellectual concerns are secondary and whose thought is centred around a mystical (i.e. religious) understanding of scripture consonant with the traditions handed down to the Church through the apostolic succession. This approach plays down the significance of De *principiis,* affirming that some of its more daring statements on pre-existence and eschatology are tentative and subordinate to the Church's rule of faith.

If we take our six interpretations of Origen's debt to Philo, we find that they make sense when aligned with the above-mentioned division. The systematic position is supported by Wolfson, Hanson and Grant, all of whom regard the influence of Phi10 as profound. The ecclesiastical group, on the other hand, is represented by De Lubac and Crouzel, both of whom tend to minimize the importance of the debt to Philo. An intermediate position is taken by Daniélou, who seeks a not entirely satisfactory balance between the typological exegesis faithful to the tradition and a systematizing allegorical exegesis taken over from Philo.

Two comments need to be made on this result. Firstly, the conclusion might be drawn that Philo's influence on Origen is primarily philosophical,

[64] Justified at Crouzel (1956) 14.
[65] Berner (198 1) *passim.* Representatives of the 'systematische Origenes-Deutungen' are F. C. Baur, Bigg, von Harnack, Loofs, de Faye, Miura-Stange, Koch, Karpp, Nygren, Lietzmann, Jonas, Hanson, Kettler; representatives of the 'nicht-systematische oder mystische Origenes-Deutungen' are Bardy, Völker, Lieske, de Lubac, Crouzel; interpreters mediating between the two positions are Cadiou, Daniélou, Kerr, Harl, Wickert (and, one might add, Chadwick).

namely as an important influence in the shaping of Origen's fundamentally Platonizing world-view. But this position overlooks the fact that Origen primarily looks to Philo in the area of biblical interpretation. At this point the discussion by Louth in his book on the Christian mystical tradition contributes an important point.[66] Origen's 'spiritual world' can be said to be Platonist, but it does differ from Platonism in that it is ***Word-centred.*** Citing an unusual exegesis of God's back parts (Ex. 33:23) as prophecies about the last times, Louth comments:[67]

> These [prophecies] can only be understood through Christ's revealing, which suggests that Christ is being seen as the key to the understanding of Scripture, where these prophecies are contained. If we think back to Philo we shall not, perhaps, be surprised to see this idea emerging here. As with Philo, the understanding of Scripture is the medium of union with the Word... Understanding Scripture is not for Origen simply an academic exercise but a religious experience...

In other words, what Origen takes over from Philo is the focusing of the quest for knowledge-an indubitably Platonist theme-precisely on the understanding of scripture, thus making the union with Christ possible. The further question that Louth raises is whether this understanding is fundamentally Word-centred or Christ-centred. Since, as he argues, the Incarnation for Origen is no more than a stage, 'it would seem that Origen's Platonist presuppositions... are proof against the impact of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation... We might conclude by saying that Origen's mysticism centred on Christ is ultimately transcended by a mysticism centred on the eternal Word.'@ This view clearly inclines its author towards the camp of the systematizers. But because he emphasizes the key role of the interpretation of scripture, he is able to see the role of Philo as extending beyond the use of allegorical methods and themes, and operating in a broader and more fecund way.

Secondly, we return to the analysis of Bemer. At the end of his study he declares his amazement that such widely divergent positions can be held on the thought of a single author, especially when it is considered that attempts to mediate between the two extremes have met with little success. Berner does not give a solution, but ends with a recommendation. His slogan, taken over from De Lubac, is 'Origenes bei der Arbeit beobachten'. It might be better for the time being to give up trying to reach a satisfactory 'Gesamtbild', but rather to embark on the interpretation of single works.69 *Mutatis mutandis* this recommendation is also relevant for our subject. Before a study parallel to Van den Hoek's on Clement can be undertaken,

66 Louth (1981) 52-74, partly following an important article by MacLeod (197 1).
67 Louth (1981) 63; cf. MacLeod (1971) 369.
68 Louth (198 1) 65-66.
69 Berner (1981) 99.



much more detailed research has to be undertaken on individual exegetical and doctrinal themes that Origen takes over and adapts from Philo.

## 4. *Exegetical themes*

But it would give an unfair impression to say that nothing at all has been done. In fact there have been numerous limited studies on various exegetical themes. We recall the research listed in the previous chapter on Clement.70 Many of studies cited there—e.g. the project on the interpretation of the Septuagint—also make frequent reference to Origen and his debt to his Alexandrian predecessors Philo and Clement.

As in the case of Clement, various studies of Daniélou have shown the way, e.g. on Pentateuchal themes such as the Paradise of virtues,[71] Noah and the flood, the birth, sacrifice and marriage of Isaac, Moses and the exodus of Israel.72 The allegorization of the theme of Hagar and Sarah, in which Origen follows Philo rather than Paul, has been analysed by Henrichs.73 In a long study on the theme of Abraham's migration Pasetti notes continuities between Philo, Origen and Ambrose, but also shifts in interpretation, for example in the attitude towards Chaldean astrology.74 In his studies on the themes of Aaron and the Levites in Ambrose Gryson pays ample attention to the use of Philonic themes in Origen.[75] Another study compares the treatment of the plagues in Egypt from Philo through the Fathers with special emphasis on the role of Origen.[76] Finally we might mention a more unusual theme: in a study on the background and early development of the doctrine of the Trinity Kretschmar draws a line from Philo's allegory of the Seraphim in De ***Deo*** through to Clement and Origen.77

The method used in all these studies is generally the same. An exegetical theme is selected and then treated diachronically, with Philo generally as the first witness. Thereafter a pattern of similarity and difference, appropriation and modification can be traced. The amount of research that can be done in this way is practically endless. Origen's exegetical output

70 See above §8.5 (a).
71 On which see also Bietz (1973).
72 In addition to the studies cited in n. 42, see especially Daniélou (1950). This study covers the entire field of Patristic exegesis, but in it the work of Origen is regarded as the most important (xiii). Unfortunately this important study is difficult to consult, because it lacks an Index locorum.
73 Henrichs (1968a), cf. also Van den Hoek (1987).
74 Pasetti (1982).
75 Gryson (1980a), (1980b).
76 Brottier (1989).
77 Kretschmar (1956).

was overwhelmingly vast. Even though, due to the vicissitudes of the Origenist legacy, a large proportion of the original corpus has been lost,[78] merely the index of his exegetical references alone occupies an entire volume of the indispensable Biblia Patristica. The greatest loss, from our perspective, is that of the multi-volumed *Commentary on Genesis.* This work was probably started at about the same time as De *principiis,* but not completed until after the move to Caesarea.[79] Origen examined the biblical text in such detail that by the time he had written 13 books he had got no further than the end of chapter 4. Presumably the work was so long partly because it examined in great detail the various traditions of exegesis of specific texts developed before Origen's time, including Judaeo-hellenistic material derived from Philo. Evidence of this may be seen in the fact that in a cursory examination of the fragments preserved in the *Catenae* Wendland discovered significant correspondences with Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesim*.[80] In order to complete his coverage of the Pentateuch, Origen turned to writing *Scholia* on particular passages instead of a complete commentary, The entire Pentateuch was also treated in the form of *Homilies,* of which those on the first four books still survive in Rufinus' Latin translation. To my knowledge no synoptic studies have been specifically devoted to the question of Origen's debt to Philo in his exegesis of the Pentateuch, but a great deal of material has been collected and analysed in an incidental fashion.81

Two final comments might be made on the question of Origen's debt to Philo in his exegesis of the Pentateuch. Firstly we should note that, even if we possessed Origen's *Commentary on Genesis,* it might in many cases still not be easy to determine what his *precise* debts to Philo were. An interesting example is furnished by a papyrus in the University Library in Giessen, which yields 86 lines of Greek text giving exegesis of Gen. 1:28.[82] Much of the language and some of the ideas here are perfectly Philonic. Yet in none of the works we possess does Philo actually allegorize this text in terms of the mind's or the wise man's control over the passions.[83] Both

[78] Quasten (1950-86) 2.51 states that 'out of 291 [books of] commentaries 275 have been lost in Greek and very little is preserved in Latin'.

[79] On the genesis of the commentary see Nautin (1977) 245–246, 368–370, 422, 432.

[80] Wendland (1891) 109-l 14 (based on fragments published at PG 12.92-145). On the probable use of the Commentary by Calcidius see below §13.3 at n. 73.

[81] See the studies cited in chapter 8 n.53–54, to which can be added Alexandre (1986) on Gen. 3:24, Harl (1978) and Nautin (1978) on Ex. 3: 14.

[82] Glaue (1928).

[83] In *Leg.* 2.12-13 Philo does give a brief allegory of Gen. 1:24 where the animals created on the 5th day symbolize the passions. Goulet (1987) 139 sees a hint of a similar exegesis of Gen. 1:28 in the words ἐν εὐπαθείαις at *Opif.* 142 and surmises that an allegorical interpretation of Gen. 1 existed which Philo suppressed in favour of a literal reading. Since, however, the allegorization of animals as πάθη is standard in Philo, Origen need not necessarily have been dependent on other allegorical traditions.



Philo and Origen stress the excellence of the first man who was directly created by God (cf. *Opif.* 140). But when Origen states that difference lies in the fact that Adam received the composition of his body from the hands of God, and not 'from the intercourse and passion and desire of a father and mother', this would appear to introduce a new emphasis, in which one is tempted to see remnants of Gnostic thinking.84 Secondly the loss of most of Origen's Pentateuchal exegesis makes it difficult to trace the extent to which he served as a *transmitter* of Philonic thought. It is to be suspected that much Philonic material has passed through to the later exegetical tradition through the agency of Origen's commentaries and homilies. To give one example: PCpin has examined in great detail the background to Augustine's interpretation of the 'heaven' in Gen. 1: 1. By listing various parallel passages from Philo, Origen and Augustine, he shows the evolution of the theme from Philo's exegesis of 'day one' in *Opif.* and other texts to the intelligible or spiritual creature in Augustine.85 We shall return to this study when investigating the direct knowledge that Augustine had of Philo's work.86 But at this point we can already cite his conclusion that 'it does not matter [for the hypothesis that the theme originally goes back to Philo] that he [Augustine] had read almost nothing of Philo, since the essential part of the Alexandrian Jew's interpretation could have been transmitted to him by the *Homilies on Genesis* of Origen'.[87] One might also cite the metaphor used by Calleja in a recent examination of the theme of the creation of man according to the image in Origen and Didymus, namely that 'Philo can truly be said to have mapped out a route for the Christian tradition'.** As we shall see, Philonic exegetical material in authors such as the Cappadocians, Nemesius and Calcidius will have been passed on in the same way. We note too that Origen's role as transmitter of Philonic thought was recognized by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who strongly criticizes him for learning his method of allegorical exegesis from Philo and using it as the foundation of his biblical exposition.[89]

[84] Compare *Opif. 140* with Origen's words in P. bibl. univ. Giss. 17.59-65: εἰ οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ πλημμεληκότες καταξιούμεθα εὐλογίας πνευματικῆς [cf. Eph. 1:3], οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὑπὸ χειρῶν θεοῦ πλασθεὶς καὶ ἐν παραδείσῳ τεθεὶς καὶ ἄρχων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν καταστα θεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθείς, ὁ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν πάντων πολὺ διαφέρων τῷ ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκ συνουσίας καi πάθους καὶ ἐπιθυμίας πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τὴν σύστασιν τοῦ σώματος εἰληφέναι, τοῦτον δὲ ἐκ μόνων χειρῶν θεοῦ δίχα πάθους συνίστασθαι.

[85] PCpin (1977), reprint of the article originally published in 1953. Also added are texts from the *Cohortatio ad Gentiles* to be studied in our next chapter, and in an addendum a vital text at Clement *Str.* 5.93-94 (on which see above chapter 8 n. 44).

[86] See below § 15.2.

[87] PCpin (1977) 268.

[88] Calleja (1988) 102 (I cite the summary of Radice at *SPhA* 3 (1991) 354).

[89] See further below $12.3, 12.4, 12.5, 13.3.

## 5. *Philosophical and theological themes*

In one of the more successful attempts to do justice to both the biblical-ecclesiastical-spiritual and philosophical-hellenic-rational aspects of Origen's thought, Chadwick has typified him as the 'illiberal humanist'.[90] Unlike Clement, Origen was not converted to Christianity away from philosophy. His knowledge of Greek philosophy is profound?

> ... in handling the opinions of the different philosophical schools he moves with the easy familiarity of a master... But towards even the philosophers [compared with Greek literature] his attitude is distant, and he can use expressions of cold disparagement which strike the reader as odd in view of the entirely Greek cast of his mind.

Why then call Origen (a little anachronistically) a humanist? The answer is given at the book's end:[92]

> If the meaning of orthodoxy is to wish to believe as the Church believes, then there can be virtually no hestitation in pronouncing Origen orthodox. He has a passionate sense of the Church as a divinely ordained society and of the normative character of its belief and practice for all believers. The model of Christ himself is always before his eyes. So sensitive is he to the charge of adulterating Christianity with Platonism that his attitude to Plato and the great phlosophers becomes prickly and even aggressively rude. He wanted to be a Christian, not a Platonist. Yet Platonism was inside him, ***malgré hi,*** absorbed into the very axioms and presuppositions of his thinking. Moreover, this penetration of his thought by Platonism is no merely external veneer of apologetic. Platonic ways of thinking about God and the soul are necessary to him if he is to give an intelligent account of his Christian beliefs.

For some of these 'ways of thinking' Origen was later condemned. But, as Chadwick further remarks, 'in judging the system of Origen as a whole it is important to remember that some of the most characteristic features of 'Origenism' are not his personal invention, but go back behind him to Clement and Philo'.[93]

What, then, is Origen's debt to Philo in the area of philosophy and theology? Unlike Clement, Origen did not need to learn from Philo how to connect up his Platonism with biblical interpretation. This he learnt through the already existent exegetical tradition, where he also found Philo. It was precisely the Platonizing orientation of Philo's exegesis that he must have

[90] Chadwick (1966a) 66, but what he means by the depiction is explained in the final chapter 95-123.

[91] *Ibid. 103.* Cf. also the conclusion of Crouzel (1961) 65-67, who emphasizes the instrumental aspect of philosophy for Origen, i.e. utilizable for piety (εὐσέβεια).

[92] Chadwick (1966a) 122.

[93] *Ibid. 120,* with explicatory footnote at 169. Chadwick implies that at a deeper level the influence of Philo on Origen is stronger than in the case of Clement.



found attractive, and through it his understanding of scripture was at least partly formed.[94] Not all scholars have been as open to recognizing this formative element as Chadwick. An interesting example is the monograph of Crouzel on the theology of image of God. In his introduction he affirms:[95]

> The theme of the image of God of which we speak here is found throughout almost all the ancient Christian writers and in them it often occupies a place of considerable importance... The place of the theme in the doctrine of Origen is just as central as in his predecessors and successors, and it touches on all the aspects of his personality, exegesis, spirituality and theology. It represents in effect the exegesis of several scriptural texts, especially Col 1:15 on Christ the Image, and Gen 1:26–27 on the creation of man according to the image. The account of the participation of man in the image of God, a participation which develops until reaching resemblance in the intimate union with Christ, is bound up with the Alexandrian's entire doctrine of spirituality. Finally the Platonist and Stoic philosophies have played a role in the elaboration of the theme which should not be neglected.

Conspicuous by his absence in this paragraph is Philo. Just like in the letter of Gregory that we cited at the outset of this chapter, the philosophers are mentioned and scripture is given its rightful place at the centre, but there is no room for Philo. This, I would argue, is a serious omission.96 The biblical texts are central, to be sure, but the Platonism that Origen reads into them is mediated via Philo. From him is derived the singularly important notion that man is not created as the direct image of God, but κατ'εἰκόνα, according to God's image, who is the Logos. And how is this being 'according to the image' to be interpreted? Once again Origen looks to Philo. Man's 'image-relation' to the Logos and ultimately to God exists primarily in respect of his spiritual or intellectual nature. A closer examination of texts might well reveal that Origen actually sharpens up Philo's emphases on this point in the direction of a thorough-going anti-corporealism.[97]

Various studies on theological themes in Origen and early Patristic thought emphasize connections between Origen and his predecessor. We note two diachronic studies that have been made on the subject of particu-

[94] Although this should not be taken to mean that Origen himself was a Platonist in a direct sense. The recentiemarks of Scott (1991) xiii are to be applauded: 'Discussions of Origen in terms of middle-Platonism have marked a real advance in Origen studies.. . And yet this is not a category into which Origen neatly fits. . . Origen, after all, regarded himself as an interpreter of scripture and not as a platonist, and so he did not have any special obligation to stay within a particular philosophical school of thought. Like many Christian theologians he seems to incline naturally to Platonism, but he was widely read in the other main philosophical traditions as well.' This is, in my view, precisely the way the relation between Philo and Platonism should be judged as well.

[95] Crouzel (1956) 11 (my translation).

[96] The brief discussion of the Philonic background at 52-57 is insufficient compensation.

[97] Little systematic research has been done on these Philonic presuppositions in the area of anthropology. The study of Bianchi (1980) is but a sketch (see esp. 42-45).

lar attributes of God. In Maas' monograph on divine immutability Philo is given a central place because he is the first to undertake a 'Vermittlung' of the two traditions of ancient philosophy and Jewish-Christian theology.[98] Like Philo, Origen regards immutability as the distinguishing mark between God and creation, deriving this principle from the text Num. 23:19 'not as a man is God'.[99] All biblical talk of God's sorrow, joy, etc. must be taken as being meant in a figurative and human manner of speaking.[100] Like Philo, Origen relates the doctrine to God's 'name' of 'true being' in Ex. 3:14, and adduces the motif of God as the standing or steadfast one (ὁ ἑστώς).[101] There are, however, a few rare texts in which Origen speaks of God's 'sympathy' with mankind in sending his suffering Son. In the most striking of these Origen cites Deut. 1:31.[102]

The same passages are also discussed by Frohnhofen in a recent study of the theme of divine impassibility.[103] He agrees that Origen, like Clement, follows in Philo's footsteps in his handling of the theme. Like Philo, Origen argues that talk about God's 'passions' (πάθη) has a primarily paideutic or educational purpose.[104] On the passages that deal with God's 'sympathy', however, he argues that both hermeneutic and chronological explanations are not convincing. The question of God's (and thus also the Son's) impassibility-passibility gives rise to a theological ***paradoxon,*** which in the author's view Origen was unable to resolve. It would appear that it was especially the concept of the incarnation, i.e. God descending down to man, that induced Origen to take the notion of divine 'sympathy' or even divine 'suffering' more seriously than Philo did. Both scholars might have paid more attention to the exegetical background of Origen's two main proof-texts, Num. 23: 19 and Deut. 1:31. These are precisely the texts adduced when he propounds his principles of biblical interpretation, making a clear, if anonymous, reference to Philo.[105]

Philo and Origen stand in the same Alexandrian tradition of using Greek philosophical conceptuality-primarily Platonic, but also Stoic, Aristotelian, Pythagorean-to reach a deeper understanding of biblically based doctrine. The examples that can be given of continuity between them are legion. We

[98] Maas (1974) 87.
[99] On Philo's and Origen's shared anti-anthropomorphism, see also the monograph of Kuitert on this theme, (1967), esp. 61ff.
[100] Maas (1974) 130.
[101] Ibid. 131.
[102] *Horn. in Ezech. 6.6,* cited in *ibid. 137.*
[103] Frohnhofen (1987).
[104] *Ibid.* 198; cf. 114f.
[105] Comm. *Matt.* 17.17 (cited above in §9.2 as text (k)). Note that Deut.1:31 is substituted for the very similar Deut.8:5 in Philo. The juxtaposition of the two texts is one of Philo's most central themes, found in no less than 8 passages (listed at Petit (1978) 54). Frohnhofen's puzzlement that Origen should wish to derive so much from Deut. 1:31 is due to his failure to take this exegetical and hermeneutical background sufficiently into consideration.



conclude with two examples in which philosophical themes play a prominent role.

In ***De principiis 2.5*** Origen argues against the Gnostic and Marcionitic conception that the God of the Old Testament is a God of justice only, and not of love. His chief argument is that the virtues form a unity, with goodness as generic virtue and the other virtues related to it as species. These species have a reciprocal relationship to each other (ἀντακολουθία), so that possession of one entails possession of them all. This argument is examined in detail in a fine study by Horn.[106] He shows that the argument of the ἀντακολουθία of the virtues was used in Platonism to argue for the essential unity of' the divine. For Origen this argument is unsatisfactory because it still allows a form of polytheism. Combined with the doctrine of 'becoming like unto God' (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ), it shows not only that God is a unity, but that man can aspire to unity with Him at the level of His Logos who is Christ. Origen's Alexandrian subordinationism is later eliminated by Augustine, who applied the ἀντακολουθία of the virtues to the doctrine of the Trinity. Horn argues that three aspects of Origen's argument have a direct Philonic origin:[107] (a) the genus-species relation of the virtues;[108] (b) the application of the Platonic concept of genus *generalissimum* to God; (c) the doctrine of ὁμοίωσις as related to man's creation 'according to the image', which links up the two previous doctrines. These themes are applied to a theological question that is quite foreign to Philo's intellectual context.[109]

Our second study turns to a purely cosmological subject, Origen's conception of the life of the stars and their place in a Christian view of the world. To this subject Scott has devoted an excellently argued and documented monograph.[110] Philo is an important link in the chain that leads from philosophical conceptions in Plato, Aristotle and the Stoa to Origen's own Christian and biblically founded stance. The honour given to the heavenly beings in the philosophical tradition is accepted by Philo, but he repeatedly warns that heaven should not be ***worshipped.*** Ontologically the stars are distinctly inferior to God as creator: [111]

[106] Horn (1970).
[107] *Ibid. 22-24.*
[108] On this doctrine see now further Jastram (1991), based on an unpublished 1989 University of Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis. The philosophical background of the doctrine of generic virtue and the relation to the doctrine of ἀντακολουθία requires further investigation. Dillon's brief article comparing Plotinus, Philo and Origen, (1983), has not said the last word on the subject.
[109] Although one might argue that Philo's doctrine of the two chief powers of God obviates in advance any disjunction between a God of love (grace) and a God of sovereignty (justice); cf. esp. *Cher. 29.*
[110] Scott (1991).
[111] *Ibid. 75.*

> His [Philo's] efforts are of great importance for students of Origen, because Origen will follow him both in attempting to present a scriptural cosmology, and in placing strict limitations on the usual pagan religious understanding.

A new idea in Origen that is not found in Philo (or the Greek philosophical schools), however, is the recognition of the possibility of evil in heaven. This is due to developments both in Platonism (e.g. Numenius) and in 'Gnostic' circles in the period between the two thinkers. Scott's formulation in the quote cited above is perhaps a little ambiguous. Is Philo important just for 'students of Origen', i.e. scholars who wish to understand the background to his thought, or was he important for Origen as well, as a direct influence on his thought? Later in the book he resolves this issue quite clearly:[112]

> But Origen's intellectual development is not only a matter of trends and tendencies, but also of individuals. Philo is of great importance to Origen because he combined a great respect for Hellenistic philosophy with Jewish religion and the interpretation of scripture. His example as an apologist and exegete, his discussions of 'sympathy', his condemnation of astrology and the worship of heaven, and yet at the same time his essentially pagan cosmological framework, were an important example to Origen.

## *6. Spiritual themes*

In our earlier discussion on Origen's interpretation of scripture we noted a dispute on the extent to which his 'spirituality' was indebted to Philo (and the Judaeo-hellenistic tradition). In spite of the denials of De Lubac and Crouzel, it appeared that there was a connection between the two thinkers in this area as well. There remain further aspects of Origen's spirituality and its historical antecedents which have so far not yet been discussed. This area of research has above all been the province of the French-American scholar Jean Laporte. After completing a doctorate under Daniélou on the theme of thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) in Philo,[113] he has turned his attention to the continuation of diverse Philonic 'spiritual' themes in the thought of Origen, among which the following are notable (as will be apparent, there is quite a lot of overlap):

(a) thanksgiving. In Origen's views on the Eucharist the breadth of the Philonic notion reappears, based in all cases on a biblical background.'[114] The chief themes are: (i) the first-fruits and sacrifices as images of thanksgiving; (ii) the word of God as bread of life; (iii) the Pascha; (iv) the high priest as mediator of prayer and (v) as mediator of propitiation. In each case Origen takes over the Philonic model and combines it with the data of

[112] Scott (1991) 110.
[113] Laporte (1972), English translation (1983).
[114] Laporte (1986a); cf. also Lies (1978).



Christian tradition. The reference of the Eucharist to the incarnated body of Christ, as recorded especially in the Gospel of John, Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, sets in motion a deep transformation of the Philonic model.

(b) *sacrifice.* A specific study is also devoted to the theme of sacrifice as part of the broader theme of thanksgiving.[115] Here Origen's model goes back to Philo's allegorical interpretation of the four sacrificial injunctions recorded in Leviticus: first fruits, holocausts, salvational sacrifices, and sacrifices for sin. Philo's teachings are repeated without much alteration, but then completed in a Christian development already prepared by Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews.[116]

(c) *sin.* In an early study Laporte emphasized a difference between Philo and Origen on the theme of man's 'fall' in that Philo is relatively uninterested in any kind of anterior spiritual life.[117] Later a specific study was devoted to the theme of original sin in Origen.[118] Here Laporte does see important correspondences with Philo, especially when contrasted with the classical Augustinian doctrine. For both Philo and Origen Adam is above all a type, who represents the universality of sin (cf. Paul's sentence that 'in Adam we all sinned'[119]). But sin is not inherited from Adam.[120]

(d) *forgiveness of sin.* Here too, in Laporte's view, Origen develops his theology of forgiveness with assistance from Philonic models. Scholars have not recognized this debt because they have not been able to fathom Philo's 'specific theological reasoning based on scriptural evidence and the identification of practical methods of forgiveness'.[121] As an example one might mention the sacrifice for sin, which represents for Origen, as it did for Philo, a kind of guide for the sinner seeking forgiveness. Both develop interiorized versions of this sacrifice.[122]

Quite a different 'spiritual' theme is the motif of 'sober drunkenness' (νηφάλιος μέθη) which Philo introduces in a number of texts, and to which Lewy devoted a famous monograph.[123] Lewy argues that the Philonic oxy-

[115] Laporte (1988a); cf. also the study of Daly (1978), which investigates the theme as a background to Origen's doctrine of sacrifice and concludes (391): 'In richness and depth this [Philo's] theology of sacrifice was surpassed in early antiquity only by Origen. And in terms of influence on the early Christian idea of sacrifice, especially Origen, Philo yields pride of place only to the Scriptures themselves.'
[116] Laporte (1988a) 274-275.
[117] Laporte (1970), esp. 325-326.
[118] Laporte (1988b).
[119] Sic Laporte (1988b) 202, but these words are not literally found in Romans; cf. 3:23, 5: 14.
[120] *Ibid. 202-203.*
[121] Laporte (1986b), quote at 521.
[122] *Ibid. 522-523.*
[123] Lewy (1929); cf. the listing of some ten texts at Chadwick (1967) 150 n. 4, who suggests that Lewy may be mistaken in denying a pre-Philonic origin. But this need not obviate Patristic dependence on Philonic usage.

moron owes its wide dissemination to the fact that it was taken up in the Alexandrian tradition, most notably by Origen.[124] Two aspects are of particular importance: [125] (a) the association with the Logos,[126] allowing Christian developments referring to Christ as the true vine and to the wine of the Lord's supper;[127] (b) the association of the phrase with the concept of 'joy', entailing that the state of drunken sobriety does not describe a moment of mystic ecstasy, but rather the durable joyous state of the pious soul. A difficulty that Lewy faces in his reconstruction is that the concept is found in Origen, but not the actual Philonic oxymoron itself (though he does speak of 'divine drunkenness').[128] This may be due to the poor transmission of Origen's exegetical works. It remains probable that Origen was an important vehicle for the spread of the motif in later Patristic authors.129

## 7. *Origen, Philo and Judaism*

By way of conclusion we return to the two puzzles which were encountered at the outset of this chapter. Why does there appear to be no place for **Philo** in Origen's curriculum, and why does he so often refer to **Philo** in anonymous terms? A possible answer to the second question was given long ago by Conybeare, who argued that it was prudent for Origen as a Christian to conceal that his source was the Jew **Philo.**[130] It is certainly true that Origen does not explicitly refer to **Philo's** Jewishness in the list of references which we gave above, although in one or two of them it is certainly implied (e.g. ***C. Cels.*** 4.5 1, *Comm. in Mutt. 17.17).* In order to judge whether Conybeare was right, we need to look more closely at Origen's relations to Judaism.

It is well known that Origen was the first Christian exegete to take into account that Hebrew was the original language of the Old Testament (even if his knowledge of the language probably stayed fairly rudimentary). One of his teachers was a converted Jew, and he quite often refers to Jewish informants on particular points of exegesis. When he moved to Caesarea in Palestine the opportunities for contact with Jews can only have increased. As we noted in our opening chapter, it is likely that he was on quite friendly terms with Rabbi Hoshai'a, who himself was in charge of a Jewish Academy (or Torah school).[131]

[124] Lewy (1929) 111.
[125] Ibid. 112-l 18.
[126] E.g. at Leg. 3.82, and cf. Somn. 2.249.
[127] Cf. the banquet of the Therapeutae at *Contempl.* ***85, 89.***
[128] Lewy (1929) 118-128.
[129] On the later development of this theme see below § 12.3(d), §14.5(b).
[130] Conybeare (1895) 329. He is wrong, however, to identify Philo with the term ὁ Ἑβραῖος, which Philo sometimes uses for a Jewish source (on the term see De Lange (1976) 23-25).
[131] See above §1.3, 1.4 at n. 113.



The subject of Origen's relations to contemporary Judaism is fascinating and important, but also complex and difficult. Beyond location and identification of references to Judaism in his extended corpus, it also involves comparisons of his biblical interpretation with the broad stream of contemporary Jewish exegesis. A pioneering study was made of this body of evidence by De Lange.[132] He lists the passages in which Origen refers to contemporary Jews and Judaism, and also gives a valuable discussion of his relation to Jewish biblical interpretation.[133] It is part of his argument that 'Philo's influence on Origen has been much exaggerated'. Many of the aspects of Jewish exegesis that Origen might be thought to have derived from **Philo,** such as the use of various techniques of interpretation and the use of etymologies, are better explained through acquaintance with contemporary Rabbinic exegesis. But it cannot be said that De Lange has been able to prove his thesis.[134] Too many of his examples of correspondence between Origenian and Rabbinic exegesis amount to no more than parallels. An example is the similarity that he sees between Origen and Rabbi Akiba in the assumption that scripture is devoid of redundancy, and that a seemingly superfluous word is charged with meaning.135 There are equally striking examples of this hermeneutical principle in **Philo.**[136]

A question that requires separate examination is the use of etymologies of biblical names. Origen takes over the Philonic and Alexandrian practice of reading significance into these names. Indeed Jerome informs us of a 'statement by Origen' that **Philo** had published a book of Hebrew names which he himself used.137 Origen was no doubt mistaken in his belief in a Philonic origin,[138] but it does indicate that the book must have had an Alexandrian source. No doubt he took it along with him in his move from Alexandria to Caesarea. De Lange argues that Origen's extensive use of etymologies had three possible sources: (a) the works of Philo; (b) *onomastica* (lists of transliterated Hebrew names and etymological interpretations in Greek);[139] (c) contemporary Jewish traditions.[140] Certainly, he argues, a number of **Philo's** etymologies are taken over by Origen,[141] but

[132] De Lange (1976), based on an Oxford dissertation under supervision of H. Chadwick.
[133] See esp. ibid. 15-37, 103-122.
[134] In fairness we should note that his particular interest is in Origen's relation to contemporary Judaism (see 12).
[135] ***Ibid.*** 110-111.
[136] E.g. his explicit statement of the principle at ***Fug.*** 53-54 with regard to Ex. 2 I: 12; see also further passages listed in Siegfried (1875) 168ff.
[137] ***Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum, praef.,*** CCL 72.1.59.1-60.3; see further below 915.1 at n. 36.
[138] Origen cites the work anonymously at ***Comm. Joh. 2.33 (GCS*** 4.90.18), ***Horn. Num. 20.3 (I owe*** the references to De Lange (1976) 16 n.15).
[139] On these and their relation to Philo's etymologies, see below § 15.1 and n. 40.
[140] De Lange (1976) l 19.
[141] See the list of exx. given at n. 108 on p. 199.

these amount to only a small proportion of all the etymologies found in his works. Moreover he sometimes accompanies the Philonic interpretation by an alternative view, or ignores Philo's view and replaces it by another. In De Lange's view the source of some of these alternatives may well have been the Rabbinic tradition. A difficulty here that he does not consider is the fact that the etymologies require translation from Hebrew to Greek, which would not interest the majority of Rabbis. It seems more likely that Origen is heavily dependent on *onomastica,* in addition to what he may have picked up in his reading of Philo's biblical commentaries.

De Lange's study has been criticized for painting, in the spirit of modern ecumenicity, too irenic a picture of Origen's relation to Jews and Judaism. In Caesarea the Church was in competition with the Synagogue, and no doubt an equally competitive spirit existed between Origen's school and the Jewish academies.142 Perhaps this was one of the reasons why Bishop Theoctistus felt the need to 'sign up' Origen for his church, to offer an counterweight for the Jewish revival that was taking place in the city.[143] Does this mean that Conybeare was right after all in his conclusion that Origen wished to conceal his debt to Philo?

It seems to me that there is an alternative view that is more attractive. As we saw in the list of anonymous references give above, Origen very frequently portrays Philo as a 'predecessor'.[144] It is striking that precisely the same way of speaking is used for his references to Clement, whom he in fact never mentions by name at all.[145] Apparently Origen sees no need to distinguish between Philo and Clement as distinguished predecessors in the task of elucidating scripture. For this reason there was no need to give Philo an explicit place in the school programme. The customary procedure was assumed. When the scriptures were opened and the task of interpretation began, it was a matter of course that the views of earlier interpreters were taken into account. Philo has an honoured place in the tradition of biblical exposition. There is no need to draw explicit attention to his name, because the exegetical tradition itself is more important than its individual contributors. Origen is of course aware that he was a Jewish interpreter of

142 See Brooks (1988), who emphasizes the vast gulf between Origen and the Rabbinic systems of thought as codified in the Mishnah, and also Blowers (1988), who recognizes a positive element in Origen's attitude towards Judaism, but concludes that we should distinguish between private scholarly interest (and even sympathy) and public inflexibility (cf. 116).

143 Cf. the suggestion of McGuckin (1992) 15–16, with reference to Knauber's article, (1967–68), on the 'missionary' aims of the school.

144 See above §9.2.

145 See the exx. given by Crouzel (1985) 25: *Comm. Mutt. 14.2* τίς τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν; *Comm. Rom.* 1.1 *sicut quidam tradunt.* Van den Hoek has recently, (1992), examined all the parallels between Clement and Origen; in her list she notes two other references at *Comm. Mart.* 12.31, *Comm. Joh. 2.25.* Cf. also the view of Hanson cited above at n. 5 1.



scripture, which results in certain regrettable limitations. But because of Philo's love for allegory and feeling for philosophically mature exegesis, he had in Origen's view a considerable advantage over more recent Jewish interpretation. Philo is in fact well on the way to being adopted as an honorary Church Father. Origen thus becomes, together with Clement, a watershed in the absorption of Philonic ideas in the Christian tradition. More importantly still, he gave Philo a place in his library, and for this reason we are in a position to read these works today.

Chapter Ten

# In the Alexandrian tradition

Origen, as we saw in the previous chapter, took his copies of **Philo** with him when he left Alexandria for good in 233. Although this move ensured a wider diffusion of **Philo's** works, it did not mean that he was forgotten in his own city. His continuing presence in Alexandria and its cultural hinterland is the subject of this chapter.

## 1. *Ps. Justin* Cohortatio ad Graecos

In the corpus of writings attributed to Justin Martyr are found three treatises which stand in the tradition of the Apologists, but cannot be attributed to Justin himself. They are generally known under the Latin titles ***Orutio ad Graecos, Cohortatio ad Graecos*** and ***De monarchia***. Marcovich has recently produced a new edition of these three works, superseding **the** century-old edition of Otto.1 In the view of their latest editor all three **are** to be regarded as Christian products. For both the ***Oratio*** and ***De monarchia***, however, it has been suggested that they are in fact Judaeo-Hellenistic works which have been taken up in the Christian tradition.2 This cannot be the case for the ***Cohortatio,*** because in the final chapter §38 it introduces Jesus Christ by name and describes him as the 'Logos of God unbounded in power'. But this treatise too may well derive much of its apologetic material from Hellenistic-Jewish sources, as Grant has surmised.3 Our discussion will focus on this work, the only one of the three to make direct use of **Philo.**[4]

[1] Marcovich (1990b). The edition has been criticized on account of its excessive emendation of the text, e.g. by Gronewald (1990). The *apparatus fontium* is valuable, but becomes somewhat unwieldy. A commentary would have been more useful, as I point out in my review, Runia (1991d) 403. Otto's edition dated back to (1879) 2-158. The ***Habilitationsschrift*** that Christoph Riedweg is preparing in Zürich should pour a flood of light on the *Cohortatio*.

[2] For the *Orutio* Goodenough (1925), for the *De Monarchia* Riedweg (1990) 124 n. 4.

[3] Grant (1988) 192.

[4] As Marcovich notes, there are Philonic themes in the other two works-e.g. *De monarchia* 1, *6* τὸ ἄτρεπτον ὄνομα (cf. 82–83), *Orutio 5,* ἐπιθυμία as the source of all evil (cf. 103). But these themes may also have a more general Judaeo-Hellenistic origin.



The ***Cohortatio*** obtains its name from the fact that it is a λόγος παραινετικός exhorting the Greeks to cease their quarrels and abandon the errors of their forefathers in order follow the doctrines of true piety. In the first part of the work (§2–7) it is argued that the ideas of the poets and philosophers are full of falsehood and contradictions. The true teacher is Moses, whom even Greek historians admit to be chronologically prior (§8–13). The remainder of the work argues with stolid persistence that any truth in the Greek poets is derived from Moses (§14–34). In the peroration (§35–38) the author appeals to the Sibyl who announced the incarnation of the **Logos.**[5]

The treatise thus pursues themes familiar in the earlier apologetic works of the 2nd century. In contrast to what we encountered in those writings, however, we may be certain this time that the author is directly acquainted with **Philo.**[6] The author mentions him three times, each time in association with Josephus. Firstly they are included in a long list of Greek and Jewish authors who attest to Moses' antiquity (§9), being described as 'most wise Jewish **historians'.**[7] This reference of course tells us very little. The second allusion is more informative. The education and honour that Moses received at the hands of the Egyptians is recounted by 'the most wise historiographers **Philo** and Josephus, who decided to record his life and deeds and the high repute of his lineage. For these writers, recounting the history of the Jews, say that Moses belonged to the Chaldean race by birth, but that his ancestors on account of a famine had migrated from Phoenicia to Egypt, where they say he was born. '[8] At this point it becomes clear that the author is acquainted with **Philo's *De vita Moysis.*** Especially the term 'Chaldean' gives him away. **Philo** used this as a synonym for 'Hebrew' throughout this treatise, and specifically describes him as Χαλδαῖος by race at ***Mos.*** 1.5.9 Two chapters further on the author recounts how King Ptolemy commanded the Septuagint translation to be made. At the end he indicates his sources, those same 'wise and reputable men, **Philo** and Jose-

[5] Derived from the well-known appropriation of the Sibyl by Hellenistic-Jewish apologists, on which see **Schürer** (1973-87) 3.618-654.

[6] Compare the debts to Hellenistic Judaism of Aristides, Athenagoras, and above all **Theophilus,** analysed above in chapter 6.

[7] §9.2 οἱ σοφώτατοι **Φίλων τε καὶ Ἰώσηπος,** οἱ τὰ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἱστορήσαντες.

[8] §10.1 ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν ἱστοριογράφων, οἱ καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὸ τοῦ γένους ἀξίωμα ἀναγράψασθαι προελόμενοι, Φίλων τε καὶ Ἰώσηπος. οὗτοι γάρ, τὰς Ἰουδαίων ἱστοροῦντες πράξεις, ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Χαλδαίων γένους τὸν Μωϋσέα γεγενῆσθαί φασι· τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ λιμοῦ πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μεταναστάντων ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα τετέχθαι φασίν.

[9] On **Philo's** use of the term see now the detailed study by Wong (1992). **Josephus** does not use the term 'Chaldean' in connection with Moses in the *Antiquities* (in 1.168 he theorizes that Abraham brought Chaldean science to Egypt). Another Philonic phrase in Mos. 1.5 that our author takes over is τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ διὰ... λιμόν... μεταναστάντων.

phus, and numerous others'.[10] Here too there are indications that he has drawn from Philo's account of the event in Mos. 2.29-40 (note especially the emphasis on the word-for-word correspondence of original and translation, cf. §38–39), but the verbal parallels are not as striking.[11] In these three passages the author thus uses Philo as a respected source for early Jewish or biblical history, continuing the tradition initiated by Clement.[12]

In the work there are also a small number of passages of exegetical and philosophical interest in which acquaintance with Philonic exegesis is clear (but the author does not indicate this explicitly).[13] Plato, he argues (§20.2), plainly has the correct view (ὀρθὴ δόξα) on God as true Being, for he had heard in Egypt the words that God had spoken to Moses, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὤν (Ex. 3:14), and had recognized that God spoke no proper name (κύριον ὄνομα) to him. 'For no name can properly be predicated of God. Names are meant for the clarification and distinction of underlying subjects, which are many and different.' God's unity and unicity, however, make this process of distinction by naming both impossible and unnecessary ($21.1). The argument here amounts to a paraphrase of Philo's similar argument at Mos. 1.75, where he describes the incident of the burning bush.[14] The anonymous author has taken over Philo's philosophical exegesis and applied it to his apologetic context. It is interesting to observe how he alters his source. Philo mentions, as 'substitute names' for God as Being (ὁ ὤν), not only the word 'God', but also that he is 'God of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob' (cf. Ex. 3:15). The anonymous Christian author deletes this theme, perhaps considering it too specifically Jewish for his apologetic context, and

[10] $13.4 καὶ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν περὶ τούτων ἱστορησάντων σοφῶν καὶ δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν, Φίλων τε καὶ Ἰώσηπος, καὶ ἑτέρων πλειόνων.

[11] There are also differences between Philo and Ps.Justin, e.g. the assertions (1) that King Ptolemy founded the Library and wanted the books for that purpose, (2) that the King commanded the translators to go to the island of Pharos; (3) that each of the translators had his own cell. These details do not derive from Josephus' very brief account at C. *Ap.* 2.4547. Some details, such as concerning the library and the return to their fatherland with gifts may have been taken from the *Letter of* Aristeas. On the various versions of the legend see Harl-Munnich-Dorival (1988) 40-66 (at 60 they note that our author is the first to mention individual 'maisonettes' for each translator).

[12] Cf. above §8.3(a)ii. At *Str.* 1.149.2 Clement too emphasizes the verbal and conceptual 'conflation' of the translators' versions, but there are no verbal reminiscences of Philo.

[13] These passages have not been systematically analysed for their debts to Philonic material. The scattered remarks by Heinisch (1908), e.g. 64, 154 are inadequate. At 45 he argues that the author's image of a musical instrument for the inspiration of scripture is taken directly from Philo, e.g. at *Her.* 259. But Marcovich (1990b) 7 is surely right in noting more direct parallels in the Christian apologists Athenagoras and Theophilus (who in turn may go back to Philo himself, cf. above §6.3 and esp. at n. 67). But see also §9.3 n. 59.

[14] Already noted by Siegfried (1875) 332, Otto (1879) 74, both citing earlier scholars. On the sophisticated philosophical doctrine involved here see further Runia (1988a) 87. More general remarks on the passage at Harl (1978) 92f. Interestingly Johannes Damascenus cited both passages together in his *Sacra Parallela*, cf. C-W ad *loc*. and Marcovich (1990b) 5 1.



instead cites Is. 44:6 against polytheism (and implicitly against the Platonic text Tim. 41a cited a little earlier).

Several chapters later the author argues that Plato, in adding a third principle to those of God and matter, also learnt his principle of form (εἶδος) from Moses (§29.1–2). Firstly he quotes the passages Ex. 25:9, 26:30, 25:40, which all refer to the model of the tabernacle revealed to Moses during his ascent on Mt. Sinai. These texts contain the words παράδειγμα, εἶδος, τύπος, which are all part of Plato's terminology for his theory of ideas.[15] Philo too interprets these texts in terms of a Platonist division into the intelligible and sense-perceptible worlds: cf. *Leg.* 3.102, *Mos*. 2.74, *Congr.* 8, *QE* 2.52, 80, 90.[16]

The second passage is of even greater interest and should be quoted in full (§30.1–3):[17]

> Similarly concerning the earth and the heaven and man he [Plato] is plainly mistaken in his doctrine concerning the ideas of these entities. The words of Moses are: 'In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth (Gen. 1:1)', and then following straight on, 'and the earth was invisible and unfashioned (Gen. 1:2, LXX text)'. Plato thought that this earth of which he said 'and the earth was', was spoken of as the pre-existent (προϋπάρχούσαν, i.e. ideal) earth, since Moses said, 'and the earth was invisible and unfashioned', and he thought that this earth of which he says 'God made the heaven and the earth' was the sense-perceptible one brought into being by God in accordance with the pre-existent form (κατὰ προϋπάρχον εἶδος).
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> The same thing happens in the case of the created heaven. The heaven that is made (Gen. 1:1), which he [Moses] also named the firmament (στερέωμα, Gen. 1:6), this is [according to Plato] the sense-perceptible heaven which has come into being (τὸν γενόμενον αἰσθητόν), but there is also another noetic (νοητόν) heaven, concerning which the prophet said: 'The heaven of the heaven is for the Lord, the earth he gave to the sons of men (Ps. 113:24)'.
>
> In the case of man it is again similar. Early on Moses records the name of man (i.e. Gen. 1:26). Then after enumerating many of the created works, he made mention of the formation (πλάσεως) of man, speaking as follows: 'And God formed man (as) dust from the earth (Gen. 2:7).' Plato therefore thought the man mentioned earlier existed before (προϋπάρχειν) the man who came into being, and that the man fashioned (πλασθέντα) from the earth came into being later in accordance with the pre-existent form (κατὰ τὸ προϋπάρχον εἶδος).

The interpretation that the author regards Plato as having derived from Moses is very similar that of Philo, namely that the double mention of

[15] The term τύπος comes into its own esp. in Middle Platonism, but there are Platonic antecedents, above all in the *Timaeus*; cf. Runia (1986) 160-I 64.

[16] Wolfson (1947) 1.182 has rightly pointed out the importance of these Bible texts for Philo.

[17] My translation; it should be taken into account that the author is no great stylist. Remarkably this passage is not discussed in the various articles on the patristic exegesis of Gen. 1:1, Nautin (1973), Van Winden (1973), Alexandre (1988).

earth, heaven, and man in the Mosaic Genesis account indicates a double creation, first of the ideal exemplar, then of the sense-perceptible version (cf. *Opif.* 16-36, 69, 134-135). The resemblance is particularly strong in the case of the double creation of man. For the exegesis of earth and heaven there are some differences. Philo contrasts the earth in Gen. l:l-2 and 1:9-13, not 1: 1 and 1:2. Moreover he does not appeal to the Psalm text for his noetic heaven. This text was later to be famously exploited by Augustine in his exegesis of the first verse of the Bible.[18] Pépin, in investigating the background to Augustine's exegesis of the 'heaven of heaven', has argued that there is a 'trace' of the Philonic exegetical theory in this account, which has been either deformed or badly understood.[19] We can indeed not be wholly certain that the author has consulted Philo's De *opificio mundi at* first hand, although the parallel in the case of the double creation of man is rather exact.[20] Philo's influence, even if indirect, is certainly strong. Implicitly we have here the first example of the relation between Plato and Philo which is later enshrined in the proverb 'either Philo Platonizes or Plato Philonizes'.[21] Plato's 'theft' from Moses is understood in terms of a Philonic exegesis of scripture. Interestingly, however, the author concludes that this interpretation is misguided, as indicated in the quote's opening words. He gives no explicit grounds for the rejection. Most likely he simply finds the exegesis fanciful. Another possibility is that he rejects the whole notion of a third ἀρχή, i.e. the εἶδος introduced at §29.1, as theologically incorrect.

What can we say, finally, about the provenance and date of this unusual work? Estimates of the time of writing have varied from 180 to 300. Both Harnack and Bardenhewer think it proven that the author has taken over chronological material from Julius Africanus, which would mean a date after 221.[22] Grant sees some connections with themes in Porphyry and places him in the mid-3rd century.[23] On the place of writing our author might seem to give a couple of negative indications. When describing the translation of the LXX he affirms (§ 13.4) that 'these are no myths or made up stories we are telling you, Greeks, but we ourselves were in Alexandria and saw the foundations of the cells still preserved on the island of Pharos, and what we are reporting to you we heard from the people there recounting their own native traditions (§13).' As we already noted, he later says he visited the

[18] See further below § 15.2, and also above $9.4 on Origen's treatment of the same theme.
[19] Pépin (1977) 107.
[20] Another indication that tells against direct dependence is the fact that his decisive term προϋπαρχειν is not prominent in *Opif.* (only at 130, cf. also *Leg.* 1.22). Philo does not cite the Psalm text, but cf. his use of the same phrase from Deut. 10: 14 at *Spec.* 1.302. Origen too, as far as we know, did not use this Psalm text, so is probably not an intermediate source.
[21] On this proverb see further §1.1 (8), § 10.5 (d), § 15.1.
[22] Harnack (1904) 2.2.15 l– 158, Bardenhewer (19 13) 1.232; see further Zeegers-Vander Vorst (1972) 18.
[23] Grant (1958) 133f.



grotto of the Sibyl at Cumae ($37.1). Harnack concludes that the work could not have been written in Rome or Alexandria, and therefore probably came from Greece or Asia Minor (less likely from Syria), but Grant rightly observes that nothing can be safely deduced from such claims to autopsy.[24] More attention should be paid to some of the ideas found in the work. On the basis of the relation to Philonic exegesis Pépin claims that the work is 'de saveur alexandrine prononcée', and this seems to me exactly right.[25] If the author did not at some time reside in Alexandria, then he may have picked up a copy of Philo's De *vita Moysis* there and also noted some examples of Platonizing exegesis in the spirit of Philo, Clement and Origen. For this reason it seemed appropriate to place our discussion of this intriguing little work in the present chapter on the Alexandrian tradition.

## *2. The theology of Arius*

In the year 313 a popular preacher in one of the churches of the see of Alexandria, the priest Arius (c. 270–336), suddenly comes into prominence.[26] It is reported that some of his doctrinal statements are in disagreement with the teaching of the Church. Arius is summoned before Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and asked to modify his views, a step which he refuses to take, It is the beginning of the most far-reaching and damaging doctrinal conflict in the early Church. Very little is known about Arius' previous career. Almost certainly his place of origin was Libya, a province generally orientated towards the Egyptian metropolis. One would expect that he received his formative education in Alexandria. Evidence suggesting that he studied in Antioch is too slight to be reliable.[27] The Church historians describe him as skilled in dialectic. This might be taken to imply philosophical training, but more likely it reflects the standard view of the nefarious skills of a heretic.[28]

The precise nature of Arius' views have long been the subject of controversy. One of the chief problems is that almost no authentic writings of Arius have survived. Only some credal statements and a few lines of his poem the *Thalia* remain.[29] It can easily be shown the successive generations of scholars have created Arius in their own image.[30] Even the exten-

[24] Harnack (1904) 2.2.156; Grant (1958) 129.
[25] Pépin (1977) 107.
[26] For two accounts of the historical context of Arius and the documentary situation see Barnes (1981) 202-207, Williams (1987) 29-l 16.
[27] Williams (1987) 30-3 1.
[28] Socrates *HE* 1.5. On the relation between heresy and dialectic see Runia (1987) 23-26 (with further references).
[29] CPG 2.5-7; texts in Opitz (1934), translations in Williams (1987) 100–103, 246-256.
[30] Excellently done by Williams (1987) l-25.

sive research carried out in recent years may not be exempt from this tendency, since it sees Arius as a continuation of the pluralist spirit of the Alexandrian Church (and pluralism is 'in the air', is it not). We can only indicate a few main themes, leaving all issues of interpretation aside.[31] Central to Arius' teaching is the emphasis on the dissimilarity (ἀνομοιότης) of the Father and the Son as Logos. God, who in himself is unutterable (ἄρρητος) was not always Father, but there was a time when he was solitary. The Son was created out of what is non-existent, is a creature (γέννημα) and a product of God, thus not consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) with Him. God is thus unutterable and unknowable also to his Son, who does not know his essence. The Son as Wisdom and Logos is created from God's own Wisdom and Logos (and so can only be called Wisdom and Logos through loose usage of language (καταχρηστικῶς)[32]). Since the Son is created, he also has a mutable nature, though God foreknew his goodness. God has his own power (δύναμις) which is eternal and natural to him. Christ is himself not the true power of God, but one of those who are called powers.[33]

This brief summary of Arius' controversial doctrines on the relation between the Father and the Son is enough to indicate that he stands firmly in the Alexandrian tradition. All of his central theses can be paralleled in Christian writings of the 3rd century inspired by Alexandrian theology.[34] The progress that has been made in studies on Arius and Arianism in recent decades has resulted from the decision to see him above all in the context of his Alexandrian theological situation.[35] This has brought to the fore the question of Arius' relation to the Philonic ancestry of that tradition. We can do no more than briefly record a number of discussions and verdicts on the relation of Arius to the Philonic background.

The strongest claim is that 'Philo is in fact the father of Arianism'. This view has been defended by Mortley, [36] who argues that Philo is responsible for introducing the doctrine of the unknowability-of God into the Christian tradition. Because God is unknown, an intermediary is necessary. The Son enters the hierarchy of existents, and it is hard to avoid asserting the logical step of the Son's inferiority. Mortley thus takes over in part the

[31] Based largely on the documents cited by Williams (1987) 98-103, Hanson (1988) 12-16. Reading the fragments of Arius and the reports of his adversaries is like seeing a positive and a negative of the same photo, Arius emphasizing his place within the theological tradition, his opponents underlining (and probably exaggerating) his divergence from that tradition.

[32] The statement in brackets may be a deduction by his opponents; it is based on an Encyclical letter of Bishop Alexander written in about 3 19.

[33] Arius seems to have discussed the question of God's δύναμις and the relation to the Son–Logos. But the statement here may be a deduction of Athanasius (cf. Hanson (1988) 13).

[34] Cf. Barnes ( 198 1) 204 .

[35] ***See*** esp. the influential articles of Wiles (1962) and Stead (1964).

[36] Mortley (1973) 9–10.



position of Wolfson.[37] For Wolfson, however, Philo was the intellectual father of all Patristic thought, whether orthodox or otherwise. Arianism, he observes, was attacked as being a combination of Jewish monotheism and pagan polytheism. The Christian doctrine of the Trinity is an 'ideal combination' or 'harmonization' of these two theologies, as is in fact admitted by both Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus.[38] The unity of God is not taken in the absolute sense, as propogated by Philo, but rather in a relative or monarchic sense. Wolfson thus attempts to show that the two contrasting heresies of modalism and Arianism deal with the Philonic heritage in opposing ways. The clue lies, once again, in the double Logos theory, i.e. the reconstruction of Philo's theology in which the pre-existent Logos exists both in God as eternal and identical with his essence and as a created being distinct from God's essence. The modalists regarded Christ the Logos only in terms of the higher Logos, as a power of God and not as a real being, and thus equivalent to one of God's names. This is a reduction of the Philonic view.[39] Arius in contrast reverts to the original Philonic position in that he tries to restore God's absolute unity. Rejecting the eternal generation of the Logos posited by Origen, he says there was a time that God was alone and not a Father. The Logos was then created out of nothing solely as the result of God's will (although prior to this there already was a Logos coexisting with God from eternity as a property of his essence). The only difference between Philo and Arius is that the latter, as a Christian, identifies the created Logos with the pre-existent Christ.[40] Wolfson typifies this solution to the problem of the Trinity as *creationalist*, and sees it as reverting to a position strongly influenced by the Jewish and scriptural presupposition of monotheism.

Wolfson's construction is seductive, but not without difficulties. Firstly he has been (rightly in my view) criticized for the over-schematization of the double-Logos theory in Philo.[41] Secondly, on account of his pan-Philonist views he is unable to indicate how the lines of influence which he traces were transmitted historically. It is thus of great interest to see how the thesis of 'Philo, father of Arianism' has fared in three monographs which have been specifically devoted to the interpretation of Arianism in recent years. The title of Lorenz's study, ***Arius Judaizans?,*** refers to the affinities which he sees between Arius' thought and the angelology (espe-

[37] But he critizes him for exaggerating the influence of Philo on the Greek philosophical tradition.

[38] Wolfson (1956) 361-363, 578. This is not quite what Gregory says, since he regards the truth of Christianity as avoiding the errors of both positions; see further the discussion below in § 12.3 (a).

[39] ***Ibid.*** 580–585.

[40] ***Ibid. 585-587.***

[41] Cf. Runia (1986) 450, with further references; note esp. the important critique of Bormann (1955).

cially the angelic, high-priestly mediator figure and the notion of Sophia as begotten instrument of creation) of Jewish Wisdom theology and Jewish Christianity, transmitted to Arius via Alexandrian *gnosis* theology.[42] Somewhat surprisingly, however, he does not envisage Philo playing a role of any significance in this development. Lorenz firmly rejects the Wolfsonian position for the reason given above, namely that there is no clear demarcation in Philo's thought between Divine powers (including the Logos) as parts of God's being and hypostasized entities separate from God, which is precisely the sharp distinction that Arius insists upon. 'Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, da8 Arius seine Lehre aus den unklaren und verscbleierten Aussagen Philos gewonnen hat.'[43] He immediately adds that various Arian notions concerning God's transcendence, namely (i) that God can be grasped only by himself, (ii) that matter cannot withstand the unmixed power of God, and (iii) that the Logos can only catacbrestically be called θεός, all find significant antecedents in Philo.[44] But this is not enough to make Philo the ancestor of Arius.

In the vast study of Hanson, which covers every aspect of the Arian controversy as it unfolded from its inception to the Council of Constantinople in 381, the same conclusion is reached9 'We cannot claim Philo as an ancestor of Arius' thought'. The same is said for Clement (but not Origen). The name of Philo scarcely occurs in the book's 875 pages. Hanson's rather narrow historical view is rather surprising when we recall his strong emphasis on the importance of Philo for Origen's thought.[46]

A more subtle treatment of our question is found in the excellent monograph of the Oxford theologian Williams.[47] He too rejects Wolfson's double Logos distinction. The nearest Philo comes to seeing the Logos as a being in his own right created through God's free will is in the famous architect image at the beginning of *De opificio mundi*, but this is not enough to sustain Wolfson's case. Nevertheless there are many real and striking correspondences between the two thinkers9

> Indeed it could be said that the sole crucial point of distinction is what Wolfson believed to be their common ground-the doctrine of an individually subsistent Logos, distinct from the Father. What is metaphor to Philo is literal description

[42] Lorenz (1980) 136-177.
[43] ***Ibid.*** 105.
[44] Ibid. 105–106, with reference to ***Praem. 40, Opif. 20, Somn.*** 1.229. For the earlier development of the theological application of the originally grammatical notion of κατάχρησις see Runia (1988a) 82-89. As noted by Williams (1987) 120, however, there is an important difference between Philo and the later Church Fathers on this issue. For Philo even the name θεός is catachrestic, since in his essence God is only Being and is in fact nameless.
[45] Hanson (1988) 60.
[46] See above §9.3.
[47] Williams (1987) 117–124.
[48] ***Ibid. 122.***



> for Arius. But apart from this, we can identify at least three areas of shared concern. First there is the interest in divine freedom and grace, signalized in Philo by the insistence on a beginning for creation and on the mind's need to be raised up by God, Second, there is the idea of the Logos as essentially a mediator of God's *gifts*, multiply reflecting the divine simplicity. Thirdly there is the austerely apophatic tone, stressing the difference between knowing God in his gifts and knowing him as he is...

It would be wrong to conclude, he continues, that Arius was an assiduous student of Philo, but rather it emerges that 'Philo mapped out the ground for the Alexandrian theological tradition to build on, and that Arius' theological problematic is firmly within the tradition'.[49] Williams envisages a double tradition of 'saving knowledge' in the Alexandrian tradition, both of an apophatic nature and both already present in Philo. The one emphasizes the ascent of the mind until it reaches the unified and simple state of the truly existent. The problem here is how the truly self-subsistent highest Being is related to the unity that the mind can attain. The other tradition emphasizes that the human mind in gaining knowledge of God must be activated by an initiative from beyond itself, i.e. in revealed grace given of God's own free will. The problem here is that what God communicates must be metaphorical, expressed through created words and images differing from God himself. The combination of the two traditions is the paradox that the means by which God is to be known both is and is not God. Williams concludes:[50]

> Alexandrian theology follows Philo in wishing to deploy both languages [i.e. of similarity and dissimilarity] at once, but is haunted by the difficulties for both languages of a Logos who can subsist as a human individual, and who is to be seen as relating personally, as 'Son', to the source of all things. In this sense at least, Philo may help us to understand Arius, for whom the logical stresses of the Alexandria Christian tradition finally proved intolerable: without wholly discarding the vocabulary and framework of metaphor going back to Philo, Arius attempts to cut the Gordian knot produced by those of his forebears [e.g. Clement and Origen] who have taken Philo for granted.

This may not quite amount to declaring Philo the 'Father of Arianism', but it certainly portrays him as a highly significant ancestor.

Finally we should mention an important handicap that must be taken into account when the relation of Arius to the Philonic heritage is considered. As Williams reminds us, he was by profession an interpreter of scripture, and exegetical concerns will certainly have played a prominent role in the construction of his thought.[51] But these concerns are now almost wholly hidden from us. This has meant that all the studies we have discussed have had to concentrate on the study of either terminology or theological doctrine

[49] Williams (1987) 122-123.
[50] ***Ibid.*** 124.
[51] ***Ibid. 107.*** Especially Prov. 8:22, cited by Philo at ***Ebr. 3*** 1, appears to have played a crucial role; cf. Lorenz (1980) 67ff., Williams (1987) 107, who refers to Simonetti (1965) 32ff.

or both. This handicap will not have been a problem for contemporaries, but they may well have been less scrupulous in their use of evidence. A further question may thus posed: was Philo regarded by patristic authors as the (or a) father of Arianism? We shall see that in the second half of the 4th century a connection was made between Philo and Arianism, not with the father of the heresy himself, but with one of his later followers.52 The Syriac author Barḥadbšabba 'Arbaya in his rather fanciful account of the history of the Alexandrian school strongly implies that there is a connection between Philo's directorship and the rise into prominence of the heretic Arius.[53]

## 3. *Athanasius*

What then about that implacable opponent of Arius and Arianism, Athanasius (born 295), Bishop of Alexandria from 328 to till his death in 373? Contrary to Arius, Athanasius did produce a substantial corpus of writings, many of which are still extant.[54] Most of these arc controversial or topical in nature, intimately connected with his ecclesiastical and doctrinal struggles. As Von Campenhausen observes?[55]

> ... with him a new era begins in theology. Athanasius was the first Greek Father of the Church who was not at home in the academic atmosphere of Christian philosophy. He was a 'Churchman' who was also well-versed in theological matters, but he was trained in the administration of the Alexandrian hierarchy. His spiritual home was the divine service and the administrative desk in the ecclesiastical office, not the school platform.

Although his dogmatic discussions often centre on the exegesis of crucial texts, he wrote almost no scriptural commentaries. Athanasius is almost totally uninterested in secular or non-Christian learning. In none of his works is Philo ever mentioned by name.56

But Athanasius grew up and received his theological training in Alexandria. What applies to Arius also applies to him, namely that he must be read against the background of Alexandrian theology. The extent to which the Philonic heritage may have played a role here is almost totally *terra incognita*. It will require a thorough examination of his writings in order to determine whether he may have had a direct acquaintance with the Philonic corpus, or whether certain ideas filtered through at second or third hand. To my knowledge there are no studies which directly examine any aspect of

52 See further below § 12.3 (a).
53 See above §1.1(13), and below § 12.5 (where a translation is cited).
54 PG 25-28; see the listing at CPG 2.12–60 (more than half are of dubious attribution).
55 Von Campenhausen (1963) 69.
56 Cf. the list of cited authors in Müller (1944–52), from which it emerges that the Bishop cited non-Christian authors very rarely indeed (e.g. Plato 3 times, Epicureans once, Stoics 3 times).



the relation between Philo and Athanasius. There is, however, one brief but promising observation on Athanasius' exploitation of Philonic ideas that should be mentioned. In her last major article on Patristic philosophy, a remarkable survey that begins with Phi10 and goes right through to John of Damascus and John Scotus Eriugena, De Vogel appeals to Athanasius, the great champion of Christian orthodoxy, as a vital witness in her argument against Dörrie's sharp division between Platonism and Christianity.57 If it can be shown in the case of Athanasius that Platonic metaphysics was essential to his understanding for the Christian faith, then this must surely pertain to Patristic thought as a whole. For this reason Athanasius is invoked in her short discussion of the Philonic contribution. 'It is particularly interesting,' she claims, 'to see how in Athanasius' *Discourses against the Arians* again and again images used by Philo are taken over and used to express the relation of the Father and the Son.'[58] One passage is particularly inter&sting and persuasive. Athanasius is giving a lengthy explanation of Prov. 8:22 (the same text that was so important for Arius[59]). When Sophia (equated with the Logos) says that 'the Lord created me for his works', this does not mean that her *substance* has been created. No, she is speaking of the mark or impress (τύπος) that is embossed in created reality. Athanasius explains by means of an image:[60]

> And it is like when the son of a king, if his father wishes to build a city, engraves his own name on each of the works that are produced, with a view to the security and permanence of the works on account of the appearance of his name on each of them, and so that by means of his name they can remember both him and his father. If on completion of the task he should be asked how it was made, he would say, 'it has been made securely, for in accordance with the father's will I am imaged in each work, for my name has been created in the works. In saying this he does not signify that his own substance has been created, but rather his impress by means of the name...

Athanasius, De Vogel argues, is modifying Philo's famous image of the king and the architect at the beginning of the De *opificio mundi*. The architect has become the Son, and the image that he leaves of himself in the

57 De Vogel (1985), on which see above §3.1 at n. 50. She is arguing against Dörrie (1972).
58 *Ibid.* 12.
59 Seeaboven.51.
60 C. *Ar.* 2.79, PG 26.316A, discussed by De Vogel (1985) 12-13 (partly her translation; note that the crucial verb κτίζω is rendered by 'create', but this is also the technical term for 'founding' a city).Thetextreads: καὶ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις βασιλέως υἱὸς, θέλοντος πατρὸς οἰκοδομῆσαι πόλιν, καὶ ποιῶν ἐνἑκάστῳ τῶν γινομένων ἔργων ἐγγραφῆναι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα, ἀσφαλείας τε χάριν τοῦ διαμένειν τὰ ἔργα διὰ τὴν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ φαντασίαν, καὶ ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ δύνωνται· τελειώσας δὲ εἰ ἐρωτηθείη περὶ τῆς πόλεως, πῶς γέγονεν, εἴποι ἄν· ἀσφαλῶς γέγονε· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ βούλημα τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἔργῳ ἐξεικονίσθην . τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνεκτίσθη. τοῦτο δὲ λέγων, o-l, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν κτισθεῖσαν σημαίνει, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τύπον διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος...

created cosmos is conveyed through his name. Just like Philo, Athanasius adds to the imagery of likeness (man created 'according to the image') the imagery of 'impression'.[61] Elsewhere, we may note, the images of king and city and architect and city return. In one text the Logos is king and ruler, in another God is compared to an architect.[62] It must be admitted that this image is common, and it would be hard to prove beyond all doubt on the basis of the above texts that Athanasius is indebted to the specific Philonic passage.63 But we have already seen that in the 3rd century the image drew attention, and it is not unlikely that it led a privileged life.64 If De Vogel's *rapprochement* is accepted, then it is intriguing to observe the Church father's modifications. Of course the relation of Father and Son is added to the image. Moreover Athanasius emphasizes the Father's will (θέλοντος πατρὸς), whereas Philo's image is somewhat ambiguous on this aspect.65 Most importantly the imagery of 'impression' is used by Phi10 for the mental activity of the Logos-architect, whereas in Athanasius it is used for the immanent 'signature' of the Logos on created things.

In his treatise De ***incarnatione verbi*** Athanasius directs some sharp polemic against the Jews, who in their unbelief refuse to accept Jesus Christ as the Messiah and God's Son, the Logos (§33–40).[66] The arguments, based mostly on Old Testament testimonia, are for the most part entirely conventional. Of interest, however, is the unusually heavy stress placed on the Logos' incarnation. This might well be directed at what, from the Christian point of view, is the crucial weakness in Philo's Logos doctrine.67 In spite of his Alexandrian background, it is hard to imagine Athanasius belonging to those Church Fathers who saw Philo as a Christian *avant la lettre.*

61 De Vogel (1985) 13; cf. ***Opif.*** 16-20. The shift in imagery is also found in Middle Platonist authors. Note that the monograph specially devoted to the conception of 'image of God' by Bernard (1952) almost wholly ignores the Philonic background of the theme.

62 C. *Gentes* 43, 47; cf. Meijering (1984) 141, 152.

63 For the image as *topos* see Runia (1986) 168.

64 Cf. above §1.3 on Rabbi Hoshai'a. The reference that Siegfried (1875) 358 finds at Origen *Comm. Joh.* 1.22 is rather general (it does not mention the king at all). See also the following section on Didymus, § 10.4(c) v.

65 I.e. the king does not will the founding of the city in *Opif.* 17, but in the explanation at $19 God does 'decide' to found it; cf. my discussion at (1986) 167, with further observations in (1989b).

66 On Athanasius' attitudes to Jews and Judaism see Schreckenberg (1982) 283ff.

67 E.g. $38.35 (text Thomson (1971)): πότε οὖν γέγονε ταῦτα, εἰμὴ ὅτε αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος ἐν σώματι παραγέγονε; $40.34 ὅτι ὁ προφητευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν γραφῶν κύριος ἐπέλαμψε τῇ οἰκουμένῃ καὶ ἐπεφάνη σωματικῶς αὐτῇ.



## 4. *Didymus the Blind*

A slightly younger contemporary of Athanasius was the Alexandrian exegete and theologian Didymus the Blind (313-398). It was Athanasius who appointed him to be head of the Catechetical School, in spite of his handicap, which he incurred while still a young child, but which did not prevent him from developing a prodigious knowledge of the Scriptures and of the learning required to expound them. Out of deep respect Jerome, who briefly attended his lectures, called him 'the one who sees', i.e. possessing spiritual insight in spite of his physical blindness, while for Euagrius Ponticus he was the great teacher full of spiritual knowledge (ὁ μέγας καὶ γνωστικὸς διδάσκαλος), a description that uses the same epithet that Clement had claimed for his ideal Christian two centuries earlier. Didymus stands squarely in the Alexandrian tradition, and is in fact its last great teacher.68

According to Jerome, Origen was for Didymus 'the master next to the apostles of the churches in importance' *(post apostolos Ecclesiarum magistrum).*[69] Not only was Origen the source of inspiration for his exegetical activity, but he also took over certain speculative doctrines such as the preexistence of the soul and the final *apocatastasis.* This loyalty to the Alexandrian tradition was to prove fatal when Origenism later came into disrepute. Didymus' works were anathematized in the 6th century and disappeared from the manuscript tradition, with the exception of numerous fragments preserved in the Catenae.[70] But the spectacular find at Tura near Cairo in 1941 of five codices, amounting to some 1800 pages of Greek text, which loyal Origenists had hidden away, has altered the situation completely. We are now in an incomparably better position to view Didymus as an exegete, scholar, theologian and controversialist. But it is his exegetical activity that has been illuminated most. All five works focus on the interpretation of the Old Testament. Three are commentaries on the books Genesis, Psalms, Zachariah. The other two, on the Psalms and Ecclesiastes, are stenographed records of oral teaching, giving a priceless glimpse of Alexandrian teaching methods. The arduous task of publishing the material-many of the pages are damaged, some so badly that the text cannot be reconstructed-was undertaken by a team of German and French

68 On Didymus' life, career cf. Bienert (1972) 5-8, Kramer (1981), both with references. From his writings it appears that the notion of spiritual light and sight was crucial for Didymus himself, cf. Henrichs (1968b) 45, 73 (where texts are given in which Didymus follows Philo and the Alexandrian exegetical tradition in connecting the name Israel with 'seeing God' and θεωρία), Lamirande (1989) 137 n. 2.

69 Jerome, ***De nom. hebr. praef.***, CCL 72.59.26, cited by Bienert (1972) 6.

70 Controversy has raged on whether the extensive work ***De rrinirure*** attributed to him is authentic or not; cf. CPG 2.111.

scholars, and is now, nearly half a century after the find, nearing completion.[71] The time is thus ripe for more detailed treatments of the many subjects that the new writings furnish. As more than one scholar has remarked, much scholarly research remains to be done.[72]

The subject of Didymus' knowledge and use of **Philo** is an interesting example of how our picture of the theologian has had to be completely revised in the light of the Tura find. In the standard monograph on Didymus published by Leipoldt in 1905 not a single mention is made of his knowledge of **Philo**. In the chapter on Didymus' ***Bildung*** Leipoldt moves seamlessly from his knowledge of the 'heidnische Philosophie' to that of Christian **literature**.[73] Even when discussing Didymus' debt to Origen and his use of Hebrew etymologies we do not meet with the name of **Philo**.[74]

Such neglect can no longer be justified after the discovery of the papyri, for in the texts edited so far Didymus refers to **Philo** at least 7 times by name, and also at least once in a periphrasis that clearly refers to him.[75] Nevertheless at the present moment the subject of Didymus' knowledge of **Philo** is largely unexplored terrain. It cannot be our task to fill this lacuna now. Our procedure will be to look briefly at the above-mentioned passages, taking the papyri in chronological order of publication. At the end of the discussion we shall also note a number of synoptic studies on **Didymus'** method of exegesis and its debt to **Philo**.

(a) The Commentary on ***Zachariah***. In his splendid edition of this work (the first to be prepared on the Didymus papyri) Doutreleau notes the anonymous reference to **Philo** behind the description 'one of the sages engaged in Mosaic learning' (τις τῶν σοφῶν περὶ τὴν μωσαϊκὴν παίδευσιν), where **Philo's** exegesis of Gen. 12:1 at *Migr. 2* is partly taken over and partly modified.[76] He could not yet know that Didymus refers to the same exegesis in his Genesis commentary.[77] Discussing Didymus' appropriation of etymological and arithmological lore Doutreleau remarks that 'la «dyade indéfinie», la «vierge hebdomade», la &trade>> qui **porte** en puissance la «décade», image de la «monade», representent les notions d'un univers **spécifiquement** pythagoricien, que le christianisme jusqu'alors

[71] On Didymus' writings see the inventory of the papyrus find at Koenen-Doutreleau (1967), and further CPG 2.104-l 10 (1974), Berkowitz-Squitier (1986) 107-109.
[72] Cf. the comments of Kramer (1981) 745, Lamirande (1989) 137.
[73] Leipoldt (1905) 48-52,
[74] Cf. *ibid. 46,* 52ff. Another monograph, Bardy (1910), only mentions **Philo** twice very briefly; cf. 220, 228.
[75] See the complete list references in the Appendix.
[76] *Comm. in Zach.* 320.9-10, and the comments of Doutreleau (1962) *ad loc.* (with a further comment in his introduction on p. 108).
[77] Doutreleau (1962) 108, 887; cf. Nautin (1976-78) 2.141, who explains an obscure **cross**-reference by suggesting that the exegesis was given on a missing page, but does not note the parallel in the other work.



avait peu explore'.[78] This seems to me highly questionable, and certainly ignores the extensive exegetical use that **Philo** makes of such notions.

(b) The *Commentary on* ***Ecclestiastes***. The first text in this Commentary in which **Philo** is mentioned is of more than usual interest.[79] Didymus, commenting on Eccl. 9:9a ('regard the life you lead with the wife whom you love'), cites a parallel text at Prov. 5:18 ('rejoice with the wife of your youth'), which he proceeds to give both a literal and an allegorical interpretation. Literally the lines support monogamy, but this explanation is unsatisfactory, because a man will clearly gain more offspring if he has more than one wife. Didymus continues 'I will give you a better explanation of the words 'of your youth'. I do not say something new that cannot be found in some written treatise of other, nor do I say something that has not been observed by marry others. The 'wife of your youth' is the true wisdom (ἡ ἀληθίνη σοφία) or the true ethical virtue (ἡ ἀληθίνη ἠθικὴ ἀρετή).' After a long mutilated passage in which it is claimed that true wisdom and true virtue naturally precede their spurious counterparts, he continues by appealing to the sequel of the Proverbs text (5:20): 'But it is also necessary that we stay for a short time with 'another's wife', that is with the foreign wisdom (πρὸς τὴν ἔξωθεν σοφίαν).' He then cites **Philo**: 'In a similar way **Philo** showed that **Hagar**[80] produces offspring before perfect virtue does. For if one does not beget children by these (women) of inferior status, one cannot become father of undefiled achievements and of the teachings of wisdom'. Finally the exegete turns to Paul and says: 'The same relationship is called letter and spirit by the Apostle. It is indeed impossible to understand the anagogic interpretation without first articulating the historical (i.e. literal).'

In a discussion to which the above summary is heavily indebted, **Henrichs** makes clear how the entire passage stands within the Alexandrian exegetical tradition (as Didymus himself explicitly **indicates**).[81] The connection that he makes between Prov. 5: 18-20 and Gen. 16 is exactly the same as that made by Clement two centuries earlier.[82] Didymus is aware of the fact that Paul allegorized the passage in a different **way**.[83] He attempts to reconcile them, but **appears**—in this passage at least-to show a preference for the 'Philonic' reading in which Sarah symbolizes wisdom

[78] Doutreleau (1962) 114.
[79] *Comm. in Eccl. 275-276;* translations based on Henrichs (1968a) 448-449, with some modifications.
[80] There is a difficulty filling in the mutilated text of the papyrus. Henrich's suggestion, (1968a) 449, τ[αμ]ίαν is considered 'paleographisch ausgeschlossen' by the later editor Gronewald (1979) 16, who suggests 'vielleicht ἀγαν, also Ἀγά⟨ρ⟩?'.
[81] Henrichs (1968a), esp. 446450.
[82] See further Van den Hoek (1988) 25ff. on *Str.* 1.28–29, and our discussion above at §8.3 (a) i.
[83] As we briefly discuss above at §4.6(b).

(rather than freedom).[84] Two other observations are made by Henrichs. A text in the *Catenae* attributed to Didymus gives the same exegesis, also connecting Prov. 5: 18-20 and Gen. 16.[85] The correctness of the attribution is thus now proven. Moreover a much longer passage in the *Commentary on Genesis* discusses the same themes. As we shall see below, Philo is again explicitly referred to.

In a further passage in the same Commentary Philo is briefly named again. Unfortunately the papyrus is very damaged at this point. Commenting on the text Eccl. 10:7–8, with its mention of a 'royal priesthood', Didymus cites the words 'if the philosophers were kings and the kings philosophers'. The doctrine obviously derives from Plato's *Rep.* 473d. But the words are preceded in the papyrus by the text τῷ Μωσέως βίῳ, to which the editors have rightly prefixed the supplement Φίλων ἐν].[86] Didymus relies on his memory, so the wording of the quote deviates from Philo's actual phrasing at *Mos.* 2.2 (which stands closer to the Platonic original). But the effect is clear: Philo is cited as a vehicle for a patently Platonic doctrine. It is a great pity that the context of the remark cannot be studied. A further text that might indirectly refer to Philo is a comment on the flowering of the almond tree in Eccl. 12:5: 'Those who have pronounced on the nature of plants say this about the almond tree: in the spring it shoots forth leaves earlier than all other plants, and it sheds them after all other trees have lost theirs. It is therefore something steadfast. For this reason the priestly rod is also called 'made of nutwood'.' The exegesis here makes clear use of Philo's exposition of Num. 17:23 at *Mos.* 2.186.[87] The opening words are perhaps best seen as an expansion of Philo's 'it is said' (λέγεται) rather than a reference to Philo himself. Unfortunately the following words polemicizing against a 'Jewish tradition' cannot be reconstructed.

(c) The *Commentary on Genesis.* As 'we might expect, this is the work where the most use of Philo is made. 251 pages of this work survive, covering the text from Gen. 1: 1 to 17:3, almost exactly the section treated in Philo's Allegorical Commentary.[88] Unfortunately parts of the text, including the first section expounding the first six verses, are in a severely damaged condition. The extremely arduous task of editing and reconstructing this text was undertaken by the distinguished French scholar

[84] This is my conclusion, not Henrichs'.

[85] Henrichs (1968a) 446, referring to *Sacra Parallela* PG 96.344A–B. It is not indicated where the passage may have come from. A commentary on Proverbs may be suspected. Here the Philonic and the Pauline allegorizations are even more clearly coalesced.

[86] Binder-Liesenborghs (1969) 100 at ***Comm.*** Eccl. 300.15-16.

[87] As noted by the editors, Binder-Liesenborghs (1969) ad 356.10–14, and earlier Liesenborghs (1965) 175.

[88] Pp. 77-80 and 197-208 have not been traced. Either they were originally missing, or, more probably, have disappeared since the find. According to Nautin (1976-78) 20 the commentary probably ended at Gen. 17.



Pierre Nautin. Its result is contained in two volumes of the Sources Chrétiennes series.[89] Nautin does not undertake a full study of the contents of the commentary and its exegetical background, arguing that this task can only be done with reference to Didymus' entire *œuvre.* He notes that it is clear that before Didymus started on the commentary, he first made a study of existing commentaries. The chief source for the Commentary is Origen.[90] But Didymus does not explicitly name him, resorting to anonymous references when he wishes to indicate his source. The reason for this is the anti-Origenist movement that was gaining momentum during Didymus' lifetime. Another clear source is Philo, who is mentioned explicitly six times in four separate passages. Some of the Philonic material will have been derived via Origen. But it is clear that Didymus also had a direct acquaintance with Philo's writings.91

The passages in which Didymus refers to Philo are the following?2

(i) 118.24–29, 119.3-s: "And she [Eve] added to give birth to the brother of Cain, Abel (Gen. 4:2)'. Philo wishes them to be twins from the same conception. That is why, he says, to the words 'she gave birth to Cain' are attached the words 'she added to give birth to his brother Abel'. Whether he is right or not is for the reader to examine and judge. It is possible that they were born separately at different times.. . The allegorization that Philo develops on this passage will be known to the lover of learning (φιλόκαλος), but nevertheless we must expound it as best we can. The soul, when it tumbles into oversight and failure, gives birth to a wicked progeny.. .' The precise Philonic passage on Cain and Abel as twins cannot be located, but it is consistent with statements in Philo elsewhere.[93] Didymus' text has been excerpted in the Catenae under Philo's name.[94]

(ii) 139.10–15: 'If one wishes to give the passage (Gen. 4:18) an anagogic interpretation, one should take one's start from the interpretation of the names, making sure to do this without pedantry (ψυχρολογεῖν). Philo has given an explanation of these matters, which the lover of learning (φιλόκαλος) will consult with due profit.' The reference here is to *Post.* 66-75, where the names in the text are etymologized and explained (cf. Nautin *ad loc.*).

(iii) 147.15-18: 'This is the explanation given of the passage (Gen. 5:3–5) for the moment. But if someone should be interested in the number of the years and in the interpretation of the names of the people born, Philo could give a mystical explanation devoid of pedantry (ψυχρολογεῖν again). Consult him, therefore, for it will be useful.' Again no specific passage in the extant Philo can be adduced in order to explain this cross-reference: Philo does explain the etymology of Adam and Seth, but not Adam's 700 and 930 years. The reference may be to a missing part of the Allegorical Commentary between *Post.* and Gig. which we know nothing about. Another possibility is that Didymus is thinking particularly of

[89] Nautin (1976-78).

[90] ***Ibid.*** 1.22–24.

[91] ***Ibid.*** 1 .26-27. Nautin says rather inaccurately that 'he names him [Philo] three times'.

[92] My translations, with assistance from Nautin's French version.

[93] Cf. QG 1.78 and the comparison with Esau and Jacob at *Sacr.* 4, 17. These passages are pointed out by Royse (1989) 223-225, who corrects Nautin's comment ***ad*** *loc.*

[94] Cf. Royse (1991) 22-23, arguing that Didymus may be citing a lost Philonic **work.**

Philo's explanation of the 120 years in Gen. 6:3 (this text is cited at 146.21). The reference may, however, simply be rather vaguely meant, allowing Didymus to pass over the details.

(iv) 235.25-236.11 (exeg. Gen. 16:1–2): 'Also the letter therefore is useful as we have considered it. The anagogical explanation can be explained in the manner that the blessed Paul has figuratively (τύπῳ) referred the two women to the two covenants. Philo too has used this manner of explanation with reference to a different content, referring Sarah to perfect virtue and philosophy, because she is the free and noble-born wife sharing the house according to the laws. Virtue too dwells with the sage according to the laws, so that she gives birth to a divine progeny... [Didymus now cites Prov. 10:23, Ps. 127:3–4] . . . Sarah is thus interpreted as perfect and spiritual virtue, whereas Hagar the Egyptian servant-girl is said according to Philo to indicate 'the preliminary studies' (προγυμνάσματα), according to Paul 'shadow' (Gal. 4:24). For it is impossible to understand any of the spiritual or elevated doctrines apart from the shadow according to the letter or apart from the preliminary training of the introductory studies...' This passage is clearly parallel to the text in Comm. *Zach.* discussed above. Didymus regards the Philonic and Pauline interpretations as of equal validity and weight, coalescing them into a single interpretation. The entire exegesis of Gen. 16 in the Commentary (235-249) requires further detailed examination in order to see how Didymus appropriates and interprets the Philonic interpretation.[95]

Two further passages in which Philonic usage is clear should be mentioned:

(v) 2A7–B2 (exeg. Gen. 1:1). Unfortunately the text here is very badly damaged, but is it certain that in describing the role of the Logos in creation Didymus uses the image of the architect working for the king, derived from Philo's De *opificio mundi* 17-20, and also exploited, as we saw, by Athanasius (above §10.3).[96] Noteworthy in Nautin's reconstruction of the text is Didymus' insistence that the Logos as Wisdom is not (just) a faculty of God, but himself οὐσιώδης, a substance in his own right. As in the case of Athanasius, Nicene orthodoxy is here making its presence felt.

(vi) 240.4-5. In Didymus' exegesis of Gen. 16:5 the comment that the phoneme *exou* can be interpreted as ἐκ σου or ἐξ οὗ is derived from Philo QG 3.23. At first not realizing the Philonic source, Nautin claimed that this is an illustration of how Didymus' blindness influenced his way of working. Later he retracted this interpretation.[97]

The texts discussed are sufficient to indicate that Didymus is indebted to his reading especially in the following four areas: (i) etymologies;[98] (ii) arithmological symbolism; (iii) allegorical interpretations; (iv) general philosophical and theological themes. The relation between the third and

[95] Henrichs (1968a) was unable to do this because the text had not yet been published.

[96] It is possible that Didymus took the theme over from Origen, but Nautin's reference to *Comm. Joh.* 1.22 114 is, as we saw above n. 64, not so strong.

[97] Nautin (1976-78) 1.211, *retructatio* at *2.2 12.*

[98] Didymus may well have thought the *Interpretatio Hebraicorum nominum* was a Philonic work. See further §9.7 and §15. 1. In a study of his Hebrew learning Kramer-Kramer (1987) argue that he shows familiarity with etymologies which belonged to the Alexandrian tradition, but unlike Origen had no philological interests.



fourth category is the subject of a recent article which attempts to give a more synoptic view of some themes of Didymus' *Commentary on Genesis. In* an excellent survey Lamirande examines his views on the relation between male and female, including the themes of man's double creation, the superiority of man and inferiority of woman, the correlation of the male with reason and the female with sensation, the role of pleasure in man's fall, the right attitude to marriage and procreation, the role of asceticism.[99] The author is able to show that Philo's influence on Didymus is very strong, second only to that of Origen. Because of Didymus' evidence it can be decisively proven that the doctrines of Philo and Origen remained influential in Egypt.[100] The way that Didymus appropriates this stream of thought is given careful consideration. It is easy to accuse him of misogyny. Philo is probably the least ascetic of his sources, even if it can hardly be said that he is positive towards women. Didymus inherits this negative Alexandrian tradition, and in it adopts a relatively moderate position.[101]

Two scholars have offered more synoptic views of Didymus' allegorical method. Bienert' study presents valuable discussions of the terminology used-esp. ἀλληγορία and ἀναγωγή—, and shows awareness of the Philonic background.[102] But his study was produced too early to take the bulk of the exegetical material into account. This is done in two recent studies by Simonetti, the first to examine all five surviving commentaries on the relation between literal and allegorical exegesis.[103] There is a good deal of variation between the works, which cannot be explained chronologically, but is to some extent dependent on the contents of the biblical works commented on. Thus both Zachariah with its symbolism and Genesis with its patriarchal stories lend themselves to extensive allegorical interpretation. The use of Philo in the Genesis commentary indicates how strong Didymus' predilection for allegorical exegesis was, for in the case of the story of Sarah and Hagar not even the authority of Paul deters him from giving priority to Philo's interpretation.[104] At heart, Simonetti concludes, Didymus was an allegorist, with a strong preference for individualistic psychological interpretation. But he found it prudent and useful to make concessions to the method of literal exegesis, which was gaining in support during his lifetime.

[99] Lamirande (1989); we note in particular the many parallels between Didymus and *Opif.* that he discovers.

[100] *Ibid. 154.*

[101] Conclusion at *ibid. 164.* The much briefer and more superficial study of Calleja (1988) concentrates on Philo's exegesis of man created in the image of God and its continuation by Origen and Didymus, but does not compare the three exegetes with any thoroughness. We cited its conclusion above in §9.4, n. 88.

[102] Bienert (1972) 44, 52. Didymus' favourite term ἀναγωγή is not yet found in Philo.

[103] Simonetti (1983), (1984a).

[104] Simonetti (1983) 355.

In conclusion we make a final comment on the passages in which Didymus refers directly to Philo. It is striking how warmly he commends him. Philo is clearly a repository of knowledge that the exegete can draw on freely. Naturally this should be done with tact. The repeated warning that one should avoid 'pedantry' no doubt is meant to encourage a selective and creative use of the material that Philo furnishes in such abundance, e.g. in his ***Quaestiones.*** Didymus nowhere explicitly dwells on Philo's Jewishness. Perhaps it is implied in the description of Philo as an expert on Mosaic teaching, while the direct comparison with the Apostle Paul no doubt indicates his awareness that Philo came from a differing tradition.105 But this is reading between the lines. In Didymus we see most clearly how completely and unreservedly Philo had been absorbed into the Alexandrian Christian tradition.

## *5. Isidore of Pelusium*

One of the more unusual figures among the Church fathers is Isidore of Pelusium (c. 365-c. 435).[106] Having gained, probably at Alexandria, an education in rhetoric and philosophy,[107] he first practised as a sophist, but later became priest of the church of Pelusium to the East of the Egyptian Delta. Appalled at the immorality and corruption of the local clergy, he decided to retire to the desert. There for many years he lived the ascetic life of a desert monk, probably as a member of a monastic community. Through his letter-writing activities, however, he maintained contact with a vast array of correspondents, ranging from humble folk in the neighbourhood and local civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries to eminent figures such as the Emperor Theodosius and the Alexandrian Patriarch Cyril. The result is a remarkable collection of 2000 letters, which shed vivid light on the intellectual life of the period.

The letters are primarily concerned with exegetical themes. Only to a lesser degree are theological and speculative topics dwelt upon. Isidore gives evidence of great familiarity not only with the scriptures, but also with antecedent Patristic exegesis, including both the Alexandrian tradition and the school of Antiochean exegesis.[108] There is, however, no evidence that he came into direct contact with Didymus the blind. According to some

105 *See Comm. in Zach.* 320.6–9 and the exegeses of Gen. 16 discussed above.

106 For a survey of his life and thought see Ritter (1971), Evieux (1975), and further details in the introductory section of my article on Philo and Isidore, (1991a).

107 It has often been speculated that he was the fourth member of the student coterie of Synesius of Cyrene, to whom he writes some letters; cf. Lacombrade (1951) 54f. But it requires some imagination to see him as a student of the famous Neoplatonist philosopher and teacher Hypatia.

108 Ritter (1971) 2099.



sources he was a pupil of John Chrysostom, but this must be taken in a spiritual sense. Isidore was a great admirer of the bishop, and some of his letters are little more than extracts from the latter's works. Most regrettably no critical edition of the letters exists. The text printed in Migne is a composite produced by no less than five 17th century editors. This lack of a proper edition is no doubt the chief reason why Isidore's writings have been so little exploited for the light they shed on intellectual and ecclesiastical life in the early 5th century.109

In their collection of testimonia Cohn and Wendland note that Philo is mentioned in four of Isidore's letters.[110] These four passages are briefly and not very illuminatingly discussed by Bayer in his 1915 monograph on Isidore's classical education.[111] Much more valuable is the contribution of the distinguished German scholar L. Früchtel. In preparing his revised edition of Clement of Alexandria, Früchtel worked his way through the entire Isidoran corpus looking for traces of usage of Clement and other authors. In two brief articles he not only makes penetrating comments on our 4 letters, but also notes passages in 14 other letters in which Isidore makes anonymous use of Philonic material.[112] Because this contribution appeared later than C-W's great edition, it has to my knowledge gone completely unnoticed.[113] Because of the intrinsic interest of Isidore's evidence for the subject of the reception of Philo in the Church Fathers, I have recently published a text, translation and commentary on the four letters in which Isidore names Philo, and also a fifth letter in which his use of Philo has been ignored by modern scholars.[114]

In the present context I can only briefly indicate the context and contents of Isidore's references to Philo in these five documents. Many interesting details will have to be passed over. Readers who wish to have a fuller account are referred to the more extended treatment in the article just cited.

109 On the sorry state of the text see the important articles of Evieux (1975), (1976), and my briefer remarks at (1991a) 296f. Unfortunately it appears that Evieux's promised edition will not be published in the foreseeable future.

110 C-W 1.cvii–cviii.

111 Bayer (1915) 80-82; only the identification of the allusion to Mos. 2.99 in *Ep.* 2.143 is valuable.

112 Friichtel (1938). Because the article (in two parts) is rather inaccessible I note the identifications it contains: *Ep.* 2.215 to *Spec.* 3.76; 3.104 to Somn. 2.147, *QG* 2.60; 3.160 to Mos. 1.31; 3.243 to QG 1.28; 3.288 (and 3.179) to QG 4.99; 3.356 to *Ios.* 5; 3.362 to *QE* 2.110; 4.87 to *Mos.* 1.141; 4.155 to *Mut.* 3; 5.169 to *Mos.* 2.27; 5.302 to *Anim.* 100. The prevalence of Mos. and the *Quaestiones* is notable. A number of these texts, e.g. the last one, are also found as brief bon *mots* in the chains. One wonders whether Isidore took them from an anthology. For the sake of completeness we note two other allusions recorded by C-W in their edition: 3.115 to *Ios.* 175, 3.289 to *Virt.* 59.

113 E g the interesting fact that Isidore refers to a passage from *Anim.* of which there is also a fragment in the *Sacra Parallela* is not noted by Terian (198 1) 263.

114 Runia (1991a) 299-317; also additional comments at Runia (1992b) 181-185.

(a) 2.143. The theme of the letter is the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, which steers a middle course between Hellenic polytheism and Jewish monotheism. Isidore argues at length that Philo was unable to avoid the appeal made to him by the Truth. His words are so interesting that they should be quoted in full:[115]

> For the teaching of the truth has embedded the concept of the holy Trinity so clearly and lucidly also in the Old Testament for those who wish to observe it that Philo, though a Jew and a zealous one at that, in the writings which he left behind comes into conflict with his own religion. When he examines the words spoken by God, 'in the image of God I made man (Gen. 9:6)', he is constrained and compelled by the truth also to recognize the divine Logos as God. What is the case? Even if he calls him who is coeternal with the Father 'second' and 'higher than number and time', failing therein to reach precision, nevertheless he did gain a conception of another person. And not only did this happen to him in this instance, but also when he attempted to interpret the expression 'God and Lord' he gained a conception of the most royal Trinity. He that asserts that God is one, does not run up against the numerical unit of the monad, but rather against the mystery of the Trinity, which is more unified than wholly discrete entities but richer than what is truly monadic. Indeed this teaching of the truth took hold of his soul with such force that he was compelled both to declare it quite explicitly and leave it behind in his writings. He declared that there were two powers of Him that is, of which the one, he says, is the creative and beneficent power and is called God (θεός), the other is the royal and punitive power and is called Lord (κύριος). In so doing he moves not very far from the one [Paul] who said 'Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:24)'... In another text Philo, giving an account of the vision that Moses saw, describes him as 'seeing a most startling sight'. Then a few lines later he continues: 'In the middle of the flame was an exceedingly beautiful form, unlike any visible object, a most God-like image, emanating a light more brilliant than that of the fire. One might conjecture it to be an image of He who is.' But if a person wishes to gain more precise knowledge about the image, let him hear Paul's description of Christ, 'who is image of the unseen God (Col. 1:15)'. Thus Philo too comes close to orthodox speaking about God. You should certainly not seek to obtain precision from him who through the sheer purity of his understanding was actually able to gain sight of the truth and even came into conflict with his own religion. But this you should understand, that he did not confine his speaking about God to a single person, as is the doctrinal position of the uneducated teachers of the Jews who are held fast in their preconceived opinion. And it was not only on the basis of these quite startling texts that he developed such an, in my view, advanced position, but also from the text 'let us make man according to our image and likeness (Gen. 1:26)', and from the text 'the Lord rained from the Lord (Gen. 19:24)', and from the text 'the Lord called in the name of the Lord (Ex. 33:19?)', and from the text 'the Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right side (Ps. 109:1)', and from the text 'in you is God and you are God (Ps. 24:5?)'.

The heretics, Isidore continues err either to the side of Judaism (Sabellius)

[115] The text at one place is problematic, but can be restored from the quotation in the *Souda*, s.v. θεός, as already noted by C-W 1 .cvii n.



or to the side of Hellenism (Arius, Eunomius). If it should be objected that it was unfair that the doctrine of the Trinity was not revealed in full clarity from the beginning, the answer should be 'that both as demonstration and as teaching it was pellucidly clear to men of intelligence and understanding, as it indeed was to the wise Philo.' It is evident that Isidore bases his judgment on a personal, if not very exact, reading of Philo's writings. Of the biblical texts mentioned Philo does interpret Gen. 1:26 and 9:6 in terms of the Logos. The other texts, however, are not interpreted theologically by Philo, and are probably drawn from the Christian apologetic tradition. He cites one passage *verbatim*, ***Mos.*** 1.65–66. This work was clearly a favourite among Christian readers: in this chapter Isidore is the third author to quote from it. Finally we should note that the Letter's main thesis that the truth of orthodox Christian doctrine lies precisely in between the falsehoods of Judaism and Hellenism is indebted to the great Cappadocians Basil and Gregory of Nyssa.[116] In the section right at the end of Basil's ***Homilies on the Hexaemeron,*** where he discusses the text Gen. 1:26, he attacks 'the Jew' who refuses to recognize the second person of the Trinity in this text.[117] Although it is clear that Basil does not have a particular Jew in mind (and certainly not Philo), Isidore-so it would appear-supposes that Philo is the target of Basil's polemic, and implicitly defends him in this letter.' [118]

(b) 2.270. This is the least interesting of the five letters. In giving exegesis of Is. 6:10 cited at Matt. 13: 15, Isidore invokes Philo as one of those reputed to be sages (σοφοί) who use μήποτε in the sense of ἴσως or ἔσθ' ὅτε. This statement is factually correct. Isidore must have observed the usage in his reading of Philo's treatises. Other witnesses invoked are John, Paul, and Ben Sirach.

(c) 3.19. Isidore responds to a correspondent who reports the argument of a Jewish opponent that the lawgiver Moses only writes at a literal level. This man should be reminded that 'the ignorance of you Jews is refuted by two of your own writers who lived after the coming of Christ, Philo the master of speculative thought (ὁ θεωρητικώτατος) and Josephus the great historian'.[119] Indeed, Isidore goes on to say, Philo turns almost the entire Old Testament into allegory.

(d) 3.81. The theme here is more philosophical. Isidore reminds an opponent whom he severely upbraids that there are not only vile passions-as his correspondent proves beyond doubt-, but also good and beneficent

[116] See the further discussion below in §12.3 (a).

[117] *Hex.* 9.5, 514.1 Giet.

[118] I defend this interpretation, which has a textual basis, in Runia (1992b) 18 l-l 85.

[119] On Isidore's high valuation of Josephus see Schreckenberg-Schubert (1992) 79-N'. The passage from *Ep.* 4.225 on the *Testimonium Flavianum* that is quoted shows strong similarities with *Ep. 2.143.* Josephus was a zealous Jew, but his love of the Truth constrained him to recount the death of Jesus; cf. also *Ep. 4.75* also quoted *ibid.*

ones. As evidence he quotes first from Demosthenes and Josephus. He then continues:

> And then there is Philo, a man reputed, on account of the sublimity of his language, to be either the disciple or teacher of Plato, for it has been said concerning them that 'either Plato philonized or Philo platonized'. Singing the praises of Moses as one who hated evil, he said, 'roused to passion and filled with righteous anger, he slandered some Egyptians, I mean the taskmasters of Pharaoh'.

We note here a reference to the well-known proverb that we first find in Jerome's *De viris illustribus*.[120] The quotation from Philo that Isidore gives puzzled Cohn-Wendland, who in a note state that 'the citation given by Isidore is not extant in Philo, but on the subject compare *Mos*. 1.40–44'.[121] This is literally correct. But a careful examination of the quote shows that it is in fact a 'collage' based on a number of texts from that dialogue, i.e. 1.37, 44, 47, 302, 2.279, 27 1.[122] It is likely that Isidore was relying on his memory, which unfortunately did not serve him too well in this letter. The quote given from Josephus could also not be identified, until Früchtel brilliantly observed that the quotation came not from Josephus at all, but rather from Philo's *De Iosepho* 82![123]

*(e) 4.176.* In pontificating on the purpose of the Pentateuch, Isidore plainly draws on Philo, although his name is not mentioned:

> The hierophant Moses did not write history simply so that it could offer entertainment, but, as it was his intention to draw up a legal code, he placed at its head the creator and judge of the universe and the creation of the cosmos, so that mankind might not bestow veneration on the parts of the cosmos. Then, when he had added the rewards gained by the pious and the punishments suffered by the sinners, he on this basis embarked on his legislative task, so that, taking the past events as confirmation of what would also happen in the future, he might exhort his subjects to piety and justice.

The Philonic background was recognized by the 16th century editor Rittershusius, but he was wrong in thinking that *Opif.* was Isidore's main source. This was clearly Mos. 2.45-53, although also *Opif.* 1-12, *Abr. l-2, Pruem. l-3* may also have contributed. In describing God as 'creator and judge' and emphasizing 'future events' (τὰ μέλλοντα), Isidore adds a Christian eschatological emphasis missing in Philo. Here, and also in other unnamed allusions,[124] Isidore appears to prefer the literal exegesis found in Philo (even though he commends his allegorizations in 3.19). In this respect we might just mention one more letter, *Ep.* 2.274, which discusses at great length the theme of the polygamy of the patriarchs. Not only does Isidore

[120] ***See*** our further discussions above in §1.1(8),§ 15.1 (Jerome), § 15.2 (Augustine).
[121] C-W l.cviii.
[122] I independently reached the same conclusion as Friichtel (1938) 765.
[123] *Ibid. 766.*
[124] Cf. the list in n. 1 12 above.



*not* refer to the Philonic allegory favoured by Clement, Origen and Didymus, but he even plays down the Pauline interpretation, which he refers to as a 'mystical interpretation' (θεωρία), but does not expound in detail. It would appear that the Alexandrian tradition of allegorical interpretation is running out of momentum.

The explicit references that Isidore gives to Philo in the four documents discussed above are particularly informative. In two (2.270, 3.81) he is presented as a sage and general authority on literary style and philosophical knowledge. In the former he is implicitly contrasted with the scriptural writer Paul, in the latter he is placed beside Demosthenes and Josephus. No reference is made to his Jewishness or non-Christian status. In the other two letters the situation is quite different. In 3.81 Philo is cited precisely because he is a Jew, in order to refute a contemporary Jew on the admissibility of allegorical interpretation. In 2.143, the most interesting of the four letters, Philo takes the centre stage as a Jew who does not espouse the crude monotheism of his compatriots. From these and other letters it is clear that Isidore is engaged in discussion-or rather polemics -with contemporary Jews in Egypt.[125] In Isidore Philo is not a Christian *avant la Zettre.* He is very much a Jew, and as such he is an effective weapon against Jews of Isidore's own time, who no longer felt any affinity with the Hellenistic Judaism that had flourished in the same Egypt centuries earlier.

## 6. *Continuations*

Although our survey ends at the beginning of the 5th century, a few indications can be given of how Philo continued to fare in his native city and its environs up to the time that it was captured by the forces of Islam. After Isidore references to Philo appear to diminish in the Alexandrian tradition. It is especially noteworthy that Isidore's contemporary Cyril, bishop of Alexandria from 412 to 444, in all his voluminous works apparently never mentions Philo.[126]

But that does not mean that Philo did not continue to be read. Long ago Cumont, in defending the authenticity of *De aeternitati mundi*, noted that extracts from the treatise were used by Zacharias, the later Bishop of My-

[125] On the evidence of the Letter collection on the relation between Christians and Jews in 5th century Egypt see Niemeyer (1825) 90–92 and the list of references at PG 78.1743–44. Some strong anti-Judaic statements on the part of Isidore are collected by Schreckenberg ( 1982) 365-367. For aspects of the worsening Christian-Jewish relations in Egypt and the Eastern Empire at this time see Simon (1986) 224-233. It will not have gone unnoticed in Pelusium that in 414 at the instigation of the Patriarch Cyril the Jews were expelled from Alexandria and their property confiscated (Socrates ***HE 7.13).***
[126] Based on the indices of PG 68-77.

tilene (c. 465-c. 550) in his work *Ammonius*.[127] Zacharias, whose hometown was Gaza, had come to Alexandria in the year 486 to study, and was attending the lectures of the philosopher Ammonius on the *Physics* of Aristotle. A debate ensued between teacher and auditor on the eternity of the world, which Zacharias recorded in this work. Later in the dialogue, when indicating how the cosmos was made in such a way that man could lay claim to immortality (but was not born immortal), familiar themes from Philo's exegesis of the creation of man, also earlier used by Gregorius of Nyssa, recur.[128]

A quite different use of Philo was made by Zacharias' brother,[129] Procopius of Gaza (c. 465-c. 529). Procopius too studied in Alexandria, but later returned to his native city, where he built up a great reputation as a Christian sophist (teacher of rhetoric) and exegete. In his great *Commentary on the Octuteuch,* which is a kind of compilation ***raisonnée*** of previous exegesis, Procopius draws extensively on the ***Quaestiones*** *in Genesim et Exodum*, without actually citing him (or any other source by name).[130]

For a final figure we turn to the desert monk Anastasius c. 610-c. 700), Abbot of the monastery at Sinai, a similar figure to Isidore but living in the changed circumstances of the 7th century.[131] Anastasius is obsessed by heresy and doctrinal disputes. The reference to Philo in his chief work, Ὁδηγός or *The Guidebook,* occurs in such a context. At 13.10 he cites the 'in everything most skilled of exegetes Ammonius the Alexandrian', who wrote a work against a certain Julian of Halicarnassus. In this work Ammonius declares that, in order to refute those who deny human nature of Christ, he will take up the persona of Paul of Samosata, 'or rather of the unbelieving Jew Philo the philosopher. For this man, engaged at the time in a controversy with the apostolic disciple Mnason concerning Christ's divinity, cross-questions Mnason as follows.' Then follows a long diatribe against the affirmation that Christ is God, making frequent reference to Old Testament texts and even various New Testament passages (introduced as ἡ ὑμετέρα γραφή). The strategy of the author is made clear at the end. If even the detestable Philo (ὁ μιαρὸς Φίλων) does not oppose the human

[127] Cf. Cumont (1891) xii-xiv; see also Courcelle (1969) 314-316, who gives the date for the purported debate. In her edition and commentary Minniti Colonna (1973) 49 is, I think, too careful in saying that direct use of Philo's writings must remain uncertain.

[128] A cursory inspection suggests to me that the Philonica is not mediated by Gregory *Horn. opif.* 133a (on this text see futher below §12.3 (c)).

[129] The family relation is not entirely certain; cf. Minniti Colonna (1973) 20.

[130] See above § 1.4 and n. 146 with further references. The work is printed in PG 87 (cf. CPG 3.388).

[131] On Anastasius see Bardenhewer (1913) 5.41-47, CPG 3.453465. But much obscurity surrounds this figure and especially his writings. I warmly thank my former colleague Dr. K.-H. Uthemann (Amsterdam), editor of the *Viae dux* (1981), for his assistance on the figure of Anastasius.



nature of Christ, then surely the Christian opponent should also not do so. Unfortunately we have no idea who this Ammonius is.[132] Anastasius' editor Uthemann had to list the passage in the *index locorum nondum repertorum.* Also the reference to the dispute that Phi10 had with Mnason is wholly obscure. We cannot enter into speculations on this text.[133] It would seem to be a continuation of the tradition in which Philo is associated with Christian heresy.

But it would be a pity to end our long treatment of Philo's reception in the later Christian tradition of his own city with this text, which displays the most negative attitude towards him to be found in the entire tradition. We end, therefore, with another text handed down under Anastasius' name which makes reference to Philo. It is found in the Commentary *In hexaemeron,* in which the author gives a radical allegorical interpretation of the six days of creation in terms of Christ and the church and notes that Paradise has been spiritually expounded by the 'ancients of the churches (ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν), such as 'Philo the philosopher and contemporary of the apostles', Papias, Irenaeus, Justin, Pantaenus and Clement.[134] Here Philo returns back in the fold as an adopted Church father. The work was most likely not written by Anastasius the Sinaite, and is probably to be dated to the 9th century.[135] But, in spite of its late dating, it stands in better continuity with the earlier Alexandrian tradition, in which Philo was given an honoured place, whether as Jew, or, more often, as a Church Father ***honoris causa***.

[132] But he must be dated to the 6th century, since that is the date of Julian of Halicarnassus; cf. CPG 3.321.

[133] For some rather wild suggestions see Elorduy (1959) (= Ammonius Saccas the teacher of Plotinus!), Bruns (1973b) (connected to the *Altercatio Jasonis et Papisci*, a lost 2nd century work cited in Origen, C. *Cels*. 4.52). Bruns fails to note the indirect transmission of the report on Philo.

[134] *In hex.* 7, PG 89.961.

[135] According to my informant, K.-H. Uthemann. CPG 3.462 lists it as belonging to the *Anastusiunu incertue originis.*

Chapter Eleven

# Eusebius of Caesarea

It is time to leave Philo's native city and return to the coastal city of Caesarea in Palestine. As we saw earlier, Origen spent the last twenty years of his life in this city, where he was able to continue his scholarly activities in ideal surroundings.[1] Origen took his copies of Phi10 with him. These were preserved through the valiant efforts of Pamphilus.[2] But is only through the extensive literary activity of a third scholar and churchman that we are able to trace this vital Caesarean connection in the transmission of Philo's writings in rich detail. Eusebius plays a central role in the history of Philo's reception in the Christian church, and fully deserves a chapter to himself in our study. We will discover, however, that remarkably little systematic research has been carried out on the subject of Eusebius' acquaintance with Philo and the use he made of Philo's treatises in his scholarly production.[3]

## *1. Eusebius in his context*

First some more attention should be given to the city of Caesarea itself.[4] Though located in Palestine, it was in many respects more similar to Alexandria than to other Jewish towns. Its second founder Herod had made every effort to turn it into a cosmopolitan city, with all the features and facilities of a Hellenistic city and centre of government. What Jerusalem lost in terms of importance after 70 AD, Caesarea gained. Like Alexandria,

[1] See above 99.1.

[2] On Caesarea's role in the preservation of Philo's writings, see above $1.4

[3] In the compendious volume entitled *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* just published, Attridge-Hata (1992), Philo is hardly mentioned. Although exhibiting a high standard of scholarship, the volume is somewhat uneven in its approach; about half the chapters are treatments of general themes in early Church history, while the remaining half specifically discuss Eusebius in relation to these themes. A contribution on Eusebius and Philo would certainly have been an asset to the volume.

[4] There is an extensive literature on Caesarea: in addition to the study of McGuckin (1992) already cited above at $9.1 n. 4, cf. also Bietenhard (1974), Levine (1975) esp. 119-131 on Origen and Eusebius, De Lange (1976) l-13, Barnes (1981) 81ff.



it was a place where cultures could not avoid coming into contact with each other. Eusebius was directly associated with the distinguished Christian institutions of the city. His writings, however, also reveal the inevitably extensive contacts with pagan culture and learning. Moreover they also bear witness, albeit more indirectly, to the presence of a strong Jewish community in the city. As we have noted earlier, during the 3rd and 4th centuries there existed a school of rabbis, the fame of which was at least as great as that of the so-called Christian school of Caesarea.[5]

It was here in Caesarea, it would seem, that Eusebius was born in the 260's, about a decade after the death of 0rigen.6 His decisive association with the priest Pamphilus, which led to his proud use of the signature *Eusebius Pamphilou*, i.e. son or successor of Pamphilus, began in his youth.7 Pamphilus had devoted his considerable personal resources to founding a library, which was to remain in existence for several centuries. The basis for the collection was furnished by what remained of the working library of Origen. Although the library must have contained a considerable collection of pagan works, its chief aim was to preserve and promote sacred learning. Especially precious were its scriptural manuscripts and the copies of the Hexapla and Tetrapla devised by Origen for his study of the Hebrew and Greek Bible. It is clear from various notices still preserved in later manuscripts that Pamphilus and Eusebius spent much time on the revision and correction of biblical and early Christian writings.[8] As Barnes has acutely observed, Eusebius' writings clearly reflect the contents of the library to which he had continual access as a resource-centre:[9]

> The writings of Origen show that Ambrosius [his patron] must have provided him with a working library in Caesarea; this collection presumably survived and formed the basis of Pamphilus' library, for Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel* shows a knowledge of Greek literature which clearly reflects Origen's interests: no comedy, tragedy, or lyric poetry, but a complete Plato and a wide range of later philosophers, mainly Middle Platonists from Philo to the late second century.

Pamphilus died as a martyr in 310, during the last round of persecutions before the conversion of Constantine. A few years later Eusebius was

[5] Cf. Levine (1975) 68-70, De Lange (1976) l-3, McGuckin (1992) 15–16, and above $9.7.

[6] An excellent account of Eusebius, placing him in both his historical and intellectual milieu, is given by Barnes (1981), esp. 93-188. Barnes complains in his preface about the relative neglect that Eusebius as writer and historical personage has suffered. Other general presentations in Wallace-Hadrill (1960), Moreau (1963), and now in the Introduction to Attridge-Hata (1992) 27-49. On his relation to the Origenist tradition see Kannengiesser (1992) 435466. For his writings see also Quasten (1950-86) 3.309-345, CPG 2.262–275.

[7] Kannengiesser (1992) 435 interprets the 'signature' as indicating that Eusebius wanted to advertise his place in the Origenist tradition.

[8] Cf. Barnes (1981) 93f., 333, McGuckin (1992) 21 (both with further references). But I know of no readily accessible account of the Library's fortunes.

[9] Cf. Barnes (198 l) 93.

elected bishop of Caesarea, the office that he held until his death in 339. He thus experienced at very close hand the final triumph of the Christian church over its enemies and persecutors, and will always be remembered for his effusive praise of Constantine and the enthusiasm with which he welcomed the fateful alliance between the Roman state and the Christian church. For the most part, however, this is not the area that is of interest to us. Our concern is above all Eusebius' relation to the earlier history of the Church and its Jewish antecedents.

Although Eusebius greatly admired Origen, his own personality and intellectual abilities were rather different to those of the celebrated Alexandrian. His training had been above all in the area of biblical studies. In the domain of philosophy he is far less at ease. It is not always clear whether he has really mastered the philosophical issues required for a continuation of the Alexandrian theological tradition.[10] His exegetical writings too are limited in number.11 Eusebius has a pronounced historical and archival bent. His prime concern is the place of the Christian faith as a body of doctrine and the place of the Christian church as an institution in the broad course of history, from the patriarchs to his own tumultous times. Hence the historical writings he produced, but also his apologetic works, which include much discussion of biblical and theological subjects, but are more like the work of an editor or a popularizing scholar than of a professional theologian. We shall now examine these two categories of works separately.

## 2. Historical works

Eusebius' two most famous and influential works were the *Chronicle* and the *Ecclesiastical History. In* both Philo has a role to play.

(a) The *Chronicle*

This seminal and paradeigmatic work initiated more than a millenium of chronology or chronographic history in the Later Roman, Byzantine and Latin period. Drawing extensively on both the ancient chronographic tradition and the chronology presupposed by scripture, Eusebius invented a method which allowed sacred and profane history to be compared. The starting point of the chronological tables was the life of Abraham, which is synchronized with Assyrian, Greek and Egyptian dynasties. From this opening move it is clear that sacred history is given the leading role. At

[10] Cf. Barnes (1981) 100: 'Although Eusebius had learned from Origen to express the Christian view of God and man in termes of Middle Platonism, he never completely mastered the philosophical issues. He tends to lack clarity, and even lapses into occasional confusion.'

[11] Commentaries only on the Psalms and Isaiah, heavily dependent on Origen's exegesis. The *Catenae* also preserve fragments from *Scholia* that Eusebius wrote on other Bible books.



least part of the work's purpose was to show the antiquity of Hebrew culture relative to Greco-Roman antiquity, an aim which follows and brings to completion earlier efforts by Philo, Josephus, Clement and others.12 Eusebius compiled his work fairly early in his career, most likely before the persecutions began in 303. After his death it was translated and updated by Jerome, and was also absorbed into a broader Byzantine tradition, with as unfortunate consequence that the original work is no longer extant. It now has to be reconstructed from Jerome's Latin translation, a virtually complete Armenian translation, and notices scattered through various Byzantine writers-an extremely complex task which has occupied the attention of generations of scholars, but is of limited relevance to our subject.13 Since, however, the presence of Philo in the *Chronicle* has been neglected,[14] I will briefly outline his role.

The work consisted of two parts. The first, entitled 'Chronographia', discussed the foundations on which the actual tables and historical information in the second part was based. It is extant only in an Armenian version, of which the final part discussing the Roman imperial chronology is missing. The second part was called 'Chronological tables and Epitome of the Universal History of Greeks and Barbarians'. As the name indicates the chronological tables which are the heart of the work are complemented with (mostly extremely) brief notices, the sum total of which gives a 'history of the world'. In these notices political and cultural history are combined. Philo has a small place in both. Like other men of letters-poets, historians, philosophers-he is recorded as having acquired a certain fame. In the Armenian translation we read (p.213 Karst): 'Philon der Alexandriner, ein grundgelehrter Mann, war gekannt.'[15]

It may be thought surprising that this notice is not found in Jerome's version of the *Chronicle,* even though he does include Philo in his De *viris illustribus*.[16] There are two possible explanations. Jerome who certainly

[12] See above §8.3(a)ii. I would still argue (cf. Runia (1986) 533) that Philo is little interested in historical questions. But certainly his ***Hypothetica*** must be placed within an apologetic tradition that placed great store on the antiquity of Judaism.

[13] Jerome's Latin text in Helm (1956), The text transmitted in Armenian in Karst (19 11). For the complex history of the ***Chronicle see*** the indispensable monograph of Mosshammer (1979), which summarizes the results of centuries of research; a useful briefer account in Barnes (1981) 111-120. Mosshammer concentrates his own research on the early Greek period, and has little to say about the Hellenistic and Imperia1 periods.

[14] C-W l.lxxxxviii give only one of the four texts.

[15] It is not impossible that the original Eusebian text is reflected in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the 14th century Byzantine historian Nicephorus Kallistus, cf. 2.9: κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ Φίλων ἀνεγνωρίζετο, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θύραθεν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐπίσημος. This is suggested by Helm (1956) 399 in his notes to Jerome's ***Chronicle*** p. ***176.*** But it seems much more likely that Nicephoros has paraphrased the passage in Eusebius' ***Hist. Eccl. 2.4.2.*** (cited below at n. 24).

[16] See further below §15.1.

added material (especially on Roman culture and literature) to what he found in Eusebius, may have deliberately left Philo out, perhaps because he ran out of room in his manuscript.[17] An alternative explanation is that the notice may have been missing in Eusebius' original, but was added later. Mosshammer puts forward the plausible hypothesis that between the original and the Armenian translation there stood an intermediate redaction prepared c. 400 by the Alexandrian monk Panodorus.[18] A sense of local history may have induced the monk to add Philo. This alternative seems to me not so likely on account of the strong parallel in Eusebius' own *Ecclesiastical History,* which we shall note directly.[19] Whatever our conclusion may be, in the text as it is handed down Philo takes his place among other men of letters such as Athenodorus the Stoic and Sextus the Pythagorean philosopher, Livy the historian and Ovid the poet (these undoubtedly added by Jerome), Seneca, the philosophers Musonius and Plutarch, the Jewish historian Josephus, the Jewish writer Justus of Tiberias.[20]

The other three references to Philo in the Chronicle occur for a different reason. Here Philo is used as a source for the events of 34-39 AD, in which, as Eusebius notes, he himself played a role.** Eusebius records (i) the anger of Sejanus against the Jews, as recounted by Philo; (ii) the desecration of the Alexandrian synagogues, carried out with the approval of the local populace, as reported by Philo, who for this reason undertook the embassy to Gaius; (iii) the insolent erection of statues of the emperor Gaius in synagogues throughout the whole world, as reported by Philo and Josephus. When we consider that Eusebius is writing an Epitome of historical events which he must compress to an extreme degree, the triple citation of Philo is quite striking. On the other hand, Philo is not mentioned in relation to the beginnings of the Christian church in Alexandria. The evidence which Eusebius perceived in his account of the Therapeutae is not thought suitable for inclusion in the *Chronicle's* restricted framework.

(b) The *Ecclestiastical History*

Eusebius' second great historical work was even more famous and influential than his *Chronicle.* In composing his account of the history of the Church from its inception in the apostolic age, Eusebius had the resources of the Caesarean library at his disposal. Moreover it was part of his method as a historian to include complete documents in his narrative. Consequently

[17] On Jerome's method, which involved collaboration with a 'bookman', see Mosshammer (1979) 69ff.

[18] *Ibid.* 75–79 (but no comments on Philo); more on this erudite monk in Adler (1992) 72ff.

[19] It could, of course, have been inserted later from the *History.*

[20] Of these Philo, Seneca, Josephus and Justus occur in Jerome's De *viris illustribus.*

[21] *Chron. ad Olymp. 203,* 213 Karst 176.15–18 Helm, *ad* 204, 214 Karst 177.18–178.3 Helm, *ad* 204, 214 Karst 178.17–20 Helm. For the assistance this information furnishes on Philo's original work of which *Flacc.* and *Legat.* are parts see Morris in Schürer (1973-87) 3.860.



we are directly dependent-for better or for worse-on Eusebius for a significant proportion of our knowledge of the development of the Church during the first three centuries of its existence. The work was not finally completed in its present form of ten books until late in Eusebius' life. But there were certainly earlier versions in seven or eight books. Once again such complexities need not detain us.[22]

That the *Chronicle* 'provided no more than the bare bones, plus a few joints, for the ultimate 'body' of the later work', to use Grant's image, can be clearly seen in the case of the report on Philo.[23] In Book 2 Eusebius introduces Philo with the following words:[24]

> During this man's reign [Gaius] Philo became widely known to very many people, a man of the greatest distinction not only among those of our own tradition, but also among those who set out from the tradition of profane learning.

The correspondence with the notice in the *Chronicle* is immediately apparent. Eusebius expands the notice by emphasizing Philo's devotion to the sacred tradition of learning, as well as his great competence in the area of profane studies, in which he showed special zeal for the Platonic and Pythagorean disciplines.[25] In the account that follows in chapters 5-6 Philo is used as a source for the events of 34-39, just as in the earlier work. Later in the same book the historian returns to Philo. Again Philo's role is that of witness and source, this time in connection with the founding of the church of Alexandria. Eusebius' famous hypothesis is that Philo in his De *vita contemplativa* reports on the early Christians, who had responded to the Gospel first preached in Egypt by Mark:[26]

> The number of men and women who were there [at Alexandria] converted at the first attempt was so great, and their asceticism (ἄσκησις) was so extraordinarily philosophic, that Philo thought it right to describe their conduct and assemblies and meals and all the rest of the manner of life. Tradition says (λόγος ἔχει) that he came to Rome in the time of Claudius to speak to Peter, who was at that time preaching to those there. This would, indeed, be not improbable since the treatise to which we refer, composed by him many years later, obviously contains the rules of the Church which are still observed in our

[22] Both Grant (1980) 10ff. and Barnes (1981) 128ff. argue that the first edition was produced in the 290's, before the storm of persecution began. Lane Fox (1987) 602 reverts to the older view that it first appeared towards the end of the period of persecution, but his case is not fully argued.

[23] Grant (1980) 23.

[24] *HE 2.4.2* (my translation): κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον Φίλων ἐγνωρίζετο πλείστοις, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωθεν ὁρμωμένων παιδείας ἐπισημότατος.

[25] *HE 2.4.2-3:* τὸ μὲν οὖν γένος ἀνέκαθεν Ἑβραῖος ἦν, τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν τέλει διαφανῶν οὐδενὸς χείρων, περὶ δὲ τὰ θεῖα καὶ πάτρια μαθήματα ὅσον τε καὶ ὑπηλίκον εἰσενήνεκται πόνον, ἔργῳ πᾶσι δῆλος, καὶ περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρια τῆς ἔξωθεν παιδείας οἷός τις ἦν, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν, ὅτε μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐζηλωκὼς ἀγωγήν, διενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἱστορεῖται.

[26] HE 2.16.2-17.2 (translation Lake LCL).

> own time. Moreover, from his very accurate description of the life of our ascetics it will be plain that he not only knew but welcomed, reverenced, and recognized the divine mission of the apostolic men of his day, who were, it appears of Hebrew origin, and thus still preserved most of the ancient customs in a strictly Jewish manner.

Eusebius then proceeds to quote and paraphrase passages from the treatise which are meant to furnish the evidence that proves his hypothesis (including a parallel betwen the communal way of life of the Therapeutae and the description of apostolic church in Jerusalem in Acts 4). In order to give Philo's evidence even more weight, he then adds another section, chapter 18, specifically devoted to the Jewish author and containing a list of his writings, together with some further biographical information. On the basis of these chapters Eusebius appends to his table of contents for Book 2 that Philo is one of its principal sources.27

It goes without saying that this collection of passages is of the greatest importance for our study. It constitutes the oldest extant version of the legend of Philo Christianus, or, adhering more strictly to the letter of text, to the theory that Philo came in close contact with the apostles and the first Christian communities. Eusebius' account and its sources have been dealt with from this perspective in the 1st chapter of our study.[28] Now it is our task to examine his account in the context of this particular work.

In his monograph on the *Ecclesiastical History* Grant has outlined a list of seven themes which determine its contents and the direction of its argument.[29] These themes are: (1) the apostolic succession; (2) events and persons; (3) heretics; (4) the fate of the Jews; (5) persecution and martyrdom; (6) the canon of Scripture; (7) the merciful and gracious help of our Saviour (i.e. the action of Providence as seen in miracles and above all in the remarkable political developments during Eusebius' own life). The use of Philo is relevant to four of these themes.

Even though the early history of the church of Alexandria is obscure, the Alexandrian episcopate can be connected to the apostles (theme 1) through Mark, who is said to have founded the church in the metropolis.30 Philo's evidence offers a double support. Not only was he in direct contact with the apostle Peter (whose protegé Mark was), but, as Grant notes, his description of the Therapeutae also gives support to the Alexandrian church's apostolic credentials, for Eusebius reads both the diaconate and the episcopate into Philo's account of the sect's organization. Moreover when Eusebius later remarks that 'from ancient custom a school of sacred

[27] Grant *(1980) 6* suggests that this note refers to the earliest version of the work, because the names given-Clement, Tertullian, Josephus, Philo—'are precisely the sources of this section of the ***Chronicle.***'

[28] See above § I. 1.

[29] Grant (IWO); a similar analysis is found at Barnes (1981) 129.

[30] Grant (1980) 51 thinks Eusebius derived the story from Clement; cf. also 72-73.



learning' had existed in Alexandria, he may have the Therapeutae at the back of his mind.[31] The two ideas may be reconciled, Grant suggests, on the grounds that the essence of Alexandrian Christianity was the union between school and church.[32]

It is also clear that Philo belongs to the important persons of Eusebius' account (theme 2). Otherwise he would not have received a biographical notice. There appears to be more than one reason for this prominence. Philo (together with Josephus) offers continuity with Christianity's Jewish origin. At the same time their pro-Jewish apologetic can be converted into materials useful for the quite different aims of Christian propaganda. Another aspect of their status as important persons is that both authors were honoured by the Romans.[33] But Philo's chief significance for Eusebius resides in his role as witness. The account of the Therapeutae offers proof of continuity between the first beginnings of the church and the rules and practices still in force in the historian's own time. The 'unsound assumption,' Grant observes, is that no change has occurred in the canons of the Church from its outset.[34]

Philo also plays a more limited role in two other themes. Ironically his account of the tribulations of the Jews under Gaius, Pilate, and Flaccus, which had an apologetic purpose and was meant to defend the Jewish cause, 'demonstrates the misfortunes which came upon the Jews all at once and after a short time, in consequence of their crimes against Christ'.[35] Thus Philo offers evidence on the fate of the Jews (theme 4).[36] Not surprisingly his assertion of the role of Providence in these episodes is not taken over (cf. theme 7). We shall see that in another work Eusebius does take notice of Philo's arguments on this theme, but then from a more theoretical point of view.[37] There remains the theme of the canon of Scripture (theme 6). Grant argues that Eusebius does not spend much time discussing the canon of New Testament writings in the first two books of the *History*. He does speculate that the documents studied by the Therapeutae

[31] ***HE*** 5.10.1, discussed above at §8.1.

[32] Grant (1980) 52. Note also his observation at 74 of certain parallels between Eusebius' accounts of the Therapeutae and the early life of Origen, with particular emphasis on the importance of allegorical exegesis and the necessity of an ascetic life-style.

[33] As Grant (1980) 66 notes. The fact that Eusebius uses almost the same formula in both texts on the deposition of books in the Roman library (2.18.8, 3.9.3) makes one less inclined to draw important conclusions from the former text, as Lucchesi has done; see our discussions at $1.4, § 14.3.

[34] ***Ibid.*** 73.

[35] ***HE 2.5.6.***

[36] Grant (1980) 106-107, with discussion on the complexities involved in comparing the accounts of Philo, Josephus and Eusebius. Grant suspects the strong influence of Origen. Further discussion of the confusions involved in the various accounts of the incident of the golden shields at Pelletier (1972), Schwartz (1983). Smallwood (1987).

[37] See further below, §11.3, on the ***Praeparatio Evangelica.***

included 'the gospels and the writings of the apostles and some exegetical treatises after the fashion of the ancient prophets, such as are contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews and many other epistles of Paul (2.17.10)'.[38] Formally Grant is right in adding that this is an explanation of what the Therapeutae were reading, not a direct comment on the canon. But it is surely the importance of the canonical writings that induces the historian to make the supposition. Particularly interesting, I find, is the fact that Eusebius selects Hebrews for special mention. It suggests that someone, whether Eusebius himself or a predecessor, has noticed the remarkable thematic correspondences between this work and the body of Philonic writings.[39]

What then should be the verdict on Eusebius' hypothesis? In the literal sense of course it cannot hold. We may be in the dark as to who the Therapeutae precisely were, but we may be sure that they were Jewish ascetics, and not proto-Christians. There remains, however, another quite different question, namely whether it is plausible to see some kind of connection between the Therapeutae and the later flowering of Christian monasticism and asceticism in Egypt. Two studies on the subject were presented at the 1967 Lyon colloque. Daumas suggested a common background in the mystical tendencies of Egyptian culture.[40] In the view of Guillaumont it is quite incontestable that Philo and the later monks share many common conceptions-e.g. ascesis, alienship (ξενιτεία), retreat, tranquillity, sexual abstinence-, but he cautions against too easily assuming direct influence.[41] For the Jewish influence on origins of Christian monasticism it may be more constructive, he concludes, to look at Jewish Christianity rather than Philo. More recently the Eusebian evidence has been invoked in two articles with exactly the same title, 'The Origins of Monasticism'.[42] Both argue that the commonly held theory that Christian monasticism began with the popular movement set in motion by the example of Antony and the community established by Pachomius is historically unsound. O'Neill argues that monasticism did not begin then because it 'was always simply there in the life of the church'.[43] Two arguments speak in favour of this hypothesis. Firstly, monasteries were the safest place to preserve books. Without monasteries, how could at least 60 classical Jewish writings and all the works of Philo have survived? Secondly, it is remarkable how little protest there was against the movement when it supposedly took off at the beginning of the 4th century. The first argument is in our view not strong. We have seen that, in Philo's case at least, preservation can be adequately

[38] Grant (1980) 128 (his translation).
[39] As discussed above in §4.3.
[40] Daumas (1967), cf. also Daumas (1963) 58ff.
[41] Guillaumont (1967); less cautious is Pericoli Ridolfini (1966), as summarized at R-R 165.
[42] O'Neill (1989) Goehring (1992).
[43] O'Neill (1989) 270.



explained via a catechetical school and an episcopal library. Eusebius' use of Philo is used as evidence, because he 'assumes that the church rules governing communities of ascetics had continued unbroken to his own day from the time of the apostles'.[44] This is, however, to press Eusebius' words further than they can go. Eusebius argues similarity of 'observances' (e.g. the Easter vigil) and 'customs' (e.g. the precedence given to the clergy). These are practices of the Church, not rules concerning ascetic communities. Goehring's estimation of the Eusebian evidence is much more convincing because it takes into account the historian's motivation:[45]

> It reveals . . . not so much a quest for the origins of monasticism nor even evidence of a specific knowledge of it, but rather the impact of his theology on his understanding of history. The elite ascetic life, a life above nature and beyond common human living, is so central to his understanding of Christianity that it pushes itself back into his recovery of Christianity's formative years. If the origins are not understood or known, they are in a sense "mythically" created in the beginning with the gospel.

Eusebius is an important historian because he discovered the value of documentary evidence. The De *vita contemplativa* is a real historical document. Its use, however, is informed by a clear theological vision. This vision was powerful enough to set in motion a legend of Philo Christianus, the influence of which would endure for nearly a millenium and a half.[46]

Before we leave Eusebius' historical works, we should note a subject at the very centre of the pressing political and ideological concerns of his own day. In a study on political theory in Imperial times Chesnut has argued that the background of Eusebius' interpretation of Constantine's kingship as an εἰκών or image of God's monarchical rule is informed by the ideology of hellenistic kingship which plays a significant role in Philo's thought. Philo refused to venerate a statue of the Emperor Gaius in the synagogue, but was perfectly capable of idealizing the emperor as the 'living law' and earthly agent of the Divine Logos. Chesnut is careful to note that such ideas were commonplace. The implication is that Eusebius' debt to Philo may not have been very direct.[47] But a few pages later he makes the following interesting suggestion:[48]

[44] O'Neill (1989) 275.
[45] Goehring (1992) 236.
[46] For a discussion of the later history of Eusebius' hypothesis and its effect on Philonic studies, see above §1.5.
[47] Chesnut (1977) 148-151; further examination of the subject in Chesnut (1978), drawing largely on Goodenough (1938). We note, however, that one fragment which both Goodenough (p. 99) and Chesnut (1978) 1328 consider important is certainly spurious, as Royse (1991) 121 has shown. It is in fact derived from the 6th century Byzantine author Agapetus, but was accidentally attributed to Philo in the *Florilegia*.
[48] Chesnut (1977) 154–155, with reference to Dvornik (1966) 2.644. Texts referred to are ***Vita Constantini* 1.12, 38, *HE* 9.9.2-8.** Dvornik notes that the passage through the Red Sea became a favourite theme in art of the period; exx. at Schreckenberg-Schubert (1992) 191 ff.

> When Eusebius portrayed Constantine in one of his most important images as the New Moses, this may possibly have been the influence of Philo, who . . . treated Moses in his ***Life of Moses*** as the ideal philosophical ruler of Hellenistic kingship theory. This seems one possible way of explaining why it was Mosaic imagery instead of, for example, Davidic imagery which was chosen in the most important linkages of Constantine with Old Testament political leaders, in spite of the fact that David, to modern eyes at any rate, seems much more kingly than Moses. Constantine as the New Moses was portrayed by Eusebius as the man who came to set God's people free. When the pontoon bridge collapsed at the battle of the Milvian bridge, and Maxentius drowned amidst the flotsam, this was to Eusebius the destruction of Pharaoh's army as it disappeared beneath the churning surface of the Red Sea.

This to my mind very plausible hypothesis would be strengthened by our observation that the *De vita Moysis* was the most popular and influential of all Philo's works during the Patristic period, used and quoted not only by a goodly number of Church fathers, but even by a pagan author.[49]

## *3. Apologetic and theological writings*

Having grown up in the scholarly atmosphere of the school of Origen as taken over by Pamphilus, Eusebius received a thorough training in biblical scholarship. His research on the four Gospels, resulting in the famous Eusebian Canons, and his work on the place names in the Bible constitute important contributions to biblical studies. But, as we noted earlier, Eusebius wrote few exegetical works.[50] Most of his energy was expended on a number of apologetic compendia, which combine his knowledge of pagan and biblical culture with theological interests." Of these the most important for our subject is the massive *Praeparatio Evangelica* in 15 books, which has been completely preserved. Drawing on the resources of the Caesarean library and using the method of lengthy *verbatim* citation, the value of this work for our knowledge of lost philosophical, Jewish and early Christian writings is quite unsurpassed.52

Together with its sequel, the *Demonstratio Evangelica,* the work was composed in response to the concerted attack of the philosopher Porphyry

[49] See above §1.2 (Heliodorus), §8.3 (Clement), §10.1(Ps.Justin),§ 10.4 (Didymus), §10.5 (Isidore).

[50] See above n. I I.

[51] Cf. CPG 2.266-268, where the distinction between Dogmatica and Apologetica seems somewhat arbitrary. The various books are analysed by Barnes (1 98 1) 164-l 86.

[52] Monumentally edited by Mras (1956a) in the GCS series. Disappointinly brief comments on Eusebius' library at Iv-lviii, and also in Mras (1956b). The previous-no less monumental-edition of Gifford (1903) contains a volume of notes (IV) with copious but wholly incidental remarks on the Philonic quotations contained in the work.



in his work, also in 15 books, entitled ***Against the Christians.***"' Eusebius pulls out all the stops in order to show that there is an essential harmony between Christianity and what is best in Greco-Roman pagan culture (most of which was emphatically not good). To this end he quotes at great length from Greek sources. The structure of the work is indicated by Eusebius himself in a summary:[54]

| | |
|---|---|
| Books l-3 | The origins of pagan polytheism |
| Books 4-6 | Against civic religion, and especially mysteries and belief in fate |
| Books ***7-9*** | The oracles (i.e. scriptures) and history of the Jews |
| Book 10 | Proof that Greeks derived philosophy and science from the Jews |
| Books 11-13 | The harmony of Platonism and Christianity |
| Books 14-15 | Disagreement of Christianity with other philosophical schools. |

At various points in his argument Eusebius cites directly from the works of Philo, as he does in the case of many other ancient authors. These can be listed as follows:

| location | **theme of chapter** | **Philonic text** |
|---|---|---|
| 7.13.1 | **on** the Second cause of theology | *QG* 2.62 |
| 7.13.3 | ***idem*** | *Agr*. 51 |
| 7.13.4 | ***idem*** | ***Plant. 8-10*** |
| 7.18.1 | on the nature of man | ***Plant.*** 18-20 |
| 7.21.1 | concerning that matter is not **uncreated** | ***Prov.*** 2.50-51 Aucher |
| 8.6.1 | **Philo** on the flight of the Jews from Egypt | ***Hypoth.*** fr. |
| 8.11.1 | **Philo** on the ancient Jews' life of virtue | ***Hypoth.*** fr. |
| 8.12.1 | ***idem*** | ***Prob. 75-9 1*** |
| 8.13.1 | **Philo** on God and that the cosmos is created | *Opif*. 7-12 |
| 8.14.1 | that Divine Providence rules the cosmos | ***Prov.*** **2.3,** 15–33, 99–1 **12** |
| 11.14.1 | **Philo** on the Second cause | *Conf*. 97, 146–147, 62–63 |
| 11.24.1 | **Philo** on the Mosaic theory of ideas | *Opif*. 24–27, 29–31, 35–36 |
| 13.18.12 | on the heaven and the heavenly bodies | *Spec*. 1.13–17, 20 |

These extracts are well-known because of the information they supply on lost and incompletely preserved Philonic writings. Eusebius is the only witness to the *Hypothetica,* and the fragments from ***De Providentiu*** preserve the Greek text, which is otherwise only available in the Armenian version.55

A quite different subject is what these extracts tell us about Eusebius' attitude to Philo as a source of philosophical and theological material. This theme has not yet been adequately investigated. Des Places has written a

[53] Cf. Sirinelli (1961) 164ff., Barnes (1981) 174–186.

[54] ***PE*** 15.1; cf. Barnes (1981) 179ff.

[55] On these cf. perceptive comments of Colson in PLCL 9.407ff., 447ff., Morris in Schürer-(1973-87) 3.864-868.

monograph on Eusebius as commentator, in which he investigates his use of Plato and the other Greek philosophers and his references to the Old and New Testaments. The treatment of Philo, however, is very superficial, amounting to little more than the listing we have given above.56 It is immediately apparent from our list above that Eusebius sees Philo as a source of knowledge for Judaism and Jewish theology (books 7 and 8), but that at the same time he regards him as a vital bridge between that theology, as further developed in Christianity, and Platonism (book 11). Three subjects stand out. (1) In both books 7 and 11 extracts are presented on the 'Second cause', i.e. the Logos. These are the famous texts, carefully selected from the copious material in Philo's writings, in which Philo appears to speak of the Logos in terms that anticipate later Christian doctrine.[57] (2) Philo also has a contribution to make on the doctrine of creation, including the doctrine of ideas as divine paradigms and man's special position in the cosmos because of his creation 'according to the image'. (3) Philo is further invoked for one the most important themes in Eusebius' apologetic plan, the doctrine of Providence.58 Related to this theme is another subject, the correct evaluation of the heavenly bodies. The texts from *Spec.* 1 cited in book 13 are directly juxtaposed with extracts from Plato, in order to show that although Plato is correct to regard them as created, he still calls them 'gods' and fails to forbid their worship, as Moses and his commentator Philo do.

The sequel to the ***Praeparatio Evangelica*** is the ***Demonstratio Evangelica***, of which 10 of the original 20 books survive. Here Eusebius leaves the terrain of pagan learning behind, and turns to the biblical tradition. His task is to demonstrate the truth of Christianity on the basis of two central themes of the Old Testament: (1) the divine theophanies recorded in the Pentateuch, which since Justin had been interpreted in terms of Christ as Logos; (2) the prophecies which, if interpreted properly, foretell the coming of Christ. The argumentative thrust is now ***against*** Judaism (from which Porphyry, like Celsus before him, took over polemical themes in his attack). Only a single reference is made to Philo in the entire work as we have it. It refers to the incident of the golden shields, and so is part of the 'historical'

[56] Des Places (1982) 73-75. On the fragment on matter in Book 7 in its context as part of a 'dossier' cf. Schrœder (1975) 94-116, esp. 104-107. In a lengthy discussion of Eusebius' Platonism in Book 11 Favrelle (1982) 313f. argues his reading of the doctrine of Being at Tim. 27d–28a may have been decisively influenced by Philo.

[57] A possibly unanswerable question here is the extent to which both Eusebius and other Christian editors and scribes may have tampered with Philo's text. It is certainly rash of Philo's editors to give preference to the Eusebian readings without justifying their preference, as Harl (1966a) 158 perceptively notes.

[58] Wendland (1892) 40 argues that Eusebius also made use of the anti-fatalist arguments given by Philo in Book I, although this book is not quoted by him. Cf. Barnes (1981) 183-184 and n.156, where *DE* is a mistake for *PE*. The remarks at Sirinelli (1961) 149–151 are uninformative.



rather than the 'apologetic' Philo that Eusebius exploits.59 The conclusion that we may draw is that Eusebius regards Philo in his role as *historian* as Jewish, but as exegete and philosopher he relates him more to the Platonist tradition and tends to see him as an incipient Christian thinker.

What, then, about more general studies of Eusebius' theological and philosophical position? The standard monograph is-remarkably-still that of Berkhof, now more than fifty years old. Berkhof argues that Philo is attractive for Eusebius because he anticipates many of the doctrines of Platonism that become more fully worked out in Neoplatonism, and especially in Plotinus. Another important Philonic element in the background of Eusebius' theology is the identification of the pre-existent Christ with Philo's Logos, which begins with the Apologists and is further developed in the Origenist tradition. Eusebius' knowledge of Philo can only have encouraged his tendency to 'subordinationism' in the Origenist tradition.60 A valuable corrective for Berkhof s study is the article by Ricken on Eusebius' doctrine of the Logos.[61] He shows convincingly that Eusebius is not indebted to Neoplatonism, but to Middle Platonism in his theological conception of the Logos as second hypostasis, and as mediator between the transcendent God and the cosmos. It is no coincidence that on such matters Eusebius' favourite Platonists are Numenius, Atticus, Plutarch and Amelius, and that the quotes from Plotinus are somewhat tendentious.[62] Ricken adduces Philo at frequent intervals, arguing that it is legitimate to consider him as part of the Middle Platonist tradition.[63] Ricken's carefully formulated conclusion is worth citing at length, namely that:[64]

> ... Eusebios' Hypostasen- und Logoslehre lasse sich nicht auf eine einzige literarisch faßbare Quelle zurückführen. Der Einfluß Philons ist kaum zu bestreiten. Dabei darf man jedoch den entscheidenden Unterschied nicht übersehen, daß bei Eusebios im Gegensatz zu Philon auch der erste Gott, und nicht nur sein Logos, die Ideen denkt. Anderes, wie die immer wieder betonte besondere Beziehung des Logos zu den vernunftbegabten Geschöpfen, die Lehre von seinen σπέρματα, die αὐτο-Bezeichnungen des Logos und das Lehrstück vom Menschen als κατ'εἰκόνα des Logos, weist deutlich auf Origenes. Was von

[59] *DE 8.2.123 390.5* Heikel, a reference to ***Legat.*** *299. No* research has been carried of use of Philonic material in the *DE,* although it is certainly present, e.g. in the mention of μία ἡ καθόλου κοσμοποιὸς δύναμις at 4.5.1 (cf. *Opif.* 20-21).

[60] Berkhof (1939) 24-29.

[61] Ricken (1967).

[62] Cf. Dörrie (1981) 32, citing Ricken (1978) 330.

[63] Ricken (1967) 345, appealing to Festugière, Krämer, Theiler.

[64] *Ibid.* 354f. The noted difference between Philo and Eusebius depends on a particular interpretation of Philo's theology, in which both Berkhof and Ricken tend to project Eusebius' own rather sharp separation of God and the Logos (as is well known, Eusebius cites at ***PE*** 7.13.1 the only text in Philo which explicitly speaks of the Logos as δεύτερος θεός, *QG* 7.62). In other texts, e.g. *Opif.* 17ff., the separation between God and his Logos is far less marked.

mittelplatonischer Lehre und Sprache aus dem alexandrinisch-caesarenischen Schulbetrieb stammt und was auf unmittelbare Kenntnis der in der PE ausführlich benutzten mittelplatonischen Autoren zuriickgeht, dürfte sich schwerlich sauber scheiden lassen.

A little further on the same scholar adds another important conclusion:65

Nicht nur als Apologet hat also Eusebios die mittelplatonische (und die neuplatonische) Hypostasenlehre herangezogen, um zu zeigen, daß christliche und platonische Gotteslehre miteinander in Einklang stehen. Der Theologe hat sich desselben Systems zur Deutung der Glaubensiiberlieferung bedient.

In a later article Ricken investigates the question of the extent to which Platonizing ontology was determinative in Eusebius' understanding of Christian doctrine. He emphasizes that Eusebius sharply distinguishes between Hellenism, Judaism and Christianity (the apologetic topos of the *tertium genus).* But in a sense Christianity embraces the other two, because it is identical with the original religion of the Hebrews, i.e. of the Patriarchs and the Mosaic polity, before the decline set in which the prophets tried to arrest.66

Die Hebräer haben als erste und einzige seit Beginn des menschlichen Lebens auf grund vernünftiger Einsicht aus der sichtbaren Welt deren Schöpfer erkannt. Ihre natiirliche Erkenntnis wird durch die Offenbarung bestätigt und ergänzt. Die Wahrheit der Hebräer wird im Gesetz des Moses verschlüsselt weitergegeben und zum Teil von den Griechen iibemommen.

A more Philonic viewpoint, ***mutatis*** *mutundis,* could hardly be conceived, although no reference to this element in his background is made. Judaism, as Barnes has aptly phrased it, 'comes into Eusebius' scheme as a purely transitional phase'.[67] By downplaying Philo's Jewishness and stressing his insights into the 'archetypal truth' which also Plato and his followers to some extent shared, Eusebius is paying him the best compliment he could give, even if Philo himself may have been less happy to receive it.68

It is my impression that two important aspects of Eusebius' appropriation of Philonic thought have been so far been given insufficient attention in scholarly research. Firstly there has been insufficient discussion of the way that he connects up the Platonizing conceptuality that he espouses with specific appeal to and exegesis of biblical texts. Philo was surely, together with Origen, a decisive ***exemplum***. Secondly the area of philosophical and theological terminology and phraseology remains largely unexplored. As we saw in a previous chapter, in the Patristic tradition there are a considerable number of what we called ***verba Philonica***, terms coined by

65 Ricken (1967) 357.
66 Ricken (1978) 336f.
67 Barnes (1981) 185.
68 *It* is doubtless no coincidence that in the *PE* Eusebius consistently calls Philo ὁ Ἑβραῖος and not ὁ Ἰουδαῖος.



Philo or first witnessed in his works, which the Fathers take over.69 It is quite striking how many of these occur in the writings of Eusebius. It would seem that he had a penchant for such terms, and played an important role in their dissemination. Once again the example of the term ἀγαλματοφορεῖν, to 'be an image bearer', is illuminating.[70] In a high-flown speech in praise of Paulinus, the bishop of Tyre, which Eusebius places in his own mouth in Book 10 of his *History,* he twice uses the term to refer to man carrying the image of Christ the Logos within him. It is very likely that the term was picked up in a direct reading of Philo's works, in which-as we saw-it occurs no less than 16 times (only once in Origen's extant Greek works).[71] Other ***verba Philonica*** to be found in Eusebius are ἀνθρωποπάθεια, ζωοπλαστεῖν, μεγαλόπολις.[72]

Let us leave the final word on Eusebius to a reviewer of Barnes' study, who points out that it is too simple to present Eusebius as a biblical scholar and rather naive follower of Origen who 'never mastered the philosophical issues'.73 He should be seen as 'an important representative of the late third-century theology of the Alexandrian type, which was intermediated to him by his teacher Pamphilus, a pupil of Pierius of Alexandria'. Van den Broek concludes that there is a real need for a new, comprehensive study of the theology of Eusebius in its philosophical and theological context. It is to hoped that such a study will also pay more attention to the influence which a much earlier Alexandrian thinker exercised on him.

## *4. The subsequent history of the 'Eusebian' Therapeutae*

The fame of Eusebius' *History* was immediate and long-lasting. Philo's Therapeutae, interpreted as proto-Christians were placed on the map, as it were, and remained there until critically examined in the doctrinal and scholarly controversies of the 17th to 19th centuries.74 In this section we shall briefly examine a number of writers who, in the century after Eusebius' death, take up and develop his account.

Epiphanius (c. 315–403), the Bishop of Salamis and Metropolitan of Cyprus from 367 until his death, was a fanatical opponent of every form of heresy. His most famous work was the *Panarion* or *Medicine-Chest,* also known as *The Refutation of All Heresies,* in which no less than 80 heresies are described and refuted. The first 20 of these are actually pre-Christian,

69 See above §6.3 on Ps.Athenagoras ***De*** *resurrectione,* with reference to Runia (1992g)
70 Runia (1992g) 319-320.
71 *See* the table given above in §6.3.
72 See examples given at ***ibid.*** 315–316 (only a selection).
73 Van den Broek (1986b) 220f.
74 As briefly surveyed above in §1.5.

but this is not the case for the heretical group of the Nazaraeans (no. 29), for whom the evidence of Philo is invoked. We shall not examine in any detail the problematic account that the bishop gives of this group, nor ponder on the vexed question of whether his account preserves any details of historical value.[75] Epiphanius affirms that the Nazaraeans also had the name Iessaioi. It is in this context that he invokes the evidence of Philo:[76]

> If you are a lover of learning and read the writings of Philo, you would find an account of these people in the book entitled *On the Iessaioi.* He describes their way of life and their praiseworthy customs and recounts their monasteries in the vicinity of the Marean marsh, speaking about none other than the Christians. For he himself was present in the area (the place is called Mareotis) and spent some time with them, receiving hospitality in the monasteries in this locality. Since he was there during the time of the Pascha, he observed their practices, how some of them prolonged their fast for the entire holy week of the Pascha, others ate every second day, while yet others broke their fast every evening. All these matters are dealt with by the man in his account of the faith and practices of the Christians.

It is to be agreed with Pritz in his analysis that Epiphanius has taken the basic idea that Philo's ascetics are to be identified with Christians from Eusebius. But we note the following differences:77 (1) Philo's book has a different title; (2) the term μοναστήρια is taken to refer to monasteries in the institutional sense;[78] (3) Philo has paid a visit to the community and himself participated in the vigil he recounts; (4) the vigil is explicitly stated to be the Pascha, and the division of the ascetics into three groups depending on the length of their fasting is related to its observance. How can these divergences be explained? Did Epiphanius have access to extra information? This is not very likely. The most economical explanation is that he had a not entirely accurate recollection of the Eusebian account, which he then embellished with details which he considered plausible, but which have no other origin than his own imagination. It is not a method that can meet with our approval. Conybeare's comment is sharp, but not entirely unjustified:[79] 'Alas, that we should depend on such an author as this for so much of our knowledge of the early Christian sects. For as we read his account of the Therapeutae.. . we feel that if such a writer ever told the truth, at least of his enemies, it must have been by accident.'

[75] On this question see the study of Pritz (1988) 29-43, Kinzig (1991) 30-35. F. Williams' note to his translation, (1987) 1 12, that the chapter 'appears to be Epiphanius' own construction' is a simplification.

[76] *Panarion* 1.29.5.1–3 (my translation).

[77] Acutely observed by Pritz (1988) 40.

[78] As Pritz *ibid.* notes, Philo uses the term for a closet to be used for devotional purposes. Eusebius records the term (2.17.9), and clearly finds it striking, but resists the temptation to use it anachronistically.

[79] Conybeare ( 1895) 320.



One detail of Epiphanius' account is most peculiar and deserves further 'mention. How can the Bishop say that Philo's book on the Therapeutae was entitled On *the Iessaioi?* The obvious hypothesis is that he has coalesced Philo's accounts of the Therapeutae and the Essenes. But how would he have known about the latter group? Eusebius nowhere mentions the Essenes in connection with the Therapeutae. It is true that he cites Philo's long description of the Essenes in *PE 8.11-12,* but they are specifically described as 'Jewish philosophers'. An intriguing fact is that Philo's treatise on the Therapeutae begins with the words Ἐσσαίων περὶ διαλεχθείς (i.e. the subject discussed in the lost antecedent book), and that these words enter into the title in the Old Latin version (*Philonis Iudaei liber de statu Essaeorum...).*[80] But if this had influenced Epiphanius, we would have to conclude that he had read Philo's account in the original. Kinzig argues that the title must have been corrupt in his examplar of the Eusebian source. But it is hard to see how this could have happened, since by Eusebius' time the other part of the work had apparently been lost.** Moreover, Pritz rightly reminds us that he calls his group not Essaioi but lessaioi, so that the solution Iessaioi = Therapeutai-Essaioi is arguably too simple.82 The wily bishop leaves us guessing.

At about the same time the young Gregory of Nyssa wrote a book entitled De *virginitute,* in which the various aspects of the ascetic life are extolled. Although no specific mention is made of Philo's Therapeutae, the language Gregory uses suggests that, in contrast to Epiphanius, he had carefully read Philo's treatise on the Therapeutae. We shall examine this usage in more detail in our next chapter.83

Some 60 years later, the historian Sozomen (c. 400-c. 460) decided to continue Eusebius' account by writing an *Ecclesiastical History* for the period 324-425. Since the monastic movement was to play an important role in his work, he decides to devote an early chapter to its origins and background (1.12). Philo 'the Pythagorean' is invoked as evidence that the monastic movement had already begun in his time. When we read the details we recognize that the description is entirely taken from the Eusebian account. Sozomen skilfully abbreviates and rearranges the material in his source, making some stylistic changes-e.g. δι' ἔρωτα φιλοσοφίας instead of Eusebius' διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας—, but unlike Epiphanius he does not add new features of his own. What he does do is draw a conclusion that Eusebius resists:[84]

[80] See text at C-W 6.xviii and the comments at Schürer (1973-87) 2.596-597.

[81] Kinzig (1991) 47 n. 23. Cohn at C-W 6.ix notes the parallel with the Latin translation, but is unable to explain the coincidence.

[82] Pritz (1988) 42. But according to Kinzig *loc. cit.* the same confusion occurs in Nilus.

[83] See below § 12.3 (b); on the dating see chapter 12 n. 70.

[84] *HE* 1.12.11 (my translation); 'give a glimpse' translates ὑποφαίνειν and implies that the account is not entirely transparent.

> So it would seem that Philo, by describing them in this way, gives a glimpse of those of the Jews who in his time had become Christians, but were still living in a rather Jewish way and retained the customs of that people. For it is not possible to find that way of life among other groups. Hence I conclude that from that time this philosophy flourished among the Egyptians.

Unlike his sources, Sozomen does not hesitate to see a direct lineage from Philo's 'monks' to the Egyptian monastic communities of the 4th and 5th centuries. His account is Christianized to such a degree that the name 'Therapeutae' disappears entirely. The only addition that Sozomen himself makes is the epithet that he gives to Philo. Where does he derive this information from? It has been suggested that it is taken from Eusebius' description of Philo as having zealously pursued the Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy at *HE* 2.4.3.[85] But the epithet seems rather more specific. Is it possible that Sozomen draws it from another source or earlier tradition, such as Clement, who twice called Philo the 'Pythagorean'?86 It is harder to give a motivaton for the choice of the term. Philo is not called 'the Jew', I suspect, because that might detract from the 'Christianization' of the proto-monks. As we saw in the case of Isidore, by this time Philo is only called a Jew when the fact has a strategic importance.87

A similar process of transformation of Philo's Therapeutae can be seen in the case of the Western writer John Cassian (c. 360– c. 435).[88] When a young man, he spent a good deal of time in the East, where he greatly admired the desert monks and joined their austere way of life. On returning to the West he settled near Marseille, where he founded two monasteries with the aim of introducing the ideals and practices which he had encountered during his travels. In his work which explains his programme, the Institutes, he gives an account of Egyptian monastic life, affirming that its origins go right back to apostolic times and to the founding of the Christian church in Egypt by Mark the Evangelist.[89] In his description we recognize without difficulty Philo's Therapeutae, although neither are named. Cassian only names his direct source, the ***Ecclesiastical History*** of Eusebius. He emphasizes the monks' asceticism and devotion to scriptural study (but there is no mention of the practice of allegorical interpretation, which Eusebius does record). The devotion to manual labour which he also mentions is a patent addition of Cassian himself.[90] Philo's Jewish community has been Christianized and monasticized to such an extent that all traces of its original ***Sitz im Leben*** have disappeared.

85 Grillet-Sabbah-Festugière (1983) 166 in a note to their translation.
86 See above §8.2.
87 See the conclusion of §11.5.
88 Brief account of life, writings, doctrines at Quasten (1950-86) 4.512-523 (by A. Hamman).
89 ***De*** *institutis* ***coenobiorum*** 2.5.1–3.
90 ***As*** noted by Guy (1965) 67 in his translation ad *loc*.



And so, largely due to the popularity of Eusebius' historical labours, Philo's Therapeutae continue to live on in a modified form in both the East and the West. The biographical notices of Photius and the Souda mention 'the disciples of Mark' that Philo records, though both introduce the report with a qualification (φασί, λέγουσι).[91] Much later reworked versions of the ***History*** by Byzantine writers such as George Cedrenus and Nicephoros Callistus repeat the account without any significant changes.92 In the West Rufinus' translation of the Eusebian ***History*** is very influential. Jerome mentions the Therapeutae twice in his De ***viris illustribus***, in the notices on Mark and on Philo himself.[93] They then reappear three centuries later in the prologue to the ***Commentary on Murk*** by the English priest and scholar, the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), whose description is taken almost ***verbatim*** from Jerome's account in his biographical notice on Mark.94 As we saw in our opening chapter, it takes until the 19th century before the Therapeutae are finally allowed to revert to their pre-Eusebian status.95

## 5. *Philo* and the Easter controversies

Finally we turn to another reference to Philo in Eusebius' *Ecclestiastical* ***History*** which was taken up by later authors. It is found in the last chapter of book 7. In the original version of the work in 7 books the purpose of this chapter was to give a final survey of the churches at the beginning of contemporary times, as seen from the perspective of Eusebius and his readers.96 Portraits of the recent bishops of Antioch, Laodicea, Caesarea, Jerusalem and Alexandria are placed before the reader. The longest section is devoted to Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, a most interesting figure, about whom we would dearly like to know more. Eusebius informs us that he came from Alexandria, where he had a great reputation for learning and held the chair of Aristotelian philosophy. After the siege of the city by the Roman army in response to a rebellion in 261, in which he acted as an intermediary between the army commander and the rebels, he moved to Asia Minor, where he was appointed bishop of Laodicea. Recently scholars have inclined to the view that this Anatolius is the same person to whom Porphyry dedicated his ***Homeric questions*** and who is also recorded as the

91 Photius ***Bibl. 105,*** Souda s.v. Φίλων (texts at C-W 1 .cx–cxi).
92 Cedrenus at PG 12 1.389-392; Nicephorus at PG 145.777B–780B, 792B–801D.
93 ***De vir. ill.*** 8, 11, on which see further below 15.1.
94 ***In Marci evangelium*** *pref.* ***(= Ep. ad Accam),*** PL 92.132D–133A, noted by Conybearc ( 1895) 320 (but not recorded in G-G's list at 302-303).
95 See above § 1.5.
96 On the work's genesis see above n. ***22.*** In the later IO book version the description is adapted to indicate the state of the churches before the final persecutions began; cf. 7.32.32.

teacher of Iamblichus.[97] He is thus one of those intriguing figures who during the 3rd and 4th centuries moved in the worlds of both pagan and Christian learning. It would seem that, once a bishop, Anatolius applied his mathematical and astronomical skills to an issue that was troubling the church, the precise calculation of the date of Easter. Due to his efforts the 19 year 'Alexandrian' Easter cycle was introduced. Eusebius does not mention this in as many words, but rather illustrates Anatolius' learning by quoting a section from his *Easter Canons?**

> Therefore we say that those who place the first month [of the Jewish year, in which the Pascha falls] in it [the last sign of the Zodiac], and determine the 14th day of the Pascha accordingly, are guilty of no small or ordinary mistake. And this is not only our statement, but the fact was known to the Jews, those of old time even before Christ, and it was carefully observed by them. One may learn it from what is said by Philo, Josephus and Musaeus, and not only by them, but also by those of still more ancient date, the two Agathobuli, surnamed the Masters of Aristobulus the Great... These writers, when they resolve the questions relative to the Exodus, say that all equally ought to sacrifice the Passover after the vernal equinox, at the middle of the first month; and that this is found to occur when the sun is passing through the first sign of the solar, or, as some have named it, the zodiacal cycle.

The controversy has its background in the fact that the Christian feast of Easter is a continuation of the Jewish feast of the Passover, which was always celebrated on the 14th day of the Jewish month Nisan. The Jewish months were based on the lunar cycle of 12 months (± 354 days), which corresponds imperfectly to the solar year (± 365 days). At the time of Philo, as Anatolius tells us, the Passover was always celebrated after the spring equinox. If the month of Nisan threatened to start too early (i.e. the 14th day would occur before March 21st), then an extra month was intercalated.[99] By the time of Anatolius the Christian bishops had abandoned this *ad hoc* system, and sought to set up a cycle with allowed an exact correspondence of the date of Easter to the solar cycle.

The difficulty in the passage quoted by Eusebius is to determine who the people are whom Anatolius is arguing against. It would appear that at this time there was a division between Christians following the Alexandrian calendar, in which the full moon always succeeded the equinox, and those who followed the Antiochene method, in which the Jewish calculation was followed. In the latter case it was possible that the Paschal moon fell on the last day before the spring equinox. Against these contemporary practices Anatolius cites his collection of ancient Jewish authorities, among whom Philo has a place.

[97] *Cf.* Dillon (1973) 9, Grant (1973) 184, Barnes (1981) 146; CPG I. 199-200, and now Bucking (1YY2) 127. PLRE I.59 ducks the issue by ignoring the bishop.
[98] *HE* 7.32.14-I 8, quote from IS-1 7 (translation Oulton LCL).
[99] Cf. Schürer (1973–87) I .587–601, esp. 593.



Philo discusses the question of the date of Passover and the relation to the spring equinox in three passages: Mos. 2.222-224, *Spec.* 2.15 1-152, *QE 1.1.* As Strobe1 has pointed out in the course of a wide-ranging monograph on the entire question, Anatolius' description of his sources as 'these men who resolve the questions pertaining to the Exodus' (οὗτοι τὰ ζητούμενα κατὰ τὴν Ἔξοδον ἐπιλύοντες) is reminiscent of the title of Philo's *Quaestiones in Exodum,* in which the most detailed discussion of the question is found.[100] This suggests that the Philonic texts might have been his primary evidence. With the exception of Josephus the names of the authorities cited in the quote above all go back to Alexandrian Hellenistic Judaism. Strobe1 wonders whether there may have been an earlier dossier on the question, based largely on Alexandrian material, which Anatolius took with him on his departure from Alexandria.101 At the end of Eusebius' quote, however, there an additional reference to evidence in the Book of *Enoch.* Presumably Anatolius added this to indicate that outside the Alexandrian material there was a broader Jewish tradition which supported his position.

After Anatolius Philo continues to be associated with questions surrounding the dating of Easter. At the beginning of the 4th century Peter, bishop of Alexandria engages in a dispute with the Montanist Tricentius, in which both opponents appeal to the ancient Hebrew sages (without specific reference to Philo).[102] A Pseudo-Chrysostomic Easter homily, delivered in 387, attacks Jewish and heretical positions on the date of Easter, with direct appeal to the evidence of 'Hebrew sages such as Philo and Josephus' .[103] He adds that these lived well after the passion of Christ, so that there can be no doubt that it took place after the spring equinox. It is likely that the author is dependent on the information of Anatolius, whether directly or via Eusebius.[104] Finally the compiler of the *Chronicon Paschale,* writing in about 650, actually begins his document with the quotation of Mos. 2.222-224, citing it under the name of 'Philo the sage among the Hebrews', followed by the citations from Peter of Alexandria mentioned above.[105]

[100] Strobe1 (1977) 21 lff.
[101] Strobel (1977) 213. But Walter (1964) 19-21 denies that Anatolius had access to material on Aristobulus derived from a superior tradition.
[102] *Chron.Pasch.* PG 92.69B–73C; the attribution of parts of the extract to Tricentius is disputed; cf. Strobe1 (1977) 201ff., CPG 1.206.
[103] *In sanctam pascha sermo* 7 (= CPG 2.575), PG 59.748, §15 in the text and translation of Floëri-Nautin (1957). The author is thought to belong to the circle around Gregory of Nyssa. The same implicit distinction between Ἑβραῖος and Ἰουδαῖος is made as was noted in n. 68.
[104] Flotri-Nautin (1957) 44-48.
[105] PG 92.69A; on this document cf. Altaner (1960) 284, CPG 3.496. Contemporary with this work is an Easter treatise of the Armenian writer Ananias Shirakatzi, which makes an extensive reference to the Philonic interpretation of Ex. 12:2; see the translation at Strobel (1Y84) 126ff. In his discussion of the piece Strobel138 casts doubt on its authenticity.

In the various texts of this tradition Philo's chief role is to serve as an ancient Jewish or Hebrew authority, whose testimony carries weight on account of its antiquity. It can thus be used as ammunition against two groups of opponents, Christians (or heretics) who follow a different practice, and Jews whose festal calendar does not coincide with orthdox Christian observance. [106]

[106] The same method we noted above in the case of Isidore of Pelusium at §10.5.

Chapter Twelve

# The Cappadocians and beyond

Leaving Alexandria and Caesarea behind, our survey moves on both geographically and chronologically in the direction of Asia Minor. But not without a good deal of continuity, as will become apparent as we now turn to the three Cappadocians Fathers, who together exerted such a strong influence on the development of the Christian thought in the 4th century.

## 1. *Basil of Caesarea*

Of the three Cappadocian Church fathers, Basil (c. 330-379) is usually given the first place on account of his leadership qualities and important historical role, both as a champion of Nicene orthodoxy and a strong supporter of the monastic movement. In Cappadocian Caesarea (346–348), Constantinople (348-349) and Athens (349-350) Basil received a thorough education in classical literature and rhetoric, together with a less profound knowledge of Greek philosophy.[1] As far as we know, he did not study in Alexandria. He does tell us in a letter, however, that he later visited Alexandria, the rest of Egypt and Palestine when he went on a tour of monastic communities.* The journey is generally dated to 356. Two years later his friend and fellow-student Gregory of Nazianzus joined Basil in his retreat on the family estate in Cappadocia, and together they compiled the ***Philokalia***, an anthology of extracts from the writings of Origen, an activity which indicates a strong interest in the Alexandrian tradition on the part of both young men.[3]

[1] On Basil's early career, cf. Von Campenhausen (1963) 84ff. I follow the chronology of Fedwick (1979) 5f. Basil's education at Athens is discussed in Ruether (1969) 18-28. The extent of Basil's knowledge of Greek philosophy is analysed and deprecated by Rist (1979) 136-220 (without reference to knowledge of Philo).

[2] *Ep.* 223.2. In this important autobiographical document Basil describes his education as ματαιότης and ματαιοπονία, from which ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου βαθέος διαναστάς, ἀπέβλεψα μὲν πρὸς τὸ θαυμαστὸν φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου. We note that the language here (except the last two words) is very Philonic: cf. the description of Abraham's conversion at *Abr. 70,* and other passages such as *Deus 97, Somn.* 1.165 etc.

[3] This is the commonly held position, based on *Epp. 6* and 115 of Gregory Nazianzus; cf.

In Basil's extant writings Philo is mentioned only once. In *Ep.* 190.3, presumably in response to an exegetical inquiry from his correspondent, the bishop of Iconium Amphilochius, he writes that Philo, 'as if taught by a Jewish tradition, interprets manna as having a quality such that it changed according to the representation (φαντασία) of the eater'. Such an interpreation is nowhere to be found in Philo's extant writings. Royse has suggested that it is derived from a now lost section of the *Quaestiones in Exodum*, and this is surely very probable.4 Basil's suggestion that Philo might be drawing on a haggadic tradition (since he knows that the idea is not biblical),[5] implies his knowledge of Philo's Jewish background, which he does not overtly criticize.

For our subject by far the most interesting work of Basil is the collection of nine *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* which he delivered before his congregation, probably during the period of lent in 378 during the last year of his life.6 It is the first Christian writing specifically dedicated to exegesis of the Mosaic creation account that has survived (although it naturally draws extensively on anterior traditions of Christian exegesis, such as are found in Theophilus and Origen). Authors subsequent to Basil tend to take him as their point of departure. His work thus constitutes a watershed in the long tradition of Hexaemeral literature, which continues throughout the later ancient period and is also highly popular in the Byzantine world and Latin medieval West.[7] For this reason Basil's determination of his exegetical method is of considerable historical importance. He makes two highly significant choices. Firstly, his exposition of the first six days of creation adheres rather strictly to literal exegesis. On a number of occasions he inveighs against those who give speculative allegorical interpretations of aspects of the creation account.[8] Secondly, although he refers extensively to

Ruether (1969) 29, Fedwick (1979) 6. Their authorship has recently been called into question by Harl(1983) 24.

4 Cf. Royse (1976-77) 58, 61, 76, (1991) 34. Harris (1886) 106 prints the text as printed by Craemer from the Florilegium Cod. Barocc. 30 f.74 and adds 'The extract cannot be a genuine passage of Philo?'. The extract is in fact a slightly abridged version of Basil's text, which Harris appears not to know. There is perhaps a hint of the doctrine at *Congr.* 174, as Alexandre (1967) in her commentary ad *loc.* points out, but it is insufficient to explain Basil's reference.

5 For the theme in the Haggada see Ginzberg (1909-38) 2.43, 6.17, but without reference to Basil. Note also Sap. Sal. 16:20, and cf. the same theme in Gregory of Nyssa below at n. 119.

6 The precise dating is a matter of some controversy: I follow Amand de Mendieta (1985) 356ff., but cf. also Fedwick (1979) 18 (who dates it less specifically to 378) and Maraval (1988) who argues that certain indications point to Basil's death occuring in September 377.

7 For Basil's place in this tradition cf. Robbins (1912) 42ff. and *passim*, Van Winden (1988) 1262ff.

8 Cf. *Hex.* 2.4 15C, 3.9 31B, 9.1 80B (references are to the numbering in the edition of Giet (1948,1968²)). Lim (1990) argues that these statements should not be seen as indicating a 'conversion' from Alexandrian speculative exegesis to Antiochene literal exegesis, but



Greek philosophical and scientific theories, his attitude is primarily 'biblicistic' and edificatory. Scientific views can be called on when explaining scripture, but there is no point in dwelling on possible or probable theories, when scripture offers the knowledge of the truth that the believer needs.9

There are undoubtedly similarities (as well as significant differences) between Basil's exegetical method and that of Philo in his *De opificio mundi.* Philo adheres for the most part to literal exegesis,[10] and he uses Greek philosophical and scientific theories to illumine the biblical account. To what extent did Basil make use of Philo's work? A number of studies have been devoted to research on the sources of Basil's homilies, of which the most recent and methodologically most self-conscious is that of Amand de Mendieta. He recognizes the valuable material collected by scholars such as Gronau, Courtonne, Giet and others, but argues that insufficient account has been taken of the actual circumstances in which Basil worked.11 Gravely ill and burdened by the great demands of his episcopal office, Basil could not have had the time to prepare his homilies by reading all manner of philosophical and exegetical sources. A distinction has to be made between *mediate* and *distant* sources, i.e. knowledge that Basil acquired through his education and wide reading, and the *immediate* or *specific* sources which he used for this particular work. Among the latter one can again distinguish between those sources used for the work in its entirety and those utilized for specific parts, i.e. one or several homilies. The four sources that Amand de Mendieta considers Basil to have used throughout the entire work are: the Greek Bible, the great *Commentary on Genesis* of Origen, a comprehensive philosophical manual, and Philo's *De opificio mundi.*[12] Alas, the detailed philological and theological commentary in which these assertions were to be demonstrated in full detail remained unpublished at the time of his death.

For more detailed comments on Basil's reading of Philo we thus need to turn to Giet, who prefaces his elegant French translation of the work with a long introduction on its interpretation and sources. The following is a list of

rather as the result of accommodation to the spiritual requirements of his audience. The *Hexaemeron* is thus not a 'Literalist Manifesto'. Not all details of Lim's argument are equally persuasive, but his general thesis is, I think, correct.

9 Cf. 1.8 8B, 9.1 80D etc.

10 Though one may argue, with Nikiprowetzky (1965) 302-306, that numerical symbolism takes the place of allegorical exegesis.

11 Amand de Mendieta (1985) 360ff., with reference to Gronau ( 1914), Courtonne ( 1934). Giet (1968) etc.; Giet is praised for implicitly making the distinction and placing research on the right track. Courtonne consistently relegates Philo to the footnotes; cf. (1934) 30, 35, 6X etc. On p.1 he speaks of Basil's 'double éducation religieuse et profane', but then proceeds to discuss only his classical education.

12 Amand de Mendieta (1985) 364-365. The subject requires further investigation. The suggestion of a single philosophical manual which is 'à la fois méthodique et doxographique, assez détaillé et éclectique' (365) is unconvincing.

passages where he regards Basil as indebted to the Alexandrian exegete:

1.1 2A: feebleness of spirit in explaining significance of account; cf. *Opif.* 4-6 (note esp. Basil τῶνμικρῶνφωνῶν, Philo βραχυτέροις χαρακτῆρσιν).
1.1 2B: Moses' education: cf. *Opif.* 8, but esp. *Mos.* 1.18ff.
2.3 14D: possibly polemic against Philo's presentation of God as an active force and matter as a passive object at *Opif.* 8.
2.8 21A-C: day 'one' (not first day) related to eternity; cf. *Opif.* 15, 35.[13]
3.4 25C–D: explanation of firmament (στερέωμα) in terms of three dimensions; cf. *Opif.* 36.
5.1 40D, 6.2 5 1A: why plants are created before the sun that enables them to grow; cf. *Opif.* 45 (the intermediation of Theophilus Ad *Autol.* 2.15 is far from essential).
8.2 72B: kinship between fish and birds because both float; cf. *Opif.* 64.

No doubt further careful examination would locate more parallels and thematic similarities. For example, it has been argued by Petit that Basil's very strong emphasis on the wonder of creation, which should excite in man admiration for the wisdom and artistry of creator, is indebted to Philo.[14] Because of the loss of Origen's Commentary and other possible intermediate works, it will remain difficult to be certain in each case whether Basil draws them from a direct reading.

How careful one must be in such cases can be seen in the case of one passage at the end of the work, where Basil very briefly touches on the theme of the creation of man on the sixth day. Having introduced the first words in Gen. 1:26, Basil immediately launches into a polemical attack on a *Jewish* opponent (9.6 87B):[15]

> 'And God said, let us make man' (Gen. 1:26). Where, tell me, is the Jew, who in the previous sections, even though the light of the doctrine of God was shining forth as if through a window and a second person (of the Trinity) was being disclosed in a secret fashion but was not yet revealed in full clarity, continued to fight against the truth, asserting that God was conversing with himself?

A few lines later the attack on Jewish exegesis is continued and another explanation is given for the plural verb in the scriptural text (87D–E):

> 'Let us make man' (Gen. 1:26). You hear, fighter against Christ, that he is talking to his companion in the work of creation, 'through whom he also made the ages, who bears the universe through his powerful word' (Hebr. 1:2-3). But he (i.e. our opponent) does not accept the word of piety (*v.l.* truth) in silence. Just like those wild animals who are most savage towards mankind, when they have been locked up in cages, bellow forth as they pace around in circles, revealing their resentful and untamed nature, but are unable to consummate their fury, so that race hostile to the truth, the Jews, are pushed into a corner and affirm that there is a plurality of persons whom the word of God addresses. According to them it is to the angels that stand around him that he says, 'let us make man'. This is a Jewish invention, a fiction which reveals their slipperiness. In order not to have to accept a single addressee, they introduce a multiplicity. In rejecting the Son, they confer on servants the dignity of being counsellors; at the same time they make our fellow-servants masters of our creation. Man when he has achieved perfection is elevated to the rank of angels (cf. Ps. 8:6). What product of creation can be equal to its creator?

Giet, followed by Daniélou and Naldini, claimed that the Jew that Basil has in mind in his polemics is Philo, and he is thinking particularly of the explanation of the plural verb at *Opif.* 72-75.[16] This would mean a second (but this time implicit) reference to Philo in his writings. In a detailed examination of this complex passage I have shown that this claim cannot be sustained.[17] As we see in the two quotes above, Basil vacillates between a single Jew as opponent and Jews in the plural. In fact the single Jew must be read as a *collective figure,* who represents a considerable body of Jewish exegesis on this text.[18] Basil is engaged in a running battle with Jewish exegetes who-wrongly in his view-attempt to explain the creation account without reference to a second divine person, the Logos.

But it is equally important to note that in this passage Basil is not just interested in Jewish opinions for their own sake, but on account of the direct connection which he sees between Judaizing views and the Anomean heresy.[19] These heretics are denounced in the strong terms (88A–B):

> Listen, you too from the new circumcision, who advocate Judaism under the guise of Christianity. To whom does he say, according to our image? To anyone else than 'the radiance of his glory and the imprint of his full nature' (ὑπόστασις) (Hebr. 1:3), who is 'the image of God the unseen' (Col. 1:15)? Therefore he speaks to his own living image, who declared, 'I and the Father are one' (John 10:30), and 'he who has seen me, has seen the Father' (John 14:9). To this image he says 'let us make man according to our image' (Gen. 1:26). When there is a single image, where is the dissimilarity?

The last remark of course refers to the name of the dissenting group. Their

[13] Not commented on by Giet, but cf. Gronau (1914) 40. The interpretation of the cardinal number with eternity is reminiscent of Philo (cf. $16, 26–28), but not the explanation in terms of the cycle of the week. Gronau points out the possible intermediation of Origen (cf. *Hom. in Gen.* 1.1.40).

[14] P. Petit (1973) 220. Cf. *Opif.* 7, 45 with *Hex.* 1.7 7C, 1.10 10D; the bold description of God as ὁ μέγας θαυματοποιός (juggler) at 4.1 33C is paralleled in *Plant.* 3 (both LSJ and Lampe ignore this theological application). But missing in Basil is Philo's characteristic theme of *relative* admiration, i.e. polemics against those who admire the world more than God.

[15] My own translation; for the full passage cf. Runia (1992b)173–174.

[16] Giet (1968) 50, 5 14, Danitlou (1967) 336, Naldini (1990) 401.

[17] Runia (1992b).

[18] Cf. esp. *Genesis Rabbah 8.3-9,* but also reports in Church fathers, e.g. Justin *Dial.* 62.1–3, Tertullian Adv. *Prax.* 12; a summary is given at Runia (1992b)177f. In general Basil shows limited interest in Judaism, for the most part avoiding the strong anti-Judaic statements of his near contemporaries Ephrem and John Chrysostom; cf. Schreckenberg (1982) 293f.

[19] On the doctrinal controversies in Cappadocia in the year of the *Hexaemeron*'s composition, cf. Smets-Van Esbroeck (1970) 99ff., with reference to Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl. 8. I2* l *14.1-5* Bidez-Winkelmann.

emphasis on the dissimilarity of the Father and the Son continues a Judaizing subordinationist theology, in which the three persons of the Trinity are not regarded as equal. As we already observed in a previous chapter,[20] a highly interesting sequel to Basil's text is found in Isidore of Pelusium. In the same article cited above I have argued that Isidore reacts against this particular text in ***Ep.*** 2.143, where he defends Philo, claiming that, though a zealous Jew, he was able through his reading of the Old Testament to gain some conception of the doctrines of the second person and the Trinity.[21] Basil had argued that the two texts Gen. 1:26 and 1:27 are written with a view to combatting two different deviations. In the former text Moses educates the Jew (i.e. through the plural indicating the Trinity). In the latter text 'he blocked off the route to Hellenism and safely returned to the monad, so that you may both conceive the Son together with the Father and escape the danger of polytheism'. Taking his cue from Basil, Isidore argues that orthodox Christianity (and to some degree Philo) adheres to the middle path between Judaizing monotheism and Hellenizing polytheism. The former is associated with the Sabellian heresy, the latter with Arius and Eunomius. In this last view he differs from Basil, who regards the Anomeans as Judaizers.[22] We shall pursue this connection of Philo with heretical thought further when we turn to the evidence of Gregory of Nyssa.

Towards the end of the passage just discussed (88C) Basil postpones discussion of what is meant by the text that man is created 'in the image of God'. In the manuscripts, attributed sometimes to Basil and sometimes to Gregory of Nyssa, are two homilies Περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γενέσεως λόγος α' εἰς τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα and Εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον λόγος β', of which the former is clearly presented as a fulfilment of the pledge in the ***Hexaemeron.*** Controversy has raged on whether these two works are authentically Basilian. A plausible solution is that the redaction is not his, but that they are based on material that he left behind after his death.24 Here too are clear ***rapprochements*** with Philo's exegesis of the creation account, with the same doubts as to whether direct contact is involved in each case.25 The two most interesting passages are in the 2nd homily. In §3 the author reports that some exegetes have distinguished between the word ἔπλασεν (Gen. 1:27) for the body and ἐποίησεν (Gen. 2:7) for the soul. This goes back to *Opif.* 134, but probably via Origen (cf. ***Horn. in Gen.*** 1.13). In §8 the

[20] ***See*** above §10.5.
[21] Runia (1992b) 180–185.
[22] Arianism can be regarded as Hellenizing, because it has a hierarchy of divine hypostases.
[23] Pro Smets-Van Esbroeck (1970) ***passim,*** Daniélou (1967) 336; *contra* Hörner (1972a), Amand de Mendieta (1973).
[24] Suggestion of Horner (1972) ix, cited at CPG 3215, with which Amand de Mendieta (1973) 713ff. concurs.
[25] Cf. notes of Smets-Van Esbroeck (1970) at 1.4, 1.5, 1.7, 1.8; cf. also Merki (1952) 166–167, arguing against earlier attribution to Gregory of Nyssa.



author informs the reader that he is well acquainted with use of arithmetical science in order to explain the six days of creation and the seventh day, but that he finds this information unsuited to his edificatory task. The examples he gives for the hexad and hebdomad correspond rather exactly to material furnished by Philo at *Opif.* 13 and 99.[26]

In his essay on Philo in the Cappadocian fathers, Daniélou concludes that both Basil and his brother Gregory of Nyssa knew Philo's De ***opificio mundi,*** but that there is an important difference in attitude: Basil is purely negative, while Gregory draws freely on him.27 This judgment is flawed because it is primarily based on the text at ***Hex. 9.6*** which, we have seen, does not have Philo in mind.28 It would be more correct to conclude that Basil's attitude is rather neutral. We may presume that he sees Philo as part of the Alexandrian tradition of biblical exegesis, and so feels free to draw on the material he offers, but sees no compelling reason to draw attention to his particular contribution.

## 2. *Gregory of Nazianzus*

Just like his bosom-friend Basil, Gregory (329/30–390) belonged to the wealthy land-owning class of Cappadocia.[29] They studied together in Cappadocian Caesarea and Athens. But unlike Basil, Gregory also spent some time studying in both Palestinian Caesarea-where according to Jerome his fellow-student was Euzoius, the restorer and preserver of Philo's writings[30]—and Alexandria.[31] Clearly Gregory had every opportunity to become acquainted with Philo's writings, for it was precisely in these two centres that study and reading of Philo was concentrated.32 But, unlike Basil again, he never mentions his name in all his extant writings.

Gregory's acquaintance with and utilization of Philo's writings has received virtually no attention, with the single exception of a massive study by Trisoglio.[33] The Italian scholar fills in the historical background, and

[26] References at Smets-Van Esbroeck (1970) 247n. and Daniélou (1967) 336 are too vague.
[27] ***Ibid.*** 337.
[28] See my criticism of Daniélou's cavalier treatment of the text at Runia (1992b) 176. The judgment is also based on the dismissal of arithmological exegesis in ***De opif. horn.*** 2.8 (which he regards as authentic). Lim's argument (cf. above n. 8) can apply here also: arithmology is not rejected as such, but in this passage it is dismissed because it distracts from the author's edificatory purpose.
[29] On Gregory see the detailed survey by Wyss (1983).
[30] Jerome, ***De vir. ill.*** 113.
[31] As he himself tells us in ***De vita sua*** 128f.; on Gregory's education see further Ructhcr (1969) 18-33.
[32] One wonders whether Gregory came into contact with Didymus the Blind.
[33] Trisoglio (1984). The study appears to have been written in the early 1970's, since the author, in his hunting for parallels, did not have access to Mayer's ***Index Philoneus*** (cf. note

rightly argues that the failure to mention Philo explicitly should not be taken to mean that Gregory was not acquainted with him.[34] But how, then, are we to determine the relationship between the two writers? Trisoglio's method is unexpected. He takes one particular oration, On love of *the poor (Or.* 14 Περὶ φιλοπτωχίας), and examined it line for line for reminiscences of and thematic parallels to the writings of Philo. The advantage of this choice, he maintains, is that the piece is quite devoid of technical discussion and its theme is never explicitly dealt with by Philo, so that there is no chance that the parallel material discovered is merely the result of similarity of subject matter.35 On the basis of his results, which occupy more than 80 pages of solid exposition and discussion, Trisoglio concludes that the 'tenacious parallelism' which he has discovered, consisting of conceptual, stylistic and linguistic convergences, is 'a product not of chance, but of study'.36

What are we to make of this vast collection of evidence? It would seem that, if its aim is to demonstrate direct usage of Philo by Gregory, its methodology is fundamentally flawed. Basically the method consists of the citation of a phrase from Gregory's oration, followed by the presentation of thematic or verbal parallels culled from anywhere in the Philonic corpus. It is highly significant that Trisoglio nowhere, as far as I can tell, succeeds in demonstrating that Gregory actually alludes to any *particular* Philonic passage.37 The parallels are always more general. Moreover, the comparison is nearly always made directly, without any consideration of relevant thematic or exegetical or terminological traditions which might influence Philo or Gregory to make their particular statement. For example, in the case of Gregory's description of lepers as ἄνθρωποι νεκροὶ καὶ ζῶντες, Trisoglio adduces Philo Fug. 55 ζῶντες ἔνιοι τεθνήκασι καὶ τεθνηκότες, but fails to mention that the ideas has its origin in a famous Heraclitan topos.[38] Does Gregory need Philo for this idea? To give another example, if Gregory describes Jesus as τῆς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς αἴτιος, then it is much more im-

on p. ***601).*** A significant proportion of the article consists of lengthy bibliographical footnotes, with endless listings of studies in chronological order; we note esp. 596-599 on Philo in the Church Fathers, 723-726 on Philo and the New Testament.

34 Trisoglio (1984) 697ff. Note that the fact that Gregory's writings consists entirely of theological orations, letters ( mostly rather brief) and poems, without any exegetical or dogmatic works, means he would be less likely to mention Philo.

35 The methodology is set out at Trisoglio (1984) 599f.

36 Trisoglio (1984) 696, cf. 687.

37 Apart from the analysis under discussion the contribution is written at a quite incredible level of generality. No attempt is made to summarize the 'hard' results for the reader. No presentation is made of the concrete results of Philo's influence on Gregory's thought. Although at the beginning of the article much is made of the importance of allegory, the text chosen scarcely gives any scope for the investigation of the importance of Philonic allegory for Gregory's thought.

38 Trisoglio (1984) 618f.; on the Philo's use of Heraclitan topoi and on this text in particular see Mansfeld (1985) 141 ff.



portant to recognize the Johannine background (esp. John 14:6), rephrased in elegant Greek, than to note Philo's statement at *Leg.* 1.32 that God breathes into the mind a δύναμις ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς.[39]

On the other hand, it must be conceded to the industrious Italian scholar that the vast body of material he has collected is *not* the result of pure chance. What it indicates, to my mind, is that Gregory stands squarely in a tradition of thought in which Platonism and Philonism have been so thoroughly integrated that characteristic themes, terms, and language appear in nearly every other sentence. The chief vehicle for this tradition has been the Alexandrian school of Clement, Origen, Athanasius and Didymus, whose writings Gregory will have studied with great diligence. It seems to me not unlikely that he made a cursory study of Philo's works as well, but that this did not result in allusions to or adaptations of particular passages.[40] To put the matter more concretely, it is not likely that Gregory owned or had easy access to a copy of Philo's works.

## *3. Gregory of Nyssa*

The third of the Cappadocian fathers, Gregory of Nyssa (c. 338-c. 395) possessed less ability than his older brother Basil in the area of leadership and organization, and was less gifted than his namesake Gregory of Nazianzus in the area of literature and rhetoric, but as a thinker and theologian he surpassed them both. Directly and through the mediation of Ps. Dionysius his influence on subsequent theology, particularly in the Eastern Orthodox tradition, has been profound and lasting. In the first thirty years after World War II classical scholars and theologians, led by Jaeger and Daniélou, did much to render his works and thought more accessible, During the last 15 years, however, progress has almost come to a standstill.41 Even now the great edition of Gregory's works, begun in 1908 on Wilamovitz's 60th birthday and later revitalized by Jaeger, is not yet complete.[42]

Unlike the other two Cappadocians Gregory did not travel outside his

39 Trisoglio (1984) 603.

40 There are virtually no references to Philo given in the recent editions of Gregory's ***Orations*** in SC 247, 250, 270, 284, 309, 318. A complete critical edition of Gregory's works remains a great ***desideratum.***

41 Introduction to his works and thought in Quasten (1950-86) 3.254-296, Dörrie (1983). Exhaustive, though unannotated, bibliography in Altenburger-Mann (1988), with references to discussions on Gregory's knowledge and use of Philo at 340.

42 For Gregory's writings cf. CPG 3135-3204. History and *status quo* of the project as of 1969 discussed at length by Hörner (1972). Since then only three volumes have been added. Particularly regrettable is the fact that the volume containing the *Apologia in Hexaemeron* and ***De*** *opificio hominis* is not yet available. The critical edition of Forbes (I 855) is sound but very rare, and most authors continue to cite Migne.

native land in order to obtain his education, but received it at home from his brother Basil, who encouraged him to pursue the treasures of both sacred and profane learning.[43] We do not know specifically whether this early education included the reading of Philonic works. The travels that Gregory undertook later in his life, after he had been elected to the bishopric of Nyssa, did not take him to the 'Philonic cities' of Alexandria and Caesarea, but rather to Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem.44 For actual evidence of Gregory's knowledge of and use of Philo we have no option but to turn to the evidence of his writings. The subject of Gregory's knowledge and use of Philo was dealt with by Daniélou in a paper presented to the famous 1967 Philo colloque in Lyons.[45] Unfortunately his discussion is not in all respects satisfactory. We shall approach the subject by focusing on four works, each of which is representative of an important part of Gregory's *œuvre*.

(a) ***Contra Eunomium***[46]

Although unquestionably learned, Gregory is notoriously vague and elusive in his references to non-scriptural sources. As Dörrie has observed, the method of determining extent and depth of knowledge by means of citations and allusions, which works so well for Clement, and Eusebius, fails completely in the case of Gregory, for he is a master of the 'thought-citation', whereby an idea is taken over from somewhere else, but then completely remodelled and reworded so that all direct verbal parallelism disappears.47 It is therefore doubly significant that in his massive compilation against the heresy of Eunomius (which actually consists of four separate works[48]) Gregory twice refers to Philo.[49] In the 5th book of the third work, written between 381 and 383 he refutes at great length an attack of Eunornius on the recently departed Basil. A child of his time, Gregory uses all the rhetorical techniques of invective and polemic at his disposal. At ***3.5.23-25,*** after quoting some lines from Basil, he launches into an attack on Eunomius' style (2.168.5-27 Jaeger):[50]

[43] Cf. Dörrie (1983) 865f., citing *De horn. opif., pref.* PG 44.1125B, *Ep.* 13.4 Pasquali.

[44] Cf. Dörrie (1983) 867ff.

[45] DaniClou (1967) 333-345, much of which is repeated in (1'970) 85–93.

[46] Parts of this section have been published separately in am article on Philo and Christian heresy, Runia (1992d).

[47] Dörrie (1983) 885.

[48] First disentangled by Jaeger in his edition of 1921, reprinted in Jaeger (1960).

[49] We ignore the text in the summary at 1.16.20, since thiis was most likely added on the basis of the main body of the text by a later scribe; cf. Jaeger ((1960) 1.3.

[50] My translation (cf. also English translation by Wilson iin Moore-Wilson (1893) 193f.). On account of my interpretative disagreement with Daniëlou I cite the relevant sentence on Philo in the original (2.168.13-18): καὶ διὰ τῆς συνήθους ἑαυτοῦ λέξεως συντίθησι καὶ διακολλᾷ τὰ ἐν τριόδοις ἀπερριμμένα τῶν λεξειδίων ῥακώματα, καὶ πάλιν ὁ τλήμων Ἰσοκράτης περιεσθίεται ῥήματά τε καὶ σχήματα πρὸς τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ προκειμένου παρατιλλόμενος, ἔστι δὲ ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος Φίλων τὰ ἴσα πάσχει, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πόνων συνερανίζων αὐτῷ τὰ λεξείδια.



> These are the words of the great Basil. As for the sagacity that is directed against us by the opponent of these words, let those who have the leisure to spend their time on unprofitable things learn it from the writing of Eunomius himself. For I find it unpleasant to insert the sickening nonsense of the rhetor among my own labours and to record his ignorance and foolishness through the medium of my own words. For he continues with an 'encomium of significant arguments which elucidate the underlying subject', and in his usual style he compiles and glues together the rag-collection of terms tossed away at the crossroads. Then once again the unfortunate Isocrates is nibbled at and depilated for words and figures that he can use for the composition of his subject. There are also places where even Philo the Hebrew suffers the same fate, supplying him with terms drawn from his own labours. And not even thus has this elaborately stitched and multi-coloured tapestry been completed, but every proof and every defence of conceptions and every technical exercise collapses of its own accord like bubbles...

Speaking here in quite general terms, Gregory accuses Eunomius of being a plagiarist and a centonist, i.e. stealing and stitching together material (a carpet-bag, cento, medley) drawn from other sources.[51] One of these sources, apparently, is Philo, who supplies him with certain terms. DaniClou thinks that Eunomius here is ***compared*** to Philo, with the implied accusation that Philo, just like Eunomius, repeats himself by drawing on the same formulas used elsewhere. This interpretation is based on an incorrect translation of the text.52 The point is that the heretic Eunomius is portrayed as an unoriginal author who is dependent on other sources. Among these are Isocrates and Philo, who ***supply*** him with certain terms in his arguments. Gregory does not criticize Philo, but rather feels sorry for him, because his writings are exploited in such an unscrupulous way. The French scholar certainly is correct, however, when he concludes from this remark that Gregory must have been acquainted with the Philonic *œuvre*.

Some fifty pages later at 3.7.8 Gregory fortunately gives an illustration of what he thinks Eunomius filched from Philo (2.217.17-218.5):

> For 'the most eminent God (of his), anterior, he says, to all other beings that are generated, has power over his own ***dynamis'***. The statement in its actual wording has been transferred by our literary hack from Philo the Hebrew to his

[51] Standard polemical procedure, comparable to the accustions made by Hippolytus against the Gnostics, who stitch together centos from Greek philosophers; cf. the extensive material collected by Mansfeld (1992) 153-157 and ***passim.***

[52] DaniClou (1967) 333f., repeated at (1970) 86f. He translates the crucial sentence as follows: 'Eunome, suivant son procédé de style habituel, réunit, pour les coudre ensemble, les lambeaux de formules toutes faites, qui trainent dans les carrefours. Voici le pauvre Isocrate qui se ronge à nouveau, arrachant brin à brin les mots et les figures pour en composer son ouvrage et il arrive aussi que l'Hébreu Philon agisse de même, récoltant pour lui dans ses propres travaux les formules toutes faites.' For this rendering the final sentence would have to read πράττει instead of πάσχει and αὐτῷ instead of αὐτῷ. Daniélou's interpretation goes back to the 17th century Latin translation of N. Guloni printed at PG 45.747C.

> own text, and Eunomius' theft from the actual works compiled by Philo will become as clear as day to whoever is willing to examine them. But I have indicated this in the present context not so much because I reproach our literary hack for the poverty of his own words and thoughts, but rather because I wish to demonstrate to my readers the affinity between Eunomius' doctrines and the texts of the Jews. For the text of Philo in its very wording would not have been suited to his conceptions, if there was not a kinship of thought between the two. Thus it is possible to find in Philo the text 'God is anterior to all other beings that are generated', while the following phrase 'has power over his own *dynamis'* has been thrown in from the Neo-Judaic sect. Examination of the text will clearly demonstrate its absurdity...

The text in Eunomius was ὁ ἐξοχώτατος θεὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα γεννητά, τῆς αὐτοῦ κρατεῖ δυνάμεως. Gregory claims that the phrase ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα γεννητά is literally taken over from Philo.[53] This claim cannot be substantiated from the Philonic corpus that we still possess. There is a small chance that it may have been located in one of the works that has been lost. It is more likely, however, that Gregory remembered phrases of a similar kind from his reading of Philo and exaggerated the relationship into one of direct dependence. Jaeger pointed to ***Leg.*** 3.175 ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ... πρεσβύτατος... τῶν ὅσα γέγονε (but Eunomius is talking about God the Father) and ***Migr. 183*** πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ γενητοῦ (s.c. ἐστιν ὁ θεός). Another text that Gregory may have called to mind is ***Leg. 3.4*** πρὸ γὰρ παντὸς γενητοῦ ὁ θεός ἐστι.[54] Presumably he will also have remembered that Philo often speaks about God's δύναμις or δυνάμεις. But the remaining part of the sentence is attributed not to Philo, but to the νέα Ἰουδαϊκή (s.c. αἵρεσις), by which he means Arianism and, in particular, the more recent group of Anomeans.[55] We recall the polemical final section of Basil's ***Hexaemeron,*** where Gregory's great example addresses the Anomeans as 'you from the new circumcision'.56 As is made clear in the quote above, Gregory sees a close affinity between Arianism in its Eunomian form and Judaism. On numerous occasions in the work he refers to the Judaizing tendency of the doctrine. To give one example out of many, at C. ***Eun.*** 1.177, 1.79.9ff. Gregory argues that the Eunomians in effect propound the Jewish

[53] So not the phrase ὁ ἐξοχώτατος θεὸς as one might first think. Philo does not use the adjective ἔξοχος, but cf. his expression ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεός at *Sacr.* 60. ***Decal.*** 53 etc.

[54] The last two texts both involve exegesis of Ex. 17:6, so Eunomius might have drawn his quote from the passage in *QE* on that text (cf. also *Somn.* 2.221, with a reference to God's δύναμις). But that is pure speculation. Daniélou remarks that ὅσα γεννητά is found at ***Pruem.*** 28. This is not strictly correct: ὅσα γενητά occurs at *Plant.* 66, Mos. 2.168, *Spec.* 2.166, *Praem.* 28 (for the first and last text a minority of mss. record γεννητά).

[55] Arius appears to have spoken about the Logos as δύναμις in his *Thalia*; cf. Grillmeier (1965) 235. It is particularly prominent in the doctrine of (the semi-Arian) Marcellinus of Ancyra; cf. *ibid.* 270. The notion of δύναμις frequently occurs in the remains of Eunomius (cf. Vaggione (1987) 200), and 1 Cor. 1:24 is one of his favourite texts.

[56] See above at n. 19.



doctrine of God. They contend that only the being (οὐσία) of God truly (κυρίως) exists, and reckon the being of the Son and the Holy Spirit in effect to belong to the category of non-existents (ἐν τοῖς μὴ οὖσι). For that which does not truly (κυρίως) exist is said to be through customary inexact use of language (καταχρήσει συνηθείας), just like we call a statue a man, though in fact it is only an image of a man. These men, Gregory concludes, should leave the Church and return to the synagogues of the Jews. If the doctrine of Eunomius is given this interpretation-the question of its validity must in our context be waived-, then a polemical association with Philo might be thought not implausible, for the distinction between exact and inexact use of language in speaking about God is an important theme in his writings.57 There is, however, an important difference. Gregory speaks here about attributing ***existence*** to God and the Trinity, whereas Philo speaks about the ***names*** of God, none of which are legitimate except ὁ ὤν–τὸ ὄν. Philo would never affirm that the divine powers belong to the category of non-being.

This passage of Gregory is of particular interest for our subject because it shows beyond all doubt that Philo as a Jew could be associated with Christian heresy. Part of the Judaizing tendency of the Neo-Arians is their exploitation of Philo's writings. Philo's phraseology encourages Eunomius in his heretical opinions, because it presents God as ontologically superior to all other beings that are generated, whereas in Nicene orthodoxy the Son is generated (γέννητος), but in no respect ontologically inferior to the Father (for he is ὁμοούσιος, 'of the same substance'). In this passage Philo's doctrine of the Logos-interpreted as a hypostasis separate from God himself[58]-is implicit rather than explicit. It will be illuminating, therefore, to examine one more passage from Gregory, where it is placed more explicitly in the foreground.

At the beginning of the ***Oratio catechetica,*** Gregory's outline of a systematic theology,[59] the Cappadocian Father discusses the therapy (or strategy, as we might now say) to be used against systems of thought and belief that differ from Christian orthodoxy, i.e. Hellenism, Judaism and Christian heresy (***Pref.***, 2.1 l-3.9 Srawley):[60]

> You will not heal the polytheism of the Greek and the unbelief of the Jew concerning the only begotten God by the same means, nor can you use the

[57] The theme of κατάχρησις, already noted in connection with Arius at § 10.2 and n. 44.

[58] Certain statements of Philo encourage this view, but whether it represents the major thrust of his Logos theology is, to my mind, doubtful. See for example the remarks by Winston (1985) 49-50.

[59] On the work cf. Quasten (1950–86) 3.262, who calls it 'the most important of all his dogmatic writings'.

[60] My translation, based on the fine critical edition with commentary of Srawley (1903). The comments of Schreckenberg (1982) 299-300 on Gregory's dialogue with Judaism are disappointingly brief. Gregory abstains from violent anti-Judaism.

> same arguments in the case of those among the sects who have gone astray to overturn their deluded doctrinal fairy tales. For the arguments you use to correct the Sabellian will not also benefit the Anomean, while the struggle against the Manichean will be of no assistance for the Jew, but one should, as I just said, look at the preconceptions that men have and construct the argument against the error located in each opponent, putting forward in each discussion certain principles and reputable propositions, so that through the views admitted on both sides the truth may in consequence be revealed...

This is the same schema that we saw in Basil and Isidore of Pelusium. The truth of orthodoxy stands midway between the error of Hellenic polytheism and Judaic monotheism, with the Christian heresies deviating to the one or the other side.61 The parallelism of phrases shows that here too the doctrine of Eunomius and the Anomeans is associated with Judaizing. In a lovely example of the use of the dialectical method (ultimately derived from Aristotle), Gregory proceeds to refute the atheism and polytheism of the Greeks. Then he directs his argument to the Jewish position. Here too his method is dialectical, starting from positions held by his opponents (§1, 6.12–7.9):[62]

> But since the doctrine of piety is able to perceive a distinction of hypostases in the unity of the (divine) nature, we must take care that in our combat against the Greeks our argument does not covertly lapse towards Judaism. So again by means of a systematic distinction we should correct the error of this view. Now it is accepted by those outside our doctrine (τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος) that the Godhead is not without logos (ἄλογος). This agreed position of theirs is sufficient to articulate our argument. For he that agrees that God is not without logos will certainly consent to the view that he who is not without logos in any case has *(a) logos*...

Normally one would expect the phrase 'those outside our doctrine' to refer to Greek views, but here in the context it must apply to Jews or Judaizers,[63] and it is to be agreed with Srawley that the prime example of a Jewish thinker holding the view that God has a logos must be Philo.[64] Here we thus have a slightly more positive view of Philo than in the *Contra Eunomium*, where Philo does nothing but supply the heretic with erroneous ideas. But we should not overlook the fact that the context is dialectical.

61 Cf. Runia (1991a) 306, (1992b) 179. The arbitrariness of the association of heresies with Greek or Jewish thought is shown by the fact that Isidore's schema is exactly the reverse of that of Gregory.

62 Again my translation.

63 Thus a counter-example to Daniélou (1970) 53, who argues concerning the expressions τῶν σοφῶν τις or τῶν ἔξωθέν τινες that 'ces expressions dtsignent toujours des philosophes paiens'

64 Srawley (1903) 7. He adds: 'But the belief in a Word as a mediating influence was not confined to Alexandria. In Palestine it affected the language of the Targums.' This is correct, but does not. I believe, detract from the fact that Gregory must primarily have Philo in mind (cf. the exploitation of Philo's Logos doctrine by Eusebius in his *PE* noted above in §11.3).



The correct view that God has a logos is only the starting point of the demonstration. At the end Gregory repeats that 'our doctrine will avoid in equal measure the absurdity of both positions (i.e. Greek and Jewish), confessing the living and active and creative Logos of God, which the Jew will not accept, and that the Logos himself and the One from which he has his being do not differ in their natures (i.e. directed against the Greeks)' (§1, 11.16-12.3). No partial exception is made for Philo in the way that Isidore was to do a generation later.65

Gregory's accusation that Eunomius took over phraseology from Philo deserves further examination.[66] It is certainly far from impossible that he was acquainted with Philo's work. Prudence dictates, however, that we make allowance for the possibilities of polemical distortion. From Justin and Irenaeus onwards it is a standard component of orthodox Christian anti-heretical strategy to accuse heretics of deriving their erroneous doctrines from sources that fall *outside* the scope of divine inspiration or apostolic succession. Thus Hippolytus accuses the Gnostic Christians of taking their doctrines from Pythagoras and Empedocles, the Cappadocians accuse Aetius and Eunomius of learning their futile dialectical arguments from Aristotle, and so on.67 Philo too stands outside both the biblical and the Christian tradition, and so can be regarded as an extraneous source of error. As we have seen Gregory's attitude to him is, in the polemical circumstances, rather mild. As for Eunomius, in one respect he will not have appreciated Philo's position, namely on the question of the unknowability of God's essence. Socrates the historian records his notorious statement: 'God does not know anything more about his own essence than we do, nor is that essence better known to him and less to us; rather, whatever we ourselves know about it is exactly what he knows, and, conversely, that which he know is what you will find without change in us'.[68] As we shall see, on this philosophical issue there is much more affinity between the views of Philo and Gregory than between those of Philo and Eunomius.[69]

### (b) De *virginitate*

The treatise *On Virginity* is generally considered to be Gregory's earliest work, even if the traditional date of 371, i.e. before his elevation to the see

65 See above §10.5 on *Ep.* 2.143.

66 Starting with the texts collected by Vaggione (1987).

67 For Hippolytus see Mansfeld (1992) *passim*; for the Anomeans Runia (1989a) 23-26.

68 *HE 4.7*, PG 67.473B–C, = fr. 2 Vaggione (p. 178f.). For Hanson (1988) 632 the strongest and last impression that a reading of Eunomius' works makes is his 'all-prevailing rationalism'. For a more sympathetic attempt to place Eunomius' seemingly 'arrogant intellectualism' in its theological context see now Wiles (1989), who argues that the central question is whether God's name in Ex. 3: 14 expresses his essence.

69 See below sub-section (d).

of Nyssa, is not entirely certain.[70] Gregory complements the work of his brother, who had established a Rule for monastic life in Cappadocia, by setting out the spirituality that is to be exemplified in that life. Its central focus is the state of virginity or sexual abstinence, which is presented as the preparation for the vision of God. As Quasten observes, the 'frequent and conscious use of philosophic terms shows that he sees in the ascetic life the fulfillment of the dreams of the philosophers of ancient Greece concerning the vita *contemplativa*'.[71]

In his exhaustive analysis of and commentary on the treatise Aubineau gives an account of its 'spiritual doctrine', which he precedes with an examination of its sources. In his section on Philo as source he commences by affirming that devoted readers of Gregory's writings when 'they begin to frequent Philo's works, are surprised to find on nearly every page the universe with which they are familiar'.[72] Even when allowance is made for the use of common *topoi*, he continues, one must suspect that Gregory spent a lengthy amount of time studying the works of Philo. In order to substantiate this statement Aubineau gives a large number of examples. Some of these are weak, as he himself admits, but his method is to move from incidental resemblances to more fundamental parallels which he argues cannot be a matter of coincidence.

Of greatest interest is the convergence that the French scholar detects between Gregory's treatise and Philo's *De vita contemplativa*. Again the parallels are not of equal value. The *topos* of philosophy as healing (&παπεία) for the soul's passion *(Virg. 23.2.28)* need hardly depend on Philo! But certain passages are more suggestive:

(i) The paradox on age and the description of the leader (Basil!) at 23.6; cf. *Contempl.* 67, 77.
(ii) The language of violent love for wisdom and spiritual marriage at 13.3 and 14.3; cf. *Contempl. 68* (on aged virgins!) and other Philonic texts such as *Cher.* 40-51.
(iii) The theme of Israel crossing the Red Sea (where, as Aubineau points out, it is quite remarkable that Gregory does not offer an interpretation in terms of baptism, but rather allegorizes in terms of the mystical quest), and the role of Miriam as virgin and leader of the choir at 4.6, 18.5, 19; cf. the climax of Philo's account at *Contempl. 83-88.*
(iv) The use of the phrase τὸ μόνῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ζῆν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων πολιτείαν in the description of the angelic life (4.8, also citing Luke 20:34–35, Matt. 22:30), strikingly reminiscent of the description of

[70] Cf. May ( 197 I) 55, who is not prepared to be more exact than a date between 370 and 378.
[71] Quasten (1950–86) 3.271f.
[72] Aubineau (1966)105–116, quote on 105. References to the text cite Aubineau's edition, which is more recent and complete than the (also excellent) edition of Cavarnos in the *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* (1952).



the Therapeutae as τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ (sc. θεωρίᾳ) καὶ ψυχῇ μόνῃ βιωσάντων, οὐρανοῦ μὲν δὴ καὶ κόσμου πολιτῶν in the final sentence of Philo's work, §90.[73]

Aubineau's discussion is thus, in spite of the unevenness of the material he has collected, illuminating, because it shows yet another stage on the road that connects Philo's mysterious community with later Christian monasticism. The warning of Guillaumont that there are important differences between Philo's views on marriage and sexual renunciation and those of Christian asceticism should not be ignored.[74] For example, the idea that the monk should renounce marriage so that he can dedicate himself wholly to God is not found as such in Philo.[75] These differences are also interesting in the light of important research that has recently been done on the theme of virginity in Philo (focusing particularly on his depiction of the Therapeutrides).[76]

(c) Two hexaemeral treatises

Next we turn to the two treatises that Gregory composed on the exegesis of the Mosaic creation account, *De opificio hominis* and *Apologia in Hexaemeron*. Here too he follows in the footsteps of his revered brother. Both works were probably written in 379, in the same year as Basil's death.77 In the first to be written, *De opificio hominis*, Gregory commences where Basil left off, giving an exposition of the account of man's creation on the 6th day and what it tells us about his nature.78 In the second work, *Apologia in Hexaemeron*, Gregory expressly declares that his task is not to supplant or correct Basil's work, but to clear up various loose ends.79 In a fine analysis of the exegetical methods employed by Gregory, Alexandre has pointed out that this indebtedness to Basil, which induces Gregory to affirm that he has refrained from converting the literal text into allegorical exegesis (§76,121D), is less straightforward than might at first seem. To be sure, Gregory does not contradict Basil's exegesis, but he is aiming at a different, more educated audience, and so develops various themes in a

[73] A search of the TLG reveals not only that this is the only time that Gregory uses the phrase τὸ μόνῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ζῆν *vel sim.*, but that it is also not found in Plato, Clement, Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus. Philo, on the other hand, employs it also at ***Her.*** 82, *Mos.* I.29.
[74] Guillaumont (1967), esp. 370ff.; cf. also the remarks on Didymus' attitude to marriage above at § 10.4 and text at n. 99.
[75] Guillaumont (1967) 372. I qualify the remark on account of the significant text ***Opif.*** IS I, where Philo states that Adam while he was alone emulated God in his μόνωσις, but that the appearance of woman on the scene brought about disaster. Guillaumont takes Philo's tendency to misogynism into account at 37 1.
[76] Note esp. Baer ( 1970) 51–55, Sly (1989) 7 I-89 and *passim*, Kraemer ( 1989).
[77] May (1971) 57; but cf. above n. 6.
[78] *Opif.* ***horn.*** *Pref.*125C; cf. Basil ***Hex.*** 9.6 88C and above n. 24 and text thereto.
[79] ***Apol.*** *in* ***Hex.*** *2* 64A–B, 77 124B. The work is called a *Defence* because it replies to questions put to Gregory by his other brother Peter of Sebaste, who was troubled by certain objections made against Basil's exegesis.

way that certainly anticipates the figurative or speculative interpretation (θεωρία) of the great commentaries he was to write later.80 It will-be interesting, therefore, to observe how Gregory's use of Philo compares with that of his brother, for, as we saw above, Philo's *De opificio mundi* was one of the primary sources that Basil used for his entire work.81

The issue of Gregory's use of Philo in the two works has been analysed at some length by DaniClou and Alexandre.[82] These studies can be supplemented by Ladner's excellent account of Gregory's anthropology, in which emphasis is placed on the extent to which the Christian philosopher has transformed the Philonic material.[83] We shall concentrate on the more important points of contact, as seen in the following four themes.

(i) Central to Gregory's reading of the creation account is his insistence on its coherence and internal logic, expressed by the terms εἱρμός (enchainment) and ἀκολουθία (logical sequence). Alexandre, noting that this terminology occurs some twenty times in *Opi' horn.* (and even more often in *Apol. in Hex.),* comments:[84]

> 11 semble certain que... la place occupée par 1' ἀκολουθία s'explique en partie par une lecture de Philon, le premier à avoir appliqut? ce concept de logique et de cosmologie stoïcienne à la lecture de Gen. I-III. 11 faut lire en ce sense chez Philon plusieurs passages de la ***Création du monde*** *(28-29,* 64-67, 131) pour voir combien la terminologie de Grégoire dépend de lui. Certes on trouve chez Clément (Strom. I, XVIII, 179), chez Origène (De *princ.* IV, 2, 8; Koetschau, p. 320) l'idée d'un enchaînement de l'Écriture, de l'enseignement divin. Mais on n'a pas là les mêmes rapports à la cosmogonie et à l'anthropologie que chez Grégoire. Or ceci se retrouve nettement chez Philon.

This attempt at locating a theological rationale within the inspired Mosaic text takes Gregory beyond the aims of Basil's exegesis.85 He agrees with Philo that all things were created by God together, and that the description in terms of an ordered sequence reflects the ordered structure of creation itself.86 The difference between the two is that Gregory's approach is much more dynamic. Whereas for Philo all things came into existence together,

80 Alexandre (1971), esp. 89-94, 108-l 10.
81 See above § 12.1 and the research of Amand de Mendieta cited in n. 12.
82 DaniClou (1967) 335-339, repeated and amplified in (1970); Alexandre (1971).
83 Ladner (1958).
84 Alexandre ( 197 1) 95, acknowledging her debt to DaniClou (1953a), (1967); cf. also his lengthier treatment at (1970) 18–50.
85 Alexandre (1971) 98.
86 Cf. esp. *Apol. in Hex.* 8-9, 72Aff., where contrary to Philo Gregory sees the simultaneity indicated in the opening words ἐν ἀρχῇ (LXX) or ἐν κεφαλαίῳ (Symmachus). Philo at *Opif. 13 deduces* the ἅμα πάντα from general theological considerations. Alexandre is correct to observe that the concept of 'consequence' recalls Stoic logic. But in the emphasis on order (τάξις) the 'structuralist' interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* also plays a role; cf. Runia (1986)96–103, 416–420. For more detailed discussion of similarities and differences in Philo's and Gregory's exegesis of Gen. 1: l-2 see also Alexandre (1976).



Gregory envisages first a potential existence of all things when created, followed by a successive (and orderly) emergence in time.87 Moreover Gregory's sequence has a stronger *internal dynamism* which even passes over into soteriology: the ἀκολουθία is oriented first towards the creation of man, and from there to the incarnation, redemption, renewal of the image received by man in his creation, and even to the resurrection of the body. This trajectory separates Gregory markedly from his Philonic source.**

(ii) In Gregory's exegesis of the creation of man we note that at *Opif. horn. 2 131D* he asks exactly the same *quaestio* as Philo poses in *Opif.* 77: why is man created last of all creatures? For his answer he also draws on material supplied by Philo. God is like a good banqueteer (ἑστιάτωρ, same word at *Opif.* 78) who does not invite his guests until everything is in readiness. The cosmos has been prepared so that man can be spectator of some of its wonders, and a ruler over others (cf. *Opif.* 78, 83-86, comparison with king at 83, cf. 132D).[89] Gregory thus takes over without reservation Philo's anthropocentrism and the theme of the *contemplatio mundi so* frequent in his works.[90] A similar passage is found in a text located in another minor work of Gregory, *De infantibus praemature abreptis.* Scripture tells that, when the rest of creation was completed, man was brought forth with a mixed nature, for in him the divine and noetic substance was compounded with a contribution from each of the elements (cf. Philo *Opif.* 146). As Gen. 1:27 teaches, man is an ensouled image of the divine power. Gregory then continues:[91]

> As for the reason for man's creation some of our predecessors have given the following explanation. The whole of creation, as the Apostle says (Col. 1: 16) has been divided into two realms, the 'visible' and the invisible'... But in order that the earth would not be completely without share in (ἄμοιρος) and bereft of the intelligent and incorporeal condition, for this reason by a superior (act of) Providence the creation of man was brought about. The earthly part was fashioned around the intelligent and divine substance of the soul. This allowed the soul, through its conjunction with that which is weighty and corporeal, fittingly to dwell on the element of earth, which has a certain affinity and kinship to the nature of flesh. The purpose of the creatures is that in the whole of creation the power that transcends the universe may be glorified through the nature that possesses intelligence...

87 Well emphasized by Ladner (1958) 73.
88 Alex andre ( 197 1) 96.
89 See further parallel material at DaniClou (1967) 335f.
90 Two of the themes associated with Posidonius by Gronau (19 14) 142ff. That the themes are in fact topoi strongly dependent on earlier Greek philosophical traditions (especially the Stoic contribution) is apparent (for Philo cf. Festugière (1949) 537-540, 555-572). But Gronau's grand theory of a direct derivation from Posidonius has been abandoned.
91 My translation of the text at 77.23-78.25 Hörner (I have omitted a long parenthesis explaining the 'invisible world' as the realm of the angelic host).

Daniélou rightly argues that the reference here must be to exegetical predecessors.[92] The *quaestio* of the reason for man's creation is not posed in these precise terms in Philo's *Opif.* or in any other hexaemeral work up to the time of Gregory. Daniélou persuasively refers to the passage at *Det.* 86, where Philo, in the course of discussing man's rational nature, affirms that man received the divine image 'lest even the earthly region be without a share (ἀμοιρήσῃ) of a divine image'. In her apparatus Hörner notes that the Philonic material may have passed via Origen and points to the more detailed parallel passage at *Catechetical Oration 6,* where Gregory speaks of a λόγος that we have received from the Fathers (παρὰ τῶν πατέρων).[93] Even this reference may not rule Philo out, but we lack the evidence to be sure about whom exactly Gregory may have in mind.

(iii) More significant from the philosophical and theological point of view is the fact that Gregory takes over from Philo the idea of a double *creation* of man.[94] The key passage here is *Opif. horn. 16.* Gregory begins with a sharp polemic against the philosophical idea of man as microcosm.[95] As scripture informs us in Gen. 1:26–27, man's special status is not due to his similarity to anything corporeal or created, but rather to the relationship he has to God the creator himself through the fact that he created 'in God's image'. But how can something transient and mutable such as man be related to God who is eternal and immutable? The answer is clear if Moses' words are carefully read: in the text 'God made man, according to his image he made man', man must be taken in his universal or ideal state; but the additional words, 'male and female he made them', point to man in his fallen state, when the sexes and sexuality have entered the world (181B). Man is thus a composite: to his divine part belongs his reasoning faculty, which does not admit a difference of sexes; to his unreasoning part belongs his corporeal creation, which is divided up into male and female (181C). In his analysis Ladner is right to emphasize that, although the inspiration is clearly Philonic (cf. *Opif.* 69-71, 134–135), there is considerable divergence in the way the double creation is derived from the text and

[92] Daniélou (1970) 85.

[93] Hörner at Downing-McDonough-Hijrner (1987) 77. The context in *Orat. Cut.* is somewhat different, since Gregory is trying to explain why man falls into sin. As Srawley (1903) 29 points out, Origen's conception of a pre-creational fall of the soul is not taken over.

[94] DaniClou (1967) 338 leaves this theme aside, so it still awaits thorough analysis. The question of the exact relation between Philo and Gregory is also not tackled in Bianchi (1978), in spite of the explicit theme of this collection of essays.

[95] The motivation of the passage may be understood by contrasting to Philo at *Opif.* 69, who still resorts to the Stoicizing analogy between man's mind and the mind of the universe, and so leaves the transcendent nature of the creator far from clear (note esp. ὁ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ κόσμῳ). Twice elsewhere, however, Gregory reports the notion of σοφοί that man is a microcosm with apparent approval (*In inscr. Psalm.* 30.24 McDonough, *Dial. de anima* et *resurr.* PG 46.28B).



interpreted.[96] For example, Philo draws his contrast from Gen. 1:26–27 and 2:7, whereas Gregory bases it on the difference between Gen. 1:26 and 1:27.[97] The negative attitude towards corporeality is all the more striking because it does not combine at all well with praise of man's body earlier in the treatise (§7–9, cf. *Opif.* 145).[98] It is man's sexuality that is the problem for Gregory, just as it was for Philo (cf. *Opif.* 151ff.).

Exegesis of this crucial text is, needless to say, related to a much wider question, namely how Gregory understands man as the 'image of God' and his goal of 'becoming like unto God' (ὁμοίωσις θεῷ). These foundational elements of Gregory's Platonism cannot be studied without taking into account the prior development of these ideas in both Philo and the Christian Alexandrian tradition. The theme has been thoroughly analysed by Merki, who emphasizes that Gregory, unlike pagan Neoplatonists and Philo, restricts the notion of εἰκών to man only, and also interprets it in more dynamic terms. Both attributes of εἰκὼν θεοῦ and ὁμοίωσις were lost to man, and must be restored through imitation of Christ.[99]

Also related to the theme of the double creation and man's double nature is the conception of man as μεθόριος, a creature that lives on the borderland between the mortal and the immortal-or, from another perspective—between the sensible and the noetic realms. This notion is also found in Platonist authors such as Maximus of Tyre and Plotinus, but is particularly common in Philo (note esp. *Opif.* 135).[100] Gregory does not refer to it specifically in his exposition of man's creation, but DaniClou is right to argue that it is implicit.[101] Elsewhere it does occur in explicit reference to man's double nature.[102] As we shall see shortly, the same theme reappears in the anthropological treatise of Nemesius.

(iv) Finally we draw attention to an aspect of Gregory's two works that

[96] Ladner (1958) 80ff.

[97] Note, however, that if Philo's description of the 'man according to the image' is read in terms of a *nous* rather than an idea1 man (cf. Runia (1986) 335), then the difference between the two accounts is less pronounced than Ladner thinks. Ladner *ibid.* 89 also thinks that Gregory takes over Philo's exegesis of Gen. 3:21 at QG 1.53, where the (mortal) body is created even later, after the fall. But this allegorizing interpretation is difficult to reconcile with the interpretation in *Opif.*

[98] This tension in Gregory's thought is well brought out by Young (1983) 112f.,120f., but her analysis of the relationship between exegesis and science does not take into account earlier traditions.

[99] Merki (1952) pussim; cf. also Völker (1955) 23-74 (for the theme of double creation and Philo see 64), Ladner (1958) 63ff. The broader account of Gregory's doctrine of ἀρετή in Konstantinou (1966) advances little beyond Merki.

[100] Analysed in detail by Mazzanti (1978), (1988).

[101] DaniClou (1967) 338f., and in more detail (1961b), (1970) 116–132.

[102] At *Horn. in Cant. I 1,333.* 13 Langerbeck: ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ψυχὴ δύο φύσεων οὖσα μεθόριος, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἀσώματός ἐστι καὶ νοερὰ καὶ ἀκήρατος ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα σωματικὴ καὶ ὑλώδης καὶ ἄλογος.

he takes over both from Philo and Origen, namely the 'stochastic' and tentative nature of his exegesis. As Alexandre points out, although Gregory wants to stand in the tradition of apostolic, ecclesiastical teaching (cf. *Opif.* hum. 180A), his interpretations are not supposed to be 'magisterial'. On at least six occasions Gregory emphasizes the conjectural or probable nature of his answers to the questions to which scripture gives rise, using the same terminology found in Philo.[103]

Once again Philo's value for Gregory in his interpretation of the creation account, and in particular the creation of man, should not be exaggerated. It is one strand in a complex exegetical-philosophical-theological tapestry. But the themes we have analysed show that it is greater in his case than in Basil's. Through Gregory the Philonic legacy passes on indirectly to a number of important Byzantine theologians who draw heavily on his works.[104]

(d) *De vita Moysis*

In the second paragraph of his *De vita Moysis* Gregory, explaining that he has written the work in response to his correspondent's request for counsel on the life of perfection, tells us that, marked by the white hairs of age, he has been appointed the position of Father over young souls. This remark and other indications point to the fact that the work belongs to Gregory's maturity, together with a number of other exegetical works (notably the *Homilies on the Song of Solomon).*[105] These writings have often been labelled his mystical works, because of their strong focus on the theme of mystical journey of the soul in quest of God.

It will be apparent that the *De vita Moysis* is of special interest for our subject. Here for the first time we have a patristic writing with almost exactly the same title as a Philonic work and covering exactly the same ground.[106] In the text and translation of DaniClou (with introduction and brief notes), the critical edition of Musurillo, and the English translation of Malherbe and Ferguson (with introduction and copious notes) there are

[103] Cf. Alexandre (1971) 98-100, citing ***Apol. in Hex.*** 68C,81C,85A, *Opif.* ***horn.*** 180A, 180C,185A–B, and pointing to similar texts at Philo *Opif.* 72, 157 etc. On the importance of the theme in Philo cf. Nikiprowetzky (1977) 183-191, 209-214, Runia (1986) 127-128. The terminology ultimately derives from Academic scepticism.

[104] Cf., for example, Thunberg ( 1965) 155–157, 197-199 on the anthropology of Maximus the Confessor. For another example Otten (1991) 191 on the anthropology of the translator of Gregory's works into Latin, John Scotus Eriugena.

[105] Cf. May (1971) 64, who rightly points out that the mention of old age is a *topos* (cf. Plato ***Tim.*** 22a, Philo Leg. 1 etc.), but that other indications confirm the lateness of the work.

[106] There is quite a variety of titles for Gregory's work in the mss. The best attested would seem to be Περὶ ἀρετῆς ἤτοι εἰς τὸν βίον Μωυσέως, but the oldest ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 22509 gives the Philonic title Περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως. This may perhaps be contamination from Philo, but note also Parisinus gr. 503 which supplies the title used by DaniClou in his edition, Περὶ τοῦ βίου Μωυσέως τοῦ νομοθέτου ἢ περὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν τελειότητος. To keep the two works apart we abbreviate Philo's as *Mos.*, Gregory's as ***DVM.***



extensive references which point out borrowings of Gregory from Philo and similarities between the two works.[107] There can indeed be no doubt that Gregory drew on Philo's biography in the preparation of his own work. Nevertheless it is apparent at a glance that there are also striking differences between the two works. In a critical review of Musurillo's edition Harl argues that the references given by editors to parallels in Philo are not useful because they are too vague: many can easily be explained through the fact that both writers are commenting on the same biblical text. Though it is true, she claims, that a number of major Philonic themes play an important role in Gregory's treatment-e.g. Egypt as symbol of the passions, rejection of pagan culture, unbounded desire for God etc.--the precise interpretation of the biblical text often differs in important details. The problem of the relation between Philo's and Gregory's exegesis, she concludes, needs to be taken up again.[108] Since Harl's pronouncement some useful research has been carried out, most notably in the articles of the Italian scholars Peri and Mirri and in the American translation and commentary by Malherbe and Ferguson, but so far the issue still has not received a definitive treatment.[109]

The central differences between the two works can be summarized in a table along the following lines:[110]

| Philo | Gregory |
|---|---|
| 1. The work is written by a Jew. | 1. The work is written by a Christian. |
| 2. The work has a broad audience in mind, probably both Jews and interested pagans;* [11] its purpose is introductory. | 2. The work is probably written for an audience of monks or ascetics; its purpose is primarily edificatory. |
| 3. Book I describes the life of Moses with special emphasis on his role as king; Book II describes Moses as legislator, priest and prophet. | 3. Book I gives a short account of the facts of Moses' life (ἱστορία); Book II examines the same facts in order to see what they can contribute to the virtuous life (θεωρία). |
| 4. The work contains very little allegorical exegesis. | 4. Allegory is central to the purpose of the θεωρία. |
| 5. The work shows how the example of Moses is relevant to the life of the Jewish community. | 5. The work contains typological interpretation pointing forward to the life of Christ. |

[107] DaniClou (1968[3]), translation 1942, critical text 1955, entire work revised for 1968 reprint; Musurillo (1964), volume 7.1 of ***Gregorii Nyssrni*** *opera*; Malhcrbe-Ferguson (1978). Regrettably I have not managed to gain access to the new critical edition and Italian translation of Simonetti (1984b). Naturally there is a good deal of scholastic accumulation in the references to Philo in these various works.

[108] Harl ( 1966b) 556f.

[109] Peri (1974) and Mirri (1983) both stress the strong differences in method and audience.

[110] For these differences see also the Italian studies mentioned in the previous note.

[111] The question of whether Mos. was written specifically for pagans is disputed in Philonic

Malherbe and Ferguson summarize the relation between the two works as follows: [112] 'As a generalization, one may say that Gregory's *Life of Moses* draws its format from Philo's *Life* **of Moses** and its allegorical method from other Philonic works as this method had been transformed by Christian doctrinal interests.' This conclusion is basically sound, but it fails to do full justice to the difference in structure between the two treatises. Gregory's division between literal and tropological exegesis is in fact closer to various sections of Philo's De *Abruhamo,* but is carried out far more systematically.[113] Rather than generalize further on similarities and differences, we now turn to the work itself and examine a few individual passages, including those where Gregory makes an indirect reference to his predecessor.

(i) At *DVM 2.96* Gregory gives an allegory of the lintel and doorposts marked by blood in Ex. 12:7 in terms of profance science (ἡ ἔξωθεν παίδευσις) which divides the soul into the rational, appetitive and spirited parts, the latter two being the doorposts, which give support to the lintel as rational part. This same allegory is found in Origen, who attributes it to τις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν.[114] Normally one would surely expect this to refer to Philo,[115] but in *QE* 1.8, if the Armenian rendering is correct, a rather different (and less plausible) interpretation is given: the lintel is the spirited part, the doorposts the rational part, the house the appetitive part. In the case of both Origen and Gregory I hesitate to conclude that they draw directly on Philo in this text.[116]

(ii) At *DVM* 2.113-l 14 Gregory, discussing the notorious *spoliatio Egyptiorum* carried out by the Israelites on their departure from Egypt (Ex. 12:36) affirms that one cannot truly declare that Moses commanded this action, 'even though to some it seems reasonable (κἄν τισι δοκῇ εὔλογον) that the Israelites should have exacted the wages for their work from the Egyptians by this device'.[117] The anonymous reference here surely points

scholarship; cf. Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.854f. (with further references).

112 Malherbe-Ferguson (1 978) 6.

113 In ***Abr.*** Philo often deals with the same material twice, first in a literal way, then allegorically; cf. §68, 99, 119 etc., but the two types of exegesis follow each other directly, and are not collected together in Gregory's manner. In an unpublished memoir J. C. M. van Winden has shown that Gregory sequentially deals with exactly the same material in the two parts of his work, both books treating 34 topics from two complementary but different points of view.

114 *Sel.* in *Exodum* PG 12.285A; cf. the note at Malherbe-Ferguson (1978) 169, who also give references to later Patristic texts with the same interpretation.

115 We recall the large number of anonymous references to Philo in Origen's works discussed above in §9.2.

116 As done by Daniélou (1968[3]) 20, who asserts that Gregory's allegorical interpretations draw inspiration from Philo's *Quaestiones in Exodum*; the other parallels he gives are also onclose examination disappointing.

117 'Translation Malherbe–Ferguson.



to Philo *Mos.* 1.141, who gives this explanation.[118] Gregory rejects it in favour of the allegorical interpretation in terms of the appropriation of pagan learning for the upbuilding of the Church.

(iii) A few sections further Gregory argues that manna, the bread that descends from heaven is not some incorporeal thing, but the (incarnated) Word who becomes different foods for different people (*DVM* 2.139).[119] For Philo, following Ex. 16:15–16, the manna symbolizes the Divine Logos, who according to *Leg.* 3.175 (one of the texts, we recall, that Gregory had in mind in the *Contra Eunomium)* is 'the most generic of beings'.[120] Here too it is likely that, though acknowledging a basic continuity with the Philonic interpretation, Gregory nevertheless finds it important to draw attention to the crucial difference, namely that the Word became corporeal.

(iv) A clearer, yet still anonymous, reference to Philo is found in the section on the interpretation of the priestly vestments concerning which Moses is instructed. Gregory writes (2.191):[121]

> The dye of the robe is dark-blue. Some of those who before us have contemplated the passage (τινες τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τεθεωρηκότων τὸν λόγον) say that the dye signifies the air. I, for my part, cannot accurately affirm whether such a colour as this has anything in common with the colour of the air. Nevertheless I do not reject it. The perception does lead to the contemplation of virtue, because it requires that he who would be a priest to God should also bring his own body to the altar and become a sacrifice, not by being put to death, but by being 'a living sacrifice' and 'rational service' (cf. Rom. 12:1)...

Philo gives such an interpretation in terms of physical allegory at Mos. 2.118 (repeated at 133, cf. also *QE* 2.117).[122] Gregory can do little with cosmological allegory in the context of his work.[123] It is noteworthy that he does not resort to polemics and reject it outright, but rather quietly sets it aside in favour of an 'anthropological' symbolism reminiscent of what we

118 It is also found at Clement ***Str.*** 1.157 (part of his extensive borrowings from *Mos.*), Irenaeus ***Adv. her. 4.24.4.*** It is not found in the extant works of Origen. Gregory himself alludes to it briefly in the literal part at 1.29. See also below §13.2 and n. 24 on Tertullian.

119 The same interpretation attributed to Philo by Basil; cf. above § 12.1 and n. 5.

120 See above at n. 54 and text thereto. The basis of the interpretation is in the LXX text (twice τί and ῥῆμα); cf. also Leg. 2.86, ***Fug.*** 137ff. At both Leg. 3.168 and ***Fug.*** 139 the interpretation in terms of knowledge or truth suggests incorporeality. Cf. further Le Boulluec–Sandevoir (1989) 18 1 ff.

121 Translation Malherbe-Ferguson (slightly modified).

122 The commentators point to Sap. Sal. 18:24, but this text only states that on the priestly robe the entire cosmos is represented, and does not specifically mention air. The details at Josephus ***Anr. 3.*** 184 differ: the dark-blue of the temple tapestries symbolizes the air, the dark-blue of the priestly robe the heavenly vault. Origen gives an anthropological rather than a cosmological interpretation at *Hom.Ex.* 9.4.

123 Cf. Malherbe-Ferguson (1978) 6: 'Where Gregory perhaps differs the most from Philo is in the virtual absence of cosmological allegories.'

find in Origen.[124] This move can only be out of deference for what is regarded as established exegetical tradition.

(v) Two incidents in Moses' life are given special prominence in Gregory's account. Here the ultimate goals of spiritual perfection become manifest. When Moses enters into the darkness of the cloud (Ex. 20:21) he 'gains access to the invisible (ἀθέατον) and incomprehensible (ἀκατάληπτον), and there sees God' (*DVM* 2.163). When Moses later again climbs the mountain and asks God to reveal himself (Ex. 33:13), the request is both denied and fulfilled: the desire is fulfilled, and yet it never ceases or comes to be sated (2.232). God as True Being is unattainable for knowledge, for his nature is infinite and uncircumscribable (2.235-238).

These paragraphs take us to the very heart of Gregory's mystical thought. In Daniélou's landmark study it has been described as the doctrine of *epektasis*, the 'stretching-out' of the soul in a continual longing that is satisfied through never reaching satisfaction, penetrating ever further into the darkness.[125] Its philosophical background is the doctrine of negative theology. There can be no doubt that in his interpretation of these incidents in the life of Moses Gregory is extrapolating themes inaugurated in the writings of Philo.[126] They are not emphasized in Mos., but are set out at some length in *Post.* 13-21, 167–169[127] and *Spec.* 1.33-50. For Philo too, what Moses is granted is to see that God is not be grasped by the intellect (ἀκατάληπτος) and that in terms of his true Being he is invisible (ἀόρατος) *(Post.* 15).[128] As lovers of God (such as Moses became, cf. *DVM* 2.320), we rejoice, even if in our quest of the Existent (τὸ ὄν) we never ultimately find him *(Post.* 21). But once again similarities immediately pass over into differences. It cannot be our task now to examine these further, but two important conclusions reached by scholars should be mentioned. DaniClou argues that Philo's account is more like a philosophical or theoretical exposé, whereas in Gregory it is the actual experience of the soul that is primary.[129] Mühlenberg shows that Gregory, by emphasizing God's infinite nature, is able to give a stronger philosophical basis to the unending quest of the soul which is lacking in Philo.[130]

[124] But cf. also 99.3, esp. at n. 37.

[125] DaniClou (1944, 1953²) 291ff.; cf. also Louth (1981) 84-89 with special attention to passages in *DVM*.

[126] Gobry (1991) 80, in an analysis of the 'darkness' in Gregory, argues that Philo is his 'source principale'.

[127] Passages which also made a strong impact on Clement: see above §8.3(b).

[128] Cf. Louth (1981) 83, who speaks of an 'essential agreement of Philo and Gregory about the incomprehensibility of God over against Origen'.

[129] Danitlou (1953²) 191. Note, however, the movement from the 3rd person to the 1st person at Post. 21. We recall the conclusion of Winston (1981) 35 that Philo is a 'mystical theorist'. if not a 'practising mystic'.

[130] Miihlenberg (1966) 168f. At 58ff. he argues that Philo does not present the doctrine of divine infinitude, but rather of divine incomparability. Von Stritsky's study, (1973), on



In the light of the strong mystical element in Gregory's thought, it is not surprising that he is attracted to the famous Philonic oxymoron of 'sober drunkenness'.[131] As Lewy demonstrates, the oxymoron passes via Gregory into common currency in the Byzantine period. He cites a passage from the 12th century author Theophanes Cerameus, in which Gregory's *Life of Moses* is highly praised. It ends with the remark that 'whoever drinks the draughts of wisdom from that book can also become drunk with the sober drunkenness.'[132]

Gregory of Nyssa is one of the more important landmarks on our journey tracing Philo through the Church fathers. As we noted at the outset of our discussion, he is not given to making extensive references to his predecessors.[133] He seldom refers to Philo, and when he does so, the purport is often somewhat negative: Philo is associated with heresy, or he gives exegeses that are to be rejected or modified before they can be absorbed. Over against this attitude, however the following more positive conclusions can be set: (i) that Philo had a place in Gregory's library;[134] (ii) that these books were well read (in particular while he was preparating particular writings); (iii) that they provided him with important exegetical and theological insights; (iv) that these insights are always transformed in the distinctive manner that made Gregory a dominant figure in the tradition of the Eastern Church.

## *4. Nemesius of Emesa*

About a decade or two after Gregory wrote his treatise on the creation and nature of man another bishop wrote a book on the same subject. It has survived under the title *On the nature of man,* and is attributed in the tradition to Nemesius, bishop of Emesa in Syria. Nothing at all is known about the author, apart from what we learn in the book itself. References to contemporary theologians such as Apolloniarius and Eunomius indicate that the book was written about 400 AD.[135] There is an essential difference between the two treatises. Gregory's work has an exegetical basis, focusing on the interpretation of the biblical texts on the creation of man.[136]

Gregory's epistemology is disappointing on the relation between Philo and Gregory.

[131] Cf. Lewy (1929) 132-136.

[132] Lewy (1929) 137, citing PG 132.912.

[133] See above at n. 47.

[134] The conclusion reached by DaniClou (1967) 345: 'L'intérêt de notre enquête est de montrer que Philon faisait partie de la bibliothèque d'un chrétien cultivé d'alors.' This does not go far enough.

[135] On the date, contents, and sources of Nemesius see the surveys of Skard (1940). Von Hamel (1982).

[136] As pointed out by Young (1983) 110, who compares the two sources, but does not

Nemesius' treatise is a much rarer phenomenon, a philosophical handbook written by a patently Christian author, in which an attempt is made to present a systematic doctrine of man on the basis of both the biblical and the philosophical (mainly Neoplatonic) tradition.[137] This unusual method has ensured the work a modest popularity among devotees of both later ancient and patristic philosophy. At long last in 1987 a competent new edition was published by Morani, wholly superseding the previous edition of Matthaei.[138] A full-length commentary, however, remains a *desideratum.*

Nemesius begins his work with the following statement (\$1, 1.3–5):[139]

> That man has been excellently fashioned so as to consist of an intelligent soul and a body, and that it was not possible to create him so excellently in any other manner than the way he was composed, has been agreed by many good men.

Both a Platonist and a Christian background may be sensed behind this initial remark. The author first elucidates it by giving a general presentation of man's composition (whether bipartite or tripartite) and his place in the scala of living beings. Man dwells as it were on the borderline of the noetic and sense-perceptible realms, connected with his body to the unreasoning creatures and with his rational faculty to the immaterial beings (§ 1, 2.24-3.2). Though both themes strongly remind us of Philonic anthropology, they here stand in a purely philosophical context. Then, however, Nemesius introduces the figure of Moses (\$1, 4.24–5.5):

> Therefore Moses, in presenting his creation account (δημιουργία), declared that man came into being last of all, not only because of the fact that all things were created on his account and so it was only logical that they should be made ready for his use and that he should be introduced to them as the one about to use them, but also because both a noetic and a visible realm had come into being and it was necessary that there also be a binding element (σύνδεσμος) between them...

This recalls very clearly the exegetical *quaestio* why man was created last of all creation, posed by Philo at *Opif.* 77 and also taken up by Gregory of Nyssa in his treatise.[140] Jaeger in the brief remarks on 'Nemesios und Philon von Alexandreia' which he appended to his famous study of the sources of Nemesius, rightly pointed out the former part of the explanation beginning with 'not only...' briefly summarizes the gist of Philo's first two reasons given in §77–81, but that the latter part deviates from Philo's third

examine the question of sources.

[137] Telfer's suggestion, (1962) 35 1, that the main philosophical body of the work was written before conversion, and then later modified in the light of the author's new Christian beliefs should be rejected.

[138] Morani (1987), which we use as the basis for our discussion. The edition with comments of Matthaei dated back to 1802.

[139] This and subsequent quotes are the translation of the author.

[140] Noted above at §12.3(c).



solution in §82 that God sought to bring into harmony (ἁρμόσασθαι) the beginning and climax of creation, heaven and man.[141]

Our author then proceeds to explain what he means by man's position on the borderline of unreasoning and rational nature. Following Jaeger's lead we place his text (with a translation added) and its Philonic source side-by-side: [142]

| Nemesius, *De natura hominis* 46 | | Philo, *Opif.* 135 |
|---|---|---|
| The Hebrews affirm that man was originally born neither wholly mortal nor immortal, but on the borderline of both natures, so if he follows the inclinations of bodily passions, he will also encounter bodily vicissitudes, but that if he gives priority to the noble realm of the soul, he will deemed worthy of immortality. | Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὔτε θνητὸν ὁμολογουμένως οὔτε ἀθάνατον γεγενῆσθαί φασιν ἀλλ' ἐν μεθορίοις ἑκατέρας φύσεως, ἵνα ἂν μὲν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἀκολουθήσῃ πάθεσι περιπέσῃ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς μεταβολαῖς, ἂν δὲ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς προτιμήσῃ καλὰ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἀξιωθῇ. | ...ἵν' εἰ καὶ θνητόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ὁρατὴν μερίδα, κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἀόρατον ἀθανατίζηται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἄν τις εἴποι τὸν ἄνθρωπον θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως εἶναι μεθόριον ἑκατέρας ὅσον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μετέχοντα καὶ γεγενῆσθαι θνητὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀθάνατον, θνητὸν μὲν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀθάνατον. |

The affinity between the two texts is immediately evident. As Jaeger points out, both the train of thought and the terminology are virtually identical. He goes on to affirm: 'Es ist klar, die „Hebräer", welche Nemesios als Quelle zitiert, sind Philon, nach bekannter Zitierwise steht der Plural.'[143] I cannot agree with the conclusion that by means of the description 'the Hebrews' Nemesius specifically wishes to indicate Philo.[144] Let us compare other texts in the same work which use this term:

> §1, 11.15: it is the doctrine of the Hebrews that the universe was created on man's account.
> §5, 53.7ff.: those who honour the Hebrew doctrines differ on the interpretation of heaven and earth (Gen. 1:1), most saying there was no pre-existent matter, but Apollinarius saying they were made out of the abyss (Gen. 1:2).
> \$12, 68.11: in saying that dreams are the only true form of divination the Pythagoreans follow the Hebrews.

From these instances it is clear that the Hebrews refers to the Hebrew or Mosaic or even Judaeo-Christian tradition, and certainly not specifically to Philo. We shall encounter a similar usage in the work of Calcidius.[145] It is clearly for the author an honorific term, in contrast to the term Ἰουδαῖος, which Nemesius employs only once, and then pejoratively (\$42, 120.15,

[141] Jaeger (1914) 138-140; note his acute observation that the verb 'introduce' (παραχθῆναι) implies the image of the banquet used by both Philo and Gregory.

[142] *Ibid.* 141.

[143] Ibid. 141, followed by Skard (1936) 29.

[144] For this reason I have not included this text in the list of passages in the Appendix.

[145] See the passages discussed below in § 13.3.

'not even a Jew would be mad enough to deny providence, knowing as he does about the miracles wrought in Egypt...').

Even if Nemesius does not intend an allusion to Philo, can we conclude that he had direct access to his writings, i.e. in this case *Opif.?* Various indications, briefly mentioned by Jaeger and later carefully analysed by Skard, point to the fact that Nemesius makes use of a Commentary on Genesis, probably the once famous but now regrettably lost work of Origen.[146] As we noted above, it is quite certain that Origen made extensive use of Philo in this work. So it is possible that the parallels in the passages cited above were transmitted via Origen. On the other hand, in the intervening period since these scholars wrote their contributions we have learnt that *Quellenforschung* is not as simple as they thought. It is by no means necessary that all of Nemesius' references to the exegesis of Gen. 1 be derived from a single source. Indeed it is intrinsically unlikely. If he was capable enough to combine the philosophical and biblical traditions in a synthesis of anthropological doctrine, then there is no reason why he could not have combined a number of sources from the Judaeo-Christian tradition, including Philo.

## 5. *Biblical interpretation in the 4th century*

A considerable proportion-perhaps more than half-of all the writings produced by the Church Fathers in the 4th century consisted of biblical exposition. If possible, therefore, we should try to trace the extent to which Philonic exegetical material may have been exploited during this period. As we have seen, the Alexandrian exegete Didymus the Blind encouraged his readers to consult Philo and use him to their profit. From Eusebius we learn that the writings of Philo were readily available outside Alexandria. To what extent was Philo used by other exegetes outside his native city? Unfortunately this question is most difficult to answer, not only because so many of the works of this period are lost or remain only in a fragmentary condition, but also because no research has been done on the subject. As a *testimonium paupertatis we* can point to two texts in which Philo is explicitly named. Fortunately the second of these texts is quite extensive and of capital interest for our subject.

We commence with a text preserved in the *Catenae* and attributed to Eusebius of Emesa (c. 300–359), who claimed his namesake from Caesarea as one of his teachers.147 The text is derived from his *Commentary on*

[146] Jaeger (19 14) 143, Skard (1936). An important role in the argument is played by parallels in Origen's *Homilies on Genesis,* in Calcidius, and in the Ps.Basilian treatises on the creation of man.

[147] Text at Petit (1992) 135(= no. 194), incomplete at Petit (1978) 42–43. The same text is found in Procopius PG 87.149B–C, but, as always in this work (cf. above §1.4, §10.6), Philo's name is replaced by τινὲς Sk φασι. On the *Catenae* see further above §1.4 and n. 142. A difficulty is raised by the fact that only the second part of the text is found in the extant Armenian translation edited and posthumously published by Hovhannessian. It is, however, more likely that Eusebius, and not the Catenist, has brought the two passages together, because elsewhere the Catenist only used material from QG beginning at 1.55; cf. Royse (1991) 18.



*Genesis,* and focuses on the interpretation of Gen. 2:6. It divides into two parts. Eusebius first cites 'a Hebrew' who argues that biblical lemma does not say 'a spring rose up from the earth' (as in the LXX), but rather 'a form of very thick mist or compressed air'. Then, in defence of the transmitted Greek text, Eusebius cited a passage *verbatim* from QG 1.3, introducing it with the words 'Philo the Hebrew affirms'. Eusebius, we read, is a 'sober and cautious' proponent of the allegorical method of biblical interpretation,[148] but this does not emerge from the present text. The passage cited from Philo does not relate directly to the proposal of the first passage. One might indeed wonder who the anonymous 'Hebrew' is. Since he clearly reacts against the received Septuagint translation and draws on the Hebrew text, it may be suspected that he is a Rabbinic exegete. It is not impossible, therefore, that Philo is being cited here in his role as Jew in order to provide ammunition against Jewish exegesis that differs from Christian tradition (e.g. because it is based on a different translation).[149]

The second, much more extensive text is found in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350–428). It is in fact one of the longest passages on Philo in the entire patristic tradition, but because it has only survived in a Syriac translation, recently edited and translated into French by L. van Rompay, it has so far received no scholarly attention.150 Born in Antioch at about the mid-century, Theodore joined a group of Christian scholars and ascetics centred around Diodore of Tarsus in Antioch.[151] These men developed a distinctive method of exegesis known as the Antiochene school of biblical interpretation.[152] In contrast to the Alexandrian school represented above all by Origen and Didymus, the Antiochenes refused all forms of allegorical exegesis. They preferred in all cases the literal or 'factual' meaning. A limited range of typological or non-literal interpretation was allowed, particularly in those cases when there were precedents in the New Testament (e.g. Jesus on Jonah in the whale, Paul on Hagar and Sarah etc.). Theodore was regarded by contemporaries as the greatest of the

[148] The description is from Hanson (1988) 398.

[149] The same method observed in the case of Isidore §10.5 and the Easter controversies §11.5.

[150] I would like to thank my colleague L. van Rompay most warmly for drawing my attention to this fascinating text.

[151] On Theodore and his writings, see now the account of Lera (1990); list of surviving writings at 388-389; cf. also CPG 2.344-361 (in need of revision).

[152] On the Antiochene school of biblical interpretation see Gerber (1966) 1220–1222, Simonetti (1981) 65-73, Simonetti (1985) 156-200 (167–180 on Theodore).

Antiochene exegetes. Unfortunately his legacy later became embroiled in the Nestorian controversy, so that his reputation was only maintained in the East Syrian church, and not in the 'mainstream' Byzantine tradition.[153] Only one work is extant in its entirety in the original Greek; fortunately a number of others have been preserved in the Syriac tradition.

Theodore's great *Commentary on the Psalms* is partly preserved in Greek, partly in Syriac translation. Prefacing the Syriac version of the commentary on Ps. 118 is a long introductory section of some 18 pages which seems to have no direct connection with the exegesis of the Psalm itself. In the only surviving ms. this section at the end bears the title *Treatise against the Allegorists*, and gives a brief exposé of the author's views on how scripture should be read, with a strong attack on allegorical interpretation.[154] From other sources we know that Theodore wrote a work in 5 books with precisely this title, which was particularly directed against the famous allegorist Origen. To my mind it is likely that the Syriac text is a kind of epitome of the larger work.[155]

In his discussion Theodore argues the following views, in which the theories of the Antiochene school of exegesis can easily be recognized.
(1) The allegorical method has its origin in pagan thought, where it was invented by the Greeks in order to explain away their myths (11.8-10, 13.12-18). Similarly Christian allegorists use the method to explain away 'real facts' (i.e. historical events) in the scriptures (11.11-12).
(2) In the interpretation of scripture the literal sense always prevails (10.7-12).
(3) If a biblical author resorts to allegorical speech (as Paul does), this is not in order to do away with the literal sense, but to add something to it which will be of profit to the reader (11.20-12.19).
Theodore then points to other biblical authors, Moses and Stephen (in his speech in Acts 7) who make quite clear the importance that they attach to the historical meaning. At this point we meet up with that part of Theodore's text which is of direct relevance to our subject. Because of its inaccessibility, we cite it in full in Van Rompay's translation:[156]

[153] On Philo's modest place in the Syriac tradition, see above § 1.4. at n. 135.
[154] Van Rompay (1982) 1-18. Secondary studies have not yet noted this important find. It is not mentioned in Simonetti (1985), and also not in the latest monograph on Theodore's exegesis, Zaharopoulos (1989).
[155] On the difficult question of the relationship between this text and the larger treatise see Van Rompay's discussion, (1982) xlv-xlvii, who is unable to reach a clear conclusion. At xlii he notes that Theodore's master Diodorus of Tarsus also had a (still unpublished) introduction to this Psalm with an attack against allegorical exegesis (but without naming Philo and Origen explicitly).
[156] Since the text cited is already a translation of a translation, it seemed better not to convert it into English. The lines match the printed text exactly. Van Rompay and I hope to publish a further analysis, including an English translation, in the near future.



[14] Et (ceci vaut) aussi (pour) tous les apôtres, qui rappe-
[20] laient partout la promesse (faite) aux pères, vu que de cette façon
ils pensaient (pouvoir) le plus faire taire les Juifs, pour qu'il soit clair
qu'ils ne faisaient rien qui soit étranger et en opposition avec leurs pères.
Dans ce qui précède nous avons aussi eu en vue le bienheureux Paul et le
Christ notre Seigneur lui-même, qui a interprété ainsi les (choses)
[25] anciennes, ainsi que les livres des évangélistes, qui sont composés de cette
manière.

Mais il n'a pas paru bon au vertueux Origène de tenir compte de ces
(personnes). 11 a regardé comme bien supérieur à ceux-là Philon, un juif,
[15] qui dès qu'il fut instruit dans la doctrine de dehors, a considéré le sens
(littéral) des Ccritures divines, tel qu'il ressort du texte (même) des
(écritures), comme quelque chose d'inférieur et de méprisable. Et
(c'est) lui (qui) le premier a introduit l'histoire allégorique des païens (en
[5] l'empruntant) à l'enseignement des gentils, parce qu'il a cru que de la
même façon les (écritures divines) Ctaient elles aussi pourvues de l'armure
de l'allégorie, tandis qu'il n'a pas compris que (le fait) d'enlever le
contenu historique du texte (des Ccritures) altère profondément les
Ccritures divines et (qu') elles paraissent (d&s lors) mensongères et fausses,
[IO] comme (les mythes) des païens. 11 n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner que Philon
ait manœuvré de cette façon contre les Ccritures divines, vu qu'il a
aussi osé introduire l'arithmétique de la contemplation humaine dans
l'enseignement de Moïse, c'est-à-dire (dans l'enseignement) des écritures
divines, et (qu') il s'est enhardi (jusqu')à montrer que (c'est) d'après les
[15] (idées de l'arithmétique) (que) le monde fut constitué au cours du
déroulement de sa creation-au sujet de quoi Moïse aussi nous
enseigne par ses paroles. Et tandis qu'il a ainse rejeté en bien
des endroits le contenu historique du texte et (qu') il a rédigé les
compositions de ses écrits selon le sens (des idées de l'arithmétique), il
[20] était néanmoins obligé d'en respecter une partie, parce qu'il reculait
de honte devant la gloire ancienne et (devant) la réputation dont il
jouissait et devant la vérité qui fut maintenue parmi les gens de son
peuple. Par amour de la vaine gloire il a introduit l'enseignement des
païens dans les Ccritures divines, en ne comprenant pas que l'ornement
[25] (provenant) de ces (gens-)là est une impudence à l'égard des écritures
divines.

[16] Dans ces (matières) donc le vertueux Seigneur Origène—ne trouvant
personne qui pût lui enseigner les (questions) des écritures divines
selon la vérité—se servit de Philon comme maître suivant cette
interprétation alltgorique, (Philon) qui s'était enhardi (jusqu')à changer
[5]—précisement en raison de cette interpretation-tout ce qui est Ccrit
dans les (Ccritures). (Origène) s'est présenté alors comme un spécialiste
dans l'enseignement de l'Église (pourvu) d'une grande exactitude, en ne
se trompant pas seulement à une (occasion)-de façon qu'on lui
Cpargnerait le blâme de son erreur—mais il a usé de toutes les (choses)
[10] de la même façon †et il est† et plus grave encore (est le fait) qu'il n'a pas
adopté le même sens partout (et) toujours, mais tantôt (il a interprété les
textes) de cette manière, et tantôt d'une autre.. . [*Theodore goes on to describe various doctrinal errors on the part of Origen*]

In this text we note the following points of importance:

(1) Theodore's real adversary is Origen, whom he addresses ironically as 'the noble sir Origen' (a translation of ὁ γενναῖος?), and accuses of totally disregarding scripture's own injunctions on its interpretation (14.27).
(2) Instead of listening to biblical masters, Origen learns his method from a Jew, Philo (14.28); later we read that he turns to Philo because he could find no one else to teach him the true method (16.2).
(3) Philo has been trained in profane learning (Theodore may be thinking of the Eusebian evidence here), and so holds the literal text of scripture in contempt. He has learnt the allegorical method from the pagans/gentiles, and mistakenly thinks he can use it to defend scripture, whereas he in fact makes it seem mendacious and false like the pagan myths (15.1-10).
(4) Proof of Philo's disrespect can be seen in his use of human arithmetic to explain the Mosaic creation account, and also in the fact that he often rejects the historical content of scripture outright (15.10–17).
(5) Nevertheless out of a sense of shame and respect for his own people's tradition and for the Truth itself, he continues to respect at least a part of the historical sense of scripture (15.17-22).
(6) His motivation for introducing a pagan method into scriptural interpretation was vainglory (= κενοδοξία?) (15.23).

Theodore thus attempts to discredit the allegorical method of interpreting scripture by ascribing to it a Jewish and-before that-a Greek background. This is a standard polemical move, strictly comparable to the frequent method of attributing the source of heresy to Jewish or Greek influence. Origen is regarded as the master of this method. But Theodore shows that he is aware that Origen did not invent it, but drew on Philo for his inspiration. Furthermore Theodore does not just make a series of hollow assertions. He produces evidence in the form of observations on Philo's actual exegetical practice. The passage in which he gives his proofs (15.10-20) would seem to me to be based on an actual reading of Philonic texts, and particularly the *De opificio mundi*. In this treatise the use of arithmology is so prominent-e.g. at §13–14,[157] 48-52, 62, 90–127—that it is difficult not to agree with Theodore that its use is rather disproportionate. Moreover this work contains two passages in which Philo explicitly says—contrary to his normal practice-that the literal meaning must be suspended: §153–154 (on paradise), §157 (on the serpent, cf. also *Leg.* 2.19). On the other hand many passages of the treatise give a perfectly literal interpretation of the creation account which Theodore cannot have found unacceptable.[158] This perhaps led him to qualify his attack on Philo's allegorism to some degree, as indicated in point (5) above.

Theodore's attack on Philo and his allegorical method forms a perfect

[157] Van Rompay (1982) 15 in a note draws attention to this text and *Leg.* 1.3.
[158] On Philo's seeming vacillation between literalism and allegorism in *Opif.* and elsewhere see Nikiprowetzky (1977) 232ff.



contrast to the attitude revealed in the works of his slightly older contemporary Didymus the Blind. Didymus recommends Philo to his reader precisely on account of those features-arithmology and allegorical interpretation-which Theodore condemns.[159] This differing attitude to Philo is symptomatic of the gulf that separates the hermeneutical theory and practice of the Alexandrian and the Antiochene schools. Theodore also emphasizes the fact that Philo is a Jew. This, I suspect, has less to do with the actual subject of correct biblical interpretation than with the conflict with Judaism that was so pronounced in Antioch and Syria at this time.[160] After all he must have been quite well aware that current Rabbinic interpretation differed almost totally from Philo's allegorism, and was in fact in many respects much closer to the method that he himself so forcefully advocated.

Further light is shed on Theodore's attack on Philo and Origen by another text, this time not translated from the Greek but originally written in Syriac. In his work apparently entitled *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, Barḥadbšabba 'Arbaya, bishop of Ḥalwan in c. 600, gives an extensive account of the various schools whose existence is recorded in sacred and profane history.[161] After describing the schools of the Hebrew prophets, of Greek philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and of Zoroaster the Persian sage, the bishop records the school commenced by the Saviour himself, who chooses Peter and Paul to continue his teaching. Before reaching his own school, he first describes the school of Alexandria, in which mention is made of Philo. Because this text too is little known, it seems best to cite in full, once again in a French translation:[162]

> [6] L'école d'Alexandrie a été très célèbre, ainsi que nous l'avons dit; sa renommée et son antiquite y attiraient beaucoup de personnes, pour recevoir des leçons de philosophie. Et, comme le goût de l'étude est inné dans le genre humain, il se trouva un zélé de l'érudition, qui, instruit dans les sciences chrétiennes, fonda dans la susdite ville une Ccole de l'Écriture Sainte, afin qu'on ne pensât pas que [10] les sciences ne se trouvent que chez les païens. A la lecture des ces saints Livres, il [le zélé] ajouta aussi, comme parure, le commentaire; ce qui a été cause qu'il défigura quelquefois la vérité contenue dans l'Écriture, par des imaginations trés bizarres. Le directeur [15] de cette Ccole <et l'exégète> fut Philon le Juif, qui dès qu'il eut embrassé cet art, commença à expliquer l'Écriture par des allegories, au detriment de l'histoire. Ces sages ne comprirent pas que non seulement ils devaient Cviter l'ensei-[376]gnement des bagatelles, mais encore omer les Livres divins d'une vraie doctrine; ils aimèrent donc la gloire humaine plus que la gloire divine. Or ceux

[159] See above § 10.4.
[160] On the competitive relations between Jews and Christians in Antioch in the 4th century, cf. Meeks-Wilken (1978), Wilken (1984), Kinzig (1991), esp. 35–41.
[161] The title of the work is somewhat obscure; cf. Scher (1907) 325.
[162] Text and translation at Scher (1907) 375.6-376.9. Once again I am indebted to L. van Rompay for bringing this text to my attention and pointing out an omission in the translation (added in angle brackets).

qui fréquentaient Alexandrie, dans le but de s'instruire, étaient très nombreux. Bientôt l'école des philosophes disparut, et la nouvelle école devint prospère.

[5] Après la mort de Philon, le pervers Arius se rendit célèbre à Alexandrie; il promettait une ample discussion relative aux livres divins; il avait même acquis l'érudition profane. Ayant été appelé à expliquer les Écritures, il inventa, dans l'ivresse de l'orgueil, une nouvelle et fausse doctrine, disant que le Fils est crée...

The reader will observe without difficulty the continuation of themes found in Theodore's text. The mention of the motive of 'human glory' even suggests a direct link (cf. point (6) in my observations above). It is striking, however, that Origen's name is omitted. The attitude to Philo and the Alexandrian school is markedly ambivalent. On the one hand their love of learning and devotion to the scriptures is praised. On the other hand their preference for allegorical exegesis leads them badly astray. The connection made between the death of Philo and the appearance of Arius surely implies that the method of allegorical exegesis practised by the school can give rise to heresy. This suspicion is strengthened by the train of thought in the following paragraphs, where the foundation of the schools of Antioch and Nisibis and another Alexandrian school is connected with the defeat of heresy at the Council of Nicaea.[163] In our first chapter we included Barḥadbšabba's account as part of the legend of Philo Christianus, for it is implied that Philo is head of a Christian school.[164] This report connecting Philo with the school of Alexandria is found nowhere else. It has, needless to say, no historical foundations whatsoever, but reveals an interesting perspective on Philo's place in the tradition of biblical interpretation.[165]

It is not surprising, in the light of the attitudes of Theodore just studied, that leading Christian writers associated with or influenced by the Antiochene school reveal little acquaintance with Philo. One will look in vain for a reference to Philo in the vast body of works written by or associated with John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), the bosom-friend of Theodore.[166] And in the writings of the prolific Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c. 393-c. 466), who represents the next generation of Antiochene exegesis, Philo is mentioned only once, in a rather trivial listing of various interpretations of the meaning of the Hebrew word Pascha (together with Josephus and the Bible translators Symmachus and Theodotion).[167] We should not exclude the possibility,

[163] 376.10-377.10 Scher. Founder of the (new) Alexandrian school is Alexander, the bishop before Athanasius.
[164] See above §1.1 (13).
[165] This is not to say, however, that there may not have been connections between the Catechetical school of Alexandria and earlier Jewish institutions of the time of Philo; see above §8.1.
[166] CPG 2.491–672 (775 works excluding translations into other languages!). On the Pseudo-Chrysostomic homily which refers to Philo see above § 11.5.
[167] *Quaestiones in Exodum* 24 PG 80.253A.



however, that further Philonic material is present in these corpora, not advertised, and so awaiting identification by observant scholars.[168]

## 6. Continuations

With John Chrystostom and Theodoret we have reached the chronological time-limit of our study. But in our journey from Alexandria, via Caesarea and Antioch, we have so far not yet reached Constantinople, the future bulwark of the Byzantine Empire. When copies of Philo's works first reached the libraries of the capital is not known. The first Constantinopolitan writer to mention Philo directly is Johannes Lydus (490-c. 565), who in his book On *the months* refers to the *De vita Moysis* and also also draws on the *De opificio mundi*.[169] About half a century later a group of Armenian Christians used copies of Philo's works in order to prepare their translation at Constantinople. The introduction to these works gives an interesting summary of the works translated (QG, *QE* and three philosophical treatises).[170] Centuries later the scholar-bishops Photius and Arethas indicate they know Philo's works, and there is an interesting notice on him in the great Byzantine compendium, the *Souda*.[171] Photius devotes about a page to Philo in his *Bibliotheca*, praising his style and eloquence, but complaining that he introduces many themes foreign to Jewish philosophy, such as the existence of the (Platonic) ideas.[172] His statement that Philo is responsible for introducing the allegorical method into Christian exegesis also has a negative tone.[173] It may thus safely be assumed that some of the hundred or so Greek mss. of Philo spent a shorter or a longer time in the capital. But, as we noted in our discussion of the transmission of Philo's writings, this is a period in the history of the Philonic legacy whose secrets have yet to be unravelled.

[168] C-W refer on four occasions to texts in Theodoret; cf. Her. 14, 101, *Spec*. 1.221, *Virt*.59.
[169] Cf. the list in my index to C-W, Runia (1992a) 92. But C-W missed the direct reference in their collection of *testimonia*. We assume that the historian Sozomen only knew Philo via Eusebius and perhaps other sources; cf. above § 11.4.
[170] See our brief comments above at § 1.1 (12) and n. 14, $1.4. at n. 134.
[171] For these texts see C-W 1.cix–cxi and the Appendix. Remarkably the lemma on θεός cites a section from Isidore *Ep.* 2.143 on Philo!; cf. Runia ( I99 I a) 303.
[172] *Bibl. 103-105.*
[173] Note esp. the word ἐκβιαζόμενα at *Bibl.* 105, 2.72.2 Henry.
[174] See above §1.4. We note that in the important study of the Byzantine cultural transmission up to the 10th century by Lemerle (1971), no mention is made of Philo.

**PARTTHREE**

# Philo in the West

Chapter Thirteen

# Beginnings in the West

## *1. East and West, Greek and Latin*

When we think of the Western part of the οἰκουμένη in Philo's time our thought naturally turn first to the city of Rome. Rome was further away from Alexandria than the other major urban centres that we have discussed so far in our examination of the dissemination of Philo's writings and thought. But the divide between the Greek-speaking Eastern part of the Roman Empire and the Latin-speaking Western part should not be exaggerated, especially during the first four centuries after Philo's death. In Rome a considerable Jewish community had been established.[1] Philo furnishes important evidence on the vicissitudes that it underwent under the early Julio-Claudian emperors.[2] He is, of course, a first-hand witness, because he spent a considerable amount of time in Rome during his embassy to the emperor Gaius Caligula in 39-40 AD. Eusebius, who mentions this stay, adds the detail that his writings (λόγοι) were so much admired that they were considered worthy of deposition in libraries.[3] As we already observed in our opening chapter, this report is highly intriguing, but it raises more questions than we can answer. We cannot be sure that it has any basis, and, if it does, whether it has specifically Roman libraries in mind or libraries in general, and whether it concerns all Philo's works or just the sequence of treatises he wrote on the events relating to the embassy and the controversy between Caligula and the Jews.[4]

Philo will have spoken Greek with his fellow-Jews during his stay in Rome. When the Christian community at Rome commenced in the mid-first century AD, Greek was the main language of discourse, as is clear from Paul's letter to the Roman congregation. By the mid-2nd century Latin was taking over as the language of conversation, but theologians connected with

[1] On the Roman Jewish community see Simon (1967) 22-28, Stem (1974) 160-168, Schürer (1973-87) 3.73-81. It is remarkable that no Jewish literary Latin texts have been preserved, with the possible exception of the recently discovered *Epistola Anne* (but the Jewish attribution has now been disputed, see Hilhorst (1991) 159-161).

[2] See esp. *Legat.* 153-158.

[3] *HE* 2.18.8.

[4] On this text see further above § 1.4 and n. 124, and also below § 14.3.

the Roman church, including Hippolytus, continued to use Greek until a century later." The first substantial theological work produced at Rome is the De *trinitate* by the controversial Roman presbyter Novatian some time before 250.

There is every reason to surmise that there were extensive connections between East and West in the first two centuries of the Roman Church, and that knowledge of Alexandrian theology, both in its Judaeo-Hellenistic and Christian form, will have reached there.6 This would be confirmed if the Letter to the Hebrews was indeed a document of Roman Christianity, as has been thought by quite a number of New Testament scholars.7 In fact the careers of Justin, Tatian, Marcion and others show how artificial a division between East and West is during this early period of the expansion of Christianity. It is possible that some knowledge of Philo's writings and thought was present among Christians in the 2nd century.8 But as we saw earlier, in the case of Justin it is very difficult to gain a firm answer to the question of whether he knew Philo's work or not. Our concern in this chapter will be with a different theme, namely Philo's entrance in extant Christian *Latin literature.* It will emerge from our enquiries that this does not occur until relatively late, in the fourth century authors Calcidius or Ambrose.

Before we proceed, however, it will be interesting to mention, as a *curiosum,* a case where Philo might have, or even should have, made an earlier entrance into our surviving Latin literature than he actually did. In 1740 Muratori published a short Latin document listing the works of the New Testament. Ever since the so-called Muratorian Canon has given rise to discussion and controversy. The document was most likely translated from an original Greek version, but this may also have had Rome as its place of origin.[9] Most scholars think that it should be dated to the period 160-200, and so represents the first preserved canon of the New Testament.[10] Towards the end of the text (fol. 2a 11. 7-9, = 11. 69-71) the document reads: *et sapientia ab amicis salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta* ('and Wisdom written by the friends of Solomon in her (Wisdom's) honour'). In his edition of 1867 Tregelles surmised that the original Greek

5 Cf. Altaner (1960) 161–162.

6 The valuable survey of Simonetti (1987) commences with Tertullian, and covers mainly the 3rd and 4th centuries.

7 As discussed above §4.3 and n. 56.

8 Lucchesi (1977) 20 mistakenly cites Jaeger (1959) 336-338 as evidence that Clement of Rome may have used Philo's *Opif.* in his Letter *to* the *Corinthians,* ch. 20. Jaeger argues that both used a common source.

9 As Prof. Tj. Baarda informs me, the discussion of the Gospel of John reflects particular concerns of the Church of Rome c. 175 AD.

10 Cf. Quasten (1950–86) 2.207–210, CPG IX62 (with further references), and recently Metzger (1987) 193. A minority opinion wishes to place the document in the 4th century; cf. Sundberg (1973), McDonald (1988) 135–139.



of the sentence must have read: καὶ ἡ Σοφία Σαλομῶνος ὑπὸ Φίλωνος εἰς τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη.[11] In support of his suggestion the English scholar points out that Jerome later records the same attribution.'* This ingenious emendation has found general acceptance among scholars.[13] The text as we have it is full of mistakes and crudities. Even if allowance is made for errors of transmission, the translator cannot have been competent. It is worth pointing out, however, that the mistake he made is less likely to have occurred if he had been familiar with the name and writings of Philo.

## *2. Tertullian*

The first Latin Christian writer of a stature comparable to the theologians and exegetes in the East is Tertullian.[14] The locus of his activity is not Rome-we do not even know whether he ever visited the metropolis-but the capital of Roman Africa, Carthage. Virtually nothing is known about Tertullian apart from what he tells in his considerable corpus of 31 treatises. It has been shown that the concrete details furnished by Jerome in his biographical notice are most likely derived from a speculative reading of these works. Detailed investigation of the chronological clues furnished by the writings disclose that they were written between 196 and about 215. Arguing back from this result Tertullian must have been born between about 160 and 170, and died by about 220. During the last decade of his life he abandoned the Church and joined the sect of the Montanists, but this did not prevent him from exercising a considerable influence on the development of Christian Latin literature.

For our particular perspective it is of interest to recognize that in the 2nd and 3rd century an important Jewish community existed in Carthage.[15] In

11 Tregelles (1867) 53. αὐτοῦ in his retro-translation refers to Solomon, but Lagrange (1933) 74 n. 3 persuasively argues that *ipsius* can better be referred back to Sapientia (i.e. translates an original αὐτῆς).

12 On this text see further §15.1 at n. 41.

13 E.g. Lagrange (1933) 74, Katz (1957) 273, Von Campenhausen (1968) 284, Larcher (1969) 40, Bruns (1973a) 143; Schürer (1973-87) 3.574; Winston (1979) 68 is non-committal. For Von Campenhausen this mistake is the definitive proof that the original was Greek. Note that a difficulty is caused by the change in word-order, which the technique of ancient translation usually aims to preserve. A minority of scholars, including Harnack, regard Latin as the original language of composition; cf. Metzger (1987) 193 n. 8.

14 For the background material furnished in this paragraph see above all the classic study of Barnes (1971), with valuable postscript in (1985). Not all the conclusions he reaches have been accepted, but his penetrating analysis of the historical sources has led to a general reassessment of our knowledge of Tertullian's career. On the writings see the now dated survey in Quasten (1950–86) 2.25 l-3 18, and, more briefly, Hiltbrunner (1975).

15 On Judaism in North Africa and its influence on early African Christianity see Frend (1978), Quispel (1982), Van Oort (1991) 365-37 I (with further references).

the Rabbinic sources Carthage is mentioned as one of the four great centres of learning, and the Talmuds mention a number of Rabbis resident in the city. Rabbi Akiba is known to have travelled to North Africa, and most likely it was Carthage that he visited.[16] Archaeological evidence also supports the view that the community was a significant presence in the city.17 From his writings it is apparent that Tertullian at the very least knew about this community. In three treatises-the *Apologia, Adversus Iudaeos* and *Adversus Marcionem*—he deals with the issue of Judaism at considerable length.[18] The extent to which Tertullian was actually in active contact with the Jewish community in Carthage is, however, a matter of controversy. Barnes perceives a contrast with the evidence for Origen:[19]

> Tertullian shows a cold inquisitiveness, a detached observation of external rituals... In contrast to Origen, he betrays no hint of personal acquaintance or friendship with Jewish scholars. We must imagine Tertullian (I think) as fixing the Jews whom he saw on the streets of Carthage with a gloomy and baleful gaxe, but not as engaging them in conversation, still less as seeking their company in social or intellectual gatherings.

This view would run parallel to the attitude of Clement, who, as we saw, appears to have had no contact with the Jewish community of Alexandria.20 In his monograph on Tertullian and Judaism, however, Aziza reaches an entirely opposite conclusion: Tertullian's writings are witness to a lively Jewish community with which he must have been in personal contact.21 The matter can only be decided through examination of texts. If Tertullian records midrashic or halachic themes which cannot be derived directly from the Old Testament and are not taken over from Justin or another Christian source, then the possibility should not be excluded that he derived this material from Rabbinic contacts. Two passages may be taken as examples:

> (i) *Adversus Praxean* 12: in defending the doctrine of the Trinity Tertullian cites the plurals in Gen. 1:26 and 3:22 to which Philo and the Rabbis had given attention.[22] Listing interpretations which he rejects he states: 'Or was he [the creator] conversing with the angels; as the Jews interpret, because they do not recognize the son?' There is no need to assume direct knowledge of Philo or Rabbinic sources here, because Tertullian could have derived this interpretation from Justin's *Dialogus* 62. 1–3.[23]

[16] Simon ( 1967) 28-29, Aziza ( 1977) 15ff.

[17] In addition to the studies cited in n. 15 see also Schürer (1973-87) 3.62-63.

[18] See thematic analysis of the relevant information in these works in Schreckenberg (1982) 216–225, who argues that Tertullian's attitude to Judaism is 'sachlich' and comparatively unpolemical.

[19] Barnes (1985) 330.

[20] See above $7. I, §8.5(d).

[21] Aziza (1977); see summary of results at 259-262. Fredouille (1972) 270 agrees that *Adv. Iudaeos* is directed at Jews, and more likely to those outside than inside the Church.

[22] Cf. Runia (1986) 248, Runia (1992b)177–178.

[23] Cf. Evans' commentary, (1948) 259, Aziza ( 1977) 158–159.



> (ii) *Adversus Marcionem* 2.20: Tertullian alludes to the theme of the *spoliatio Egyptiorum*. 'For they also say that this was disputed on both sides, the Egyptians claiming back their vessels, the Jews demanding compensation for their labour.' As we saw in the previous chapter, the apologetic argument that the theft was justified on account of wages not paid out is found in Philo.[24] Aziza is right to suggest that the reference to the tradition ('they say') about a law-suit to resolve the matter appears to refer to Rabbinic traditions which Tertullian did not derive from Philo or earlier Christian sources.[25]

The second of these passages appears to be the only one in which direct knowledge of Rabbinic material is undeniable. So it would seem that Barnes is correct in contrasting Tertullian's position with that of Origen, whose interest in non-biblical Jewish traditions was much greater. But to assert that the lively controversialist would not have engaged the Jews he met in conversation would seem more appropriate to Oxford, the city where Barnes' study was written, than bustling Carthage, especially in the light of its sizeable and influential Jewish community.

On the question of a more direct acquaintance of Tertullian with Philo Aziza points out that Philo's 'spiritualized' form of Judaism does not fall prey to the charge of 'materialism' which he makes against contemporary Judaism. Aziza notes a number of parallels that can be drawn between Tertullian and Philo in the area of theology and psychology.26 But these are too vague to suggest more than a common background.[27] Moreover there is no evidence of any direct contact between Alexandrian Judaism and the Jewish communities in Northern Africa.[28]

One theme should still be examined in a little more detail, in order to illustrate the difficulties involved in determining Tertullian's knowledge of Philo. From the philosophical point of view his most remarkable work is his De *anima*, the sources of which have been subjected to a thorough analysis by Waszink in his magisterial commentary.[29] Tertullian is convinced that the 'divine doctrine' on the soul is derived from Judaea rather than Greece. But he is constrained to dwell at length on the views of the philosophers on account of the pernicious influence of the heretics in the Church.30 Both in

[24] Cf. above §12.3(d) and n. 118, with reference to Mos. 1. 141.

[25] Aziza (1977) 168–172.

[26] Aziza (1977) 191–193: negative theology, distinction between *ratio* and *sermo* (i.e. λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός), distinction between *afflatus* and *spiritus*, man as 'living soul', typology of dreams.

[27] The same must be said for Verhoeven's invocation (1951) of Philo in order to explain Tertullian's use of the term μοναρχία.

[28] Aziza (1977)191, citing Simon (1967) 29. Tertullian does appear to have had direct acquaintance with Josephus: cf. Schreckenburg-Schubert (1992)55, pointing to *Apol.*19.6. Such lack of contact is an argument against the 3rd century African provenance of the Latin translation of Philo, as speculated by Lucchesi (1977) 1 10-111.

[29] Waszink (1947).

[30] *De anima* 2-3.

this treatise and a previous one now lost, De *censu animae*, Tertullian introduced a distinction between the soul as *aurula spiritus* and *imago spiritus.* It was Quispel who first pointed out that this distinction is earlier found in Philo *Leg.* 1.42, where he distinguishes between πνοή and πνεῦμα.[31] Waszink, after noting some differences between the two authors, comments on this:[32]

> If ... Tertullian was indeed influenced by Philo's theory, we are not able to say how he became acquainted with it. To my knowledge, there are no signs indicating that Tertullian read Philo himself; the most plausible supposition is that Greek exegetes of Holy Scripture acted as intermediaries.

The same explanation could be used to explain the suggestive parallels between Tertullian and Philo on sleep and ἔκστασις (in both cases exegesis of Gen. 2:21 is involved).[33] Finally in chap. 15 there is an extensive doxographical passage in which various views are given on the location of the rational part of the soul (ἡγεμονικόν). In the middle of the doxography the scriptural view is posited that it is located in the heart, which closes the discussion as far as Tertullian is concerned (§4). Subsequently (§5) he also invokes the view of the *Aegyptii* (i.e. the Hermetic writings) and *divinarum (sc. litterarum) commentatores* for the same view. It is also the view of the Greek philosopher Empedocles, since the heart is the source of the blood. If Tertullian added this reference to commentators himself, then he no doubt had exegetes of scripture in mind.[34] Mansfeld suggests that the apologist may be especially thinking of Philo, and pertinently points to a parallel passage on the nature of the soul in Calcidius .[35] The difficulty once again is that it is not easy to see how Tertullian could have been acquainted with Philo's works, where in any case it is not this view that is given support.36

A divergent view on the relation between Philo and Tertullian may be mentioned by way of conclusion. Popma, discussing the Fathers' attitude towards (pagan) culture, finds it 'highly significant that we look in vain for any link with Philo's thought, although Tertullian must have known his works'.[37] The case of Justin is not comparable because he was not a

[31] Quispel (1943) 139, cited by Waszink (1947) 14*.
[32] Waszink (1947) 14*.
[33] Waszink (1947) cites two Philonic passages on 474, 482-3. The references here are somewhat confusing: the first comes not from a work Περὶ ὕπνου but from a lost part of the *Legum Allegoriae* and is cited on p.7 Harris; the second is a Greek fragment of QG 1.24 (cf. Petit 1978) 47.
[34] Waszink (1947) 22 1 regards the introduction of scripture in $4 as Tertullian's work, but pare Mansfeld (see next note) does not venture an opinion on the *divinarum commentatores.*
[35] Mansfeld ( 1990) 3 100; see our discussion further below $13.3 and n. 60.
[36] For diverse Philonic passages on this question cf. Runia (1986) 267: Philo either supports the view that the head is the place of the rational soul or that Moses is undecided on whether it is in the head or the heart.
[37] Popma (1973) 99; on his views see further above 43.2 at n. 54.



scholar in the real sense of the word. But Tertullian was erudite. Therefore the conclusion should be drawn that he deliberately rejected Philo's ideas, even though he was interested in the same subjects. The reason, Popma argues, is to be sought in a differing attitude towards the surrounding culture of Hellenism. Tertullian's attitude was hostile, whereas Philo's was positive. Popma's argument is not without interest, but is too speculative to be in any way persuasive. Tertullian's undoubted learning is no guarantee that he must have been acquainted with Philo's writings.

## *3. Calcidius*

The next Latin writer we shall examine, Calcidius, does refer to Philo by name, so it might seem that we are on firmer ground. Since, however, both the date and the location of Calcidius' literary activity are a matter of lively scholarly dispute, it cannot be claimed with certainty that he is the first Latin writer to mention Philo or to have read some of his writings.

Calcidius' work consists of an introductory letter to his patron Ossius, a translation of Plato's *Timaeus* up to 53c2, and a commentary dealing with the subject matter contained in the section from 31c3 to the end of the translation. In the introductory part of the Commentary the author sets out 27 topics which the work will discuss, but of these only the first 13 are dealt with in the work as it has come down to us. The subjects discussed include the creation of the cosmos' body and soul, the structure of the cosmos after its creation, the nature of the heavenly beings, demons (or angels) and man. The work as we have it concludes with what is perhaps its most interesting part, a long chapter on matter (§268–355).[38] Calcidius' work became a document of the first importance in the history of western philosophy, because from the 9th to the 12th centuries it was the only translation of and commentary on a work of Plato available in the West. For this reason it exists in a large number of manuscripts. Starting point for all research on Calcidius is now the magnificent critical edition published by J. H. Waszink in 1962.39 Our limited investigation is based largely on this work and partial commentaries produced by Waszink and his pupils.[40]

In order to fix Calcidius' date and place of work three factors need to be taken into account.

[38] For a more detailed account of the Commentary's contents and structure see the analyses of Van Winden (1965) 14-23, Waszink (1972) 239–240. References will in all cases be to chapters of the Commentary.
[39] Waszink (1962, 1975[2]). We refer to the 2nd updated edition.
[40] Van Winden (1959, 1965[2]), Waszink (1964a), Den Boeft (1970), Den Boeft (1977). Van Winden has translated §268–355, Den Boeft §127–136,142–190. But to my knowledge no complete translation has been made into a modern language.

(a) ***Prosopography.*** The work is dedicated to a certain Osius, who encouraged it to be written. Both the addressee and the author were certainly Christians, as is proven by the reference to the star of Bethlehem (§126). In a small number of mss. Osius is described as a bishop, while Calcidius is his arch-deacon. Until comparatively recently it was considered certain that Osius was the celebrated Bishop Ossius of Cordoba (256-357) and that Calcidius must have belonged to the staff of his see in Spain. This would place his activity in the first half of the 4th century. Waszink has argued, however, that this tradition is not strong enough to counter other arguments that point to a later date.[41] He adds that it is also unnecessary to assume that Calcidius was of Jewish origin on account of the eight references to *Hebraei* or *Hebraica philosophia* in the work.[42] This position is sound, although the argument that Waszink brings forward on behalf of Calcidius' Christian status is not as strong as he thinks.[43]

(b) Style. Waszink argues that the mannered and rather difficult Latin that Calcidius writes shows lexical and stylistic similarities to writers of the 2nd half of the 4th century and the 1st half of the fifth, and in particular to writers such as Marius Victorinus, Ambrose, Jerome, Macrobius.[44] On these grounds Waszink opts for a date of a little after 400.[45] Courcelle agrees with an Italian location and a later date, but argues that certain parallels between Calcidius and Ambrose point to a date about 20 years earlier, i.e. c. 380 AD.[46]

**(c) Sources.** It is apparent that Calcidius is heavily indebted to anterior Greek philosophical sources. Waszink argues that one need assume usage of only two chief sources, Porphyry's ***Commentary on the Timaeus*** and Origen. Source material from earlier Middle Platonist authors such as Adrastus and Numenius could have been drawn upon via Porphyry. Such extensive use of a Neoplatonist author supports a later date (though there is no evidence of acquaintance with Iamblichus).[47] A spirited attack has been made on this position by Dillon,[48] who points out that not a single statement in the whole Commentary betrays Neoplatonic influence and that

[41] Waszink (1975) x-xii, (1972) 236-237, and-a final statement-(1984) 366-367. The strongest argument, derived from R. Klibansky, is negative, i.e. the complete silence of Isidore of Seville, who makes a point of drawing attention to all the Spanish writers he knows.
[42] Waszink (1972) 236, with reference to Wrobel (1876) xi, Switalski (1902) 4, who both mention the possibility only to reject it.
[43] See below on §219.
[44] Waszink (1972) 237-238.
[45] Waszink (1975) xv.
[46] Courcelle (1973a), repeated in (1973b) 16-24. According to Kerferd (1981) 546 the question might be resolved through a more thorough linguistic analysis.
[47] Waszink (1972) 242.
[48] Dillon (1977) 401–408, taking up an earlier position of Jones (1918) that Calcidius is not indebted to Neoplatonism.



much suggests he did not make use of Porphyry. Its basic doctrines reflect the long tradition of Middle Platonist scholasticism. Dillon thus reverts to the pre-Waszink view and paints the following evocative picture:[49]

> There is... nothing that connects him with the Neoplatonist movement, and very little that identifies him as a Christian. He seems to be one of those intellectuals who, in those difficult times, managed to reconcile the new order of things with the old, finding shelter in the household of the Bishop of Corduba to pursue his Platonic studies, adopting enough of Christianity to satisfy that powerful cleric, while at the same time trying to interest him in some of the wonders of Platonism.

These arguments have appealed to a minority of scholars,[50] but were not able to sway Gersh in his detailed examination of the Latin Middle Platonist and Neoplatonist tradition.[51]

Since Philo stands in close contact to the beginning of the Middle Platonist tradition and Calcidius looks back at it when it has been superseded, and since the Commentary concerns the Platonic treatise which plays the largest role in Philo's thought, it is inevitable that many interesting parallels will be found between them.[52] But what interests us now is the possibility of a more direct relationship, and this means we should take a closer look at those passages where Calcidius shows his knowledge of and interest in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, in one of which (§278) an explicit reference is made to Philo. As far as we know no separate study has been made of these passages, although they are discussed, or at least referred to, by all the scholars so far mentioned. We examine the passages in the order of their appearance in the commentary.

> **§55**. Plato's doctrine of man's rational nature is confirmed by the doctrine of a holier and wiser school (*secta*), which maintains that God constructed man's body 'according to this image' (i.e. of the cosmos?), summoned down life from the celestial regions, and then breathed with his own breath into man's inmost parts, this 'inspiration' being man's rational part. This divine reason is a god presiding over human affairs, the source of felicitous living, if it is properly looked after. Van Winden argues here that the combination of biblical and Platonic data (esp. if 'image' is the macrocosmos) is typically Numenian.[53] Certainly if the exegesis here is only of Gen. 2:7, then the passage is rather peculiar. If, however, Gen. 1:26 is also taken into account, then some relation to the Philonic tradition may be possible: (i) summoning life from the stars, cf. the role of the 'young gods' in the explanation of the plural in Gen. 1:26 (*Opif.* 72–

[49] Dillon (1977) 408.
[50] Rist (1979) 151-155, Barnes (1981) 74,324.
[51] Gersh (1986) 421–434, where we note some hesitancy: on 424 judgment on identity and date is suspended, on 433 a later date is regarded as more probable.
[52] Cf. the passages listed in Runia (1986) 602.
[53] Van Winden (1965) 106.

*75* etc.); (ii) the mind as a god to man, cf. *Opif.* 69.[54] If the term effigies recalls εἰκών in Gen. 1:26, however, the exegesis remains rather awkward.

**§126.** The only reference to the New Testament, a ***sanctior et uenerabilior historia*** about the star of Bethlehem witnessed by the Chaldean wise men (cf. Matt. 2:2).

**§130, 132.** This time the theme of the rationality of the heavenly bodies is illustrated with reference to 'Hebrew tradition', and in particular the commands to the sun, moon and stars in Gen. 1:14–16. Waszink and Den Boeft point to ***Opif.*** *58,* Den Boeft also to a long extract from Origen's Commentary on *Genesis* preserved at Eusebius PE 6.11 which takes the same text as starting point.[55] Den Boeft's criticism of the final part of the argument loses all persuasiveness if it is realized that *supientissimus rector* refers to the ruling part (ἡγεμονικόν) of each individual star. For the equation of demons and angels in § 132, cf. three explicit Philonic passages, Gig. 6, *Plant.* 14, Somn. 1.141.[56]

**§155,** 171. Here too a reference to Mosaic doctrine is put forward as a 'concluding witness' to a Platonic argument, this time on man's freedom of choice in doing good or evil as indicated by the trees in paradise (Gen. 2:17).[57] Philo describes man's choice graphically in *Opif.* 154: God sets up standards in man's ruling part, and then watches like a judge to see which way it will incline (cf. also *Plant. 45,* ***Virt.*** *205).* In the second text the language is a scriptural collage, not corresponding to any precise Pentateuchal text.[58] Philo prefers the choice between good and evil set by God in Deut. 30:15; cf. ***Deus*** 50, *Fug. 58* etc.

**§219**. As part of a long doxography on the nature of the soul [59] Calcidius again calls on the Judaic tradition in order to complement the view of Greek philosophers, this time Empedocles who places the ruling power of the soul in the blood. The passage should be cited in full (my translation):

> The Hebrews too appear to follow this man in their opinion on the ruling part of the soul, when they say: 'the blood of your brother cries out at me (Gen. 4:10)', and in another place 'you will not eat flesh with blood (Gen. 9:4)', since 'blood is the soul of all living beings (Lev. 17: 1 1).' If these words are understood as they should be, that the blood of living beings is the soul, because it is the conveyer of the irrational soul, whose parts are the importunate desires, then such an assertion is evidently reasonable. If, however, they affirm that man's soul is rational, let them be aware that, when men had been created God breathed into them divine breath from himself (cf. Gen. 2:7), by means of which we think and understand and piously worship God and we have an affinity with divinity and we are said to be 'gods' and 'sons of the most high' God (Ps. 81:6). To regard this affinity with God and, in general, the reason with which we think to be blood is an erroneous opinion. All these arguments we also pronounce against Empedocles.

This text is particularly fascinating because it contains a cento of 5 biblical texts, which are linked up to the view of an ancient philosopher.60 The background of the cento can be summarily stated as follows:

(i) The contrast between blood-soul and rational soul is stated in a number of Philonic passages, in which the same biblical texts are brought together: see esp. ***Det.*** 79-80 (Gen. 4:10, Lev. 17:11, Gen. 2:7), QG 2.59 (Gen. 9:4, Gen. 2:7, Lev. 17:11; see also the partially preserved Greek text[61]), *Her.* 55-57 (Lev. 17:11, Gen. 2:7, Gen. 1:26), Spec. 4.123 (Lev. 17:11, Gen. 2:7).
(ii) These texts individually are popular in the Alexandrian tradition (Clement, Origen, Didymus), but this particular cento is not found elsewhere.
(iii) Philo nowhere cites Ps. 81:6, but the text is referred to repeatedly by Clement and Origen.
(iv) Mansfeld has shown that Philo's exegesis of Gen. 4:10–16 in both *Det.* and QG 1 contains extensive reference to a Middle Platonist cento containing Platonic, Heraclitan ***and*** *Empedocleun* citations and doctrines.[62] We recall too that Tertullian most likely makes a connection between scriptural views and the doctrine of Empedocles. [63]
That Calcidius' cento in part derives ultimately from Philo can be considered certain. But through which intermediary? The evidence appears to point to Origen, although this does not furnish an explanation for the connection with Empedocles.
Waszink's interpretation that a *distinction* is being made here between Jewish and Christian views on the nature of the soul should be rejected.[64] Calcidius is not averse to agreement to the Judaic tradition, provided it is properly interpreted. The 1st person plural *dicimur* points not to NT texts, as Waszink thinks,65 but rather to a common OT proof-text. So this verb should be taken to indicate Calcidius' position within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and not a rejection of its earlier phase. The same attitude can be seen in Nemesius, who also treats the Bible as a single tradition taking its start from Moses. [66] As in the case of Nemesius, the reference to ***Hebraei*** should be taken generally as indicating the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and certainly not as referring specifically to Philo.

**§256.** On the question of the purpose and function of dreams the *Hebruicu* ***philosophia*** agrees with Platonic doctrine. In his apparatus Waszink appends to the words *Hebruicu* ***philosophia*** the explanation *Philonem dicit*, referring the reader to an earlier article, in which he had argued that Calcidius' five-fold division into *somnium-visus-udmonitio-spectaculum-revelutio* could be ulti-

54 Ultimately based on exegesis of Ex. 7: 1; cf. Runia (1988b) 64.
55 Waszink ( 1975) ***ad loc.***, Den Boeft (1977) 24. Waszink unfortunately vacillates in his use of Mangey's numbering (as here) and that of C-W.
56 For the Middle Platonist argument involved, see Runia (1986) 229.
57 Cf. Den Boeft ( 1970) 36.
58 As noted at ***ibid. 72.***
59 Analysed in detail by Mansfeld (1990) 3 1 12–17.

60 On the method of the cento see above §12.3(a) and n. 51, where we refer especially to the important study of Mansfeld (1992).
61 Edited at Petit (1978) 114.
62 Mansfeld (1985) 13 1-139, esp. 135.
63 See above $13.2 and n. 34.
64 Waszink (1975) xi, (1972) 237.
65 ***Ad loc***. he cross-refers to xii, where he cites John 10:34, Matt. 5:9, Luke 20:36. But in the ***Index locorum 434*** he does refer Ps. 80:6 (should be 8 1:6) to this passage.
66 See above § 12.4.

mately traced back to Philo's tripartition of dreams in *Somn.* 1.1-2, 2.2.[67] There are certain marked differences, however, and these are in Waszink's view to be explained through the fact that Calcidius derives his information via the intermediation of both Numenius and Porphyry. Origen cannot be the source because of the lack of direct divine intervention in Calcidius' formulation of the last two types of dreams. Waszink follows the traditional methods of ***Quellenforschung*** here, and the results seem far from certain. It is to be agreed that direct use of Philo is unlikely.[68]

**§276–278**. At the beginning of the long treatment on matter (*silva*) Calcidius gives a survey of views on the subject which commences with a splendid example of a doxographical ***diaeresis***.[69] The chief division is between those who consider matter to be generated and those who regard it as ungenerated. The former position is represented by the ***Hebraei***, whose views are discussed at some length. So here the Jewish position is not called in to illustrate or confirm a Platonic view, but is treated as an important philosophical option in its own right. Calcidius first introduces Moses and the text of Gen. 1 :1, which he presents in no less than four versions (§276).[70] After discussing the meaning of 'in the beginning', Calcidius turns to the words ***caelum*** and ***terra***. It is apparent that these do not refer to the heaven and earth we experience, because these are created on the second and third day.

It is in the continuation of this discussion on the nature of the heaven and earth in Gen. 1 that Calcidius cites Philo explicitly (§278). We quote the full text and give a translation:71

> Quod ergo illud caelum prius quam cetera deus condidit quamue terram? Philo carentes corpore atque intellegibiles essentias fore censet, ideas et exemplaria tam siccae istius terrae quam soliditatis; denique etiam hominem prius intellegibilem et exemplum archetypum generis humani, tunc demum corporeum factum a deo esse dicit.
>
> What then was that heaven and earth which God established before the rest? Philo considers them to be incorporeal and intelligible essences, ideas and paradigms of both this dry earth and the firmament. After all, he says, also in the case of man first an intelligible and archetypal model of the human race was made by God and then afterwards corporeal man.

Calcidius then goes on to introduce the view of ***alii***, who maintain that heaven refers to incorporeal nature, earth to the substance of bodies, i.e. matter.

[67] Waszink (1941).

[68] See Waszink (194 1) 79-85. The main difficulty is that the title of ***Somn.*** (of which three books are missing) indicates it dealt only with divinely sent dreams, but two of Calcidius' five categories involve the soul on its own. Philo likes these kinds of ***diaereses (e.g.*** four-fold division of 'ecstasy' at ***Her.*** 249-263, five-fold division of 'spring' at Fug. 177ff.). But where was it located? In my view a later exegete such as Origen is an equally possible source.

[69] On the central role of ***diaeresis*** in ancient doxography see Mansfeld (1990), Runia (1989c).

[70] For the details see the commentary of Van Winden (1965) 51–66.

[71] My translation; see also Van Winden (1965) 61.



The passage begins in a surprising way, because Philo is introduced without any form of explanation, as if the reader is expected to know who he is. It is clear that the opinion given here is based on a careful reading of De *opificio mundi*, and particularly § 15-18, 24-25, 29-3 1, 36-39, 69, 134. We note that Philo's characteristic vocabulary is rather accurately rendered in Calcidius' Latin:[72]

| | |
|---|---|
| ***carentes corpore*** | ***cf.*** ἀσώματος ***$16, 18, 29, 36, 134*** etc. |
| ***intelligibiles*** | cf. νοητός §16,18, 24, 29, 134 etc. |
| ***essentius*** | ***cf.*** οὐσία §29 (elsewhere, e.g. §18, 21, 135, = matter or 'stuff') |
| ***ideas*** | ***cf.*** ἰδέα §16, 25, 29, 134 etc. |
| ***exempluriu*** | ***cf.*** παράδειγμα ***916,*** 18, 25, 29, ***36*** |
| ***siccue*** | ***cf.*** ξηρά §38–39 |
| ***soliditutis*** | ***cf.*** στερέωμα ***$36*** |
| ***hominem intelligibilem*** | cf. description in §134, ὁ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἰδέα τις... νοητός, ἀσώματος |
| ***urchetypum*** | ***cf.*** ἀρχέτυπος §16, 25 |
| ***hominem corporeum*** | cf. description in §134, ὁ διαπλασθεὶς αἰσθητός...ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστώς |

It would be premature, however, to conclude from this terminological analysis that Calcidius has read Philo at first hand. In $276 the name of Origen was explicitly mentioned, and it is quite well possible that the above terms are taken from a report of Philo's doctrine in Origen's great ***Commentary on Genesis.***[73] This is of course in itself a significant hypothesis, because it would entail that Philo's views were very thoroughly discussed in that work.

In Calcidius' report, however, it is a little surprising to see the reference to Philo's theory of the double creation of man as an ***argument in support*** of the interpretation of Gen. 1:1. Philo's procedure at *Opif.* 24-25 is different: he argues there that the description of man's creation κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ is proof of his theory that the intelligible cosmos as model for creation has its location in, or is to be equated with the divine Logos. There is no mention of the Logos at all in Calcidius' account. In this summary Philo's image of the king, the architect and the craftsman is also neglected. Elsewhere when explaining what Plato means by the distinction of the two genera at ***Tim.*** 52a he writes (§343):[74]

> quo loco uult intellegi secundam speciem, quae nascitur, cum opifex concipit animo futuri operis liniamenta effigieque intus locata iuxta eandem format quod agresssus est; id ergo consistere aliquo in loco dicit...
>
> Here he wishes to give an idea of the second species, which comes into being, when the artisan fashions the lines of a future work in his mind and, keeping

[72] Most identifications made by Van Winden (1965) 62.

[73] On the importance of this Commentary see above $9.4.

[74] I cite Van Winden's translation, (1965) 217.

the picture within him, fashions from this example that which he has set himself to make. Of this he [Plato] says 'that it appears in some place...'

It is hard not to think of Philo's image here. Yet the most specific aspects (king, architect, city) are missing,[75] so it will be safer to assume the common Middle Platonist background, perhaps transmitted by Origen, rather than dependence on Philo. Finally the question may be raised who the other exegetes are with whom Philo is contrasted. In his commentary Van Winden thinks of 'another group of Jews', but cannot identify them. In a later article, however, he argues that the reference to intelligible matter (283.10 Waszink) points to a new interpretation, which may have been put forward by Origen himself (who derived it from Ammonius Saccas).[76] Waszink notes similar views on the nature of 'earth' in Tertullian (attributed to Hermogenes[77]), Theophilus and Origen (attributed to *anonymi*).[78] Once again it seems unnecessary to discriminate between Jews and Christians, since both stand in the Mosaic tradition.

There remains one more passage in which Calcidius refers to the Judaeo-Christian tradition:

> **§300.** Having presented other views on the nature of matter, the author finally turns to the view of Plato himself. But here too diverse interpretations have been given, so another *diaeresis* is required. The view that it is not made, but endowed with an irrational soul-which is opposed to a rational (world-)soul derived from God-very likely represents Numenius' interpretation of Platonic doctrine (i.e. an attempt to explain the pre-cosmic chaotic motion). Calcidius states that the *Hebraei* agree with this doctrine, when they say that man's rational soul is given by God through celestial inspiration (*ex inspirutione caelesti)*, while the animals (including the serpent) had received a soul from matter (i.e. the blood-soul) when they sprung from the earth (on the sixth day of creation). Van Winden argues that the theory here is the same as at §55 and \$219, that it is Numenian in origin, and that 'Numenius certainly derived these *Hebraica* from Philo who expounded a similar theory... It is true that there are divergences from Philo, who rejected that the soul which is essentially blood originated ex silva(e anima); to him matter possesses no soul. However, *quam rationem et animam a d p e 11 an t* may still refer to Philo.'[79] Certainly in all three texts Gen. 2:7 plays an important role, but the connection of an irrational animal-soul to matter and an irrational world-soul (which is non-Philonic, as Van Winden rightly notes) makes this text quite different to the two previous texts.

Calcidius' 'Hebraic' passages are of great intrinsic interest because they represent a rare genre in Patristic literature. Material from the Judaeo-Christian tradition has been integrated into a work that has a primarily philosophical purpose. It is in this respect best compared to Nemesius' anthropological treatise, written at approximately the same time. Both writings differ from the works by Clement, Origen, Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, which either engage in biblical ***exegesis*** or have an explicitly ***theological*** purpose. In most of the Calcidian passages analysed above the role of the biblical (and Philonic) material is secondary rather than primary, i.e. to ***reinforce*** or shed ***extra light*** on a Greek philosophical view. This was not the case, however, in the longer passage in which Philo was explicitly cited, for there the Hebraic view is given an integral part in the main ***diaeresis*** of the doxography.

Analysis of the two most important passages demonstrates that at least some of Calcidius' 'Hebraic' material is derived either directly or indirectly from Philo. Both the use of the same biblical texts in \$219 and the accuracy of the translated terminology in \$278 place this issue beyond all doubt. In other passages, such as §256 on dreams the issue is more difficult to decide. But where, then, has Calcidius obtained his knowledge of this Philonic material? The question has been extensively examined by Switalski, Waszink, Van Winden and Den Boeft.[80] There would seem to be four possibilities:

(a) that he has read Philonic works for himself. This option has been unanimously rejected by all scholars on the grounds that (i) Calcidius works with a limited number of sources, and derives most information at second hand, and that (ii) he strays too far from a Christian interpretation of the material to be the direct author.

(b) that his knowledge of the Hebraic tradition (including Philo) comes primarily via Numenius, whether directly or through the mediation of Porphyry.81

(c) that he obtained Philonic material through Origen's ***Commentary on Genesis.*** This is virtually certain for the passage §276–277, since the analysis of the various translations of Gen. 1: 1 can hardly come from anywhere else (and Origen is explictly named). Den Boeft argues that, since most of Calcidius' *Hebraica* deal with the first chapters of Genesis, this work is probably the source for all these passages. In his final comments on the question Waszink was inclined to take over this viewpoint, although he still holds open the possibility that Porphyry could have played an intermediary role.

(d) that Calcidius is indebted to another intermediate source which is no longer known to us.

[75] Calcidius describes God as architect at § 137.
[76] Van Winden ( 1965) 62, (1973) 376-377.
[77] At *Adv. Herm. 19-22;* but note that Hermogenes' matter is eternal, and is derived from in *principio* in **Gen.** 1:1 **and** *terra* in 1:2a.
[78] Waszink (1975) 282.
[79] Van Winden (1965) 123.
[80] See esp. Switalski (1902) 43-49, Waszink (1975) 43–44, (1972) 241-242, Van Winden (1965) 243-259, Den Boeft (1970) 135-I 36.
[81] As noted above at \$1.2 and n. 30, both Waszink and Van Winden are convinced that Numenius was acquainted with Philo's works.

It will probably not be possible to reach certainty on these questions on account of the obvious difficulty that the sources postulated for Calcidius are no longer extant (unlike Philo's works). This makes it all the more important to look at the methodological assumptions that we make. It should be noted that the earlier of scholars whose conclusions we have examined show a strong tendency to follow the assumptions of the great German tradition of *Quellenforschung*. This is particularly visible in Waszink's attempt to reduce Calcidius' sources to a minimum of two or three authors. In more recent times scholars have realized that it is necessary also to take into account the personal contribution of the writers themselves, even when, as in the case of Calcidius, true originality would seem to be out of the question. As Van Winden points out, a total denial of originality to Calcidius is scarely more than a *petitio principii*.[82] Since it is certain that both writer and addressee are Christian, the 'Hebraic' passages would appear to point to the author's own interest. A distinction between Jewish and Christian ideas is, in our view, wholly artificial, because the author recognizes that both stand in the tradition of Mosaic philosophy. In this he follows the common assumption that goes ultimately back to Philo.

Even if Calcidius derived his knowledge of Philo at second hand, as seems rather likely, it may shed some light on the vexed problem of his date and place. Courcelle, in arguing for an Ambrosian context for his *Sitz im Leben*, points out that he shares his knowledge of and interest in Philo with the Bishop of Milan.[83] The argument is somewhat crudely put,[84] but makes a valid point. It is more likely by far that he gained his knowledge of Philonica in the Italy of the second half of the 4th century than in distant Spain (even if it is not possible to rob the arguments of Dillon and Jones of all their force[85]). It is to the centre of this Western renaissance, the figure of Ambrose himself, that we should now turn.

[82] Van Winden (1965) 247.
[83] Courcelle (1973a) 45, repeated *verbatim* at (1973b) 18.
[84] It is not enough to point to the explicit mention of Philo and the 31 references in Waszink's index locorum; also the method of use needs to be examined.
[85] See above n. 48.

Chapter Fourteen

# Ambrose of Milan

## *1. Bishop and scholar*

The story of Ambrose's elevation to the bishopric of Milan is well-known.* Born into a noble orthodox Christian family in 339, he received a thorough education in rhetoric and law, which prepared him for a career in government. In 370 he was appointed consular of the province Aemilia–Liguria, with his headquarters in Milan. When in 373 the Arian bishop Auxentius dies, the election of a successor gives rise to tumultuous disputes. Ambrose attends the election in his capacity as upholder of law and order. As the wranglings continue a child's voice is heard to say 'Ambrose bishop'. Immediately Ambrose is elected by acclamation with the approval of both Arian and Nicene parties, even though he only has the status of a catechumen. Ambrose receives baptism, and within a week is consecrated bishop of Milan, the office which he holds until his death in 397.

There are certain indications that Ambrose was attracted to the 'philosophical life', i.e. a life devoted to the spirit, even during his secular career.2 But there can be no doubt that he was insufficiently prepared for the intellectual demands of his high office. After his election he embarked on an ambitious programme of study under the direction of the priest Simplicianus which involved reading in the Greek fathers (such as Origen and Basil), Philo, and probably also pagan writers (such as Plotinus and Porphyry).3 Even when overwhelmed by the practical demands of office, Ambrose reserved time for study and meditation, as evocatively described by Augustine in his *Confessions*.[4] The result of this dedication was the production of a considerable body of writings. [5] These are of great importance for

[1] For a survey of Ambrose's career and thought see Dassmann (1978), Quasten (1950–86) 4.144-180 (by M. G. Mara). Bibliographical information compiled in Beatrice et al. (198 1); but references to the subject of Ambrose and Philo disappointing.
[2] Courcelle (1973a) 9-l 6.
[3] The evidence for this, however, is not very strong; cf. Paredi (1964) 393-394.
[4] *Conf.* 6.3.3.
[5] Elenchus of writings (including references to editions and translations) at Quasten (1950–86) 4.152-179. Cf. also CPL 27-40 (badly out of date). The critical edition in the series Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, vols. 32, 62, 73, 78, 79, 82, has just been

our study, for, surprising as it may seem, no Church father makes as extensive and detailed use of Philo's writings as Ambrose does.

## 2. *Ambrose and Philo: extent of usage*

Although the fact that Ambrose had made use of Philo was known as early as the 16th century—attention was first drawn to it by the converted Jew Sixtus of Siena in 1566—the full extent of his exploitation did not become evident until the discovery and publication of the Armenian translation of the ***Quaestiones.*** [6] Enthused by his discovery, Aucher exclaimed: just like Philo was called an ***alter Plato,*** for us now Ambrose is a ***Philo Christianus.***[7] For Cohn in his ***editio maior*** Ambrose was the ***Philo Latinus.***[8] There is no point quibbling about titles. Our task is first to determine the extent and nature of this unparalleled exploitation of Philonic material. Ambrose's Philonic borrowings can be conveniently divided into three groups.9

(a) ***Treatises: copious usage.*** In five treatises Ambrose makes 'such extensive use of Philo's work that the Philonic material can be described as a framework on which Ambrose's own contribution is draped. Large sections of text are paraphrased or virtually translated into Latin. These treatises are the following:[10]

(i) De ***paradiso:*** allegorical exegesis of Gen. 2:8 to 3: 19, drawing on Phi10 QG 1.8-47, Leg. 1.12-2.18.

(ii) De ***Cain et Abel:*** allegorical exegesis of Gen. 4, drawing on ***Sacr.*** (in its entirety), QG 1.64-77.

(iii) De Noe: allegorical exegesis of Gen. 6-10, drawing on QG 1.87-2.82

(iv) De ***Abrahamo II: an*** allegorical interpretation of the life of Abraham as recorded in Gen. 12-17, drawing on QG 3 (in its entirety[11]).

(v) De ***fuga saeculi***: a discourse on the need to hold oneself aloof from the vanity of the world, with diverse themes drawn from ***Fug.,*** esp. the cities of refuge in Num. 35.

completed after nearly 100 years (see further below n. 12).

6 A brief account of 400 years of scholarship on the subject of Philo and Ambrose is given at Savon (1977) 1.9-12 and notes.

7 Aucher (1826) v: fit eo pacto, ut quemadmodum quibusdam Philo erat alter Plato; ita nobis Ambrosius est Philo Christianus.

8 Cohn-Wendland (1896-l 915) 1 .lxii.

9 I follow the subdivision of Savon 1.13-15, but in reverse order.

10 More detailed references to passages used is found in the editions of Aucher (for QG), C-W (for texts in the Allegorical Commentary), Schenkl (1897 = the critical text of Ambrose). The references in the apparatus of C-W are collected in an ***index locorum*** at Runia (1992a) 88-89. Regrettably there is no index locorum for the references in Schenkl. Some of these, however, -especially in ***De*** *paradiso*—have been contested by Lucchesi (1977).

11 And also a section between Books 2 and 3 now lost; see further below at § 14.3.



All five treatises are thus concerned with allegorical exegesis of the Pentateuch. Savon has labelled these writings the 'trait& philoniens' and argued that they form an 'ensemble cohérent'. They give rise to numerous questions of great interest for the study of both Ambrose and Philo himself. We shall examine them in greater detail below.

(b) ***Letters.*** In a number of didactic letters, Philonic material is adapted in a similar way, but on a lesser scale. The following list indicates the more important borrowings. I give both the old numbering as found in PL and the new numbering of the critical edition of Faller and Zelzer.[12] The more important passages have been listed and/or placed in parallel columns by Wilbrand.[13]

***Ep. 2*** (PL), 36 Zelzer: extended adaptation of material from ***De Zosepho*** (for the most part missed by C-W).

***Ep. 7*** (PL), 1 Faller: on the half a drachma in Ex. 30: 12-13, five passages from ***Her.*** (entirely missing in C-W).

***Ep. 8*** (PL), 55 Zelzer: in arguing that the biblical authors did write ***secundum artem,*** Ambrose commences with the allegorical interpretation of Gen. 22:7 at ***Fug. 133,*** and draws on §132–143, 168-170.

***Ep. 27*** (PL), 4 Faller: exegesis of Ex. 8:26, sacrifice of the abominations of Egypt to the Lord, drawing on ***Fug.*** 15-19.

***Ep.*** 28 (PL), ***6*** Faller: the life of the priest should avoid the life of the common herd; draws on ***Prob.*** 1–3, 43 (missed by C-W).

***Ep. 33*** (PL),14 Faller: repetition of some themes from ***De Cain et Abel,*** which draws on ***Sacr.***[14]

***Ep. 37*** (PL), 7 Faller, to his teacher Simplicianus: our liberty in Christ is our liberty in the knowledge of wisdom, for the philosophers vaunt that ***quia omnis sapiens liber, omnis autem insipiens serviat;*** by 'philosophers' above all Phi10 is meant, for the letter draws extensively on ***Prob.***

***Ep. 43*** (PL), 29 Faller: on a question raised by the ***Exameron,*** why man created later than the animals, extensive use of ***Opif. 69-88.***

***Ep. 44*** (PL), 31 Faller: further questions on the Mosaic creation account answered with reference to ***Opif.*** 8-13, 100-124 (on the hebdomad).

***Ep. 45*** (PL), 34 Faller: further questions on Paradise and its allegorical significance, with reference to ***Opif.*** 141-171 (but not ***Leg.*** or QG).

***Ep. 50*** (PL), 28 Faller: discussing the question of whether God can lie; Ambrose's account of Balaam is a paraphrase of extracts from Mos. 1.267-299 (missed by C-W).

12 = Volume 82 of CSEL edition: part I, Faller (1968), part II (Zelser 1990), part Ill (Zelser 1982). Part II, just published, does not refer to the Philonica in its ***prolegomena,*** and does not contain the promised ***index locorum.***

13 Wilbrand (1909) l-20; see also C-W's apparatus, including the addenda at l.lxxxx–Ixxxxiv; the table at Lucchesi (1977) 128 is incomplete. I do not list the letters where only incidental use is made of Philo.

14 I. e. Ambrose paraphrases himself directly, Philo secondarily; cf. Wilbrand (1909) 9.

*Ep.* ***65*** (PL), 2 Faller, to Simplicianus: on pouring of half the blood in Ex. 24:5–6, with reference to Her. 182-185.

***Ep.*** 67 (PL), 3 Faller, to Simplicianus: only God is without sin, the wise man repents, as in the case of Moses, drawing on Fug. 157-160 (exeg. Lev. 10:16–19).

This extended usage of Philo in Ambrose's letters has received virtually no attention, except for textual purposes. The best account is still Wilbrand, but the single page of conclusions which he reaches, while sound enough, remains on a superficial level.[15] It is clear from the above summary that the matter taken over pertains partly to specific exegetical questions, partly to more general discussions (note esp. ***Ep.*** 37). It is surprising that Ambrose does not draw at all from the ***Quaestiones,*** which he uses so extensively elsewhere.16

(c) ***Treatises: incidental usage.*** Outside the five 'traités Philoniens' and the ***Letters,*** Ambrose makes occasional use of Philonic themes. Most of these do not involve the close paraphrasing in the two previous groups, but are either repetitions of themes used elsewhere or allusions based on memory. For example, in the ***Exumeron*** Ambrose for the most part follows the work of the same name of Basil as his chief source. At the end when he reaches the creation of man and wishes to expatiate on the structure of the human body, Basil does not furnish the right material. So Ambrose turns elsewhere and paraphrases large parts of Apuleius' ***De Platone***. When he gets to the discussion of man's lower parts, he cannot resist making a brief reference to the allegorical interpretation of the door of Noah's ark which he derives from QG 2.6 and has worked out at greater length in ***De Noe*** 8.24.[17] Another example is found in ***De Isaac*** 2.3.11, where he cites ***Prob.*** 57.[18] But the parallels that Sagot sees with ***Somn.*** and Fug. in the same treatise may be indirect, i.e. via Origen or another early Christian exegete.[19] This incidental usage of Philonic material is far less interesting than the first category, which is the area on which we shall concentrate. It should be noted, however, that the location of such incidental parallels is to a large degree dependent on the way that Ambrose's method of using Philo is

[15] Wilbrand (1909) 19-20; cf. also Savon (1977) 13-14, who is out to show that the usage differs from what we find in category (a).

[16] Wilbrand (1909) 16 points only to ***Ep.*** 49, where the parallel to QG 1.53 is only slight.

[17] Cf. the discussion at Paramelle (1984) 95-101, and also 265, where a further reference to the same theme is noted in ***De officiis*** 1.18.78. On the sources of the ***Hexaemeron*** cf. Gossel (1908) (who first noted the use of Apuleius), Klein (1927), Pépin (1964) 45-48; but the matter needs a much more extensive investigation. See also further below §14.5(d). Klein (1927) 81 n. 1 is careful about the interpretation of *alicuius* ***ante*** *nos* at 3.17.72, whom Schenkl had identified with Philo: quae [verbal cum in universum conspirent cum Philone, ad verbum non congruunt. He therefore suggests Hippolytus as a source.

[18] Cf. Savon (1977) 33.

[19] Sagot (1974) X3-83; cf. also Lucchesi (1977) 85 n. 2.



evaluated. This problem is particularly acute in the case of the etymologies, as we shall see below.[20]

It has been estimated that Ambrose borrows from Philo's writings on some 600 occasions.21 Even if not all of these allusions are direct, this usage is far in excess of anything else we find in the Patristic tradition. Yet in all the above-mentioned writings Philo's name is actually mentioned once only, and then not to indicate that he is a source, but to criticize him for the limitations of his allegorical exegesis.[22] Elsewhere he quite frequently refers to Philo in anonymous terms- the same procedure we found in Origen. It is important to recognize that Ambrose is not making an effort to conceal his debt to a Jewish source, as Conybeare thought.23 This is simply his method of working. The same happens in the ***Exumeron,*** where he follows Basil closely, but only refers to him in anonymous terms.24 The question that might be raised here is whether Ambrose is guilty of plagiarism. Jerome, who was not particularly well-disposed towards him, thought so, and the charge has been repeated in modern times.25 Indeed, judged by modern standards the matter is beyond all doubt. But ancient views on the question differ from what is acceptable now.26 Moreover Ambrose's borrowings concern mainly the interpretation of scripture, where the name of the exegete is certainly of secondary importance compared with the scriptural truths uncovered. We recall that Philo himself never refers to Alexandrian fellow-exegetes by name.27

On the subject of Ambrose's use of the Philonic corpus an extensive body of literature has been produced over the years.28 These studies, however, have now for the most part been overshadowed by two monographs that were published in the same year (1977) and in the same language, yet were written completely independently of each other, and come to quite different results. Although they deal with the same subject, there is in fact remarkably little overlap between them. Lucchesi is primarily inter-

[20] See text at n. 57.

[21] Lucchesi (1977) 7: see tables at 127-128.

[22] At ***De paradiso 4.25;*** on this text see further below § 14.4.

[23] Conybeare (1895) 329-330.

[24] Cf. Klein (1927) 51-53.

[25] Cf. texts cited at Lucchesi (1977) 3, and the discussion at Hagendahl (1958) 115-I 17. The latter scholar concludes (372): 'As a writer he [Ambrose] proves to be an unscrupulous plagiarist.' But the same can easily be said of Jerome himself, cf. Courcelle (1969) 126. Nauroy (1988) 181, 200, rightly contends that Jerome did not understand Ambrose's method and what he was trying to achieve.

[26] Cf. the remarks of Ziegler (1950) 1964-65.

[27] Cf. Hay (1979-80) 41–44, Goulet (1987) 27ff.

[28] Note esp. the flurry of research in the last quarter of the 19th century. C-W 1.lxii cites the following works: Siegfried (1875) 371-391 (as usual a rich but not well digested collection of material), Förster (1884) 102-l12, Ihm (1890), Kellner (I 893) (non *vidi*).

ested in what Ambrose can tell us about the textual tradition of Philo's writings, and does not hesitate to use the weighty term *Quellenforschung* in the subtitle of his work.29 Savon reverses the direction of the research. He is primarily interested in Ambrose, and how he transforms the Philonic material he takes over in the direction of his own Christian thought.30 In a summary of the results of his research published some years later, Savon rightly points out that the difference between the results of the two studies is determined not only by the different perspective, but also by the divergent views on the nature of Ambrose's method.[31] Lucchesi stands in the tradition of Ambrose's editor Schenkl, who argued that Ambrose's works are to be compared with the philosophical writings of Cicero, described by their author as ἀπόγραφα. Schenkl concludes: ***sententias mutuatus est a Philone, verba de suo addidit.***[32] For Lucchesi Ambrose is a 'slavish' or mechanical transcriber of Philonic material, and this is what makes him interesting for the textual historian. At the same he does make the effort to adapt his works to his own situation and audience, but this is more a matter of style than of content.[33] For Savon, on the other hand, the adaptation involved goes far beyond the matter of style, so that Philonic ideas are very often radically reshaped. In our account we shall present both sides of this 'debate'34 in the following two sections.

Two aspects of the ***Sitz im Leben*** of Ambrose's Philonic treatises still need to be mentioned. Firstly, for what purpose were the works written? The conventional view has been that the origin of the exegetical writings lies in Ambrose's homiletical activity, and that they are for the most part sermons reworked or even rewritten for publication.35 On the other hand it has to be admitted that of the five treatises with which we are primarily concerned, only one bears any trace of a homiletic origin (De ***fuga saeculi***).[36] At all times, however, the prime purpose of the works in question is pastoral-edificatory rather than scholarly-theological. Secondly, to what extent should we take questions of chronology into account when studying these works? Detailed and ingenious attempts have been made to fix the chronology of all Ambrose's many writings, but in many cases accuracy and unanimity have proved difficult to obtain.37 In the case of ***De***

[29] Lucchesi (1977).
[30] Savon (1977).
[31] Savon (1984) 732.
[32] Schenkl (1897) xxiii: 'The ideas he borrowed from Philo, the words he added from his own store.'
[33] Cf. Lucchesi (1977) 4, 53 (latter passage cited by Savon (1984) 732).
[34] As called by Paramelle (1984) 75ff., who refuses to take sides (but inclines to Lucchesi).
[35] E.g. the remarks of Mara at Quasten ( 1950-86) 4.155.
[36] See the discussion at Savon ( 1977) 15–16.
[37] The standard treatment is Palanque (1933) 480–556; cf. the critical comments of Savon ( 1970). He gives an illuminating example of the risks involved (157). At ***De Noe*** 10.31 Palanque had seen an illusion to the battle of Adrianople in 378, but this mention of an 'emperor killed in battle' is in fact transcribed from Philo QG 2.9!



***paradiso*** it is certain that it belongs to Ambrose's earliest works, and can be placed in the early years of his episcopate (c. 377). ***De Noe*** is also relatively early (c. 379), but for ***De Cain et Abel*** and ***De Abrahamo*** II there are no chronological indicators. ***De fuga saeculi*** is a later work, but here too opinions differ between 386 and 391.[38]

## 3. *Ambrose and Philo:* Quellenforschung

What, then, can we learn about the text of Philo's writings from Ambrose? Cohn and Wendland drew attention to the value of his testimony in the general ***prolegomena*** to their edition.[39] Five years earlier Wendland had demonstrated that Ambrose in his sequential usage of *Sacr.* was able to offer decisive evidence that the fragment ***De mercede metricis,*** which had in previous editions been placed as part of Spec., actually belonged to the allegorical treatise.[40] On a number of occasions Ambrose's evidence supports a particular variant in the textual tradition. Unfortunately for their early work the editors were forced to use uncritical editions of Ambrose's treatises and letters, but by the time volume 3 appeared (which includes Fug.), they could draw on Schenkl's critical edition.[41]

A piece of real ***Quellenforschung*** was undertaken in 1932 by Lewy.[42] It had long been noted that in ***De Abrahamo 2.148*** Ambrose records material that has a distinct Philonic flavour, but cannot been found in the extant Philo. This passage gives an allegorized interpretation of Abraham's life, as recorded in Gen. 12:1–15:6. At 2.49 Ambrose continues with Gen. 15:7 and for the rest of his treatise makes extended use of *QG* book 3, which also begins with Gen. 15:7. Between books 2 and 3 of Philo's work there is a gap in the exegesis of Gen. 12–15:6. The hypothesis that in the first part of ***Abr.*** II Ambrose draws on a missing section of QG (and not, less precisely, on ***Migr.)*** is very probable.[43] Lewy thus attempts to extract the Philonic material from ***Abr.*** 2.1–48, and also some passages in Book 1, yielding in his view 51 'neue Philontexte'.[44] In his preface he emphasizes the literal

[38] For discussion of the chronology of the 'Philonic treatises' see Savon (1977) 16-18, and see further discussion below in § 14.5(a).
[39] Cohn-Wendland (18961915) l.lxii-lxiii.
[40] Wendland (1891) 125-133.
[41] C-W, vol. 3 (1898) xiii.
[42] Lewy (1932); I use the page numbering of the *Sonderausgabe*.
[43] Lewy frequently criticizes both Schenkl and Wendland for seeing parallels with ***Migr.,*** when Ambrose's source is actually QG.
[44] Lewy (1932) 10–43; also 9 texts from ***De Cain et Abel, De Noe, De*** *paradiso*, p. 44-51. The parallels adduced from the ***Commentary on the Octateuch*** of Procopius as a check on

and sometimes mechanical way in which Ambrose takes over Philo's text.[45] This means that the content can be recovered, but not the form or the actual details of Philo's language.[46] In practice, however, it remains difficult to use such 'fragments', and Lewy's collection is seldom referred to.

The entire subject of what we can learn about the Philonic text and its transmission from Ambrose was taken up again in Lucchesi's monograph. It is a somewhat tantalizing book to read, suggestive rather than exhaustive in its treatment. Lucchesi is convinced that from Ambrose's literal paraphrasing we can determine the nature and provenance of the text he had at his disposal. He thus begins with a sketch of the early history of the textual tradition.47 The treatise *Sacr.* is a privileged example. It is well attested in the two main families of the ms. tradition. It is also found in the Coptos papyrus, which dates back to the 3rd or 4th century. Moreover Ambrose paraphrases large parts of the text. Lucchesi carefully compares the various readings contained in the four lines of transmission, and concludes that Ambrose reveals relations with all three others. More importantly he finds two (or possibly) three loci where Ambrose disagrees with both the mss. and the papyrus. This leads him to conclude that the Ambrosian text must be independent, not only of the Caesarean tradition, but also of the tradition deriving from the Catechetical school of Pantaenus. The clue here, he argues, is given by Eusebius, who records that Philo's writings were so admired that they were thought worthy of deposition in libraries (i.e. probably at Rome).[48] Ambrose's Philo text may derive from these copies, and thus be wholly independent of the text that has reached us via other channels. This far-reaching conclusion has been greeted with scepticism by other scholars. Barthélemy (his thesis supervisor) regards neither example as 'probant',[49] while Duval points out that the edition of the Coptos papyrus by Scheil leaves much to be desired, which adds a strong element of uncertainty to Lucchesi's attempted comparisons.[50]

Having given a brief outline of the characteristics of Ambrose's adaptations of Philo, Lucchesi then turns to the 'Philonic treatises'. Only a few details of his analyses can be given. In *Sacr.* the text is followed continuously up to § 136. At this point the line of thought presented by Ambrose makes more sense than in Philo's text as we have it. Lucchesi concludes that the Allegorical Commentary, which from *Opif.* to ***Post.*** was probably

Ambrose, drawn from Wendland (1891) 64-68 are weak. On this source see above §1.4, n. 146.

45 Lewy (1 932) 6: 'Meist lassen sich die ambrosianischen Zusätze und Überarbeitungen sofort erkennen. Haüfig begnügt sich A. mit mechanischen Einfügungen...

46 Lewy (1932) 8.

47 Lucchesi ( 1977) 7-24.

48 Eus. ***HE 2.18.8.*** As noted above at §1.4, Eusebius' account is very vague, not telling us which books or which libraries.

49 Barthelemy (1978) 39 1.

50 Duval (1979) 728, referring to the critical remarks of Harl (1966a) 154.



not divided into separate books as in our editions," has been seriously restructured by the Christians in the early period of transmission. Why then at this point does Ambrose move to *QG* 1 instead of continuing with ***Det.?*** This was probably a matter of convenience for Ambrose, who in his haste found the ***Quaestiones*** easier to use.[52] In ***De Noe,*** where the same slavish use is made of Philo's text, a similar phenomenon is found. When making use of *QG* 1.88, Ambrose adds material from 2.79 (and also 2.27, 2.80). Rather than conclude that Ambrose has made some clever combinations, Lucchesi draws the rather drastic conclusion that the text of QG has been rearranged, and that all this material originally belonged with 1.88, which in its present form is very short.[53] The chief question raised by ***De Abrahamo*** II is the original state of the ***Quaestiones.*** Following Lewy, Lucchesi suggests that an entire book, furnishing exegesis of Gen. 10–15:6 has fallen out between the extant books 2 and 3. Royse has rightly criticized this view because it fails to give an exegetical criterion for the division into the six books, and means that, if the present Book 3 becomes 4, only two books are left for the present Book 4, which is not enough for its 256 lemmata.54 Lucchesi concludes that Ambrose's knowledge of the lacuna is further evidence that his text is independent of the 2nd Caesarean edition. This, however, is far from certain.55

Two treatises remain. In both ***De Paradiso*** and ***De fuga saeculi*** the method of using Philo seems to differ, not adhering to a single text consulted sequentially. Particularly in the case of the etymologies it is difficult to pin down the exact Philonic source.[56] A solution here might be that in certain cases Ambrose consulted an ***Onomasticon,*** as supposed by Wilbrand for the ***Letters.57*** But it is equally possible that he picks up etymologies that are similar to or differing from Philo's in an intermediary exegetical source. Lucchesi is also struck by the fact it is in one of these two treatises that Philo is explicitly mentioned, which might indicate that Philo is being used differently in this context. To cut a long discussion short, Lucchesi concludes that the most likely hypothesis is that in these two works (and also elsewhere where there is sporadic mention of Philonic

51 Lucchesi (1977) 37 and the appendix at 122-126. If true this would seriously hamper quests for find unity in the books of the Allegorical treatises. But the evidence is slight.

52 Lucchesi (1977) 34-38. He cannot admit that Ambrose may not have had access to *Det.*, since he believes ***Opif. – Posr.*** were all together in one extended treatise.

53 ***Ibid, 3941.***

54 Royse (1976-77) 50, also with reference to Lucchesi (1976). Royse takes up Marcus' suggestion that the division of books assumes a division of the Pentateuch similar to the Babylonian *Parashiyyot* still now in use for sabbath readings.

55 See above at n. 44; on the Armenian translation see further above #I .4. at n.126. Little detailed work has been done on the source of its text.

56 Lucchesi (1977) 59ff.

57 Wilbrand (1909) 38–41.

themes), Ambrose has made use of an intermediary Christian source, which in its turn had made extensive use of Philo.[58] Who would this source have been? The most likely candidates are Origen or Hippolytus. Lucchesi tentatively suggests Origen's ***Tomoi*** for De ***Paradiso,*** his (mysterious) ***Homiliae*** *mysticae* (or ***mixtae)*** for ***De fuga saeculi.59***

The study closes with two brief chapters on the Armenian and Latin translations of Philo. Examination of selected passages from the Armenian ***Quaestiones*** confirms the earlier conclusion that Ambrose's usage presupposes a text that differs from the Caesarean edition.60 As for the Latin version, Lucchesi is tempted to revive the suggestion of Pitra that there is an affinity with the language of Tertullian and the North African (?) translator of Irenaeus, which might suggest a 3rd century date.[61] But no definite proofs can be given. There are arguments to suggest influence of the translation on Ambrose and ***vice versa.*** What is most interesting of all is the extra material that the translation contains (11 lemmata missing in the Armenian QG 4, and glosses from the missing Περὶ ἀριθμῶν). If this material reached the West via another route than Origen's library, then the same could have happened to the text that Ambrose had before him.62

The above summary gives an indication of the broad spectrum of subjects raised with the compass of this brief monograph. Lucchesi succeeds in demonstrating that the information that Ambrose can yield for the establishment of Philo's text and research into the history of its transmission has by no means been exhausted. In many respects, however, his investigation leaves the reader dissatisfied. Consistently small and often unclear pieces of evidence are used to give support to sweeping or radical conclusions. When a choice must be made between a straightforward or a 'sensational' explanation for a particular textual phenomenon, the author will invariably opt for the latter, or at least leave the suggestion standing. Above all it is his method of reading Ambrose that is crucial. Any deviation between Ambrose's paraphrase and Philo's received text makes Lucchesi suspicious, especially when the bishop is making use of a single text as main source. Almost no room seems to have been left for any kind of authorial intervention. As a reviewer remarked, a study of this kind requires that one is connaisseur of both Philo and Ambrose.[63] Here the problems appear to lie on the Ambrosian side.

[58] We note too that Sodano (1975), after examining the relation between Ambrose and the Philonic passages that could be his source, concludes that either the bishop was careless in his haste or that he may have used some kind of exegetical crib. The preference for the latter on account of the anonymous reference at *Put-*. 2.11 seems to me unfounded.
[59] Lucchesi ( 1977) 76, 84.
[60] See the conclusion at 105
[61] *Ibid.* 1 10ff.
[62] *Ibid.* 116–117.
[63] Duval (1979) 729. Unfortunately the book received few reviews.



## *4. Ambrose and Philo: appropriation and vigilance*

In Savon's monograph the focus of attention moves from Philo and textual concerns to Ambrose and the method of his appropriation and adaptation. The aim is to to analyse Ambrose's Philonic borrowings in such a way that we can 'surprise him at his work'.[64] This involves examination of the text at various levels. Individual passages have to be carefully scrutinized in order to determine where exactly Ambrose deviates from his model. Often a single word changes the whole direction of a passage. Savon makes extensive use of parallel columns to show this interplay of similarity and difference. On the other hand, in the analysis we should not be content to look merely at the parallels that the editors have assembled in their ***apparatus fontium.*** Not only are their collections far from complete,[65] but it is not recognized that the Philonic original leaves its traces on more extensive sections of the treatises, and sometimes also strongly influences their structure. Ambrose is perfectly capable of citing a Philonic phrase and not making his modification of its portent clear until pages later. Not merely individual passages should be compared, but entire trains of thought. These methodological assumptions are perfectly sound, but give rise to difficulties when carried out in practice. Despite its length, Savon's book only discusses a select number of passages. The detailed comparison of the debate between pleasure and virtue which Ambrose adapts at ***De Cain et Abel*** 1.4.13-6.23 from Philo *Sacr.* 20-42 covers no less than 80 pages, a discussion which the reader can only follow through constant reference to both original texts.

Although Savon is aware that the chronology of Ambrose's 'Philonic treatises' is difficult to fix with precision, he nevertheless argues that a development can be detected in the way that Philo is put to use. This allows him to structure his account in four parts that reveal a logical and coherent progression.

(a) ***The choice for*** *Philo*. Why does Ambrose make such a clear and decisive choice for allegory according to the Philonic model? The answer is given in ***De paradiso,*** probably his earliest exegetical work. Right at the beginning Ambrose implicitly indicates his source: the words ***namque ante nos*** *fuit* ***qui*** introduce the allegorical interpretation of Adam, Eve and the serpent, unmistakeably derived from Philo. Philonic allegory helps Ambrose defend the Bible from rationalist attack. He mentions the 2nd century Marcionite critic of the Old Testament Apelles by name in this treatise, but

[64] Savon ( 1977) 9.
[65] E.g. the remarkable case at *Fug.saec.* 4. I7 and 7.39, where both the allusion to Plato *Tht.* 176a–c and the Philonic source at *Fug.* 63 and 82 are overlooked by both Schenkl and C-W; see Savon (1977) 358.

this is not merely a matter of history. The rationalist tradition is continued by heretics in his own day. The flexibility and associativeness of the allegorical method is more suited to Ambrose's character and abilities than the sharp give and take of dialectic (such as practised by Basil and Gregory against Eunomius).[66] It is also in this treatise that we find Ambrose's sole mention of Philo's name. The remark is made in a critical vein: Philo remains in the realm of *moralia*, because with his Jewish sensibility he does not grasp the *spiritalia* of the scriptural passage in question. The contrast here is not between allegory and typology, as argued by Daniélou.[67] Savon collects parallels in order to show that Ambrose cuts across two distinctions here: (i) between the literal (superficial) and spiritual (profound) understanding of the sacred text; (ii) a classification of interpretation in terms of physical-moral-mystical content.[68] Philo gives a moral allegorical interpretation of Gen. 2: 15 in QG 1.14: from the practical point of view there was no need for agricultural labour or protection of property in Paradise, but nevertheless the first man carries it out as an example and 'law' to future generations. But this moral interpretation stays too close to the surface of the text. His Judaism prevents him from seeing a deeper 'mystical' import, such as is indicated in Ps. 126: 1, where we read that 'unless the Lord build the house, the builders labour in vain; unless the Lord guards the city, its guardians guard it in vain'.@

(b) ***Ambrosiun censorship.*** Although Ambrose takes over so much from Philo, he never does this in an uncritical way. In the treatises De ***Cain et Abel*** and ***De Noe*** this critical attitude comes strongly to the fore in the following three areas:

(i) ***Philosophy.*** The relatively positive attitude to philosophy and the doctrines of the philosophers which we find in Philo is not taken over. Savon is in strong agreement with the thesis of Madec that Ambrose consistently adopts an openly hostile attitude to pagan philosophy.[70] Moreover, although he is prepared to use the doctrines of the philosophers for his own ends (mainly in order to show the superiority of revealed truth),

[66] Savon (1977) 25-54.

[67] Daniélou ( 1950) 46-52.

[68] See entire discussion at Savon (1977) 55-81. As he points out, the tripartition also originally derives from the Philonic tradition (but reworked via Origen), so Philo is being used indirectly and directly. Savon calls this 'le double rencontre avec Philon' (81).

[69] Disappointingly, however, Savon does not succeed in explaining the actual exegesis that Ambrose gives, which to my mind remains puzzling. One wonders whether it would not be more straightforward to argue that *spiritalia* is used here (apparently exceptionally) as a synonym for *mystica* (but not in the sense of typology). See also the monograph on Ambrose's hermeneutics by Pizzolato (1978); the explanation of the criticism of Philo on p. 197 is similar to that given by Savon.

[70] Savon (1977) 89-96, Madec (1974) *passim*, 52-60 on Philo.



they do not make a strong impact on his thought. The contrast with Augustine here is marked.

(ii) ***Judaism.*** As we have already seen in his comment on Philo's ***iuduicus affectus***, Ambrose never loses sight of the fact that Philo is a Jew. His attitude to contemporary Judaism is hostile and sharp, with not a grain of sympathy or understanding for its position.[71] As Savon shows in a number of fascinating examples, this attitude also occurs right in the middle of the appropriation of Philonic themes. For example, more than once Ambrose undermines the praise of Moses which is found in his source, because he perceives such a *laudatio* as usurping the prerogatives of Christ.[72]

(iii) ***Ariunism.*** Ambrose is keenly aware that some of Philo's statements concerning the Logos and its/his relation to God could encourage lapses into Arianism. The subordinationism that had met with Eusebius' approval was now quite inacceptable for post-Nicene orthodoxy. It will be interesting to give an example of Ambrose's correction of Philo here, because it illustrates how carefully we have to read him in order to discover the way he deals with his source. Both writers give exegesis of Gen. 4:3, where Cain does not present an offering until 'after some days', whereas the virtuous do this with all speed. Fastest of all is God himself. For purposes of comparison the two texts are placed side by side:

| Philo, De *sacrificiis* 65 | Ambrose, ***De Cain et Abel*** 1.8.32 |
|---|---|
| ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει, μηδὲν μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν τιθείς· Ει δὲ χρὴ δόγμα κινεῖν ἀληθέστερον, ὁ λόγος ἔργον ἦν αὐτοῦ. (For God spoke and acted together, placing no interval between the two. But if one should put forward a more truly phrased doctrine, his word was his deed.) | cito dat deus, quia dixit et facta sunt, mandauit et creata sunt. verbum enim dei non, sicut quidam ait, opus est, sed operans, sicut habes scriptum (citation of John 5: 17 follows)<br>(God gives swiftly, since he spoke, and action took place, he ordered, and creation took place. For the word of God is not, as someone asserts, his product (opus), but is in activity (*operans*), as you find written...) |

Clearly Ambrose has misunderstood the purport of Philo's words, which intend to say that, because there is no time lapse between God's word and its taking place, ***word*** and ***deed*** can be identified. Ambrose thinks that the term ἔργον means 'product', and so explicitly corrects Philo: the word of God is not an ***opus,*** but rather an ***operuns,*** always fully active. The anonymous reference must be to Philo. As Savon penetratingly observes, this 'correction' can only explained if we accept that Ambrose is actively on the look-out for expressions in Philo that might give support to Arian

[71] Relevant texts assembled and analysed by Schreckenberg (1982) 303-3 IO. Notorious is Ambrose's passionate defence of the burning down of the synagogue at Kallinikon.

[72] Savon (1977) 96-l 18; passages at *De Noe* 13.45, *De Cain et Abel* 1.2.7–9.

doctrine.[73] In Ambrose's view the Arians interpret scripture *more iudaico,* and must be combatted with all possible vigour.74

In *De Abrahamo* II it is another Philonic theme that attracts Ambrose's censure. Although Philo is explicit enough in asserting that Abraham leaves the cosmic religion of the Chaldeans behind in emigrating to the promised land, he is nevertheless too positive for the bishop's liking. Ambrose senses in Philo a tendency to accept the order of things as an eternal structure given by the creator, whereas the Christian is orientated towards a new order that is realized through the salvific intervention of Christ. This is the reason that, in contrast to Philo, he strongly polemicizes against the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres, which might otherwise be taken in a poetic or figurative sense. Also with regard to the substance and immortality of the soul Ambrose tacitly corrects Philo. These attitudes are clearly in line with his anti-philosophical stance, and receive at least a partial explanation in the vastly different intellectual milieu of the 4th century compared with 1st century Alexandria. With the pagan revival of the cosmic religion under Julian still fresh in his memory, Ambrose strongly resists any alliance between the Bible and philosophy.75

(c) *The Christianization of Philonic themes.* In the third part of his study Savon studies a number of Ambrosian passages where the approach is positive rather than negative, i.e. a section of text is taken over from Philo and reinterpreted in a Christian direction. The themes discussed are the celebration of Pascha (or Easter) with sandals off (exeg. Ex. 12: 11, Ambrose alters Philo's exegesis under influence of Ex. 3:3-5 and more importantly Matt. 9:9–10), the four rivers of Paradise, and the debate between pleasure and virtue.[76] In the last-named analysis the basic techniques of transformation emerge clearly. Ambrose replaces Philonic 'profance accessories', where he finds them offensive of superfluous, with the 'naked' words of scripture. Not only is the interpretation of scripture focussed on Christ, but it is also redirected towards the liturgy of Christian worship, as embodied in baptism and the sacraments. It is a shift, Savon summarized succinctly, from an interpretation *secundum intellectum* in Philo to *secundum mysterium* in Ambrose, from moral allegory to sacramental realism.77

(d) *The integration of Philonic themes.* The final part examines the most

73 Savon (1977) 118- 139; on the cited text p. 120.

74 Cf. the texts cited at ***ibid. 138,*** including ***Exam. 6.7.40,*** based on Basil's text at Hex. 9.6 (and discussed above at 512.1). The evidence indicating how the Patres connected Philo's thought with heresy, and particularly Arianism, has been collected and discussed in Runia (1992d). See also further above §11.5 on Isidore of Pelusium and §12.3(a) on Gregory of Nyssa.

75 Savon (1977) 141–195, and esp. the conclusion at 195.

76 ***Ibid. 199-325.***

77 ***ibid. 324-325.***



mature of Ambrose's 'Philonic treatises', the *De fuga saeculi.*[78] From the formal point of view this treatise differs from the earlier ones, because it is no longer a piece of continuous exegesis. Rather, it interweaves themes from Philo's *De fuga et inventione* in a much freer way, so that here Philonic themes become integrated into Ambrose's thought (but any suggestion of an intermediate source is sharply rejected). Although there are two compact blocks of Philonic material at §5–16 on the cities of refuge and §19–23 on Jacob's flight to Laban, the remaining themes are scattered throughout the entire treatise, so that the clear structure of the original Philonic work is no longer recognizable. Moreover the usage to which Philo's ideas are put often differs quite markedly from the source. The most interesting example is, arguably, the Platonic citation from *Tht.* 176a–c which Philo gives at *Fug. 63* and 82. Unlike Philo, Ambrose only alludes and does not cite, so that the Platonic origin-explicitly indicated in Philo-no longer lies on the surface of the text. On the other hand, the theme of flight from this world, which only plays a minor role in Philo's text, becomes the *Leitmotiv* for Ambrose's entire treatise, connected up as it is with the words of the Saviour *surgite, eamus hinc* in John 14:31. The background is Platonic, the imagery is derived from Platonism, but the thought is placed in service of a quite different, christocentric perspective. Another interesting facet of this Platonic adaptation is the relation to Plotinus. *De fuga saeculi* post-dates Ambrose's 'discovery' of Plotinus, which led Szabó to argue that the passages with reference to *Tht.* 176a–c contain reminiscences of *Enneads* 1.2 and 1.7, and so reveal that Ambrose, 'perhaps for the first time makes the transition from Philo to Plotinus.'[79] Savon shows that the actual parallels lose much of their force if it is recognized that Ambrose is primarily dependent on Philo's *Fug.* But Savon rejects any disjunction between Philo and Plotinus, or scripture and Plotinus. Szabó is quite right to affirm that it was Philo that led Ambrose to Plotinus. It is highly typical of Ambrose's 'jeu subtil' that a single phrase can bring together Philo, Plotinus and scripture.80

In conclusion Savon affirms that has analyses have shown that Ambrose's borrowings from Philo go far beyond merely the literal resemblances between their respective texts.[81] Nevertheless it is essential to recognize his constant *vigilance* when using Philonic source material. The reworking of the material discloses a *coherent* perspective. Any idea that the bishop takes recourse to a source because he is in haste and has no

78 Savon (1977) 329-376.

79 Szabó (1968) 2 l-22 (building on the research of Courcelle (1950b)) and further in 106-138, 336-344. Szabó has done further research on Philo in (1967–68), where he argues that much of Ambrose's 'Stoicism' may derive from Philo.

80 Savon (1977) 366.

81 A summary of his conclusions at (1977) 377-385, abbreviated in the form of ten points at ( 1984) 743-744.

time to produce original work should be sharply rejected. Expressed in most basic terms,[82] Ambrose effects a shift from an ontological view of the universe, strongly influenced by Platonism, to a soteriological view, focussed on Christ and looking to the new eschatological order that he will establish. Although in every case based on exegesis of scripture, Ambrose's writings are not just *explanations,* but at the same time *initiations* into the central mystery of the Christian faith.

This magisterial study has been summarized at some length because it contains the single most detailed analysis of the way a Church father puts the Philonic corpus to use in his own thought.83 Highly conscious of the methodology it puts into practice, it persuades the reader that the length and complexity of its analyses is justifiable, indeed virtually mandatory. There are, however, some points of criticism that may be made against it.

(i) In the 'debate' against Lucchesi (not undertaken in the book itself) Savon's study generally makes its case that Ambrose is not a mechanical copyist. There are some cases, however, where the textual background is insufficiently taken into account. For example at De *Abrahamo 2.3.9* it is pointed out that a direct relation to *Abr. 69* is unlikely, but Ambrose's almost certain use of a missing part of QG is ignored.84

(ii) It will be clear that the tone of the work is apologetic: Ambrose is defended against his critics, and often highly persuasively. But the explanation that Philo is placed in service of a very different thought, in the end, makes Ambrose's procedure all the more paradoxical. Why should he exploit an ancient exegete who in many respects stands at a great remove from his own central convictions? If the answer is not a matter of convenience, does this not leave an incoherence in Ambrose's own attitude to the exegetical tradition and the place of Judaism therein?

(iii) The emphasis of Savon's study falls heavily on Ambrose rather than Philo (i.e. the reverse of Lucchesi). In a sympathetic review Nikiprowetzky pointed out that Philo's sympathy for Greek philosophy and its 'ontological view of the world' (e.g. in the 'religion cosmique') is exaggerated by Savon because he underestimates the profoundly scriptural basis of Philo's thought. Scarcely a single 'pagan' theme occurs in Philo without the support of a parallel theme in the Bible. The 'retouching' that Ambrose carries out on Philo has often already been carried out by Philo on his philosophical -or we might add, anterior exegetical-source. For example Ambrose may wish to detract from the Philonic *laudatio Moysis.* But Philo too, though he exploits the 'deification' of Moses in Ex. 7: 1, at the same time qualifies in

82 Not used by Savon himself, but in my view expressing his basic thesis; see also on Augustine below in §15.2.

83 The only other comparable work is that of Van den Hoek (1988) on Clement.

84 Savon (I 977) 174-l 75, without any reference to Lewy (1932) fr. 9.



the strongest terms.[85] This criticism we consider to be valid. At the same time, however, it highlights the wide gulf that separates 1st century Alexandria from the contentious atmosphere of Milan in 370's and 380's. For Philo intellectual conciliation (and 'over-trumping') was the best strategy, for Ambrose resolute antithesis was the preferred tactic.

## 5. *Remaining Themes*

The most important aspects of Ambrose's use of the Philonic heritage have been confronted in the two monographs we have just discussed. Naturally, given the scope of this usage, many other themes remain, These will be given a brief glance in this final section.

(a) *Piety and mysticism.* An important study by Dassmann takes up the theme of ***Frömmigkeit*** *so* profoundly explored in the Alexandrian tradition by Völker.[86] Far more than Savon, Dassmann puts chronological considerations at the very centre of his research, explicitly indicating that he is following the historical-genetic method. He perceives two main periods in Ambrose's development. The bishop turns to Philo so extensively directly after his election not because he needed to reconcile philosophy and religion, but on account of external grounds, because he needed a guiding source for his preaching. The transition to the second period occurs in about 385-387, when he discovers the Origenian tradition of 'Canticles piety' (***Hoheliedfrömmigkeit***), which shifts the point of focus decisively to the person of Christ. In examining the Philonic influence in the earlier period, Dassmann takes up the themes that Völker had analysed: sin and corporeality, sin and voluntarism, ascent of the soul[87] as witnessed in humility, *devotio,* faith, merit, reward, ending in perfection (but without mystical-ecstatic elements which Ambrose rejects). Special importance is accorded to the Philonic concept of sin, which, because it relates human action to obedience to God and his Law, allows a theological deepening of the dualistic contrast between spirit and flesh/body.[88] Also Philo's *Gottesbild* with its emphasis on God's mercy and φιλανθρωπία exerts a powerful influence on, Ambrose. Dassmann focusses understandably on the passages and themes taken over from Philo. The result is a much more linear view than we find in Savon.[89] Within the scope of the study undertaken it would

85 Nikiprowetzky (1981); on the 'deification' of Moses see further Runia (1988b).

86 Dassmann (1965), esp. 44-74, 113-l 14; see also the summary of his views in Dassmann (1978), esp. 373-379.

87 Surprisingly instead of 'progress' (*Fortschritt*).

88 Dassmann builds on and partly reacts against the earlier study of Seibel (1958), which examines examines Ambrose's thought on the antithesis between flesh and spirit with frequent reference to Philo as a source, esp. on the exegesis of Gen. I :26 and 2:7.

89 E.g. (1965) I 14 on Ambrose's *Gottesbild*: 'Manche Schilderungen hat Ambrosius fast

have difficult to do otherwise. But it means that the tensions inherent within the actual adapted texts remain largely unexamined. A more positive aspect-also in comparison with Savon here-is that the German scholar is very aware of the fact that Philo, though transmitting general Stoic and Platonist ideas to Ambrose, does add a strong individual accent of his own prompted by the biblical dimension of his thought.90

(b) ***The theme of 'sober drunkenness'.*** For a specific example of how Ambrose takes over and modifies Philonic 'mystical' thought we may turn to the famous ***sobria ebrietas*** theme, which has already been discussed in connection with Origen and Gregory of Nyssa.[91] Most famously it is used in the verse of his hymn ***Splendor paternae*** *gloriae*:[92]

| | |
|---|---|
| Christusque nobis sit cibus | May Christ be our food, |
| potusque noster sit Fides, | and the Faith our drink. |
| laeti bibamus sobriam | Let us joyfully drink the sober |
| ebrietatem Spiritus. | drunkenness of the Spirit. |

According to Lewy in his study of the theme's history this example shows how it is transformed when used on Latin soil.93 A comparison with its Alexandrian origin reveals that Faith replaces the Logos, and that the sober ecstasy is associated with the Spirit. Lewy argues that Alexandrian intellectualism is replaced with a more practical asceticism focussed on worship. The same development occurs when Ambrose takes the theme and relates it to the Origenian allegorical interpretation of the Canticle and its invitation to 'become drunk' (Cant. 5:1).[94] When Augustine at a vital point in his ***Confessions*** portrays Ambrose's activities as Bishop in Milan, he describes him as ministering 'the sober drunkenness of wine' to his people.95 The choice of the phrase is surely deliberate, and indicates that it must have been a favourite in the Bishop's preaching. Augustine himself takes the theme over in his books and sermons.96 Through the works of the two Fathers it passes into general circulation in Christian Latin literature.

(c) ***Exegetical themes.*** The wealth of exegetical themes taken over from Philo and adapted by Ambrose has provoked a considerable number of individual studies. Many of these follow the same methodology as Savon, analysing similarities and differences. We briefly mention the following:

unverändert iibernommen, andere sind in seine eigene Darstellung eingeflossen, ohne den Ort ihrer literarischen Herkunft noch zu verraten.'

90 E.g. at (1965) 53, where on the subject of sinfulness he opposes Philo's *Pessimismus* to the *Tugendoptimismus* of the Stoa and the *Reinigungssehnsucht* of Neoplatonism.

91 See above §9.6,§ 12.3(d).

92 Cited at Lewy (1929) 146 (my translation).

93 *Ibid. 146157.*

94 *Ibid.* 155; this is a reconstruction, because the relevant passage in Origen is lost.

95 *Conf.* 5.13.23, cited by Lewy (1929) 157–158.

96 *Ibid.* 160–164.



(i) a study on the interpretation of Paradise by Bietz;[97]
(ii) a study of the relation male-female in De ***parudiso*** by Pizzolato;[98]
(iii) studies on the interpretation of Abraham by Völker and Pasetti;[99]
(iv) studies on Aaron and the Levites by Gryson;[100]
(v) a study on the cities of refuge in De *fuga saeculi* and their interpretation in terms of the universal priesthood of Christ by Bonato.[101]

As we saw in the case of the ***sobria ebrietas*** theme, Ambrose (who was recognized as one of the four ***doctores ecclesiae***, together with Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great) must have been responsible for the transmission of various Philonic exegetical themes to the Latin Medievals.[102] My impression is that this aspect has been little researched. As an exception we may mention the study of Arduini, who traces the interpretation of Adam as νοῦς–*mens* and Eve as αἴσθησις–*sensus* through to the 1 lth century figure of Rupert of Deutz.[103]

(d) ***Exameron.*** Finally, a number of questions are raised by Ambrose's use of sources in his homilies on the creation of the world, the *Exameron.*[104] The main source of this book is Basil's work of the same name, but other sources have been added to a limited degree.[105] The question may be raised to what extent Philonic themes were included. From elsewhere (*Ep.* 43-45) we know that he was in possession of a copy of De ***opificio mundi***.[106] But little direct usage of this work seems to have made in the ***Exameron.*** Both Schenkl and Klein fail to address this question adequately, and the exhaustive treatment promised by Pacaud has, to my knowledge, not yet appeared.[107] In an analysis of Ambrose's exegesis of the biblical ***in principio,*** in which seven meanings for the term are given, Van Winden concludes that Ambrose, though recording Basil's literal interpretations, 'rather prefers the way shown by members of the early School of Alexandria, especially by Philo or Origen'.[108] This leaves the question of

97 Bietz (1973), including analyses of Church Fathers (Clement, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Tertullian) between Philo and Ambrose.

98 Pizzolato (1976).

99 Völker (1931), Pasetti (1982).

100 Gryson (1980ab).

101 Bonato (1989).

102 On his *Nachleben see* the overview at Dassmann (1978) 379-382.

103 Arduini (1980); for Ambrose's relation to Philo see 327f.

104 Its exact date is in dispute, but written between 386 and 390 according to Mara at Quasten (1950-86) 4.153.

105 According to Jerome *Ep.* 84.7, Ambrose made use of Origen and Hippolytus. Lucchesi (1977) 73f. argues that this should be taken on face value.

106 See above § 14.2 on *Ep.* 43-44.

107 Klein (1927) only mentions Philo at 68, 81; the announcement of Pacaud's project at Savon (1977) 2.14, n. 32.

108 Van Winden (1963) 121. The more detailed examination of Ptpin (1976) 439, 452ff., 482 confirms these views. Pépin also sees an important influence of Philonism in Ambrose's

direct usage open, but the texts adduced suggest indirect rather than direct influence.[109]

Of particular interest is the extensive doxographical passage with which Ambrose commences his work. Various scholars have pointed out that the sections on the number and duration of the world shows strong resemblances to the doxographical passage at the beginning of Philo's *De aeternitate mundi*.[110] The question has been dealt with in exhaustive detail by Pépin, who devoted an entire book to the question of the sources of Ambrose's doxography. Although he flirts with the idea that there may be a common source anterior to the reports in Philo, Lactantius and Ambrose, in the end he decides that the most plausible view is that Ambrose is indeed indebted to the Philonic presentation for this particular section.[111] This is a most interesting conclusion, not only because Ambrose would in this case be taking over a philosophical rather than an exegetical doctrine from Philo, but also because we then have a rare witness to this philosophical treatise in the later tradition.112 But caution is required here. Doxographies such as this one are so common that even fairly precise verbal parallels such as undoubtedly exist between Philo and Ambrose may be deceptive. Also the differences have to be taken into account.[113] Ambrose may be indebted to the same tradition that Philo followed more than three centuries earlier. As so often in such matters, certainty is difficult to attain.

## 6. *Philo in Milan*

There are still many aspects of Ambrose's reception of Philonic exegetical and philosophical themes which remain to be explored. In this chapter we have been able to do no more than scratch the surface of his copious usage. Philo, we have seen, is imported into the very heartland of Christian learning in the West. We cannot help wondering the extent to which this massive appropriation was noticed. Did contemporaries recognize that the Bishop who was so implacable towards Judaism in his own time made extensive use of the writings of an earlier Jewish exegete from Alexandria? Did Ambrose's example encourage others to follow suit? In the final chapter of this section we turn to the two authors who can shed light on

interpretation of Pascha at *Exam.* 1.4.14; cf. 462–465 and our discussion above in § 11.5.

[109] We recall again Savon's 'double rencontre'; cf. above n. 68.

[110] Cumont (1891) xv, Schenkl (1897) 1.4, Klein (1927) 68.

[111] Pépin (1964) 532, based on earlier discussion at 25 l-277 (passages side by side at 252).

[112] On the use made of *Aet.* by Zacharias of Mytilene see above §10.6.

[113] We note two: (i) for Philo the question of the number of cosmoi is integrated into the question of the cosmos' duration, whereas Ambrose treats the questions sequentially; (ii) in Ambrose Pythagoras is the represetantive of the view that the cosmos is unique, whereas in Philo the Pythagoreans are ancestors of the Aristotelian view of the eternity of the cosmos.



these questions, the one adopting a rather hostile attitude to the Milanese Bishop, the other gratefully recognizing the decisive role that Ambrose had played during the turbulent years of his life when he himself lived in the same city.

Chapter Fifteen

# Philo in other Latin authors

## 1. Jerome

Of the great 4th century Church fathers who wrote in Latin, Jerome had by far the most contact with the East. This is hardly surprising given the course of his life and career. Born at Stridon, near the border of Pannonia and Dalmatia, in 347,[1] he was well trained in classical literature and rhetoric at Rome. The decisive step of receiving baptism was taken early, but this did not mean a clean break with his previous studies. The dilemma that the relation between Christianity and classical culture posed for him is illustrated by his well-known account of a dream, in which he is hauled before the divine tribunal and accused of being more a Ciceronian than a Christian.2 Above all it was the flourishing movement of ascetic monastisicm that captured the enthusiasm of the young priest. In 385 he made the decision to move to the East. While en route he spent a few weeks in Alexandria, where he gained acquaintance with the person and learning of Didymus. In 386 he settled down at Bethlehem, where with the assistance of wealthy patronesses he established a monastic community in which he resided until his death in 420. Here he focussed his considerable energy on his scholarly studies, which had as their goal the translation and exegesis of scripture. The circumstances were favourable. His location in Palestine enabled him to establish contacts with Rabbis who could assist him with the knowledge of Hebrew which he needed for the translation of the Old Testament.3 But even more important was his access to the treasures of

[1] There is considerable controversy on whether Jerome was born in 331 or 347, with strong arguments in favour of both views (we opt for the latter because it rhymes better with the fact that one became adult early in the Roman world, as witnessed in the careers of Ambrose and Augustine). There have been a number of solid introductory accounts on Jerome published recently: for details of his life and career see Nautin (1986), for his scholarship and writings J. Gribomont in Quasten (1950–86) 4.212-246, for his relation to classical culture Hagendahl-Waszink (1989), for his biography and an evaluation of his complex personality Kelly (1975).

[2] *Ep*. 22.30; on the dream and its interpretation Kelly (1975) 41-45, Courcelle (1969) 124-125.

[3] A detailed treatment of Jerome's relation to Judaism on the lines of De Lange's study on



the Episcopal library at Caesarea, which also contained a virtually complete set of Philo's writings. Only a decade or two earlier these had been been saved from destruction by being copied onto parchment.[4]

Philo is mentioned some fifteen times in the vast body of Jerome's writings (11 volumes in PL). Of these references the most extensive and important is the chapter in *De viris illustribus*, the compendium of biographical notices of leading Christian authors which Jerome published in 393.5 Philo is in very select company here, for he is one of only three non-Christians included (the other two are Seneca and Josephus). This exceptional position is explained at the beginning of the notice (§11.1–3):[6]

> Philo the Jew, Alexandrian by birth and of priestly descent, is placed by us among the ecclestical writers because he wrote a book about the first church of the evangelist Mark at Alexandria and gives us praise, recording Christians living not only there but also in many other provinces as well and describing their dwellings as monasteries (μοναστήρια, lit. 'single dwellings'). From this it is apparent that that at first the church of those believing in Christ was such as now the monks desire to imitate, that there be no private property, no wealthy or poor members among them, that family property be divided among the needy, that their time be devoted to prayer and singing, as well as learning and chastity, the way of life that Luke too attributes to the believers at the beginning in Jerusalem.

Jerome then records Philo's journey to Rome and his meeting with Peter. He continues with a list of Philo's writings, which makes for rather strange reading because many of the Latin titles do not match those to which we have become accustomed. He concludes the notice as follows (§ 11.7):

> There are also other documents which have not come into our hands. Concerning this man it is commonly said among the Greeks: ἢ Πλάτων φιλωνίζει ἢ Φίλων πλατωνίζει, --either Plato follows Philo or Philo Plato-so great is the similarity in doctrines and style.

Jerome is the first author to record the famous proverb on Philo and Plato. A few years later it is also found in a letter of Isidore of Pelusium.7 This is an indication that it was circulating independently, since Isidore will not have

Origen is a real desideratum. The extent of his knowledge of Hebrew is controversial; for a minimalist position cf. Nautin (1986) 309-310, for a more positive view Opelt (1988), who shows that he had at least five Hebrew 'teachers' or consultants.

[4] Further details above at § 1.4 and n. 89.

[5] We have already examined some points of this notice in our account of Philo Christianus in §1.1 (6)–(8).

[6] My translation; text now at Ceresa-Gastaldo (1988) 96-99; earlier editions by Bernoulli (1895), Richardson (1896). Seneca (§ 12) and Josephus (§ 13) too are mentioned on account of their connection with early Christianity, the former on account of his correspondence with Paul, the latter because of the *Testimonium Flavianum*. Philo is also mentioned briefly at §8.4 (biographical notice on Mark, in which the Therapeutae are already briefly alluded to) and §13.2 (Josephus writes a book against Apion, Philo's opponent on the Embassy).

[7] *Ep*. 3.81; see above §11.5, and Runia (1991a) 315.

read Jerome's Latin work.8 Augustine, however, who also alludes to it, did almost certainly draw it from Jerome.[9] Unlike the other two fathers, Jerome explicitly relates the proverb to both form and content of Philo's writings.10 It is not clear, however, who precisely he means by the 'Greeks'. Is he speaking in general, or does he have specific people in the Christian tradition in mind? Is he referring to contemporaries or earlier writers? The passage itself gives no clue. Later we will note another text which may give some help in answering this question. In other passages Jerome gives complimentary references are clearly based on the proverb. Philo is the *Platonici sermonis imitator,* Philo is pronounced by critics an *alter vel Iudaeus Plato,* Philo is *vir disertissimus Iudaeorum,* Josephus and Philo are *viri doctissimi Zudaeorum,* and so on.[11]

But how much does Jerome really know about Philo, and to what extent is he actually acquainted with his writings? The monk from Bethlehem is intensely proud of his learning. His claim to almost encyclopedic knowledge in the fields of both sacred and profane literature was accepted for nearly a millenium and a half. But the searching gaze of modern scholarship has severely damaged this reputation, not seldom exposing him as a plagiarist and a 'name-dropper'.[12] A striking case is the work cited above. In their analyses Sykowski and Bernoulli showed that for the Greek writers of the first three centuries Jerome is almost entirely dependent on Eusebius' *Ecclestiastical History,* and that his own contribution is for the most part confined to the rearrangement of material, in the course of which many careless mistakes are made.[13] Also in the case of the notice on Philo Eusebius is clearly the chief source, not only for the biographical details, but also for the long list of writings. The phrasing of his account suggests that he has all these works in his own possession (cf §7, quoted above).

8 The Greek translation of Sophronius, printed at C-W l.ci, is pseudonymous, and to be dated to a much later period, perhaps the 7-9th century; cf. CPG 3.300, Schamp (1987) 62-63, with further references.

9 See below §15.2 at n. 55.

10 But at Runia (1991a) 3 15 I argue that implicitly Isidore also relates the proverb to Philo's thought, because the context is philosophical.

11 *Ep.* 22.35.8, *Ep.* 70.3.3, *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum,* praef., *Comm. in Hiezechielem 4.* 10b, *Ep. 29.7.1.* We give a full list of Jerome's references to Philo in the Appendix. This list is completer than the references given by Courcelle and Savon in their discussions to be mentioned below.

12 Cf. his own criticism of Ambrose's plagiarism cited above at § 14.2 and n. 25; but note our remarks on the differing attitude towards appropriation of material in the ancient world.

13 Sykowski (1894), Bernoulli (1895). Hagendahl-Waszink (1989) 128 conclude that these researches 'für den Ruhm des Hieronymus auf diesem Gebiet vernichtend gewesen sind'. A reaction to these severe views is found in Borgeais (1988), who argues (283) that an analysis of the first part of the work shows it is 'parfois plus originale qu'iln'y paraît' and that 'la personnalité de Jérôme se montre souvent indirectement à travers le traitement qu'il fait subir au texte de l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique*'.



The sceptical Sykowski concluded, however, that Jerome had not read a single word of Philo, and that the only personal contribution to the notice was the proverb, which he must have picked up somewhere.14

In a study of Jerome's knowledge of Greek pagan *(sic)* culture, Courcelle rightly reacts against this drastic conclusion.15 It is true that quite a few references to Philo are general in character, especially when he is coupled with Josephus (to whom Jerome refers much more often than Philo). Twice Jerome notes that Philo has written on the Essenes.[16] This cannot be an inference from Eusebius' account, since the community described there is regarded as proto-Christian. Courcelle remarks that 'it will be observed that this sentence [at *Adv. Iovin.],* inserted in an entire discussion plagiarized from Porphyry's *De abstinentia,* certainly represents a personal knowledge of Jerome's part. For this information he is indebted to the reading either of Philo's treatise *Quod Ziber sit quisquis virtuti studet [= Prob.],* in which the life of the Essenes is studied, or of the preface of the *De vita contemplativa,* which refers to this treatise.'[17] The latter possibility is perhaps the more likely of the two. The reference in *Ep. 22* is more problematic, however, because here Jerome refers to Pentecost meals, which suggests a confusion with the Therapeutae as described at *Contempl. 65.* But precisely this detail is further proof that Jerome read Philo himself, since it is not found in Eusebius. The references to Philo's account of the seven ages of man as found at *Opif.* 103-105 must also be the result of personal reading.[18] Certain indications also point to the fact that Jerome has read Philo's *De vita Moysis.* The comment that Philo thought the language of the Hebrews was Chaldean,[19] most likely comes from the account of the origin of the Septuagint at Mos. 2.26–44,[20] a passage of great interest to Jerome, who rejects the theory that the trans-

14 Sykowski (1894) 69; see also analysis Bernoulli (1895) 115-l 17, 182-l 85. Some arguments are clearly hypercritical; e.g. the latter's attempt to reduce Jerome's unique information about Philo's priestly descent to an *inference* from Eusebius' report on Philo's high standing in the Alexandrian community. This argument is rightly rejected by Schwartz (1984) 163.

15 Courcelle (1969) 81-83; he should mean, of course, 'non-Christian culture'.

16 *Adversus Iovinianum 2.14* (PL 23.303B–C), *Ep.* 22.35.8.

17 Courcelle (1969) 82, n.171. The last statement is not entirely correct; at the beginning of *Contempl.* Philo refers to a lost treatise on the Essenes as exemplars of the βίος πρακτικός. The Essenes are also portrayed in *Hypoth.,* which Jerome could have read at Eus. *PE 8.* 11. It is also possible that Jerome was acquainted with the Latin translation of Philo, which refers to the Essenes in its title; cf. above §11.5 and n. 80.

18 *Comm. in Amos 3.6, Dial. adv. Pelagianos 3.6.*

19 *Comm. in Dan.* 1.1.4.

20 Philo's use of Χαλδαῖος as a synonym for Ἑβραῖος is puzzling; cf. now Wong (1992). If my suggestion is accepted, Jerome's explanation *quia Abraam de Chaldaeis fuerit* would be an inference of his own; but cf. *Abr.* 67 etc.

lation was divinely inspired.[21] The comment that Philo 'compares the hyacinth on the high-priestly robes to the air, through which the upper and heavenly realm is thought to be signified' could refer to *Mos.* 2.118, but also to two parallel passages in which a physical allegory is given, *Spec.* 1.85 and *QE* 2.117. In all three Philo clearly indicates the *sub-lunary* realm. But Jerome, expounding Ezech.16:10, is primarily interested in mystical or eschatological exegesis. He ends the lemma by affirming that the sanctified 'will be swept away in the air to meet the Lord and will hasten to the celestial realm'. This explains his careless reading of Philo. A little earlier in the same commentary he makes another reference to the symbolism of the high-priestly robe, this time mentioning all four elements. The above-mentioned passages cannot be the source, since they do not mention the linen as symbol of the earth. This interpretation is found at ***Congr.*** 117, but Philo's passage has rather exact parallels at Josephus ***Ant. 3.185, BJ 5.213, so,*** in the light of Jerome's extensive use of these works, it is more likely that these are his source.[22]

Courcelle concludes his brief survey by stating that Philo is regarded by Jerome primarily as a tool, and that his interest is more that of the historian than the philosopher.[23] This statement can be further refined. Philo is of interest for Jerome because he lived at the beginning of the Christian era. He is also seen to belong to a broader 'scriptural tradition'. For this reason Jerome can cite him in a sequence of apologists who make use of pagan literature in order to defend the faith (preceded by Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, Josephus, followed by Quadratus, Aristides, Justin etc.).[24] Philo is also a witness to other aspects of the Judaic tradition, as we have seen. For all his scholarly interests, Jerome does not have a ***critical*** historical sense.[25] This make it all the easier for him to accept the Eusebian version of the legend of Philo Christianus.

Jerome recognizes Philo as proficient in philosophy. Otherwise he would not emphasize his connection with Plato and associate him with the ***prudentissimi philosophorum***.[26] He himself, however, is entirely devoid of any interest in this area, and adopts an anti-philosophical stance at least as rigorous that of Ambrose.[27] Even theological topics are not much discussed

[21] Cf. ***Praef.*** to ***Quaest. Hebr.,*** CCL ***72.301-304.*** One of the arguments is noteworthy: the translators deliberately concealed the Christian content of the OT in order to deceive Ptolemy, who, thinking the Jews monotheists, did not want to hear about their worshipping a 'second God'. This strongly recalls Eusebius' and Isidore's apologetic use of Philo.

[22] Cf. *Ep.* 29.7.1, where both Philo and Josephus are invoked as interpreters of the priestly dress. On Jerome's use of Josephus see now Schreckenberg-Schubert (1992) 75-77.

[23] Courcelle (1969) 82-83.

[24] *Ep.* 70.3–4.

[25] Cf. Hagendahl-Waszink (1989) 135: 'wie ihm.. historisches Denken völlig fremd ist'.

[26] Resides the bibliographical notice cf. also *Epp.* 22.35.8, 70.3.3, *Dial. adv. Pelagianos 3.6.*

[27] See the remarks of Courcelle (1969) 126–127.



in his writings: his primary interest is in the area of scriptural text, translation and commentary. We have seen a few examples where he derives exegetical material from Philo. Jerome likes to 'drop names'. The mention of Philo's name is a testimony to his erudition. There is also, however, another possibility. Jerome might also use Philo in the Ambrosian manner, as a source for allegorical exegesis. If this is the case, then it is of course in his interest to ***conceal*** Philo's name. Early on Jerome discovered the breadth and power of Origen's tropological exegesis, on which he never ceases to draw throughout the length of his career. This continues even after the two events that might have shaken his confidence, (a) his discovery of the ***Hebraica veritas*** (whereas Origen's exegesis is primarily based on the LXX), and (b) his embroilment in the Origenist controversy with Rufinus, which forced him to adopt an aggressive stance against Origen's more speculative philosophical and theological ideas. Given this heavy dependence on Origen in the area of allegorical interpretation,[28] is there still a place for Philonic exegetical themes?

This question has been raised by Savon in an illuminating treatment of Jerome as 'lecteur de Philon'.[29] He notes the various references to Philo, which might give the impression that Philo is more important for him than for Ambrose. But appearances can deceive. So he decides to examine a test-case, a passage in his ***Letter to Fabiola (Ep. 64)*** where an exegetical theme is dealt with which seems directly parallel to a treatment in Philo, namely the parts of the sacrificial victim that are the prerogative of the priest (cf. ***Spec.*** 1.145-147). Savon looks first at the literal interpretation ***(historia).*** Certain similarities to Philo's exegesis are present, but these are very general, whereas a specific detail concerning Phineas appears closer to Rabbinic exegesis. Turning then to the allegorical exegesis that Jerome gives, Savon again notes general similarities coupled with specific differences. In both Philo and Jerome the psychological and physiological theories ultimately derive from Plato's ***Timaeus.*** But the treatment of the tripartition of the soul is quite different: for Philo, as Plato, the rational part is in the head, for Jerome in the heart.[30] Savon argues that it is much more likely that for this material Jerome is indebted to Origen.

By way of conclusion Savon makes some interesting remarks on what Jerome tells us about his method of working. He says that when preparing his commentary on Galatians, he read various predecessors, accumulated a great deal of information in his mind, and then, when a stenographer had

[28] For Jerome's dependence on Origen see Nautin (1986) 3 11, Courcelle (1969) 100ff.; Jay (1980) points out, however, that Jerome generally prefers a division into a literal and a spiritual meaning of scripture, and not Origen's triple schema.

[29] Savon (1984).

[30] Savon (1984) 752-755; a standard dispute in ancient doxographical literature, cf. Mansfeld (1990) 3092-3 108. Philo vacillates somewhat, since he thinks Moses left the issue unclear; cf. Runia (1986) 267.

been summoned, he dictated either his own thoughts or those of others, recollecting the source neither of the sequence nor of the terms nor sometimes even of the interpretations.[31] This confession appears to be confirmed by the text in *Ep.* 64. Themes from various sources have been gathered together and welded into a new treatment, in which the provenance of the individual elements is not easy to determine. It is clear that some themes from Philo have passed down to Jerome, but mainly in a secondary fashion, mostly via Origen, Jerome's chief source for tropological exegesis. Elsewhere he describes his task as that 'of mixing our tropological exegesis with the 'history' of the Hebrews.'[32] His chief source for the latter (in addition to the Bible itself) is Josephus, for the former Origen (with also some reference to Didymus and Hippolytus). Between these two there seems little place for Philo.[33] Jerome's fondness for the Alexandrian tradition ensures that some echoes of Philonic exegesis will be discerned in his exegesis, but it would seem that these are almost entirely transmitted in an indirect fashion.

This conclusion also applies to Jerome's extensive usage of etymologies from the Hebrew. Courcelle had argued that his etymology of Ramasses was derived from Philo's De *somniis*.[34] But Savon can show that the more likely source is Origen. On the other hand, Jerome believes that Philo played a crucial role in the explanation of the etymologies which are so vitally important for the interpretation of the Old Testament. During his first years in Bethlehem he became more and more convinced that study of the Old Testament had to proceed on the basis of an understanding of the original Hebrew.35 He thus went to the trouble of compiling an extensive list of etymologies, presented in alphabetical order for every book of the Bible. As the opening words of his treatise make clear, Jerome thinks that he is adapting a work originally compiled-according to the testimony of Origen -by Philo, whom he calls *vir disertissimus Iudueorum.36* This work was well known among the Greeks and found in libraries all over the world, so that it seemed a worthwhile exercise to translate it into Latin.37 Eusebius

[31] *Comm. in Epist. ad Gal. prol.*, PL 26.309 (repeated in *Ep.* 112.4), cited by Savon (1984) 757: legi haec omnia et in mente mea plurima coacervans, accito notario, vel mea, vel aliena dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum, interdum nec sensuum commemorans. Cf. the conclusions of Jay on the provenance of differing (and not always compatible) strands of exegesis in the *Commentary on Isaiah, (1985) 401-403.*

[32] *Comm. in Zach. praef. 38*, CCL 76A.748.37, cited by Savon (1984) 758: historiae Hebraeorum tropologiam nostrorum miscui.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Savon *(1984) 746*, criticizing Courcelle (1969) 82 n. 173.

[35] Cf. Kelly (1975) 153f.

[36] *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum, praef..*, CCL 72.1.59. I-60.3 (not cited in full at C-W 1.ciii).

[37] */bid.* 59.5: qui [liber] cum vulgo habeatur a Graecis et bibliothecas orbis inpleverit.



had earlier reported that the same work was attributed by some to Philo.[38] This suggests that a copy of the original was present in the Caesarean Library. Jerome also tells us that Origen added an etymology of New Testament names, 'so that what Philo as a Jew had left out, he as a Christian could fill in'. The original must therefore have been a Jewish work, since it was confined to the Old Testament.[39] Philo cannot have been the author (since his knowledge of Hebrew was insufficient for such purposes), but he himself must have made use of a similar onomasticon for his own exegesis.[40] Therefore it is entirely plausible that a casual reader of Philo's allegorical exegesis could have concluded that Philo was the author of a reference work on etymologies.

The text that we have just cited in the introduction to his translation of the *Onomasticon* also sheds an interesting side-light on a question we earlier left unresolved. Just as in the biographical notice on Philo, Jerome here again speaks of 'Greeks', who on this occasion have a high opinion of a work thought to be by Philo. Given the context here, Jerome surely must mean 'Greek-speaking exegetes of scripture' who could make use of this etymological material. We immediately think of authoritative figures such as Origen, Eusebius, Didymus etc. It is more than likely that the same people are meant in the biographical notice.

One more reference to Philo by Jerome requires attention. In the preface to his translation of the books of Solomon he notes that in addition to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon, two other books are reported to belong to this group, the Wisdom of Ben Sirach and a ψευδεπίγραφος entitled the Wisdom of Solomon.[41] This second work cannot be found anywhere among the Hebrew writings, and its manner of composition betrays its Greek origin. A number of the older writers affirm that the work belongs to Philo the Jew. These two works can be used for edification of the people, but not for the confirmation of the authority of the doctrines of the Church (for they do not belong to the scriptural Canon). Jerome thus neither accepts nor denies the attribution to Philo, but expresses a positive opinion on the work. As we have seen, this attribution will play an important role in the dissemination of Philo's name and writings in the Medieval West.[42]

[38] HE 2.18.7: καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήταις Ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων αἱ ἑρμηνεῖαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ &at λέγονται.

[39] Cf. the comments of Morris at Schürer (1973-87) 3.869f. On the role of Origen see above 99.7 and n. 137.

[40] Cf. the conclusions of the recent monograph on Philo's etymologies, Grabbe (1988)120f. A papyrus of such an *onomasticon* has been found; cf. Rokeah (1968). It is likely that various allegorical interpretation go back to pre-Philonic Alexandrian traditions; cf. Goulet (1987) 46-62. For a survey of the complex Jewish and Christian tradition of etymological handbooks see Opelt (1966) 822-832.

[41] *Praef. in libros Salomonis*, PL 28.1242–43.

[42] On Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon see also above §13. I on the Muratorian Canon.

## 2. Augustine[43]

Living in northern Africa for all but five years of his life, Augustine's situation was very different to that of Ambrose and Jerome.[44] Unlike Ambrose he was not fluent in the Greek language from the time of his youth onwards. Unlike Jerome he did not travel, let alone reside, in the Greek-speaking part of the Roman world. Augustine had deep respect for the learning of both his older contemporaries. During his period of residence at Milan he had seen how the bishop, though pressed by practical matters on all sides, still reserved time for study. Ambrose's sermons must have been full of material drawn from his reading of the Greek patres. The figurative exegesis he used played an important role in the process of Augustine's conversion, for it helped him to overcome his conviction that the Old Testament could not be defended against its hostile critics.[45] As for Jerome, Augustine respected his learning and encouraged him to use it for the benefit of the Church and its members such as himself, who did not have direct access to the language of scripture and its Greek expositors. In his very first letter to Jerome-written in 394 but not delivered until eight years later, thereby getting the correspondence off to a rather unfortunate start-Augustine writes:[46]

> We beg you then-and we are joined in this by all the company of students in the African churches-not to refuse to devote toil and trouble to translating the works of those who have so excellently expounded our Scriptures in Greek. You can put us in possession of those notable commentators and of one in particular, whose name you utter in your writings with more than usual pleasure.

The name passed over in silence is of course Origen. This passage, written before he became a bishop, reveals that Augustine, ever full of intellectual curiosity, possessed a fervent desire to learn about the interpretation of scripture from Greek writers, but also that he showed a strong preference for reading these works in translation.

Larcher's extensive account of the fate of this work in the Church in (1969) disappointingly fails to investigate the aspect of Philo's attributed authorship in any detail. At Augustine *Contra secundam Juliani responsionem opus imperfectum 4.123*, PG *45.1420* the same attribution is casually mentioned by Augustine's opponent, Julian of Eclanum.

[43] I would like to thank my colleague, Dr. J. van Oort (Utrecht), for valuable assistance in the preparation of this section. Various aspects of the relation between Philo and Augustine are discussed in my Utrecht inaugural lecture, (1992c).

[44] For the chronology of Augustine's life and writings see the tables at Brown (1967) 16, 74, 184, 282, 378. A survey of his prodigious body of writings at Quasten (1950-86) 4.355–403 (by A. Trape).

[45] Ambrose studying, *Conf.* 6.3.3; his sermons *Conf.* 5.14.24.

[46] *Ep.* 28.2, translation J. H. Baxter (LCL), = *Ep.* 56 in the collection of Jerome's letters. On this correspondence see Brown (1967) 274f., Kelly (1975) 217-220, 263-272.



The subject of Augustine's knowledge of Greek has long been debated. Although many details still require further investigation, the research of Altaner and Courcelle has led to a *communis opinio* that there was a certain amount of *development* in Augustine's ability to read Greek.[47] When a young man he could only read Greek with the greatest difficulty, using the translations that were available to help him along. By the time of his old age he had mastered the language to the extent that he could read works in the original, albeit slowly, and was even able to translate short passages. The key question that remains for us is the extent to which he would have wished to have consulted original Greek works. It would seem that even at the end of his life Augustine retained a strong preference for deriving his knowledge of Greek works from the Latin translations that were available to him. On the other hand it should be observed that there were various people in Augustine's circle that could help him along if he really wanted to know what was in a particular Greek text.[48] Against this background the actual extent of Augustine's knowledge of the Greek patristic tradition is by no means easy to determine.[49] It may well have been more extensive than has generally been thought. Courcelle argued that the influence it exerted on him was not great because he did not start to read widely until the major lines of his thought had been set. This conclusion has been challenged by Altaner and Chadwick at least for the case of Origen.[50] For our purposes it is above all important to note that Augustine's attitude to learning is quite different to that of Jerome. He is less a scholar, more a theologian and philosopher. Passionately interested in the truth of scripture, what concerns him above all are the *problems* that scripture raises, which need to receive a clear and certain answer.[51] Previous exegetes can help him in this task, but he is not particularly interested in flaunting his knowledge and dropping all manner of impressive names. This attitude is

[47] See various essays collected in Altaner (1967), Courcelle (1969) 149-165, 196-208, useful summary of *status quaestionis* at Bartelink (1987); see also Van Oort (1991) 24-25. The difference between Altaner and Courcelle is not on the question of development, but how this should be interpreted. Altaner accredits competence in Greek to Augustine much earlier, by 396 at least; Courcelle thinks it was achieved much later, c. 415. As we shall see below, Altaner maximizes, Courcelle minimizes. Both emphasize, however, the importance of translations; cf. Altaner (1967) 151, 161-163, Courcelle (1969) 208. The assumption that Augustine customarily does not directly consult Greek works has been challenged by Mutzenbecher, cf. Bartelink (1987) 12.

[48] As pertinently noted by Van Oort (1991) 98, n. 442.

[49] The question has to be studied together with the problem of his Greek; see the studies cited in the previous note.

[50] Courcelle (1969) 208; contrast Altaner (1967) 224-252 (first published 1951), Chadwick (1985), esp. 218: 'Augustine., knew something about Origen, and there is direct influence from the Greek theologian upon the making of his own mind at certain important points'.

[51] See Brown's perceptive remark, (1967) 275.

closer to that of Ambrose, although it is not Augustine's way to follow an anterior source for pages on end.

It so happens, therefore, that, just like his mentor, Augustine only mentions Philo's name once in all his vast corpus of writings. This is, however, a very interesting text, which has given rise to some controversy. In about 398 Augustine writes a long refutation of the view of Faustus the Manichaean-whom he had got to know during his early period in Carthage and whose ignorance of higher education had loosened his allegiance to that sect[52]—that there were no prophetic references to Christ and his Church in the Old Testament. At great length Augustine points out typological and allegorical explanations that announce the coming of Christ and his Church, concentrating particularly on the story of Cain and on the structure of Noah's ark.53 At the end, however, the attack is broadened to include the Jews, for without reference to Christ they too are unable to rescue the Old Testament from seeming to contain all manner of scandalous fables which they cannot defend. Example and proof is furnished by Philo.[54]

> One who saw this was a certain Philo, a man of exceedingly great learning, belonging to the group of the Jews, whose style the Greeks do not hesitate to match with that of Plato. And he attempted to interpret certain passages, not so that Christ would be understood in them (in whom he did not believe), but so that it would be all the more apparent what a difference it makes whether you refer all things to Christ, on whose account they are thus truly spoken, or whether, passing him by, you pursue all manner of conjectures by means of all kinds of mental ingenuity, and what is signified by the words of the apostle that 'when you pass over to the Lord, the veil will be removed' (2 Cor. 3:16). For, to mention an example of this same Philo, wishing to interpret the ark of the flood as constructed in accordance with the structure of the human body, he dealt with all its aspects piece by piece. When he also considered in a most subtle fashion the meaning of the dimensions involved, all aspects matched his interpretation exactly. There was no impediment here in understanding Christ, for the Saviour of the human race too appeared in a human body; but there was also no compulsion, since his human body was the same as that of other men. But when the exegesis came to the opening which is made in the side of the ark, every conjecture of human ingenuity failed. Something had to be said, however, and so that opening was interpreted in terms of the lower parts of the body, through which urine and excrement are released. That is what he dared to believe, dared to declare, dared to write. It is not surprising that he did not discover the meaning of the opening and so went astray in this manner. But if he had passed over to Christ, with the veil removed he would have discovered the sacraments of the Church flowing from that man's side. . .

The context of this remark is important. Augustine is arguing against a Manichean, and the anti-Judaic sentiments of this sect were much stronger

[52] *Conf.* 5.3.3-I 3, describing events in 382-383.

[53] Cain 12.9–13, Noah's ark 14–20.

[54] *Contra Faustum* 12.39, CSEL 25.369, PL 42.274; text cited at C-W 1.cv, Altaner (1967) 184; my translation.



even than those found among Christians. So the appeal to a Jewish exegete has a certain strategic value. Very much in the Augustinian manner, however, the compliment that Philo is paid is not allowed to remain unqualified. The Jew is very learned and his exegesis is subtle in the extreme. These judgments are clearly drawn from the notice in Jerome's biographical compendium. Interestingly the interpretation of the proverb is altered: Jerome had related it to both style and content, Augustine retains only the former.55 In the case of his exegesis of Noah's ark Philo proceeds successfully for a time, and even the measurements seem to fit the proportions of the body excellently, for Christ too had a human body. But then all of sudden the limitations of his Jewish exegesis are exposed for all to see. How could the opening in the side of the ark receive such a vulgar allegorical meaning? This is what happens if the interpretation of the Old Testament is not carried out with constant reference to Christ and his Church. As in the case of Ambrose, Philo is no Christian *avant la lettre* here, but very much a Jew. As such he can claim respect, but no appreciative warmth from Augustine.56 The entire exegesis is repeated in some detail at De *civitate Dei* 15.26, as part of the account of the early history (*Heilsgeschichte*) of man (to which we shall return below). But in this context there is not such a clear polemical intent, and the reader is given no clue that the origin of the allegorical explanation is found in Philo.

The source of Augustine's Philonic ideas is not difficult to locate, QG 2.1-7. But how did he come into contact with these ideas? The first to examine the question carefully was Altaner.[57] He argued that not only the text translated above, but also the complementary passages in C. *Faust.* 12.14-20 and *DCD* 15.26 show sufficient verbal parallels to Philo to prove that he had access to the Philonic original. Not that we should expect him to have read the Greek. But Altaner points out that a Latin translation of at least one book of QG is extant, and that it is likely that the entire work had been translated.58 Also the disproportionate attention paid to the story of Cain (extensively dealt with in QG 1) suggests use of this translation. Augustine's entire exposition in Book 12 is 'im Gegensatz und in stiller innerer Auseinandersetzung mit Philo.'[59]

[55] See the quotation above prior to n. 7.

[56] For Augustine's relations with contemporary Jews and attitude to Judaism as a religion cf. Blumenkranz (1946, 1973[2]), Schreckenberg (1982) 352-362. Schreckenberg records an entire range of pronouncements, from virulent polemics to conciliatory quasi-dialogue. Augustine's tone generally remains serene, and restraint is shown with regard to the worst accusations (e.g. deicide). Nevertheless for later Jew-haters there was plenty of material readily available for use.

[57] Altaner (1967), first published in 1941.

[58] The editor and commentator on this work, Petit (1973) 1.13, agrees with Altaner's arguments.

[59] Altaner (1967) 192.

This hypothesis, which seems to possess a considerable degree of plausibility, was nevertheless energetically opposed by Courcelle. In ignorance of Altaner's contribution, he had argued that Augustine's source was Ambrose's ***De Noe***.[60] In a more detailed subsequent examination he set out in his customary double columns the verbal parallels on which his case rests.61 Augustine, he argues, was well aware of Ambrose's use of Philonic allegory in his treatises. Criticism of Philo thus amounts to indirect criticism of Ambrose, who is insufficiently careful in his appropriation of foreign material and insufficiently christocentric in his exegesis.

Here the matter rested for some decades, with most scholars concluding that Altaner had the better of the argument.[62] The parallels that Courcelle could establish between Augustine and Ambrose were rather general, but certainly not entirely negligible.[63] But also some of these could easily be explained if both authors had consulted the Latin translation of QG. But in 1984 a new chapter was added, for quite unexpectedly the original Greek text of the passage drawn on by Ambrose and Augustine turned up in a ms. on Mt. Athos. This constrained its editor Paramelle to examine afresh the question of the debts to Philo in a long and diffuse discussion.64 Basically he sides with Altaner, but adds the following nuances. (a) Parallel passages now show even more clearly that Augustine was indebted to a reading of the original Philonic text in a Latin translation. (b) This translation may have been the Old Latin version preserved for Book IV, but it may also have been a 'petit receuil' which contained just these few chapters. (c) Courcelle's parallels are sufficient to prove that Augustine did know the presentation in ***De Noe.*** (d) But it would have been impossible for Augustine to have deduced from this text alone that Ambrose was so heavily indebted to Philo's Jewish exegesis. He needed to have had access to the Philonic text in order to reach this conclusion. Especially this final argument seems to us conclusive. The question may thus be regarded as settled: Augustine had read at least a little of Philo.

But the next question immediately follows: are there other, broader areas of Augustine's thought where his reading of Philo has exerted its influence? Given the vast extent of Augustine's writings, this question is difficult to answer with any precision. We shall concentrate on three areas in which some scholarly research has been carried out.

(a) *Protology.* Both in books 11-13 of the *Confessions* and in the 12 books of his work *De **Genesi** ad **litteram*** Augustine gives detailed exegesis of the first 3 chapters of Genesis which play such an important role in Philo's thought. In both works Philonic themes are unquestionably brought forward.65 At *Conf.* 12.1.1-12.13.16 Augustine interprets the heaven of which the creation is described in Gen. 1:1 in terms of the 'heaven of heaven' in Ps. 113: 16, a created realm of the intellect, not co-eternal with God but participating in his eternity. PCpin has devoted a long article to the background of this remarkable exegesis.[66] He points out that the distinction between an intelligible heaven and a sense-perceptible heaven clearly goes back to Philo's exegesis of 'day one' of creation. Philo even on one occasion relates the intelligible heaven, as paradigm of the visible heaven, to the phrase οὐρανὸς οὐρανοῦ, as found in Deut. 10:14.[67] Pépin lists no less than 9 aspects of this theme in which he can adduce parallels between Philo, the Alexandrian tradition (Clement, Origen, Ps.Justin), and Augustine.68 This makes the question of how Augustine became acquainted with this material rather pressing. PCpin assumes that Augustine can only be indebted to Greek writings that had been translated into Latin, which would seem to exclude Philo. But, he adds cautiously, we cannot be certain which works were available in translation, so the matter has to remain open.[69]

Further advances have been made in this question by De Solignac in his commentary on *De **Genesi** ad litteram,* where the same theme recurs. Other themes which suggest a direct linkage between Philo and Augustine are:[70]

> 4.32.49-50 ***creatio simultanea*** and the sequence of events in creation (*nec **ideo tamen** sine **ordine**, quo adparet conexio praecedentium sequentiumque cau-*

60 Courcelle (1969) 197, first published in 1943; cf. *De Noe* 6.13-8.24. Courcelle pointed out that Augustine's copy of *De Noe* contained passages now missing in our texts. At Courcelle (1968) 157, first published in 1950, the radical thesis of Caramella (1947) is rejected that the Platonism that Augustine came into contact with in Milan according to *Conf.* VII was that of the QG of Philo. The suggestion returns, nevertheless, at Lucchesi (1977) 120.

61 Courcelle (1961).

62 Cf. the comments of Bartelink (1987) 13.

63 E g Ambrose, *congrua.. ratio.. concurrat,* Augustine, *congruenter occurrehant omnia;* Ambrose, *ex singulis membris*, Augustine, *membratim*; Ambrose, *per quam superflua cib-orum egerere*, Augustine, *per quas urina et fimus egeruntur.*

64 Paramelle (1984)102–127.

65 Other works dealing with this subject listed by Van Oort (1991) 37-39, who points out that Augustine's fascination with Gen. l-3 is above all explicable on account of his confrontation with Manicheism. We concentrate on these two best known treatments, with an occasional excursion to the *De **civitate** Dei.*

66 PCpin (1977), originally published in 1953, with some additional remarks at (1977) xvii-xxviii.

67 Pépin (1977) 104-106. Last-mentioned text at *Spec.* 1.302, the only time Philo gives this interpretation of Deut. 10: 14.

68 PCpin (1977) 116-122, Clement added at 130. See further our discussions above in §9.4, §10.1.

69 PCpin (1977) 122-124, cf. also xxviii. Solignac (1962) 2.598 finds the parallels insut ficient to prove literary dependence, but considers them valuable because they show the consequences of the application of Platonism to scripture (the implication is that Augustine is working independently of the Greek exegetical tradition).

70 Agaësse–Solignac (1972). see the references to Philo in the notes, collected at 2.612; results of findings summarized at Solignac ( 1984)1372–73.

*sarum* is virtually a translation of ***Opif.*** 28, τάξις δ' ἀκολουθία καὶ εἰρμός ἐστι προηγουμένων τινῶν καὶ ἑπομένων); we note also the parallel passage in De *civitate Dei* 11.30, where Augustine's reflections on the connection between the number 6 and creation are strongly reminiscent of ***Opif.*** 13;
5.4.7-8 the theory of double creation, that as ***nonnulli putaverunt***, all things were first created in God's word; cf. ***Opif.*** 16-25, but also with respect to Gen. 2:5, the text Augustine is commenting on, QG 1.2;
5.10.25 the source of the water in Gen. 2:6, cf. QG 1.3;
6.22.33 arguing against the theory of the death of the soul again attributed to *quidam*, cf. Leg. 1.105-107, QG 1.16;
8.1.4, 8.4.8 description of paradise and the tree of life in it, explanation of the four rivers; cf. QG 1.6-12.
11.42.58 the role of woman in man's fall, cf. ***Opif. 152,*** possibly learnt via Ambrose.

This evidence proves beyond doubt that Augustine had read the first chapters of QG 1, no doubt in the Old Latin translation. He may also have had a direct acquaintance with ***De opificio mundi,*** whether in a Latin translation that we do not know about, or just possibly in the original (since by the time he wrote this work-from 401 tot 414-Augustine could read some Greek).[71] Other Philonic themes are mediated via the Alexandrian tradition of exegesis (especially Origen). With his independent and critical frame of mind Augustine often criticizes this tradition, but this fact should not blind us to his intellectual debts.

The most significant debt that Augustine has to Philo in his interpretation of the creation account lies in the theory of the double creation, of which the theme of the *caelum caeli* is a special part. We note, however, two important modifications that are made in the theory.[72] Firstly Augustine as it were divides in two the intelligible world which Philo had placed in the divine Logos, distinguishing between the ***omnium creaturarum rationes*** which existed in the Word from all eternity (and so are not *creaturae* but *rationes* only) and the intelligible, non-temporal existence of these reasons as *creaturae*. Secondly, this intelligible ***modus essendi*** is not merely an object of thought as in Philo, but is also, in line with Neoplatonist ideas, an active *nous*, belonging-because they are *creaturae*—to the angelic realm. Among these ***rationales mentes*** is also the man created according to the image (Gen. 1:26), who receives the true light from the divine word. Augustine's interpretation thus settles a problem that remains unclear in Philo, namely whether the 'man according to the image' is an idea or rather a disembodied *nous*.[73]

[71] Cf. Solignac (1984) 1372.
[72] Cf. *De Gen. ad litt.* books 4 and 5, with the analyses of Agaësse–Solignac (1972) 1.657–665.
[73] Cf. Runia (1986) 334f.



(b) ***The heavenly and earthly cities.*** Much ink has been spilt on the question of the origins of the distinction between the City of man and the City of God which forms the conceptual foundation of Augustine's famous work ***De civitute Dei*** (begun in 413 but not completed until 427). Philo too has been regularly mentioned in this quest for relevant background material.74 Very recently two studies have reached opposite conclusions on Philo's role. In his splendid analysis of the sources of Augustine's doctrine of the two cities Van Oort points out that Philo takes over certain Stoic ideas (the cosmos as ***megalopolis),*** that he also stresses the difference between the visible and the invisible world, the latter of which is compared to a city (cf. ***Opif.*** 18), and that man is presented as sojourning in this world. Moreover in ***Gig.*** 60 the *politeia* of this world is opposed to the *politeia* of the ideas. This last text might suggest a certain antithesis, but Van Oort denies that any texts in Philo point to a placement of one city (*polis*) in opposition to another.[75] He concludes that the antecedent ideas in the philosophical traditions of Platonism (esp. Plotinus), the Stoa and Philo are helpful in understanding the background to Augustine's theme, but they fall short for the task of explaining Augustine's mature doctrine of two absolutely antithetical societies, the one good, the other evil.76 Other sources examined and found wanting are Manichaeism and the ***Commentary on Revelation*** by the Donatist Tyconius. Instead it is argued that we should look at the archaic Jewish and Jewish-Christian traditions which are found in works such as the ***Didache*** and ***Barnabas*** and the ***Pseudo-Clementines*** (and also in the pre-Christian Qumran community), where we find antitheses between two spirits (princes, angels), two ways of life (a way of life opposed to a way of death), two societies of good and evil people. Van Oort determines this to be a 'catechetical tradition', and argues that it was prominent in the Northern African church, where a long tradition of quasi-Jewish exclusivism exercised an influence on its most famous son.77

A response to Van Oort's position is given in an equally recent article by Martin.78 The Argentinian scholar pertinently points out that Van Oort's argument on Philo is one-sided because he continually regards him as a philosopher or a 'Platonist', and takes insufficiently into consideration his role as a source of exegetical interpretations.79 Martin examines a number of fundamental texts in the presentation of the two cities-DCD 14.28,

[74] Scholz (191 1), Leisegang (1926), cited by Van Oort (1991) 245f.; also Duchrow (1970) 80-82.
[75] Van Oort (1991) 250-251; this study is an English translation of an earlier Dutch dissertation defended and first published in 1986.
[76] Van Oort (1991) 254, repeated at 363.
[77] Van Oort (1991) 364-371.
[78] Martin (1991). The first draft of the article was written before he had a chance to read Van Oort's study, and for the revised draft he could only read its conclusions in proof.
[79] Martin (I99 1) 293.

15.1-2, 5, 17, 20.2—and concludes that Augustine sets up a series of opposite 'conceptual pairs'. The more important of these are:[80]

| | |
|---|---|
| love of God | love of self |
| contempt for self | contempt for God |
| heaven | earth |
| God | man |
| Abel-Seth | Cain |
| Sarah | Hagar |
| Israel | Ishmael |
| grace | nature |
| good | evil |
| life | death |

Martin argues, rightly in our view, that these exegetical themes, which patently go back to Philo, play a significant role in the establishment of Augustine's grand vision. The biblical pairs Abel-Cain, Sarah–Hagar etc. are related to a broader scheme in which two moral paths (*viae*) are laid out. Through grace man can follow the good that leads to eternal life in God, through his natural impulses he can choose for evil that leads to death. But the differences between the two thinkers must also not be overlooked. It is to be conceded to Van Oort that the actual antithesis between Jerusalem and Babylon is missing. Martin can only point to ***Somn. 2.250,*** where Jerusalem is called the city of God.[81] Moreover the 'history' which they present is different: for Philo it is the history of the soul, for Augustine the ***Heilsgeschichte*** that God allows to unfold in human history. Finally Van Oort is right to point out that Philo tends to a Platonizing ***hierarchical*** view of the relation between the two 'commonwealths' which Augustine deliberately avoids.[82] This problem of the difference between a hierarchical and an eschatological understanding of the divide between the earthly and the heavenly realm is as old as the Christian tradition itself. We encountered it at the outset in our discussion of the Epistle to the Hebrews and its relation to Philonic thought.83

(c) ***Theology.*** A third area where the relation betwen Philonic and Augustinian ideas raises interesting questions is the interpretation of God's revelation to Moses in Ex. 3:14–15. From Philo onwards almost all thinkers in the Judaeo-Christian tradition reflect extensively on the divine declaration in v. 14: ἐγώειμιὁὤν in the LXX translation, ego ***sum qui sum***

[80] Martin ( 199 1) 285-290.

[81] The text is also briefly referred to by Van Oort at 251 n. 28 1.

[82] Van Oort (1991) 250–252. Martin argues at 291 that there is an equivocation in both Philo and Augustine between two schemata, evil v. good and nature v. grace, but at this point he does not explicitly discuss the question of a hierarchical view of reality. At the end of the article he argues that in the case of the *duae civitates* the relation between Platonism and the Bible is fundamental; he was unable to address Van Oort's opposition to this view.

[83] Cf. above 94.3 on Hebrews, also 95.3(c) on the ***Letter of Barnabas.***



(and ***qui est)*** in the Latin version.[84] The following verse, however, in which God says that he is the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, and that this is his eternal name from generation to generation receives much less attention. What is remarkable is that, apart from one text in Basil (in which he is certainly dependent on Philo), Philo and Augustine are the only exegetes to develop the view that a distinction should be made between the two divine 'names'—God of Being and God of the Patriarchs-that these two texts disclose.85 Philo does this in three texts (*Mut*. 11-14, ***Abr. 5*** 1, Mos. 1.75–76), Augustine in three texts in his ***Enarrutiones in Psalmos*** and also in two letters.86 For Augustine the first name ***(qui est)*** is the name for God's unchangeability, the second (God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob) the name of God's mercy towards mankind. Philo had earlier said that God himself had no need of a name, but so that mankind would have an appellation in order to pray to him and not be without hope, he gave them the second 'name', indicating his ***relation*** (i.e. to the Patriarchs) rather than his absolute ***essence.87*** The chief difference between the two developments is that Philo (like Basil, who is dependent on him) relates the revelation of the 'second name' to the perfection of the Patriarchs as symbols of the three virtues, whereas Augustine, more profoundly convinced of man's ignorance and sinfulness, relates it to God's condescension in the form of his incarnated Son. This modification of the Philonic theme, we observe, is fully consistent with his criticism of Philo's exegesis that it is insufficiently christocentric, as noted in the single passage where he mentions Philo by name.88 Although the resemblances between Philo and Augustine in the handling of this theme are uncanny, it is impossible to indicate, given the current results of research, how he could have read it directly in Philo's own words. But, differently than in our earlier examples, the indirect tradition also does not help us solve the problem.[89] Augustine's adaption of Philo is further of great historical interest because

[84] For the tradition of exegesis on this text in Philo and the Greek and Latin fathers, see the informative collection of essays in Vignaux (1978).

[85] What now follows is a brief resumé of my investigation in Runia (1992c); see esp. 5-9, 26-29.

[86] *Enarr. in Ps.* 101.2.10, 121.5, 134.6, ***Serm.*** 7.7 (CCL 41.75), 2.5 (PL 46.825-6). Three of these texts cited by De Vogel (1958) 8-9 in her essay on Christianity and the philosophy of Being. Text in Basil at C. ***Eun.*** 1.13.

[87] For Philo God as Being is strictly speaking nameless (cf. *Mut*. 1 lff., where he adduces Ex. 6:3, reading in the text κύριονὄνομα; cf. further Runia (1988a)). Augustine does not take over this aspect, but speaks of two ***nomina.***

[88] ***See*** above on *Contra Faustum* 12.39.

[89] There is no proof that it could have been derived from Ambrose, since he does not give this exegesis. Van Oort suggests to me that Augustine might have read the Basilian passage, since he knew some of the writings of this Church Father (cf. Van Oort (1991) 284). But some of' the resemblances between Philo and Augustine are missing in Basil, notably the theme of divine mercy.

it almost certainly was the inspiration behind the famous words of Pascal in his *Mémorial*, 'God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, not of philosophers and scholars. There is, however, a crucial difference between Philo-Augustine on the one hand, and Pascal on the other. They envisage a relative distinction, he an absolute antithesis.90

The last Church Father in the West to have any direct contact with Philonic thought before the collapse of the Roman Empire, Augustine combined a great inquisitiveness concerning all aspects of the interpretation of scripture with firmly reasoned positions of his own. His method is far removed from the adaptations of Ambrose or the 'name-dropping' of Jerome. In a number of cases he criticizes or rejects views that stem from Philo or the Philonic tradition. In other cases, however, themes are taken over without acknowledgement. The most difficult question confronting us is-yet again -whether the acquaintance that he has is based on *direct* knowledge of Philo's writings, or *indirectly* via the Alexandrian tradition and Ambrose. Recent research has expanded the contours of Augustine's direct knowledge of Philo in Latin translation. If the possibility cannot be excluded that he read Greek later in his career, then it can also not be excluded that further research on the relationship between Philo and Augustine will lead to interesting results.

## 3. Continuations

The rest of the story is soon told, for after Augustine direct and knowledgeable acquaintance with Philo's writings and thought fades fast in the West. In an earlier chapter we have already made acquaintance with Augustine's slightly younger contemporary, John Cassian, whose description of the earliest Christian monks betrays the presence of Philo's Therapeutae. But Philo himself is not named.91 The same proto-Christians reappear in the 8th century in a work of the Venerable Bede, who does mention Philo by name, deriving his information from Jerome.92

In 416 Augustine commissioned his younger protegé, Orosius (born between 375 and 380, died after 418) to write a history of the world up to his own times, in order to supplement the materials contained in the *De civitate Dei.93* In the resultant *Historiae adversus paganos* Philo is mentioned as part of the account of the fate of the Jews during the reign of Caligula, where he is described as a 'man among the foremost in learning *(virum sane in primis eruditum)*.'94 The Jews at Alexandria send Philo as ambassador to Rome, but his mission is rebuffed. Orosius' source for this brief account is Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History.95* The popularity of Orosius' work in the Middle Ages was great: about 200 mss. survive.96 In the late 9th century King Alfred the Great translated the work into Old English. Goodhart-Goodenough in their Philo bibliography carry a photograph in which this 'first mention of Philo in an English manuscript' is shown.97 But the mention is far too slight to bring about any interest in Philo as a historical figure.

More than a century later the statesman and scholar Cassiodorus (487–c. 580) founded the famous monastery at Vivarium in Calabria, in the hope of establishing a centre of both Greek and Latin learning.98 In his extensive writings Cassiodorus mentions Philo only once, affirming in his *Institute on Sacred Scripture* that Jerome was right in ascribing the Wisdom of Solomon to Philo.99 (The same report is given by Isidore of Seville (c. 570 – 636) another half a century later.100) Trivial though this information may seem, it is of vital importance for Philo's fate in the Latin Middle Ages. Throughout this period Philo was considered the author of one of the semi-canonical books of the Bible. As we saw in our account of the survival of Philo's writings,101 during the Middle Ages a slender *liber Philonis* was in circulation, containing the notice on Philo from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, the Pseudo-Philonic *Liber antiquitatum,* and the Old Latin translation of *Quaestiones in Genesim* IV and *De vita contemplativa*. The history of this manuscript tradition has been traced with a fair degree of probability to the Abbey of St. Riquier in Western France, where it is mentioned in a catalogue dated 83 1. No doubt it was brought there by the founder of the Abbey in 790, Angilbert, who made three journeys to Italy and gave 200 mss. to the Library of the Abbey.102 Where did Angilbert obtain the ms. of Philo? It has been shown that the library of Cassiodorus at Vivarium played a significant role in preserving both Latin and translated Greek works in

90 Some brief remarks on the historical connections in Runia (1993). It should be noted that in Ex. 3: 14-15 there is no distinction made between the two names at all; they are in fact complementary.
91 See above §1 1.4.
92 See further *ibid.*
93 Brief account of life and works at Quasten (1950) 494498 (by V. Grossi).

94 *Hist. adv. paganos 7.5.6-7.*
95 Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica 2.5.4-2.6.3* Mommsen.
96 Cf. notice in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (199* 1) *1537.*
97 *G-G*p. 185, cf. no. 1449.
98 On Cassiodorus and Vivarium see O'Donnell (1979) 177–224.
99 *Inst. div. litt.* PL 70.1 117B. In actual fact Jerome only attributes this view to *nonnulli*; *cf.* above §15.1 and n. 41.
100 *Etymologiae* 6.2.30.
101 See above §1.4 and n. 115–120.
102 Petit (1973) 1.14.

Italy.[103] But, although Jerome's De *viris illustribus* was present, there is no mention of the Latin translation of Philo.[104]

It cannot now be our task to follow the traces of Philo in the Latin Middle Ages.105 We conclude our survey, therefore, by giving a few titbits that may stimulate further research. It would appear that the main sources of knowledge concerning Philo were three-fold: (i) his association with the Wisdom of Solomon; (ii) his appearance in the historical writings of Jerome, Rufinus, Orosius; (iii) the *liber Philonis*. Because of these traditions we find the disciples of Sulpicius of Bourges described in terms that clearly echo Philo's Therapeutae,[106] while Abelard in his correspondence with Heloise uses the same community as an argument in favour of the pairing of male and female monastic establishments.107 On a fresco in the Cathedral of Le Puy Philo is depicted around a crucifixion with the prophets Isaiah, Hosea and Jeremiah.108 In a similar way we find that Philo is included in two series of reliquary busts of the Hebrew prophets, formerly part of the high altar of Münster Cathedral and now on display in its Domkammer.[109] Why, we might well wonder, is Philo included in a series of Hebrew prophets? The answer is quite straightforward. He is included because he is regarded as the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, who according to Patristic tradition prophesies the death of Christ. The relevant text (2:20) in the Latin translation—*morte turpissima condemnemus illum*—is written out on a scroll held in front of both busts. Philo remains a Jew, but one directly associated with the central event of the Christian faith.

[103] Courcelle (1969) 361–403, who modifies the much more radical thesis of Beer that Vivarium was virtually the unique source of all Roman mss. from antiquity; cf. also O'Donnell's minimal conclusion at (1979) 241.
[104] Courcelle (1969) 372-375.
[105] The fate of Philo in the Latin Middle Ages is almost wholly unresearched; but see esp. Wilpert (1962) on the *liber Philonis* (his starting point is the copy of Nicolas Cusanus in the library at Kues). J. van Oort points out to me that Ferdinand of Cordoba in a panegyric on Albertus Magnus (1478) applies the proverb about Philo and Plato to Albert's adaptation of Aristotelianism; cf. Grabmann (1936) 2.408.
[106] Cf. De Vogüé (1985).
[107] *Ibid. 363,* with references to Ep. 7 and 8. Some doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of the correspondence. In Bayer (1989) Philo, described as 'der jüdische Gnostiker (9)', is related to currents of Medieval esotericism without any attempt to explain how detailed knowledge of Philo's writings was attained.
[108] Cf. Winston (1985) IO.
[109] On these busts cf. Pieper (198 I), nos. 26, 3 1.

PART FOUR

# Epilogue

Chapter Sixteen

# Conclusions and Prospects

## *1. Philo in the Church fathers*

Now that the reception of Philo's writings and thought in both the Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Church fathers has been examined, our survey has come to an end. The cut-off point of 400 AD is in a sense quite arbitrary. The story of Philo's reception in the Christian tradition continues throughout the Later Roman, Byzantine and Medieval periods. Some glimpses of this fascinating story are given in our account of this history of the transmission of Philo's writings in chapter 1 and also in the 'continuations' briefly sketched at the end of chapters 10, 12 and 15. Nevertheless, by the time of the last Fathers that we examined in detail-Isidore of Pelusium, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Augustine of Hippo, all of whom died in the decade around 430— the main contours of Philo's reception in the Christian tradition are quite clear. Thereafter his writings continue to circulate, but the direct use made of them appears to diminish. The chief thrust of their influence has been felt and absorbed. We shall now attempt to summarize the main lines of this influence in a brief sketch.[1]

The origins of Christianity can be located nowhere else than in the matrix of Second Temple Judaism, of which also Alexandrian Hellenistic Judaism formed a part. It is natural, therefore, that there are lines of resemblance between Philo's writings and the New Testament, which will later encourage the ***rapprochement*** that the Church fathers make between Philo and Christian thought. It has proved very difficult, however, to determine how this process started. Philo is not explicitly named in Christian sources until the end of the 2nd century, when he is extensively used by Clement of Alexandria. So far it has not proved possible to demonstrate beyond all doubt that Philo was known to Apologists such as Justin, Athenagoras and Theophilus of Antioch. Certain indications tend to the conclusion that he may have been not entirely unknown. But there can be no question of decisive influence (I hesitate to make exceptions for Justin's doctrine of the Logos and Theophilus' exegesis of the early chapters of Genesis).

[1] It would be tedious to give detailed references. The places where we discuss individual topics can be located via the Table of contents and the Indices.

It is in Philo's own native city that he first makes an important impact on the Christian tradition. The members of the Catechetical school in Alexandria-chiefly Pantaenus, Clement, Origen-must have decided that Philo's writings could be of benefit to them in their task as teachers in the Christian community, and for this reason the *corpus Philonicum* was preserved from the oblivion that overwhelmed the remainder of Alexandrian Judaism. Clement's usage is considerable and seemingly quite unrestrained. Origen knows Philo equally well, treating him as part of the tradition of biblical exegesis, but he is more guarded in his references. The favourable attitude towards Philo in Alexandria is continued by later Alexandrian and Egyptian fathers such as Didymus and Isidore.

An event that proved decisive for the spread of Philo's influence took place when Origen moved to Palestine, taking a virtually complete collection of the writings with him as part of his scholarly resources. A generation later they attract the attention of Eusebius, who gives them significant publicity by incorporating a lengthy notice in his *Ecclesiastical History* and extensive citations in his Apologetic writings. Eusebius thus continues the Alexandrian tradition of favourable reception, but now outside Egypt. Also highly influential is his acceptance of the legend of Philo Christianus, as conveyed especially through the identification of the Therapeutae as proto-Christians. Eusebius' positive attitude is continued in the writings of the Cappadocian fathers, especially in the philosophically minded Gregory of Nyssa. At the same time, however, we notice that a reaction sets in. The 4th century is the period when the earlier conception of Apostolic succession is transformed into Christian orthodoxy. Philo begins to be associated with Origenism and-much worse-Arianism. The Fathers become a little more wary about using him and referring to him. A good example is Theodore of Mopsuestia who criticizes him sharply for his allegorical exegesis.

In the West Ambrose is the first Church father to use Philo extensively. His copious usage, predominantly in the area of allegorical interpretation, is somewhat camouflaged by the translation into Latin and the fact that he only once refers to his source by name. Philo is referred to more often by Jerome, who in fact places him on the Western ecclesiastical map by devoting a notice to him in his biographies of famous Christian men. Via Ambrose and Jerome Augustine gains acquaintance with Philo, reading some of his works in a Latin translation. Both he and Ambrose show signs of the same wariness that we discovered in the 4th century in the East, associating him with heretical tendencies and the limitations inherent in a Judaizing cast of mind.

In the course of our survey an attempt has been made to pin down, where possible, which individual works of Philo were read by the Fathers. It goes without saying that not all of them were acquainted with the entire body of Philo's writings. If we take the various parts of the *corpus Philonicum,* it is possible to draw the following conclusions.



(i) The most popular work was undoubtedly *De vita Moysis,* in which Philo gives a well-organized and entertaining account of Moses' life and significance.

(ii) In the area of biblical exposition the best-known work was probably the *Quaestiones in Genesim and Exodum*. This compendium was easy to consult and supplied a great variety of useful exegetical themes. Later supplanted by the *Catenae,* in which some Philonic material is incorporated, the original Greek texts in the end failed to survive.

(iii) Philo's commentary on the Mosaic creation account, *De opificio mundi,* enjoyed a modest success throughout the entire Patristic period. Of the other works in the Exposition of the Law the biographies of the Patriarchs and the treatise *On virtues* were read the most.

(iv) The difficult treatises in the Allegorical Commentary understandably did not enjoy a great popularity. Origen and Didymus seem to have known them the best. Even Clement and Ambrose are rather selective in their usage. It is remarkable that they almost all survived (some tenuously).

(v) It is not surprising, given the well-known account in Eusebius, that of the historical and apologetic writings the best known was *De vita contempla tiva.*

(vi) The so-called philosophical treatises were read only sporadically. The extensive quotations by Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* are exceptional.

Further insight can be gained into this selectivity of reading if we now examine the motivations that the Fathers had for turning to Philo and making use of the material that he offered. From the evidence that we have amassed Philo's attractiveness appear to have lain in three distinct areas of concern.

Firstly, the Fathers are attracted to Philo in his role as *historian and apologist.* Philo records important events at the beginning of the history of the Church, most notably the purported origins of the Christian community in Alexandria and the troubles that began to beset the Jews after the crucifixion of Christ. Philo's apologetic efforts on behalf of Judaism in his own time are naturally of little interest to them. But the apologetic material that he supplies on the earlier history of Israel is most valuable. This explains the great popularity of *De vita Moysis,* which already begins in the *Stromateis* of Clement. In this area of what we might call 'historical apologetics' Philo is linked with the other Jewish historian Josephus.

Secondly, Philo is important for Christian writers in his role as *exegete and interpreter* of scripture. The majority of Philo's writings are concerned, one way or another, with the exposition and interpretation of the Bible. The amount of material on offer is large indeed, but it does have a particular slant. Philo's Bible is not the Bible of the Church fathers. His exegesis concentrates almost exclusively on the 5 books of Moses, with more

attention paid to Genesis and Exodus than the other books. In the eyes of the Patres Philo's exegesis is predominantly allegorical in character. Naturally he allows room for literal exegesis, and some of his insights in this area are taken over. But it is especially the allegorical exegesis they are interested in. Many of the rules and procedures of Christian allegorical exegesis are built on foundations laid by Philo. Origen appeals to Philo as a master and model of the allegorical method. Other aspects of non-literal interpretation that are valuable are the use of etymologies and number symbolism. Didymus the Blind explicitly refers his readers to Philo for detailed exegeses in both areas. A fascinating example of Philo's exegetical influence is the interpretation of Sarah and Hagar, where we have noted a struggle throughout the Patristic period between the Philonic and the Pauline forms of allegorical interpretation. In interesting texts in Eusebius of Emesa and Isidore of Pelusium we note that an appeal is made to Philo's allegorical exegesis precisely to counter Jewish opposition to this method.

By the 4th century Philo's allegorical method is explicitly associated with the Alexandrian school of exegesis. The chief exponent of the rival Antiochene school, Theodore of Mopsuestia, attacks Origen in the strongest terms for taking his method from the Jew Philo rather than scripture itself. Two areas of more literal interpretation also enjoy a measure of favour. As already observed above, the biblical exposition given in the historical accounts of the lives of the Patriarchs and Moses is popular. Furthermore regular use is made of Philo's exposition of the creation account as found in Genesis 1-3. Philo's literal (though still philosophically imbued) interpretations find more favour than his allegorical attempts. Predictably the Fathers find much less use for Philo's extensive interpretations of the Mosaic laws. But here too, for example, an edifying explanation of the injunction that a baby animal should not be boiled in its mother's milk is regarded as a suitable theme to be taken over.

Thirdly, Philo earns respect from the Church fathers as *philosopher and theologian* (the modern distinction is quite artificial in the ancient context). Clement twice calls him 'the Pythagorean', and is quite well aware of the affinities between Philonic thought and Platonism. Eusebius praises him for his zeal towards the Platonist and Pythagorean disciplines. Jerome records the celebrated *bon mot* that 'either Plato philonizes or Philo platonizes', applying it both to his style and the contents of his thought. The Fathers perceive the fundamentally Platonist colouring that Philo gives both his interpretation of creation and his allegorical exegesis. Three areas of influence and appropriation stand out: (a) the doctrine of God, with the strong emphasis on unchangeability and essential unknowability; (b) the doctrine of man, created 'according to the image' (i.e. the Logos), endowed with reason and the capacity to reach out to God and become like unto Him; (c) the doctrine of the virtues or excellences (ἀρεταί), taken over from Greek philosophy and adapted to the requirements of allegorical exposition and the differing emphases of biblical thought.



The three areas of attraction that we have discovered are distinct, but should, not be kept in isolation from each other. There is a relation, we have seen, between Philo's role as historian and his value as an expositor of scripture. Much more important, however, is the connection between the second and third areas. The first Christian to record extensive use of Philo, Clement, recognized Philo's philosophical expertise and his Platonist bent, but he did not need to learn Platonism from that quarter. What he learnt from Philo above all was to make *the connections between biblical text and philosophical thought*, both in the use and development of specific exegetical themes and techniques and at a more general theological level. Later Church fathers continue to exploit this interaction between biblical exegesis and philosophical thematics. The importance of Philo's contribution to Patristic thought lies above all in his role as a mediator between the biblical and the philosophical tradition. For this reason the most extensive use of his writings is found in the narrowly Alexandrian tradition (Clement, Origen, Didymus) and those Fathers who to a greater or lesser extent sympathize with its theology (Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine). Those strands of the Patristic tradition that show little interest in the contribution that philosophy can make to exegesis and theology-we think of churchmen such as Irenaeus, Athanasius, Chrysostom and the Antiochene school-show little inclination towards an immersion in the Philonic heritage. For the same reason the Rabbis decline to explore or record the views of their well-known fellow-Jew.

But this appropriation of a philosophically orientated form of exegesis and theology was not without its dangers. One of the more fascinating tasks of our survey has been to trace the relation between Philo and deviant Christian thought, i.e. types of theology that at some time were accused of or condemned as being heretical. Regrettably we do not know the extent to which Alexandrian Gnostic teachers such as Basilides and Valentinus drew on Philo. It does become clear from an analysis of Clement's use of Philo that he sees his thought as a valuable counterweight to Marcionite and Valentinian ideas which he regards as erroneous. As we have already observed, in the 4th century the attitude towards Philo becomes more one of increasing wariness. This has everything to do with the crisis in which the Church was plunged by the contribution of another Alexandrian teacher, the 'arch-heretic' Arius. After Nicaea Philo's doctrine of the Logos, which was immensely attractive to Christian theologians from Justin (?) and Clement through to Eusebius, suddenly starts to look suspiciously subordinationist. Gregory accuses the Neo-Arian Eunomius of filching phrases from Philo. Ambrose is careful to correct Philo if his words might be open to misinterpretation from the viewpoint of orthodoxy. Isidore of Pelusium, in a remarkable letter, takes up the gauntlet for Philo

and praises him for seeing as much of the Truth as he did, even if complete orthodoxy could not be expected from one who was still operating under the old Dispensation. Of all the Patres it was Origen, the greatest exegete of the early Church and also the Father best acquainted with Greek philosophy, who stood closest to Philo and absorbed his thought most deeply. The subsequent eclipse of Origenism, which begins at the end of the 4th century certainly reduced the role that Philo was able to play in Christian thought. But by that time much had been digested.

We now reach two final areas where the conclusions reached by our survey are less clear-cut. Firstly, what can be said about the extent of Philo's influence on the Christian tradition regarded in its totality? The question of Philo's presence in early Christian literature and thought is not so difficult to answer if we confine ourselves-as we have largely done in this section so far-to authors who explicitly refer to Philo and/or patently take over some of his exegetical or philosophical themes. But what if we step outside this relatively narrow tradition? At this point we are confronted by major difficulties. To begin with, it has proved enormously difficult to pin down precisely what the influence of Philo may have been on nascent Christian thought before the time of Clement. At the current state of research the question has not been satisfactorily resolved. But even if we were to conclude that no direct Philonic influence can be admitted, there still remain many examples of similarity of thought that demand explanation. It is important to recognize that Philo has his *Sitz im Leben* in Hellenistic Judaism, which in its totality was much broader than Philo and even Alexandrian Judaism. This broader movement of Greek-speaking Judaic thought also left traces in early Christian writings, but these are most difficult to identify because almost all of the relevant literature has been lost. In short, before Clement the impact of Greek-speaking Judaism on Christianity was broader than Philo alone. By the time of Origen it has become largely restricted to the Septuagint and Philo. Unfortunately scholarship has not developed an adequate terminology to deal with this complex situation. It is a simplification to refer only to Hellenistic Judaism as a whole and Philo as a single thinker within that tradition. It is apparent that there were varieties of Hellenistic Judaism, and some of these must have been closer to what we find in Philo than others. I have elsewhere suggested that we might distinguish between Philo and 'Philonism' in the broader sense, on the grounds that Philo is the most important representative of a larger movement of thought which is no longer accessible to us.[2] But it must be admitted that this proposal is not without its difficulties.[3]

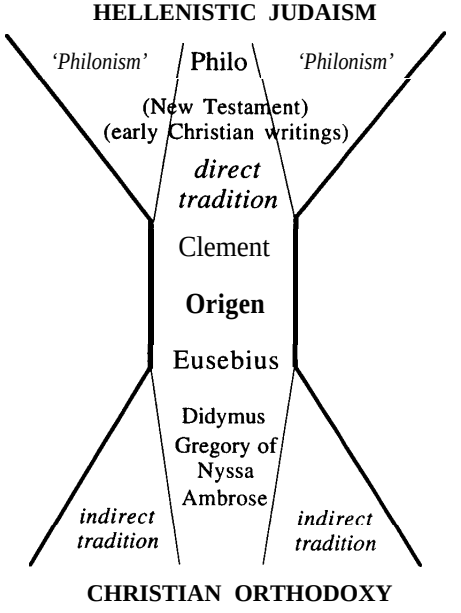
[2] In my Inaugural lecture held at the University of Utrecht in 1992; see Runia (1992c) 15–17.

[3] There are two main difficulties. Firstly it is quite possible that Philonism might *antedate* Philo himself, since Philo is generally regarded as a kind of climax and repository of Alexandrian Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism in general. This runs counter to the way 'isms' based on names are usually used. Secondly the term somewhat prejudges the issue of how central Philo's kind of thought was in both Alexandrian Judaism and Hellenistic Judaism in general. It can be argued, however, that Philo's open attitude to influences of thought from Greeek culture and philosophy is typical for important segments of Hellenistic Judaism, even if he himself went further in this openness than most others.



A second development that must be taken into consideration is that after Origen and Eusebius the reception of Philo splits up into a direct and an indirect tradition. In the area of exegesis and theological thought the impact of Origen was so strong that after him many Philonic themes and insights are taken over by later authors at second hand. In many cases—e.g. Calcidius, Basil, Nemesius, Augustine-it has proved very difficult to determine whether patent examples of Philonic influence have occurred directly through reading of his works or indirectly via the already existent Christian tradition. In the area of history and apologetics the same situation occurs through the great authority of Eusebius.

The complex situation which I have just attempted to describe can be perhaps be clarified by means of the following diagram. The entire tradition is represented-not very elegantly, I hasten to admit-by a kind of double funnel with a broader and a narrower opening at each end:[4]




[4] This diagram is designed for the specific purpose of illustrating the tradition of Philonic reception. I do not wish to imply that Christianity or Christian orthodoxy are exclusively or even primarily derived from Hellenistic Judaism (the thesis of Goodenough).

The diagram indicates the three traditions outlined above. Central is the direct tradition of Philonic reception, mediated above all through the Alexandrian school and its line of succession. It commences narrowly with the library of Philo and tapers off after the 4th century as the direct study of Philo's writings lessens. Before the Clementine watershed there is a broader tradition which I have labelled 'Philonism', and which is probably represented in the writings of Barnabas, Justin and Theophilus (if they did not read Philo directly). After Origen and Eusebius the indirect tradition commences, gaining in importance after the middle of the 4th century.

One final question remains, but it is the most difficult of all to answer. How *significant* was the reception of Philo's thought for the development of Christianity? Or, to phrase the problem a little more pointedly, would Christianity have been any different if Philo had meant no more to the Fathers than a vague name from the distant past? Such questions patently exceed the boundaries of our study, for they presuppose a wider treatment of the origins of Christianity than it has been able to give. But perhaps a few words can be said without too much risk. I would argue that Philonism never penetrated to the core of Christianity, which is focused on the Cross and the conviction of the continuing presence of the risen Lord. But it did impinge significantly on Christian biblical exposition and theological doctrine. Through the study and emulation of Philo's example early Christians were able to locate certain fundamental philosophical principles within the words of scripture itself. And so the foundation was laid for the edifice of Christian dogma, in which features of both Judaism and Hellenism have their place. The final result we reach, therefore, is somewhat paradoxical. Philo made a contribution to the evolution of Christian doctrine which helped to turn Christianity into a religion very different from the way his own Judaism developed. It was not a coincidence that Philo found his future in the Christian church.

## *2. Pointers to further research*

Part of the task of this study has been to examine and inventorize the scholarship that has been carried out on its subject. For this reason it is entitled 'a survey'. Some concluding remarks on this body of scholarship and pointers to future research would now seem called for.

The subject that we have covered in this study has been wide, involving the history of Christianity during its first four centuries, about 30 individual Church fathers, as well as a number of other documents whose authorship is not clear. The amount of scholarship that has been done in this area is certainly not negligible, as witnessed by the extent of our bibliography, but it is rather patchy in coverage and quality. The pioneering work of Siegfried and Heinisch has not been followed up. In only two cases have we encountered monographs which give a thorough and methodologically self-conscious treatment of the reception of Philo in a particular author, namely the study of Van den Hoek on Clement and of Savon on Ambrose. But even in the case of these studies the entire scope of their subject was not covered. The chief reason for this patchy coverage, I would argue, is not scholarly indolence, but the difficulty of the subject. Most of the usage of Philonic material in the Patres is not advertised by the mention of his name, but lies concealed until uncovered by the attentive reader. Further practical difficulties are caused by the presence of the three separate 'streams of transmission' that we explained in the previous section, and also by the fact that the writings of important authors have been incompletely preserved (most notably Origen). In short there remains much to be done, and as author of this present study I certainly hope that my survey will be instrumental in stimulating further work in the right directions.



On the basis of our survey the following suggestions for the pursuance of future research can be made. In many cases the task will not be a matter of breaking completely new ground, but rather of studying more intensively areas that have so far been given only superficial treatment.

(1) The account given in the present study could be continued throughout the Byzantine and Medieval periods.

(2) A fuller account should be given of the transmission of Philo's writings. Attention must be given not only to the fate of the direct Greek manuscript tradition, but also to what happened to Philo's writings in the Latin and Armenian tradition, as well as in the *Catenae* and *Florilegia*. Moreover further investigation of Syriac and Arabic literature may yield interesting results (the latter falls, of course, outside the Christian tradition, but may well be dependent on it).

(3) Detailed studies of the transmission of the Philonic treatises may shed light on the extent to which the Christian reception of Philo has had influence on the constitution of the actual text. A certain amount of 'tampering' may be suspected.

(4) It should also be possible to pursue the fate of some individual treatises in the corpus, such as De *vita Moysis* and De *opificio mundi*.

*(5)* The crucial question of the extent to which Christian writers before Clement were acquainted with Philo should, if possible, be resolved.

(6) Further identification needs to be made of Philonic material in the various writings of the Patres. This is a most difficult task, since the usage is mostly anonymous. Even the assistance that can be rendered by computer searches is limited, because one has to have some idea of what to look for.

(7) Further studies can be made of the presence and reception of Philo in individual authors. Priority should be given to the following: Origen (the most urgent case), Eusebius, Didymus, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius, Augustine.

(8) Individual exegetical and philosophical themes derived from Philo can be traced throughout the tradition. Such studies can concentrate on particular Pentateuchal texts, biblical figures (whether allegorized or not), theological and philosophical subjects (e.g. the Logos, the doctrine of creation, the doctrine of man etc.). A shining example of such a study is still always the monograph of Hans Lewy on the motif of ***sobria ebrietus,*** written more than ***60 years*** ago.

***(9)*** A special study can be made of the extent to which Philo's etymologies were taken over in Patristic exegesis. The same can also be done for the use of arithmological symbolism.

(10) In the following areas, which have been unsystematically covered in the present study, more detailed studies should prove fruitful:

(i) the appropriation and development of Philonic exegetical techniques, especially in the area of allegorization;

(ii) the influence of Philo on the development of theology;

(iii) Philo's association with heretical thought;

(iv) the exploitation of historical material derived from Philo's writings.

In all cases it is essential that the research be carried out in full awareness of the methodological problems involved. It is of little use to amass piles of parallels or make daringly speculative connection supported by a thin thread of evidence. In this area the studies of Van den Hoek, Savon, Solignac and Martin, as well as-1 hope-the present work, can be of assistance to the prospective researcher.

## 3. Philo Iudaeus inter Christianos

We began this study with the legend of ***Philo Christianus.*** We saw how Philo was adopted as an honorary Church father ***avant la Zettre.*** Some accounts even record his conversion. In various later Christian sources Philo is simply regarded as a bishop. This legend seemed symbolic of the way he was accepted into the Christian tradition, and so set our study off to a good start. But it should not blind us to the fact that most of the Church fathers whom we have studied were very well aware that Philo was a Jew, and certainly bore this fact in mind when reading and using his works. Throughout our study we have noted those texts where we gain glimpses of the attitude the Fathers adopted to Philo's Jewishness. It is thus appropriate that we bring our study to its end by reaching some conclusions on this theme. From the outset Christianity engaged in continuous and not seldom acrimonious rivalry with its 'mother-religion'. Is it not remarkable and quite unexpected that Philo the Alexandrian Jew should have been accepted within Christianity to the extent that we have observed in the present study?

Before we attempt to summarize our results in relation to this question a preliminary observation needs to be made. Whenever Philo's Jewishness is focused upon by the Fathers, a variety of perspectives is possible. From the ***historical*** point of view Philo was a Jew who lived at about the time of Christ, when the Church was about to break away from the Temple and the Synagogue. From a ***doctrinal*** point of view he represents a thought that is foreign to the Gospel and-as emerges later on-falls short of the full truth revealed in Christian dogma. At the same time, however, another factor may be of considerable significance. The Fathers are very often engaged in dialogue and dispute with the Jews of their own time, It is quite well possible that this fact will influence their attitude towards Philo, or at least the kind of use that they make of his writings and thought. For this reason throughout the study we have taken into consideration the relations that existed between individual Church fathers and the Judaism of their time. Such relations, we have seen, reveal a good deal of variation both in time and place, according to the diverse localities where the Fathers lived and worked during the long period of more than three centuries that we have traversed.

In retrospect it is highly significant that the main part of our story commences in Alexandria. Because the sources for events in the city during the first two centuries of our era are so meagre, it is difficult to evaluate the continuities between Alexandrian Judaism and the emerging Church of Alexandria. For example it is far from clear to what extent the Catechetical school builds on and continues earlier Jewish institutions in the city. But it can be stated with a fair degree of probability that the disastrous events of 115-117 left the Jewish community in Alexandria so weakened that Judaism here was less of a force to be reckoned with than in many places elsewhere. Clement's writings reveal a rather 'bookish' knowledge of Judaism and very little traces of interaction with the Jewish community. Origen recognizes that the Church and the Synagogue are in competition—more clearly in Caesarea than in Alexandria-, but his relations with Jews are relatively cordial, and he is prepared to learn from them. Both Clement and Origen emphasize the continuity between the Jewish and the Christian interpretation of the scriptures. In their perspective the Church needs the background of the Mosaic tradition, not only for apologetic purposes, but also for the struggle against heresy. Philo, more than any other author, defends and expounds the Mosaic tradition. The Alexandrians are pleased to have him as an honoured exegetical predecessor. His Jewishness represents a valuable continuity with the Church's origins. The positive attitude towards Philo in the Christian tradition is largely, I submit, the contribution of the two great Alexandrian theologians. When it is recurs in later Fathers such as Didymus, Gregory, and-much later-John of Damascus, they are doing no more than continue a solidly established practice.

Eusebius is linked to the Alexandrians via Pamphilus and his episcopacy of Caesarea. But the times have changed. Once the last persecutions

are over, Christianity enters into a triumphalist stage. It no longer represents a minority group that needs to defend itself in order to survive. Rather it wishes to drive its advantage home. Relations with Jews deteriorate because the Christians find it hard to tolerate that they continue to repudiate the faith. For Eusebius Philo is very much a Jew in his role as historian. But when it comes to the defence of the faith against paganism, his role is more complex. He furnishes material on biblical theology, but also demonstrates a real affinity between biblical and Platonist thought which can exploited as a preparation for the Gospel. It is fair to say that for Eusebius Philo is as much an incipient Christian thinker as a Jew. For this reason his evidence is used mainly against pagan opponents rather than against contemporary Jewish opponents.

During the final period of our study the positive attitude towards Philo in the areas of exegesis and theology is continued. It is highly important to observe that insulting or condemnatory remarks are never openly voiced.[5] But it does occur much more often that a note of reservation is perceptible. This new development has two chief causes. Firstly, we are entering into a period of much greater controversy and contentiousness, primarily in the area of doctrine, but also in the field of biblical exposition. In earlier times it could be suggested that Philo's theology was not so far removed from sound trinitarian doctrine. But it is impossible to reconcile his Judaism with orthodoxy. In Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa and Ambrose we find implicit and explicit association of Philo's Judaism with heretical doctrine. On the hermeneutical front there is a strong clash between proponents of the allegorical and literal-historical methods of biblical interpretation. Theodore of Mopsuestia attacks Origen's allegorism by arguing that he had Philo the Jew as teacher. His emphasis on Philo's Jewishness seems only obliquely related to the charge of allegorism, because by the 4th century Judaism had entirely repudiated this method. Most likely it has more to do with the second cause of reservation towards Philo's Jewishness, namely the strong deteriorization in Jewish-Christian relations during this period, not least in Antioch, where both Theodore and his friend John Chrystostom received their training in theology and biblical studies.

The more complex 4th century attitude to Philo's Jewishness is best illustrated by his presence in the Letters of the desert Father Isidore of Pelusium. Perceiving (wrongly, it would seem) an attack on Philo in the ***Hexaemeron*** of Basil, Isidore strongly defends Philo's performance. Admittedly it cannot be claimed that Philo achieved an unblemished orthodoxy. But Philo responded to the pressure exerted on him by the Truth. Zealous Jew though he was, he recognized the presence of the Logos in the Old

[5] In the period subseqent to that covered by our study this situation changes. See the hostile remarks of Athanasius Sinaita and the negative verdict of Photius noted above in § 10.6 and § 12.6 respectively.



Testament. Philo can also be cited as an example against those Jews who refuse to accept allegorical interpretation of scripture. Philo's Jewishness is thus most interestingly exploited as a weapon in the struggle against Judaism in Isidore's own milieu.

In two Western authors we read criticisms of Philo as Jew which take a different approach. Ambrose is no lover of Judaism, but that does not prevent him from shamelessly exploiting Philo's works to an unparalleled degree. On the single occasion that he names Philo, however, he objects to his 'Jewish sensibility'. Though Philo gives an allegorical interpretation, he remains in the area of ***moralia***, and is unable to pass to the higher realm of the ***spiritalia***, the 'mystical' explanation that Christian interpretation can furnish. Similarly the single passage in which Augustine refers to Philo draws attention to the limitations of Philo's exegesis. His allegorical exposition of the ark of Noah is successful at first, but at a crucial moment it falters because Philo as a Jew does not recognize the interposition of the incarnated Christ. The side door of the ark symbolizes the sacraments of the Church, which flow from the side of Christ on the Cross. Augustine is not hostile. He respects what Philo has achieved and what he has to offer. Quite correctly, however, he recognizes that the Christianization of Philo has its limits. From the perspective of the central tenets of the Christian faith Philo the Jew remains an outsider. Any attempt to incorporate him further requires acceptance of the legend of Philo's conversion. It is better that Philo remain what he was all along, a devout and learned Jew.

It has been said many times that the two titles of Philo Judaeus and Philo Alexandrinus suitably portray Philo's deep loyalty to Jewish tradition and his no less profound commitment to aspects of Hellenistic thought and culture. In this study we have pursued a theme that is covered by a third title, Philo Christianus. In a sense this title is draped less comfortably on his shoulders, for he himself would not have understood what it meant. But on the basis of our study we may conclude that it too is not without a certain suitability. It informs us not about himself, but about the way he was received. Philo's adoption by the Church fathers was an important event. It ensured the survival of his works, and did not leave Christianity untouched in the process.

APPENDIX

# References to Philo in Christian Literature

In the section on tools of research at §3.3 and elsewhere we have referred to the extremely valuable collection of ancient testimonia on Philo and his writings which Cohn placed at the end of his magisterial introduction to the critical edition of Philo's writings prepared in collaboration with his friend Wendland.[1] Cohn does not tell us what his criteria for selection were. Presumably he wished to indicate the references to Philo in the ancient sources which were relevant to his edition. The *testimonia* extend from Josephus to the late Byzantine author Theodorus the Metochite. It is apparent that he did not aim at completeness, and many interesting references are not found in his list. It seemed worthwhile, therefore, to try to compile a more complete list based on the results of our research. In the following list every explicit reference to Philo in Patristic sources that has come to my attention has been listed.[2] Cut-off point is the Byzantine lexicon, the *Soudu,* dated to about 1000 AD. The references are, if possible, to the modern critical text of the authors concerned (full details on these can be be found in the Clavis Patrum Graecorum).[3] A very brief summary is given of the contents of the reference. Often more extensive descriptions of these texts can be found in the main text of our survey. I have also tried to include those anonymous references in which it is clear that the reference is indeed to Philo; these are indicated by a dagger (†). Texts not found in the list in Cohn-Wendland are marked with an asterisk (*). For abbreviations used we refer the reader to the List at the beginning of the volume.

[1] Cohn-Wendland (1896-1915) I.lxxxxv–cxiii. As far as I can tell this list was the work of Cohn, but since it is part of the joint edition, I refer in the text of my study always to C-W.

[2] In addition to C-W, I would like to acknowledge the help received from Siegfried (1875) and Conybeare (1895), esp. at 329-330, as well as the information furnished to me by colleages as noted in the notes to the main text. I am particularly indebted to L. van Rompay for the references to Syriac sources.

[3] See also Berkowitz-Squitier (1986), and valuable listings in the *Biblia Patristica.*



CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150-c. 215)

*Stromateis* 1.3 1.1, 20.5 Stählin: etymologies of Hagar and Sarah

*Str.* 1.72.4, 46.17: Philo the Pythagorean gives many proofs that Jewish philosophy is more ancient than Greek philosophy

*Str.* 1.152.2, 95.16: on the education of Moses as reported in the *De vita Moysis*

*Str.* 2.100.3, 168.2: on great natures hitting on the truth

CANON MURATORIANUS (c. 160-200)

fol. 2a.7–9, = lines 69–)71: Wisdom of Solomon written by Philo (if Tregelles' emendation is accepted)

ORIGEN (c. 185-254)

*Contra Celsum* 4.5 1, 3 14.29 Borret SC: Origen's opponent Celsus must be referring to the allegories of Philo and Aristobulus

**C. Celsum* 5.55, 152.18: allegorical exegesis of daughters of men (Gen. 6:2) in terms of souls desirous of bodies†

C. *Celsum* 6.21, 232.14: Philo composed a book about Jacob's ladder (i.e. *Somn.)*

**C. Celsum* 7.20, 60.5: the Law as two-fold, literal and figurative?

**Selecta in Genesim 27,* PG 12.97C: the six days in creation account for the sake of order (cf. *Opif.* 13, 26–28)†

**Sel. in Genesim 44,* PG 12.129: on Pharaoh the φαῦλος who, attached to *genesis,* celebrates his birthday (cf. *Ebr.* 208)† (perhaps paraphrase of *Comm. in Mutt. 10.22)*

**Homiliae in Exodum 2.2,* 74.3ff. Borret SC: on the Jewish midwives, exegesis Ex. 1:17 (cf. *Her.* 128)†

**Hom. in Leviticum 8.6,* 34.9ff. Borret SC: on the colour of the leper, exegesis Lev. 13:14-15 (cf. *Deus* 125)†

**Hom. in Numeros 9.5, 61.8* Baehrens: ethical interpretation of the alive and the dead, exegesis Num. 17:13 (cf. *Her.* 201)†

**Hom. in Josuu 16.1, 358.1* Jaubert SC: presbyters in scripture determined not by length of years (cf. *Sobr.* 17)†

**Hom in Jeremium 14.5, 74.26* Nautin SC: the wise man complains to Sophia, exegesis Jer. 15:10 (cf. *Conf.* 49)†

**Commentarius in Mutt. 10.22, 10.30.5* Klostermann-Benz: on Pharaoh the φαῦλος who, attached to *genesis,* celebrates his birthday (cf. *Ebr.* 208)†

*Comm. in Mutt.* 15:3, *10.354.32* : according to Philo it is better to be a eunuch than to rage after sexual intercourse (citation of *Det.* 176)

*Comm. in Matt. 17.17, 10.635.16:* on the principles of anthropomorphic language concerning God†

*Comm. in Matt.* frag. *ad* 25:3 *l-34,* 11.163.16: on the exegesis of Gcn. 1:2 (cf. *Opif.* 32ff.)†

*Comm. in Joh. 6.42.2 17,* 15 1.16 Preuschen: on the descent of souls into bodies, exegesis Gen. 6:2†

PSEUDO-JUSTIN *Cohortutio ad Gentiles* (between 220 and 300)
$9.2, 34.21 Marcovich: the 'most wise historians' Philo and Josephus on Moses as ancient ruler of the Jews
$10.1, 36.8: Philo and Josephus on the life of Moses
§13.4, 41.29: translation of the LXX is no myth, the author has seen the translators' cells himself and is corroborated by Philo and Josephus

ANATOLIUS of Alexandria, bishop of Laodicaea (died c. 280)
cited at Eusebius *HE 7.32.16:* evidence of Philo on the date of Easter

PETER, bishop of Alexandria *(sedit* 300-3 11) and his opponent, the Montanist TRICENTIUS
*cited at *Chronicon Paschale* PG 92.73B-C, 76B: appeal to ancient Hebrew sages on the Paschal question-t

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea (c.260-339)[4]
**Chronicon ad OZ. 203,213* Karst: Philo of Alexandria, a learned man, was well-known
**Chr. ad OZ. 203, 213* Karst, 176.15-18 Helm: Sejanus attempts to destroy the Jewish people, as recorded in Philo's *Legut.*
*Chr. ad OZ. 204, 214* Karst, 177.18 – 178.3 Helm: Flaccus descrates the Jewish synagagues at Alexandria, impelling Philo to undertake the embassy
**Chr. ad OZ. 204,214* Karst 178.17-20 Helm: statues of Gaius placed in synagagues, as Philo and Josephus report
*Historiu Ecclesiastica* preface to book 2 Schwartz: this book put together from writings of Clement, Tertullian, Josephus, Philo
*HE 2.4.2-6.4* : Philo introduced and then used as a source for events during the reign of Caligula
*HE 2.16.2-18.8:* Philo as a source for the first Christians in Egypt, as witness in his De *vita contemplativa*; inventory of Philo's writings
**HE 6.13.7:* Clement refers to Philo in his *Stromuteis*
*HE 7.32.16:* extract from Canons of Anatolius on the date of Easter, referring to the evidence of Philo and other Jewish authors (see above)
**Praeparatio Evangelica 7.12.14-13.7* Mras: texts from Philo quoted to prove biblical basis for the 'theology of the second cause'
**PE 7.17.4-18.3:* again Philonic text used to interpret biblical doctrine, this time on the nature of man
**PE 7.20.9-2* 1.5: Philo quoted on the subject that matter is not uncreated (ἀγένητος)

[4] I have **not included the references to** Philo **in the summaries preceding the books of *HE* and** *PE*, **except** the **significant remark at the end of** the **summary of *HE* book 2.**



**PE 8.5.1 l-8.2* 1: quotes from Philo's *Hypothetica* on the flight from Egypt and the Mosaic constitution
**PE 8.10.19-12.20:* quote from same work and *Prob.* on the Jewish ascetic way of life exemplified by the Essenes
***PE** *8.12.21-14.72:* extracts from ***Opif.*** on creation and *Prov.* 2 on providence to illustrate Jewish theology
***PE** 11.14.10-15.7: repetition of Philonic material on the second cause
***PE** 11.23.12-24.12: quotes from ***Opif.*** on the Mosaic (and Platonic) theory of ideas
***PE** *13.18.12-16:* quotes from ***Spec.*** 1 on the Mosaic injunction not to worship the heavenly bodies
***Demonstratio evangelica** *8.2.123, 390.5* Heikel: Philo's evidence on Pilate and the episode of the Golden shields *(Legut. 299)*

EUSEBIUS of Emesa (c. 300-359)
Frag. in *Cutenu in Genesim ad* Gen. 2:6, no. 194 Petit: citation of fragment from QG 1.3 on how 'spring' can be understood collectively

DIDYMUS THE BLIND (313-398)
***Commentarius in Genesin** 118.24, 119.2, 19 Nautin SC: exegesis Gen. 4: 1-2, allegorization of Cain and Abel
**Comm. in Gen. 139.12:* exegesis Gen. 4: 18, Philo is invoked as useful source of information for etymologies (cf. *Post. 66-75)*
**Comm. in Gen. 147.17:* exegesis Gen. 5:3-5, Philo again useful source if one wants a μυστικὸς λόγος for names and numbers
**Comm. in Gen. 235.28, 236.8:* exegesis Gen. 16, Philo gives different allegorical interpretation than Paul for Sarah and Hagar
**Comm. in Eccl. 276.19-22* Gronewald: exegesis of Eccl. 9:9a recalls Philo's interpretation of Hagar in Gen. 16
**Comm. in Eccl. 300.15* Gronewald: exeg. Eccl. 10:7–8, citing Philo's life of Moses on philosophers as kings (cf. ***Mos.*** 2.2)
**Comm. in Eccl. 356.10-14* Binder-Liesenborghs: exeg. Eccl. 12:5 on the special nature of the almond tree (cf. Mos. 2.186)†
**Comm. in Zach. 320.6-9* Doutreleau: sword in Zach. 11: 17 recalls oracle to Abraham in Gen. 12: 1, which is given an allegorical interpretation?

EPIPHANIUS (c. 3 15403)
*Panarion (Adv. Huer.)* 1.29.5.1-3 Holl: One may learn more about the Iessaioi from Philo's historical writings

BASIL OF CAESAREA (c.330–379)
***Ep.*** 3.190, 74.25 Deferrari LCL: Philonic interprets manna as if drawing on a Jewish tradition

GREGORY OF NYSSA **(c. 338-c.** 395)

*Contra **Eunomium*** cap. 9.1, 1.16.20 Jaeger[5]: Eunomius' doctrine of God draws on Philo

***Contra Eunomium 3.5.24, 2.168.17:*** Eunomius glues together a rag-bag of statements, for which Philo supplies some material

***Contra Eunomium 3.7.8-9, 2.217.19-218-3:*** further explanation of Eunomius' theft from Philo

*De ***vita** Mosis **2.113,*** 67.22 Musurillo: a literal justification of the ***spoliatio Egyptiorum*** is rejected?

*De ***vita Mosis 2.191 98.15*** Musurillo: some predecessors have regarded blue of high priest's tunic as symbolizing the air†

***De infuntibus praemature ubreptis 77.23-78.23*** Horner: man created so that the earth would not be bereft of intelligence?

CALCIDIUS (*floruit **350*** ?)

*Commentarius ***Timaei 278, 282.8*** Waszink: Philo interprets the heaven and earth in Gen. 1: 1 in terms of ideas and compares the creation of archetypal man before corporeal man

AMBROSE (339–397)[6]

***De Purudiso*** 2.11, 28 1.19-282.5 Schenkl: exegesis of Adam and Even in terms of νοῦς and αἴσθησις†

***De Puradiso 4.25, 281.19-282.5:*** exegesis Gen. ***2: 15,*** man's double task in Paradise; Philo as a Jew only gives a moral interpretation

***De Cain et Abel 8.32, 367.2*** Schenkl: the Word is not God's product ***(opus)*** (cf. Philo), but is himself producing (*operans*)†

***De Noe 13.43-44, 441.8-21*** Schenkl: exegesis Gen. 7.4, rain for forty days and nights refers allegorically to man and woman†

***De Noe*** 14.47, 445.9-16: exegesis Gen. 7:15, the double divine name†

***De Noe*** 15.52, 449.26: our predecessors on the 15 cubits of Gen. 7:20†

***De Noe*** 17.63, 459.1-6: exegesis Gen. 8:15, water as the force of the passions†

***De Noe*** 26.99, 482.17: on the exegesis of the repetition of 'God' in Gen. 9:6†

***De** Abrahamo **2.11.83:*** a question raised by the seeminly excessive death sentence in Gen. 17:14†

*De fuga saeculi **4.20, 180.12*** Schenkl: the etymology of Bethuel†

RUFINUS **(c.** 345– **c. 410)**

***Historiu Ecclesiastica 2.4-6,*** 2.16– ***18*** Mommsen: Latin translation of Eusebius' work (see above)

[5] The summary was probably added by a later hand; cf. Jaeger (1960) and above § 12.3, n. 49

[6] The list of anonymous references in Ambrose is necessarily incomplete.



**JEROME (3471120)**

*Adversus ***Zoviniunum 2.14,*** PL 23.303B-C: Philo has written a book on the Essenes

***Chronicle,*** translation of Eusebius: see above under Eusebius

***Commentarius in Amos 2.9*** CCL 76.238.314: etymology of Esau as meaning 'oak'

*Commentarius ***in Amos 3.6,*** CCL 76.305.182: on the seven ages of life (cf. *Opif.* 103ff.)

***Commentarius in** Danielem* 1.1.4a, CCL 75A.779.60: Philo thinks the language of Hebrews was Chaldean

*Commentarius ***in** Hiezechielem* 4.10b, CCL 75.171.1160: Philo on the hyacinth of the high-priestly robes (cf. also 8.7, 75.362.850)

***De viris** illustribus* 11, ***96.5*** Ceresa-Gastaldo: brief biographical notice, together with list of writings (Philo also briefly mentioned in *§8.4 on the apostle Mark, *§13.2 on Apion)

*Dialogus adversus ***Pelagianos 3.6,*** CCL ***80.6.62: on*** the seven ages of life

*Ep. ***22.35.8,*** CSEL 54.1.200.7: Philo reports on sober meals of the Essenes at Pentecost

*Ep. ***29.7.1,*** CSEL 54.1.241.17: Philo as interpreter of high priestly vestments

*Ep. ***70.3.3,*** CSEL 54.1.704.12: Philo, whom critics call the Jewish Plato, cited in discussion of sound usage of pagan learning

***Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum, praefatio,*** CCL ***72.1, 59.*** 1–***60.3*** Philo according to Origen author of a book of Hebrew etymologies (incompletely cited in C-W)

***Prefatio in** librum **lob*** PL 28.1082A: Philo as one of the witnesses to fact that Hebrews composed poetry (cf. *Contempl.* ***80)***

*Praefatio ***in** libros Salomonis*, PL 28.1308A: some consider Philo to be the author of the Sapientia Salomonis

*Hebraicae ***Quaestiones in Genesim*** 17:15, CCL 72.21: Sarah's name-change by doubling the R is erroneous†[7]

**THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA (c. *350-428)***

***Treatise against the** Allegorists,* ***CSCO.SS 190,*** p. 14.27-16.5 Van Rompay: Origen goes astray in learning the allegorical method from the Jew Philo

**AUGUSTINE *(354-430)***

***Contru** Faustum* ***12.39,*** CSEL 25.369, PL 42.274: Philo goes astray in his allegorical exegesis of Noah's ark because he does not take Christ into account

[7] Other anonymous criticisms of Philonic etymologies at Siegfried (1875) 396.

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM (c. 370 – c. 435)
*Epistulae* 2.143, PG 78.585-589: unlike other Jews Philo was moved by the Truth to gain some idea of the orthodox doctrine of God as one substance and three hypostases
*Ep.* 2.270, PG 78.700C: Philo one of the sages who use μήποτε in the sense of ἴσως or ἔσθ' ὅτε
*Ep.* 3.19, PG 78.746: the Jewish affirmation that the lawgiver only spoke literally is refuted by Philo who converts nearly the entire Old Testament into allegory
*Ep.* 3.81, PG 78.788: quotation from Philo proves that there are beneficent passions

OROSIUS (c. 378 – after 418)
*Historiae adversus paganos 7.5.6-7, 445.12* Zangemeister: Philo's embassy before Caligula fails

MARUTA OF MAIPHERKAT (flor. c. 410)
*Canons* III, CSCO.SS 192 p. 9 Vööbus: order of monks had different name in Old Covenant, as testified in Letters prepared by Philo for James, brother of the Lord

PSEUDO-PROCHORUS (flor. 400-450)
*Acta Johunnis* 110.6-l 12.11 Zahn: Philo has a altercation with the Apostle John, but is converted after John heals his wife from leprosy

JULIAN OF ECLANUM (386-c. 454)
*at Augustine *Contra secundam Juliuni responsionem opus imperfectum 4.123,* PG 45.1420: unless one should think that the Hebrews Sirach or Philo, who are thought to be authors of the Wisdom of Solomon, are Manichees

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (c. 393-e. 466)
*Quuestiones in Exodum 24* PG 80.253A: Philo interprets Pascha as crossings (διαβατήρια)

SALAMINIUS HERMIAS SOZOMEN (c. 400-c. 460)
*Ecclesiastical History* 1.12.9 PG 67.893A: Philo describes the beginning of the monastic movement

PROCOPIUS OF GAZA (c. 465-c. 529)
Extensive, always anonymously presented exegetical extracts from *QG* and *QE* in *Commentary on the Octateuch,* PG 87†

CASSIODORUS (487– c. 580)
**Institutiones divinarum fitterarum* PL 70. 1117A: Jerome right in attributing the Wisdom of Solomon to Philo

JOHANNES LYDUS (490 – c. 565)
**De mensibus 4.47* 103.14–104.1 Wuensch: Philo in his *Life of Moses*



writes of his Chaldean origin and the fact that his books were written in Hebrew

ANONYMOUS ARMENIAN TRANSLATOR OF PHILO'S WRITINGS (c. *550)*
**Praefatio in libris Philonis De providentiu,* p. vii-xi Aucher: lengthy notice on Philo's life and description of translated works

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (c. 570 – 636)
**Etymologiae 6.2.30:* Philo and the Wisdom of Solomon

BARḤADBŠABBA 'ARBAYA, bishop of Ḥalwan (c. 600)
*Cause of the Foundation of the Schools, 375.6-376.4* Scher: Philo the Jew was Director of the School of biblical exegesis in Alexandria

ANASTASIUS SINAÏTA (c. 610– c. 700)
*Duue Viue 13.10.1-96, CCG 8.251* Uthemann: cites Ammonius of Alexandria who cites a dialogue between Philo and Mnason, in which Philo attacks the divinity of Christ

CHRONICON PASCHALE (c. 650)
*PG 92.69A: quotes Mos. 2.222-224 on the vernal equinox and the Passover feast.

ANANIAS SHIRAKATZI (c. 650)
*Armenian Easter treatise, containing extensive reference to Philo's interpretation of Ex. 12:2, p. 126-127 Strobel[8]

PS. SOPHRONIUS (c. 700?)
Greek translation of Jerome, *De viris illustribus $8,* 11, 13 (ed. Gebhardt, cf. CPG 3653)

JOHN OF DAMASCUS (c. 675-c. 750)
*Prol. in Sacra Parallela,* PG 95.1040B, 1044B: Philo (and Josephus) are cited, even though they are Jews, because they can make a valuable contribution

BEDA VENERABILIS (c. 673-735)
*In Marci evangelium pruefutio,* CCL 120.431: citation from Jerome on the beginnings of the church of Alexandria

ANONYMOUS COMPILER of Nestorian exegesis (date unknown)
*Exegesis Psalmorum 29.1* Vandenhoff: Philo as 'spiritual philosopher' in a long list of exegetes

IŠO'DAD DE MERV (c. *850)*
*Commentury on Exodus 23: 19, 56.5* van den Eynde: Philo is cited on the injunction not to boil a lamb in its mother's milk (cf. *Virt. 143-144)*

[8] **See above §11.5; further references to Philo in the Armenian tradition are not recorded in our list.**

***Commentary on Numbers 7:*** 11, ***120.28*** van den Eynde: on the phases on the moon and the ten sacrifices (cf. *Spec.* 1.177-1789)

**PHOTIUS,** bishop of Constantinople (c. 820-891)

***Bibliotheca 103-105, 2.71-72*** Henry: record of Philonic works read, with critical comments added, to which a biographical notice is appended

**ANASTASIUS INCERTUS** (9th century)

*In* ***hexaemeron 7,*** PG 89.961: Philo among those Church fathers who allegorized paradise in terms of the church

**SOUDA (c. 1000)**[10]

1.10.14 Adler: s.v. Ἀβραάμ, Philo's book on the life of the πολιτικός will testify to Joseph

1.18.32: on the term ἀγαλματοφορούμενος

1.472.3: on the term βίος (reference mistaken, actually Eusebius, ***Suppl. min. ad quaest. ad Marinum*** PG 22.1008)

2.146.9: s.v. δύναμις, two powers enter into ever soul

2.655.3: in biography of Josephus it is mentioned that Apion accused Philo

2.698.27: s.v. θεός, an extract from Isidore of Pelusium on Philo's doctrine of God

4.737-8: s. v. Φίλων, biographical notice. with list of writings

[9] As suggested by the editor in a note.

[10] Adler's index is certainly not complete; the reference at **2.698 and perhaps others are** missing (cannot yet be checked on the TLG database).

# Bibliography

The bibliography contains all the secondary literature referred to in this study. Because the study is partly presented as a survey of the research done on its subject, it seemed a good idea to combine the bibliography with an index indicating where each contribution is cited in the book. At the end of each item the page and footnote number of all references are given (footnote numbers are placed after a colon). Inclusive references to footnotes, e.g. 222:51-8, indicate that the item in question is cited within these notes, but not necessarily in every note. Abbreviations in the references have been kept to a minimum. Those used are explained in the list given above at p. xvi.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# Indices

## 1. *Index of biblical passages*

## NEW TESTAMENT

## 2. Index of Philonic passages

*Quis heres*



*De congressu*



*De fuga*



*De* mutatione nominum



*De* somniis



*De Abrahamo*



*De Iosepho*



*De* vita Moysis







*De Decalogo*



*De specialibus legibus*



*De virtutibus*



*De praemiis et poenis*



*Quod probus*



*De vita contemplativa*



*De aeternitate mundi*



*Legatio ad Caium*



*De Providentia*



*De animalihus*

## 3. *General Index of names, places and themes*

This index includes ancient names and places and general themes. For names of modern authors see mainly the index incorporated in the bibliography. Modern names are only included in this index when they are the main object of discussion in a particular passage. The Appendix has been indexed for names and passages only, not for themes.

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