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**Late Antique Philosophical Traditions in Origen's and Basil of Caesarea's
"Homilies on the Psalms"**

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Introduction

The problem of the investigation

The thesis deals with the influence of the late antique philosophy on two collections of interpretations of the Psalter: Origen's "Homilies on the Psalms"¹ and Basil of Caesarea's "Homilies on the Psalms."² In the course of the research, we investigated, how, within the late antique intellectual context, early Christian homilies of the 3rd–4th centuries, while remaining a Christian genre, assimilated a set of rhetorical devices, hermeneutical principles and concepts of ancient philosophy. In this regard, the thesis fits into that strand of research of Origen's legacy, which explores the methodological aspects of his interpretation of Scripture.³ As Alfons Fürst states, Origen's place "in the history of world literature is due to the invention of the biblical commentary written according to the academic standards of his time which became a permanent literary form for Christian writers."⁴ In Origen's time, philosophical questioning and exegesis interacted closely, since late antique philosophy developed primarily in the form of exegesis of authoritative philosophical texts. Pierre Hadot rightly noted that it was not a coincidence that Christian teaching, built on the exegesis of Scripture, began to develop

¹ Hereinafter referred as "homilies."

² We should take into account, however, that these collections of texts represent only the sermons that came down to us, of which there probably should have been more. For example, the content of Basil's "Homily on Ps. 1," where the author pays much attention to the composition and features of the entire Psalter (Basilus Caesariensis. *Homilia in Psalmum I*, 1–2, PG 29. Coll. 209, 47A–213, 38C), suggests that Basil had the intention to interpret more psalms. Bernardi believes that Basil could have chosen from a larger number of exegetical sermons on the psalms the fourteen homilies that came down to us. In turn, Jerome, in one of his letters, mentions one hundred and twenty homilies of Origen on the psalms, while only twenty-nine have been preserved in Greek. See: Hieronymus. *Epistula ad Paulam* 33, 4, CSEL. T. 54. P. 257–258; Bernardi J., *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens: le prédicateur et son auditoire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968. P. 24.

³ P. W. Martens, *Origen and Scripture: The Contours of the Exegetical Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2–3.

⁴ A. Fürst, "Origen of Alexandria: Christian Philosophy of Freedom," in *A Companion to World Literature*, ed. K. Seignourie (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2020), 1.

when Greek philosophy took on the form of exegesis.⁵ At the same time, Basil's "Homilies", written more than a century after Origen's death, follow the philosophical and exegetical tradition of Origen, and our task is to trace the main contours of this influence.⁶ Both the late antique philosophical commentaries on the writings of Plato and Aristotle and the commentaries on the psalms that the "Homilies" contain aim to articulate through exegesis a guidance and teaching of a practical and theoretical nature. This brings late antique philosophical texts and Christian homilies closer together, making possible a comparison that reveals their common terminology and approach.

As for the philosophical material that we draw on in our research, this is primarily the Platonic and Stoic traditions, the influence of which on Origen is recognized in the academic literature.⁷ However, the "Homilies" were not compiled as systematic treatises with consistent terminology and clearly formulated philosophical methodology. Both Origen and Basil set the task of interpreting the biblical verses read at the liturgy before a rather wide audience. Therefore, dealing with late antique philosophy, we tried first of all to understand how it helps Origen and Basil to structure and formalize the psychagogical and speculative level of their exegesis.

At the same time, a problem of our research is that the influence of ancient philosophy on Christian literature is rather heterogeneous: while some elements of ancient philosophy in the Christian context retain their original meaning and function,

⁵ P. Hadot, "Théologie, exégèse, révélation, écriture, dans la philosophie grecque," in *Les règles de l'interprétation*, ed. M. Tardieu (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 17.

⁶ A. Fürst, "Bibel und Kosmos in der Psalmenauslegung des Origenes," *Adamantius* 20 (2014), 130.

⁷ Among many works concerning the influence of Platonism on Origen, the following texts can be mentioned: J. W. Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-Century Church* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1983) 52–75; I. L. E. Ramelli, "Origen, Patristic Philosophy, and Christian Platonism Re-Thinking the Christianization of Hellenism," *Vigiliae Christianae* 63 (3) (2009), 217–263. Regarding the Stoic reception of Origen, the following works can be brought up: H. Chadwick, "Origen, Celsus, and the Stoa," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1947), 34–49; I. L. E. Ramelli, "The Philosophical Stance of Allegory in Stoicism and its Reception in Platonism, Pagan and Christian: Origen in Dialogue with the Stoics and Plato," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 18 (3) (2011), 335–371; M. R. James, *Learning the Language of Scripture: Origen, Wisdom, and the Logic of Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

others, on the contrary, are modified and acquire new meaning. All these aspects are studied within the field, which in modern research literature is usually referred with the concept of “patristic philosophy.”⁸ This concept does not imply that Christian theology was a kind of philosophizing, although some historians of late antique Christian thought use the concept of “Christian philosophy” in the broad sense of a system of belief.⁹ This conceptualization is likely driven by the idea that any form of religiosity that represents a particular way of thinking about reality can be labelled as “philosophy.” However, within the hermeneutic paradigm and historical approach, this seems unjustified to us. Although, in terms of methodology and rhetoric, Christian discourse, as an understanding of the Revelation encompassed in Scripture, developed in the contexts of late antique philosophy, its nature is fundamentally different from a philosophical one. One can agree with Otto Michel that “the central motive of New Testament preaching—the proclamation of the eschatological activity of God, that leads the history of Israel and the humankind to the goal determined by Himself—is not connected with philosophy and is completely independent of it.”¹⁰ Thus, the Hellenization of Christian exegesis should be neither exaggerated nor underestimated.

Philosophical methodology for Christian authors is instrumental, which, from our point of view, does not make Christian thought philosophical. As Johannes Zachuber argues, patristic or Christian philosophy can be defined as “a set of logical and

⁸ This monograph plays an important role in the formation of this historical and philosophical term: C. Moreschini, *Storia della filosofia patristica* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2004).

⁹ Valuable considerations regarding this terminological problem are provided by C. Stead: C. Stead, *Philosophy in Christian Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 80. Among the examples of works, where “Christian philosophy” is used in such a general sense of a system of views, one can mention the studies by E. Osborn and G. Wolfson: E. Osborn, *The Beginning of Christian Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

¹⁰ O. Michel, “Philosophia,” in *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. G. Friedrich, G. Kittel (Brescia: Paideia, 1988). Pt. 15. 39–40.

ontological concepts underlying the articulation of doctrinal statements.”¹¹ The last definition characterizes the formal foundations on which the Christian text is based, however, when studying it, it seems to us that due attention should be paid to the soteriological dimension of Christian thought and the doctrine of the divinely inspired Revelation. Even if the contemporaries of early Christian authors and the patristic intellectuals in some texts defined Christianity as a type of philosophy, this conceptualization is determined either by particular analogies with some forms of Christian education,¹² or by a certain rhetorical strategy.¹³ The latter was aimed at showing, in a specific polemical context, the rational validity, the antiquity and the morality of Christianity in front of its critics.

From a historical and philosophical point of view, it is therefore important to correctly contextualize the texts, since the primary task of Origen and Basil of Caesarea was to explain a certain biblical text in a relevant way to the audience gathered at the liturgy, with the help of the tools of ancient philosophy. In this context, the authors develop a complex rhetorical strategy. On the one hand, by means of exegesis they sought to resolve problems of an apologetic and theological nature before an audience with varying degrees of knowledge of secular sciences, including knowledge in the field of philosophy. On the other hand, the key task of the homily was to call each listener to a certain way of life, leading the soul to the knowledge of God and, finally, to salvation.

Only by taking into account this task will we be able to formulate the strategy that

¹¹ J. Zachhuber, *The Rise of Christian Theology and the End of Ancient Metaphysics: Patristic Philosophy from the Cappadocian Fathers to John of Damascus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 3.

¹² M. J. Kruger, *Christianity at the Crossroads: How the Second Century Shaped the Future of the Church* (Westmont, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2018), 57.

¹³ S. Morlet, *Christianisme et philosophie. Les premières confrontations (Ier-VIe siècle)* (Paris: Livre de poche, 2014), 97–102.

underlies the assimilation of philosophical terminology and methods of argumentation within Christian works, such as the “Homilies” of Origen and Basil of Caesarea. It should be noted that the influence of ancient sciences is recognized not only at the level of language, which Chiara Barilli¹⁴ and Marie-Odile Boulnois¹⁵ characterize as a “philosophical koinè,” but also at the level of methods of text interpretation: Christian authors turn to the traditions of ancient philosophical commentary and ancient philology.¹⁶

At the same time, patristic authors tend, within their commentary, to combine heterogeneous notions and concepts that, from a historical and philosophical point of view, had little in common with each other, going beyond the borders of reception in the proper sense and offering their own revised system.¹⁷ The latter is due to the fact that Christian authors turn to their contemporary philosophical language, not limiting themselves to one tradition, but revealing the influence of several traditions within one phrase, expression or sentence. However, studies dealing with this issue, including Origen’s “Homilies,” often focus on the influence of one particular school of thought, without taking into account the diversity and complexity of Christian reception.¹⁸

It should be taken into account that eclecticism typifies late antique philosophy from the 2nd century, when the boundaries between individual schools were no longer clear.¹⁹ Christian eclecticism included to a greater extent Platonism, Peripatetism,

¹⁴ C. Barilli, “Elementi di filosofia nei commenti di Origene ai salmi,” *Adamantius* 20 (2014), 148.

¹⁵ M.-O. Boulnois, “Païens et chrétiens en concurrence: l’instrumentalisation de la philosophie dans les controverses d’Origène contre Celse et de Cyrille d’Alexandrie contre Julien,” in *PHILOSOPHIA in der Konkurrenz von Schulen*, ed. Ch. Riedweg (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 219.

¹⁶ A detailed description of Origen’s relation to Alexandrian philology can be found in this research: B. Neuschäffer, *Origenes als Philologe* (Bâle: F. Reinhardt, 1987).

¹⁷ G. Karamanolis, *The Philosophy of Early Christianity* (Durham: Acumen, 2021), 239.

¹⁸ In this regard, we can mention the work of Mark James, where attention is paid primarily to Stoicism: M. R. James, *Learning the Language of Scripture: Origen, Wisdom, and the Logic of Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

¹⁹ P. Athanassiadi, C. Macris, “La philosphisation du religieux,” in *Panthée: Religious Transformations in the*

Stoicism and Pythagoreanism,²⁰ but paid less attention to Epicureanism, which Origen considers godless and inappropriate to study.²¹ At the basis of Origen’s eclecticism is the idea that, since God is the only source of knowledge, certain parts of knowledge might be found in different philosophical schools.²² According to Clement of Alexandria, within an exegesis directed at spiritual growth, ancient philosophical schools provided an intellectual framework for Christian teaching.²³

Academic novelty of the research

The relevance of the sources chosen when comparing Origen’s and Basil’s “Homilies” is due to the insufficient elaboration of the issue of Origen’s influence on Basil’s interpretations of the psalms. Firstly, although both collections of “Homilies” belong to the same tradition of allegorical or “noetic” interpretation,²⁴ their similarities and differences have not yet been demonstrated in detail in the academic literature. Jean Gribomont, in his 1963 article “The Origenism of St. Basil,” speaking of the influence of Origen on Basil’s “Homilies,” stated:

The method, terminology and high spiritual level remind the reader of Origen. His commentaries on the psalms, which are so poorly preserved, unfortunately, do not

Graeco-Roman Empire, eds. L. Bricault, C. Bonnet (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 48.

²⁰ Valuable observations regarding the early Christian reception of the philosophical heritage of late Antiquity can be found in the following studies: E. Afonasin, “The Pythagorean Way of Life in Clement of Alexandria and Iamblichus,” in *Iamblichus and the Foundations of Late Platonism*, eds. E. Afonasin, J. Dillon, J. F. Finamore (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 13–35; G. Boys-Stones, *Post-Hellenistic Philosophy: A Study of its Development from the Stoics to Origen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 151–202; D. Bradshaw, *Aristotle East and West: Metaphysics and the Division of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 153–186; I. L. E. Ramelli, “Epicureanism and Early Christianity,” in *Oxford Handbook of Epicurus and Epicureanism*, ed. Ph. Mitsis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 582–612.

²¹ Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Oratio panegyrica XIII, 152, SC 148. P. 158.

²² P. Ashwin-Siejkowski, *Clement of Alexandria: A Project of Christian Perfection* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2008), 79–80.

²³ *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁴ The distinction between allegorical and noetic interpretation is introduced by B. Stefaniw. See: B. Stefaniw, *Mind, Text, Commentary: Noetic Exegesis in Origen of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, and Evagrius Ponticus* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 162.

allow for comparison.²⁵

Marie-Joseph Rondeau, in her 1982 work, observed in a similar vein that “the state of the sources does not allow us to accurately determine the direct continuity between Origen’s and Basil of Caesarea’s interpretations of the psalms,” although “Basil undoubtedly knew Origen’s works on interpretation of the psalms.”²⁶ V.P. Pevnitsky drew a similar conclusion on the basis that Basil, in his treatise “On the Holy Spirit,” refers to homilies on the psalms of Origen.²⁷ The discovery in 2012 of the so-called new “Homilies on the Psalms” by Origen, preserved in Codex Monacensis Graecus 314, makes it possible to verify this assumption, the relevance of which is also mentioned by Marie-Odile Boulnois.²⁸

In general, as Mark DelCogliano correctly examined, Origen’s influence on Basil of Caesarea is often considered as a truism that does not require proof.²⁹ Thus, although the dependence of Basil on Origen in the academic literature is not put into question, there are almost no research that would confirm this dependence.

The relevance of studying exegetical methodology in the “Homilies” is also due to the fact that, from the point of view of content, the exegesis of the “Homilies” by Origen and Basil is only very difficult to compare. On the one hand, in the collections we studied, interpretations were preserved for various psalms.³⁰ On the other hand,

²⁵ J. Gribomont, “L’Origénisme de Saint Basile,” in *Saint Basile. Évangile et Église : mélanges* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1984), Pt. 1., 235.

²⁶ Rondeau M.-J. *Les travaux des pères grecs et latins sur le Psautier* (Rome: Ed. Orientalia Christiana, 1982), Pt. 1, 111.

²⁷ V. F. Pevnitskij, “Origen i evo propovedi,” *Trudi Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii* 2 (1879), 161; Basilius Caesariensis. SS 29, SC 17. P. 506.

²⁸ M.-O. Boulnois, “Chronique d’une découverte et de ses retombées scientifiques: les nouvelles Homélies sur les Psaumes d’Origène,” *Revue des Études Tardo-antiques* 5 (2015–2016), 362.

²⁹ M. DelCogliano, “Tradition and Polemic in Basil of Caesarea’s Homily on the Theophany,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 66 (1) (2012), 54.

³⁰ While Origen’s “Homilies” contain interpretations of Ps. 15, 36, 67, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80 and 81, Basil’s “Homilies” contain sermons on Ps. 1, 7, 14, 28, 29, 32, 33, 44, 45, 48, 59, 61, 114 and 115.

even when authors quote the same verses, they interpret them differently. Thus, if Basil in his “Homily on Ps. 1” quotes Ps. 36, 27,³¹ the exegesis of this verse does not find parallels in the interpretation of Ps. 36, 27 by Origen. The topic of lending money actually appears both in the “Second Homily on Ps. 14” by Basil, and in the “Third Homily on Ps. 36” by Origen in his interpretation of Ps. 36, 26. But if in the first text Basil interprets usury literally, condemning this practice for the lender as well as for the debtor and giving to his text a social problematic,³² Origen interprets usury allegorically.³³ Moreover, each of the authors selects to support their arguments different passages of the Old Testament that best suit their thoughts.³⁴ The type of interpretation (literal or allegorical) that the authors choose was probably determined by the context.

Thus, although the classification of various types of borrowings from Origen in subsequent patristic literature, which DelCogliano proposes, is quite consistent, it presupposes attention to the content of interpretation rather than to its methodology³⁵. As for the short list of Origen’s procedures that were assimilated in Basil’s texts, which Gribomont lists, they concern only very particular and formal aspects³⁶. These include, for instance, addressing the various discrepancies present in the Hexapla or the

³¹ See: Basiliius Caesariensis. Homilia in Psalmum I, 3, PG 29. Col. 217, 32–35B; Origenes. Homilia IV in Psalmum XXXVI, 6, GCS 19. S. 171.

³² Basiliius Caesariensis. Homilia II in Psalmum XIV, PG 29. Coll. 264, 45D–280, 42C.

³³ Origen interprets the words about the righteous man who “He is ever merciful, and lends” (Ps. 36:26) as referring to a person who, having borrowed knowledge “from the treasury of God,” passes it on to others; the unrighteous moneylender in this allegorical interpretation is the heretic who spreads false knowledge: Origenes. Homilia IV in Psalmum XXXVI, 4, GCS 19. S. 170–171.

³⁴ Origen quotes Deut. 15, 6 and Ex. 22, 24, while Basil the Great quotes Deut. 23, 19: Origenes. Homilia IV in Psalmum XXXVI, 4, GCS 19. S. 170–171; Basiliius Caesariensis. Homilia in Psalmum XIV, 1, PG 29. Col. 265, 16–17B.

³⁵ DelCogliano identifies the following types of Basil’s dialogue with Origen: wholesale adoption; adoption with tweaking; expansion; supplementation; abridgement; redeployment, refutation. Cp.: M. DelCogliano, “Tradition and Polemic in Basil of Caesarea’s Homily on the Theophany,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 66 (1) (2012), 55.

³⁶ J. Gribomont, “L’Origénisme de Saint Basile,” in *Saint Basile. Évangile et Église : mélanges* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1984), Pt. 1., 234–235.

etymologization of proper names. These aspects, rather of a philological nature, undoubtedly deserve attention, but within an historical and philosophical research they have less value for us.

In addition, the relevance of a study, dedicated to some conceptual aspects of the influence of Origen's legacy on the exegesis of Basil of Caesarea, is also justified by the fact that, when Basil wrote his "Homilies" in 370–357, Origen's legacy was already criticized. As Adam Rasmussen has convincingly shown in his study on the influence of Origen's exegesis on Basil's "Homilies on the Hexaemeron," some of Basil's points reflect arguments that would be later formulated by Jerome, Epiphanius,³⁷ Theophilus of Alexandria, and the Emperor Justinian.³⁸ Moreover, in view of the fact that Basil died ten years before the start of the first Origenist controversy in the 390s, his theological heritage displays a respectful attitude to aspects of Origen's theology. Thus, in the last chapter of the treatise "On the Holy Spirit," Basil asserts, referring precisely to the "Homilies on the Psalms," that "[Origen's] notions concerning the Spirit are not always sound, but in many passages he recognizes the force of long-established usage, and his words are consonant with true religion."³⁹ Supporting his thought with quotations from Origen's interpretations of the Gospel of John and the Epistle to the Romans, Basil explains the value of Origen's teaching by the fact that he remained faithful to the church tradition.⁴⁰ Finally, it should be noted that in the "Philokalia," Origen's fourth-century anthology of texts, there are no texts that contain controversial

³⁷ A. Rasmussen, *Genesis and Cosmos: Basil and Origen on Genesis 1 and Cosmology* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 140.

³⁸ *Ibid.* P. 180.

³⁹ Basilus Caesariensis. SS 29, SC 17. P. 506, 508 (trans. Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), 109). In the indicated place, Basil does not oppose Origen, but, on the contrary, highlights in his teaching about the Holy Spirit those conceptions that he considers theologically acceptable. Rasmussen A. *Ibid.* P. 188.

⁴⁰ Basilus Caesariensis. SS 29, SC 17. P. 508.

theological positions. From this we can conclude that, although Basil and his contemporaries turned to the legacy of Origen, they should have done this very carefully.

The extent of scientific elaboration of the problem

Although the problem of the influence of ancient philosophy on Origen's and Basil's "Homilies" has so far been almost not studied, from the 19th century, an assessment of the philosophical influence on Origen's legacy is reflected in the extensive literature dealing with the relationship between Christianity and ancient philosophy. Thus, a fairly wide range of different interpretations of Origen's attitude to the ancient philosophical heritage arose.⁴¹ Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) considered Origen's theological development as a Christian theological synthesis, combining the influences of Greek philosophy and Judaism.⁴² In line with this tradition, Ernst Rudolf Redepenning (1810–1863) in the monograph "Origenes. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre" (1841) explained the Platonic influence on Origen with apologetic considerations⁴³.

In the first half of the 20th century, due to the publication of Origen's works in the series "Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte" (GCS), Eugene de Fay (1860–1929)⁴⁴ and Hal Koch (1904–1963)⁴⁵ wrote works that attempted to more accurately define Origen's place in modern times. They set him in a

⁴¹ An overview of the history of Origen research from the point of view of patristic philosophy can be found in the essay by J. Trigg, on which we rely: J. W. Trigg, "A Decade of Origen Studies," *Religious Studies Review* 7 (1981), 21–26.

⁴² F. C. Baur, *Das Christentum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (Tübingen: Verlag und Druck von L. Fr. Fues, 1863).

⁴³ E. R. Redepenning, *Origenes. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1966).

⁴⁴ E. De Faye, *Origène, sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1923).

⁴⁵ H. Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis: Studien über Origenes und sein Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1932).

philosophical context and show the Platonic origins of his thought. Both authors largely borrow Redepenning's idea in that they explain the Platonic influence on Origen by his polemics with the Gnostics: the allegory, in line with the Platonic tradition, made it possible to rehabilitate the Old Testament and offer a convincing theodicy.

In the context of the Catholic “ressourcement” that emerged in the mid-20th century through Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988)⁴⁶, Jean Daniélou (1905–1974)⁴⁷, Henri de Lubac (1896–1991)⁴⁸, and Henri Crouzel (1919–2003)⁴⁹, when assessing the contribution of ancient philosophy to the formation of Origen's theology, the emphasis shifted to his work as an exegete, as well as to the methodological understanding of his scriptural hermeneutics. At the same time, this group of scholars, unlike their predecessors, who paid more attention to Origen's assimilation of the Platonic tradition, preferred to investigate the critical identification of those concepts that are compatible with Christianity. Among French authors, Paul Nautin (1914–1997)⁵⁰ made a great contribution to the study of the latter issue with his monograph “Origène. Sa vie et son œuvre” (1977). This work is also important because it shows how the circumstances of Origen's life, such as his move to Caesarea or conflicts with members of the church hierarchy, shaped his audience and the context in which his biblical commentaries and treatises emerged.

Among the monographs written by Russian scholars, as far as we know, only the work of Alexey Tsurkan⁵¹ is devoted to the question of the relationship between

⁴⁶ H. U. Von Balthasar, *Parole et mystère chez Origène* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957).

⁴⁷ J. Daniélou, *Origène* (Paris: Éditions de la Table ronde, 1948).

⁴⁸ H. De Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1950).

⁴⁹ H. Crouzel, *Origène et la philosophie* (Paris: Éditions Montaigne, 1962).

⁵⁰ P. Nautin, *Origène. Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1977).

⁵¹ A. V. Zurkan, *Origen: problema vzaimodejstviya religii i filosofii* (Novosibirsk: NGU, 2002).

theology and philosophy in Origen's works. Moreover, among Russian scholars from the pre-Soviet period, Origen's legacy was highly respected. Thus, quite large chapters devoted to the work of Origen, and in particular to some aspects of his reception of ancient philosophy, can be found in manuals on patrology by Ivan Popov (1867–1938),⁵² professor of the Moscow Theological Academy, Nikolai Sagarda (1870–1943),⁵³ professor of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy and Sergei Epifanovich (1886–1918),⁵⁴ professor of the Kiev Theological Academy. Particular attention can be drawn to the article by Vasily Pevnitsky (1832–1911), in which the author touches on the influence of philosophy on Origen's homiletics.

Since 2015, when the critical edition of this source was published, not many studies have been carried out dealing with the philosophical aspect of Origen's "Homilies." Among them, however, one can highlight a number of valuable articles by Lorenzo Perrone, Robert Somos,⁵⁵ Vito Limone,⁵⁶ Marie-Odile Boulnois⁵⁷ and Valery Petrov.⁵⁸ In 2014, when publishing an issue of the "Adamantius" dedicated to Origen's "Homilies," some scholars did not use this source. At that time, the authorship of the "Homilies" was not definitely determined, and therefore less than half of the authors

⁵² I. Popov, *Konspekt lekcij po patrologii* (Tver: Bulat, 2006), 176–194.

⁵³ N. I. Sagarda, *Lekcii po patrologii, I-IV veka* (Moskva: Izdatel'skij Sovet Russkoj Pravoslavnoj Cerkvi, 2004), 436–472.

⁵⁴ S. L. Epifanovich, *Lekcii po patrologii* (Saint-Petersburg: Voskresenie, 2010), 505–551.

⁵⁵ Among them we can mention: L. Perrone, "Scrittura e cosmo nelle nuove Omelie di Origene sui Salmi: L'interpretazione del Salmo 76," *Patrística, Biblia y Teología. Caminos de diálogo*, eds. J. C. Caamaño, H. Giúdice (Buenos Aires: Agape Libros, 2017), 45–72; L. Perrone, "Origen Reading the Psalms: The Challenge of a Christian Interpretation, in Scriptures, Sacred Traditions, and Strategies of Religious Subversion," in *Studies in Discourse with the Work of Guy G. Stroumsa*, eds. M. Blidstein, S. Ruzer, D. Stökl Ben Ezra (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 131–148.

⁵⁶ R. Somos, "Music of the Soul and Music of the Body in Origen's Homilies on the Psalms," *Eastern Theological Journal* 5 (1) (2019), 73–91; R. Somos, "Theologia Naturalis and Theologia Revelata in Origen's First Homily on Psalm 77," in *Studia Patristica* 101, ed. M. Vinzent (2021), 55–64.

⁵⁷ V. Limone, "«Ousia» in Origen: The Use of the Term in Light of the "Homilies on the Psalms"," in *Origeniana Duodecima*, eds. B. Bitton-Ashkelony, O. Irshai, A. Kofsky, H. Newman, L. Perrone (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 643–657.

⁵⁸ M.-O. Boulnois, "« Les mystères véritables » : Origène en confrontation dans le Contre Celse et les nouvelles Homélie sur les Psaumes," in *Les Mystères au IIe siècle de notre ère : un tournant*, eds. N. Belayche, Ph. Hoffman, F. Massa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 401–433.

⁵⁹ Petrov V. V. "Spekuljativnaja organologija Origena i rannie hristianskie kommentarii na Psalmy," *Intellektual'nye tradicii v proshlom i nastojashhem* 5 (2020), 214–256.

devoted their works to the texts of these “Homilies.”⁵⁹ Among them, however, we can highlight the article by Chiara Barilli, which deals with some elements of the influence of philosophy on the “Homilies.”⁶⁰ In addition, at Aarhus University, a postdoctoral project under the title of “Origen’s Exegesis of the Psalms: Contributions from a Close Analysis of his “Homilies on the Psalms” (Codex Monacensis Graecus 314)” was dealing with the study of these sermons from 2019 to 2021. However, the texts published within this project, unfortunately, are almost not dealing with the philosophical influence on Origen’s “Homilies.”⁶¹

As far as we know, at this moment, the author of the only thesis entirely devoted to the “Homilies” on Psalms” is John Solheid.⁶² His doctoral research under the title of “The Word in the City: Biblical Scholarship and Reading Culture in Origen’s Psalm Homilies from the Codex Monacensis Graecus 314” was defended in 2020 in Toronto. The main idea of the author is that Origen, in his exegesis on the psalms, seeks to teach his audience to deeply understand the meaning of the Scriptures. At the same time, according to Solheid, Origen turns to the educational tradition adopted in the late antique philosophical schools.

To a certain extent, a similar idea is reflected by Mark Randall James, who, based on a thesis defended in 2016 at the University of Virginia, published a book in 2021 under the title of “Learning the Language of Scripture: Origen, Wisdom, and the

⁵⁹ L. Perrone (ed.) “Origene commentatore dei Salmi: dai frammenti catenari al Codice di Monaco,” *Adamantius* 20 (2014).

⁶⁰ C. Barilli, “Elementi di filosofia nei commenti di Origene ai salmi,” *Adamantius* 20 (2014), 147–159.

⁶¹ URL: <https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/797925> (accessed March 29, 2021)

⁶² Solheid J. *The Word in the City: Biblical Scholarship and Reading Culture in Origen’s Psalm Homilies from the Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*. Doctoral dissertation, University of St. Michael’s College and the Graduate Centre for Theological Studies of the Toronto School of Theology. Toronto, 2020.

Logic.”⁶³ of Interpretation.” In this text, he demonstrated the relationship of Origen’s hermeneutics to the Stoic teaching on language in order to show that Origen’s goal was to teach his audience to think and reason in the words of Scripture. James uses Origen’s “Homilies” as his main source.

We can also observe that, within the Origeniana, a regular international conference which, since the publication of the critical edition of the “Homilies” in 2015, has been held twice (in Jerusalem in 2017⁶⁴ and in Münster in 2022⁶⁵), only a few speakers have chosen the “Homilies” as the object of their research.

The lack of knowledge of our sources may also be explained by the fact that its translations into modern languages came out quite recently. Thus, in 2020 and 2021, Lorenzo Perrone and Joseph Trigg offered their translations of the “Homilies” into Italian⁶⁶ and English⁶⁷ respectively, while the French and German translations are being prepared for publication. The Russian translation of the four homilies on Psalm 36 was published in 2021 and 2022 in two issues of the journal “The Bible and Christian Antiquity.”⁶⁸

As for Basil’s “Homilies”, as far as we know, only a few works are dealing with this

⁶³ M. R. James, *Learning the Language of Scripture: Origen, Wisdom, and the Logic of Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

⁶⁴ According to the publication of the conference abstracts, only six authors devoted their communications to the “Homilies.” Cf.: B. Bitton-Ashkelony, O. Irshai, A. Kofsky, H. Newman, L. Perrone (eds.) *Origeniana Duodecima: Origen’s Legacy in the Holy Land - A Tale of Three Cities: Jerusalem, Caesarea and Bethlehem. Proceedings of the 12th International Origen Congress, Jerusalem, 25-29 June, 2017* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

⁶⁵ A special workshop, which was supposed to be dedicated to the “Homilies,” was cancelled. Nevertheless, among the announced communication, the paper of Matthias Perkamps under the title of “Religion and Philosophy in Origen’s Homilies on the Psalms” attracted attention. URL: https://www.uni-muenster.de/imperia/md/content/fb2/projektarbeitsstellen/origenes/origeniana_programmheft_final.pdf. (accessed August 26, 2023)

⁶⁶ Origen, *Omèlie sui Salmi: Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*, introduzione, testo critico riveduto, traduzione e note a cura di Lorenzo Perrone (Roma: Città Nuova, 2020).

⁶⁷ Origen, *Homilies on the Psalms: Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*, ed. J. Trigg (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2021).

⁶⁸ Origen. “Homilies I and II on Psalm 36. Part 1,” in *Bible and Christian Antiquity* 11 (3) (2021), 71–12; Origen. “Homilies III and IV on Psalm 36. Part 2,” in *Bible and Christian Antiquity* 14 (2) (2022), 57–105.

collection of sermons. Among them, however, are articles by Nonna Harrison⁶⁹ and Mark DelCogliano.⁷⁰ However, the latter are dedicated to the “Homily on Ps. 45” and “Homily on Ps. 115,” so that almost no attention is paid to parallels with other homilies on the psalms and. Furthermore, they do not consider Basil’s dependence on the Origenian tradition. This issue is addressed in the mentioned work by Jean Gribomont⁷¹.

The object and topic of the investigation

The object of the study is the interpretation of the Psalter by Origen and Basil of Caesarea, presented in their respective “Homilies”⁷² along with which the “Letter to Markellinos on the Interpretation of the Psalms” by Athanasius of Alexandria.

The main subject of the study is the influence exerted on these texts by the philosophical culture of late Antiquity in methodological and terminological terms. At the same time, within this subject, we have identified two areas of research. On the one hand, we wanted to show the versatility and complexity of the philosophical layer of the selected sources, since both authors are simultaneously influenced by several philosophical traditions, and, on the other hand, we showed what points of contact with the Origen tradition are represent within Basil’s exegesis.

⁶⁹ N. V. Harrison, “Gender Allegories in Basil of Caesarea’s Homily on Psalm 45,” in *The Harp of Prophecy: Early Christian Interpretation of the Psalms*, eds. B. E. Daley, P. R. Kolbet (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015), 127–148.

⁷⁰ M. DelCogliano, “Basil of Caesarea’s Homily On Psalm 115 (CPG 2910): Origen and Anti-Eunomian Polemic,” *Sacris Erudiri* 56 (2017), 7–31.

⁷¹ J. Gribomont, “L’Origénisme de Saint Basile,” in *Saint Basile. Évangile et Église : mélanges* (Bégnolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1984), Pt. 1., 229–242.

⁷² In our thesis we used the following editions: Origenes, *Die neuen Psalmenhomilien. Eine kritische Edition des Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*, ed. L. Perrone, M. Molin Pradel, E. Prinzivalli, A. Cacciari (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015) (Origenes Werke, 13); Basilius Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos*, accurante J.-P. Migne. Vol. 29 (Paris: Ex Typis J.-P. Migne, 1857), coll. 209–493; Basilius Caesariensis, *Homilia in Psalmum CXV*, accurante J.-P. Migne. Vol. 30 (Paris: Ex Typis J.-P. Migne, 1857), coll. 104–116.

Purpose and objectives of the research

The purpose of this study is to discover the influence of late antique philosophical traditions on the “Homilies on Psalms” by Origen and Basil of Caesarea, showing the philosophical origin of selected concepts and notions that the authors resort within their exegesis. It is based on a psychagogical strategy, using a number of rhetorical techniques, hermeneutical principles and terms in the context of late antique philosophy.

This purpose involves solving the these objectives:

1. To identify the audience to which Origen and Basil address in their “Homilies”;
2. To fit the “Homilies” into the context of late antique rhetoric and compare the use of selected rhetorical devices and categories in philosophical literature and the “Homilies”;
3. To investigate how in the “Homilies” a consistent psychagogical strategy is built in accordance with the audience, and to what extent it is influenced by late antique philosophy;
4. To identify through the “Homilies” and the “Letter to Markellinos” by Athanasius of Alexandria, how Origen, Basil and Athanasius conceptualized the Psalter, and to correlate it with the late ancient philosophical context;
5. To compare, using selected examples, the philosophical late antique devices used by Origen and Basil in the “Homilies”;
6. To outline, based on the sources available to us, the points of intersection and divergence found in the “Homilies” of Origen and Basil of Caesarea;
7. To correlate selected hermeneutical techniques and concepts used in the “Homilies” with the texts included in the “Philokalia” that Basil had in his field of view when

carrying out his interpretations.

Methodological basis for investigation

In the thesis, we applied the hermeneutic method as well as the historical and conceptual analysis. The advantage of this methodological approach is that it gives a more thoughtful understanding of the influence of philosophical schools of late Antiquity on the development of Christian exegesis in the 3rd–4th centuries.

The hermeneutical method involves the consideration of specific philosophical ideas in the context of late Antiquity within the Christian tradition of interpretation of Scripture, which goes back to Origen. The historical and conceptual analysis engages the study of selected and most relevant concepts in a diachronic perspective.

In the first chapter, based on the information that the “Homilies” provide us, we reconstructed the audience of the homilies, which made it possible to clarify the intention that lies at the basis of the psychagogical strategy of these homilies. At the same time, we have placed the “Homilies” in the context of ancient philosophical rhetoric, correlating selected elements of metaphorical language with the Platonic, Pythagorean and Stoic traditions.

In the second chapter, based on the specifics of the audience and the rhetoric of the “Homilies,” we characterized the way in which Origen and Basil interpret the journey of the soul within their exegesis of the Psalter. They inscribe its parts into the division of philosophy into “ethics,” “physics” and “epoptics,” and also resort to different levels of understanding of harmony, which goes back to the Platonic and Pythagorean traditions.

In the third chapter, we applied the historical and conceptual analysis, through

which we investigated how the “Homilies” and some other texts (the treatise “On the First Principles” by Origen; the “Homily Explaining that God is Not the Cause of Evil” and both homilies “On the Making of Man” by Basil of Caesarea) understand freedom as the beginning of the journey of the soul. Particular attention has been paid to the comparative and historical-philosophical analysis of the concept of “choice” (προαίρεσις) in the Aristotelian and Stoic traditions, as well as in the “Homilies.”

As a reference text for our comparison of the “Homilies,” we have chosen the “Philokalia,” an anthology of exegetical fragments extracted from various texts of Origen. In the academic literature, the “Philokalia” is considered as a manual on theology or exegesis for the clergy,⁷³ a reference book for participants in theological debates,⁷⁴ or a “subtle apology” for Origen.⁷⁵ It is possible that this anthology also provided a small collection of Origen’s quotations for those who did not have access to his entire corpus of texts. Not all scholars attribute the authorship of this florilegium to Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus,⁷⁶ preferring to speak rather about the circle of “Philokalists”; nevertheless, their familiarity with this text is acknowledged.⁷⁷

⁷³ N. B. McLynn, “What was the ‘Philocalia of Origen’?,” in *Christian Politics and Religious Culture in Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2009), 41.

⁷⁴ P. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1998), 84.

⁷⁵ É. Junod, “Remarques sur la composition de la « Philocalie » d’Origène par Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nazianze,” in *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* 52 (2) (1972), 149.

⁷⁶ This text is the only primary source that relates Basil and Gregory to the “Philokalia”: Gregorius Nazianzenus. Epistula 115, 3, Collection Budé 179. P. 10.

⁷⁷ The traditional hypothesis is supported by A. Louth, P.B. Mikhailov, while M. Harl and E. Junod question it. See: M. Harl, “Introduction,” in *Origène. Philocalie 1-20, Sur les Écritures et La Lettre à Africanus sur l’histoire de Suzanne*, ed. M. Harl (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983), p. 20–24; É. Junod, “De l’anthologie de textes d’Origène, primitivement anonyme et sans titre, que la tradition intitula *Philocalie* et attribua à Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nazianze,” *Adamantius* 27 (2021), 11–19.; A. Louth, “The Transmission of Origen from Athanasius to the Cappadocians,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Origen*, eds. R. E. Heine, K. J. Torjesen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 431. Mikhailov defends the traditional point of view on the authorship of the “Philokalia,” relying on the text of the epistle of Gregory of Nazianzus. See: Mihajlov P. B. *Bogoslovskaja germenjevtika velikih kappadokijcev* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo PSTGU, 2022), 75–78. Bouteneff and Junod take the position that Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus at least studied the texts contained in the “Philokalia,” which had a profound influence on the shaping of their thought. See: P. C. Bouteneff, *Beginnings: Ancient Christian Readings of the Biblical Narrative* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 124; É. Junod, “De l’anthologie de textes d’Origène, primitivement anonyme et sans titre, que la tradition intitula *Philocalie* et attribua à Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nazianze,” *Adamantius* 27 (2021), 18.

In our research, we considered the points of intersection between these texts of Origen and selected passages of Basil of Caesarea, in order to thereby demonstrate his familiarity with Origen's teaching. However, we did not consider the question of Basil's direct involvement in the compilation of this anthology in the thesis, since this is beyond the scope of our tasks.

For us, the "Philokalia" is of key interest due to the fact that this text, unique in terms of its genre, is a kind of "manual on Origen's hermeneutics," and also in its apologetic chapters includes recommendations on the use of philosophical texts. At the same time, with its composition and headings, according to which Origen's quotations are presented, the "Philokalia" clearly shows that Origen's successors were not interested only in the content of his exegesis (how to interpret a specific biblical quotation), but in the methodology or hermeneutics (based on what principles we should interpret the Scripture). From this we can come to the conclusion that the Cappadocians valued Origen as "an apologist, a Christian philosopher and, above all, an experienced exegete."⁷⁸

Theses to be defended

1. In their "Homilies," Origen and Basil of Caesarea addressed a similar audience, consisting of both more educated members of the church congregation and less prepared Christians, which even may have included the catechumens. According to both preachers, the psalms, because of their musicality, benefit Christians of various levels of spiritual and intellectual preparation. Based on this, Origen and Basil shape their

⁷⁸ J. Gribomont, "L'Origénisme de Saint Basile," in *Saint Basile. Évangile et Église : mélanges* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1984), Pt. 1., 233.

psychagogical strategy. It gives the Psalter a particular intellectual status within Christian teaching and emphasizes the openness of the Christian faith in contrast to the elitism of philosophical education.

2. The “Homilies” of Origen and Basil of Caesarea reflect a similar rhetorical strategy that has its origins in late antique philosophical discourse. A key element of this strategy aimed at educating the audience is the idea of the psychagogical function of exegesis, which is found in the use of medical metaphors. In addition, since the psalms are hymns in terms of genre, the authors of the “Homilies” consider their musical component in line with Pythagoreanism and Platonism. These elements give the teaching expressed in the “Homilies” the function of a “spiritual exercise.” Although Origen and Basil interpret different psalms and put different content into their exegesis, conceptually and terminologically we can say that they speak the same language and pursue a similar communicative task.

3. Being familiar with the late antique division of philosophy into “ethics,” “physics” and “epoptics,” Origen and Basil of Caesarea encourage members of their audience to follow this sequence of assimilation of knowledge in their spiritual ascent. Some interpretations emphasize the transition from ethics to epoptics, while others focus on the movement from physics to epoptics. Following the correct sequence in learning allows, according to Origen, to avoid heresy.

4. Origen and Basil of Caesarea not only conceptualize the Psalter as a universal source of knowledge that covers “ethics,” “physics” and “epoptics,” but also point out that the psalms include the content of the Old and New Testaments. This idea of universality is also based on the idea of harmony between earthly reality and the divine teaching

contained in Revelation, since they go back to One Creator. Christian exegetes probably adopted this concept from Philo and the Pythagorean tradition. Thus, it is precisely in the interpretation of the Psalter, which exhaustively reflects the path of Christian knowledge from moral preparation to the mystical contemplation of the Trinity, that the understanding of the Christian teaching as a “scientific research” is most clearly expressed.

5. The example of a student and philosopher who acquired the most perfect knowledge of God is the prophet Moses, who can be identified with the image of Pythagoras. However, while Philo of Alexandria, to whom this tradition goes back, relates Moses to the ideal of a sage who has reached the highest level of divine knowledge, Origen and Basil of Caesarea in their “Homilies” present the prophet as an exemplary student who gradually mastered all three parts philosophy from ethics to epoptics.

6. Origen and Basil of Caesarea in their exegesis of Gen. 1:26 share much of the distinction between the “image” and “likeness” of God. While the “image of God” is communicated to man during creation, regardless of his merits, and presupposes the ability to think and act freely, the “likeness of God” is achieved only through the free effort of the Christian. The Christian, therefore, is called, moving forward with free effort on the path of knowledge, to be renewed in the inner man, an example of which is given by Paul. Origen and Basil of Caesarea pay more attention to this concept, for example, in the treatise “On the First Principles” and both homilies “On the Making of Man,” respectively. However, this teaching is also reflected in the “Homilies” and provides an important foundation for understanding the key principle that underlies their teaching about knowledge.

7. Addressing the problem of free will, Basil uses a terminology that is similar to Origen. Within this framework, we can highlight the concept of “choice” (προαίρεσις), which in late Antiquity was used by both Peripatetics and Stoics, such as Epictetus. Origen and Basil of Caesarea in the “Homilies,” like Epictetus, in different contexts combine both Aristotelian and Stoic traditions in their use of this concept. Thus, in the exegesis of various verses of the Psalter, three interpretations of “choice” emerge — the choice of an individual act, the choice of a way of life, the ability to make a free choice.

Main content of the research

In accordance with the goals, objectives and sources of the study, the thesis consists of an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion.

The first chapter is divided into two parts and is referred to as “Homilies on the Psalms of Origen and Basil of Caesarea: relevance, context and compositional features.” In this part of the thesis, we presented the general context within which the psalms were interpreted during early Christianity, and Origen and Basil of Caesarea delivered their homilies. At the same time, we paid special attention to the relevance of the interpretation of the Psalter as one of the books of Scripture, as well as to the audience of the “Homilies” and the rhetorical strategy of the homily as an oral genre. Within our historical and philosophical research, this part is essential because, on the one hand, we outlined what type of audience Origen and Basil were addressing, and, on the other hand, we explained the place of Christian rhetoric in the context of late antique culture, and in particular the second sophistic.

In the first part of the first chapter, we showed the relevance of the interpretation of the Psalter against the background of other texts of the Old and New Testaments, since it was often interpreted in late Antiquity, and appears frequently in the form of allusions in the New Testament. In the New Testamental texts, the Psalter is not only quoted in the gospels, but is also cited in the apostolic sermons in the Book of Acts. Such intertextuality is aimed not only at justifying the entitlement of Christians to use the Old Testament on an equal basis with the New Testament. The parallels between the Old and New Testaments gave rise to a Christological reading of the Old Testament texts. A similar interpretation can be seen, for example, in the way Origen and Basil relate to

Christ the word “beloved” from the inscription on Ps. 44. In addition, in the context of late Antiquity, the New Testamental reading of the Old Testament allowed Christian authors and their audience, as members of a society, to define their place within a single historical past. At the same time, we pointed out that Origen’s “Homilies” represent perhaps the earliest running commentaries of the psalms, although they belong to the last period of his exegetical and theological activity. The same applies to Basil’s “Homilies,” although it is quite difficult to date them precisely.

In the second part of the first chapter, we tried to show how the influence of the Gnostics affected Origen’s “Homilies,” since in Basil’s “Homilies” the Gnostics are almost not mentioned. This can be explained by the fact that by the second half of the 4th century the presence of Gnostics within the Christian audience was not relevant any more, although, for example, the letters of Basil indicate that the teachings attributed to them continued to bother Basil. This is also probably evidenced by Basil’s “Homily on Ps. 48,” where he mentions people who call themselves by the names of Gnostics. In his “Homilies,” Origen makes mainly two methodological accusations against the Gnostics. Firstly, he explains the emergence of heresies by the fact that in their teaching the mystical interpretation of the biblical text precedes the correction of life in accordance with Christian moral teaching. This accusation is present in the “First Homily on Ps. 76” and “First Homily on Ps. 77.” Secondly, Origen accuses the Gnostics of refusing to interpret the Old Testament text allegorically, which deprives them of the opportunity to perceive the Old and New Testaments as a single and non-contradictory text. At the same time, the allegorical interpretation of the wrath of God in the “Fifth Homily on Ps. 77” by Origen displays parallels with the exegesis of the same idea in the “Homily on

Ps. 29” by Basil.

In the third part of the first chapter, we set the task of studying the audience of the “Homilies” of Origen and Basil of Caesarea. Thus, we came to the conclusion that both authors paid particular attention to the more “simple” and less prepared listeners, to whom, for example, the catechumens belonged. Therefore, in this section of the thesis, we have summarized the conclusions made by R. Heine, A. Monachi Castagno and J. Solheid. The audience of the “Homilies” thus had a rather mixed composition, including educated listeners. Origen and Basil in this regard mention three similar categories of listeners — the beginners, the more advanced and the perfect. Moreover, for both Origen and Basil, the interpretation of the psalms in front of such an in part unprepared audience was especially appropriate due to the musicality of those texts.

In the fourth part of the first chapter, we wanted to draw attention to the educational function of late antique homilies as texts that fit into the tradition of the second sophistic in communicative and rhetorical terms. Rhetoric during this period began to be perceived as a key tool in the communication of philosophical education and also played an important role in the tradition of Christian commentary dedicated to the edification of the community gathered at the liturgy. We can therefore compare the genre of homily with the genre of philosophical commentary on the basis that these genres of texts presented a coherent exegesis of essential texts given by an authority figure and involved a dialogue with the audience.

In the fifth part of the first chapter, we considered the issue of the relationship between secular and Christian rhetoric, showing that the condemnation of pagan education by Origen and Basil of Caesarea is rather a rhetorical device, and not a refusal

to turn to secular knowledge as source, for example, of methodology. Both authors had received an excellent education in the latter. The criticism of “pagan wisdom” is explained by the stylistic specificity of the Scripture, which linguistically differed from the texts written in literary Greek. This has for our authors several justifications that are related to the rhetorical and pedagogical strategy seen in the Scripture. On the one hand, the simplicity of the biblical language of the New Testament make the Scripture accessible to a larger number of listeners. On the other hand, the complexity and roughness of the language of the Old Testament require special effort from the Christian, which allows him to become worthy of the mystical knowledge of God and the allegorical reading of the Bible. For this reason, as part of their allegorical exegesis, Origen and Basil turn to the mystical vocabulary that Philo had used before them.

In the sixth part of the first chapter, we tried to articulate how Origen and Basil of Caesarea conceptualize the usefulness of Scripture to their audiences. The importance of disclosing this topic is justified by the fact that the issue of the benefits of discourse is touched upon, for example, by Aristotle, and is also revealed in late antique philosophical commentaries of the 5th–6th centuries. Although, unlike this tradition, Origen and Basil of Caesarea do not devote separate sections to the topic of utility in their texts, it is a concept that also appears in 2 Tim. 3, 16 and is relevant for them in justifying what type of interpretation is useful for a certain part of the audience. Thus, the literal (“bodily”) level of the text is of benefit to the layman, while the allegorical interpretation, which may correspond to a “spiritual” reading of the text, is of benefit to the more intellectually and spiritually experienced Christians. Moreover, the special compositional benefit of the Psalter lies in the fact that it covers the content of the entire

Old and New Testaments.

In the seventh part of the first chapter, we tried to reveal some of the psychagogical motives that are observed in the “Homilies” of Origen and Basil of Caesarea. Thus, we have demonstrated the rhetorical commonality of the Christian homilies we are considering and late antique philosophical texts. In doing so, we rely heavily on the concept of “spiritual exercises” developed by Pierre Hadot. Firstly, we noticed that the authors, as well as Athanasius of Alexandria in his “Letter to Markellinos,” quite often try to put the addressee of the homily in the place of the subject of the psalm, who, within the Christological interpretation, corresponds to Christ, in order to strengthen and emphasize the pedagogical aspect of their rhetoric. Secondly, Origen and Basil of Caesarea pay attention, in line with the Pythagorean and Platonic traditions, to the psychagogical potential of music. In the view of our authors, the human soul and the psalm, being the creation of God, through singing enter into a harmonious connection that binds together the parts of God’s creation. Thirdly, the therapeutic nature of Christian homiletical rhetoric is manifested in the use of medical metaphors, which is used not only by Platonists and Stoics, but also by Sceptics and Epicureans. Athanasius also speaks about the therapeutic nature of some psalms in his “Letter to Markellinos.” In our research, we paid special attention to the parallel between the image of the philosophical school as a hospital in Epictetus’s “Discourses” and a similar expanded metaphor of the Church as a hospital in the “Third Homily on Ps. 73” by Origen. Structurally and compositionally, these images present a number of parallels, making it possible to convince the audience of the benefits of philosophy and Christian teaching, respectively.

The second chapter of the thesis is referred to “The Psalter as a comprehensive source of Christian teaching according to interpretations of the psalms of Origen and Basil of Caesarea.” In this part of the thesis, we studied the way Origen and Basil of Caesarea characterized the journey of the soul and those areas of knowledge that a Christian must master in order to approach epoptics, the highest level of divine knowledge. To the extent that Origen and Basil conceptualize the Psalter as a comprehensive source of Christian knowledge in all its diversity, certain sections of this chapter concern the relationship between ethical, “physical” and mystical teachings, which reveals primarily a parallel with the Platonic tradition of structuring philosophical knowledge.

In the first part of the second chapter, we set the task of investigating within the framework of which tradition and based on what concepts Origen and Basil of Caesarea present the Psalter as a harmonious text, which at the same time embraces all aspects of Christian teaching, as well as the content of both Testaments. In doing so, they present the connection of the Creator with His creation. Thus, when describing the context with which this strategy relates, we turned, on the one hand, to the legacy of Philo of Alexandria, who quite often represents the reception of the Pythagorean and Platonic traditions, and, on the other, to the tradition of late antique philosophical commentaries, in which an attempt is made to discover agreement between the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. At the terminological and conceptual level, we have thus discovered a number of parallels between some late antique texts, for instance, Plutarch, and a number of passages from the “Homilies” of Origen and Basil.

In the second part of the second chapter, we set out a hypothesis for the

reconstruction of a passage of the “Philokalia,” which allows us to draw a parallel between the introduction to the Caesarean “Commentary on Ps. 1” by Origen and the introduction to the “Homily on Ps. 1” by Basil of Caesarea. In this way, we complement the reconstruction of the text written by Origen, which is offered by R. Heine. We have come to the conclusion that the idea expressed in Basil’s “Homily on Ps. 1” as well as in Athanasius’ “Letter to Markellinos” that the Psalter is a universal source of knowledge goes back to Origen. This is evidenced by the conceptual closeness of the extended metaphors of the house (Origen), the garden (Athanasius) and the treasury (Basil) which characterize the Scripture.

Starting from this conclusion, in the third part of the second chapter, we outlined how those parts of philosophy that Origen in the prologue to the “Commentary on the Song of Songs” identifies with the content of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs are taken into account by Basil. While the ascent from ethics to epoptics structures the allegorical exegesis in the “Homily on Ps. 28” by Basil, both authors use this scheme to describe the intellectual and spiritual path of the prophet Moses, who is set as an example. Therefore, in the “Homilies,” he appears not so much as a prophet, but as an exemplary student whom the listener can imitate. At the same time, we noted that Christian exegetes preferred the rather Platonic division into “ethics,” “physics” and “epoptics” to the division into logic, ethics and physics, adopted by the Stoic tradition. This was probably due to the fact that the study of the earthly reality within physics” and the study of the divine within “epoptics” represented for them two different stages.

In the fourth part of the second chapter, we decided to focus on how Origen and Basil express the epistemological value of visible reality, the study of which within

“physics” leads to the knowledge of God. This question is relevant, since, for example, in the treatise “On the First Principles,” such an approach, which can be identified with natural theology, is attributed to the Greek philosophers. The Scripture appears here to be a self-sufficient source of knowledge. The revelation of the physical-theological argument in the “Homilies” is probably explained by pedagogical considerations and the specific features of the audience.

Finally, in the fifth part of the second chapter, we examined how the “Homilies” conceptualize the transition from ethics to epoptics, the beginning and highest goal of the Christian spiritual journey. In the “Homily on Ps. 1,” Basil refers to ethics as the acquisition of Platonic virtues, while the definition in the same text of epoptics reveals parallels with the way mystical knowledge is characterized in Origen’s “Homilies.” At the same time, ethics and epoptics are defined in the “Homilies” through musical metaphors, which goes back to Origen. First, epoptics (the contemplative way of life) is defined as a “song,” while ethics (the active way of life) is defined as a “psalm.” The latter is justified by the fact that a “song,” as a nobler genre of singing, unlike the psalm, does not need musical accompaniment. Secondly, the contemplation is identified with the psaltery, since, as a nobler instrument, it produces sound from its upper part, and also has a straight form; the active way of life, meanwhile, correlates with the lower part of the psaltery, that is, the strings, or the curved cithara. Origen and Basil call not only for a symphony of active and contemplative lifestyles, which leads to the knowledge of God, but also for a symphony of soul and mind. Such a spiritual symphony is inherent in the exegete and prophet, the inspired author of the biblical text, who not only has harmony within himself on the active and contemplative levels, but is also in harmony

with the Creator. Within the homilies that interpret the psalms, the interpreter calls his audience to the same harmony.

Due to the fact that the last part of the “Philokalia” deals with the issue of free will, the third chapter of our thesis, “The problem of choice in the “Homilies” on the Psalms of Origen and Basil of Caesarea,” we compared in detail the reception in the “Homilies” of the philosophical concept of “choice” (προαίρεσις). In examining how the Homilies conceptualize the Christian way of knowledge, the latter concept is important because it is free choice, accompanied by divine assistance, that moves the Christian toward epoptics and the acquisition of the “likeness of God,” the goal of which is salvation. At the same time, we tried to show the complexity of the reception of the concept of “choice” due to the fact that in some places Origen and Basil of Caesarea turn to the Stoic meaning of this concept, and in others show a closeness rather to the Aristotelian tradition. Such polysemy, however, is also found in the corpus of Epictetus’ texts.

In the first part of the third chapter, we showed to what extent the problem of free will was relevant in the 3rd–4th centuries within the interpretation of a set of biblical verses. In this section, on the one hand, we have analyzed a number of key passages in this regard from Origen’s corpus, and, on the other hand, we have offered a brief outline of how the concepts of “choice” and “being in one’s power” were formulated in early Christian literature before Origen and Basil of Caesarea. We have touched here on selected texts by Justin, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria. Finally, we have given some attention to arguments for human free will in the context of debates over certain astrological concepts, since texts on this topic are included in the “Philokalia.”

In the second part of the third chapter, we showed, drawing on the “Homilies” as well as other relevant texts by Origen and Basil, how these authors consider the concept of “freedom” and what place freedom has in the Christian’s moral and intellectual effort to approach deification. Thus, the study of Scripture and the imitation of God is a matter of free choice, carried out through faith strengthened by reason. At the same time, Origen and Basil of Caesarea distinguish, on the one hand, the rational nature given by God to man at creation, and, secondly, the Christian “moral” nature, which is formed by the fact that man freely leads a Christian way of life. The first nature is the fundamental virtue of rational human nature, but the Christian way of life is acquired through the development of the second. This teaching is relevant to Origen in his polemic with the Gnostics, who held that man’s salvation depended on the quality of nature given to him at creation. Although Basil does not always follow Origen in terms of terminology, he cites a number of similar concepts, for example, in the “Homily Explaining that God is Not the Cause of Evil.”

In the third part of the third chapter, we continued the topic raised above, revealing how, within the interpretation of Gen. 1, 26, Origen and Basil explain the difference between creation “in the image” and creation “in the likeness.” This teaching most likely goes back to Philo and Clement of Alexandria and has its roots in the controversy with the Gnostics. In contrast to the creation “in the image,” the creation “in the likeness” is acquired by man through his own free efforts. This teaching is reflected by Basil in the “Homily on Ps. 48” as well as in both homilies “On the Making of Man.” This also indicates that the author of the latter was not Gregory of Nyssa, but Basil. In this regard, it is also appropriate to mention Philo of Alexandria, who as to Gen. 1:26

identifies with the creation of the “inner man” the creation “in the image and likeness of God.” The image of the “inner man” is used by Origen to designate that part of the human soul that can change, gradually approaching godlikeness.

We devoted the fourth part of the third chapter to show that Origen is familiar with the Stoic tradition. We also explained why the concept of “choice” (προαίρεσις) is relevant within a comparative study of the “Homilies” by Origen and Basil.

In the fifth part of the third chapter, we gave a detailed outline of what the concept of “choice” (προαίρεσις) meant in the Aristotelian and Stoic traditions. At the same time, we paid attention to both similarities and differences in the use of this concept. We have characterized the point of view, held by some scholars, that προαίρεσις can have three meanings for Epictetus in various contexts: the choice of a specific action; the ability to make choices; a fundamental choice of life that is made over a long period of time.

In the sixth part of the third chapter, we studied those passages of the “Homilies” in which προαίρεσις is taken to mean the ability to choose. In this case, we found examples in the “First Homily on Ps. 36” by Origen, as well as in the “Homily on Ps. 48” and “Homily on Ps. 115” by Basil.

In the seventh part of the third chapter, we studied those passages of the “Homilies” in which προαίρεσις is taken to mean the choice to perform a concrete action rather in the Aristotelian sense. Among Origen’s “Homilies,” examples of this use can be found in the “Ninth Homily on Ps. 77,” while Basil demonstrates the same use in the “Homily on Ps. 33.”

In the eighth part of the third chapter, we set the task of explore instances in which προαίρεσις is used to mean to choose a certain way of life. Among Origen’s

“Homilies,” examples of such use can be found in the “Second Homily on Ps. 77” and “The Fourth Homily on Ps. 36,” while for Basil of Caesarea — in the “Homily on Ps. 115” and “Homily on Ps. 48.”

Conclusion

In the thesis, we investigated, how in the “Homilies” Origen and Basil of Caesarea resort to the late antique philosophy in order to formulate the psychagogical and speculative level of their exegesis. The journey of the soul, which is outlined in these homilies, goes through several stages corresponding to the division of philosophy into ethics, physics and epoptics. Based on the sequence according to which was shaped the ancient philosophical educational program from the 1st century, in their exegesis, Origen and Basil distinguish these three stages that characterize the gradual ascent of the soul. The latter begins with ethics, which includes the achievement of Platonic virtues, and ends with epoptics, which leads the Christian to godlikeness and the most perfect speculative knowledge of God. Between ethics and epoptics there is physics, whose goal is, by exploring the created reality, to perceive the Creator, the transcendental cause of visible and invisible creation. The Christian, who studies Scripture, is thus called to gradually move from the use of the bodily senses to the use of the spiritual senses.

This division is consistently given in some texts of Origen and Basil, which, for example, include the interpretation of the three books of Solomon in Origen’s “Commentary on the Song of Songs” as well as the exegesis of Ps. 44, 10 by Basil. As we have shown in our research, the movement towards epoptics is a key idea that unites the interpretations of the psalms by Origen and Basil of Caesarea. The correlation of individual elements of exegesis with parts of philosophy is not always explicit, as, for example, in the interpretation of Ps. 28, 4 by Basil. In this text, the movement from

ethics to epoptics, although clearly present, is without mention of the philosophical tradition. It testifies the assimilation and Christianization of the philosophical psychagogical model.

The significance of the psychagogical character of the “Homilies” is explained by the fact that Origen and Basil addressed a very wide audience, part of which were Christians or even catechumens of different levels of spiritual and intellectual preparation. The exegetes thereby interpret the psalms in such a way as to make their exegesis useful to all Christians, who are at the liturgy. Among them, they focus on the beginners, the advancing and the perfect. Moreover, if the philosophical education, for example, in the form of collective reading of Plato’s dialogues, had a rather elitist character in Late Antiquity, we see how in their “Homilies” Origen and Basil called all members of the audience to a spiritual ascent. In this regard, as to Basil, Athanasius of Alexandria and Origen, the Psalter becomes a kind of “Christian manual on epistemology.” The psalms, a collection of one hundred and fifty Jewish hymns, incorporate a specific diversity that Christian exegetes have interpreted in two ways.

First of all, Athanasius and Basil, in the images of the garden and the treasury, formulate that the Psalter contains a summary of the entire Old and New Testaments. For Origen, according to the hypothesis we formulated, the Psalter allows to reveal the spiritual meaning of any biblical book which follows from the metaphor of Holy Scripture as a house containing a large number of rooms, whose keys were mixed up together. A fragment of the “Commentary on Ps. 1” preserved as part of the “Philocalia” 1,” according to some scholars, was supposed to precede the interpretation of the psalms that Origen carried out in Caesarea. A fragment of this text in a more complete form

was in Basil's field of view, when he created his "Homilies." Although Origen, Athanasius and Basil resort to different metaphors, their conceptual similarity shows that they can be drawn back to a common tradition.

Secondly, according to Basil and Athanasius, the Psalter includes teaching corresponding to ethics and epoptics, that is the initial and final stages of Christian education. Although we do not have a complete introduction to the entire Psalter carried out by Origen, some fragments preserved, for example, as part of the prologues to the psalms, indicate that Origen adhered to the same idea. Although physics is not part of the teaching taught by the Psalter, according to Basil's "Homily on Ps. 1" and Athanasius' "Letter to Markellinos," a set of interpretations demonstrate the importance to study the created world for the knowledge of God. A similar idea is conveyed in the "Fourth Homily on Ps. 76" and "First Homily on Ps. 77" by Origen, as well as Basil's "Homily on Ps. 3." Natural theology, which in the treatise "On the First Principles" is described as an inferior method of knowledge, receives a more balanced assessment in the "Homilies," because the homilies are addressed to the so-called *simpliciores*. From a pedagogical perspective, the movement from studying creation to comprehending the Creator was more justified.

The psychagogical benefit of such an universal exegesis is expressed not only in showing beginners (whom Origen sometimes calls "unfaithful") epoptics as the ultimate goal of spiritual advancement. On a rhetorical level, medical metaphors also play an important role, which presents a number of parallels with the rhetoric of philosophical texts of the Platonic, Stoic, Epicurean and Skeptical traditions, where philosophy is conceptualized as the healing of the soul. We paid special attention to the identification

of the philosophical school and the Church with the hospital in the “Homilies” by Epictetus and Origen. What attracts attention in these extended conceptual metaphors is the emphasis that the Stoic and the Christian exegete put on the responsibility of the one who comes to the hospital. Although such a person consults a doctor, who is a philosopher or a bishop, the responsibility for treatment lies with him.

Indeed, at the basis of this journey, where the Christian is accompanied by divine grace is “choice” (προαίρεσις), the free decision to devote oneself to knowledge that underlies the philosophical way of life and Christian education. It shapes the journey of the soul, even if salvation as the final goal of this path cannot be achieved without the help of Christ. In this sense, the choice refers to a “choice of a way of life,” which, according to the definition of Jean-Baptiste Gourinat, is one of the three meanings of the concept of προαίρεσις in the texts of Epictetus. We have shown that Origen and Basil also take all these three meanings into account, although Basil tends to emphasize a person’s responsibility for his actions when using this concept. Origen, on the contrary, introduces the concept of “divine consent” (θεῖα σύμπνοια), which includes the joint participation of human free choice and divine grace.

One can also correlate with the Stoic tradition, and in particular the philosophy of Epictetus, the use of the verb “to advance” (προκόπτω), indicating the gradual acquisition of knowledge. Although this verb also appears in Luke’s Gospel in reference to Christ, there is more sense to correlate its use in the “Homilies” with its use by Philo. In his treatise “On the Allegorical Interpretation,” he says that Aaron advanced in knowledge in this way. In the “Homilies,” Moses appears as an model of an exemplary student, whose path runs through ethics, physics and epoptics.

The importance of indicating the sequence according to which Christian teaching should be assimilated, in the case of Origen, is also explained by the polemical context. The assimilation of epoptics before ethics and physics is the cause of heresies, by which he understands Gnosticism. Another methodological error of which the Gnostics are accused is a literalist exegesis and the rejection of allegorical interpretation, which was used, for example, by the Stoics, and which Origen and Basil identify with the mystical knowledge available to more advanced Christians. The refusal to read the Old Testament allegorically was condemned by Origen and Basil, because, as a result, the agreement between the Old and New Testaments was not recognized.

In the “Homilies,” the idea of the harmony, which can be traced back to the Pythagorean and Platonic traditions, finds expression on several levels. Thus, first of all, on a philological level, Origen and Basil strive to see harmony between the Old and New Testaments, which is reflected in the use of the musical terms “agreement” (συμφωνία) and “disagreement” (διαφωνία) as well as the verbs “to sing in tune” (συνᾶδεν) and “to sing out of tune” (ἀπᾶδεν). A similar harmonizing approach is also observed in some philosophical texts. For instance, Antiochus of Ascalon tried to discover common features between the Platonic and Aristotelian traditions. The mentioned terms are also found, for example, in Plutarch. The quest for harmony in the Scripture, on a philological level, going back to the Alexandrian tradition, reveals the recognition of the Logos as the bond that unifies the whole Revelation, according to Origen’s “Commentary on Ps. 1.”

Harmony is contained in the Psalter, since the psalms concern both human and divine knowledge. In the “Philocalia,” probably with a reference to Philo, Origen argues

that the Logos is the principle that underlies Scripture and the created reality. The latter also justifies the address of natural theology, which is based on the idea of a communion between the Creator and the creation. While ethics concerns human knowledge, epoptics refers only to the knowledge of God; physics represents an intermediate stage between moral preparation and contemplation of the divine.

Thus, in the thesis, we demonstrated that Origen's and Basil's "Homilies" reveal in many ways a very similar attitude both to the commentary on the Scripture (**chapters 1 and 2**) and to the problem of free will (**chapter 3**). These two aspects are relevant to the study of the influence of the Origenian tradition on the exegetical legacy of Basil, since they represent the two key issues that the readers of the "Philocalia" and Basil considered. The headings of the sections of the "Philocalia," although not formulated by the authors of the anthology themselves, because they appeared in the manuscript tradition later,⁷⁹ convincingly show that the authors of the golden age of patristics, including Basil, were not only interested in the exegesis of certain biblical verses. The "Philocalia" convincingly shows that the field of interest of the so-called "Philocalists" was also Origen's hermeneutics, which was rooted in the tradition of late antique philosophy.

The academic relevance of our research lies in the fact that, although it pays attention only to selected passages of the "Homilies on the Psalms" by Origen and Basil, it presents a fairly detailed historical and philosophical background for these sources. While Jean Gribomont notes that the method, terminology and high spiritual level of Basil's "Homilies" are reminiscent of Origen, in our thesis we have underpinned this

⁷⁹ É. Junod, "De l'anthologie de textes d'Origène, primitivement anonyme et sans titre, que la tradition intitula *Philocalie* et attribua à Basile de Césarée et Grégoire de Nazianze," *Adamantius* 27 (2021), 15.

hypothesis with the help of a set of historical and philosophical examples. In our opinion, the patterns and conceptualizations we have identified will make it possible in the future to more accurately contextualize other theological, historical, philosophical and philological elements that we could not touch on in our work.

The thesis demonstrates that a comparison of the works of Origen and Basil should not be limited to a comparison of interpretations of the same biblical verses. If we turn to the heritage that has come to us, such comparative work seems hardly possible. Much more promising, as we have shown, is an approach in which exegesis is seen as inquiry and learning, and concepts and key terms are explored. We hope that the approach we have presented will inspire more research in the same vein.

When correlating the work of Basil the Caesarea with the legacy of Origen, we tried to turn as often as possible to the “Philocalia,” which, in spite of the exclusivity of its genre and content, is rarely addressed when studying the reception of Origen in the golden age of patristics. Despite the fact that modern scholars are not inclined to use this source when studying Origen’s reception among the Cappadocians, which, no doubt, is due to the problem of the authorship of this anthology, we have shown its relevance in comparing the “Homilies” by Origen and Basil of Caesarea.

Approbation of the research results

Publications on the topic of the thesis

Works published by the author in journals indexed in international indexing and citation databases, as well as included in the list of high-level journals of the National Research University Higher School of Economics:

1. Anna Grünert, “Medicinskaja metafora lechebnicy v «Besedah» Epikteta i “Besedah na psalmy” Origena” [The Medical Metaphor of the Hospital in the “Discourses” by Epictetus and the “Homilies on the Psalms” by Origen], *Aristeas* 25 (2022): 51–70.
2. Anna Grünert, “Telesnoe zrenie i sozercanie v gnoseologicheskom kontekste: sravnenie “Besed na psalmy” Origena i svt. Vasilija Velikogo” [Corporeal Vision and Contemplation in the Epistemological Context: a Comparison of the “Homilies on the Psalms” by Origen and Saint Basil of Caesarea], *Vestnik Pravoslavnogo Sviato-Tikhonovskogo gumanitarnogo universiteta. Serii I: Bogoslovie. Filosofija. Religiovedenie* 102 (2020): 11–28.
3. Anna Grünert, “The Psalter as a Source of Knowledge in Origen’s and Basil’s Exegesis on the Psalms”, *ΣΧΟΛΗ* 17 (2) (2023): 656–671.

Other publications on the topic of the thesis

1. Anna Grünert, “Origen. Besedy I i II na Ps. 36. Chast' 1. Perevod s drevnegrecheskogo, vstupitel'naja stat'ja i kommentarii” [Origen, Homilies I and II on Psalm 36 Part 1. Translation from Ancient Greek, Introduction and Commentaries], *Biblija i hristianskaja drevnost'* 11 (3) (2012): 71–124.

2. Anna Grünert, “Origen. Besedy III i IV na Ps. 36. Chast' 2. Perevod s drevnegrecheskogo, vstupitel'naja stat'ja i kommentarii” [Origen, Homilies III and IV on Psalm 36 Part 2. Translation from Ancient Greek, Introduction and Commentaries], *Biblija i hristianskaja drevnost'* 14 (2) (2012): 57–105.

Conferences

1. “Sravnenie “Besed na psalmy” Origena iz Codex Monacensis Graecus 314 i “Besed na psalmy” svt. Vasilija Velikogo: karakteristika recepcii origenovskoj germenevtiki na osnove Filokalii” [A Comparison of Origen’s *Homilies on the Psalms* from the Codex Monacensis Graecus 314 and Basil’s *Homilies on the Psalms*: an Investigation of the Origenian Hermeneutics from the Perspective of the Philokalia], Conference Ezhegodnaja konferencija studentov i aspirantov bogoslovskogo fakul'teta (April 9, 2022, Saint Tikhon’s Orthodox University, Moscow).

2. “La notion stoïcienne de προαίρεσις dans l’exégèse chrétienne: une étude comparative des *Homélie sur les Psaumes* d’Origène et de Basile de Césarée” [The Concept of προαίρεσις in Christian Exegesis: a Comparative Study of Origen’s and Basil of Caesarea’s *Homilies on the Psalms*], Conference *Colloquium Origenianum Tertium Decimum* (16 August, 2020, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster).

3. “Filokalija Origena kak kljuch k ponimaniju ekzegezy kappadokijcev na primere gomiletiki svt. Vasilija Velikogo” [The Philocalia as a Key to Understand the Exegesis of the Cappadocians: the Case of Basil of Caesarea’s homiletics], Conference Patrsistika v svete sovremennih istoriko-teologicheskikh issledovaniy (February 13, Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University, Moscow).

4. “The Philosophical and the Spiritual Hospital as a Late Antique Psychagogical Metaphor: A Comparison between Epictetus' Discourses and Origen's Homilies on the Psalms”, International Conference *Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Patristic Studies* (March 28, 2023, York University, Toronto).