Das vergessene ethische Stichwort: Humilitas

Humility and Humiliation as Instruments of Peace in Origen's Preaching

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Introduction

In recent years, theologian and exegete Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254) has rightly attracted renewed scholarly attention for his contribution to the development of Christian ideas of human freedom and dignity. These studies underline Origen's high regard for the human soul endowed with reason and with freedom of choice, possessing a natural affinity with the Logos and Son of God and thus capable of progress towards a very high degree of participation to divinity. This article examines an aspect of Origen's thought that is complementary to his views on the nobility of humanity but has arguably not received as much scholarly attention, namely humility and humiliation as the first steps towards a closer relationship with God.

The article focuses on the way Origen presents humility to his congregation. Origen's homilies were likely delivered between 245 and 249 in Caesarea (Palestine) and covered nearly

¹ To make just a few examples: ALEXANDER PIERCE, "Apokatastasis, Genesis 1.26–27, and the Theology of History in Origen's *De Principiis*," *JECS* 29/2 (2021): 169–191; ALFONS FÜRST, *Wege zur Freiheit* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022); JOHN SOLHEID, "Origen of Alexandria and Human Dignity," *ZAC* 27/2 (2023): 226–256; GAETANO LETTIERI, "Progress: A Key Idea for Origen and Its Inheritance," in *Progress in Origen and the Origenian Tradition*, ed. GAETANO LETTIERI et al. (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2023), 17–53; SARA CONTINI, *Human Dignity in the Latin Reception of Origen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2023).

² For Origen's views on deification see especially the studies on his Homily on Psalm 81: LORENZO PERRONE, "Meine Zunge ist mein Ruhm" (Münster: Aschendorff, 2021), 317–344; ALFONS FÜRST, Vergöttlichung und Sozialethik (Münster: Aschendorff, 2024), cf. RAFFAELE TONDINI, "Il Salmo 82 di Origene," Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo 22 (2025): 151–162; JADWIGA GUERRERO VAN DER MEIJDEN, The Making of Human Dignity in Christian Antiquity (Paderborn: Brill/Schöningh, 2024), 37–41.

the whole of Scripture.³ Only some homilies on Psalms, Jeremiah, and 1 Sam 28 survive in Greek, whereas other sermons are available in Latin translations made by Jerome or Rufinus between 380 and 411.⁴ The first section of this article analyses selected Greek and Latin homiletic passages on humility, outlining Origen's understanding and framing of this virtue. The second explores humility as the key to pacification within the context of spiritual warfare, taking Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Third Homily on the Book of Judges* as a case study.⁵ The concluding remarks address the countercultural implications of Origen's preaching on humility.

1. Humility in Origen's Preaching

Origen offers a definition of humility in *Hom.Luc*. 8.4–7,6 where he addresses the question of the ταπείνωσις/humilitas that God sees in Mary (Luke 1:48): how can the woman who bears the Son of God be called "humble"? Scholars have noted that Origen (or perhaps Jerome, his translator⁷) struggles to convey a positive understanding of ταπείνωσις, a term seldom regarded as a virtue in the ancient world and therefore difficult to promote as an ethical ideal comparable to justice, temperance, fortitude, or wisdom. Origen's strategy is to root Mary's humility both in the philosophical tradition and in Scripture: hers is the same virtue that Christ himself claims to exemplify (Matt 11:29) and that philosophers designate as ἀτυφία (this term refers to those who are not "inflated" or "puffed up", so it could be translated as "lack of arrogance", or "lack of vanity") or μετριότης ("moderation"). Origen explains it as the disposition of one who is not *inflatus* ("puffed up") like the devil (cf. 1 Tim 3:6) but rather seeks *mansuetudo* ("gentleness") and *deiectio* ("self-abasement"). God does great things in Mary (Luke 1:49), for only those who approach God with fear and an awareness of their weakness will be rewarded with the most prized values of Late Antiquity: *virtus*, *imperium*,

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³ ANTONIO GRAPPONE, "Annotazioni sulla cronologia delle omelie di Origene," Aug. 41/1 (2001): 27–58.

⁴ For an overview of Origen's extant output, see ALFONS FÜRST, SAMUEL FERNÁNDEZ, eds., *Clavis Origenis* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2024).

Fruinus claims that he translated Origen's homilies on Joshua, Judges, and Psalms 36–38 plainly, following the text as he found it (*Comm.Rom. epil.*, AGLB 34: 860 HAMMOND BAMMEL). Although no Greek fragment of the *Homilies on Judges* is available, Rufinus' claim can be verified by comparing his translation of the *Homilies on Psalm 36* with the extant Greek text (EMANUELA PRINZIVALLI, "L'originale e la traduzione di Rufino," in *Origenes Werke XIII*: Die neuen Psalmenhomilien, ed. LORENZO PERRONE et al. [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015], 35–57; MARCO SETTECASE, "Riflessioni su testo e lingua di Origene (II)," *Commentaria Classica* 11 [2024]: 337–354) and of the *Homilies on Joshua* with the Greek fragments (ANNIE JAUBERT, *Origène. Homélies sur Josué* [Paris: Cerf, 1960], 68–82; ANTONIO GRAPPONE, *Omelie origeniane nella traduzione di Rufino* [Roma: Augustinianum, 2007], 235–276). The translation of the nine *Homilies on Judges* can thus be overall considered faithful to the structure of Origen's discourse, if not word-for-word, cf. ELIZABETH DIVELY LAURO, *Origen. Homilies on Judges* (Washington, D.C.: CUA Press, 2010), 5–12.

⁶ GCS 49: 50–52 RAUER (Latin translation and Greek fragments). For an overview of Jerome's translation of the *Homilies on the Gospel of Luke*, see STEFANO TAMPELLINI, "Le *Omelie su Luca* da Origene a Gerolamo," *Adam.* 18 (2012): 226–232; on the hermeneutical theme of Mary's humility, see BRIAN REYNOLDS, "The Patristic and Medieval Roots of Mary's Humility," in *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, ed. CHRIS MAUNDER (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 320–337.

⁷ LUANA LUCIA ASCONE, "Da Origene a Gerolamo e ritorno," Adam. 29 (2023): 188–199 (194–196).

⁸ JOSEPH LIENHARD, *Origen. Homilies on Luke* (Washington, D.C.: CUA Press, 1996), 35; MARIUSZ SZRAM, "Mesótes – megalopsychía – tapeínosis," Vox Patrum 34 (2014): 257–265; JACLYN MAXWELL, Simplicity and Humility in Late Antique Christian Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 119–157.

potestas regia.⁹ In Origen's homilies, this somewhat controversial view on humility is carefully grounded in Scripture, particularly Luke 14:11 (=Luke 18:14) and Prov 3:34, demonstrating that those who lower themselves (humilis is etymologically connected to humus, "the ground" deserve to be exalted by God, whereas those who foolishly attempt to elevate themselves, for whatever reason, "I will be humiliated.

In Origen's homilies, the ascetic practice of humiliation is portrayed as a daily spiritual fasting that imitates Christ's humility and gentleness (Matt 11:29), ¹² as well as the humble yet enduring glory of his incarnation and crucifixion (Luke 24:26). ¹³ This ascent through pious humiliation mirrors Christ's philanthropic descent and subsequent exaltation (Phil 2:5–9). ¹⁴ The theme of Christ as the teacher of humility acquires sociological and ecclesiological dimensions: the foremost audience of his example are Church leaders, who are called to serve rather than to rule. ¹⁵ More broadly, Origen exhorts his listeners to not be swayed by other people's wealth and prestige – fleeting and meaningless things – but rather to imitate Christ's humility, which alone brings genuine benefit, namely a spiritual reward in the life to come. ¹⁶ Accordingly, Origen presents humility and gentleness as the most mature responses to provocation and aggression. ¹⁷

The ambiguity of humility, at once despicable and desirable, creates a lingering tension in Origen's homilies, where the language of lowliness functions both positively, as the gateway to progress, and negatively, as the antithesis of nobility and divinity. Origen frequently interprets the mountains and high places in Scripture as figures of spiritual realities, in contrast to the lowliness of worldly things. ¹⁸ In *Hom.Jer*. 6.3, for instance, Origen affirms that both Scripture and philosophy extol the greatness of the rational soul that rejects everything $\tau \alpha \pi \epsilon \iota \nu \acute{\nu} v$. Likewise, Origen describes the acquisition of a spiritual understanding of Scripture, which according to him is the quintessential ascetic exercise and principal means of

⁹ Luke 1:50–51, here understood as τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν ἐποίησεν κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ.

¹¹ There is no good reason for pride: *Hom.Jer*. 12.7–8 (Greek: GCS 6: 94–95 KLOSTERMANN/NAUTIN; Latin by Jerome: PL 25: 654–655).

¹⁴ Cf. for a recent treatment of this topic MICHAEL MAGREE, *The Interpretation of Kenosis from Origen to Cyril of Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024).

¹⁰ ThLL *ad loc*.

¹² *Hom.Lev.* 10.2 (GCS 29: 443–444 BAEHRENS).

¹³ *Hom.Exod.* 6.1 (GCS 29: 192–193).

¹⁵ Hom.Isa. 6.1; Hom.Ezech. 9.2 (GCS 33: 269–270, 408–409 BAEHRENS).

¹⁶ *Hom.36Ps.* 3.10, 5.5 (Greek: GCS NF 19: 153 PRINZIVALLI; Latin by Rufinus: SC 411: 166–168, 238–244 PRINZIVALLI).

¹⁷ *Hom.38Ps.* 1.4–6 (SC 411: 338–348). For attitudes to anger in Early Christianity see SUSAN WESSEL, "A Comparative Study of Anger," *Journal of Ethics in Antiquity and Christianity* 2 (2020): 40–49.

¹⁸ Cf. José Fernández Lago, *La montaña en las homílias de Orígenes* (Santiago de Compostela: Ed. Inst. Teológico Compostelano, 1993). God wants us to ascend from the *humilia* to bigger and higher things, and for this reason his Son descends towards our humbleness: *Hom.Cant.* 1.6, 2.3 (GCS 33: 36, 45); *Hom.Gen.* 2.5 (GCS NF 17: 49 HABERMEHL).

¹⁹ GCS 6: 50. Origen often claims that sin makes the soul humble, while virtue makes it great and exalted: *Hom.Lev*. 12.2 (GCS 29: 456); *Hom.74Ps*. 3 (GCS NF 19: 274 PERRONE). On the other hand, in *Hom.Lev*. 6.2 (GCS 29: 361) he states that only souls who make themselves humble, mild, and fearful of God deserve to receive the grace of Baptism, as the Holy Spirit rejects pride, cf. *Hom.37Ps*. 1.6 (SC 411: 292, 294); *Hom.73Ps*. 3.10 (GCS NF 19: 268 CACCIARI). Humility can also denote the Church as opposed to Israel and identify the reason why the nations are favoured by God: *Hom.Ezech*. 12.5 (GCS 33: 439).

intellectual and moral progress, as an elevation above the baseness of the letter. ²⁰ This complex dynamic between abasement and loftiness reaches its resolution in the discourse on humiliation and exaltation in Origen's *Third Homily on Judges*.

2. Humility and Spiritual Warfare: The Third Homily on Judges

Origen's Homilies on Judges revolve around the cyclical narrative of idolatry, servitude, repentance, and pacification in the Book of Judges. ²¹ After Joshua's death (Judg 2:8), the Israelites abandon their God and begin to worship foreign deities; God, angered, lets the surrounding kingdoms defeat and enslave Israel. Israel cries out for deliverance, and God raises a judge to rescue his people. While the judge lives, Israel serves God, but after his death Israel breaks the covenant, and the cycle starts again. Books such as Leviticus or Numbers, with their detailed information on the organisation of the ancient Israel, a State that did not exist anymore at the time of Origen, and lists of prescriptions that the Christians do not observe, or Joshua and Judges, with their narratives of war and vengeance, pose a challenge for Origen, who aims to show that these books convey an important message to Christians, especially to Church leaders and teachers.²² Origen responds by interpreting the cycle of idolatry and liberation allegorically. Idolatry, that sets the drama in motion, is in fact a sin that every Christian can commit, i.e. valuing something else above one's relationship with God. 23 Israel's wars become symbols of the soul's struggle to free herself from sin, a burden that drags her down and binds her to the world, and to ascend toward the love of God.²⁴ Human beings, Origin explains, are constantly harassed by demons who wish to deceive them into pursuing meaningless and transitory things such as pleasure, wealth, social status, or the appearance of wisdom. Under such tyranny, the "land" of the soul cannot know peace. 25 Scripture, however, instructs believers to cultivate discernment and to seek the guidance of Christ and the saints. thereby suppressing these intrusive demonic urges and reenacting within themselves Christ's triumph and the lasting peace that follows (1 Cor 15:24–28). For Origen, every soul must submit to a leader, in the sense that, when we decide how to live our lives, we choose to dedicate ourselves to one thing or another. Bodily desires enslave, but Christ leads to authentic freedom and self-realisation.²⁶

Origen's conception of spiritual warfare places human agency at its center: hostile powers can harm us only when we leave the door open for them, by neglecting our pursuit of virtue.²⁷

²⁰ For example: *Hom.Judic*. 8.2 (GCS 30: 510 BAEHRENS); *Hom.36Ps*. 3.7 (Greek: GCS NF 19: 148; Latin: SC 411: 152. Ταπεινόν in this pejorative sense is here rendered by Rufinus as *brutus*).

²¹ SUSANNE GILLMAYR-BUCHER, "Framework and Discourse in the Book of Judges," JBL 128/4 (2009): 687–702.

²² Cf. SARA CONTINI, "Judging the Judges," in *Perspectives on Origen*, ed. ALFONS FÜRST (Münster: Aschendorff, 2021), 81–10; ELIZABETH DIVELY LAURO, "Origen Makes Preachers of Us All," in *Patristic Exegesis in Context*, ed. MIRIAM DE COCK and ELIZABETH KLEIN (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2023), 36–57. A thematic summary of Origen's *Homilies on Judges* will be available in the forthcoming *Origenes Handbuch*, edited by ALFONS FÜRST (Mohr Siebeck).

²³ Hom.Judic. 2.3 (GCS 30: 474–477).

²⁴ Hom.Judic. 5.3–5 (GCS 30: 493–495).

²⁵ Hom.Judic. 7.1 (GCS 30: 504–505).

²⁶ Hom.Judic. 6.3 (GCS 30: 501).

²⁷ Hom.Judic. 2.5; 3.4 (GCS 30: 478–480, 484–485).

Likewise, it is up to each believer to take the first step toward victory and peace, as illustrated in *Hom.Judic*. 3.1–3,²⁸ where Origen comments on the defeat of Israel, who had committed idolatry, by Cushan-rishathaim (Judg 3:7–8). For Origen, this biblical king is in fact a demon, and his name means "their humiliation". ²⁹ God's punishments are terrible to endure (hence, Origen urges his audience to identify and suppress sin in oneself without waiting for the inevitable punishment), but are always therapeutic: pride is a disease of the soul, infiltrating every level of society, from the most destitute to Church leaders, who should be the first to follow Christ's teaching of humility and to exemplify it for others. So, according to the medicinal principle by which the remedy is the opposite of the malady, the sin of impious exaltation, i.e. the delusion that one can go forward in life without relying on God, ³⁰ is corrected by humiliation. Though painful, the recognition that one has served vanity and sought dominance over others without true reward marks the beginning of conversion. This spiritual awakening arises through pious humiliation: liberation begins when a person acknowledges their inability to elevate themselves and cries out to God. Such sincere prayer is always heard; through the Saviour, God defeats even the mightiest enemies and grants a lasting peace (Judg 3:9–11). In other words, the allure of sin (especially the pursuit of social status) brings the soul down while pretending to lift it up above others; while forced down, the soul becomes

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²⁸ Quando fecerunt filii Istrahel malignum in conspectu Dei, [...] ac relinquentes eum servierunt Baalim et lucis gentium (Iud 3, 7), tunc [...] traditi sunt iusto Dei iudicio in manus [...] Chusarsaton regis Mesopotamiae (Iud 3, 8). Interpretatur autem Chusarsaton humiliatio eorum. Traditi ergo sunt in manus eius qui humiliaret eos. Et quia ipsi in excelsis montium impie agebant in Altissimum, propterea ab ipso in humilitatem traduntur. Sed nolo putes quia erga antiquos solummodo erat haec divina providentia, ut eos qui impie exaltabantur traderet humiliandos et salubri medicinae ratione contraria contrariis curarentur, nunc autem omnipotenti Deo erga ecclesiam suam deest huiusmodi salubritas providentiae. Est etiam nunc Chusarsaton [...] cui traduntur humiliandae et affligendae animae quae christiana humilitate contempta in superbiam se [...] dederunt. Odiosum satis est in conspectu Dei superbiae vitium [...]. Si quis igitur Christi humilitate contempta qui propter nos [...] humiliavit se usque ad mortem (Phil 2, 8), extollitur et effertur, ad potestates atque ad dignitates saeculi prosilit et artes quibus haec assequi nititur, etiamsi contra fidem et religionem sint, non refugit nec horrescit, dummodo quod cupit obtineat, inde evenit ut faciat malignum in conspectu Domini; et posteaquam summis indeptus fuerit infulis potestatum et ad ipsa superbiae fastigia summa conscenderit, inde deiectus traditur huic Chusarsaton, uni scilicet ex aeriis principibus (Eph 2, 2), sicut et alibi Pharaon et alibi Chiram, ut humiliet eum qui nimis fuerat exaltatus, ut affligat et conterat donec resipiscat et quaerat Dominum; quia, cum esset in superbia et elatione constitutus, ignorabat Deum. [...] Sed et unusquisque nostrum, etiamsi parvus sit, etiamsi minimus, etiamsi nulla usus sit in saeculo dignitate, potest superbiae vitio laborare [...]. Nonnumquam autem morbus iste superbiae penetrat non solum pauperes plebis, verum etiam ipsum sacerdotalem [...] ordinem pulsat. Invenias interdum etiam in nobis aliquos qui ad exemplum humilitatis positi sumus [...] in quibus arrogantiae vitium fetet [...]. Sed abiciatur, quaeso, ab omni hac santa ecclesia et praecipue ab his qui ministrant in sanctis odor iste taeterrimus, [...] ne [...] tradat nos in manus Chusarsaton, ut humilitatem quam in scientia Christi docere debuimus in correptionis nostrae tribulatione discamus. [...] Disce haec et tu, o auditor, quisque ille es, qui tibi conscius es alicuius erroris. Et quanto tempore errasse te nosti, quanto tempore deliquisti, tanto nihilominus tempore humilia te ipsum Deo et satisfacito ei in confessione paenitentiae. Non expectes ut humiliet te Chusarsaton et invito necessitas extorqueat paenitentiam, sed ipse praeveni tortoris istius manus [...]. Sed et illud consideremus quia donec servirent Chusarsaton hi qui traditi fuerant pro delictis et non clamarent ad Dominum, nemo suscitatus est qui salvare eos posset. Cum vero clamaverunt ad Dominum, tunc suscitavit Dominus salvatorem Istrahel et salvavit eos (Iud 3, 9). [...] Salvatorem autem dicit Gothoniel [...]. Per hunc [...] ille populus de servitute humilitatis ereptus est et reddita est pax populo [...]. Vides quam larga est divina clementia. Octo annis filii Istrahel servierant (Iud 3, 8) pro multorum delictis, quadraginta annis pro unius iustitia in pace (Iud 3, 11) perdurant (GCS 30: 480–484).

²⁹ The interpretation of Hebrew names is a key feature of Origen's spiritual exegesis: PIERRE MESSIÉ et al., *Origene. Omelie sui Giudici* (Bologna: ESD, 2010), 31–34.

³⁰ Cf. *Hom.Judic*. 9.1 (GCS 30: 516).

aware of her nature, recognising her limits but also her true calling, and humbly turns up to God, who lifts her up, this time in the correct way. Thus, Origen shows what a book about war can teach about peace, with God but also with each other: the spiritual Israel is at peace when everyone serves God, without competing with each other for social status. The war between the downward and the upward pull that tore apart the soul is finally resolved, and victory came not from dominance but from submission: in Rufinus' translation of the *Third Homily on Judges* this paradox is rendered through the artful alternation of terms for humility and exaltation.

Conclusions

In texts such as the *Third Homily on Judges*, humility and submission stand at the very foundation of Origen's ethics. The resolution of spiritual warfare is achieved through the saving grace of God, yet it begins only when the individual freely chooses to recognise Christ as their leader. Origen's denunciation of the pursuit of social recognition and his conviction that humility reproduces, within the Church and within each soul, the kingship of Christ carry profound countercultural implications, both for Origen's audience and for Rufinus' and Jerome's readership of noble men and women and Church leaders. Future studies on Origen's treatment of humility and submission, both as moral virtues that became foundational to Late Antique monasticism³¹ and as theological categories, may offer valuable insights into Origen's pastoral and ecclesiological concerns, as well as into his views on the relationship between the Father, the Son, and the creatures especially in eschatology (cf. 1 Cor 15:28). Moreover, renewed attention to the interaction between traditional Roman and Christian values in the Latin translations of Origen can illuminate the reception of his thought as an active process of mediation and adaptation, through which Greek Christian theology was reframed to address the spiritual and social concerns of the Roman ruling class.³²

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³¹ See for example MICHAEL CHAMPION, "*Paideia* as Humility and Becoming God-like in Dorotheos of Gaza," *JECS* 25/3 (2017): 441–469; KATARINA PÅLSSON, "Jerome and His Readers," *Journal for Late Antique Religion and Culture* 18 (2024): 74–94.

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