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ORIGEN AS A SOURCE OF EVAGRIAN EIGHT PASSIONATE THOUGHTS²

Abstract

This study focuses on the question of if and in what sense Origen can be considered as the source of the Evagrian teaching of the eight passionate thoughts. Origen is his source in the indirect sense, as the terminological inspiration of particular passionate thoughts. Evagrius has taken over from the New Testament the three so-called fundamental passionate thoughts (gluttony, avarice and vainglory) and the limitation of their number to the eight principal thoughts. The description of cause-and-effect relationships between all eight passionate thoughts, both in the empirical order and in the spiritual struggle between the individual thoughts, is a personal contribution of Evagrius, based on his own experience and the spiritual direction of other monks.

Keywords: Evagrius Ponticus, Origen, eight passionate thoughts.

ORYGENES JAKO ŹRÓDŁO EWAGRIAŃSKIEJ TEORII OŚMIU NAMIĘTNYCH MYŚLI

Abstrakt

Artykuł koncentruje się na pytaniu, czy i w jakim sensie Orygenes może być uznawany za źródło nauki Ewagriusza z Pontu na temat ośmiu namiętnych myśli. Z przedstawionych analiza wynika, że Orygenes może być uznany za źródło Ewagriusza jedynie w sensie pośrednim, jako inspiracja terminologiczna dla każdej z namiętnych myśli, gdyż tylko w jego pismach pojawiają się wszystkie terminy użyte przez mnicha z Pontu. Natomiast z Nowego Testamentu Ewagriusz przejął naukę o trzech źródłowych myślach namiętnych (obżarstwo, chciwość i próżna chwała) oraz ograniczenie ich liczby do ośmiu. Zaś sam opis wzajemnych relacji pomiędzy nimi, zarówno w porządku empirycznym jak też duchowej walki, jest osobistym wkładem Ewagriusza opartym na własnym doświadczeniu i duchowym kierownictwie innych mnichów.

Słowa kluczowe: Ewagriusz z Pontu, Orygenes, osiem namiętnych myśli

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INTRODUCTION

Claire and Antoine Guillaumont in their *Introduction* to the treatise *Practicus* came to the conclusion that Origen was the source of a category of eight passionate thoughts of Evagrius, because only in his texts do all the terms present in the writings of the Pontian Monk appear (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971, 63-83). In my study written in Polish (Misiarczyk 2007, 134-135) I myself followed this opinion, but subsequent research led me to conclude that this statement was not exactly true. Guillaumont's proposal demands a certain correction and a detailed clarification as to the sense in which we can say that Origen is the source of the Evagrian category of eight passionate thoughts. In fact, the convergence of the terms for the description of the eight *logismoi* in Origen and Evagrius was only sufficient to explain the origin of their list, but not the whole category understood as cause-effect relationship, which is a personal contribution of Evagrius completely absent in Origen's writings. In this study I would like to more deeply explore the sense in which Origen can be considered a source of of Evagrian *logismoi*.

1. THE EIGHT PASSIONATE THOUGHTS

In *Practicus* 6 which, as we know, concerns the first stage of the spiritual life of a monk or ascetic practice, Evagrius wrote:

All generic types of thoughts fall into eight categories in which every sort of thoughts is included. First is gluttony, then fornication, third avarice, fourth sadness, fifth anger, sixth acedia, seventh vainglory, eighth pride. Whether or not all these thoughts trouble the soul is not within our power; but it is for us to decide if they are to linger within us or not and whether or not they stir up the passions (Sinkiewicz 2005, 97-98).

Ὅκτώ εἰσι μάντες οἱ γενικώτατοι λογισμοὶ ἐν οἷς περίχεται πᾶς λογισμός. Πρῶτος ὁ τῆς γαστριμαργίας, καὶ μετ'αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς πορνείας· τρίτος ὁ τῆς φιλαργυρίας· τέταρτος ὁ τῆς λύπης· πέμπτος ὁ τῆς ὀργῆς· ἕκτος ὁ τῆς ἀκηδίας· ἕβδομος ὁ τῆς κενοδοξίας· ὄγδοος ὁ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας. Τούτους πάντας παρενοχλεῖν μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ ἢ μὴ παρενοχλεῖν, τῶν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ· τὸ δὲ χρονίζειν αὐτοὺς ἢ μὴ χρονίζειν, ἢ πάθη κινεῖν ἢ μὴ κινεῖν τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

(Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971, 506-508).

The theory of eight *logismoi* is undoubtedly *pièce maitresse* in the ascetic doctrine of Evagrius and became the basis of the later category of the seven deadly sins in the Church's moral teaching (Stewart 2005, 3-34). According to Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 11) Genadius of Marseille was convinced that Evagrius had created or compiled the entire list of eight principal passionate thoughts: *Evagrius monachus (...) scripsit (...) adversus octo principalium vitiorum suggestiones, quas aut primus advertit aut inter primos didicit (...)*. A more accurate analysis of

ancient sources suggests that our monk did not invent the whole category itself, but rather systematized the teaching of earlier Christian and pagan authors. However, when we ask from where he had taken over the whole category of the eight passionate thoughts, we cannot indicate any specific author or group of people. Scholars studying Evagrian texts have proposed several hypotheses, but none of them found complete and exclusive acceptance. Let's now look at these hypotheses in detail.

2. THE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF THE LIST OF EIGHT PASSIONATE THOUGHTS BEFORE ORIGEN

At the end of the 19th century, Zöckler put forward an hypothesis followed also by other scholars, that the moral doctrine of the Stoics had influenced the catalog of the eight principle *logismoi* of Evagrius (Zöckler 1893; Wrzoł 1923, 385-404 and Wrzoł 1924, 89-91; Stelzenberger 1993, 379-396). According to this proposal, the eight passionate thoughts of Evagrius would have been taken over from Stoic teaching regarding four *πάθη* and four *κακίαι*. If we, however, compare four main passions in the system of Stoic ethics: ἡδονή, ἐπιθυμία, φόβος and λύπη and four principal *vitia*: ἀφροσύνη, δειλία, ἀκολασία, ἀδικία which are opposed by four virtues: φρόνησις, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, we will very easily see that only the term λύπη is exactly the same as in the catalog of Evagrius. All others are completely different.

Stoic system	Evagrian list
ἡδονή	γαστριμαργία
ἐπιθυμία	πορνεία
φόβος	φιλαργυρία
λύπη	λύπη
ἀφροσύνη	ὄργη
δειλία	ἀκηδία
ἀκολασία	κενοδοξία
ἀδικία	ὑπερηφανία

Ireneé Hausherr and Claire and Antoine Guillaumont were right to reject the direct and exclusive influence of the Stoics on Evagrius and for different reasons (Hausherr 1933, 164-165; Guillaumont 1971, 73-75). Firstly, the Stoics call the passions *πάθη* and *κακίαι*, while the monk from Pontus, although he also used those terms, always used the term *λογισμοί* when talking about the eight passionate thoughts. Secondly, except for λύπη all other terms of the Stoics do not have counterparts in the catalog of the Pontian monk. So we cannot talk about the impact of Stoicism if almost all the terms in both lists are completely different.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Schiwietz (Schiwietz 1906, 268-275) proposed *Epistula ad Maecenam* I 33-40 of Horatius as the source of the

Evagrian list of eight passionate thoughts, six of which correspond to the terms used by Evagrius:

Fervet *avaritia* miseroque *cupidine* pectus:
 Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
 Possis et magnam morbi deponere partem;
Laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula, quae te
 Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
 Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
 Si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.

This *Letter* is undoubtedly proof of the widespread reflection on the catalog of human faults in various circles, but one can doubt whether Horace was indeed the inspiration for Evagrius. First of all, the text is in Latin and Evagrius probably did not know that language. Secondly, even if the six terms present in the *Letter* would agree with those of Evagrius (*avaritia, cupidine, amor laudis, invidia, iracundia, inertia*), it is still difficult to ascertain the relationship between these authors as they have written in different languages. Thirdly, it is difficult to imagine the monks in the Egyptian desert reading the works of Horace. It is always possible, of course, that Evagrius was familiar with Horace's work in Constantinople or in Jerusalem, but it remains in the sphere of speculations very difficult to verify.

Some scholars have proposed the astral religion as the source of the catalog of eight passionate thoughts in Evagrius (Reitzenstein 1904, 232-238; Zielinski 1905, 437-442; Gothein 1907, 416-448; Schiwietz 1906, 266-274; Wrzoł 1923, 385-404 and Wrzoł 1924, 89-91; Vögtle 1941a, 217-237; Bloomfield 1952, 43-67). According to the gnostic theory, when the *demiourgoi* wanted to create the material world, they first created seven evil spirits (*archontoi*), who became guardians of each of the spheres of the emerging world and would symbolize one single defect. When the soul after its fall was forced to merge with matter, descending into the earthly world it had to go through all these spheres, taking on the characteristics of each of these defects. If it now wants to be free from the present state, it must rediscover its path, freeing itself from the power of the seven demons responsible for the seven spheres and defects (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971, 79-82). The traces of similar beliefs about the existence of planets or spheres, which are evil powers are found in the *Commentary to Eneida* VI, 714 of Servian and the *Book of Enoch* 18:13. In the first text the author emphasizes that *Mathematici* (= *astrologers*) *fungunt quod (...) cum descendunt animae, trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, Veneris libidinem, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iovis regni desiderium*. It is worth noting that five mentioned faults coincide with the catalog of Evagrius: *acedia* (*torpor*), anger (*iracundia*), impurity (*libidine*), greed (*lucri cupiditas*) and pride (*regni desiderium*), but have been expressed in other terms and in the Latin language. The author of the *Book of Enoch* seems to identify seven planets with seven evil spirits that have turned away from God. Again, however, similarities

are not sufficient to justify the influence on Evagrius of the mythological Gnostic theories. The fundamental difference regards the number of thoughts and technical terminology. In Evagrian texts we have eight spirits, but in the gnostic theory only seven. Proponents of the astral hypothesis were seeking more of an explanation of the source of origin for the later category of the seven deadly sins used in the Catholic Church than the eight passionate thoughts in Evagrius. Mike Bloomfield proposed to add to the seven celestial spheres one more in order to have eight, which in the gnostic theory would already be a kind of constant sky, but this is an unconvincing proposition (Bloomfield 1952, 61). Next, we find neither in the gnostic texts nor in the writings of the Church Fathers who have entered into polemics with them terminology close to the list of Evagrius. In short, the astral hypothesis as the origin of the list of principal thoughts of the Pontus monk is a product of the fantasy of scholars rather than their real source.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Zarine suggested that the sources of the Evagrian list should be sought in the Egyptian monastic tradition. So he put forward the assumption that the monk of Pontus took over the category of eight passionate thoughts from Macarius of Egypt (Zarine 1907, 309-353). It is true that in Macarius' treatise *Prayer* among the passionate thoughts tormenting a monk are mentioned πορνεία and κενοδοξία, and in his 2 *Spiritual Homily* κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία and φιλαργυρία, but the full Evagrian list is absent in these texts and some scholars still doubt that Macarius is the author of *Spiritual Homilies* (Hausherr 1933, 165).

Ireneé Hausherr proposed to remain in search of inspiration for Evagrius in monastic circles, especially in the text entitled *Life of Saint Syncretica*. The work, however, which as he himself admits is contemporary to Evagrius or written shortly afterwards, rather only confirms the existence in the monastic tradition of the teaching about passionate thoughts, since it mentions only four of them from the list of the monk from Pontus: πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, λύπη, ὑπερηφανία (Hausherr 1933, 173-175).

Other scholars in turn have proposed ancient and early Christian and Judaic texts as a source of Evagrian teaching on the eight *logismoi*. In the writings of Philo of Alexandria we find a very interesting fragment in *De opificio mundi* 79, in which appear some terms present in evagrian texts:

And this will be so (= the life similar to that in Paradise) if irrational pleasures do not get control of the soul, making their assaults upon it through greediness (γαστριμαργία) and lust (λαγνεία), nor the desires for glory (ἐπιθυμίαι δοξῆς) or wealth (χρημάτων) or power arrogate to themselves the control of the life, nor sorrows lower (αἰ λῦπαι) and depress the mind; and if fear, that evil counsellor, does not dispel high impulses to noble deeds, nor folly and cowardice and injustice and the countless host of other vices assail him
(Philo Alexandrinus 1981, 65-66).

We have here expressions such as “irrational lusts” (ἄλογοι ἡδοναί), gluttony (γαστριμαργία, lasciviousness (λαγνεία) similar to impurity though expressed by another term, lust of glory (ἐπιθυμίαι δοξῆς) similar to vain glory, the desire for wealth (χρημάτων) close to greed, and sadnesses (αἱ λύπαι). We cannot forget however, that there are only two of the Evagrius terms present in Philo’s texts: γαστριμαργία and in plural αἱ λύπαι. Others are lacking and the direct influence of Philo on Evagrius in this regard is rather doubtful.

Among the Qumran texts, and specifically in the *Rule of the Community*, we find a very interesting fragment:

However, to the spirit of deceit belong greed, sluggishness in the service of justice, wickedness, falsehood, pride, haughtiness of heart, dishonesty, trickery, cruelty, much insincerity, impatience, much foolishness, impudent enthusiasm for appalling acts performed in a lustful passion, filthy paths in the service of impurity, blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, hardness of hearing, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart in order to walk in all the paths of darkness and evil cunning (The Rule of Community 1999, 77-78).

In the text, as we can easily see, we find six terms that are similar to those in the Evagrius list: greed, sluggishness very similar to acedia, pride and haughtiness, anger and a spirit of lustful passion. Even the analysis of the Hebrew terms is not going to bring much clarification here because the thoughts or spirits in the *Rule of the Community* do not form a catalog of eight passions as in the texts of Evagrius, but these six are mixed with many others. And last but not least, Evagrius certainly did not know the Hebrew language so it is impossible that he would have been inspired by a Qumran text like the *Rule of the Community*.

In the Greek text of the *Testament of Ruben*, which belongs to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we find a fragment regarding seven spirits of error:

With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error (ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης). First, the spirit of fornication (τὸ τῆς πορνείας πνεῦμα) is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness (ἀπληστεία γαστρούς) in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting (μάχη), in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of obsequiousness and chicanery (ἀρέσκεια καὶ μαγγανεία), that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The fifth is the spirit of pride (ὑπερηφανία), that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying (ψεῦδος), to practice deceits and concealments from kindred and friends. The seventh is the spirit of injustice (ἀδικία) with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfill the desire of his heart; for injustice worked together with other spirits by taking of gifts. [And with all these spirit of sleep (ὑπνος) is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy] (Charles 1964, 297-298).

It is very interesting to note that we have here a very similar list of eight spirits to Evagrius. However, only two Greek terms, πορνεία and ὑπερηφανία are exactly the same and the third ἀπληστεία γαστρός is close to γαστριμαργία but not identical. Some similarities of this list with Evagrius are obvious, but one can doubt whether the text of the *Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs* written in the Judaic milieu about 150 C. E. would have directly influenced Evagrius. As we know, the question of later interpolation both Judaic and Christian in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* remains still open and widely discussed among scholars and for this reason it is difficult to propose the date for that fragment from the *Testament of Ruben*. The testimony of the *Testament of Ruben* is rather proof of the existence and development of the category of seven (or eight) evil spirits (or *spirits of error*) also in ancient Judaism and does not offer proof of its influence on Evagrius.

In the New Testament, we do not find, of course, the same list of eight passionate thoughts as in Evagrius or of seven deadly sins as in later Church moral teaching, but in the various texts there are three terms used by Evagrius: impurity (πορνεία), greed (φιλαργυρία) and pride (ὑπερηφανία). They occur in various configurations and with other terms in the following texts: διαλογισμοί πονεροί, πορνείαι (Matth 15: 19-20); ὑπερηφάνυς (Rom 1: 18-32), πόρνοι, πλεονέκται 1Cor 6: 9-10; πορνεία (Ga 5,19-21); πορνεία, πλεονεξία (Eph 5: 3-5); πορνεία, πάθος, ἐπιθυμία κακή, πλεονεξία (Col 3:5-8); πορνεία (1Tm 1:9-10), φίλαυτοι, φιλάργυροι, ὑπερηφάνοι (2Tm 3:2-5). This fact deserves to be emphasized because, as we know, it was these three temptations which Satan presented to Christ while he was tempting him in the desert, and, as we shall see later, Evagrius saw in them the source of the other five passionate thoughts. It is worth noting the slight difference between Evagrius and the New Testament: the monk of Pontus considered the third thought by which Christ was tempted to be vanity (κενοδοξία) and not pride (ὑπερηφανία). The New Testament was undoubtedly a direct inspiration for Evagrius in terms of the so-called three fundamental passions: gluttony, greed and vainglory that became the basis for the entire category of eight passions, but the whole category and the specific terminology may have been taken over from someone else.

The first Christian text in which a similar catalog of spirits/sins appears is *Shepherd of Hermas*. The text, as we know, was written between 140-155 in Rome and consists of 5 *Visions*, 12 *Commandments* and 10 *Parables* (Herms 1991, 329-527). In this work, the *Fourth Commandment* deals with impurity (πορνεία), the Fifth with anger (ὄξυχολία) and the Tenth with sadness (λύπη). Very interesting is the fragment of the Sixth Commandment (36:5) in which there is an invitation to discern the spirits, that is to distinguish the action of the angel of righteousness from the angel of evil and to see in every sin the action of the demon. So when the evil demon acts, it raises "anger" (ὄξυχολία), spending money on "various utensils utterly superfluous" (gluttony!), incites "lust of women" (ἐπιθυμία γυναικῶν), "greed" (πλεονεξία) and "pride" (ὑπερηφανία) (Herms 1991, 393). In the *Eighth Commandment* (38: 3-5) we find yet another catalog of evil deeds: "impurity"

(πορνεία), “gluttony” (ἐδέσματα πολλά), “greed” (πολυτελεία πλούτου/πλεονεξία), “haughtiness” (ὕψελοφροσύνη), “pride” (ὑπερηφανία) and “vanity” (κενοδοξία) (Hermas 1991, 395-397). As we can see, the Shepherd, with the exception of acedia, mentions practically all other evil deeds: gluttony, impurity, greed, sadness, anger, vanity and pride. And while it often makes a descriptive statement with a different terminology than Evagrius, there are also four terms exactly the same as in his writings: πορνεία, λύπη, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία. If we remember that in 2 Tm 3:2-5 greed is expressed by the term φιλαργυρία, then in the middle of the second century we would have the confirmation of technical terminology in the Christian texts for five of Evagrius’ eight thoughts. Of course, this does not yet prove the direct dependence of Evagrius on these texts, but it shows us the development of the ancient Christian tradition in this regard.

Clement of Alexandria also described, though with another terminology, the four passionate thoughts: gluttony (ἡδονή τοῦ γαστρος/άσωτία), lust of women (ἐπιθυμία/φιλογυνία), vanity (φιλοδοξία) and pride (φιλαρχία) and also quoted a Stoic theory of four desires ἡδονή, ἐπιθυμία, λύπη and φόβος (*Stromata* II,20; IV, 6.). The terminology in this case, except for lu,ph is completely different from that present in the writings of Evagrius and so we can doubt on influence on the monk of Pontus.

Now, in order to see better the whole pagan, Judaic and Christian tradition before Origen, let’s put together all the sources. We exclude the hypothesis of the influence of astral religion because it is too vague, *Epistula ad Maecenam* because it was written in Latin which Evagrius did not know and the texts of Qumran because Evagrius did not know Hebrew:

Evagrius	Stoics	Macarius of Egypt	Life of St. Syncretica	Philo of Alexandria	Testament of Ruben	New Testament	Shepherd of Hermas	Clement of Alexandria
γαστριμαργία				γαστριμαργία				
πορνεία		πορνεία	πορνεία		πορνεία	πορνεία	πορνεία	
φιλαργυρία		φιλαργυρία	φιλαργυρία			φιλαργυρία		
λύπη	λύπη		λύπη	αἱ λῦπαι			λύπη	λύπη
ὀργή								
ἀκηδία								
κενοδοξία		κενοδοξία					κενοδοξία	
ὑπερηφανία		ὑπερηφανία	ὑπερηφανία		ὑπερηφανία	ὑπερηφανία	ὑπερηφανία	

As we can see from this table, except for ὀργή and ἀκηδία all Greek terms used by Evagrius are already present in different pagan, Judaic and Christian texts before Origen. If we remember that in *Epistula ad Maecenam* appears the Latin term *iracundia* meaning “anger” and in Servian’s *Commentary to Eneida* VI, 714 once again *iracundia* to describe anger, and *torpor* very close to acedia, even if those texts have not influenced Evagrius directly, they however confirm the existence of the widespread ancient tradition of many evil spirits or thoughts including all

eight Evagrian passionate thoughts. So if, as we shall see, only in Origen do we find all Evagrian terms for the eight λογισμοί, it is clear that the great Alexandrian just adopted earlier tradition and did not invent it. When we are talking about Origen as a possible source of Evagrius' eight passionate thoughts, we should then always keep in mind that he is less original since they were considered before and he just transmitted an earlier tradition.

3. INFLUENCE OF ORIGEN

There is no doubt that Origen was the first Christian author in whose texts all the Evagrian terms can be found. The great Alexandrian, however, has not presented yet a whole category of eight passionate thoughts in their mutual relation of cause-effect as Evagrius but only the single terms spread out in his texts. Since Origen referred to the various terms in different texts and on several occasions, it is worth presenting below a synoptic overview of the most important places in his writings compared with the catalog of Evagrius (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971, 69ff; Hausherr 1933, 168-169; Stewart 2005, 17ff.)

Evagrius	<i>In Matthaeum</i> Hom. XV,18	<i>In Ezechielem</i> Hom. 6,11	<i>In Exodum</i> Hom. 8,5	<i>In Num.</i> Hom. 27,12,1	<i>In Iudic.</i> Hom. 2,5	<i>In Lucam</i> Hom. 29; 30
γαστριμαργία						γαστριμαργία
πορνεία	ἐπιθυμία	fornicatio	fornicatio		libido	fornicatio
φιλαργυρία	φιλοπλουτία		avaritia	avaritia	avaritia	avaritia
λύπη		tristitia				
ὀργή	ὀργή	ira	ira	ira		
ἀκηδία						ὑπνος ἀκηδία δειλία
κενοδοξία	κενοδοξία	vana gloria	vana gloria	iactantia	iactantia	
ὑπερηφανία			superbia	superbia		
			invidia	inconstantia pusillanimitas	Et alia	

Evagrius	<i>In Lib. Jesu</i> Nave Hom.11,3	<i>In Lib. Jesu</i> Nave Hom.15,4	<i>In Lib. Jesu</i> Nave Hom. 15,5	<i>In Lib. Jesu</i> Nave Hom. 15,4	<i>In Ierem.</i> Hom. 2,10	<i>In Ierem.</i> Hom. 5,12
γαστριμαργία						γαστριμαργία
πορνεία	fornicatio	libido	fornicatio	concupiscentia	ἔρωτες	ἐπιθυμία
φιλαργυρία	avaritia	avaritia	avaritia			φιλάργυροι
λύπη				tristitia	λύπη	λύπη
ὀργή	iracundia		ira	ira	ὀργή	ὀργή
ἀκηδία						
κενοδοξία	iactantia	iactantia			κενοδοξία	
ὑπερηφανία	superbia	superbia	superbia			

As can easily be seen from the above table, in Origen's writings are present all the eight principal passions of Evagrius. In none of his texts is cited the whole list of eight passionate thoughts, but they are always scattered in different texts which means that he did not know the whole category as we have in Evagrian texts. Origen did not care too much about the order of individual thoughts, as their order is different in various texts. It is also worth mentioning that single thoughts appear only in Origen's homilies, that is, in the parenetic texts, not in any commentary or treatises. Hausherr is of the opinion that Evagrius drew on the number of eight passions from Origen's *Commentary to the Book of Deuteronomy 7:1*, in which he made an allegorical interpretation of the seven nations inhabiting the land of Canaan before the arrival of the Israelites, because this explanation is later given to us by Cassian. According to him the monk of Pontus would have taken over from Origen the names of the individual passions by giving them their own order (Hausherr 1933, 170). Instead, Claire and Antoine Guillaumont are convinced that Cassian's explanation sounds artificial and is rather intended to explain the list he himself had taken over from Evagrius rather than seek the origin of the list of the monk of Pontus (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971, 73). As a consequence, they also doubt that Origen's *Commentary to the Book of Deuteronomy 7:1* was the only and direct inspiration for the Evagrian list of eight *logismoi*. In fact, Origen in his *Commentary to the Book of Deuteronomy 7:1* presents seven pagan nations: the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites as „incorrigible sinners who had filled up the measure of their iniquities” and practiced idolatry, but he never uses any Evagrian Greek terms in this text. Hausherr and the Guillaumonts are of the opinion that Evagrius created his theory based on the teachings of Origen and the list of faults present in non-Christian literature, especially the Stoics. I personally doubt the influence of the Stoics since the only Evagrian term which appears in their texts is λύπη. It seems that the direct source of the whole list would be the New Testament, the Christian monastic tradition (Macarius of Egypt and *Life of St. Syncretica*) which confirms the knowledge of five Evagrian terms (πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, λύπη, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία) and Origen. Adamantius, however, has not invented it but adopted earlier pagan, Judaic and Christian tradition which have already contained six of eight λογισμοί (γαστριμαργία, πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, λύπη, κενοδοξία, ὑπερηφανία) and added the next two (ὀργή, ἀκηδία) presented in earlier Latin texts. If Evagrius took over the list of eight passionate thoughts from Origen and Christian monastic tradition, he himself created the whole theory of eight λογισμοί, by precisely describing cause-effect relations between them, since he is the first author to present it in such a way. Let's now see in detail his order of eight passionate thoughts. Keep in mind that this aspect only seemingly does not connect to the main topic of this article; on the contrary, I think that it is crucial in answering the question about Origen as a possible source for Evagrius.

4. ORDER OF EIGHT ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ

Evagrius presents the list of eight passionate thoughts almost always in the same order: gluttony (γαστριμαργία), impurity (πορνεία), avarice (φιλαργυρία), sadness (λύπη), anger, acedia, vainglory (κενοδοξία) and pride (ὑπερηφανία), although sometimes he changes sadness with anger. In *De malignis cogitationibus* 1 he affirms that at first three main demons attack the monk: gluttony, greed and vanity:

Among the demons who set themselves in opposition to the practical life, those ranged first in battle are the ones entrusted with the appetites of gluttony (γαστριμαργία), those who make to us suggestions of avarice (φιλαργυρία), and those that entice us to seek human esteem (κενοδοξία). (Guillaumont and Guillaumont 1971, 148; Sinkewicz 2005, 153).

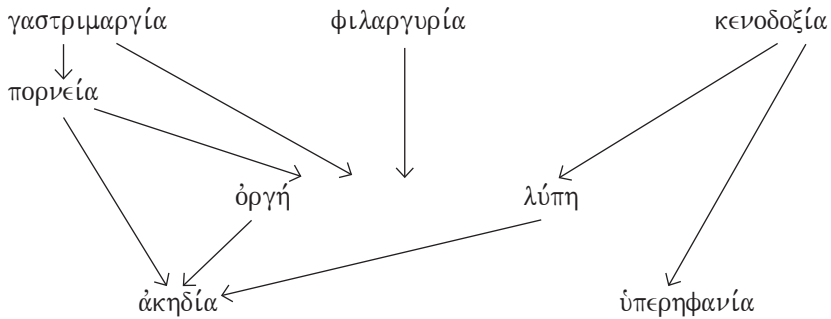
In the same text he adds that the devil suggested the same temptations to Jesus, but was conquered by Him:

For this reason the devil introduced these three thoughts to the Saviour: first, he exhorted him to turn stones into bread; then he promised him the whole world if he would fall down and worship him; and thirdly, he said that if he would listen to him he would be glorified for having suffered no harm from such a fall (Luke 4:1-13). But our Lord showed himself to be above such temptations and commanded the devil to 'get behind him' (cf. Matt. 4:10). Through these things he teaches us too that it is not possible to drive away the devil, unless we have shunned these three thoughts (Sinkewicz 2005, 153-154).

So we see that the key role in the creation of the list of eight passions for Evagrius was undoubtedly the description of the temptation of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. It is likely that it became the first inspiration for him in accepting the three basic so-called principal demonic desires that attack a monk: gluttony (γαστριμαργία), avarice (φιλαργυρία) and vainglory (κενοδοξία). The monk of Pontus, as he himself admits, drew the term λογισμοί, from Matt. 15:19 and also the number of eight spirits of evil from Matt. 12: 43-45 and Luke 11: 24-26, where Jesus explained that the unclean spirit, who is expelled from a man takes with him seven other evil spirits and attacks him again. And their concrete names he has taken over from earlier Judaic and Christian tradition and probably from Origen. According to Evagrius, there is a cause-and-effect relationship between single passionate thoughts: previous passionate thought gives birth to the next. Gluttony is the mother of impurity (*De octo spiritibus malitiae* 4) and one cannot fall into the trap of impurity unless he has fallen earlier by gluttony. If a monk wants to fight the demon of impurity, he should reduce the ration of bread and water, because it contributes greatly to temperance (cf. *Pr.* 17). The desire for food, wealth or human glory pushes, in turn, to be won by demons like anger and sadness:

To put it briefly, no one falls into a demon's power, unless he has first been wounded by those in the front line (Sinkewicz 2005, 153).

When a man struggles to satisfy one of these three main passions and there is a real danger that he will not receive them, then he experiences anger. Sadness, on the other hand, appears in double form: as an experience of lack of satisfaction of desire or as an effect of anger. This twofold kind of sadness also explains why the monk of Pontus places it at one time right after avarice (*Pr.* 6), and at another time after anger (*Pr.* 10). If on the one hand the human soul experiences one of the concupiscible passions and on the other anger or sadness for lack of satisfying that desire, then it falls into the sixth passionate thought of acedia tearing the soul into two opposing directions. Evagrius sees acedia as a passionate thought that ends demonic attacks on the passionate part of the soul (concupiscible and irascible), since no other demon follows the demon of acedia (*Pr.* 12). Overcoming acedia closes the entire process of the action of passionate thoughts, which ends with the calming of the lust and the impulses of the soul of man. The last two thoughts, vainglory and pride, according to the order of following individual thoughts, are born after overcoming all previous six. Schematically, it could be represented as follows:



Although the Guillaumonts describe the Evagrian order of eight passionate thoughts as largely *conventionnel*, it seems that in the description of these thoughts two orders may be found: empirical experience and spiritual growth. From the perspective of spiritual growth every next thought occurs when the former is overcome:

The more the soul progresses, the greater are the antagonists that follow it in succession, for I am not convinced that it is always the same demons that persist against it. They know this best who perceive the temptations with greater precision and who see the impassibility refers to the relative strength of the demon still fighting against it (Sinkewicz 2005, 153).

An anchorite thus begins to purify his soul struggling against passions of the concupiscible part of the soul: gluttony, impurity, and greed; then against

the thoughts of the irascible part: sadness and anger; then against acedia which attacks both parts of the soul: concupiscible and irascible; and finally, at the end, struggles with vanity and pride. So here we have an order that goes from bodily to spiritual thoughts. In fact, according to the empirical order of proceeding, a previous thought opens the way to the next. So Evagrius wrote that it is impossible to fall into the trap of the spirit of impurity if one had not fallen before, by the spirit of gluttony. Further, in the empirical order of proceedings, reversibility is still possible: a monk has been attacked by more spiritual thoughts but he can suddenly be in battle with bodily ones. And so for example the demon of vainglory often casts souls in the shackle of the demon of impurity or sadness (*Pr.* 13), while the demon of pride, the last one in the list, after which no other theoretically should appear, often stimulates demonic attacks of impurity, sadness and anger. However, there are no contradictions between these two orders. If a monk is on the path of purifying the passionate part of the soul, then winning the first six passionate thoughts one by one brings him to a state of *apatheia*. In such a state it is easy to seek human glory for the hard work of one's own asceticism, and if he succumbs to this temptation without receiving praise from the people, he falls into sadness or comforts himself with impurity. Likewise, one who yields to the demon of pride sooner or later discovers the truth that he himself is not the source of his success, and he may experience anger or sadness. It is not always the case that thoughts are attacked one after another from gluttony to pride, but often in practice a monk is tempted with three temptations at the same time as if from three different levels: gluttony in the concupiscible part of the soul, anger in the irascible and vanity in the rational.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that in earlier pagan, Judaic and Christian texts we find the Greek terms for six of the eight Evagrian passionate thoughts: γαστριμαργία, πορνεία, φιλαργυρία, λύπη, κενοδοξία, υπερηφανία, while in *Epistula ad Maecenam* appears the Latin term *iracundia* meaning "anger" and in Servian's *Commentary to Eneida* VI, 714 once again *iracundia* for "anger" and *torpor* which is very close to "acedia". Origen is the first Christian author in whose texts we find the same terms for all passionate thoughts as in Evagrius, so it seems probable that he is the principal source of the whole category; but in Origen we do not find any attempt to define the mutual relationship between the eight λογισμοί. The present state of research indicates that it was Evagrius himself who created the category of eight passionate thoughts, which later entered the Catholic Church under the name of the Seven Deadly Sins (Allen 1995, 15-21 and Allen 1997, 297-316). The proposition of Stelzenberger to identify the Evagrian list in one of the writings of Ephrem has been rejected since the text was written by John of Damascus in eighth VIII century (Stelzenberger 1993, 398), as well as the hypothesis of Vöglte

who just indicated in general Egyptian monastic centers without specifying the concrete texts (Vöglte 1941a, 217-237 and 1941b, kol. 74-79). The direct inspiration for Evagrius was the evangelical description of Jesus' temptation in the desert described in the Synoptic Gospels, where He was attacked by three passionate thoughts (demons): gluttony, avarice, and vainglory. The monk of Pontus then expanded the entire list to eight, based on the teaching of Jesus on the eight evil spirits returning after their expulsion from man, while their specific names were taken from earlier pagan, Judaic, and Christian tradition, especially from Origen since only in his texts do they all occur. The great Alexandrian in the context of all his theology has left his teaching in yet less precise form. Evagrius, on the basis of his own experience of combating passionate thoughts in the wilderness, limited their number to eight principal evil thoughts. The Guillaumonts are convinced that Evagrius took over the entire category from Origen and only the term *λύπη* from the Stoics, but I think that this postulate is not necessary. As we have seen, the same term in Greek and in Latin translations (*ira*) appears also in the writings of the famous Adamantius. Next, the Guillaumonts are simply wrong sustaining that Evagrius took over the whole category of eight passionate thoughts from Origen, because in his texts we do not find such a category but only the names of many evil spirits tormenting a man including the eight Evagrian ones.

In what sense then can Origen be seen as the source of the Evagrian teaching of the eight passionate thoughts? Origen is his source in the indirect sense, as the terminological inspiration of particular passionate thoughts. On the other hand, we do not see this inspiration in the assumption of the three so-called fundamental passionate thoughts and their number being limited to the eight principal ones (in Origen there are many more) which Evagrius has taken over from the New Testament. The description of cause-and-effect relationships between all eight passionate thoughts, both in the empirical order and in the spiritual struggle between the individual thoughts, is already a personal contribution of Evagrius based on his own experience and the spiritual direction of other monks. So the category of eight passionate thoughts is a personal creation of Evagrius and it is a good example of being inspired by Origen and the creative development of his thoughts without the servile repetition of his ideas.

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