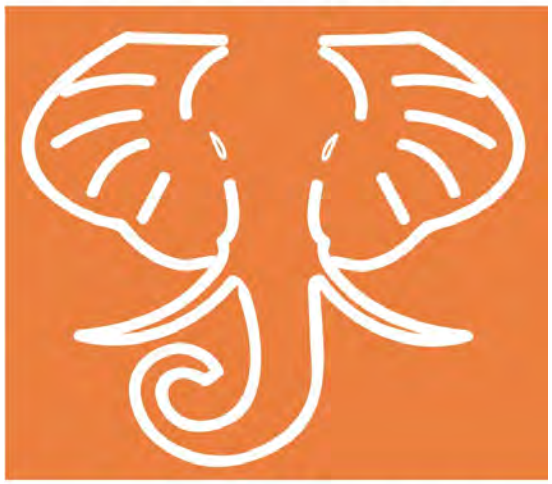
Libros quinque adversus haereses; [Greek and Latin]... ed. by W. W. Harvey.

Irenaeus, Saint, Bishop of Lyon.
Cantabrigiae, Typis academicis, 1857.

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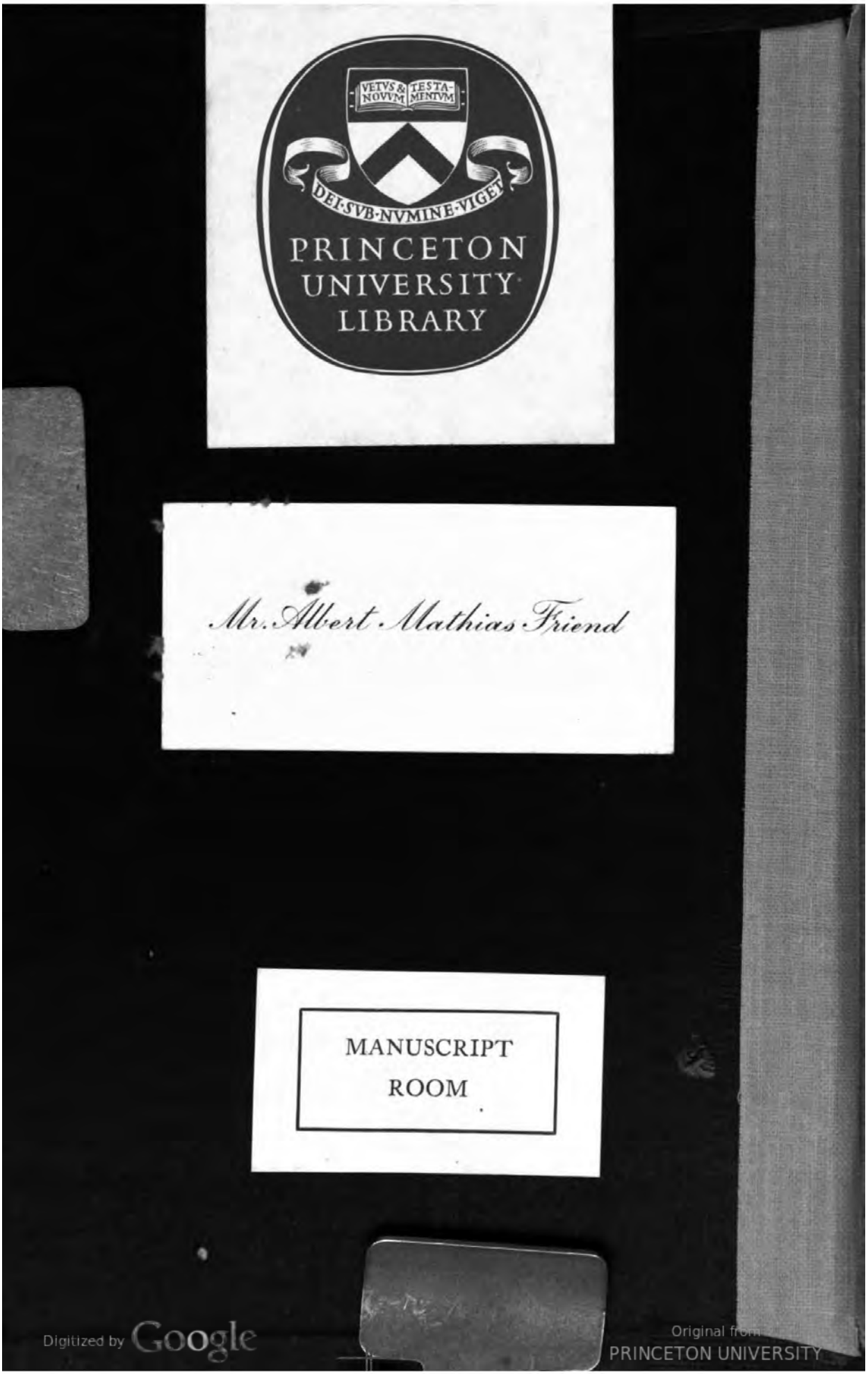
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Irenaeus, St., bp. of Lyons

SANCTI IRENÆI

EPISCOPI LUGDUNENSIS

Libros quinque adversus Haereses

TEXTU GRÆCO IN LOCIS NONNULLIS LOCUPLETATO, VERSIONE LATINA CUM CODICIBUS CLAROMONTANO AC ARUNDELIANO DENUO COLLATA, PRÆMISSA DE PLACITIS GNOSTICORUM PROLUSIONE, FRAGMENTA NECNON GRÆCE, SYRIACE, ARMENIACE, COMMENTATIONE PERPETUA ET INDICIBUS VARIIS

EDIDIT

W. WIGAN HARVEY, S.T.B.

COLLEGII REGALIS OLIM SOCIUS.

TOM. I.



Cantabrigiæ:
TYPIS ACADEMICIS.
M. DCCC. LVII.

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CANTABRIGIÆ: TYPIS ACADEMICIS EXCUDIT C. J. CLAY, A.M.

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In preparing for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press this edition of the Works of S. Irenæus, it has been deemed advisable to collate afresh the two most ancient representatives of the Latin translation; the Clermont and the Arundel MSS., both of which are in England. The former is one of the gems of the rich collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middlehill; the second, as the property of the nation, is in the British Museum. The result of these collations has shewn that Grabe and Massuet performed their work with fidelity; not many readings of importance having escaped their observation. The Clermont MS. upon which principally Massuet formed his text, is fairly written in an Italian hand of the [1]tenth century; possibly however two transcribers were employed upon it, a second hand being observable, as it is imagined, from fol. 189 to 274. The entire MS. is in good preservation, though it is [2]defective at the end, and exhibits occasional omissions from careless copying, with a more

[1] Those who are conversant with early European MSS. will agree that it is difficult to judge of the period in which writing was executed, *before* the tenth century, but easy *after* the twelfth. The CLERMONT MS. is an early production of the transitional period.

[2] It ends abruptly near the commencement of V. xxvi.

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lengthened [1]*hiatus*, in the Fifth Book. The editor gladly takes this opportunity of returning his most grateful thanks to Sir Thomas and Lady Phillipps, for the kindly hospitality that relieved the tedious work of collation of much of its irksome character.

The Arundel MS. is in a bold Flemish hand, and is of later date than the Clermont MS. by perhaps two centuries. Its readings, however, are very valuable as marking a different family of *codices*, from that represented by the Clermont copy. This MS. also is imperfect towards the end, the defect being caused, not by its own original loss, but by mutilation of some antecedent copy; thus the last column is left partly blank. Grabe's text represents the readings principally of the Arundel MS. A [2]lithographed fac-simile has been prepared of an entire page from each of these MSS. A third MS. is still in existence and accessible; the Voss MS. of the Leyden collection; it has been recently collated by Stieren for his edition, and he frequently notes inaccuracies in Grabe's report of *variæ lectiones* obtained from this copy. But it should be borne in mind that Grabe read it with other eyes; and that he depended upon the friendly offices of Dodwell for his report upon the readings of this MS. The Voss copy is later again than the Arundel, and does not date earlier than the fourteenth century. Still it is the only perfect copy; or rather, it contains as much as any other MS. that has been known since the discovery of

[1] See II. 359.

[2] The work of Messrs Standidge and Co. London. The CLERMONT *fac-simile* is the first in order, after page xii. A specimen page of the Voss MS. is found in STIEREN'S edition.

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printing. It being no longer necessary to report in the present edition every difference of reading, the text has been formed upon a comparison of these three MSS. with previous editions; the more remarkable variations being expressed in the notes. The principal object of the notes has been to explain more clearly the mind of the author by reference to contemporaneous authority, such as the *Excerpta* from Theodotus, or the *Didascalia Orientalis*, subjoined to the *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria; Hippolytus in his *Philosophumena*, and Tertullian in his Treatise *c. Valentinum*. The notions against which the great work of Irenæus was directed, have so many points of contact with Greek philosophy, that occasional illustrations from this source have been found necessary. A point of some interest will be found of frequent recurrence in the notes; which is, the repeated instances that Scriptural quotations afford, of having being made by one who was as familiar with some Syriac version of the New Testament, as with the Greek originals. Strange *variæ lectiones* occur, which can only be explained by referring to the [1]Syriac version. It will not be forgotten that S. Irenæus resided in early life at Smyrna; and it is by no means improbable that he may have been of Syrian extraction, and instructed from his earliest infancy in some Syriac version of Scripture. It is hoped also that the Hebrew attainments of [2]Irenæus will no longer be denied.

The Syriac fragments, at the end of the second

[1] See General Index, *Syriac Analogies*. [2] Ib. *Irenæus*—knowledge of Hebrew.

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Volume, are of considerable interest, having now for the first time been placed by the side of the Latin version. Their marvellous agreement with this translation, is another very satisfactory test of its close fidelity to the original; it is also particularly fortunate that these Syriac fragments represent, not any one or two of the books, but the entire work throughout its whole course; while [1]one of the rubrics shews that the work as translated in the East, was apparently as bulky as that operated upon in the West. The peculiar interest of the portion of an [2]epistle to Victor concerning Florinus may be noted; and generally, these fragments throw some light upon the subordinate writings and treatises of Irenæus. They have been obtained *præter spem,* and were the Editor's reward for searching through this noble [3]collection of Syriac MSS. of high [4]antiquity.

Several additions have been made to the Greek text from [5]Hippolytus; and the transcription of passages of some extent in the *Philosophumena,* from this work of Irenæus, adds strength to the general argument, that they were made by a pupil of Irenæus, and more probably by [6]Hippolytus than by any other. These

[1] Syr. Fr. v. n. 1.

[2] Syr. Fr. xxviii.

[3] The Nitrian collection cannot fail of becoming better known. The extracts made for this edition are as the *οἶνος πρόδρομος* of a promising vintage. A valuable *fasciculus* of Ante-Nicene Theology is to be obtained from this source; and descending to a later period it is particularly rich in subjects connected with the Nestorian controversy. Any future editor of the works of Cyril of Alexandria will find that it teems with passages and treatises, bearing the name of the master spirit of the Ephesine period.

[4] A lithographed facsimile of three of the more ancient *Codices* that have furnished extracts will be found after p. xii.

[5] See General Index, *Hippolytus.*

[6] *Μαθητὴς δὲ Εἰρηναίου ὁ Ἱππόλυτος.* PHOT. *Bibl.* Cod. 121.

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quotations indeed will not justify the conjecture that Hippolytus was the friend, at whose instance the work was written, for the chronology of the two writers makes the supposition wholly untenable; Hippolytus must have been as young, when the work was written *c. Hæreses,* as Irenæus was when he heard Polycarp. If this work were written before A.D. 190, we know that Hippolytus was in his [1]vigour A.D. 250, when [2]he wrote against Noetus. He may have received instruction therefore from Irenæus; but he can scarcely have suggested to him the need of such a work as that now before us. These are questions however that belong rather to the Life of Irenæus in a subsequent page.

The appearance of the invaluable work of Hippolytus rendered it necessary that many of our ideas upon the Gnosticising heresies of the first two centuries should be readjusted; and that some systematic account should be given of the origin and phenomena of this remarkable progression of the human intellect; [3]Dr Burton in England, and [4]Neander, [5]Beausobre, [6]Matter, and [7]Baur upon the continent, have all written at great disadvantage, from want of the light thrown in upon primitive obscurity by the *Philosophumena.* The necessarily limited space that could be devoted

[1] EPIPHANIUS writing A.D. 375, says that NOETUS became heretical about 130 years before; *οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλειόνων, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τούτων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω. Hær.* LVII. 1.

[2] *ἦν δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα κατὰ αἱρέσεων λβ' ἀρχὴν ποιούμενον Δοσιθεανοὺς, καὶ μέχρι Νοήτου καὶ Νοητιανῶν διαλαμβανόμενον.*

[3] *Bampton Lecture.*

[4] *Genetische Entwickelung des Gnost. Syst.*

[5] *Histoire de Manichée.*

[6] *Histoire Critique de Gnosticisme.*

[7] *Christlische Gnosis.*

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to the subject in the preface to the present volume, has been occupied, not so much in matters of detail, as in an attempt to chart out the ground that any future historian of the subject might be expected to traverse; and to bring under a stronger light the main principles that animated the Gnostic movement. In any case definite ideas upon these two points of investigation seem absolutely necessary, for the due appreciation of the Author's general argument.

The text then of the present Edition represents the readings of those three MSS. that are alone extant and available. Generally speaking the Codex Voss. agrees with the Clermont copy, the most ancient and valuable of all. The Arundel variations mark that it belongs to a distinct family of MSS.; the divergence from one common stock having taken place apparently at a very remote antiquity. Other copies formerly existed that have since disappeared. Nothing further is known of the three Codices used by Erasmus, than that they represent MSS. of a later age. The Codex Vetus of Feuardent possesses a shadowy existence in the variations reported by him; they more usually agree with the Clermont and Voss text, than with the Arundel. This copy has now disappeared from the Vatican. Massuet cites various readings from a paper MS. of the thirteenth century in the collection of Cardinal Othobon at Rome. This too has perished; but it agreed pretty closely with the readings of the two Mercer MSS. so frequently quoted by Grabe. The marginal notes of Passeratius, made upon his

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copy of the Erasmian edition, throughout the first Book and the opening chapters of the second, have been presumed to express his collation of some ancient MS.; but this is far from certain. Some of the corrections are manifest conjectures. In any case the original source of them was never known. The same degree of doubt scarcely applies to the readings marked by Grabe as Merc. I. and II. They are noted in the Erasmian Edition belonging to the Leyden Library, and were used by Stieren. The readings marked I. specify the testimony of one of two copies; while II. implies that the same word was read in both. It does not appear that one copy was marked I. and the other II.

Erasmus put forth three editions of Irenæus in the years 1526, 1528, 1534; and after his death, Stieren enumerates as many as seven reprints of the original edition between 1545 and 1570, when the edition of Gallasius appeared at Geneva, and contained the first portions of the original Greek text from Epiphanius. It was a great step in advance. In the following year Grynæus put forth an edition of a very different character, having nothing to recommend it. In 1575 Feuardent's edition appeared, the first of a series of six that preceded Grabe in 1702. In Grabe's Oxford Edition considerable additions were made both to the Greek original, and fragments; and the text was greatly improved by a collation of the Arundel MS. with additions from the Cod. Voss. Ten years later the Benedictine edition appeared, similarly enriched with the

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readings of the Clermont copy, and with a few more original fragments. Massuet's three Dissertations also are a great acquisition. This edition was reprinted at Venice A.D. 1724; the only remarkable addition being the Pfaffian fragments, inserted only to be condemned upon the narrowest theological grounds. In every respect the Venetian is far inferior to the original edition of Massuet. The edition of Stieren, 1853, is a reprint of the Benedictine text, its principal original value consisting in a more careful collation of the Voss MS. than had been executed for Grabe by Dodwell. It contains the notes of Feuardent, Grabe, and Massuet, as well as the three Dissertations of the Benedictine. A few more portions of Irenæan text are added from Anecdota edited by Münter, and Dr Cramer. Finally, the present edition, with its Hippolytan *σωζόμενα*, and Nitrian[1] relics, its merits and defects, is now in the reader's hands.

[1] The Syriac Fragment, VII., came to hand too late for the emendation of the corresponding passage in the Latin translation, Lib. III. c. xvii. 16. It exemplifies the high critical value of these Syriac MSS.

*** It having been found necessary to set up the Armenian passages, pp. 448, 462, in London, the Editor returns his sincere thanks to Mr Watts, Temple Bar, London, for the use of the type and skilled work of his compositor.

To Dr Rien also, Curator of the Oriental MSS. of the British Museum, a like acknowledgment is due, for the kindness with which, as being upon the spot, he undertook the first rough revise of the passages in question, previously to the removal of the type to Cambridge.

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EXEMPLARIA CODICUM

I. CLAROMONTANI.

II. ARUNDELIANI.

III. SYRIACORUM.

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PRELIMINARY MATTER.

I. SOURCES AND PHENOMENA OF GNOSTICISM.

II. LIFE AND WRITINGS OF S. IRENÆUS.

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ABSTRACT OF PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

GNOSTICISM, a recurrence to ancient principles, i.

Primitive religious belief, ii.—v.; Chaldæa, vi. vii.; ancient Persia, viii.—x.

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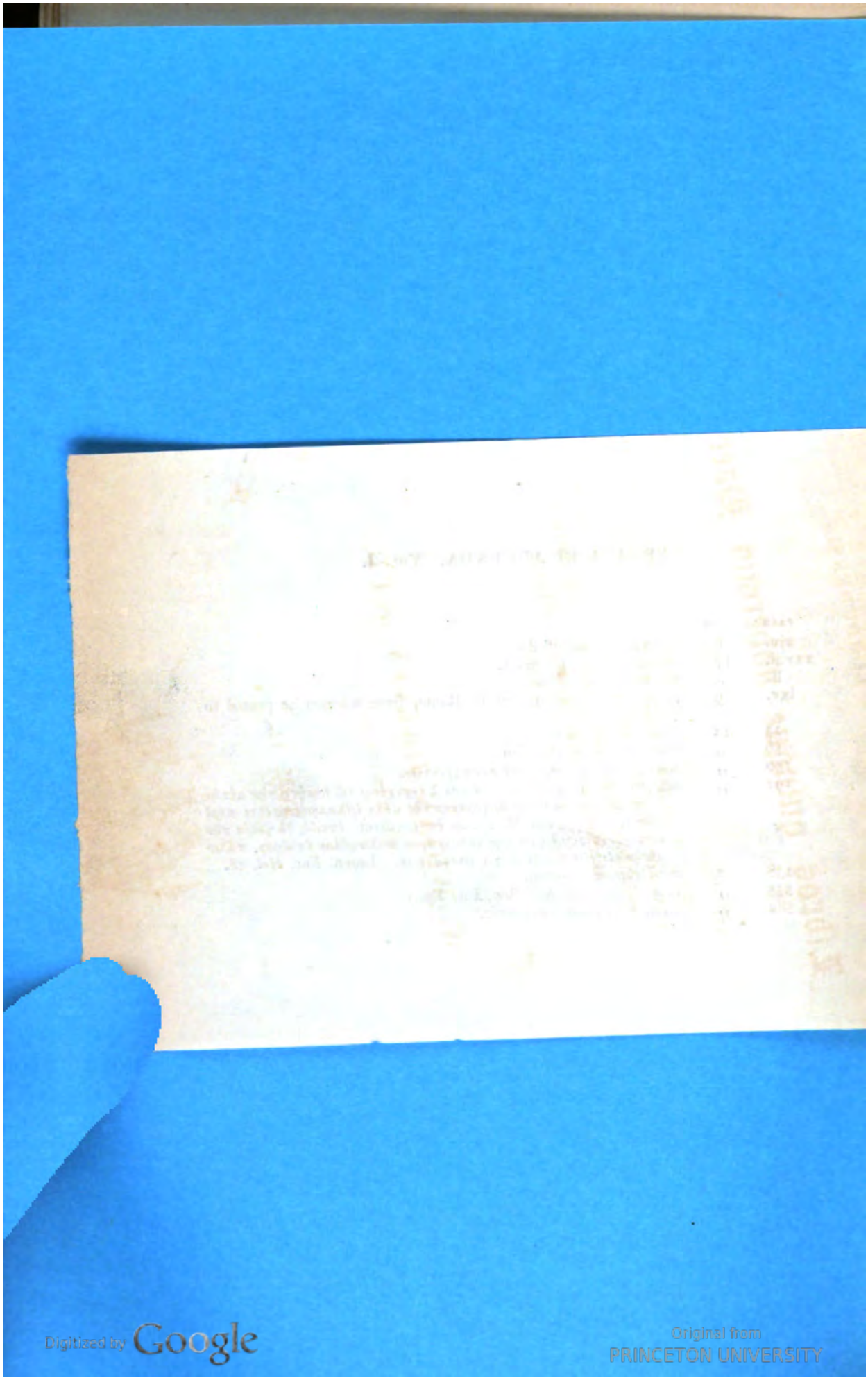
GNOSTIC SYSTEM.

ERRATA ET ADDENDA. VOL. I.

PAGE	LINE	
xiv.	6	*for* Plato, *read* Philo.
xxviii.	17	exponent (*dele* to them).
li.	4	*for* was, *read* were.
lxv.	9	*read*, came from Egypt to Rome, from whence he passed to Cyprus.
23	12	*read*, δορυφόρους.
56	,,	*note l.* 5, *read*, Foncion.
150	,,	*note* 3 *and in text, read* συσπαρέντων.
192	,,	add to note 1, ἐνεδείξατο δὲ καὶ Στησιχόρῳ τῷ ποιήτῃ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόμενος τῆς ᾠδῆς ἐβλασφήμησέ τι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀνέστη τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστερήμενος· ἐπειδὴ δὲ γνοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συμφορᾶς τὴν καλουμένην παλινῳδίαν ἐποίησε, πάλιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν κατέστησε. ISOCR. *Enc. Hel.* 28.
238	2	*read* rememorantem.
335	,,	n. 4, *l.* 9, *read* (Act. Soc. Lit. Jen.)
384	,,	n. 4, *l.* 7, *read* παγκρατές.

sented at the best a rude and undigested mass of dimly appreciated truth. The Persian theosophy of Zoroaster, p. 44, n. 1. the Cabbala learned by the Jews in Babylon, the Isiacal traditions of Egypt, as refined into a system of harmony by Plato, the arithmetical theories of Pythagoras, possibly of Indian origin, and symbolising the abstract truth and unlimited power of the Deity, were severally laid under but cf. A. Butler, H. Ph. 1. 201.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

GNOSTIC SYSTEM.

THE Gnostic system in its original development, marks an earnest endeavour on the part of the human intellect to recur to certain primary principles, that gave a starting point to the philosophical theories of Greece, and that subsisted among other races also, in proportion to their civilisation, as the arcane soul of their faith in things unseen. That glimpses of truth, of which man had an unclouded view in Paradise, were still retained in the earliest ages of the world, is very evident, so far as the Bible has revealed to us the religious history of the various families of the human race after the deluge. For a time, at least, the traditions of Paradise held their ground; nor had they wholly died away when Christ appeared. Gnosticism applied itself to collect and re-arrange these fragmentary portions of truth; although, as might be expected of a work performed without reference to Divine Revelation, the materials were thrown together in much grotesque confusion, and presented at the best a rude and undigested mass of dimly appreciated truth. The Persian theosophy of Zoroaster, the Cabbala learned by the Jews in Babylon, the Isiacal traditions of Egypt, as refined into a system of harmony by Plato, the arithmetical theories of Pythagoras, possibly of Indian origin, and symbolising the abstract truth and unlimited power of the Deity, were severally laid under

Early Forms of Belief.

cf. Porph. v. Plot. 16.

p. 44, n. 1.

but cf. A. Butler, H. Ph. i. 231.

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Early Forms of Belief.

contribution; they were amalgamated successively by the Gnostic schools, and eventually all met in the Valentinian theory.

A brief review of the earlier forms of religious belief so far as History, whether Sacred or Profane, has revealed them to us, will enable the reader to judge of the correctness of this view.

Before Abraham was chosen to be the especial guardian of the truth, we may trace the existence of a primitive theology upon earth. Melchizedek, most probably of the race of Shem, whose genealogy coincided with that of Abraham in some ancestral link, was a Preacher of Righte-

Heb. vii. 1.

ousness and Priest of the Most High God, and he expressed doctrines that, without doubt, were handed down from a more ancient source. Are we to imagine that the same truths were altogether hidden from other collateral branches of the same widely spreading stock; such as the children of Elam, and Aram, and Asshur, the Joktanidæ of the Arab coasts, or the Shemitic dispersion of the days of Peleg?

If we follow the patriarch Abraham in his descent to Egypt, we observe clearly that the primitive traditions of the Asiatic had not yet wholly evaporated. They still possessed in direct descent, a fragmentary ray of the religious light inherited by the sons of Noah; for we cannot fail to be struck with the similarity of faith in fundamental verities, that brought Abraham and the Egyptian king into closer relations than could have subsisted without it. Their intercourse was established upon the immutable

Gen. xii. 19; xvi. 13.

basis of justice and truth; whilst Hagar, the Egyptian handmaid of Sarah, confessed faith in an All-wise Deity,

Gen. xvi. 10.

and was favoured with an angelic vision and message.

Gen. xx. 3—8.

Abimelech also, king of Gerar of the Philistines, gave evidence of his belief in one God, and expressed himself in a religious point of view very much as the patriarch

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might, while he displayed that nice sense of justice and truth that is inseparable from all true religion; and the covenant that he established with Abraham, based on a definite religious obligation, was afterwards renewed with his son Isaac.

Early Forms of Belief.

Gen. xxvi. 3; xxi. 22—34; xxvi. 26—35.

Descending to the time of Joseph's administration of the affairs of Egypt, we meet with occasional evidences of a true religious sense, and Pharaoh confessed in Joseph the operation of God's Holy Spirit, unless indeed a plural sense be attached here to אֱלֹהִים, as in the book of Daniel, where רוּחַ־אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין has been correctly rendered by our translators, *the spirit of the holy gods.* It may be affirmed with greater certainty, that there could have been no very great discordance in religious belief between Joseph and the priest of On, whose daughter he received in marriage, and who gave birth to Ephraim and Manasseh. The priest of On, like Melchizedek and Jethro, was in all probability the temporal and spiritual chieftain of his tribe, and, according to patriarchal usage, had supreme authority in all matters pertaining to faith and discipline.

Gen. xli. 38.

Dan. iv. 5.

Gen. xli. 50.

It is in the highest degree probable, therefore, that the fear and knowledge of God subsisted among those tribes of the human race that first come forth from the dark background of antiquity. The earliest traditions still survived, and preserved these primitive races from becoming merged in total darkness. Laban, as *a Syrian ready to perish*, may have had his senseless personifications of things divine, his sculptile gods and Teraphim, and yet have confessed faith in one God; at least, the example of Jacob's household leads directly to the inference, that this was a very possible inconsistency.

Gen. xxxv. 2, 4.

The Mosaic period still bears out our theory, not indeed as regards the state of Egypt, which now was enveloped in darkness that might be felt; but as regards the history of such of the adjoining tribes as the extreme

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Early Forms of Belief.

conciseness of the sacred history, and of the inspired records, enable us to place under investigation. Thus Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was priest of Midian, but the wisdom and godliness of his counsel to the elect deliverer of God's people, and his faultless confession, mark that he worshipped God, according to the light that he possessed, in spirit and in truth. The patriarch Job may be referred to this period of history; though not a Jew, he was of Shemitic blood, and lived within foray reach of the Chaldees; but he had a true and spiritual knowledge of God. And we are not justified in limiting this belief to himself. His three friends, however mistaken they may have been in their views, were at least true to the religious traditions of their forefathers, and expressed sentiments that found a ready echo in the soul of the Patriarch. The Temanite, the Shuhite, and the Naamathite spoke out in them; and if so, the tribes that they respectively represented can hardly be excluded from the number of those that, with a certain degree of fidelity, still preserved a true knowledge of God. They may have been infected indeed with Zabianism; and Job implies that the worship of the host of heaven was by no means strange to his neighbourhood; *If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand;* still Zabianism, whatever it might be in a popular point of view, was quite consistent with a philosophical faith in One Supreme Being, which, for the present, is all that we are concerned to ascertain. Job's friends may have spoken as wise men with the wise, and still have kissed the hand with the multitude to the starry firmament: much as Naaman found no difficulty in confessing faith in the God of Israel, but still reserved to himself the liberty to bow himself in the house of Rimmon.

Exod. xviii. 9—12; 19—23.

Job i. 17.

Job ii. 11.

Job xxxi. 26, 27.

2 Kings v. 17.

Again, the prophetic burthen of the son of Beor proves that the full flood-tide of corruption had not yet

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wholly overwhelmed the earlier and purer faith of the East; and, so far as Mesopotamia was concerned, the knowledge of One God, the Creator and Governor of the world, was not yet extinct upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Balaam enounced the true traditions that he had received, the γνῶσις that constituted him prophet, and taught the unity of the Deity, his faithfulness power and goodness; also that justice mercy and humility are the reasonable sacrifice that God requires of his creatures.

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Deut. xxiii. 4.

Numb. xxiv. 16; xxii. 18; xxiii. 19, 22. Mic. vi. 8.

Again, descending lower in the Sacred History, those families of Moab, of whom Ruth the ancestress of the Saviour was born, can scarcely have been wholly lost in the darkness of idolatry. Some knowledge at least of the Great and Good God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, must have subsisted amongst them; the traditional light of early ages still radiated around; and the daughter of Moab spoke from her own religious sense, no less than from affection for her Jewish mother-in-law, when she declared to Naomi, *Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God: where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me.* These three instances of an almost synchronous knowledge of God, in such distinct tribes of the Aramaic stock, shew that the light of religion may have pervaded the whole of the descendants of Shem far more generally than we usually imagine.

Ruth i. 16, 17.

With regard to other families of the same stock, Aristotle declared that Chaldæa had a philosophic faith, when as yet Egypt had none; therefore, long before the age of Moses, who was learned, ἐπαιδεύθη, in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. This brings us back towards the time when Abraham emigrated from the banks of the Euphrates. The Magian priests, indeed, when Babylon

Cf. Diod. Sic. ii. D. Laert. i. 8.

Acts vii. 22.

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Early Forms of Belief.

was taken by Alexander, affected to produce tiles inscribed with astronomical observations, that reached back over 470,000 years, and this claim, when reduced to its proper dimensions, would still leave them at the head of human civilisation. Diodorus Siculus, no doubt, assigns a priority of political and philosophical existence to Egypt, and says that Babylon was colonised from the banks of the Nile; but, independently of ethnological considerations, his authority is inferior to that of Aristotle. The geographical position also of the Chaldæans favours the notion, that they would be among the first to emerge from the infant simplicity of the earlier families of our race. They were the very centre of the commerce of the old world, dispensing on the one hand the merchandise of Persia and India to their more western neighbours, and on the other, receiving and transmitting back the rich produce of Arabia, Egypt, and of the more southern countries, Nubia, and Æthiopia, and Abyssinia. The restless energy also that made them the great military power of the day, would lead the sage on to intellectual conquest, and to accept from the nations with which his countrymen were thrown in contact, that which commended itself in each to his reason. It was by their agency that countries west of the Indus received the first general notions of arithmetical, geometrical, and astronomical science. It is the rational belief, however, rather than the philosophic attainment of Chaldæa, with which we have to do; and, so far as we can judge, it was no unknown light that broke in upon the mind of Nebuchadnezzar when he confessed his belief in the power and wisdom of the God of the Hebrews, though still tinged greatly with a polytheism, that he renounced on his restoration to reason. Darius the Mede made a similar confession, but he had studied in Egypt.

Cic. de Div. I. Porph. ap. Simplic. Pliny. H. N. VII. 56. I. 28. 81. Cf. the Brahminical claim, A. Butler, Lect. III. p. 245. See Wilkinson's Egypt.

See Grote, II. 137. III. 358, 400.

Dan. iii. 28. iv. 2, 3. iv. 8. ib. 34, 37. vi. 26. Diod. Sic.

From this period the religious faith of Chaldæa may have been purified to some extent, through contact with

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the captives of Israel. The songs of Zion sung by the waters of Babylon with mourning hearts, awakened kindred thoughts in a sister race. The oracles of life could hardly have been explained in the vernacular language of Babylon, without becoming known to thousands along the whole course of the Euphrates. So, again, portions of Chaldaic lore contained in the Talmud and the Cabbala, shew that the sources of those traditions, superstitious and puerile as they may appear as compared with the Word of Life, were not wholly idolatrous. The two systems were to some extent amalgamated; the Jewish [1] theology borrowed from the Chaldee [1] theosophy and became Cabbalistic, while the Chaldee sages obtained from the law and the prophets higher notions of the Supreme Being. Hence the daughter of Zion was scarcely distinguished by careless observers from the daughter of Babylon; the two were treated as of one faith; so the oracular verses assert,

Just. M. Par. ad Gent.

Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον ἤδ' ἀρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
[2] Αὐτογένητον ἄνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνῶς.

Even the well informed ascribed a common origin to the Jews and to the Magi. From the period of this close contact with a race of purer faith, in the captivity, the belief and sacred philosophy of Chaldæa, though mixed up with astrology, became fixed; and Diodorus Siculus testifies to the steadiness wherewith its sages adhered to the intellectual system received from their fathers, while the schools of Greece were drifting from one novel phase to another.

Diog. L. In Procem.

Lib. ii. 29.

The reader will observe, however, that the Chaldee sages of primitive times are not to be confounded with the Χαλδαῖοι, of whom Hippolytus speaks among other precursors of Gnosticism. The term, as used by the

Grote H. Gr. III. 386 and 390 note.

[1] The convenient term *theosophy*, as contrasted with *theology*, implies theistical teaching, irrespective of truth; while the latter term involves the idea of absolute, subjective truth.

[2] αὐτογένητον is rendered in Euseb. *Th.* v. 3, ܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܐ αὐτούσιος. Was the reading αὐταιῶνα ἄνακτα? since ܠܐ in Ephr. Syr. is the equivalent of αἰών. *Hom. in Hær.* 52. 54 *Syriace.*

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venerable Bishop of Portus, means simply an astrologer, one who was generally an adept also in magical delusions, the Chaldæans of CICERO and JUVENAL, [*Sat.* vi. 552]:

> *Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia: quicquid*
> *Dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum*
> *Ammonis; quoniam Delphis oracula cessant,*
> *Et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.*

Noctes Att. i. 9.

AULUS GELLIUS identifies the term with *Mathematicus*, while HESYCHIUS, speaking of them with greater respect than they deserved, defines the Χαλδαῖοι as, γένος μάγων πάντα γινωσκόντων. The Peratæ or Gnostic fatalists originated from these Chaldæans, and with the name pretended to have derived their doctrines also from the highest antiquity.

Hipp. Phil. v. 16. Eunap. in Œdes. ap. Brucker H. Ph. II. 641. p. 294, n. 3.

Of the early Persian theosophy we have as little certain knowledge as of the Chaldæan; but we now find ourselves within range of regular history. At the close of the Jewish captivity, Cyrus the Persian, the Lord's *Shepherd*, makes a clear profession of faith in one Supreme God, in his edict for rebuilding the Temple; and it was in a similar spirit that, before he engaged the forces of Crœsus, he invoked, not the gods as a body, but [1]One All-powerful Deity, ἐψόμεθά σοι, ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε. He had profited possibly by collision with men of a purer worship, and eliminated from his belief in the Deity many elements that were inconsistent with right reason. So again his language respecting the [2]soul's immortality, half believing half doubting, argues indeed no very accurate conception of things eternal, but, such as it is, it is expressed in a manner that shews a fixed belief in the existence of Divine benevolence as a principle of unity. Thus his hope is for the future, μηδὲν ἂν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἦν μετὰ τοῦ θείου

Isai. xliv. 28.

Ezra i. 2, 3.

Xen. Cyrop. VII. i. 3.

Xen. Cyrop. VIII. vii. 27.

[1] It was in harmony with this that in sacrificing the Magi invoked τὸν θεόν. HER. I. 132, still *Jupiter* was *Ormuzd*. IAMBL. *Myst. Æg.* VIII. 2.

[2] The resurrection is clearly promised in the *Zend Avesta*, and in its most ancient portion. *Vendid. S. Izeschne und Vispered.* 67 *Ha.*

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γένωμαι, μήτε ἦν μηδὲν ἔτι ᾧ. Even if μετὰ των θεῶν had been the words used, it would have been by no means certain that the term was intended to convey a polytheistic notion. If the Hebrew plural term אֱלֹהִים be inexplicable, are we bound to affirm that the term θεοί must of necessity involve the notion of a plurality in the Divine Substance? PLATO scarcely used the term as the poet or the mythologian; *adeone me delirare censes, ut ista credam?* might have been the language of CICERO, if asked whether his apostrophe to the *Dii immortales* included the entire conclave of the Olympian deities.

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Again, the firm stand that the Persians made against the idolatrous usages of the Greeks, is good proof that polytheism was never their creed. The entire vault of heaven was to them as the Deity, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Διὰ καλέοντες. The Greeks, also as belonging to the same Arian stock, exhibit something of the same primitive Faith, and the Hesiodic Muses celebrate Earth and Heaven as the source of all, *Theog.* 44,

Herod. i. 132.

> Θεῶν γένος αἰδοῖον πρῶτον κλείουσιν ἀοιδῇ
> ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὓς Γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ἔτικτον.

EUSEBIUS says of the oldest form of religious belief, οὐκ ἄρα τις ἦν θεογονίας Ἑλληνικῆς ἢ βαρβαρικῆς τοῖς παλαιτάτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος, οὐδὲ ξοάνων ἀψύχων ἵδρυσις, οὐδ' ἡ νῦν πολυφλυαρία τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἀῤῥένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν κατονομασίας. The ancient Greek symbolised with the Persians, who, as HERODOTUS records, ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι. So again Diogenes Laertius, Τοὺς δὲ μάγους . . . ἀποφαίνεσθαι περί τε οὐσίας θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως, οὓς καὶ πῦρ εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ· τῶν δὲ ξοάνων καταγινώσκειν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν λεγόντων ἄῤῥενας εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ θηλείας.

Præp. Evang. i. ix. 13.

i. 131.

Procem.

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Early Forms of Belief.

The ancient religion of Persia appears to have been far more closely allied with the Pantheism of the Brahmin, than with the Polytheism of the Greek; and it was from this source possibly that Thales and his successors in the Ionic school of physical philosophy borrowed their first principles. They believed that a Divine life existed in the elementary forms of matter. So the Persian paid Divine honours to the primary στοιχεῖα, as Herodotus says, θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. The natural creation, an object of deep and superstitious veneration in primitive times, may have given rise to idolatry when Herodotus wrote, but the proof is not made out, that the Persians knew anything of the Zabian practices of the [1]inferior Shemitic tribes, before their yoke was imposed upon those tribes. As compared with the later religious belief of heathenism, the old Persian religion was venerable for its greater purity, though it was only a comparative purity. Whatever degree of truth it retained was derived traditionally from the very cradle of the human race; it was no mere product of human intellect, as Beausobre seems to have imagined, "*Cette ancienne religion ... de la manière qu'on nous la décrit, est la plus pure que la raison humaine ait jamais imaginée.*" But it was debased at length by the reaction of Greek impurities as, Herodotus has candidly confessed.

i. 131.

Hist. du Manich. I. ii. 1.

i. 135.

Creuzer, Symbolik, i. 679.

The ancient Persian religion was modified in the reign of Cyrus by Zoroaster, who [2]restored and fixed old forms

[1] So Herodotus, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. I. 131.

[2] *S'il falloit prendre parti, je croirois plutôt que Zoroastre ne fit que réformer la religion des Mages, qui avoit été altérée, ou la purifier des fausses opinions dont elle étoit corrompue.* Beausobre, *Hist. du Manich.* II. i. 4. p. 163. Anquetil du Perron thus sums up the character of Zoroaster: *Esprit sublime, grand dans les idées qu'il s'étoit formées de la Divinité, et des rapports qui unissent tous les Etres; pur dans sa morale, et ne respirant d'abord que le bien de l'humanité; un zèle outré lui fait employer l'imposture; le succès l'aveugle; la faveur des princes et des peuples lui rend la contradiction insupportable et en fait un persecuteur.* Vie de Zoroastre.

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Persian theory.

of belief, and matters of religious *θρησκεία*, rather than invented new; the idolatrous practices and juggling priestcraft, with which the Iranian had been brought in contact upon the banks of the Euphrates and of the Tigris, rendered this necessary. The broad [1]principles of this reformed religion may be comprised, as BEAUSOBRE observes, under the three heads of a pure faith, sincere truth, and justice. The unity of the Deity was still the fundamental tenet. [2]The sun, as a glorious body of light, occupying a position [3]mid-way, as it were, between the Heaven of Heavens and Earth, conveyed to the Persian a sensible emblem of Ormuzd, the Good Principle. Its orb was the abode of Mithras, the *Mediator*, as occupying a middle position between Ormuzd and Ahriman, Light and Darkness, *διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν*, an idea somewhat similar to that of Philo, who speaks of God placing a *wall* between light and darkness, as the sun separates day from night[4]. The sun, honoured at first as a symbol of the Deity, was afterwards worshipped as the Divine substance. Much in the same way, fire first symbolised the Deity, then became an object of idolatrous worship. But at first this was not so. For it may be observed, that the veneration of [5]water is fully as apparent in the Zend or more ancient

Zerdusht Naméh. 14

Zerdusht Naméh. 23. cf. also D. Laert. Proœm. Herod. I. 136, 133.

Plut. de Is. et Os. 46.

Z. Av. Vendid. Farg. vi. vii.

[1] PLATO speaks of the Magianism of Zoroaster as a simple system of religious worship; *ὧν ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωρωάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῶν θεραπεία. Alcib.* I.

[2] The Parsees of India, though they turn themselves to the sun in prayer, deny that it is with any idea of worship. HYDE, *de v. Rel. Pers.* I. The ancient practice was the same; only contact with Zabian worship, by an easy transition, caused a custom, that was at first only symbolical, to degenerate into idolatry.

[3] So PLUTARCH says that Ormuzd *ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν. de Is. et Os.* 47.

[4] It is a remarkable coincidence that the solar year of 365 days is summed by the letters severally contained in *Μείθρας*, the Basilidian *Ἀβράξας*, and *Νεῖλος* identified by PLUTARCH with Osiris or Helios. So HERODOTUS speaks of *οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Νείλου*. II. 90.

[5] Compare the words of HERODOTUS: *ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι, οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορέωσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.* I. 138. And the Zend Avesta: *L'homme qui tenant un mort avec soi le porte dans l'eau ou dans le feu, et souille par là ces élémens, peut-il*

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Persian dualistic theory.

Anq. du Perr. Z. Av. III. 592—597.

portions of the Avesta, as that of fire; and the defilement of the one element is as strictly forbidden as of the other. Fire, however, was the only sensible emblem of the Deity permitted in the Persian temples after the date of Zoroaster, the extinction of which, on the birth of Mahomet, was urged by the Arabian impostor in proof of the entire supercession of Mithratic worship. [1] ABULFEDA, in recording the omen, confirms the generally received statement, that the commencement of this phase of Persian Theosophy did not date higher than the reign of Cyrus.

It was to [2] Zoroaster also that is most usually traced the first assertion of the Oriental dualistic theory of two eternal principles, the one good the other evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman. But, according to his theory, these two powers were of a secondary character; there was an [3] antecedent

être pur, o saint Ormuzd? Vendidad Farg. VII.

[1] الليله التى ولد فيها رسول الله صلعم ارتجس ايوان كسري وسقطت منه اربع عشر شرفه وخمدت نيران فارس ولم تخمد قبل ذلك بالف عام *In the night in which the Apostle of God was born, the palace of the Persian king* (Kesra, as Cæsar among the Romans, and Pharaoh in Egyptian history, being the royal name and title), *was shaken by a sudden shock, and its fourteen towers fell. At the same time the sacred fire of the Persians was extinguished, which for a thousand years before had never gone out.* ABULFEDA, Hist. Moh. c. I. BRUCKER considers that pyrolatry prevailed among the Persians before the day of Zoroaster, "*Certum est ex adductis, sacrum ignis cultum ante Zoroastrem inter Persas viguisse.*" II. iii. 10. He gives no sufficient proof, however, and the notion is inconsistent with the assertion of HERODOTUS, that no fire was kindled for their sacrifices: οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν. I. 132. Neither would their worship, as he records, *sub Dio*, admit of the perpetual preservation of the sacred flame.

[2] زردشت *Star of splendour.*

[3] *Son dessein est de montrer que la nature entière, qu'Ormusd chef des bons Genies, et Ahriman chef des mauvais, dépendent du premier Etre qui les produits. Ce premier Etre est le Tems sans bornes, ou l'Eternel.... Pour prévenir les difficultés que peut faire naître la vue d'un seul premier Agent, Zoroastre rappelle souvent les Perses aux deux Principes secondaires; il s'étend sur leur nature, et sur leurs actions reciproques, qui doivent se terminer au triomphe du bien.* ANQ. DU PERR. Vie de Zor. 68. In point of action, however, Evil was still subordinate to the Good Principle; so Ormuzd is made to say in the Z. Avesta, "*I first acted, and afterwards the source of evil.*" Vend. Nosk. 20. Farg. I.

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Supreme [1]Principle causative of both; and the more intelligent Persian, no doubt, still referred the binary emanation to the unity from whence it proceeded, as that which [2]alone harmonised with a reasonable conception of the Divine Being. *Zeruane Akerene*, Indefinite Time, was this antecedent principle of boundless [3]Good; the prototypal אין־סוף of the Cabbalistic theology, the *ἀπειρία* of Plato, and the *αἰών* of the Gnostic heresiarchs. It is also remarkable that the *τόπος* of antecedent matter of Plato, had its position in the Persian system; that is if Eudemus, as quoted by Damascius, does not give a Platonic colouring to the Magian principle that he is describing; *Μάγοι δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ Ἄρειον γένος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γράφει ὁ Εὔδημος, οἱ μὲν τόπον, οἱ δὲ χρόνον καλοῦσιν τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ τὸ ἡνωμένον· ἐξ οὗ διακριθῆναι ἥ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακὸν, ἥ φῶς καὶ σκότος, πρὸ τούτων*[4]. From the throne of Goodness the [5]Word, substantial and personified, went forth, before the Heavens or any creature had been called into existence. Ormuzd was this Word, and of him and by him the

Persian dualistic theory.

Z. Av. III. 592.

[1] The Sad-der declares: *Ex primo scias primum, Dominum tuum esse Unum, Sanctum, cui non est compar; est etiam Dominus Potentiæ et Gloriæ.* D. x. This compilation, though comparatively modern, contains much that is highly ancient, but the doctrine is allowed to be Zoroastrian by Mahometan, and therefore hostile testimony. So Abulfeda says, that whereas the predecessors of Zoroaster held that the origin of all was the dualistic principle, still he himself taught that one Supreme Being existed antecedently, who was One and had no compeer. Poc. *Spec. H. Ar.* 153.

[2] *Nach einer inneren Forderung der menschlichen Natur, bei den nur einigermassen Nachdenkenden, die Frage nach der Verbindungsgrunde jener zwei Wesen nicht lange ausbleiben konnte.* Creuzer, Symb. I. 697.

[3] Aristotle also testifies that the first principle of the Magian system was perfect goodness, *τὸ πρῶτον γεννῆσαν ἄριστον.* Arist. *Met.* XIV. 4.

[4] Wolf. *Anecd. Gr.* III. 259. Cf. Diog. Laert. I. 8. Creuz. I. 698.

[5] *Das Ewige nämlich ist, seinem Wesen, nach, Wort; vom Throne des Guten ist gegeben das Wort,* Honover, (*s. Izeschne, Ha.* XIX. *in* Kleuker's *Z. Av.* I. 107.) *das vortreffliche reine heilige schnellwirkende, das da war, ehe der Himmel war und irgend ein Geschaffenes. Aus diesem und durch dieses Wort ist das Urlicht, das Urwasser und Urfeuer (d. h. ein unkörperliches, intellectuelles, gleichsam eine Art von Präformation der Elemente), und durch dieses dann das Licht, das Wasser und das Feuer, das wir sehen; folglich Alles geworden. Dieses gute Wort ist Ormuzd.* Cr. I. 695. In the Brahminical theory truth is eternally *phonetic.* A. Butler, I. 245.

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Persian dualistic theory.

first ideal principles of Light, Water, and Fire were engendered, as in the Divine Mind, and from these also the material elements were subsequently formed. Here again we may observe a close similarity between this [1]mystical word, *Honover*, uttered by the Deity, and the Λόγος of Plato; for Ormuzd was the personified idea of all things create, eternally subsisting in the Divine Unity. The enunciation also of this Word of Might was continuous, and was the prototype of the Marcosian Word, the divine fugue, that continuing through every possible combination of letters involved in the Incommunicable Name, was appointed to run out at length, and subside in a perfect and eternal harmony.

Vol. I. 131.

But evil was also evolved co-ordinately with Ormuzd. The moral and physical world, taken in its reality, presented antagonising principles on its surface and in its depth, that could not escape notice; and philosophy must give its account of everything. God indeed has revealed to man that evil is his discipline, to be overruled under certain conditions for eventual good; but, without the aid of revelation, men have endeavoured in various ways to account for the evil that is mixed up with man's destiny, and so affects the happiness of life. An implacable Nemesis, tracking down ancestral sin through successive generations; a blind fate, the exact converse of reasoning Will; the necessary sequence of events, as unvarying as the revolution of Ixion's wheel, are theories that have been successively developed, as the only possible way of accounting for the evil to which man is born. The Persian started from the same point, but preserving more perhaps of the primitive traditions of man's infant state, brought into the account the relative as well as the positive character of evil. Hence in Zoroaster's teaching the Supreme Being developed

[1] See CREUZER'S collection, from the Zend Avesta, of terms applied to this primary emanation. *Symbolik*, I. 696.

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Light, which, as a subordinate principle, *in tanto*, fell short of perfection; and the [1]imperfection of Light is Shade; arguing therefore from the physical to the metaphysical, it appears to have been concluded by him, that so soon as the Deity developed any principle or created essence beside himself, the necessary relative imperfection of this principle, [2]involved in itself substantive evil. Evil in fact, although of a positive character with relation to the perfection of good, is relative with respect to the imperfect good, to which it leads up by insensible degrees; "when I would do good evil is present with me," is descriptive of all created good, however exalted; but it is in a positive and absolute sense, that He, who is the Perfection of All Good, "chargeth His angels with folly." Persian first principle.

Originally, the eastern theory of a First Principle was not dualistic; God was single and sole, *sine socio et sine pari*. The primæval light, that symbolises the Deity to the Persian, with its shade, was at first put forth; then the world of pure and glorious spirits resulted from the Divine [3]Life; and subsequently the Will of God, the divine Word, was eternally articulate, the Creator of the heavenly bodies, and of the souls of men. As matter is causative of shade, so [4]evil entered into the system when the bodies Hyde ap. Beaus. I. 174. Beaus. I. 164. Creuzer, Symb. I. 695.

[1] This imperfection of light was expressed theosophically as a *mingling* امتزاج النور والظلمة of light and darkness, this of course was co-ordinate with the first evolution of light as an imperfect substance; the subsequent active influence of darkness or evil was defined as خلص النور من الظلمة *a liberation of light from darkness*, the two were separated and shewed their positive qualities. Upon this distinction Magian controversy ran high. *See* POCOCK, *Spec. Hist. Ar.* 153. *ed. Oxon.*

[2] *Mit dem Satz ist gegeben nothwendig der Gegensatz.* CREUZER, Symb. I. 701.

[3] Zoroastre n'a reconnue qu'un seul Dieu, Createur immediat du Monde des Esprits, mais Createur mediat tant du monde des étoiles et des planètes, que du Monde inférieur, qui est notre globe terrestre, qu'il a formé par l'intervention d'une puissance, que Zoroastre appelle SA VOLONTÉ. BEAUSOBRE, *H. du Manich.* I. p. 175.

[4] BEAUSOBRE says, *Ce système du Prophete des Perses a un grand conformité avec celui, que Lactance a*

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Hebrew analogies.

of men were created, as well as the lower world of matter. The words of Beausobre refer these oriental theories to the highest antiquity, and their supporters connected them with the patriarchal faith of Abraham. *Un Paradis, un Enfer, qu'ils appellent la Géhenne, l'immortalité des âmes, la Resurrection des corps, étoient les dogmes constans de leur foi. Ils prétendoient la tenir d'Abraham, qui l'avoit enseignée, et défendue contre les Idolatres qui s'élevoient et se multiplioient dans l'Assyrie.*

Hist. de Manich. i. 165

The question arises how these theories, presenting in some respects certain analogies with a truer theology, became known in Persia. If, indeed, Zoroaster were acquainted with the Hebrew scriptures, as Arabic writers affirm, who also say that he was born in Palestine, we might understand that portions of his system would very fairly be referrible to the great forefather of the Jews. But the close contact into which the Hebrew portion of the Shemitic race had been brought with the Iranian stock, owing to the Babylonian captivity, would account for any degree of resemblance observable between the Zoroastrian system, and the august theology of the Jews. Possibly the liturgical portion of the Zend Avesta may be the production of Zoroaster; the Zend, or sacred language of the Median Magi, carries on the face of it a considerable antiquity, while the latter, and more scientific portions being composed, not in Zend, but Pehlevi, the language of the Sassanian dynasty, and of the Parthians, betray as clearly a later origin. Hence whatever knowledge this portion of the Zend Avesta exhibits of the Hebrew Scriptures, may be more properly referred to the co-presence of the Jewish religious system with the traditional faith of Persia, subsequently to the Christian era.

Brucker, H. Ph. i. 147.

exprimé en ces termes: Fabricaturus Deus hunc mundum, qui constaret in rebus contrariis atque discordibus, constituit ante diversa, fecitque ante omnia duos fontes rerum sibi adversantium, illos videlicet duos spiritus, quorum alter est Deo tamquam dextera, alter tamquam sinistra, &c. *Inst.* II. 9.

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Neither ÆSCHYLUS nor HERODOTUS say anything of the fundamental tenet of the Zoroastrian system, faith in two antagonising principles, emanating from one eternal principle of unity; and naturally enough, for if the dualistic scheme were first incorporated by Zoroaster, it could hardly have become known to them, as a superaddition upon the ancient faith of Persia. On the other hand, if before the day of Zoroaster the Persians had been idolaters, it would be difficult to account for the ease with which this people accepted at the hands of Zoroaster, so many religious ideas, that must have been as foreign to them as they were new. May it not have been owing to the purer religious traditions of the Persians, that the Jews, as of an apparently cognate religion, were permitted by Cyrus to return to Palestine, and were aided and protected in their pious work, of building up again the ruins left by their Chaldæan conquerors? On the whole, the ancient Persians appear to have been neither polytheists nor idolaters; and with regard to all other points of their ancient intellectual speculation, it is safest to subscribe to the words of the industrious BRUCKER; *Subductis itaque omnibus rationibus, nobis tutissimum videtur, de veterum Magorum, Zoroastre vetustiorum, systemate, modestam fateri ignorantiam.*

Persian dualistic theory.

Hist. Phil. II. iii. 12.

It would seem, then, that from the time that Abraham went forth from the land of the Chaldees, down to the commencement of authentic pagan history, the theoretical knowledge of one Supreme Being existed, as a higher religious belief, in the regions watered by the Euphrates, as well as among the Persians; but, in this latter case, the people at large retained a sounder faith than the inferior Aramaic tribes, where a truer γνῶσις, in whatever degree it existed, was reserved among the arcana of priestcraft.

Gen. xi. 31.

The only country west of the Indus, that can pretend to vie with Babylon in point of antiquity, is Egypt. There was in certain respects a similarity between the Chaldæan

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Primitive belief of Egypt.

and Egyptian religious systems. They both involved astrology, and in most other points they were very much alike, if the testimony of [1]BARDESANES, in his work on Fate, is to be referred to a higher antiquity than the age in which he lived and wrote. Unlike the more restless spirits that inhabited the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the inhabitants of Egypt, after the earliest Asiatic immigration, were subject to no violent irruption of hostile tribes. That which PLATO has said, in the *Timæus*, of their immunity from the devastation caused by floods and conflagrations, may be interpreted politically, as a figurative representation of the early peaceful enjoyment of their acquired possessions on the banks of the Nile. The primitive [2]faith of Egypt was chiselled indelibly, as it were, in granite, in the Saitic inscription of the temple of Isis; τὸ δ' ἐν Σάει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν καὶ Ἶσιν νομίζουσιν, ἔδος ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχε τοιαύτην, Ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδείς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν. [3]PROCLUS adds at the close of this inscription, καὶ ὃν ἔτεκον κάρπον, ἥλιος ἐγένετο. It has already been seen, that, whatever may

Plut. de Is. et Os. 9.

[1] ... *Avida saith, I have read the books of Chaldeism, but I do not know which belong to the Babylonians, and which to the Egyptians. Bardesan saith, The doctrine of both countries is the same. Avida saith it is known that it is so.* CURETON, *Sp.* 15.

[2] CREUZER clearly refers the higher and more spiritual wisdom of the Greek philosophy to Egyptian sources. "Es konnte aber hier die zweifelnde Frage entstehen, ob jene geistige Ansicht nicht etwa blos Griechische Zuthat, Ausdeutung Griechischer Philosophie sey. Dies muss schlechterdings verneint werden, und die vielstimmige und vielfältige Sage, welche auch vor der Zweifelsucht neuerer Zeiten die herrschende Meinung der Gelehrten begründete, die Sage, dass Pythagoras und andere Griechen erst ihre Weisheit aus Ægypten geholt haben, muss für ein historisches Factum gelten. Hundert Stellen des Herodotus, Hellanicus, und was wir sonst von Fragmenten älterer Geschichtschreiber und Philosophen haben, setzen gleichfalls eine alte geistige Cultur der Pharaonen Ægyptier voraus." *Symb.* I. 386.

[3] *In Timæ.* cf. the Persian theory, p. xi. MOSHEIM *conjectures* that this inscription never existed. CUDW. *Int. Syst.* n. 123.

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have been the religious belief of Egypt in later times, at an earlier period of history its inhabitants held some points, at least, in common with the descendants of Abraham.

Primitive belief of Egypt.

The wisdom of Egypt, in which Solomon was skilled, indicates the notoriety of its intellectual proficiency. At a subsequent period Herodotus speaks of Egypt's religious theory with veneration, and refers to this source the knowledge that his countrymen possessed of the [1]soul's immortality: Πρῶτοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ εἴποντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι. It is a fair inference therefore that certain modified forms of religious truth were never wholly lost to the sages of Egypt. The sacred torch was still sent on [2]from hand to hand, until the foundation was laid of the Alexandrian school of philosophy, which the more ancient and truer elements of the Egyptian theosophy helped to consolidate.

1 Kings iv. 30.

The origin of Egyptian as of every other form of polytheism may be traced to the custom, so widely prevalent in the ancient heathen systems, of expressing different functions and attributes of the Deity by different names; which were divided out again according to the varying phases of the divine energy. This, which is more or less true of the Persian and Indian systems, is pre-eminently

[1] HEROD. II. 123. And yet HIPPOLYTUS makes his predecessor Heraclitus speak doubtfully of the soul's dissolution, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, φησὶν, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος εἷς, λέγων, ψυχῆς εἰ γὰρ θάνατος, ὕδωρ γενέσθαι. HIPPOL. *Phil.* v. 16. MILLER is clearly wrong in printing εἷς as part of the quotation qualifying θάνατος. By ὕδωρ doubtless is meant *watery vapour*; cf. EUSEB. *Pr. E.* XV. 20, Ζήνων ψυχὴν λέγει αἴσθησιν ἢ ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος.

[2] ORIGEN seems to say as much of the Egyptian sages, even in his day: δοκεῖ δέ μοι τοιοῦτόν τι πεποιηκέναι, ὡς εἴ τις τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπιδημήσας, ἔνθα οἱ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων σοφοὶ, κατὰ τὰ πάτρια γράμματα, πόλλα φιλοσοφοῦσι περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νενομισμένων θείων, οἱ δὲ ἰδιώται μύθους τινας ἀκούσαντες, ὧν τοὺς λόγους οὐκ ἐπίστανται, μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φρονοῦσιν, ᾤετο πάντα τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἐγνωκέναι· τοῖς ἰδιώταις αὐτῶν μαθητεύσας, καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἱερέων σύμμιξας, μηδ' ἀπό τινος αὐτῶν τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἀπόῤῥητα μαθών. And the same observation applies, as he proceeds to say, to the Syrian, Persian, and Indian systems. c. *Cels.* i. 12. Several suggestive passages also are found in ISOCR. *Enc. Bus.*

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Theosophy of Egypt physical.

so of the main foundation of the Greek mythology, the Egyptian. [1] Here the idea of the Deity is broken up into a system that symbolises the beneficent operations of nature throughout the year; while Isis, Osiris, and other objects of religious veneration, for ever reappear by a fanciful nomenclature, and become the symbols of varied attribute. Plutarch refers the whole orderly work of Creation to the secondary Gods, Isis and Osiris: *ἐνὶ γὰρ λόγῳ κοινῷ τοὺς θεοὺς τούτους περὶ πᾶσαν ἀγαθοῦ μοῖραν ἡγούμεθα τετάχθαι, καὶ πᾶν, ὅσον ἔνεστι τῇ φύσει, καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν διὰ τούτους ὑπάρχειν, τὸν μὲν διδόντα τὰς ἀρχὰς, τὴν δὲ δεχομένην καὶ διανέμουσαν*[2].

Hence we may consider these [3] congenital deities to represent the Divine Ideal of the universe; the ancient reference of *Isis* to εἴδω by a false *etymon*, may be ideally true, and the expression of its substantial investment in form; and the perfect infiguration of the Divine plan of Creation in the Supreme Mind being involved in the notion of Divine Prescience, it is not difficult to conceive that Plato, who never hesitated to import from other philosophical or religious systems, ideas that he considered to be good and true, may have taken the first notion of his Divine Ideas from the Egyptian Isiacal theosophy, and that the gnostic teachers of Alexandria may have found fundamental theories, that we refer to PLATO, among the arcana of the Egyptian hierophants.

Of this we have some indication. Isis and Osiris, in the Egyptian system, symbolised pre-existent form and

[1] Von dieser charakteristischen Sitte der orientalischen Religion, und auch der Ægyptischen, die Hauptäusserungen eines Grundwesens in besondere Personen zu zerlegen, und dann wieder zu einem Begriffe zu verbinden, zeigen selbst die Ægyptischen Götternamen Spuren in Composition, wie Semphucrates, Hermapion, und unzählige andere. Daher werden ferner besondere Namen beigelegt zur Bezeichnung besonderer Verhältnisse eines und desselben Wesens . . . . . Die beständige Vergegenwärtigung jener Sitte kann allein vor vielen Missverständnissen in den alten Religionen bewahren. CREUZER, *Symbolik*, I. 295.

[2] *Is. et Os.* 64.

[3] See p. xxiii. n. 3.

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matter, while Horus exhibited the [1]ἀποτέλεσμα or embodying of the Divine ἰδέαι in [2]material substance. [3]Plutarch says, that Isis was known by three other names closely descriptive of the subjectivity of matter. But he also derives the name of the goddess from εἴδω, [4]*scio*, as leading her votaries to a true knowledge τοῦ Ὄντος. It would have been more conformable to the Egyptian religious system based as it was upon physical phenomena, if he had said that the name symbolised a knowledge of the Deity, as revealed in the sensible world, the groundwork of all natural religion, as the Apostle has said; Διότι τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσε· τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἥ τε ἀίδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης. Plutarch, towards the close of the same treatise, says, that the name conveys the notion of [5]rational energy; Osiris being the generative or plastic principle.

Theosophy of Egypt physical.

Rom. i. 19,20.

[1] This term, as used by PHILO, is to ἰδέα, as matter is to mind; on Gen. ii. 5, he asks, ἆρα οὐκ ἐμφανῶς τὰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ νοητὰς ἰδέας παρίστησιν, ἃς τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σφραγῖδας συμβέβηκε; *De M. Op.* 44. PLUTARCH applies the term as though it involved the combination of matter with ideal form; καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν ὡς ἀρχὴν, τὴν δὲ Ἶσιν ὡς ὑποδοχὴν, τὸν δὲ Ὧρον ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα. *de Is. et Os.* 56. The reader may apply this in illustration of note 4, p. 352.

[2] Eudoxus, who was of the Pythagorean school, antecedently to Plato, shews, by an Egyptian myth of some antiquity, that the Divine wisdom, existing eternally ἐν δυνάμει, by means of Isis, existed also ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ, *in esse*, as well as *in posse*. The application of the myth applied at p. xl. is, αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτων ὁ μῦθος, ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀφανεῖ βεβηκὼς, εἰς γένεσιν ὑπὸ κωήσεως προῆλθεν. *Is. et Os.* 62. The Gnostic Βύθος and Σιγή were borrowed from some such Egyptian myth. Compare also the words of Damascius, οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γεγονότες, ἐξήνεγκαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθείαν κεκρυμμένην, εὑρόντες ἐν Αἰγυπτίοις δή τισι λόγοις, ὡς εἴη κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ μὲν μία τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴ σκότος ἄγνωστον. WOLF, *Anecd. Gr.* Tom. III. 260.

[3] ἡ δὲ Ἶσις ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Μοὺθ, καὶ πάλιν Ἄθυρι καὶ Μεθύερ προσαγορεύεται· σημαίνουσι δὲ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων μητέρα, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ οἶκον Ὧρου κόσμον, ὡς καὶ Πλάτων, χώραν γενέσεως καὶ δεξαμένην· τὸ δὲ τρίτον σύνθετόν ἐστιν ἔκ τε τοῦ πλήρους καὶ τοῦ αἰτίου. PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* 56.

[4] τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ τοὔνομα καὶ σαφῶς ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ εἴδησιν τοῦ ὄντος· ὀνομάζεται γὰρ Ἰσεῖον ὡς εἰσομένων τὸ ὄν, ἂν μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ παρέλθωμεν τῆς θεοῦ. PLUT. *Is. et Os.* c. 2.

[5] διὸ τὸ μὲν Ἶσιν καλοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι μετ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ φέρεσθαι, κίνησιν οὖσαν ἔμψυχον καὶ φρόνιμον. c. 60.

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Egyptian Idealism.

But in another point of view Isis represented the Divine ἰδέαι themselves, for the goddess fully bears out Creuzer's assertion, that the Egyptian deities respectively symbolised several distinct functions or phases of the Divine energy; so [1]Isis is identified with Νηίθ the Egyptian Athene, the Divine Intellect or Νοῦς, according to Plato's derivation in the *Cratylus*, Θεοῦ νόησις. If Plutarch is not mistaken, Isis was the same with the self-existent Divine Wisdom; and the Greek myth, that Athene in full panoply sprung from the brain of Jove, was derived from the Saitic temple. The goddess, however, not only represented the Divine Intellectual conception of the universe, antecedently to the union of the forms, so conceived, with gross matter, as Minerva, according to Varro, in the [2]Samothracian theology represented the Platonic [3]παραδεῖγμα, or ideas of things create, but the Egyptian divinity symbolised the Divine

[1] The Saïtic temple of Isis, bearing the inscription mentioned at p. xviii. is referred to Νηίθ by PLATO, as the Egyptian Athene, where, in speaking of the inhabitants of Sais, *Tim.* 21 E, he says, οἷς τῆς πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχηγός τίς ἐστιν, Αἰγυπτιστὶ μὲν τοὔνομα, Νηίθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ. CICERO also speaks of it as a Parthenon; *Minerva . . . . secunda orta Nilo, quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt.* de Nat. De. III. 23. PLUTARCH, in this same treatise, c. 62, repeats the assertion that *Isis* is *Athene;* τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἶσιν πολλάκις τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὀνόματι καλοῦσι, φράζοντι τοιοῦτον λόγον, "ἦλθον ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς," ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτοκινήτου φορᾶς δηλωτικόν, (giving apparently the Hebrew ἔτυμον, אֲאֶתֶנִי, *ipsam me protuli;*) and says that the Saïtic temple was in honour of *Athene.* Ἐν Σάι γοῦν ἐν τῷ προπύλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἦν γεγλυμμένον βρέφος κ.τ.λ. c. 32. ARNOBIUS also identifies the Saïtic *Isis* with *Athene. Adv. Gentes.* IV. 137. HERODOTUS, makes Isis the Egyptian *Demeter;* (cf. CL. Al. *Str.* I. 21,) but he speaks of the Saïtic πανήγυρις as being in honour of *Athene,* II. 59; he infers also that archives were there preserved, 28, and mentions the sepulchral cells of its kings, 169, 170; and a colossal recumbent figure in granite, 176; cf. also PAUS. II. 36. Both the cities Athens and Sais are said by PROCLUS, *in Tim.* to have been under the same tutelary deity, μία τῶν δύο πόλεων ἔφορος, τῆς τε Σάεως καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. THEOPOMPUS even states that Athens was colonised from Sais. And PLATO after the passage quoted above, says, μάλα δὲ φιλαθηναῖοι, καὶ τινα τρόπον οἰκεῖοι τῶνδ' εἶναι φασίν.

[2] *Samothracum nobilia mysteria.* AUG. Civ. D. VII. 28.

[3] *Dicit enim se ibi multis indiciis collegisse in simulacris, aliud significare cœlum, aliud terram, aliud exempla rerum quas Plato appellat ideas; cœlum Jovem, terram Junonem, ideas Minervam vult intelligi; cœlum a quo fiat aliquid, terram de qua fiat, exemplum secundum quod fiat.* Civ. D. VII. 28.

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Wisdom in its operative as well as in its conceptive phase; hence Apuleius causes her to describe her functions in the following terms; [1]*Rerum natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, seculorum progenies initialis; summa numinum, regina marium, prima cœlitum, deorum dearumque facies uniformis; quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flumina, inferorum deplorata silentia, nutibus meis dispenso.* Her functions then were co-extensive with the Divine Ἰδέαι of the philosopher.

Gnostic analogies.

Her offspring [2]Arueris, called by Plutarch, Apollo, or the elder [3]Horus, born of Isis while yet in the womb of her mother Rhea, allegorises the ancient difficulty of accounting for the origin of matter, otherwise than by making it co-ordinate with the ideal forms that it should eventually take. This part of the Egyptian myth must certainly have suggested the idea of the Valentinian Demiurge; as Isis did of Sophia or Achamoth; *mutatis nominibus*, the words of Plutarch very nearly express the Valentinian theory; [4]*τὸν Ὧρον, ὃν ἡ Ἶσις εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου αἰσθητὸν ὄντα γεννᾷ.* Then again the terms in which Plutarch speaks of the functions of Isis, are suggestive of the Valentinian notion, where they are not Platonic. No doubt they may have received from him a deeper Platonic colouring, but it is impossible not to believe that the fundamental ideas of the Valentinian theory were received from the theosophy of ancient Egypt, when he says, "For Isis is the female principle of nature, the recipient of every

[1] APUL. *Metam.* XI. p. 243.

[2] CREUZER, *Symbolik*, I. 259.

[3] *Is. et Os.* 54. *ἡ μὲν γὰρ, ἔτι τῶν θεῶν ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς Ῥέας ὄντων, ἐξ Ἴσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος γενομένη γένεσις Ἀπόλλωνος αἰνίττεται, τὸ πρὶν ἐκφανῆ γενέσθαι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, καὶ συντελεσθῆναι τῷ λόγῳ, τὴν ὕλην, φύσει ἐλεγχομένην ἐφ' αὑτῆς ἀτελῆ, τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν. Διὸ καὶ φασι τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀνάπηρον ὑπὸ σκότῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ πρεσβύτερον Ὧρον καλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κόσμος, ἀλλ' εἴδωλόν τι καὶ κόσμου φάντασμα μέλλοντος.* PARTHEY has translated these last words, *denn er war nicht die Welt, for he was not the world;* it ought to have been, *denn es war keine Welt, for there was no world, but a certain ideal image only of the future.*

[4] Ibid.

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Gnostic analogies.

natural product, as *the nurse and comprehensive principle* (*πανδεχής*) in Plato. But by the many she is called *the million-named,* for moulded (*τρεπομένη* f. l. *τυπουμένη*) by reason she embraces all forms and ideas. And congenital with her is Love of the first and mightiest of all, which is one and the same with the Good; this she desires and follows after, but she avoids and repels all participation with Evil, being to both indeed as space and matter, but inclining always of her own accord to the better principle, occasioning in it the procreative impulse of inseminating her with emanations and types in which she rejoices and exults, as impregnated with produce. For produce is the material image of Substance, and the contingent is an imitation of that which IS[1]."

Further, the Egyptian mythology indicates the remote origin of the Valentinian classification of the Pleroma into three groupes. For Herodotus speaks of a similar distribution of Egyptian deities[2]; *Ἐν Ἕλλησι μέν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν· παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος, καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων, τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι· Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἳ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο.* This third groupe of deities were possibly the [3]five born of Rhea, marking the addition of five days to the year of 360. The dodecad emanated from the ogdoad, [4]*ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι.* But the ogdoad was the primary groupe, [5]*τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι.* Now the Egyptian sacred philosophy presented a complex phasis; it exhibited in one point of view a belief in one divine emanative principle, and in another it was a symbolical representation of the

[1] PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* 53. Cf. PLINY'S description of the influences of the planet Venus, or *stella Isidis, H. N.* II. 8.

[2] HEROD. II. 145.

[3] See p. 341, note 1.

[4] HEROD. II. 43.

[5] Ibid. 46.

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[1]physical creation, of which [2]σκότος ἄγνωστον was the first principle; it also theosophised the development of mathematical and arithmetical powers. So in the case of these groupes of divinities, they exemplified the powers of the right-angled [3]triangle, in emanative progression; the hypothenuse being as 5, the perpendicular as 4, the base as 3. Thus,

Geometrical mysticism.

hypothenuse = 5
hypoth. + base = 8
hypoth. + base + perpend. = 12
} = 25, or 5^2.

And this analogy would scarcely seem to be fanciful; for the geometrical mysticism of Egypt suggested a similar notion to Philo, who makes the base and perpendicular of a right-angled triangle to represent the Sabbatical

[1] Nicht Apotheose, nicht lebender Menschen Vergötterung, ist Wurzel der Ægyptischen Religion, sondern Naturleben und Naturanschauung. CREUZER, *Symbolik*, I. 303. So the stoic Chæremon, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, and accompanied Ælius Gallus into Egypt, describes the Egyptian system, as a religion based upon purely physical notions, whose sole object was nature; (cf. PHILO, *de V. Mos.* III. 24;) while Iamblichus, of the neo-Platonic school, could trace in it a clear reference throughout to a higher Divine Intellect; his words are remarkable: Φυσικὰ δὲ οὐ λέγουσιν εἶναι πάντα Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ζωὴν, καὶ τὴν νοερὰν, ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως διακρίνουσι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ παντὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· νοῦν τε καὶ λόγον προστησάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας, οὕτως δημιουργεῖσθαί φασι τὰ γιγνόμενα, προπάτορά τε τῶν ἐν γενέσει δημιουργὸν προστάττουσι, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ζωτικὴν δύναμιν γινώσκουσι· καθαρόν τε νοῦν ὑπὲρ τὸν κόσμον προτιθέασι, καὶ ἕνα ἀμέριστον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ διῃρημένον ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς σφαίρας ἕτερον. IAMBL. *de Myst. Æg.* VIII. 4.

[2] Compare the quotation from Damascius, p. xxii. end of n. 2, and p. xxiii. n. 3. See CREUZER, *Symb.* I. 518.

[3] According to PLUTARCH the Egyptians symbolised, τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν, by a right-angled triangle; ἔχει δ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ τρίγωνον τριῶν τὴν πρὸς ὀρθίαν, καὶ τεττάρων τὴν βάσιν, καὶ πέντε τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν, ἴσον ταῖς περιεχούσαις δυναμένην. *De Is. et Os.* 56. He then identifies the sides with Osiris, Isis, and Horus, cf. xxi. n. 1. And this process may elucidate the meaning of the very obscure passage in PLUTARCH, where he says of the Persian system, ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν. *De Is. et Os.* 47. The reference being to the arithmetical mean, indicated in the progression 3, 4, 5; and then, the equation $3^2+4^2=5^2$ gives the exact number expressed by himself, and the four and twenty divine emanations, that he then proceeded to put forth, and which, with the six already in existence, may have suggested the idea of the Valentinian Pleroma of *thirty*. See p. 98, n. 1, 99, n. 2, and xxxi, n. 1.

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Egyptian origin of Greek Mythology.

Hebdomad, [1] *Συνεστῶσα γὰρ ἐκ τριάδος καὶ τετράδος τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀκλινὲς καὶ ὀρθὸν φύσει παρέχεται· ὃν δὲ τρόπον δηλωτέον· τὸ ὀρθογώνιον τρίγωνον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ποιοτήτων, ἐξ ἀριθμῶν συνέστηκε τοῦ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ πέντε. Τὰ δὲ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἑβδομάδος οὐσία, τὴν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ.* The arithmetical deductions of the Marcosian theory may be traced back to some such origin as this.

Proceeding from the primary to the secondary development of the heathen religious idea, it may be observed that Egypt no doubt gave its first impulse to the idolatry of classical Greece[2]. Its mythology, based upon the physical phenomena of a southern sky, and a land teeming with the richest products, received a magnificent development, when reproduced in the myths of the keen-witted and poetical Greek. But the very brightness of the intellectual creations of this wonderful people, in the infant state of their political existence, dazzled them, and prevented them from tracing excellencies in the deeper truths preserved, here a little and there a little, among their barbarian prototypes. They were bad observers of Egyptian antiquities, and missed much of the latent meaning that was veiled beneath the substance of the Egyptian mythology, while they seized upon the æsthetical features that presented themselves externally, and acclimated them among the hills and vales of Greece. A few of the wisest and best of their race, rising above the [3] mythical traditions that served to engross the religious sense of the multitude, reverted to the sources of their intellectual and political history, and found in the ancestral fanes of Egypt some traces at least of the wisdom that they sought.

[1] PHILO *de M. Op.* 32.

[2] DIOG. LAERTIUS, I. 3. EUSEB. *Præp. Ev.* I. 9. GROTE, *H. Gr.* I. 595.

[3] ISOCRATES only mentions these legends of the poets to condemn them as unworthy. *Enc. Bus.* 16, 17. Cf. also PIND. *Ol.* I. 45, 80.

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Egyptian origin of Greek Mythology.

So the faith that Cecrops, whether as an *autochthon* or as a foreigner, imported from Egypt, before the birth of Moses, was belief in the unity of the Divine Principle, if it was the faith of Sais the political origin of Athens; and it was fixed, no doubt, in those whose thirst for knowledge led them back to the banks of the Nile. Still Egypt was the nursing mother of Polytheism, and no doubt Herodotus tells us truly, that the names of the gods in Greek mythology, "hourly conceived and hourly born," came across from Egypt; σχέδον καὶ πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. These names however expressed, either different phases of the creature world, or different attributes and manifestations of the one Eternal. Thus Athene may have been Νηίθ, and identified with Isis; but this name merely signified the Divine Wisdom as manifested in creation. Poseidon, or, as he was called in the Etruscan mythology, Neptune, may have been Nephthys of the Egyptian; but the poetical appellation of ἐννοσίγαιος is more applicable perhaps to the Egyptian, than to the Pelasgic deity, as typifying *the perishable;* and Nephthys was to the dark and motionless and dead, what Isis was to the world of light and energy and life. So again Osiris was in one aspect Neilos or [1]Helios, in another [2]Oceanus, but in power the Egyptian deity was the causative origin of all. The very divergence that is observable in the varying powers and attributes of the prototypes of Greek mythology still indicates a centre of unity: the account of Herodotus may be true, and yet the *ancient* creed of Egypt need not have been polytheistic. Whatever the priests of On and Memphis taught the loose rabble to believe, their own faith we may assume to have been of no low or debased type, when we find the best and wisest of the Greeks for

Grote H. Gr. i. 268.

Milt. P. L. ii.

Herod. iv. 1.

[1] Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 52. Creuzer, i. 291.
[2] Ibid. 34. Creuzer, i. 291.

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Sources of Philosophy.

ever reverting to Egypt, as the fountain-head of wisdom and knowledge. Egypt still sent forth the *vis vitæ* that gathered the first gems of thought around the genial matrix of Hellenic intellect; and proud as the Greeks were of their intellectual pre-eminence, and jealous of an autochthonic descent, it is scarcely possible that their writers should have permanently established the belief, that Egypt was the nursing mother of their laws, their institutions, and their philosophy, if this had not really been the case. The first rudiment of a political constitution was given to Athens by Cecrops from an Egyptian model, and dated higher than Moses; Lycurgus also laid the foundation of the Spartan constitution upon Egyptian lines[1], and the first traces of a [2]*θρησκεία* or religious system, were sketched out, in the time of Joshua and the Judges, by the Thracian [3]*Theologic* poet Orpheus, the exponent to them of an Egyptian [4]theosophy.

But Egypt, although the principal, was not the sole quarter from whence Greece drew her first lessons of wisdom. Palestine was visited; and the Magian lore of Persia, including perhaps theories from the Indus, was learned on the banks of the Euphrates. From these principal sources the earlier ethics and religion of the philosophical Greek were derived; and it is worthy of remark, in passing, that these are precisely the countries indicated as the marked centres of human wisdom in the inspired volume; for Solomon is said to have *excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt.* Hence, too, the art of fixing the products of intellect and bequeathing them as a rich inherit-

1 Kings iv. 30.

[1] Isocr. *Encom. Busir.* 8.

[2] A word, for this reason, derived by Nonnus from *θράξ*.

[3] The name given to Theogonic poets was *Theologus*, Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* I. 466. Though the main body of the Orphic verses are neo-Platonic forgeries, there is no doubt that some of them existed in the sixth century B. C. See Grote, *H. Gr.* I. 29. Herodotus classes together Orphic and Egyptian rites, II. 81.

[4] Diod. Sic. IV. 25.

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ance to posterity by means of writing, was originally imported into Greece by the Phenician Cadmus; and when philosophy began to take a definite form, it owed less to its own esoteric action, than to the light that it gained from without; and the principal sages of Greece were either of [1]foreign extraction, or, if Hellenes, they were distrustful of their own indigenous resources, and betook themselves to the priests of Egypt and the Magi of the East, for a higher learning and deeper principles, than they could have learned at home. Ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλληνες ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ παῖδές ἐστε· γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐδείς· οὐ γὰρ ἔχετε μάθημα χρόνῳ πόλιον, was the exclamation of Solon's Egyptian instructor [2]Sonchis, in allusion to this derivative character of the Greek wisdom.

Sources of Philosophy.

Grote, H. Gr. I. 351. Isocr. Enc. Hel. 30.

Diod. S. I. Eus. P. E. x.

Plat. Tim. 22. B.

The great similarity observable in the prototypal forms of Greek philosophy indicate a common origin; and, in tracing any particular view or theory of its schools back to its remote source, the inquirer can hardly fail to be struck with the analogies that arise before him, indicating indeed a common origin, but too variously marked to be the result of transcription. The numbers, for instance, of Pythagoras, whose orderly progression first suggested to him the term κόσμος for the outward world of nature, and the ideal system of Plato, seem very distinct from each other, but there are points of analogy with foreign systems that induce the suspicion, that neither the one nor the other expressed an original theory, but that they

Phot. B. p. 318. Stob. Ecl. Ph. p. 49.

Pp. xiv, xx—xxvi.

[1] Ὡς δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν βάρβαροι τὸ γένος, καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις παιδευθέντες, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; εἴγε Τυῤῥῆνος ἢ Τύριος ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐδείκνυτο· Ἀντισθένης δὲ Φρὺξ ἦν· καὶ Ὀρφεὺς, Ὀδρύσης ἢ Θρᾴξ. ....Θαλῆς δὲ, Φοῖνιξ ὢν τὸ γένος, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων προφήταις συμβεβληκέναι εἴρηται· καθάπερ καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρας αὐτοῖς γε τούτοις· δι' οὓς καὶ περιετέμετο, ἵνα δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄδυτα κατελθὼν, τὴν μυστικὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐκμάθοι φιλοσοφίαν. Χαλδαίων τε καὶ Μάγων τοῖς ἀρίστοις συνεγένετο κ.τ.λ. Clem. Al. *Str.* I. 15. I am not aware, however, that there is any other authority for the length to which his love of knowledge is said to have carried the philosopher.

[2] Proclus calls him *Pateneith*. Plato's description of Egyptian lore, as πανουργίαν ἀντὶ σοφίας, *de Leg.* V. p. 747 C, is not inconsistent with the notion, that light was derived from Egypt.

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Pythagoras.

both centre in some *tertium quid*. The same is applicable to their common notion of the [1]*metensomatosis* of souls. And in fact they *had* drawn from the self-same sources. [2]Pythagoras of Samos studied in Egypt for twenty-two years, under the priest [3]Sonchis; he then removed to Babylon and Persia; and continued for some time in learned communion with the Magi; and more especially with the contemporary sage Zaratas, whom, from similarity of name, Beausobre has not hesitated to identify with Zerdusht or [4]Zoroaster: *Il est tres possible que le philosophe Grec et le philosophe Persan, ayent eu de fréquentes conversations ensemble sur la nature, et sur les principes de toutes choses, et par consequent que le Zabratus de Porphyre et le Zaratas de Plutarque soient le méme que le Zardesch ou le Zerdusth des Persans*[5]. Others, with no great degree of improbability, have imagined that Pythagoras was indebted to [6]Zoroaster for his mystical powers of the [7]Monad, the perfect origin of all, and of the imperfect [8]Dyad, the mother of the material creation;

[1] Pythagoras received his notion of the immortality, and also of the transmigration of souls from Egypt; *τοῦ σώματος καταφθίνοντος, ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον ἀεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται.* Herod. *Eut.* But theirs was rather the Indian notion, that the soul's next body depends always upon its present behaviour, and that it is raised or degraded according to the deeds done in the body now; that the present life also, in its most favourable aspect, is a penal state, rendering all future punishment superfluous. The Egyptian belief was simply, that the soul migrated from one animated body to another, till every condition of existence had been fulfilled, when it was to return again to the human body in a cycle of 3000 years. Cf. p. 377, n. 1.

[2] Iambl. *de V. Pyth.* III. 13. See also Isocr. *Encom. Bus.* 11.

[3] Clem. Al. *Str.* I. 15, and Plut. who also gives the same name to Solon's instructor.

[4] The Persian زردشت is little else than *Zaratas* with the final syllable transposed. In Zend it is *Zeretoshtro*, a nearer approach to the Greek pronunciation.

[5] Beausobre, *H. de Manich.* I. 31.

[6] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* IV. 19.

[7] The Monad was the symbol of the Deity, because it is incapable of division; the Dyad of matter, because it was thought infinitely susceptible of bisection. Cf. 106, n. 1, 297, n. 2, 298 n. 1.

[8] So Hippolytus in the opening book of his *Philosophumena* quotes Diodorus of Eretria and Aristoxenus, *ὁ μουσικός*, as saying that Pythagoras received instruction from Zaratas the Chaldæan, from whom he learned, *δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα*

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for we need scarcely be reminded by [1]Plutarch, that there was a hidden meaning concealed beneath his arithmetical riddles. There is also a close similarity between his poetical notion, that seas are the [2]tears of Kronos, and the Valentinian account of the origin of the watery element from the tears of Achamoth; and the male and female idea, that he attached to the odd and even numbers respectively, correspond with the male and female Æons successively developed, pair by pair, in the Valentinian system. It has been said that India was visited by Pythagoras, and contributed to the formation of his [3]system. According to the late authority of Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* II. he came in contact also with Bias of Priene and Thales of Miletus; to whom Porphyry and Apuleius add Anaximander, the physical philosopher. Still he scarcely seems to have derived anything from them; although it is tolerably certain that the entire sources of his wisdom were Oriental, where they were not Egyptian. But others drew from the same sources.

Pythagoras.

V. Pyth. I.

καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος· τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμὸν, ξηρὸν, κοῦφον, ταχύ· τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρὸν, ὑγρὸν, βαρὺ, βραδύ. See 292 n. 4, 294, n. 2, 297, n. 1. The cosmic harmony also, adopted by PLATO, and of which VALENTINUS has a trace, p. 23, was derived from the same source. Εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φησὶν καὶ μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν, διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. *Ibid.* cf. p. 294, n. 3.

[1] ἀπεμιμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτῶν (τῶν Αἰγυπτίων *sc.*) καὶ μυστηριῶδες, ἀναμίξας αἰνίγμασι τὰ δόγματα. *Is. et Os.* 10. Certainly his *Dyad* was intended to convey a Divine meaning, equally with that of Zoroaster, οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ ἀριθμοὺς καὶ σχήματα, θεῶν ἐκόσμησαν προσηγορίαις, *ib.* 76, for it was symbolical of antagonising powers, as in the Persian system; ἔριν δὲ τὴν δυάδα καὶ τόλμαν, *ib.* The Monad was Apollo, the Triad was the equilateral triangle, Ἀθηνᾶν κορυφαγενῆ καὶ τριτογένειαν, each base being bisected by a perpendicular, let down from the angle that it subtends, &c. See p. 297.

[2] τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ᾐνίσσοντο· Περσεφόνης μὲν κυνὰς, τοὺς πλανήτας, Κρόνου δὲ δάκρυον, τὴν θάλασσαν ἀλληγοροῦντες. CLEM. AL. *Strom.* V. 8.

[3] We have no authentic knowledge of the system of Pythagoras; his immediate followers were enjoined to reserve that which they had learned in strict silence, for a certain period after the master's death; and we cannot be certain how great a proportion of the Pythagorean theories may have originated with them, when they felt themselves at liberty to speak. Pythagoras first observed the identity of Venus, as an evening and a morning star; *quam naturam ejus Pythagoras Samius primus deprehendit, Olympiade circiter* XLII, *qui fuit urbis Romæ,* CXLII. PLIN. H. N. II. 8.

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Thales.

So also Plato, in this respect at least departing from the principles of his master Socrates, (who discouraged this practice of seeking wisdom from without,) visited [1]Egypt and studied under Sechnuphis at Heliopolis; afterwards he went to Cyrene and Italy. It was also a part of his plan, if Apuleius may be credited, to visit India, but the troubled state of the East deterred him. Several others of the Grecian sages may be traced through the the same courses of instruction. Thales of Miletus, founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, was, on his mother's side, of [2]Phœnician extraction; he is said to have studied astronomy in Phœnicia, and to have derived some considerable amount of his system from Assyria; but it is more certain that he passed some time in Egypt, and received instruction from the hierophants of [3]Memphis. Without entering into the consideration of any other particular doctrine that he taught, we may merely observe, that, living in the days of the prophet Jeremiah, he taught very much the same doctrine with respect to spiritual essences, that was taught contemporaneously at Babylon, as we know from the fact that the Jews adopted the same notion in their captivity; so ARISTOTLE tells us, *καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δέ τινες αὐτὴν* (*τὴν ψυχὴν* sc.) *μεμίχθαι φασίν· ὅθεν ἴσως καὶ Θαλῆς ᾠήθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι.* We may trace in this the notion of the various angelic intelligences of the Indo-Chaldaic Sephiroth on the one side, and on the other, though in a fainter degree, the foreshadowing of the Platonic *ἰδέαι*. His notion that water

Grote, H. Gr. III. 380.

[1] *Ἱστορεῖται δὲ Πυθαγόρας μὲν Σωγχῆδι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἀρχιπροφήτῃ μαθητεύσαι, Πλάτων δὲ Σεχνούφιδι τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ.* CLEM. AL. *Strom.* I. 15. Again, *Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων δῆλον ὡς σεμνύνων ἀεὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὑρίσκεται· μεμνημένος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Πυθαγόρου, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ γενναιότατα τῶν δογμάτων ἐν βαρβάροις μαθόντων.* Ibid. XENOPHON also, in the fragment preserved by EUSEBIUS, in his *Præp. Evang.* XIV. 12, says that PLATO *Αἰγύπτου ἠράσθη, καὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου τερατώδους σοφίας.*

[2] DIOG. LAERT. I. 22; HEROD. I. 170. *Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου . . . τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος.*

[3] Ibid. 22, 23, 24; PLUT. *de Pl. Phil.* I. 3; IAMBL. *de v. Pyth.* I. 2.

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was the first principle, and that all things were produced from a humid sementation, was derived from [1]Egypt; SIMPLICIUS says, διὸ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν τῆς πρώτης ζωῆς, ἣν ὕδωρ συμβολικῶς ἐκάλουν, ὑποστάθμην τὴν ὕλην ἐκάλουν, οἷον ἰλύν τινα οὖσαν, (*in* ARIST. *Phys.* p. 50). Accordingly Osiris, the Egyptian Helios, as he is called (*de Is. et Os.* 52), or Oceanus (*ibid.* 34), was not represented in a chariot, but in a ship, as were the other Gods, (*ibid.* and CREUZER, *Symbolik*, I. 282, notes 249, 390). The Phenician fish-god Dagon also symbolised the ancient belief of Egypt, from whence it was derived. But all may be referred to the Mosaic record, that [2]earth and water in their first condition were intermingled as an aqueous slime. Hence, too, the Ophites, or earliest Gnostics, venerated the [3]serpent as the

Thales.

[1] Hence also the Lotus, as symbolising life springing from the waters, had a deeply mystical meaning in the Egyptian system; according to CREUZER, who writes, however, without reference to Gnostic notions, it represented the bisexual principle, τὸ ἀῤῥενόθηλυ, and the after-development of Isis and Osiris, while they were still in the germ, and unborn as yet of Rhea. His words are, *In ihrem Kelche, mit dem Staubfäden und dem Pistill, war das Mann-weibliche —der Joni-Lingam, Indisch zu reden, im Pflanzen-reiche. In ihr stellte die Erde, die vom Nil geschwängerte Erde selber, für die Volksanschauung ein Bild jener mystischen Ehe der beiden Landesgottheiten auf. So ward der Lotuskelch in religiöser Betrachtungsart zum Mutterschoosse der Grossen Rhea gesteigert, und Staubfäden und Pistill erinnern in ihrer Verbindung an die Vereinigung des Götterpaares schon im Schoosse der Mutter. Symbolik*, I. 283.

The Lotus was an emblem moreover of the resurrection, submerging its head by night, but lifting it again to meet the rays of the rising sun. v. HAMMER, *Mines de l'Orient.* v. 283. To symbolise the aqueous origin of all things, the ὑδρεῖον, or water jar, was borne, as a sacred emblem, in the festal processions in honour of Osiris, as PLUTARCH says, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἁπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορῥοὴν καλοῦσι, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀεὶ προπομπεύει τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ. *de Is. et Os.* 36. CREUZER seems to have had this passage in view when he says, *In der Isis-procession der Prophet oder Oberpriester das heiligste Symbol, den Wasserkrug, die ὑδρία, in den Falten seines weiten Kleides verborgen trägt. ibid.* But see DIONYS. I. p. 24.

[2] PHILO'S description of the first crude state of the earth may be compared, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σύμπαν ὕδωρ εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν ἀνεκέχυτο, καὶ διὰ πάντων αὐτῆς ἐπεφοιτήκει τῶν μερῶν, οἷα σπογγιᾶς ἀναπεπωκυίας ἰκμάδα, ὡς εἶναι τέλμα τε ἅμα καὶ βαθὺν πηλὸν, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στοιχείων ἀναδεδευμένων καὶ συμπεφυρμένων τρόπον φυράματος εἰς μίαν ἀδιάκριτον καὶ ἄμορφον φύσιν. *De Mund. Op.* XI.

[3] See pp. 228, n. 1, 229, and 241. But it may be observed, that the serpent in Egyptian hieroglyphics is the emblem of two antagonising ideas; viz. of life, by reason of its vitality; and of death, because of its deadly qualities. *Die Schlange ist durch ihre*

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Democritus. p. 241.

representative of the element of water; and they always spoke of the light imparted to them from above, as a humid though spiritual sementation.

B.C. 460—357.

Democritus also studied in Egypt, and in Persia under the Magi, as well as in India with the Gymnosophs. It was from the first of these sources perhaps that he derived that notion of omnipresent εἴδωλα, that Plato also adopted and brought into harmony with belief in a God, but which Democritus only made atheistical, in combining it with his atomic theory. [1] His astronomical views, in some respect, harmonised with the teaching of modern science; and he was a hearty believer in a plurality of worlds. The doctrine of gravitation even may have had a shadowy existence in his mind, where, in speaking of the heavenly bodies, he says, φθείρεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων προσπίπτοντας. At a later date Apollonius of Tyanæa, true to the philosophic instinct, considering that the first principles of knowledge could only be obtained from the priests of Hammon in Upper Egypt, from the Magi of Persia, and from the sages of India, is said to have visited each of these countries. But waiving these minor lights, it is certain that the principal founders of Greek philosophy were indebted in a greater or less degree for the first seeds of their respective systems to the land that at a later period was the nursing mother of Gnosticism. The deep mystery attaching to the principal elementary forms

p. 292, n. 3.

Brucker.

Philostr. v. Ap. v. 14.

Lebens Kraft im ganzen Morgenlande das Symbol des Lebens, und dieselbe Wurzel heisst im Arabischen, Schlange, und Leben. Durch ihr tödliches Gift ist sie aber auch das Symbol des Todes; und ihre Hieroglyphe ausdrückt الحيّ *der Allebendige, und* الممّيت *der Alltodtende.* v. HAMMER, *Mines de l'Orient.* v. 275. In representations of the different deities, an *ophic* circle, (ὀφιώδεα μίτρην, DION. XII. 54, XXXIII. 369), frequently binds the head dress, the same double idea as above being symbolised. *Unde et quoniam vitæ necisque potestatem habere videtur, merito sane deorum capitibus inseritur.* HOR. AP. I. 1.

[1] ἀπείρους δὲ εἶναι κόσμους καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντας, ἔν τισι δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἥλιον μηδὲ σελήνην, ἔν τισι δὲ μείζω τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἔν τισι πλείω... εἶναι δὲ τὴν μὲν σελήνην κάτω, ἔπειτα τὸν ἥλιον, εἶτα τοὺς ἀπλανεῖς ἀστέρας. Τοὺς δὲ πλάνητας οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἴσον ὕψος. HIPP. *Ph.* 18.

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Pherecydes. Thales.

of matter was acknowledged in the pantheism of the sage, and the polytheism of the multitude; and by a natural development the earliest form of Greek philosophy was the physical system of the Ionian school; in which each of the four elements was successively adopted as the fundamental ἀρχή or principle from whence the entire system of the material universe was evolved. Notions with respect to a divine principle may have existed among races of an earlier civilisation, but these for a time were overlaid in the grosser material theories that formed the first foundation of Greek philosophy. Half a dozen generations passed away before this higher principle could struggle once more into light; and the temple of Hellenic wisdom, most beautiful in its symmetry as it came from the hands of Plato, concealed beneath its ground-line a rough misshapen mass of heterogeneous material.

So Pherecydes of Syrus imagined *earth* to be the ultimate principle from whence all originated, and to which all returned[1]. His follower or in any case contemporary Thales, having studied in Egypt, where the rank growth of the year was so evidently dependent upon the fertilising waters of the Nile, taught, as we have already seen, that *water* was the first elementary principle, containing within itself the seeds of all physical development. This view was in no degree less gross than the preceding. It was fully as atheistical, and Cicero, as we are reminded by [2]Archer Butler's learned editor, was not speaking in

[1] Still the honour is ascribed to him of having been the first to teach in Greece the immortality of the soul, and to have attracted Pythagoras by this doctrine into the paths of philosophy. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 16, *Div.* I. 50; Ælian, *V. H.* IV. 28; S. Aug. *c. Acad.* III. 37, *Ep.* CXXXVII. 12. Xenophanes revived his principle: Ξενοφάνης δὲ ἐκ γῆς· ἐκ γῆς γάρ φησιν πάντα ἐστι, καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ. Hipp. *Ph.* X. 6. A. Butl. I. 314.

[2] *Lect.* v. vol. I. p. 308. I subjoin these words of Prof. Thompson: "The hypothesis of a *formative* and *formed* principle is quite at variance with the reported tenets of Thales, and with the earliest Ionian philosophy. It would have been in effect an anticipation of Anaxagoras." The inference based upon the words of Cicero at p. 289, n. 5, requires modification.

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Anaximander.

his own person, when he said, *Thales Milesius .... aquam dixit esse initium rerum; Deum autem mentem eam, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret.* The deity of Thales appears to have been nothing else than the vital or plastic energy, that he conceived to be inherent in the elementary particles of water.

B.C. 570.

Anaximander, with whom Pythagoras is said to have spoken, first identified the term ἀπειρία with his first principle or ἀρχή, a term that was [1]incorporated by him in the philosophical terminology; but his ἀρχή was physical, being the [2]vital principle of creation, and the ἀπειρία of which he spoke, is described to us by Aristotle and Theophrastus, as the [3]intermingling of various heterogeneous constituent particles, the aggregation of which was requisite for the formation of individual substance,

Principiis propriis semper res quasque creari,
Singula qui quosdam fontes decrevit habere
Æternum irriguos, ac rerum semine plenos.

SIDONIUS APOLL. *Carm.* XV. 84.

Brucker, however, gives him credit for intending some such infinite immaterial principle, as the אין־סף of Cab-

B.C. 548.

balistic theology. His pupil, Anaximenes, adopting the same term, applied it to the element of *air*, with him the source of all. The two preceding principles were here superseded, and a more rare and impalpable element was declared to be the true basis of the physical system. Philosophy was to a certain degree sublimated, and released from its thraldom to grosser material principles. At the same time, that which in preceding systems had been a mere vital energy, received gradually a higher development, and philosophy by degrees learned to refer the orderly arrangement of matter in the physical creation to one Supreme designing Mind.

[1] SIMPL. *Phys.*; ORIG. *Philocal.*; RITTER, *H. Ph.* I. 235.

[2] Cf. A. BUTLER, *Lect.* V. p. 320, with the editor's note.

[3] μίγμα, ARIST. *Phys. Ausc.* III. 4, and see below, 290, n. 1.

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Anaxagoras. B.C. 500—428.

Thus Anaxagoras, retaining the term ἄπειρος, as one now well established in philosophical language, applied it to νοῦς, as well as to the physical world. He spoke indeed of the sky and air as ἀμφότερα ἄπειρα ἐόντα, but there are also expressions of his, in speaking of the infinity of Νοῦς, that strongly remind us of the ἀπειρία of the Supreme Principle in the Gnostic theories, and of the impossibility that it should come into contact with matter. [1]Νοῦς δέ ἐστιν ἄπειρον καὶ αὐτοκρατὲς, καὶ μέμικται οὐδενὶ χρήματι, ἀλλὰ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐστίν. The Gnostic axiom also, that things visible are the reflex of things unseen, agrees remarkably with his notion, [2]τῆς τῶν ἀδήλων καταλήψεως τὰ φαινόμενα εἶναι κριτήριον. PLATO only illustrated this *dictum* of his predecessor, when he said with greater clearness, [3]πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἰκόνα τινὸς εἶναι, and more enigmatically, ὅ τί περ πρὸς γένεσιν [4]οὐσία, τοῦτο πρὸς πίστιν ἀλήθεια. Like Thales and Pythagoras, Anaxagoras also journeyed into Egypt in [5]quest of knowledge, though nothing peculiarly Egyptian is to be detected in his system of physics; but in all probability he derived from this source a higher notion of Divine causation; so ARISTOTLE describes his principle, [6]ἀρχήν γε τὸν νοῦν μάλιστα πάντων, μόνον γοῦν φησιν αὐτὸν τῶν ὄντων ἁπλοῦν εἶναι, καὶ ἀμιγῆ τε καὶ καθαρόν· ἀποδίδωσι δὲ ἄμφω τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ τό τε γινωσκεῖν καὶ τὸ κινεῖν. If therefore Thales wrapped up a Divine Principle in his primeval

[1] SIMPL. *Phys. in* AR. *Phys.* I. 33.

[2] SEXT. EMPIR. VII. 140.

[3] *Tim.* 29.

[4] It may be found useful in the sequel to observe, that the word *οὐσία* is the abstract of *τὸ ὄν*, whereby PLATO designates *absolute indefectible existence;* while *γένεσις* is a term intended to express the *existence improperly so called,* of things which are continuously produced, but ARE never; *τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν ἀεὶ, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε. Tim.* 27 D. Hence the antithesis in the text. *Being* is to *product,* as *truth,* or *absolute certainty,* is to *belief.*

[5] He also parted with his property to devote himself more exclusively to the pursuit of knowledge. PLUT. *De Vit. Ær. Al.;* CIC. *Tusc.* V. 39; PLATO *in Hipp.;* PHILOSTR. *v. Apollon.* I. 13; PLUT. *in Pericl.;* SUID. *in Anaxag.;* PHILO JUD. *de v. Contempl.* 2.

[6] *de An.* I. 2; cf. also PLUT. *in Pericl.*

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Anaxagoras.

watery element, Anaxagoras resolved the combination, and assigned to the Deity an independent action in the disposition and government of all things. [1] Νοῦς διακοσμῶν was with him a moral as well as an intellectual principle, [2] Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὡς κινοῦν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχήν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς κινεῖ, ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἕνεκά τινος· and the source of τὸ καλοκἀγαθόν, as Aristotle again records; [3] πολλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς τὸν νοῦν λέγει, though he still made a certain confusion between νοῦς and the vital principle ψυχή, affirming τὸν νοῦν εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ψυχῇ. For the approximation however that he made to the truth, Josephus speaks of him with the same terms of praise as Pythagoras and Plato. Καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων, καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι, καὶ μίκρου δεῖν ἅπαντες, οὕτω φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πεφρονηκότες· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγον φιλοσοφοῦντες εἰς πλῆθος δόξαις προκατειλημμένον, τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν. It is not improbable, indeed, that at Athens some similarity was traced between his Material and Immaterial Principles, and the dualistic theory of the East, and that his fellow citizens, confounding philosophical with political heresy, accused him of *Medising*, for we find that he ended his days in a voluntary exile at Lampsacus. Pericles was his pupil, Thucydides the historian received instruction from him, as well as Democritus, Empedocles, Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Æsop the tragedian, Socrates and Themistocles, while Euripides lived on terms of intimacy with him.

c. Ap. 2.

Brucker, Ritter, H. Ph. i. 248.

But the element of *fire* was not omitted, exercising as it does a kind of natural ascendancy over the other elements; reducing solids to their inorganic constituents; driving water before it as vapour into air; and assimilating apparently this latter element as its own proper

[1] See p. 290, n. 2.

[2] Arist. *Met.* xii. 10.

[3] *de An.* i. 1, 2; cf. Plato, *Cratyl.* pp. 100, 413.

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pabulum. The same half century that saw the Magian worship of fire established in the east by Zoroaster, as the purest material emblem of the deity, found Heraclitus of Ephesus giving a similar direction to the philosophical mind in Asia Minor, by asserting that fire was the first principle. Either teacher worked the self-same notion up into form, making it a symbol, the one of a religious, the other of a philosophical creed. Heraclitus. B.C. 510.

Heraclitus, as a native of a highly volcanic region, the *κατακεκαυμένη* of the ancients, naturally enough adopted this theory. It does not appear to have made many converts, though his speculations in other respects had considerable influence upon the fortunes of philosophy. The Stoics built upon his foundation; Plotinus applied his theory; for if Heraclitus said that the Deity was *πῦρ νοερόν*, the founder of the Neo-Platonic school also taught that the Divine Mind acted on matter through the eternal *ideas*, by an intimate combination, as the secret energy of fire, [1]the Divine Ideal being a fiery efflux. In other respects Heraclitus had his points of contact with Zoroaster; *Discord*, or *πόλεμος*, was as his *Ahriman;* and the idea of multiplicity in unity is contained in his *dictum*, that *unity divided out is a self-combination*, [2]*τὸ γὰρ ἓν φησι διαφερόμενον, αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ξυμφέρεσθαι.* He gave a precedent to Gnostic self-conceit, in affirming, *αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα εἰδέναι τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους οὐδέν.* Simon Magus, though in the spirit rather of oriental theosophy, asserted a fiery first principle, which was afterwards inherited from him by the Marcionite. Cf. Philo de M. Opif. 8.

Empedocles, B.C. 450, embodied the preceding principles, and referred the origin of all things to six effecting causes; two *material*, two *organic*, and two *demiurgic;*

[1] *Enn.* VI. v. 8; VII. I.

[2] If this may be taken as a specimen of the way in which he explained his theories, we need scarcely wonder at the name that, according to Clement of Alexandria, was given to him; *ὃς καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, σκοτεινὸς προσαγορεύεται. Strom.* v. 8, and cf. p. xliii.

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Recurrence to ancient principles,

[1]δύο μὲν ὑλικά, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ· δύο δὲ ὄργανα, οἷς τὰ ὑλικὰ κοσμεῖται καὶ μεταβάλλεται, πῦρ καὶ ἀέρα· δύο δὲ ἐργαζόμενα τοῖς ὀργάνοις τὴν ὕλην καὶ δημιουργοῦντα, νεῖκος καὶ φιλίαν.

The first four were in continual flux, dying and reviving, the last two were permanent, as two verses of the philosopher preserved by Hippolytus state;

εἰ γὰρ καὶ πάρος ἦν, καί γ' [2]ἔσσεται, οὐδέ ποτ', οἴω,
τούτων ἀμφοτέρων κεινώσεται ἄσπετος αἰών.

His system in fact was an amalgam of the Ionian and Italic systems; and it is instanced by Hippolytus as the prototypal form copied by Marcion.

Even this brief review of the earlier development of Greek philosophy, has brought out several points afterwards revived by the Gnostic sects; when men of thought, offended with the sciolism, into which the great schools of Greece were subsiding, and acknowledging as a half truth that *ex oriente lux*, applied themselves to the restoration of ancient principles, that had been accepted of old, as good and true, by the master minds of the human race, and to the reconstitution of philosophy upon a broader and more comprehensive basis.

Matter, H. Cr. I. 48, 49.

For Gnosticism does not merely date from the period when names, venerable among Christians, were first intermixed with the dregs of Greek and barbarian philosophy. In its origin at Alexandria it professed to solve questions that had baffled the keenest intellects of antiquity; and amongst others, to demonstrate the substantial connexion that subsists between Truth and the appreciating Intellect. A necessary mean, it was formerly thought, subsists between Truth and the act whereby we perceive it. Much as in the act of vision, there is the eye that perceives, and the object that is perceived; but there is also the medium of air, radiant with light, to convey the spectrum to the

[1] Hipp. *Ph.* vii. 29.

[2] *Cod.* καὶ ἔσται οὐδέπω τοίῳ... κεκώσεται ἄσβεστος... Hipp. *Ph.* vii. 29, and cf. 294, 2.

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eye, and the various parts of the organ of vision, to convey sensation to the brain. Even Plato had only approached the margin of this intermediate void; Aristotle's subtlety had been foiled by it; but it was reserved for the new fusion of philosophical schools, in the eclectic system of Alexandria, to resolve the difficulty, negatively, by denying that there was any such void to be bridged over, and positively, by asserting the complete oneness of Truth with the Intellect. Plotinus expressed only the theory of his [1]precursors when he affirmed that "Intelligence is at once the object conceived, the subject conceiving, and the act of conception;" [2]in his words, *οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ νοῦ τὰ νοητά.*

not necessarily oriental.

Cf. Philo de M. Opif. 23; de Monarch. 5. 6; de Migr. Abr. 1.

Porphyry disputed the position, not because it was novel or strange, but that he might draw out the master upon a subject of philosophic interest. Thus the absolute unity of the Thinking Mind with the entities that it conceives, was one great distinguishing tenet of the Alexandrian or Neo-Platonic school of philosophy; and it very evidently coincided with the notion of the Gnostic heresiarchs, that a true *γνῶσις* can only subsist in souls that by a divine insemination are derived from and return to the *κόσμος νοητός*, the Pleroma of Intelligence. Other points indicate a Western source for certain main tenets of Gnostic theosophy; [3]the trouble of tracing out these analogies has generally been avoided by assuming that all such tenets had an Oriental parentage; but a brief review of the component elements of the Alexandrian philosophy, and a comparison of the principal Gnostic tenets, will shew which of these tenets are referrible to an Eastern, and which of them to a Western origin.

Porph. v. Plot. §18.

The Alexandrian philosophy then was principally distinguished by the larger infusion of Pythagorean notions

[1] Ammonius Saccas, about 190 A.D., and Numenius his predecessor.

[2] A. Butler's *Lect.* vol. II. p. 354.

[3] Hippolytus reminds his reader, *ἔστι μὲν οὖν πόνου μεστὸν τὸ ἐπιχειρούμενον, καὶ πολλῆς δεόμενον ἱστορίας.* p. 4.

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Pythagorean Philosophy.

with which its Platonism was tinctured. The degree in which Plato had been indebted to his predecessor, in laying the foundation of his system, made it proportionately easy for his disciples of a later date, to engraft a liberal admixture of later Pythagorean notions upon the system handed down to them. It is with schools of thought represented by these two great names that we are at present chiefly concerned; for they were clearly represented in the Valentinian theory.

Of the first of these systems, the Pythagorean philosophy, very little is known beyond a few leading principles; the master having left [1]nothing on record, and his immediate [2]disciples nothing; while a glare of false light has been thrown upon this page of the history of philosophy by many spurious productions. This however we may safely assert; that Pythagoras learned in [3]Egypt to theorise upon the practical system of geometry that had subsisted in that country from ancient days. His investigations were rewarded by a discovery of the harmonious laws of this science, and of the orderly powers and proportions of numbers, concealed from the plodding practice of his Egyptian instructors, but revealed to himself. He first learned to appreciate regularity of action in the exact sciences, whose threshold he penetrated, and to venerate it as belonging to a more [4]divine system of things than earth otherwise possessed. The operations of laws, that had existed indeed from the beginning, but had existed without man's cognisance, were brought to light; and why should not the universe be full of such laws? or rather, why should not the universe itself be one eternal continuous harmony? The very term κόσμος, first applied

[1] The golden verses and other productions bearing the name of Pythagoras are without doubt spurious.

[2] PHILOLAUS, the earliest, as edited by BOECKH, lived with Socrates. DIOG. LAERT. VIII. 15. See p. xxxi. 3.

[3] τοὺς δὲ ἀριθμοὺς καὶ τὰ μέτρα παρὰ Αἰγυπτίων φασι τὸν Πυθαγόραν μαθεῖν. HIPP. *Ph.* p. 9.

[4] Cf. PHILOLAUS a BOECKH, 142, 145.

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by him to the universe, betrays its inductive origin. The harmony of the spheres also, for ever, as he affirmed, ringing in mortal ears, but unperceived, because never absent, indicated the deeper meaning of his theory of the powers of numbers, whose continual presence *in esse*, bore the stamp of the Eternal; though as regards man, they had existed hitherto only as a latent and unsuspected energy. Pythagorean Philosophy.

This harmony, symmetry, proportion, or whatever else Pythagoras may have termed the ultimate principle of his system, was as the [1]Divine Soul of the whole; it was the Unit out of which the entire progression of numbers emanated; and so represented multiplicity in unity. The Monad in itself could not constitute number; but [2]by reaction upon its own nature it evolved the Dyad, the symbol of matter, the fruitful mother of an infinite evolutional series of products; while the [3]Monad, sole origin of a world of harmonies, and wholly abstracted from matter, was as the divine principle in this theory. Philolaus, pp. 147, 151.

Further, these numerical laws and properties were considered, not only to have a definite relation to the particular combinations or powers in which they were observed, but to have an universal subsistence, an *essential* [4]being. So the progression 3, 4, and 5 had its parallel in the right-angled triangle, the squares of the first two numbers representing the squares of base and perpendicular, and equalling that of the third quantity, or hypothenuse. And if this relation subsists in two such different elements as numbers and a plane geometrical figure, its character, as it seems to have been reasoned, may be presumed to be universal; and if universality attaches to this, so also may it attach to every other numerical property or power whose more extended relations it is

[1] See p. 294, 3.
[2] See p. 297, 2.
[3] See p. 106, n. 1.
[4] Compare PLATO, *Rep.* I. p. 525 c.

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Pythagorean Philosophy.

unreasonable to deny merely because they are undetected by our dull senses. Hence the properties of numbers were extended to moral qualities and principles, and even to the attributes of popular deities. The *μίμησις τῶν ἀριθμῶν* had in this way an universal character. So the *Monad*, as the source of Light in this system, was *Apollo;* the *Dyad*, qua *unity* resolved, represented *Discord*, but it was also the symbol of *Artemis;* the *Triad* was *Justice*, which was also symbolised by *quadrature*, *ἀριθμὸς ἰσάκις ἴσος*. The *equilateral triangle* was *Ἀθήνη τριτογένεια*. The *Tetrad* was the source and root of all, and extended its mystical properties to the *Decad*, that numerically summed its progressive digits (1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10). The *Hexad*, in the same way, was called *γάμος*, and signified the *material world*, [1]*ὡς ἂν γόνιμος ἀριθμός*. Upon the same principle, the idea of sex that attaches so universally to the products of nature was extended to numbers. The odd numbers being male, [2]the even numbers female. Thus the arithmetical features of this system justify the term applied to it by Xenophon, who called it, *Πυθαγόρου τερατώδης σοφία*, but the generalisations educed by it, were followed in due course of time by the *definitions* of Socrates, and the *ideas* of Plato.

Cf. Philolaus, pp. 153—156; Plut. Is. et Os. 30.

Plut. Is. et Os. 56, 76.

Butler, H. Ph. I. 33, 2, note of Ed.; Philolaus, pp. 140, 146.

Cl. Al. Str. p. 121.

Philo de M. Opif. 3.

Hippol. Ph. 6.

Further, if we may trust [3]Hippolytus,—and he quotes his authority for the assertion,—Pythagoras learned from Zaratas the Chaldæan the dualistic principle, that *Light* was the father of the warm, the dry, the light, the swift; and *Darkness* the mother of the opposite qualities of the cold, the moist, the heavy, the slow. If this was part of

[1] See p. 294, n. 2.

[2] See 80, 4; 296, 7; 297, 2. The Monad however was supposed to include either gender. See the passage from Stobæus at p. 18, n. 1.

[3] *Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς φασι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· κ.τ.λ.* quoted at p. xxx. note 8, from Hipp. *Ph.* p. 8, ed. Miller. Compare also VI. 23, *ib.*; and below, p. 294, n. 2, (end).

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his teaching, it can hardly admit of a doubt, but that he learned from the same source to refer the origin of all to the antagonising action of φιλία and νεῖκος[1]. And these peculiarities of the Pythagorean system were reflected afterwards in every successive phase of Gnosticism.

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See Plut. Is. et Os. 30.

With the moral bearings of this system we are only so far concerned as to remark, that Pythagoras according to Plutarch, maintained the Oriental account of the origin of evil; evil having been necessarily inherent in the dyad representative of the multitudinous [2]universe; but he held simultaneously, as we have seen, the dualistic theory of the East, and these assertions at least may shew that the Gnostic heresiarchs need not have derived their dualism immediately from Eastern sources; it had already possession of men's minds in the West. The psychology of Pythagoras harmonised with his pantheistic teaching. For here, as the world of nature was the material counterpart of the abstract laws of numbers, μίμησις τῶν ἀριθμῶν, so the soul was an efflux from the Monadic source of all. Like its divine exemplar, it had its own independent power of action and progression, it was ἀριθμὸς ἑαυτὸν κινῶν, and τὸ αὐτὸ κινοῦν. This theory consisted well enough with the notion that the supreme Monad was an objective harmony, a definite Law of that which is Good and True, rather than subjective Goodness and Truth itself; but it was wholly inconsistent with a belief in the independent

See Philolaus, p. 177.

[1] See HIPPOLYT. *Ph.* ed. MILLER, p. 181, where, for the absurd reading, οὕτω τὴν εἰκοστὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ κόσμου, φησί, τέμνει εἰς ζῶα, φυτά, κ.τ.λ. read οὕτω τὸ νεῖκος τὴν οὐσίαν κ.τ.λ. Hippolytus also ascribes to Pythagoras the Brahminical notion, that life in the body is a penal condition; e.g. εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς (τὰς ψυχὰς sc.) θνητὰς μὲν ὅταν ὦσιν ἐν τῷ σώματι, οἱονεὶ ἐγκατορωρυγμένας ὡς ἐν τάφῳ, ἀνίστασθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι ἀθανάτους, ὅταν τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολυθῶμεν. And he adds a saying of Plato, who when asked, What is philosophy? answered, χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος. So in the *Phæd.* 81 A. the philosophic life is μελέτη θανάτου· and *Crat.*, σῆμα τινές φασιν αὐτὸ (σῶμα) τῆς ψυχῆς. These notions also have their bearing upon Gnosticism. 189; 218, 3; 370. Cf. PHILO *de Migr. Abr.* 2; *de Somn.* I. 22.

[2] τὴν δὲ ἀόριστον δυάδα δαίμονα καὶ τὸ κακὸν, περὶ ἣν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος. v. CASAUB. in DIOG. LA. *Alcm.* VIII. 83.

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Platonic Philosophy.

substance of the Deity, as [1]CICERO has remarked. The Gnostic soul was no less an emanation from the Infinite.

The analogies afforded by the theories of Plato are striking; perhaps portions of his system, that reflect the greatest light upon the Valentinian heresy, originally came from [2]Egypt. Hence HIPPOLYTUS says of it; ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑποθέσεώς ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος σοφία [3]Αἰγυπτίων. The points of Plato's teaching with which we are chiefly concerned, are, his theory of the Divine ἰδέαι, and his views respecting the material world and the mundane soul; which suggested on the one hand, the system of Æons within the Pleroma, and on the other, the external world of Valentinus without it; while the imitative process by which all things create were made the counterpart of eternally subsisting heavenly types, both in the Platonic and Gnostic theories, plainly marks that the latter were formed upon models furnished by the great master of philosophy. Now in several points connected with these three main topics, a very remarkable coincidence may be observed between the doctrine of Plato and the Egyptian theories detailed by Plutarch and Iamblichus; and a community of origin, so far as these resemblances

Philos. VI. 22.

[1] Nam Pythagoras, qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnium intentum et commeantem, ex quo animi nostri caperentur, non vidit distractione humanorum animorum discerpi et dilacerari Deum; et cum miseri animi essent, quod plerisque contingeret, tum Dei partem esse animam; quod fieri non potest. Cur autem quidquam ignoraret animus hominis, si esset Deus? Quomodo porro Deus iste, si nihil esset nisi animus, aut infixus, aut infusus esset in mundo. *de N. D.* I. xi. In truth the deity of Pythagoras, though one, had no subjective personality; but he was the *vis vitæ* of the world, as MIN. FELIX has remarked: Pythagoræ Deus est animus per universam rerum naturam commeans et intentus; ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur.

[2] PROCLUS gives, as a matter of Egyptian record, the names of three of the priestly instructors of PLATO; at Sais he conversed with Pateneith, at Heliopolis with Ochlapis, at Sebennite with Ethimoni. *In Tim.* p. 31.

[3] Αἰγύπτου ἠράσθη, though words used with reference to Plato's early studies, not by Xenophon, but by a personator of the historian, express the sense of a perpetual tradition as regards one main source of his information. See Prof. THOMPSON'S note on A. BUTLER, II. p. 15.

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reach, may be inferred. Choice indeed must be made of one from three alternatives. Either Plato borrowed the groundwork of some of his most striking developments of thought from his Egyptian instructors, which still held their ground in the Egypt of Plutarch's day; or the system that Plutarch describes was adapted from the writings of Plato; or, which was more probably the case, the Egyptian notions that received a certain determinate colouring from Plato, were subsequently interpreted to the initiated by the Egyptian priests, consistently with that Platonic colouring: so that if the philosopher received the rude forms of his ideas from Egypt, and shaped them variously into one harmonious theory, Egypt received her own back again in a higher state of elaboration. Thus the wild flowers of southern climes are transplanted to our shores, and are sent back again to their native *habitat* in their highest form of development, more beautifully radiant, and *flore pleno*.

But there is a marked distinction to be observed between the language of the master in speaking of his system of eternal Ideas, and that of Philo, Plutarch, and Iamblichus. With later writers these *ideas* were little else than a divine *model* or *exemplar* of things create, having a necessary subsistence in the mind of the Deity; they were the engraved type of the impressed seal. They had no other true existence; and this simple notion may well have existed in Egypt before the day of Plato. But the Platonic *ideas*, [1]or παραδεῖγμα, had a true subjective existence, and formed an intermediate world of real intelligible being, lower than the Supreme Good, but higher than this created world; eternal laws, having a necessary existence independently of, though incidentally

Philo de v. Mos. III. 13.

[1] This παραδεῖγμα is defined by HIPPOLYTUS to be the Divine Mind. He says that the Platonic principles are three—Θεὸν καὶ ὕλην καὶ παραδεῖγμα, and adds, Θεὸν δὲ τὸν ταύτης (τῆς ὕλης sc.) εἶναι δημιουργὸν, τὸ δὲ παραδεῖγμα νοῦς. *Ph.* X. 7. See 293, 1.

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in connexion with this world of sense; and cognisable, not through the senses, nor through the imagination, but alone by pure reason. They were the real and eternal substance of every principle of proportion and harmony, and of all that is true and just and beautiful; and in this way, however true it may be that the fundamental notion of his *ideas* was derived by Plato from the *definitions* of his master Socrates, or more remotely from the Pythagorean harmony of numbers, or even from sources of a yet higher antiquity; still in their ultimate form they were a creation of the wonderful intelligence of Plato; and the nearer approximation that he made in other respects to inspired Truth, only made it more certain that his would be the system singled out by heresy as its exemplar.

In its cruder form then the doctrine of divine ἰδέαι may evidently have had a niche in the intellectual system of more primitive times. The notion is in fact inseparable from belief in the existence of an eternal and forecasting Divine Intellect. Iamblichus, as a Neo-Platonist, would hardly have expressed himself in such a way, as to imply that the founder of his philosophy followed the Egyptian teaching with respect to the ideology of things create, if he had not felt very certain of his ground. He accounts for the symbolical character of the Egyptian religious system, by saying, that it was intended to symbolise the Divine ideas veiled beneath forms of matter[1]. The goddess Isis herself was the personification of the same notion[2]; and if we had the means of following the theory back to its more remote source, we should in all probability trace it to the great emporium of intellectual as well as of commercial antiquity, on the banks of the Euphrates; it was a live ember perhaps from altars of a yet more remote period.

[1] Iambl. *de Myst. Eg.* vii. 1.

[2] See pp. xx—xxiv.

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Platonic Philosophy.

The Platonic theory of *matter*, also, harmonises with so much as we know of Egyptian speculations with respect to that subject, so full of mystery to the heathen mind, and the cause of so much inconsistent and inconclusive reasoning in the wisest teachers. Of course we must not expect to find anything like the Platonic refinements in these speculations. For this reason we might pass over the abstruse theory of Plato, if it were not very evident that it forms the groundwork of the Valentinian notion of the Demiurge and of the material creation. Matter, then, in the system of Plato is considered in a threefold point of view; occupying space, it had an eternal subsistence as χώρα or τόπος, the formal *vehiculum* of matter devoid of organisation or order. But unorganised matter, thus comprehended within determinate limits, had eternally a bodily nature; and that which is corporeal is subject to change; therefore, antecedently to its organisation by the Creator, matter was for ever in a transitional state, and passing from one chaotic condition, void of order, to another. To these two phases succeeded now a third, in which matter was organised, and its erratic tendencies brought under the Divine rule of form and order by a μέθεξις, or adunation with the ideal types, that had subsisted eternally in the Divine mind; but in this again we trace Pythagorean and Platonic theories back to one common source; Aristotle evidently identifies the two systems with each other, as virtually one, in saying, οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι μιμήσει τὰ ὄντα φασὶν εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, Πλάτων δὲ μεθέξει. *Met.* I. 6.

Now if Plato borrowed anything from Egypt, the more ancient portions of Egyptian teaching, without doubt, are to be sought in the myths that have been preserved to us; and the main features of the Platonic theory of matter are discernible in an Egyptian fable recorded by Plutarch. The substantial eternity of matter, its acosmic corporeity, and its subsequent organisation, when the passive power

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Platonic Philosophy.

of the Deity revealed itself at length in active energy, are all of them points to be traced in the following story:—Φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Εὔδοξος μυθολογεῖν Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς τῶν σκελῶν συμπεφυκότων αὐτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος βαδίζειν, ἐπ' αἰσχύνης ἐρημίᾳ διέτριβεν· ἡ δὲ Ἶσις διατεμοῦσα καὶ διαστήσασα τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τοῦ σώματος, ἀρτίποδα τὴν πορείαν παρέσχεν· αἰνίττεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτων ὁ μῦθος, ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐν τῷ ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀφανεῖ βεβηκὼς, εἰς γένεσιν ὑπὸ κινήσεως προῆλθεν. The terms νοῦς καὶ λόγος, as applied to the Divine Being, may be neo-Platonic, but the general teaching of this myth is, if I mistake not, [1]præ-Platonic; it is far more likely that the doctrine that it veils, was in substance handed to the father of Greek philosophy by his priestly instructors, than that the fable should have been framed in Egypt at a later date, when the tidal wave of Greek civilisation spreading southwards, made it so much the more difficult for such stories to be palmed upon the people with any hope of their acceptation.

The same observations apply to the Platonic theory of the mundane soul. The universe, in this theory, was animated by a soul of Divine harmony; and without offering to lead the reader through the arithmetical maze, from which Plato makes the mundane soul to be evolved, a maze that Cicero, in speaking of an intellectual *crux* as *numero Platonis obscurius*, takes to be the abstract type of all that is obscure, it may be sufficient to observe, first, that a community of origin is clearly indicated between this portion of the Platonic theory and the Pythagorean derivation of all things from the mystical powers of [2]num-

[1] Eudoxus like his predecessors, as well as Plato, to whom he was slightly senior, studied in Egypt. The myth therefore is remarkable for the light that it throws upon the ancient Egyptian theory of matter; it also indicates the original development of the Gnostic Βύθος. Compare also xxi. n. 3.

[2] The word ἀριθμὸς is usually derived from ἄρω, *apto*, *q. d.* ἁρμός and *epenthetice*, with loss also of the aspirate, ἀριθμός. But ἀρυθμός may have been the original form of spelling the word, which would give an easier analysis,

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Platonic Philosophy.

bers; also that these two lines of philosophic thought converge and meet in Egyptian theories, such as have already been described[1]. Evidently the power and energy of the mundane soul was indicated in Egyptian myths as well as in the Platonic theory. The entire system indeed of Egyptian mythology rested upon deified principles and powers of nature, of which Creuzer has given a closely detailed account in his *Symbolik und Mythologie*. If therefore it should be found in the Gnostic, and more specially in the Valentinian system, that the world was animated by a quasi Divine soul, the notion as originating in Egypt may have been the result of fusion of Egyptian and Platonic theories. The connexion however between the Pleroma of Valentinus, with its correlative external Hebdomad, and anything similar in the Platonic system, is reserved for future consideration.

One more particular may be mentioned as observable in the language of Plato. He continually speaks of the creative act as a *μίμησις*, having reference to that unity of design that formed one of the characteristic attributes of his *ideas*. The analogies for instance of comparative anatomy would in his language be referred to the imitative principle. Thus the Demiurge having caused divine essences to exist, delegated to them the work of creating mortal substance; and by an imitative act, [2]*οἱ δὲ μιμούμενοι*, they embodied the divine soul in its material *ὄχημα*. Again, the same divine creative essences[3] formed the head of man of a shape that should correspond with the periphery of the universe, *τὸ τοῦ πάντος σχῆμα ἀπομιμησάμενοι περιφερὲς ὄν*. The entire material world was but a

and be resolvable into the cumulative or equational, *α*, (cf. *ἀολλέες, ἀτάλαντος,*) and *ῥυθμός*. It may be borne in mind also that QUINCTILIAN, *Inst. Or.* XII. X. 27. cf. I. IV. 14, regrets the loss of the true pronunciation of the Greek *υ*, for which that of the Latin *u* was an imperfect substitute; perhaps the German, *ü*, was nearer to it.

[1] pp. xxiii. xxiv.

[2] PLATO, *Tim.* 69 C.

[3] *Ib.* 44 D.

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Eclectic Principle.

reflective imitation of the ideal, [1]πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἰκόνα τίνος εἶναι. The phenomena of the visible creation are [2]ὁμοιώματα τῶν ἐκεῖ, and the physical attribute of sense is τοιοῦτον οἷον τὸ ὄν, such as the ideal reality. But the entire Platonic theory is based upon this μίμησις, wherein the *material* has its true counterpart in the *ideal;* and Valentinus can have received from no other source his notion, not only that the Pleroma is the [3]prototypal form of creation, but that the superior Æons were reproduced in their [4]successors. [5] *Omnia in imagines urgent, plane et ipsi imaginarii Christiani.*

The Eclectic principle, that had influenced in a greater or less degree the teaching of every one of the ancient masters, gave a far more impulsive movement to the philosophy of Alexandria. The first Macedonian colonists, as barbarians, owed no fealty to the schools of Greece. Eastern adventurers, linking their fortunes with those of the rising city, introduced modes of thought and theories that had from time immemorial formed the traditions of the East. The vast stores of learning collected in the famous library of Alexandria represented, we may imagine, systems that had long subsisted on the banks of the Ganges and Indus, of the Euphrates and of the Nile, as well as the more familiar doctrines of polished Greece. [6]The schools of Alexandria maintained at first a distinct character; but it was impossible that a social centre, representing so many contending modes of thought, should long preserve any single system pure, and free from mixture

[1] *Tim.* 29 A. and 30 D.

[2] *Phædr.* 250 A.

[3] See p. 44; 57, 3; 62.

[4] pp. 24, n. 2; 33, n. 3; 42, 43, 60, n. 1; 62, n. 2; 266.

[5] TERT. *c. Val.* 27.

[6] Matter has very justly shewn, that to speak of the School of Alexandria is highly erroneous; its schools were numerous: "L'expression l'école d'Alexandrie.... est très impropre puisqu'elle peut s'appliquer également à l'école des Juifs, à celle des Chrétiens, et à celle des Grecs d'Alexandria. Ce n'est donc plus de l'école, c'est des nombreuses écoles de cette ville qu'il doit être question". *Hist. de l'école d'Alex.* pref. 7.

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Eclectic Principle.

with the rest. Its philosophy, in fact, soon became fully tinctured with the cosmopolitan character of the place. It no longer represented the schools of Hellas; and eventually a system grew up, formed upon the eclectic principle of sharing the distinctive peculiarities of all. This fusion, so far as the Greek modes of philosophy are concerned, is originally associated with the name of Potamon by [1]Diogenes Laertius; although he reduced into order rather, and systematised the eclectic principle, whereby already [2]Antiochus had united the Academic and Stoic teaching; Strabo, the geographer, had harmonised the latter with the Peripatetic method; Sotion, the younger, had combined Stoicism with the ancient theory of Pythagoras; and Ammonius of the Academy had brought together the great rival theories of Plato and Aristotle. A wider application of the same eclectic principle was soon made; the teaching of the East was incorporated and naturalised; so that the Magi of Chaldæa and of Persia, the disciple of Pythagoras, and the more subtle disputants of the Academy, of the Lyceum, and of the Porch, were represented in that fusion of the various intellectual and religious systems of the old world, which has made the Museum famous[3]. To these also must be added the Jewish philosophy, or Cabbala, derived originally from Babylon, and modified by later misappreciations of Pythagoras and Plato. A few observations upon this latter element, (system it can scarcely be called,) will lead to a consideration of the Gnostic theory of the first two

[1] Ἔτι δὲ πρὸ ὀλίγου καὶ ἐκλεκτική τις αἵρεσις εἰσήχθη ὑπὸ Ποτάμωνος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως, ἐκλεξαμένου τὰ ἀρέσκοντα ἐξ ἑκάστης τῶν αἱρέσεων. Diog. Laert. *Proœm.*

[2] Qui appellabatur Academicus; erat quidem, si perpauca mutavisset, germanissimus Stoicus. Cic. *Acad.* II. 22.

[3] The eclectic tendency of the Alexandrian Museum presents itself in a highly favourable point of view, as having encouraged a rapid development of the positive sciences. Geography, geometry, astronomy, optics, anatomy, derived their first, or a considerable impulse from the city of the Ptolemies.

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The Cabbala.

centuries, that through Manicheism may be traced down to the present day, in continuous[1] modes of thought.

There can be no doubt that the Jews, during the Babylonian captivity, received the impress of Orientalism. There is a close parallel between many of the traditions of the Cabbala and the Zoroastrian theosophy; taking them conjointly we observe the following characters: that Boundless Duration, the First Principle, was a source of Ineffable [2]Light. That from this sole origin of all things proceeded Ormuzd, the First Born; the Cabbalistic Adam Cadmon [3]the πρωτόγονος τοῦ Θεοῦ of Philo, or objective ideal counterpart of all things. In the Persian theory, Ahriman emanated in conjunction with Ormuzd, and a whole world of evil Spirits was created by him; this was modified, as might be expected, in the Jewish copy, and there the Evil Principle, Belial, and his satellites, are situated in the system Asiah, the lowest of four worlds that emanated from the ten Sephiroth, and therefore the furthest from the Principle of Good. These ten Sephiroth, evolved first as a triad, from whence proceeded a Hebdomad, emanated from Adam Cadmon, and represented the principal attributes of the Deity, with which severally the Divine Names were combined, implying that the Supreme Being is not *substantially* known in His creation, but only in his various [4]Attributes. So also in the Zoroastrian order of emanations, Ormuzd and the six Amshaspands that he evolved, [5]the correlatives of the seven lower Sephiroth, were followed by the *Ized*, or mundane geni,

[1] See BAUR'S *Christliche Gnosis*, IV.

[2] *Z. Avesta*, III. 343, and cf. p. 234, 1.

[3] See pp. 134, 2; 196, 197, 224, 1; 232, 3; 344, 1. The Rabbinical Adam Cadmon is clearly traced in PHILO'S statement; ἐνδύεται δὲ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος λόγος ὡς ἐσθῆτα τὸν κόσμον. γῆν γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐπαμπίσχεται. *De Prof.* § 20.

[4] "C'est par ces attributs qu'il se révèle; et ce n'est pas Dieu lui-même que l'esprit humaine peut reconnaître dans ses œuvres; ce n'est que son mode de s'y manifester. Dans tous les cas, c'est une vérité profondement metaphysique que les Cabbalistes mettent ici en avant." MATTER, *H. Cr.* I. 101.

[5] See p. 44, n. 1, and cf. PHILO *de M. Op.* 37—39. *Ley. All.* 4, 5.

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The Cabbala.

the κοσμοποιοὶ ἄγγελοι of Gnosticism, the satellites as it were of Mithras; and these again were in due course succeeded by the third order of spiritual beings, the *Ferouer*, or Divine Archetypal Ideas that preceded immediately the great work of creation, which, like the ideas of Plato, may have had a ruder counterpart in the *arcana* of Egyptian or Babylonian theosophy. Adam Cadmon, the Philonic Logos, was the Cabbalistic impersonation of this ideal system, who for this reason was termed μακρόκοσμος, or אָרֶךְ־אַנְפִּין, μακροπρόσωπος[1]. Of each of these systems it may be observed, and the idea was strictly preserved as a Gnostic axiom, that the various emanations were perfect in proportion to their proximity to the First Source of all; as in the planetary system, gravity and density increase according to the squares of distance from the Sun, so in the emanative theory, each successive evolution was more imperfect and less spiritual than the preceding, until the more subtle and ethereal forms of matter having been developed, gave rise also to those that, by various combination, were of a [2]denser and grosser substance. The more definite analogies, that identify Gnosticism with the Cabbala, will be considered in the sequel as opportunities offer.

The writings of PHILO exhibit another, but a more indirect way, whereby Eclectic opinions in the first instance, and subsequently the Gnostic heresies, were charged with an Oriental colouring. These latter, at least in their earliest branches, were imbued with Zoroastrian principles through a more direct contact with them. For

[1] It may be observed that PHILO indicates even the oriental *dyad*, the original idea of the Valentinian συζυγία. Πατρὸς μὲν Θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ πατήρ· μητρὸς δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν. PHIL. JUD. *de Prof.* § 20. See 266, 2; 288, 2.

[2] The ancient notion of the gradual condensation of matter may be illustrated by that which SIMON MAGUS is made to assert in the *Clement. Recogn.* "*Ego virtute mea quodam tempore aerem vertens in aquam, et aquam rursus in sanguinem, carnemque solidans, novum hominem purum formavi,*" and c. II. 15. Cf. *Hom. Clem.* II. 26, and DIOG. LAERT. vii. in *Zenon.*

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The Cabbala.

at the time of the Babylonian Captivity, when the first deportation of the ten tribes took place, hordes of immigrants from [1]Babylon replaced them, and took possession of the most desirable portions of Samaria. The introduction of their religion, and their intermarriages with the remnant of Israel, caused the deadly feud that ever since existed between the Jew of pure blood and the hybrid Samaritan. Simon Magus, a Samaritan, taught a completely Zoroastrian doctrine. But in all probability it was a doctrine that had subsisted in certain families of Samaria almost from the days of Shalmaneser. So also the earlier Gnostic heresiarchs settled at Alexandria as immigrants from Syria and the East; and the mixture of Oriental notions to be detected in the systems of Basileides, Valentinus, Carpocrates, and others, was the effect of early association; scarcely of contact with the philosophising and syncretic Jew of Alexandria.

One consideration must have greatly commended the Oriental and other systems of theosophy to thinking minds, as compared with the religious belief of the more civilised nations of the world; which was, that whereas in Greece and Rome polytheism was upheld as the religion of the body politic, a higher faith possessed the Eastern mind, which recoiled with hearty abhorrence from the gross debasement of every Western form of religion. Philosophy, in fact, gained a religious element in its union with Theosophy; and prejudicial as a resulting Gnosticism was to the peace of the Church during the first two centuries, it is impossible not to see that the evil was not unmixed with good; and this concretion of ideas possibly afforded a temporary place of rest to the weary spirit of humanity, in its transition from the abominations of paganism to the pure faith of the Church of Christ. Given on the one side the gross darkness of heathen idolatry,

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 24—41.

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with its unholy and impure rites, and on the other the transcendental beauty of the Christian faith, the high courage, and meek virtues, and self-sacrificing devotion of its followers, and it is no irreverence to suppose that some such condition of twilight may have been needed, to inure the visual faculty in its transition from total darkness to the otherwise blinding light of heaven. As in even these aberrations of the human intellect, it is more pleasing to trace the faintest glimmering of reason than to treat them as one gross stupid blank; so, there is an inward satisfaction in remembering the certain truth, that the forcible eradication of these tares would have endangered the very existence of the true seed upon which they had been scattered broadcast. They were sown indeed by the malice of the enemy, but when once sown, there was greater danger in their removal than in their toleration. Recapitulation. Matt. xiii. 29.

It may be useful here to recapitulate very briefly those points that the Gnostic received from Greece, and from [1]Egypt, the early cradle of philosophy, representing the esoteric action of whatever elements of variously diffracted truth survived in the creed of sage and hierophant. We have [2]traced then the existence of certain fundamental religious truths through the patriarchal ages down to the commencement of authentic history. It is impossible for any one to study the various heathen intellectual systems that grew up subsequently to that period, without being firmly impressed with the consciousness that truths, distorted it may be, still in their origin substantive truths, existed more generally than is usually imagined, as the inner soul of these systems. When, however, a totally new class of ideas was introduced from the East, that commended itself to the religious sense of man in a

[1] See CREUZER'S words, above, p. xviii. n. 2.

[2] pp. i.—viii.

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Recapitulation.

higher degree than the vain wrangling of the schools, the natural result shewed itself in a recurrence to those ancient and comparatively unsophisticated principles of the old world, that were antecedent to the various systems of philosophy, and that still maintained a dim subsistence in the old centres of civilisation. Hence the Gnostic claimed to take his stand upon the [1]διδασκαλία ἀνατολική, and upon the [2]Chaldaic Learning, as the [3]Ancient Philosophy. We have observed also, as existing in Egypt, clear traces of a belief in [4]One Supreme Deity, who had existed from all eternity [5]in a mode that is inconceivable to the human intellect, and was therefore termed negatively [6]σκότος ἄγνωστον. That from this Supreme Being were evolved, in the way of emanation, a subordinate pair of δαιμόνια, [7]Isis and Osiris, who represented the [8]Divine ἰδέαι, or Σοφία the [9]Mother of creation, and the male or [10]plastic energy of the Creative Principle; while a third emanative Divine Person, Horus, embodied these archetypal ideas in the world of matter. The first substance evolved was [11]Light; and every product of Creation was the representative of a transcendental [12]εἰκών in the Divine Ideas. Matter, of eternal subsistence, [13]existed in a chaotic state, as [14]Plato also imagined, until reduced into order by its μέθεξις [15]with ideal form.

The Egyptian grouping of the deities in subordination to the Supreme, corresponds in order, and in part also numerically with that of the Valentinian Æons; and was based apparently upon certain [16]arithmetical analogies,

[1] Theodotus, *ap.* Clem. Al.
[2] Eunapius in *Ædes. ap.* Br. *H. Ph.* II. 641.
[3] Porphyry, *v. Iambl.*
[4] pp. xviii. xxxvi.
[5] pp. xxiii. n. 3; xxxvii.
[6] pp. xxi. 2; cf. xxiii. 3.
[7] p. xx.
[8] pp. xx. xxi. n. 4, 5; xxii. xxiii.
[9] pp. xxi. 3; xxiii. xxiv. liv. 4.
[10] p. xxi. [11] p. xviii. 3.
[12] p. xxiii. 3, 4; xxiv. xxxvii.
[13] p. xxiii. 3.
[14] p. xlix.
[15] p. xxiv. xlix.
[16] p. xxiv. xxv.

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which [1]Pythagoras, whom [2]Valentinus certainly copied, learned also in Egypt. The existence also of an unseen world of spiritual essences formed an article of philosophic faith even in the more [3]primitive forms of Grecian wisdom; while the dualism, that is usually thought to have been a peculiarly Eastern feature, had a place in the theories of [4]Pythagoras and Empedocles as *φιλία* and *νεῖκος*, and the origin of the material creation was ascribed to *war*, as an abstraction of all that is evil, by [5]Heraclitus. Here, then, are several points that entered into the speculations of Gnostic heresiarchs, and that have usually been referred to direct contact with the East; but that lay also at the fountain-head of the Greek philosophy. These details indeed give no complete account of the infusion of notions through Gnosticism, that were strange to the general teaching of Greece, but they enable us better to understand the ease with which those notions were received, and incorporated with the traditional results of philosophical investigation. Many points of speculation of course were peculiarly Oriental. Recapitulation.

It has already been stated [6]that the relation of absolute Truth to the Thinking Intellect formed a prominent point in the discussions of the Alexandrian Museum, in the period that intervened between the commencement of the Christian æra, and the more extensive diffusion of Gnosticism in the second century; also that both the Gnostic, and the neo-Platonic philosopher, occupied common ground, in asserting the substantive unity of the Spirit, or Intellect, with that which formed the object of their respective *γνῶσις*. But substantive knowledge had been the aspiration of philosophy from the earliest days and in every

[1] pp. xxix. xxxi. xlii—xliv.
[2] 259, 2; 296, 7.
[3] p. xxxii. xxiv.
[4] pp. xxx. 8; xxxi. 1; xl. xlv.
[5] *πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς*, as quoted by Hipp. *Ph.* ix. 9, p. xxxix.
[6] pp. xl. xli.

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Philosophic γνῶσις.

clime. [1]Heraclitus claimed for himself an exclusive title to it. Plato affirmed something of the same kind, when he said that [2]"to discover the Creator of the universe is a work of difficulty, but to bring him within the cognizance of all, impossible." In the *Theætetus*, indeed, the subject of which is a discussion of the question, "what is knowledge?" three principal theories are advanced and refuted, without arriving at any positive solution to the question; yet the overthrow of these theories only proves the earnestness with which each of the three teachers, Heraclitus, Protagoras, and Theætetus had claimed for their respective systems an exclusive origin from the fountain-head of knowledge. [3]Elsewhere, a true γνῶσις is identified with an *intellectual*, that is at the same time inseparable from a *moral* perception of the Divine Principle. In Persia, [4]Zoroaster asserted a still more lofty principle, in engaging his followers to an intellectual abstraction from the world of matter. The very name γνώστικος is a translation rather of the [5]Oriental synonyms for φιλόσοφος, than a term of indigenous growth, and marked the votary of esoteric knowledge; while the union of the spiritual principle in man with the Divine Substance, was the γνῶσις with which it professed to deal, and represented that contemplative abstraction of the faculties of the soul, and ecstatic union with the Divine Principle, that has always been the great object of aspiration to the Eastern devotee; and that formed so marked a feature in the [6]neo-Platonic School of Alexandria.

[1] See p. xxxix.

[2] τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. *Timæ.* cf. *Philolaus*, Boeckh, p. 62.

[3] *Rep.* VI. 490 B. Compare also the application of the beautiful allegory that opens the seventh Book. See also PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* §§ 1, 2, 78.

[4] *Zend Av.* I. ccccIxxix. D'ANQ. P.

[5] As such it is a fit exponent of the fusion of the systems of the East and West. It expresses perhaps such terms as יְדְעוֹנִי, in the Hebrew, and Chaldaic, as also عَالِم in Arabic. The Persian term Magus as derived from مغ *μέγας* corresponds rather with the Hebrew רב.

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Mystic γνῶσις.

But beside this philosophical and theurgical affectation of a superior γνῶσις, there was also a mystical application of the term, whereby it expressed a spiritual appreciation of allegory that could only be known to the initiated. [1] Baur has shewn that several instances of this use of the term occur in the epistle of Barnabas. Still better proof has come to light in the Ophite hymn [2] preserved by Hippolytus, which concludes as follows:

Τούτου με χάριν πέμψον, πάτερ·
σφραγῖδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι,
αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω,
μυστήρια πάντα διανοίξω, (f. l. δ' ἀνοίξω)
μορφὰς δὲ θεῶν ἐπιδείξω· (f. l. μορφάς τε)
καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἁγίας ὁδοῦ
γνῶσιν καλέσας παραδώσω.

We could hardly have better proof of the sense in which the Ophite adopted the title of *Gnostic*; it involved

[6] CLEMENT of Alexandria without being aware of it may have inherited his definition of γνῶσις from a Magian source; γνῶσις δὲ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ ὄντος αὐτοῦ. *Strom.* II. 17.

[1] *Christliche Gnosis*, p. 87 ff. See note 2, p. lxiii.

[2] The relic is as instructive as it is curious:

Νόμος ἦν γενικὸς τοῦ παντὸς ὁ πρῶτος νόος·
Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἦν τοῦ πρωτοτόκου τὸ χυθὲν χάος·
Τριτάτη ψυχὴ δ' ἔλαβεν* ἐργαζομένη νόμον.
Διὰ τοῦτ'† ἐλαφρὰν μορφὴν περικειμένη
Κοπιᾷ θανάτῳ μελέτημα κρατουμένη·
Ποτὲ‡ μὲν βασιλείαν ἔχουσα βλέπει τὸ φῶς,
Ποτὲ δ' εἰς ἔλεον ἐρριμμένη κλαίει,
Ποτὲ δὲ κλαίεται, χαίρει,
Ποτὲ δὲ κλαίει, κρίνεται,
Ποτὲ δὲ κρίνεται, θνήσκει,
Ποτὲ δὲ γίνεται ἀνέξοδος ἡ μελέα κακῷ,
λαβύρινθον εἰσῆλθε πλανωμένη.
Εἶπεν δ' Ἰησοῦς§ ἐσόρα, πάτερ,
ζήτημα κακῶν ἐπὶ χθόνα
ἀπὸ σῆς πνοῆς ἐπιπλάζεται.
ζητεῖ δὲ φυγεῖν τὸ πικρὸν χάος,
καὶ οὐκ οἶδε πῶς διελεύσεται.
Τούτου με χάριν, *ut supra.*

* Ed. MILL. ἐργαζομένην.

† Ib. ἔλαφον.

‡ Ib. *abest*, μέν.

§ Cod. ἐσὸρ. The reader of Philo will recognise in the first three verses his three manifestations of the Divine Wisdom and Power; The Source and Father of All; The First Born Logos, or Exemplar, whereby Chaos was reduced to order; the Spirit of Life corresponding with the Mundane Soul of Plato. The nine following verses exhibit the antagonism of the Spirit of Life pouring itself through the world of gross and perishing matter, the prototypal idea of the Valentinian Achamoth and her πάθη: while the concluding twelve verses describe the Valentinian mission of Christ from the Pleroma for the formation of Achamoth, first κατ' οὐσίαν, p. 32, and subsequently, κατὰ γνῶσιν, p. 39.

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Mystic γνῶσις.

every shade of allegory, and mysticism in its wildest mood. Again, the same writer records the Ophite gloss upon the LXX version of Jer. xvii. 9: "Ἄνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τίς γνώσεται αὐτόν." Οὕτως, φησίν, ἐστὶ πάνυ βαθεῖα καὶ δυσκατάληπτος ἡ τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γνῶσις. Ἀρχὴ γάρ, φησὶν, τελειώσεως, γνῶσις ἀνθρώπου· Θεοῦ δὲ γνῶσις, ἀπηρτισμένη τελείωσις. The passage occurring in a cento of allegorical expositions, sufficiently explains the Ophite meaning of the term γνῶσις.

Now bearing in mind the taste for allegory that had been fostered by the old heathen mysteries, this term appears to have been of a very natural growth. Charged to the full, as they were, with gross and debasing superstition, and even worse, these mystic perversions still originated in some remote core of truth; whereby generally the varied relations of the Divine Being with respect to the world of his creation were designated; and unsophisticated truths, that subsisted in the faith of a patriarchal age, were gradually debased and lowered by admixture with a ceremonial that addressed itself to the mere animal principle of the multitude. S. Augustin perhaps spoke of the Samothracian mysteries in irony, as, *nobilia Samothracum mysteria;* and yet certain really noble ideas of the Deity in many instances gave a starting point to such mysteries, and early teachers thought to fix these by the medium of allegories, around which the grossest absurdities were only too sure to accrue. In these mysteries all had an allegorical interpretation. The remote sense was *shut up*, μεμυημένον, from the multitude; it was disclosed only to the initiated, who were then τελειούμενοι, and had nothing more to learn. But such a system naturally led to the multiplication of allegory, and devotees who possessed the key to this figurative teaching, arrogated to themselves a *science*, or γνῶσις, that was denied to the many.

Civ. D. VII. 28.

These three very distinct bearings of the term γνῶσις,

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observed in the Philosophic, Oriental, and Mystical systems, are not unfrequently combined in a writer, who was the immediate precursor of Gnosticism at Alexandria, the philosophical and mystic minded Philo Judæus. They are exemplified in a passage in his treatise *de Somniis*, in which he discourses upon the angelic vision in Bethel, and imagines the mid air to be peopled, as some teeming city, with souls, and spirits, and angels. He allegorises from revealed data, and his allegory is by no means unworthy of Plato, either in its beauty, or in the riches of moral and intellectual knowledge that it declares to be within the reach of man. At the same time the spiritual entities that it represents as peopling the air, and the [1]complete sublimation of the contemplative spirit, are purely Zoroastrian. Indeed Philo for ever speaks in the spirit of an eclectic Gnosticism, without, so far as I am aware, ever making use of the term γνῶσις, otherwise than in the conventional meaning of the word; a good proof perhaps that in his day the term had not yet been restricted to express the tenets of any particular sect. As is often to be observed in the history of the human intellect, opinions long float in a loose and disengaged form, ready to coalesce and crystallise around the first convenient nucleus, until at length circumstances present themselves that are favourable to the process; and theories that had long subsisted become known by some appropriate name, and gain their place in history. Very much of this character appears to have been the origin of Gnosticism at Alexandria; and modes of expression were adopted even in [2]ecclesiastical

Philonic γνῶσις.

[1] Τούτων (τῶν ψυχῶν, sc.) αἱ μὲν τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνήθη τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου ποθοῦσαι παλινδρομοῦσιν αὖθις, αἱ δὲ πολλὴν φλυαρίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοῦσαι, δεσμωτήριον μὲν καὶ τύμβον ἐκάλεσαν τὸ σῶμα, φυγοῦσαι δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξ εἱρκτῆς ἢ μνήματος, ἄνω κούφοις πτεροῖς πρὸς αἰθέρα ἐξαρθεῖσαι μετεωροπολοῦσι τὸν αἰῶνα. *De Somn.* I. 22.

[2] e. g. *Ep. S. Barn.* § 2, and, τί λέγει ἡ γνῶσις μάθετε, Ἐλπίσατε ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανεροῦσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν, § 6. More in the spirit of Gnostic mysticism, the 318 persons (*Græce*, τιη)

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First Gnostics.

writers that were afterwards tacitly resigned to the heretic.

So there can be no doubt but that Gnosticism in its essence, so far as it affected a recognition of the Christian history, dated from Simon Magus; and yet the name of Gnostic was only first adopted, as a body, by the Ophites or Naassenes, of whom Hippolytus has said, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς Γνωστικούς· φάσκοντες μόνοι τὰ βάθη γινώσκειν, ἐξ ὧν ἀπομερισθέντες πολλοὶ πολυσχιδῆ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐποίησαν μίαν, διαφόροις δόγμασι τὰ αὐτὰ διηγούμενοι.* Both philosophy and theosophical teaching, as exhibited at Alexandria, laid claim to an esoteric assimilation with the Source of spiritual Light and Knowledge. Heathen Mysticism in the same way claimed a knowledge of the deep Truths that were sealed up in its *arcana*, and the system that affected to incorporate the more salient points of each, could hardly have received a more convenient term than *γνῶσις*, to symbolise the eclecticism to which it owed its origin.

The term *γνῶσις* therefore embodies a highly complex idea, when we consider the various elements of which it was the outward expression; and in proportion as any one of these elements has been clearly perceived, writers upon the Gnostic theories of the primitive ages of the Church, have referred them generically to this or that particular class of opinion. Mosheim has treated them as almost entirely of Oriental growth; Neander divides them into the two families of Jewish, and anti-Jewish Gnosticism,

mentioned, Gen. xiv. 14, allegorise the name IH*σοῦς*, and T. *the cross*, but the solution is introduced with the question, *Τίς οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῳ γνῶσις*, ib. 9; similarly, *Λαμβάνει δὲ τρίων δογμάτων γνῶσιν Δαβίδ*, ib. 10, and a mystical interpretation of Ps. i. follows. There was a *γνῶσις* however of a more practical type, which, as the correlative of heathen initiation, represented the character of the more perfect and formed Christian; and of this there is a sketch in the same Epistle, § 18, 19, as the *Way of Light*. Cf. *ἀγία ὁδός*, p. lxi. Clem. Alex. also retained the name of Gnostic, as applicable, in the better sense of the term, to the consistent and more perfect Christian.

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while Simon Magus, the father of them all, is referred to the lesser eclectic communities. Matter, scarcely Neander's equal, where he does not copy him, arranges the Gnostic sects in certain schools, which he names according to their locality, Syrian, Egyptian, and Asiatic. The objection instantly suggests itself to this classification, that most of the Gnostic teachers who taught in Egypt, learned their craft in Syria; and in the case of Valentinianism, the heresiarch came to Egypt from Cyprus, from whence he passed to Rome; while Theodotus in the East, and Ptolemy and Heracleon in the West, as his followers, struck widely different notes, and neither in the one case nor the other had they much in common with the home of their adoption. For this reason it is proposed to take the various sects in chronological order, for which the recently recovered work of Hippolytus gives excellent material, though it is somewhat uncritically arranged. Chronological order proposed.

The first Gnostic teacher, who engrafted anything like a Christology upon the antecedent systems, was Simon Magus. [1]Early patristical authorities are very unanimous upon this point. In other respects his doctrine was eminently Zoroastrian. His Supreme Deity was an [2]occult spiritual fire. Like the τὸ ἄπειρον of Anaximander, the אין־סוף of the Cabbala, and the *Zeruane Akerene* of Zoroaster, his fiery principle was *Infinite Power*, [3]ἀπέραντος δύναμις. It was also the source, as in the Heraclitean theory, of the physical creation[4]. His Hebdomad of primary emanations from the First Cause, was as the [5]Amshaspands of the Persian system, and was designated by p. xxxix.

[1] 195, 219, n. 3; 221, 249, 272, &c.

[2] Hippol. *Phil.* vi. 9, 17.

[3] Hippol. *Phil.* vi. 9, where the words of the Mage are quoted: ἀπέραντον δὲ εἶναι δύναμιν ὁ Σίμων προσαγορεύει τῶν ὅλων τὴν ἀρχὴν, λέγων οὕτως· Τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα ἀποφάσεως φωνῆς καὶ ὀνόματος ἐξ ἐπινοίας, τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως τῆς ἀπεράντου. Διὸ ἔσται ἐσφραγισμένον, κεκρυμμένον, κεκαλυμμένον, κείμενον ἐν τῷ οἰκητηρίῳ οὗ ἡ ῥίζα τῶν ὅλων τεθεμελίωται....Ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀπέραντος δύναμις τὸ πῦρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμῶνα. κ.τ.λ.

[4] ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς γενέσεως... πάντων ὅσων γένεσις ἀπὸ πυρός. vi. 17.

[5] *Ormuzd* being the seventh.

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Simon Magus.

x. xiii. 5.

him as [1]*νοῦς, ἐπίνοια, ὄνομα, φωνή, λογισμός, ἐνθύμησις,* [2]*ὁ ἑστως-στας-στησόμενος*. In the Mithratic worship especial veneration was paid to the Sun, Moon, and material elements; in the same way [3]Simon paired off the above six emanations, as the heavenly counterparts of material correlative objects of sense; and he called *νοῦς* and *ἐπίνοια, οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ*, while *ὄνομα καὶ φωνή* represented the Sun and Moon, and the last two, Air and Water. The self-same

p. x. objects are instanced by Herodotus in his account of the old Persian religion. In the Zoroastrian system again, the human prototypal substance was [4]evolved, prior to the creation of its material organism; [5]the Cabbala borrowed the same notion; [6]Philo adopted it; and Simon Magus, as we might imagine, exhibited a similar feature in his system; [7]*ἔπλασέ φησιν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβών· ἔπλασε δὲ οὐχ ἁπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ διπλοῦν, κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*. In other respects, he converted the Hexaëmeron into an [7]allegory, in which the notions of Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, are strangely intermixed. Hippolytus has preserved a few sentences from the *Ἀποφάσεις*, or *Expositions* of the Mage, that are of singular value, as enabling us to define the precise features of Gnosticism, when it first affected the History of Christianity. The passage runs as follows:

[8]"For concerning this, Simon says explicitly in his

[1] Hippol. *Phil.* iv. 51; vi. 12, 13.

[2] The Simonian Trinity. *Ph.* vi. 17.

[3] Hipp. *Ph.* vi. 13.

[4] Sharistani *ap.* Hyde, *de Rel. vet. Pers.* xxii. p. 298.

[5] See p. 224, n. 1; 232, 3.

[6] *Διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένη· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπος, ἅτε κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονὼς, ... ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης, ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν. De M. Op.* § 12. *ὥστε δύο ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὸν παράδεισον εἰσάγεσθαι, τὸν μὲν πεπλασμένον, τὸν δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα. ib.* § 16, and see p. 134, end of note 2. And cf. 344, 1.

[7] Hipp. *Ph.* vi. 14.

[8] *Λέγει γὰρ Σίμων διαρρήδην περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ Ἀποφάσει οὕτως· Τμῖν οὖν λέγω ἃ λέγω, καὶ γράφω α γράφω· τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο· Δύο εἰσὶ παραφυάδες τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων, μήτε ἀρχὴν μήτε πέρας ἔχουσαι, ἀπὸ μιᾶς ῥίζης, ἥτις ἐστὶ δύναμις Σιγὴ, ἀόρατος, ἀκατάληπτος, ὧν ἡ μία φαίνεται ἄνωθεν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μεγάλη δύναμις, νοῦς τῶν ὅλων, διέπων τὰ πάντα, ἄρσην. Ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα, κάτωθεν, ἐπίνοια μεγάλη, θήλεια, γεννῶσα τὰ πάντα. Ἐν-*

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Simon Magus.

Ἀποφάσεις, Now I say to you that I say, and write that I write. The scheme is this. There are [1]two offsets from the Perfect αἰῶνες having neither beginning nor end, from one root, which is the Invisible, Incomprehensible Power Silence; of which one is manifested from above, the great Power, Mind of the Universe, that administers All Things, the Male Principle; and the other, from beneath, vast Thought, generative of All Things, the Female principle; whence in mutual apposition they combine in consort, and exhibit the mean space as an immense atmosphere, having neither beginning nor end. But within it is the Father that upholds and sustains all things that have beginning and end. He is the Past, the Present, the Future, Bisexual Power, the reflex of the pre-existent Infinite Power, still subsisting in oneness, which hath neither beginning nor end; for from Him, Thought, subsisting in Oneness, emanating, made Two. Yet He was One; for having Her within Himself, he was alone; not in truth First, howbeit Pre-existent, but Himself manifested from Himself became the Second. But neither was He called Father, before His Thought so named Him. As therefore evolving Himself from Himself, He revealed

θεν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιστοιχοῦντες, συζυγίαν ἔχουσι, καὶ τὸ μέσον διάστημα ἐμφαίνουσιν ἀέρα ἀκατάληπτον, μήτε ἀρχὴν μήτε πέρας ἔχοντα. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πατὴρ ὁ βαστάζων πάντα, καὶ τρέφων τὰ ἀρχὴν καὶ πέρας ἔχοντα. Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑστως-στας-στησόμενος, ὢν ἀρσενόθηλυς δύναμις κατὰ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν δύναμιν ἀπέραντον, ἥτις οὔτ' ἀρχὴν οὔτε πέρας ἔχει, ἐν μονότητι οὖσαν· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης προελθοῦσα ἡ ἐν μονότητι Ἐπίνοια, ἐγένετο δύο. Κἀκεῖνος ἦν εἷς, ἔχων γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ αὐτὴν, ἦν μόνος, οὐ μέντοι πρῶτος, καίπερ προϋπάρχων, φανεὶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ, ἐγένετο δεύτερος. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πατὴρ ἐκλήθη, πρὶν αὐτὴν αὐτὸν ὀνομάσαι πατέρα [Mill, αὐτὴ... ὀνομάσει]. Ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ ἑαυτοῦ προαγαγὼν ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν Ἐπίνοιαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ φανεῖσα Ἐπίνοια οὐκ ἐποίησεν [*f. l.* ἐποίησεν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ἰδοῦσα] ἀλλὰ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν ἐνέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ, τουτέστι τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ἔστιν ἀρρενόθηλυς δύναμις καὶ Ἐπίνοια, ὅθεν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιστοιχοῦσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει δύναμις ἐπινοίας, ἓν ὄντες. Ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄνω εὑρίσκεται δύναμις, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κάτω ἐπίνοια. Ἔστω οὖν οὕτως καὶ τὸ φανὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἓν ὄν, δύο εὑρίσκεσθαι, ἀρσενόθηλυς ἔχων τὴν θήλειαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. Οὗτός ἐστι Νοῦς ἐν Ἐπινοίᾳ, ἀχώριστα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἓν ὄντες, δύο εὑρίσκονται. Hipp. *Ph.* vi. 18.

[1] Cf. the old Persian theory, p. xii. in which the first Dyad emanated from an antecedent principle of unity.

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Simon Magus.

to Himself His own Thought, so also the revealed Thought acted not otherwise, but seeing Him she hid within herself the Father, which is the Power; thus Thought also is a bisexual Power, so that in this way they mutually correspond; for Power differs in no respect from Thought, being One. Power is found to be from above, Thought from beneath. It is thus that the manifestation also emanating from them being One, is found to be Two; the Bisexual that hath within Himself the Female. He is Mind in Thought. Being One inseparably from each other, they are virtually Two."

We may observe in this passage a very definite assertion of the Oriental emanative principle. The Deity, One and Inscrutable, is described as putting forth a certain Power or quality, that was substantially reabsorbed, and identified with the Divine essence. The dark saying of Heraclitus, p. xxxv, may have been indicative of this theory. The Brahminical simile of the tortoise putting forth, and withdrawing its limbs from beneath the *testudo*, at the present day, exemplifies it. But with greater subtlety, the Samaritan Mage drew his illustration from that, which is at once the loftiest exponent of Power upon earth, the highly composite system of a most perfect Unity, the Mind of Man. Another particular, that should be observed in the passage quoted, serves to illustrate the *rationale* of the Valentinian series of Æons; which is the meaning, pregnant with the co-ordinate, of each successive term that it contains: so νοῦς and ἐπίνοια are present throughout as the theme; and the Past—Present—Future is embosomed in them; [1]φωνή also and ὄνομα evolve the name of Father; and λογισμός and ἐνθύμησις complete the series, as the action and reaction of Mind in Thought, and Thought in Mind. The Valentinian system, though numerically different, is determined by the same limits;

[1] Cf. the Rabbinical בת־קל and the Hebrew synonym for the Deity, שם.

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the entirety forms the same Pleroma. The *συζυγία* of *νοῦς* and *ἐπίνοια* is partly Pythagorean, and partly an Oriental mode of theosophising. The *arrhenothele* combination is Pythagorean, the *enthymeme* Oriental. Menander.

Menander was the disciple and immediate follower of Simon. He was the third of a Samaritan succession, reckoning as first, Dositheus, the predecessor of Simon, who pretended to be the promised Messiah; and each of these impostors gave out that neither [1]himself nor his followers should be subject to death. If the Pseudo-Clementine [2]writings may be trusted, these three teachers represent a [3]Samaritan sect, that existed before the birth of Christ. In all respects, however, the account given by Irenæus with respect to Menander's notions, finds a counterpart in what Hippolytus has said concerning Simon. The pupil added nothing original, so far as we have the means of judging. Saturninus carried on the succession.

The Nicolaitans took their name, as it has been said, from Nicolas the proselyte of Antioch, who, after his ordination to the diaconate, apostatised and formed this sect. [4]The p. 214.

[1] So ORIGEN says of Dositheus, Tom. XIV. *in Joh.* iv. 25, *ἀφ' οὗ δεῦρο μέχρι εἰσὶν οἱ Δοσιθεανοί, φέροντες καὶ βίβλους τοῦ Δοσιθέου, καὶ μύθους τινὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ διηγούμενοι, ὡς μὴ γευσαμένου θανάτου, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ βίῳ που τυγχάνοντος.* But see note 3. Cf. Eudox. ap. PHOT. *Bibl.* 230. According to the *Clementine Hom.* II. 24, Dositheus died from chagrine, because Simon had superseded him. Similarly Simon boasted of himself, *στησόμενον ἀεί, καὶ αἰτίαν φθορᾶς, τὸ σῶμα πεσεῖν, οὐκ ἔχειν. Clem. Hom.* II. 22, and *Epit.* 25. The most probable account of the impostor's death, perhaps, is that given by HIPPOLYTUS, *infra*, p. 195, n. 1. Some unusual want of dexterity, or possibly, the forgetfulness of his successor, Menander, caused his permanent occupation of the grave dug by his order. No doubt the object in view was to shake faith in our Lord's *bodily* resurrection, by the exhibition of a similar power in his own person. He affirmed that the Body of Christ was not real; his own too, as he pretended, was phantasmal. See *Recog. Clem.* II. xi. Menander also laid claim to immunity from death, infr. 195, where see note 6.

[2] *Clem. H.* II. 23, 24; *Rec.* II. 8; *Ep.* 26.

[3] ORIGEN speaks of the Dositheans and Simonians as branches of the same stock, and he says of the first, *c. Cels.* VI. 11, *οἱ δὲ Δοσιθεανοὶ οὐδὲ πρότερον ἦκμασαν, νῦν δὲ παντελῶς ἐπιλελοίπασι, ὥστε τὸν ὅλον αὐτῶν ἱστορεῖσθαι ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα.* He speaks also of the Simonians elsewhere in similar terms, *Νυνὶ δὲ τοὺς πάντας ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ οὐκ ἔστι Σιμωνιανοὺς εὑρεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἶμαι τριάκοντα.* Tom. I. p. 45.

[4] See IGN. *Ep. Interp. ad Trall.* XI.

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Nicolaitans.

Nicolaitans taught the complete indifference of human actions in a moral point of view; both bodily and spiritual *πορνεία* was held by them to be allowable; and in the Apocalypse the Ephesian Church is praised for its abhorrence of these infamous principles. Dr Burton has said that "the evidence is externally slight which would convict Nicolas himself of any immoralities;" still the evidence is that of Irenæus, who is also followed by Hippolytus; Clement of Alexandria, while he speaks of his personal morality, does so at the expense of a godly reverence for the sacred institution of [1]marriage; and his expressions are conclusive upon the point, that, in the writer's opinion, the Deacon gave existence as well as a name to the Nicolaitan sect.

Rev. ii. 6.

Lect. XII.

p. 214, n. 1.

Strom. III. 4.

Another hateful feature of this heresy was the assertion, that in times of persecution, principle might be ignored, and conformity rendered to mysteries however abominable, and rites however impure. The [2]Cainites of a later date are compared with this sect by Tertullian. [3]Matter also infers from the word *illi*, II. 40, n. 5, that many of the distinctive features of Valentinianism were developed by this early sect; but nothing is less probable, and, as [4]Eichhorn has shewn, the meaning of Irenæus must be limited to the statement, that these Nicolaitans had preceded Cerinthus, in assigning the creation of the world to certain *κοσμοποιοὶ ἄγγελοι*, and this was clearly the notion of the Samaritan sect represented by [5]Simon Magus and Menander.

Rev. ii. 14, 15.

214, 1.

[1] Of his own wife it is said, that *γῆμαι τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπέτρεψεν*, and his reason is assigned, *ὅτι παραχρήσασθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ*. CL. AL. *Strom.* III. 4. The incident is mentioned by CLEMENT rather in terms of praise, as shewing personal *ἐγκράτεια*, though it is added that his followers perverted the deacon's meaning, and carried the same principle to a very wild excess.

[2] Apparently for their assertion of the moral indifference of actions. MATTER calls them *les défenseurs les plus intrépides de l'indépendance de l'esprit de tous les actes du corps.* II. 253. See also THEODORET, *Hær. Fab.* I. 15.

[3] MATTER, *H. Cr.* II. 426.

[4] *Repertorium f. bibl. u. morgenl. Literatur,* XIV.

[5] As regards Simon, see pp. 193, 194,

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The Cerinthians take their name from Cerinthus, who is stated by Irenæus, on the authority of his instructor Polycarp, to have come in contact with S. John at Ephesus. He taught in Asia, though he was of Egyptian origin, and in religion, by proselytism possibly, a Jew. The [1] Persian belief, adopted by the [2] Samaritan heresiarchs, that the Source of All was the Unknown and Inscrutable, and that the material world was formed by angelic beings of an inferior grade of emanation, was also taught by [3] Cerinthus. Cerinthus. II. p. 13. 211, n. 1.

This notion, like very much of early Gnostic opinion, may be traced back through Philo to [4] Zoroaster; in Philonic terms, the [5] Deity as a Source of Light sent forth myriads of rays; these were each and all of them *δυνάμεις τοῦ ὄντος*, substantive entities and ministering Spirits; but as radiating from the Eternal, these *δυνάμεις* were [6] *ἀγέννητοι, αἳ περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσαι λαμπρότατον φῶς ἀπαστράπτουσι*, and the names of [7] attributes whereby he describes them only serve to identify them more completely with the Gnostic Æons. These organising powers of Philo were as the ideas of Plato, but they were creative essences as in the Persian system, though here they were of an inferior, because of a later, order of emanation. The *κοσμοποιοὶ*

and compare THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. 1. Menander also inherited the notion, p. 195, 4.

[1] See p. xiii.

[2] See p. lxv. n. 3.

[3] p. 211, where the Greek text is preserved by HIPPOLYTUS; he repeats the statement X. 21, and says that the world was created *ὑπὸ δυνάμεώς τινος ἀγγελικῆς, πολὺ κεχωρισμένης καὶ διεστώσης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας, καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεόν.* So also TERT. *Præscr.* 48. We may recognise again the Oriental idea, that this material world could only have been created by a power far removed from the Source of Light, and, in consequence, greatly deteriorated. THEODORET speaks of this power in the plural, *δυνάμεις τινας κεχωρισμένας, καὶ παντελῶς αὐτὸν ἀγνοούσας. Hær. Fab.* II. 3.

[4] Ce ne sont jamais les opinions pures que l'on rencontre dans ces systèmes; c'est toujours l'Orient conçu et reproduit par le génie de l'Occident. MATTER, *H. Cr.* II. 262.

[5] *αὐτὸς δὲ ὢν ἀρχέτυπος αὐγὴ μυρίας ἀκτῖνας ἐκβάλλει. Cherub.* 28.

[6] *Qu. D. sit immut.* 17.

[7] *οὕτως ἐπιστήμην Θεοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστην ἀρετῶν, τίς ἂν ἀκραιφνῆ δέξασθαι δύναιτο, θνητὸς ὤν, κ.τ.λ. Ibid.*

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Cerinthus. ἄγγελοι therefore, common to so many of the Gnostic systems, agree more closely with Philo's oriental original, than with anything that he has adopted from Plato.

p. 193. As Docetic opinions originated with [1]Simon, so the Gnostic notion that the Æon Christ descended upon Jesus at his baptism, but left him again at the crucifixion, owed

p. 211. its origin to [2]Cerinthus. The rationale of this tenet of Gnosticism may be traced back to the Platonic principle, whereby the eternally subsisting *idea* was separate from its predetermined but non-existent form, until this form was at length brought into being, and the necessary μέθεξις or adunation of pre-existent idea and material form, then took place. But the idea of Christ cannot be separated from the power of working miracles, and from the teaching of Divine Wisdom; and these powers were in abeyance, until the descent of the Holy Spirit upon our Lord at baptism; therefore the μέθεξις of the ideal Christ, that had eternally subsisted in the Divine Pleroma of Intelligence, only took place upon the formal initiation of our Lord to his ministry; or *Gnostice*, the Æon Christ descended upon the human being Jesus at his baptism. Cerinthus thus referred the human nature of our Lord to a purely natural cause, and he affirmed that his supernatural power was the effect of his greater sanctity. He learned at Alexandria to distinguish, as the later Jews, between the different degrees of inspiration that guided the sacred writers, and, according to him, different angels dictated severally the words of Moses and of the prophets; an idea

Theodor. Hær. Fab. II. 3. that the Ophite inherited from him. His notion that a sensual *millennium* should precede the restoration of all things, bespeaks plainly a Jewish source. Irenæus and some of the earlier Fathers also held a somewhat [3]similar

[1] Theod. *Hær. Fab.* I. 1.

[2] He may reasonably be supposed to have been conversant with the Platonism of Alexandria.

[3] The Apocalypse, upon which their belief was built, is so highly figurative,

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opinion, but they interpreted it of a purely spiritual state. Ebionites.
The Valentinian notion also of a spiritual marriage between the souls of the elect and the angels of the Pleroma originated with Cerinthus, but it may be a matter of doubt whether Origen has not given a greater latitude of meaning to his expressions than was intended. Other sects of greater note took up his views, and the name of Cerinthus was soon lost to all but the learned. It should be added, that, according to one definite tradition, it was the heresy of Cerinthus, that caused S. John to write his [1]Gospel. in Joh. 14.

The Ebionite heresy, whether the name be deduced from אֶבְיוֹן [2] *poor*, in allusion to the unworthy notions of Christ entertained by this sect, or from some leader named [3]Ebion, as Hippolytus also seems to imply in speaking of Ἐβίωνος σχολή, is said by Epiphanius to have originated Ph. VII. 35.
with those Christians, who escaped to Pella from the siege of Jerusalem. The superstitious veneration with which they still clung to Jerusalem, as the *domus Dei*, certainly p. 213.
agrees well with the supposition, that it was connected with all their most cherished traditions, and that the gathering of the eagles around the carcase had been an event of their own day. The same cause led to their easy acquiescence in the Cerinthian notion of a *millennium*, and of a *new Jerusalem*. The sect apparently took its

that, with the exception of the moral truths contained in it, and matters of historical fact, it is impossible to identify any portion of it, as capable of literal interpretation. It is a mystery; and for the present the wisest course is, to look upon it as a sealed book, so far as regards the futurity of which it speaks. Its accomplishment will finally ratify to the people of God the truth of every portion of the Divine Word.

[1] HIERON. *in Joh.*

[2] A name therefore given as a term of reproach, and accepted by the sect as a badge of party, like the *gueux* of the Netherlands. SCHILLER, *Gesch. d. Abfalls d. v. Nied.*

[3] *Hujus successor Hebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quod a Deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis factum.* TERT. *Pr.* 48. Cf. p. 212, 3. But the expression of THEODORET shews that even HIPPOLYTUS may have understood Ἐβίων to mean *poor*, ταυτησὶ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἦρξεν Ἐβίων, τὸν πτωχὸν δὲ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι προσαγορεύουσι. *Hær. Fab.* II. 1.

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Ebionites.

rise in Palestine. As regards the birth of Christ, it symbolised with Cerinthus; presenting a compound, of "[1]imperfect Christianity and imperfect Judaism." These Ebionites said, that Christ was a mere title of superior virtue, which was equally within the reach of any strict observer of the Law. They kept [2]consecutively the Jewish Sabbath, and the Lord's day; but in this they only continued the practice of the earliest Christians, and the custom was not entirely superseded, until the Church, by a definite canon, had condemned the practice as marking a [3]Judaising spirit. The rite of circumcision was retained by them, and the creation of the world was ascribed by them to the Supreme Deity. Theodoret says that Symmachus, who translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, was an Ebionite; accordingly we find the word νεᾶνις in Is. vii. 14. Of the New Testament the entire volume was rejected by the Ebionites; the [4]Gospel of the Hebrews having been substituted for the Greek Gospel of S. Matthew; S. Paul, as an apostate from the Law, was an object of bitter dislike to them, and his Epistles were altogether rejected. The assertion of Epiphanius that S. John wrote his Gospel to meet Ebionite error, is only so far important, as shewing the writer's belief that the heresy was antecedent to the Evangelist in point of time.

213, 3.

Hær. Fab. II. 1.

Tom. II. p. 110.

Hær. LX X. 23.

We are only concerned with the Gnostic sects, as they presented themselves to the notice of Irenæus, and it will not be necessary to consider any subsequent divarication of the Ebionite branch, of which he appears to have known nothing. We may pass on therefore to the next sect in our chronological series.

[1] BURTON, *Lect.* XI.

[2] τὸ μὲν σάββατον κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίων τιμῶσι νόμον, τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν καθιεροῦσι παραπλησίως ἡμῖν. THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* II. 1.

[3] ὅτι οὐ δεῖ Χριστιανοὺς Ἰουδαΐζειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ σχολάζειν.....τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν προτιμῶντας, εἴγε δύναιντο (*si liberi fuerint*, sc.), σχολάζειν ὡς Χριστιανοί. Εἰ δὲ εὑρεθεῖεν Ἰουδαΐσται, ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα παρὰ Χριστῷ. *Conc. Laod.* Can. XXIX. A.D. 372. *Vind. Cath.* I. 471.

[4] See p. 213, 2, and Vol. II. 45, 4, where a text is preserved in Syriac.

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Carpocrates.

[1]Carpocrates, an Alexandrian Jew of the Platonic school, setting aside his hatred of the Jewish and every other law, agreed in many points with the Ebionite. He taught the mere human origin of Jesus; and his misbelief upon this point accounts for his repetition of the Ebionite assertion, that a like degree of sanctity was within reach of any other man, since all human souls are from the same source, and share the same nature. But his impiety p. 206. in this respect carried him to a more [2]fearful pitch of blasphemy than his predecessors. Irenæus states that he treated with equal reverence the likeness of Christ, and of the heathen philosophers, Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle; if we take into account that his successor Prodicus professed to have the Apocalypsis of [3]Zoroaster as his text-book, we may collect that syncreticism in the widest sense was the true Carpocratian principle. Even the heathen mysteries perhaps met with no disfavour from him. He in fact appears to have given a wider expansion to Gnosticism, and where his predecessors, in ascribing the creation of the world to certain creative angelic powers, imagined to themselves an efflux from the Good Principle, Carpocrates carried the Oriental principle out to its fullest extent; and, with a rooted dislike to his former religion, affirmed that these creator angels, by reason of the remoteness of their origin from the source p. 204. of all, were in fact [4]evil in their nature; and that the great object of Christ's mission to the human race was, that he might redeem mankind from the power of these *κοσμοποιοὶ ἄγγελοι*.

Similarly, his mode of describing the first Principle agreed with that of most other Gnostic teachers, and the Source of all, that in the Simonian theory was *ἀόρατος*,

[1] EPIPH. *Hær.* XXX.

[2] *εἰ δὲ καὶ καθαρωτέραν τις σχοίη ψυχὴν, ὑπερβήσεταί φησι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν.* THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. v. Compare also HIPPOL. *Ph.* VII. 32.

[3] CLEM. AL. *Strom.* I. 357; PORPH. *V. Plotini*, c. 16.

[4] THEODOR. *Hær. Fab.* I. v.

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Carpocrates.

Acts xvii. 23.

ἀκατάληπτος, was in his, πατὴρ ἄγνωστος, and ἀκατονόμαστος, though the former term had been already [1]naturalised as connected with heathen worship. Matter remarks, that there is a wide interval between the Carpocratian πατὴρ ἄγνωστος, and the subordinate Creative Power, which has been lost to us, owing to a natural desire on the part of early writers to abridge their details of a system, that they could not look upon without horror. For professing to be saved by faith and love alone, this sect proclaimed the moral indifference of all human actions; asserting a complete freedom from every moral restraint[2]. Their analogy of the unfettered instincts of the brute creation was singularly unfortunate.

p. 210. n. 3.

Community of goods, and the entire annihilation of the matrimonial tie, alone could satisfy them. If the account of Epiphanes, the heresiarch's son, is not to be treated as a fable, he died at the early age of seventeen, and yet had written his book *de Justitia*, in which stands the precocious sneer against the seventh and tenth commandments [3]found below. It is not without reason that antiquity has represented the Carpocratian system as particularly odious and repulsive; Irenæus through some defect in the text, [4]I. xx. 3, has been understood as expressing a cha-

Cl. Al. Str. III. 2.

[1] L'idée d'un Dieu ἄγνωστος parait avoir été très-répandue en Occident aux premiers temps du christianisme. MATTER, *H. Cr.* II. 266.

[2] THEODOR. *Hær. Fab.* I. v.

[3] Ἔνθεν ὡς γελοῖον εἰρηκότος τοῦ νομοθέτου, ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἀκουστέον, Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον εἰπεῖν, Τῶν τοὐμπλησίον· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν δοὺς, ὡς συνέχουσαν τὰ τῆς γενέσεως, ταύτην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κελεύει, μηδενὸς αὐτὴν ἀφελὼν ζωοῦ· τὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησίον γυναικὸς, ἰδιότητα τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀναγκάζων, ἔτι γελοιοτερὸν εἶπεν. EPIPH. *de Just. ap.* CLEM. AL. *Strom.* III. 2.

[4] Bearing in mind that this sect possessed considerable vitality, (cf. ORIG. *de Or.*) IRENÆUS may well have spoken of their enormities as patent to his contemporaries. Possibly the first words of the section should include the negative, e.g. καὶ εἰ μὲν [οὐ] πράσσεται παρ' αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ., but cf. the note. IRENÆUS expressly says, that the impious doctrines and profligate habits of these heretics caused a stigma to be fixed by the heathen upon the name of Christian; how inconsistently then MATTER considers him to have said, "*Je ne puis me convaincre qu'il se fasse chez eux des choses irréligieuses, immorales, défendues.*" H. Cr. II. 277.

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ritable doubt with respect to these tenets and practices; but the entire context is at variance with such a supposition, as Tertullian also seems to have felt; and Hippolytus, who often preserves silence rather than condemn, continues his extract from Irenæus, so as to ascribe to the Carpocratians the notion of a continuous *metensomatosis* of the soul, ὅσον πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα πληρώσωσιν. For another distinctive tenet of this sect was the strange notion, that it was necessary that the soul should have experience of every possible action; and until the entire series had been run through, the terms of its mission were not satisfied; so that renewed trials must be encountered, until its course of action was complete, and a state of rest earned. Theodoret very justly contrasts the Pythagorean theory of transmigration, that, like the Brahminical notion, was to lead to the purification of the spirit, with this idea of the Gnostic heresiarch, which could only result in deeper and more hopeless degradation. Carpocrates, like Simon and Menander, laid claim to præternatural powers, as might indeed have been expected in the teacher of a system, that pretended to lead its votaries on to a final victory over the evil principle, that had created the natural world. In the last place, the followers of Carpocrates, self-branded as they were in a moral sense, made themselves more openly conspicuous by a cauterised mark upon the lobe of the left ear. [1] Theodoret refers this heresy to the reign of Hadrian, probably about 120 A.D.

Carpocrates.

p. 209.

p. 209.

Hær. Fab. I. 5.

p. 206.

210, 1.

Much has been said with respect to Epiphanes the son of Carpocrates, whom Clement of Alexandria affirms to have been the author of Monadic Gnosticism. The subject is discussed at p. 102, n. 2. Clement mistook, apparently, the qualifying term ἐπιφανής, applying to Colorbasus or some other teacher, for a name; and upon this assumption

Strom. III. 2.

[1] Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι βασιλεύοντος τὰς πονηρὰς αἱρέσεις ἐκράτυναν. *Hær. Fab.* I. v.

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Ophites.

he has engrafted a strangely unsatisfactory account. If it be considered improbable that so considerable a development of Gnosticism as the Monadic theory, owed its origin to a youth who died at the early age of [1] seventeen, the probability will also follow, that Carpocrates was not the first to style himself Gnostic, but that the Ophites, as Hippolytus states, first assumed the name. And this is the next system that presents itself for consideration.

p. 103.

Hær. VI.

The assertion of Philastrius that the Ophites formed a sect before the time of Christ, an idea adopted by [2] Mosheim, cannot for a moment hold its ground, in presence of the additional light that we now derive from the *φιλοσοφούμενα* of Hippolytus, [3] who says that they made frequent reference to the words of Christ; in fact their quotations [4] from Scripture, and especially from S. John, must refer them to the close of the first century, or the beginning of the second; in the early part of which they certainly existed as a distinct sect. The name *Ophite* is the equivalent of [5] *Ναασσηνοί*, derived from the word נָחָשׁ, *ὄφις*. But that root, as a [6] verb, is the *vox solennis* whereby the exercise of magical imposture is designated; and it occurs in this sense in describing the addiction of Manasses to forbidden arts, in apposition with יִדְּעֹנִים, *γνώστας*, *wizards*. It is not improbable therefore, that the adherents of this sect were originally called Naassenes

2 Kings xxi. 6.

[1] How strangely it sounds to be told of a mere boy, *Epiphane...s'elança plus en avant dans la Gnose qu' aucun de ses prédécesseurs*. H. Cr. II. 158.

[2] *Eccl. Hist. Sæc.* II. c. v. 19, and MATTER, *H. Cr.* I. 181.

[3] They professed to have received their notions traditionally from James the Brother of our Lord. HIPP. *Ph.* v. 7, x. 9. The Catholic traditional *dictum*, Eph. v. 14, was applied by them, ib. v. 7, as were the Lord's words, Matt. xx. 22, 23; Joh. iv. 10, vi. 44; Matt. vii. 13, 21, xxi. 31; also the parable of the Sower and the seed, &c. &c. Note also, the Ophites asserted that our Lord's human nature was of a threefold substance, *καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, τὰ νοερὰ καὶ τὰ ψυχικὰ καὶ τὰ χοϊκὰ κεχωρηκέναι εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν*. *Ph.* x. 9.

[4] HIPP. *Philos.* ed. MILL, pp. 97, 99, 100, 102, 104, &c. S. John's Gospel being quoted at 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 121.

[5] *ἐπικληθέντες Ναασσηνοὶ, τῇ Ἑβραΐδι φωνῇ οὕτως ὠνομασμένοι· νάας δὲ ὁ ὄφις καλεῖται*. *Ph.* v. 6.

[6] See GESENIUS, &c.

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with reference to their mystic tenets and Magian practices, the term having been derived from the form נָחַשׁ, *to act the sorcerer;* afterwards certain analogies suggested the Greek equivalent Ὄφις, and they were called by their opponents *Ophites;* much as the *Barbeliotæ* were termed [1] Βορβορίανοι from βόρβορος, *mud;* as also the Ophite term [2] *Prunicos* was interpreted from an unnecessarily exceptionable point of view. Some few points in their system, formerly considered as being suggestive of the idea of ὄφις, are greatly absurd. Thus, according to Irenæus, these heretics imagined a *Serpentiformis Nus;* also that Sophia appeared as the [3] Serpent; and subsequently, as if this mode of identifying heresy with the reptile were not quite satisfactory, an anatomical analogy was added, and the abdominal viscera of the human body were declared to typify the tortuous Æon. Irenæus however was writing nearly three quarters of a century after the sect had passed into other forms; and Hippolytus, perhaps a more critical reviewer of early opinions, indicates that their name was caused by their philosophy, which referred the origin of the physical world to water, whose [4] symbol was the serpent; *water* having been the first principle of Thales, and an object of veneration in the Mithratic code. For this reason Hippolytus termed the heresy ὕδρα, the *Hydra* or [5] *water serpent.* Hence their [6] hymn in praise of a principle that Pindar had similarly celebrated before. He indicates that some similarity was imagined between the convolutions of the brain, and the contortions of the serpent. Of

Ophites.

p. 232.

p. 241.

Ibid.

Hyde, Rel. V. Pers. VI.

Ph. p. 120. Ph. p. 119.

[1] See p. 221, 2.

[2] p. 225, 1.

[3] So the author of the *Libellus* affixed to TERTULLIAN'S Præscr., *serpentem magnificant in tantum, ut illum etiam ipsi Christo præferant.* § 3.

[4] εἶναι δὲ τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος. *Ph.* v. 9.

[5] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πολυκέφαλός ἐστιν ἡ πλάνη καὶ πολυσχιδὴς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱστορουμένη ὕδρα. *Ph.* v. 11.

[6] τετολμηκότων τὸν αἴτιον τῆς πλάνης γενόμενον ὄφιν ὑμνεῖν διά τινων ἐφηυρημένων κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐνέργειαν λόγων. *Ph.* v. 6.

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Ophites.

the philological comparison of נָחָשׁ *νάας* and *ναός a temple*, nothing need be said.

Our two principal sources of information with respect to the Ophite system are Irenæus, I. xxviii., who represents the sect as in the highest degree cabbalistic; and Hippolytus, who shews that they borrowed much of their system from the same Jewish source, though he terms it Chaldæan; we learn from him that the Gnostic appellation was first assumed by the Ophites. Fortunately he does not go over the ground already covered by his predecessor, but he adds much curious matter connecting the opinions of this sect, the most [1] eclectic of all the Gnostic branches, with the [2] *arcana* of the heathen mysteries. The Ophites made [3] the triple division of Man's Being into body, soul, and spirit, and Hippolytus compares the several systems that recognised these component elements of Man's complex nature. Thus he refers to the Chaldæan lore their notion of the prototypal Man, who was [4] alone *of earth earthy*, and of whom, as yet unquickened by the soul of life, it was said, *κεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἄπνουν, ἀκίνητον, ἀσάλευτον, ὡς ἀνδριάντα, εἰκόνα ὑπάρχοντα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄνω τοῦ ὑμνουμένου Ἀδάμαντος ἀνθρώπου.* And very possibly the Cabbalistic notion was derived from Babylon. But man so formed was with-

Ph. v. 6. v. 7.

Ph. v. 7.

[1] The analogy traced by the Ophite between the words *νάας*, and *ναός*, though worthless in a philological point of view, still suggests a valuable inference with respect to the diffuse eclecticism of this heresy. It symbolised universality; and whatever becomes of the verbal criticism, the idea conveyed was undoubtedly a true one. Thus the Ophite declared, *Νάας δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ὄφις, ἀφ' οὗ, φησι, πάντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν προσαγορευομένους ναοὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ νάας· κἀκείνῳ μόνῳ τῷ νάας ἀνακεῖσθαι πᾶν ἱερὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τελετὴν, καὶ πᾶν μυστήριον· καὶ καθόλου μὴ δύνασθαι τελετὴν εὑρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐν ᾗ ναὸς οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ὁ νάας ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀφ' οὗ ἔλαβε ναὸς καλεῖσθαι. Ph.* v. 9. The Ophite then accepted the term in the sense of *serpens*, see p. xxix; but he claimed an interest in every mystery and every temple under heaven. We are indebted to Hippolytus for shewing us how far this was the case, and for supplying the means of tracing the earlier development of Gnosticism in this remarkable sect.

[2] *τὰ κρυπτὰ καὶ ἀπόρρητα πάντων ὁμοῦ συνάγοντες οὗτοι μυστήρια τῶν ἐθνῶν, καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ.τ.λ.* Hipp. *Ph.* v. 7.

[3] Hipp. *Ph.* pp. 98, 107.

[4] *Χαλδαῖοι δὲ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι φάσκουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἀνέδωκεν ἡ γῆ μόνον. Ib.*

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out a soul; the [1] question then arose from whence comes the soul? and the Ophite obtained his answer from other cognate mysteries; the ψυχή, that animates the human frame, and was thought also to pervade the heavenly bodies as a soul of life, having been an especial object of veneration in the astronomical, but scarcely Zabian, mysteries of [2] Assyria and [3] Egypt. The Ophites affirmed that the souls of men were sent down to earth to animate the body of clay, and to serve the fiery Demiurge, [4] their fourth efflux; they believed also that [5] Christ as the reasonable Word dwelt in man, and that without [6] regeneration through Him there was no salvation. This regeneration moreover was connected with the rite of [7] baptism, so that in this strange medley of opinion, the Christian Sacraments and heathen mysteries were brought into juxta-position, though [8] the heathen element predominated; and even the fearful picture of unredeemed Paganism, as drawn by S. Paul, was accepted by them as the outward expression of a [9] deeper mystical meaning. It is evident therefore that

Ophites.

Rom. i. 18–27.

[1] Ζητοῦσιν οὖν αὐτοὶ πάλιν τίς ἐστιν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ πόθεν... πότερόν ποτε ἐκ τοῦ πρόοντος ἐστὶν,...ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου χάους. *Ib.* 97, 98.

[2] Hipp. *Ph.* pp. 98, 99.

[3] *Ib.* p. 101.

[4] κατενεχθεισῶν ὧδε εἰς πλάσμα τὸ πήλινον, ἵνα δουλεύσωσι τῷ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως δημιουργῷ, ἡσαλδαίῳ Θεῷ πυρίνῳ, ἀριθμῷ τετάρτῳ. Hipp. *Ph.* v. 7, p. 104. For the meaning of the term ἡσαλδαίῳ see 224, 5, but the same term being written ἡσαδδαῖος, *Ph.* v. 26, p. 151, suggests the Hebrew אֵל שַׁדַּי in both places.

[5] Ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ἐν πᾶσί φησι τοῖς γενητοῖς, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου κεχαρακτηρισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου λόγος. *Ib.* p. 104, cf. p. 111.

[6] οὐ δύναται οὖν σωθῆναι ὁ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇ διὰ ταύτης εἰσελθὼν τῆς πύλης, reference having been made to a text, taken possibly from the false Gospel of the Egyptians, p. 98, εἶμι ἡ πύλη ἡ ἀληθινή. *Ib.* v. 8, p. 111, cf. 121.

[7] ἔγνω γάρ φησι καὶ Ἱερεμίας τὸν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἀναγεννώμενον ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ σαρκικόν. *Ib.* p. 115. Again, ἡ γὰρ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ λουτροῦ, οὐκ ἄλλη τίς ἐστι κατ' αὐτούς, ἢ τὸ εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀμάραντον ἡδονὴν τὸν λουόμενον κατ' αὐτοὺς ζῶντι ὕδατι, καὶ χριόμενον ἀλάλῳ χρίσματι. *Ib.* p. 100. This assertion of heretical regeneration by baptism, is of course a valuable proof that the Church Catholic, whose Sacraments were mimicked, knew of no other source of regeneration but by *Water* and the *Spirit*. The martyr's baptism in *Blood* was the only exception.

[8] *Ib.* p. 119.

[9] ἐν γὰρ τούτοις... ὁ Παῦλος ὅλον φασὶ συνέχεσθαι τὸ κρύφιον αὐτῶν καὶ ἄρρητον τῆς μακαρίας μυστήριον ἡδονῆς. *Ib.* p. 100.

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Ophites.

to be [1]born again of water and of the spirit, was with them only another term for a first initiation in the mystic rites of the heathen temples, as the *μικρὰ μυστήρια*, to be succeeded by a deeper *γνῶσις*: and [2]none understood the hidden meaning of those rites but the perfect Gnostic, who however still called himself [3]Christian, and claimed participation in the [4]gift of Christ, though in an Eleusinian sense. It is superfluous to ask what was the practice and moral bearing of a sect so closely connected with heathenism in its most hateful forms, and which converted the most holy things into elements of impurity. [5]Suffice it to say that the Valentinian Æon *ἡδονὴ* had its origin in this system, and that terms that might serve to describe the [6]hallowed principles of Christianity, interpreted from an Ophite point of view involved the wildest impiety. It may be added that the Pleroma, that forms so conspicuous a feature in the Valentinian theory, meant in the Ophite terminology [7]the complete divine conception of all created substance. Also that the *κοσμοποιοὶ ἄγγελοι* of Simon and his successors were reproduced in the Ophite [8]*μεγέθη*, whose voices summoned the world into existence.

II. 2. IIv. Iv.

In the ancient cosmogonies, matter was very generally said to be reduced under the Creator's laws by certain subordinate *δαιμόνια*, it being imagined that the Supreme

[1] *Ib.* pp. 106, 115, 121.

[2] *οὐδεὶς τούτων τῶν μυστηρίων ἀκροατὴς γέγονεν, εἰ μὴ μόνοι γνωστικοὶ τέλειοι. Ib.* p. 113, cf. 116.

[3] *καὶ ἐσμὲν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς Χριστιανοὶ μόνοι ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ πύλῃ ἀπαρτίζοντες τὸ μυστήριον. Ib.* 121.

[4] 104, 116, *οὗτος*, (*ὁ υἱός*) *φησιν, ἔστιν ὁ πολυώνυμος μυριόμματος ἀκατάληπτος, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις ἄλλη τε ἄλλως ὀρέγεται. Ib.* 117.

[5] See lxxxi. 7, 9.

[6] What can be more harmonious to Christian ears than the statement, *οὗτος οἶκος Θεοῦ, ὅπου ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς κατοικεῖ μόνος, εἰς ὃν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεταί φησιν ἀκάθαρτος οὐδείς, οὐ ψυχικὸς οὐ σαρκικὸς, ἀλλὰ τηρεῖται πνευματικοῖς μόνοις*, 116. Yet, in Eleusinian language, who were these *πνευματικοί*? and by what kind of initiation did they cease to be *ἀκάθαρτοι, ψυχικοί*, and *σαρκικοί*?

[7] *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ μέλι καὶ τὸ γάλα οὐ γευσαμένους τοὺς τελείους, ἀβασιλεύτους γενέσθαι, καὶ μετασχεῖν τοῦ πληρώματος. Τοῦτό φησιν ἐστὶ τὸ πλήρωμα δι' οὗ πάντα γινόμενα γενητὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου γέγονέ τε καὶ πεπλήρωται. Ib.* p. 113.

[8] *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐλαλεῖτό φησι τὰ μεγέθη, ὁ κόσμος συνεστάναι οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Ib.* p. 107.

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Being could not possibly be brought into contact with the grosser elements; in the same way the Ophites, following the general outline of the Mosaic account of the creation, spoke of the Spirit that moved on the face of the waters, as an [1]ethereal light welling from the Supreme; but this light was evidently no other than the mundane soul, or vital principle of philosophy; it was embodied through contact with water, and became wholly implicated with matter, when the struggle of antagonisms commenced that was described in the Ophite hymn, and that suggested to Valentinus the *πάθη* of Achamoth. But the soul of life was not confined to this lower world, the superextension of its substance formed the [2]heaven; and in proportion as its desire for reunion with the Source of Light was satisfied, it was set free from the trammels of matter. Next, Christ emanating from the Father, Son, and Spirit, by his own power put forth a son from the element of water, and five others in successional progression, making with himself a *Hebdomad*, and with the Maternal Origin an *Ogdoad*. These six emanations were distinguished by Hebrew names for the Deity, that are partly Biblical, partly Cabbalistic; and [3]a Titanic contest arose for the supremacy, as in the heathen mythology, which resulted on the one hand in the evolution of the *Serpentiform Nus* from matter; and afterwards from the entire Hebdomad, of the prot-ideal substance of man, *immensum latitudine et longitudine*. *Eve*, or [4]*Life* (חַוָּה = ζωή) in a similar way was evolved by *Jaldabaoth*, the first of this

Ophites.

p. 229.

p. xii.

p. 229.

pp. 227, 229.

pp. 230, 231.

p. 232.

lb. n. 4.

[1] *τὴν δὲ ἀναβλυσθεῖσαν τοῦ φωτὸς ἱκμάδα*, *infra*, p. 228. The Ophite mundane soul was named *Prunicus*; see 225, 1. A probable solution suggests itself in the Chaldee term, פרניקא, *deliciæ*, the Ophite *ἡδονή*. Targ. in Deut. xxviii. 56.

[2] *ἀναδύναι δὲ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περικειμένου σώματος κατασκευάσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν.*

[3] *κατὰ τάναντία μὲν ἀλλήλοις προσέταξεν ἰέναι τοὺς κύκλους. Timæ.* 36 D.

[4] So in the Peratic system; *ἡ Εὔα ζωὴ, αὕτη δέ φησιν ἡ Εὔα μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων, κοινὴ φύσις, τουτέστι Θεῶν, ἀγγέλων, ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν, ἀλόγων, λογικῶν. κ.τ.λ.* HIPP. *Ph.* v. 16. Hence in the Valentinian theory the Æon *ζωὴ* was to *Λόγος*, as *Eve* was to *Adam*.

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Ophites.

series of six, and by the agency of the other five became mother of the angels; a notion that the Cabbala had already imported from Babylon. The fall of our first parents is described as in the Bible, and their expulsion from Paradise; which, however, as in the Cabbala, was situated not on earth, but in the fourth heaven; and now for the first time humanity was invested with a material nature. It may be added, that the *Serpentiform Nus* was also ejected from heaven by Jaldabaoth, and became the chief of an inferior Hebdomad of mundial dæmons, the enemies of man. This inferior Hebdomad was a manifest adaptation of the [1] Platonic planetary system, each member of which was animated with a reasonable soul. The upper represented the seven subordinate Sephiroth of the Cabbala, that severally involved the idea of a Divine Attribute. The prophets, as their ministers, were variously distributed amongst these Powers.

p. 233, 3.

p. 235, 1.

p. 236.

Timæ. 38 D. Cf. Philo, M. Op. § 16.

liv.

p. 237.

Hippolytus informs us that the Ophite worship consisted of hymns in honour of Man, i. e. the Cabbalistic Adam Cadmon, and of the Son of Man, who was as the Persian Ormuzd, the Logos of Philo, or Jewish counterpart of the divine *ideas*, that in the Platonic *system* were coeternal with the Deity. In their Christology the human being [2] Jesus was the recipient of an efflux from the Divine Nature; but mediately, for the Ophite Christ emanated conjointly from the Father, or Adam Cadmon, from the Son or Second Man, and from the Spirit or [3] Mother of Creation. The [4] astronomical distinction of a *dextral* or spiritual, and *sinistral* or material principle, was observed by

p. 134, n. 2. p. 227. lxi.

p. 227.

41, 3.

[1] Cf. Sanctam autem hebdomadam septem stellas, quas dicunt planetas, esse volunt, p. 236; and PLATO, *τὴν δ' ἐντὸς (φορὰν) σχίσας ἑξαχῇ, ἑπτὰ κύκλους ἀνίσους (ἐποίησεν). Timæ.* 36 D. *διεῖλε ψυχὰς ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς ἄστροις.* 41 E. *Sanctam* may have originated in *Hanc ām.*

[2] *κατεχώρησε καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας γεγενημένον.* HIPP. *Ph.* v. 6, 8, 9.

[3] The Spirit throughout these systems was thus described. PHILO also uses the same term. See liv. n. 6.

[4] Quæ est e regione orientis, dextra dicitur esse pars mundi, quæ vero e regione occidentis, sinistra. PHILO, *Qu. in*

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them; the former being the type of dawning light, the latter of a world shrouded in darkness. Christ, therefore, *quasi dextrum, et in superiora allevatitium*, emanated from a redundant overflow of the Divine Light, and in conjunction with the triple source of his subsistence formed the prototypal Ecclesia of the Highest Heaven. Ophites. p. 228. ibid.

The mundane *Sophia* or *Nus*, finding no rest either in heaven or earth, invoked the help of the Maternal Spirit, and obtained from the First Man, or Incorruptible Æon, that Christ should be sent to her aid, and being united with her, should by a combined descent upon Jesus at his baptism, form that Ecclesia on earth, which had an eternal counterpart in the union of Christ with the Father, Son, and Spirit in heaven. The συζυγία of Christ and Sophia thus united with Jesus, left him again upon his crucifixion, and the *psychic* Man alone suffered death and was buried; Christ however raised Jesus again from the dead, in a body that was *animal* and *spiritual*, but not *choic* or *earthy*. Finally, those "holy souls" that had been endued with the gift of Light were received by Christ seated at the right hand of Jaldabaoth, when released from the body; while the merely animal souls were sent back again into the world for further purification. The false gospel of the Infancy of Christ may have been intended by the writer to meet the Ophite assertion that Jesus performed no miracle either before his Baptism or after his resurrection, that is, while separate from the Æon Christ; although the draught of fishes recorded by S. John, c. xxi., was evidently regarded by the disciples as miraculous. p. 238. p. 239. p. 240. p. 239.

We may observe in this tissue of absurdity the distorted outline of one or two important Christian doctrines.

G. i. 7. The course of the Nile was the basis of observation, and shews that the dextral notion attaching to the principle of Light originated in Egypt. If at a later period the right hand expressed to the Egyptians the North, the idea was derived from the East, whose claim it was to be the face of the world. Elsewhere, the Jew of Palestine facing the East determined the South to be upon the right. Cf. LOBECK, *Agl.* 916, &c.

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Ophites.

It is evident that the Catholic faith suggested this Trinity of Father, Son, and Spirit. Also, these heretics denied not the miraculous Conception of the Human Nature of Christ; and if they refused to allow that his Divine Nature was united in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mother, with the first rudimental germ of Humanity, upon the Annunciation, still they evidently confessed the Godhead of Christ, as manifested outwardly in the miraculous events of his ministry. They bore witness to the Power of the Godhead, but they denied that it existed in Jesus before the Baptism; even as it existed before the worlds were made, eternal in substance, though unrevealed. Further, the union of Christ with his Church, for ever predestinate in the counsels of the Father, one constant theme of Apostolical preaching, was allegorised by these heretics; and the union of the heavenly and earthly in the Man Jesus, and an elective regeneration of the Spiritual Seed, were set forth in the mysteries of their system.

From the above account then it appears that the Ophites were not the least remarkable sect of the Gnostic stock; they drew from every quarter, from philosophy, from the heathen mystic rites, from Judaism, and from the Christian records, whatever elements it suited them to incorporate in their system. Irenæus confines himself to the two latter sources; Hippolytus therefore supplies that which his master had omitted, and gives an account, full of curious information, upon the strictly heathen notions exhibited in the Ophite or Naassene theosophy.

[1]Theodoret adds, that this sect also called themselves Sethians, from Seth, the name of a Divine Power; also that they [2]sacrificed to the serpent, whose presence con-

[1] *Hær. Fab.* I. xiv. καὶ τὸν Σὴθ θείαν τινα δύναμιν εἶναι φασί. Διὸ καὶ Σηθιανοὶ προσηγορεύθησαν.

[2] Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ προσκυνοῦσι τὸν ὄφιν· ὃν ἐπῳδαῖς τισι καταθέλξαντες, ἐν σκότει τρέφουσι, καὶ τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυσαρῶν αὐτῶν μυστηρίων τοῦτον τῇ τραπέζῃ προσφέρουσιν· ἐπιβάντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄρτων, ὡς ἡγιασμένων μεταλαγχάνουσι. THEOD. *Ib.*

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secrated their mystic feast. But upon the first point he seems to have been in error, for reasons stated below, [1] p. 226, n. 3; and as regards the latter point, it has been already shewn that the serpent was the [2] symbol of water, the material basis of creation in the Ophite system. It represented therefore the world of organised, quickened, and intellectualised matter; and as such it is apparently described by Irenæus. Their serpent-worship therefore was nothing else than an idolatrous veneration of the Spirit of life. Possibly Theodoret may have confused the theosophical Ophite with the snake-charmer of India. Peratæ.

Closely [3] connected with the Ophites were the Peratæ, who supplied fresh elements from the astrology and fatalism of Chaldæa. [4] Mosheim has stated that Euphrates founded the Ophite sect; Hippolytus enables us to place this name more accurately at the head of the Peratæ, *οἱ τῆς Περατικῆς αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγοὶ, Εὐφράτης ὁ Περατικὸς καὶ Κέλβης ὁ Καρύστιος*: he repeats this in two other places; where the latter name is varied as *Ἀκεμβὴς*, and *Ἀδέμης*, always however *ὁ Καρύστιος*, i. e. *Eubœan*. The term *Peratic* seems from Pliny to be a synonym for *Mede*, where he speaks of a certain gum as being the produce of Arabia, India, Media, and Babylon, and adds: *Aliqui* [5] *Peraticum vocant ex Media advectum.* The description given of the tenets of the Peratæ by Hippolytus altogether points to the birth-place of astrology; while the [6] fatalism of Ph. v. 13. Ph. iv. 2. H. N. xii. 9.

[1] And compare Hippol. v. 19.

[2] See xxxiii. and pp. 228, 1; 229; 241. Compare also Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, i. 485, 490. The Ophic principle as derived from Egypt was identical, as Athenagoras has shewn, *Leg. pro Chr.* 18, and it was symbolised by a dragon; *Ὠκεανος ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται, ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ὅλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη, ἐκ δὲ ἑκατέρων ἐγεννήθη ζῷον, δράκων, κ.τ.λ.* 18.

[3] Cf. Hipp. *Ph.* v. 17. In fact the serpent played a more important part in this system, as a symbol principally of the independent action of the Deity. The rapid movements of the serpent, though destitute of all visible means of locomotion, was an unsolved problem even to king Solomon. Prov. xxx. 19.

[4] *Cent.* II. P. II. v. 19.

[5] *Euphratean* from פרת *Pherat*, i. e. *Euphrates;* hence *Peraticus.*

[6] *καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὺς Περάτας, μηδὲν δύνασθαι νομίζοντες τῶν ἐν γενέσει καθεστηκότων διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ὡρισμένην μοῖραν.* They

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Samaritan. p. viii.

the Mahometan and of the Manichæan converge and meet in this Gnostic sect. They were as the Chaldæi of Juvenal, and appear to have been wholly unknown to Irenæus, though minutely described by Hippolytus, to whose work the reader is accordingly referred; for these opinions throw no further light upon anything that has been advanced by the venerable bishop of Lyons.

The account of [1] Saturninus, found in the work of Hippolytus, is identical with that of Irenæus, of which it is now the recovered text. He was contemporary, [2] and apparently a fellow-pupil in the Samaritan school with Basilides; but while this latter heretic gained an Alexandrian celebrity as a philosopher, Saturninus taught a more purely oriental doctrine at Antioch in Syria; where he may be considered to have been the last *known* teacher of the Samaritan succession, that about this date, was superseded by a catholic [3] exegetical school. Thus in his scheme the πατὴρ ἄγνωστος was the [4] ἀπέραντος δύναμις of Simon, and his [5] Hebdomad of creative angels, the six emanative attributes of the Mage, that represented the mundane elements, over which a seventh, or Past—Present—Future, ruled supreme, and of whom the God of the Jews was one.

professed to have the exclusive power of casting nativities, and revealing the fate of individuals; μόνοι δέ φησιν, ἡμεῖς οἱ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς γενέσεως ἐγνωκότες, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς δι' ὧν εἰσελήλυθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἀκριβῶς δεδιδαγμένοι διελθεῖν, καὶ περᾶσαι τὴν φθορὰν μόνοι δυνάμεθα. HIPP. v. 16.

[1] See pp. 196—198; HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 28; TERT. *de An.* 23; THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. 3, which are identical accounts, and EPIPH. *Hær.* 23, which is apparently independent, though imperfect.

[2] Compare the words of HIPPOLYTUS, 196, n. 1, with the Latin Version of IRENÆUS in the same page.

[3] See MATTER, I. p. 292. Of this school some highly valuable remains exist in the Syriac MSS. of the Nitrian collection in the Brit. Mus.

[4] p. lxv, also termed by him τὸ μακάριον ἐκεῖνο ἐν πάντι κεκρυμμένον δυνάμει, οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ. HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 17.

[5] Compare the seven creator angels of the Ophite system, pp. 230, 231, which represented the seven lower Cabbalistic Sephiroth, and the six Persian Amshaspands with Ormuzd, their originating cause. It has been usual to identify the δυνάμεις of Saturninus with the planetary spirits of the Chaldee theosophy. But here these worlds were created by them; the Simonian attributes therefore are rather indicated; which however had their reflex in the mundane elements. p. lxvi.

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Both he and Basilides adopted from the Magian source the notion that life as a heavenly spark, in the strict sense of the word, was kindled in man from above, and that this light, when severed once more from matter, returned [1] *πρὸς τὰ ὁμόφυλα*. Zoroastrian in theory.

But Saturninus held the oriental notion, perceptible both in the Zoroastrian and Rabbinical scheme, that man's ideal nature, as a transcendental form of light, was first created (*desursum...lucida imagine apparente*), although, as we shall see in the case of the Basilidian *υἱότης*, it was too spiritual for this lower system, and instantly recurred to the world of glory; when the creator angels proposed among themselves to form man upon the type thus revealed, [2] *faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem* [3]; they then [4] formed man's body of matter, but it [5] lay in an abject state, until moral life and intelligence were kindled within by the illapse of heavenly light. Hyde, Rel. Vet. P. 300. Epiph. Hær. 23.

[1] This separation was termed by Basilides, *φυλοκρίνησις*, and Christ came to give it full efficacy. *Ph.* VII. 27. TERTULLIAN says that this spark, *post decessum vitæ ad matricem relatura sit*, TERT. *de Anima*, 23, where *matricem* evidently means *εἰς τὰ ὁμόφυλα*: and *ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο*, in Hippolytus, refers to the soul and spiritual principle, but not to the body. So PSEUDO-TERTULL. *Hanc scintillam salvam esse, cætera hominis perire... resurrectionem carnis nullo modo futuram esse.* Adv. Hær. 2.

[2] Observing like Simon and Menander the Rabbinico-Philonic distinction of Man, formed *κατ' εἰκόνα*, and Man, formed *καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*. PHILO even, considered, as PLATO in the *Timæus*, that the Supreme Creator called the divine principle of man into being, but that man's lower and animal nature was the work of inferior intelligences; for so he explains the words "Let us make man." *Διαλέγεται μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ὅλων πατὴρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, αἷς τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἔδωκε διαπλάττειν, μιμουμέναις τὴν αὑτοῦ τέχνην, ἡνίκα τὸ λογικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἐμόρφου· δικαιῶν ὑπὸ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἡγεμονεῦον ἐν ψυχῇ, τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον πρὸς ὑπηκόων δημιουργεῖσθαι. De Prof.* 13; *Mund. Op.* 24.

[3] *Das Wort*, unserm Bilde, *in der Genesis, passte freilich nicht in seiner Erklärung.* NEANDER, *Gen. Entw.* p. 271. Cf. MATTER, *H. Cr.* I. p. 283, as EPIPHANIUS also remarked, *Hær.* 23.

[4] BAUR notices the agreement of the Manichæan account; that in this imitation of the revealed type, *Stimmt Saturnin mit der Manichäern überein. Chr. Gnos.* 209. But he adds, that whereas the Saturninian angels were good, the Manichæan were wholly evil. Cf. also BEAUSOBRE, VI. ix.

[5] p. 197. Compare the Ophite notion, 232, n. 4, TERTULLIAN, *de An.* 23, and PSEUDO-TERTULL. *Libell.* 2.

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Docetic.

p. 198. Epiph. Hær. 23.

His view that [1] marriage and the procreation of children were simply Satanic, involved a belief in the evil nature of matter; and the conflicting elements of good and evil caused so marked a discord in the human race, that, by a forestalment of the Manichæan theory, it was divided into the good, in whom the seed of heavenly light was indefectible; and the evil, or the slaves of gross material propensities. This distinction moreover was aboriginal, [2] a good and a bad progenitor of the race of man having been created; with which Theodoret so far agrees as to say that the difference existed ἐν φύσει. Consistently with this view [3] the prophets were inspired partly by the good, partly by the evil principle; though the God of the Jews was in direct antagonism with this latter. [4] And as a sort of corollary, the heresiarch enjoined abstinence from animal food, as contributing to the debasement of the human race; though, as Neander suggests, it is not improbable that the priestly caste alone held themselves bound by these strict observances. Christ, it was said, came as a minister of light to release mankind from the dominion of evil dæmons; and at the same time to break the power of the God of the Jews, and to set his subject people free from their vassalage. But he came in a spectral not a real body; and very possibly Irenæus may have ascribed the same notion to Basilides in error, knowing the community of origin that gave a first starting point to both heretics.

Basilides a Syrian, as Epiphanius says, according to

[1] TATIAN, also a Syrian, adopted the same notion of matrimony.

[2] δύο γὰρ πεπλάσθαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρώπους φάσκει, ἕνα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἕνα φαῦλον. *Epiph. H.* XXIII. 2.

[3] Simon, although a Samaritan, not unfrequently cited the prophet Isaiah. He also received and theosophised the five books of Moses. p. lxvi. See *Ph.* VI. 15, 16. Possibly a chronological separation of the prophets was made; the captivity being the cardinal point.

[4] IRENÆUS refers to Saturninus, the first origin of the *Encratitæ* or *Continentes*, p. 219. These ascetic notions formed the main point of contact between MARCION and the Gnostic sects.

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Hippolytus professed to have received his doctrine from [1]S. Matthias, which would refer him to the latter half of the first century; but he may have meant by [2]*traditional* communication or by *vision*. S. Jerome says that he lived in the time of [3]Hadrian; [4]though in another place he too carries him back to the days of the Apostles. Clement of Alexandria adopts the later date, and adds that he lived to the reign of [5]Antoninus Pius. This [6]chronology is alone admissible; and mention of Basilides in an interpolated portion of the Epistle of S. Ignatius to the Trallians, must still convict the passage in which it stands of spuriousness. It may be added, that Eusebius and [7]Theodoret both place this heresiarch in the reign of Hadrian; and the former says that he was answered by a Catholic writer named Agrippa Castor.

Of Syrian origin.

Ep. Interpol. c. xi.

H. E. IV. 7.

Hippolytus has added in a considerable degree to our means of defining his opinions. The account of Irenæus

[1] Speaking of Basilides and his son Isidore, he says that they professed εἰρηκέναι Ματθίαν αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀποκρύφους οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος κατ' ἰδίαν διδαχθείς. *Ph.* VII. 20. MILLER alters the reading to Ματθαῖον, but CLEMENS AL. *Strom.* VII. 17, shews that Ματθίαν must have been written; also it may be noted that at the end of the same section the MS. has Ματθίου, where again MILLER substitutes Ματθαίου. CLEMENS further says that Basilides claimed to have had as his master one Glaucias, τὸν τοῦ Πέτρου ἑρμηνεά. *Ib.*

[2] Having drawn largely, perhaps, upon the παραδόσεις of S. Matthias, an apocryphal production cited by CL. AL. καὶ Ματθίας ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι παραινῶν, Θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα, βαθμὸν τοῦτον πρῶτον τῆς ἐπέκεινα γνώσεως ὑποτιθέμενος. *Str.* II. 9.

[3] Moratus est autem Basilides, a quo Gnostici, in Alexandria, temporibus Hadriani. *de Scr. E.* (al. male, *mortuus.*)

[4] Speaking of heresies that existed in the Apostolical times, he says, *Tunc Simon Magus, et Menander discipulus ejus, Dei se asseruere virtutes. Tunc Basilides summum Deum Abraxas cum trecentis sexaginta quinque editionibus commentatus est. Tunc Nicolaus qui unus de septem Diaconis fuit.* &c. *Dial. adv. Lucifer.* 8. JOH. DAMASC. *Parall.* I. 12, relates of Basilides and S. JOHN, the occurrence at the baths, that IRENÆUS has connected with the names of POLYCARP and Marcion.

[5] καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν ἡλικίας, κάθαπερ ὁ Βασιλείδης. *Strom.* VII. 17.

[6] Compare FIRMILIAN, *Sed et Valentini et Basilidis tempus manifestum est, quod et ipsi post Apostolos, et post longam ætatem, adversas Ecclesiam ... rebellaverint. Ep. ad Cypr.* 4.

[7] ἄμφω δὲ (Basilid. *sc. et* Saturnin.) ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγένοντο. *Hær. Fab.* I. 2.

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Peripatetic.

and of [1] Eusebius, that he inherited them from the successor of Simon, caused Neander to refer them to the Judaising Gnostics, and Matter and Beausobre to trace those opinions back to the Persian theosophy; but Hippolytus identifies them clearly with Greek philosophy, and more especially with the Peripatetic doctrines. He owed much also to later Platonic theories, and altogether he occupied the same position with relation to philosophic thought, that the Ophite exhibited with respect to pagan mysticism; and professing to recur to ancient speculation, he brought under one peculiar theory whatever features it suited him to incorporate from all. The coincident revival at Alexandria of the Pythagorean philosophy, suggested to him, in all probability, the imposition of a [2] five years' silence, and of a graduated initiation into the mysteries of his system; the endless genealogies of his angels must have taxed severely the memory of these classes.

Hippolytus commences then by reviewing certain peculiarities of the Peripatetic doctrine; and the Basilidian First Cause *τὸ μὴ ὂν*, agrees, as he seemed to think, with the assertion of Aristotle, that *οὐσία* imports [3] *material* and *bodily* substance; an idea wholly inapplicable to the Deity. But there was a deeper meaning in the Basilidian definition. For as it is not impossible for man's finite intellect to express [4] *negatively* what the Deity is not, but wholly im-

[1] *H. E.* IV. 7, followed also by THEODOR. *H. Fab.* I. 2.

[2] Πυθαγορικῶς τε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν αὐτῷ πενταετῆ σιωπὴν παρακελεύεσθαι. EUS. *H. E.* IV. 7. LOBECK, *Agl.* I. 38.

[3] *οὐσίαι δὲ μάλιστ' εἶναι δόκουσι τὰ σώματα. De An.* II. 1. λέγω δ' *οὐσίας μὲν τά τε ἁπλᾶ σώματα, οἷον πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ ὅσα σύστοιχα τούτοις, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τούτων. De Cœlo,* III. 1. Hence HIPPOLYTUS says, *οὐ μόνον δὲ ἡ οὐσία καλεῖται τὸ γένος, εἶδος, ἄτομον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕλη καὶ εἶδος, καὶ στέρησις. Ph.* VII. 19.

[4] Compare the negative terms applied to the Deity in heathen systems, as *σκότος*, p. xxiii. 3, *σκότος ἄγνωστον*, xxi. 2, *ἄγνωστος Θεός*, Acts xvii. 23; the *σιγὴ* also of Simon Magus was adopted in one shape or other by the other Gnostic sects; although perhaps this latter term may have had an oriental origin, and express the Deity before the creative Word had been put forth. Similarly it was said of the Heaven of Heavens, *πάντα γὰρ ἦν φυλασσόμενα ἀποκρύφῳ σιωπῇ. Ph.* VII. 25.

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possible for it to declare in an absolute sense what it is; and as the term *existence* conveys a certain idea to the mind, arising from our own individual experience, [1] it was rejected as inapplicable to a Being that is wholly [2] Incomprehensible; and for this reason, relatively to all human modes of thought, the Deity was said by Basilides to be [3] *οὐκ ὢν Θεός*. Negative terminology.

[4] If this was the meaning of the heresiarch, it explains the terms used by him in referring to the diarchic principle, where it is said that light and darkness, having a definite and separate being, [5] *ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἦν, οὐκ ὄντα δὲ ἐλέγοντο*. He seems too to have held something of the same notion; for Epiphanius says that the [6] germ of his heresy

[1] The expression of BASILIDES reminds us of a similar statement of PHILO. He however states that *τὸ ὄν* imports the Deity absolutely, *οὐχὶ τῶν πρός τι*· but *Θεὸς* only relatively, as regards things created, *ὡσανεὶ πρός τι*, *De Mut. Nom.* 583, *ed. Mang.* Therefore the term *Θεὸς* would be inapplicable to the Deity antecedently to the work of Creation.

[2] CLEMENT of Alex. *Str.* v. 11, *fin. vers.* says of Moses, *τὸν ἕνα, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι τῷ* Βασιλείδῃ *δόκει, κατήγγελε Θεόν*, and proceeds, *οὐ περιλαμβάνει τόπῳ τὸ ἀπερίληπτον*. But for *τὸν ἕνα*, f. leg. *τὸν ὄντα*, upon which term the preceding context turns.

[3] HIPPOLYTUS identifies this term with the Aristotelian refinement upon the notion of the Deity, that it is *νόησις ... νοήσεως, ὅπερ ἔστι παντάπασιν οὐκ ὄν*. *Ph.* VII. 19; again, *οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς, ὃν Ἀριστοτέλης καλεῖ νόησιν νοήσεως, οὗτοι δὲ οὐκ ὄντα*. *ib.* 21. If ARISTOTLE'S derivation of *αἰὼν* from *ἀεὶ ὤν*, be correct, we may see the extreme improbability that BASILIDES should have made use of this favourite term of the Valentinian. And, in fact, judging from the statements of HIPPOLYTUS and IRENÆUS, it does not once appear to have been used by him. BEAUSOBRE however ascribes to him the use of the term, II. 6, and MASSUET, *Diss.* 61.

[4] Compare the striking observations of CLEM. AL. suggested by the words of PLATO in *Tim.* *τὸν γὰρ πατέρα ... εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον κ. τ. λ.*, where he arrives at the following conclusion, *καλοῦντες ἤτοι ἓν, ἢ τἀγαθὸν, ἢ νοῦν, ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν, ἢ πατέρα, ἢ Θεὸν, ἢ δημιουργὸν, ἢ Κύριον, οὐχ ὡς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ προφερόμενοι λέγομεν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπορίας ὀνόμασι καλοῖς προσχρώμεθα, κ. τ. λ.*; for as he afterwards adds, *πᾶν τοίνυν ὁ ὑπὸ ὄνομα πίπτει, γεννητόν ἐστιν, ἐάν τε βούλονται, ἐάν τε μή*. *Str.* IV. 12, 13. Cf. the definitions of Simon Magus, p. lxvii. *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πατὴρ ἐκλήθη*, and MAIMON. 108, n. 2.

[5] *Quidam (barbari) dixerunt, initia omnium duo esse, quibus bona et mala associaverunt, ipsa dicentes esse ingenita, id est, in principiis lucem fuisse ac tenebras, quæ ex semet ipsis erant,* non quæ esse *dicebantur.* BASILID. *ap. Act. Archel.* c. 55.

[6] *ἔσχε δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς τῆς κακῆς προφάσεως τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ λέγειν, πόθεν τὸ κακόν*; EPIPH. *Hær.* XXIV. 6.

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Whether a Diarchist.

is to be traced to the usual endeavour of accounting for the origin of evil; and the *Acta Disp. Archelai et Manetis* clearly state that Basilides symbolised with the [1]diarchic [2]Scythianus. The positive statements of antiquity upon this point cannot be superseded by the negative testimony of Hippolytus, who advances nothing with respect to the Basilidian origination of evil; he merely states that the heresiarch [3]carefully avoided all expressions that could charge the Creator with the origin of [4]evil. Hence certainly it might be argued, that if Basilides had believed in the eternal antagonism of a good and a bad principle, there would have been no such necessity for asserting pointedly, that which must have stood forth as a fundamental principle in his Creed. Still no inconsistency is involved, and modern writers, without doubt, have rightly classed him among those who adopted the Persian theory of two aboriginal principles, Good and Evil. Thus [5]Matter and Beausobre have identified that which Basilides said of the diarchic principle, with the heretic's own views.

[1] *Fuit prædicator apud Persas etiam Basilides quidam antiquior, non longe post nostrorum Apostolorum tempora qui...dualitatem istam voluit affirmare quæ etiam apud Scythianum erat. ... Basilides ait, Desine ab inani et curiosa varietate, requiramus autem magis, quæ de bonis et malis etiam barbari inquisiverunt, et in quas opiniones de his omnibus pervenerunt; quidam enim horum dixerunt,* (&c., as in n. 5, p. xciii.) ROUTH, *Rel. Sacr.* v. 196. It should be observed that this Basilides is said to have migrated to Babylon from Egypt, *ib.* 188.

[2] *Hic ergo Scythianus* (Manichæi præcursor) *dualitatem istam introducit contrariam sibi, quod ipse a Pythagora suscepit, sicut et alii omnes hujus dogmatis sectatores qui omnes dualitatem defendunt, declinantes Scripturæ viam directam.* Ib. p. 186.

[3] πάντ' ἐρῶ γὰρ μᾶλλον, ἢ κακὸν τὸ προνοεῖν ἐρῶ. BASILID. *Exeg. ap.* CL. AL. *Str.* IV. 12.

[4] The procosmic confusion of matter, and without God, described in the *Timæus*, is to be traced in the original confusion of the soul in the Basilidian theory; and so far as the soul partook of the material principle, its tendency was to evil, which was an *appendage*, in Basilidian phrase, upon the more divine principle. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βασιλείδην προσαρτήματα τὰ πάθη καλεῖν εἰώθασιν πνεύματα τίνα ταῦτα κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπάρχειν, προσηρτημένα τῇ λογίκῃ ψυχῇ κατὰ τίνα ταραχὸν καὶ σύγχυσιν ἀρχικήν. CL. AL. *Strom.* II. 20. The result of this σύγχυσις was a considerable importation of the soul of the brute into the soul of man.

[5] MATTER, *H. Cr. du Gn.* II. p. 41; BEAUSOBRE, *Hist. de Manich.* II. p. 21.

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[1]Neander was of the same opinion, though not always so positively. Baur also follows the same lead; and there is no reason why [2]doubt should be thrown upon these modern deductions from ancient statements. Only it should be borne in mind that all these heresies affected to revert to opinions and theories that were anterior to all contemporary systems of philosophy; and, as we have seen, the old Persian theory, like the Pythagorean, was *Monadic*, but, like that system, exhibited a secondary development of contending principles; Basilides therefore may [3]very consistently have asserted his belief in one Supreme Principle, by whatever negative name he might call it, and yet have symbolised with the general teaching of the East as regards a co-ordinate antagonism of Good and Evil. The latter, like the ἐνθύμησις of the Valentinian Pleroma, may have had its rise in this theory so soon as the evolution of divine attribute gave rise to the notion of relation.

His theory of creation.

p. xv.

The world when it was created was ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, and in this term we need scarcely recognise the Platonic distinction of the nonentity of shifting variable matter, as compared with the eternal invariable Being of the Deity; because Plato extended the same definition to every product of matter; whereas the heretic nowhere describes the outward world as οὐκ ὤν. But the Deity created the universe from things nonexistent; [3]οὕτως οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς ἐποίησε κόσμον, οὐκ ὢν ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων.

Hipp. Ph. VII. 21.

[1] Er trägt die Lehre der Barbaren (Perser) vor, und machte dies *höchst wahrscheinlich* zu der seinigen. NEANDER, *Gen. Entw.* 32. Seine Lehre mit dem Persischen Dualismus in eine Verbindung gesetzt, *die an der Verwandschaft mit diesem nicht zweifeln lässt.* BAUR, *Chr. Gnos.* 210. GIESELER, *Theolog. Stud. u. Kritik.* 396, imagines that, in the Basilidian theory, matter, and therefore evil, was evolved through the degenerating tendency of emanations, that had become indefinitely remote from the First Principle.

[2] See JACOBI'S excellent treatise, *Basilidis Philosophi Gnostici Sentent.* p. 15. Berlin, 1852.

[3] ἦν φησιν, ὅτε ἦν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ οὐδὲν ἦν τι τῶν ὄντων, ἁλλὰ ψιλῶς καὶ ἀνυπονοήτως δίχα πάντος σοφίσματος ἦν ὅλως οὐδὲ ἕν. HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 20. As regards the Deity, the heretic explains

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His theory of creation.

In another point of view the definition that the world was ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, was in direct antagonism with the Platonic theory of eternally pre-existent ideas, and chaotic matter: but it harmonised with the Aristotelian reasoning, whereby all substance having been divided into [1]*genus*, *species*, and the *individual*, the ἄτομος or *individual* had precedence, and was termed ἡ πρώτη οὐσία, and ἡ ὑποστατὴ οὐσία, because neither genus nor species [2]could subsist independently of the individual; these therefore were *secondary* substances or [3]δεύτεραι οὐσίαι. Thus *primary substance* indicated some actual subsisting thing; *secondary substance* a mere *quality*, which cannot exist apart from that which it qualifies. Hence before the creation of individual substance, so far as the world of matter was concerned, [4]ἦν ὅλως οὐδέν. But the Deity is not to be defined, and is incomprehensible, and it was in this negative point of view, and not at all in the language of atheism, that Basilides set forth his idea of creation; οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς . . .
108, 2. ἀνοήτως, ἀναισθήτως, ἀβούλως, ἀπροαιρέτως, ἀπαθῶς, ἀνεπιθυμήτως, κόσμον ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι. But he instantly checks this positive assertion, and gives it a symbolical meaning; Τὸ δὲ ἠθέλησε λέγω σημασίας χάριν, ἀθελήτως, καὶ ἀνοήτως καὶ ἀναισθήτως, that is, as compared with human will, and

his own meaning; for, after saying that the *Ineffable* had no existence, he shews that he so speaks, because no relative term can exist without that with which it stands in relation, καὶ γὰρ τὸ οὐκ ἄῤῥητον, οὐκ ἄῤῥητον ὀνομάζεται, ἀλλὰ ἔστι, φησὶν, ὑπεράνω πάντος ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου. *Ibid.*

[1] As HIPPOLYTUS has represented the Aristotelian distinction, ἐθέμεθα τὸ γένος εἶναι ζῷον, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον εἶδος τῶν πολλῶν ζώων ἤδη κεχωρισμένον, συγκεχυμένον δὲ ὅμως ἔτι, καὶ μήπω μεμορφωμένον εἰς εἶδος οὐσίας ὑποστατῆς. *Ph.* VII. 18.

[2] αἱ πρῶται οὐσίαι, διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὑποκεῖσθαι...κυριώτατα οὐσίαι λέγονται...μὴ οὐσῶν οὖν τῶν πρώτων οὐσίων, ἀδύνατον τῶν ἄλλων τι εἶναι. *Categ.* 5. Compare HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 18.

[3] δεύτεραι δὲ οὐσίαι λέγονται ἐν οἷς εἴδεσιν αἱ πρώτως οὐσίαι λεγόμεναι ὑπάρχουσι· ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰδῶν τούτων γένη· οἷον, ὅ τις ἄνθρωπος ἐν εἴδει μὲν ὑπάρχει τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ· γένος δὲ τοῦ εἴδους ἐστὶ τὸ ζῷον· δεύτεραι οὖν αὗται λέγονται οὐσίαι, οἷον ὅ τε ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ ζῷον. *Ibid.*

[4] πρώτη ἄρα καὶ κυριωτάτη, καὶ μάλιστα λεγομένη οὐσία ἐκ τούτων ὑπάρχει, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἐστίν. HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 18.

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intellect, and sense. The Deity therefore, that so far transcends every finite conception, willed, *so to speak*, the creation of the world; the world, not [1]*in extenso*, but the *seed* of the world, hence called *πανσπερμία*. An idea again that was derived from Aristotle, whose *species* were deduced from [2]the *generic* mass; and Hippolytus is very express in saying, [3]that as regards the creation of the world out of nothing, Basilides was perfectly orthodox, though in the same degree he departed from the first principles of philosophy. The world a seed heap.

Further, the universe according to Aristotle, who followed the teaching of his master [4]Plato, was divided into three systems: the *sublunary* world, in a state of considerable disorder; the *superlunary*, but *subcelestial* world, in which every thing was in consummate order and discipline, reaching to the true heaven; the third system was this *ἐπιφανεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, which was *supramundane*[5] (*ὑπερκόσμιος*), and was also styled in the [6]Peripatetic terminology, *πέμπτη οὐσία*, or the fifth element, out of which the

[1] *οὐ τὸν κατὰ πλάτος καὶ διαίρεσιν γεγενημένον... ἀλλὰ καὶ σπέρμα κόσμου. ib.* 21. The world destined to its own development, as the teeth of the newborn babe; the substance and intellect of man from the child, &c. 22. CLEM. says that, with Philo, he called the universe the *only begotten*, *μονογενῆ τε κόσμον, ὥς φησιν ὁ Βασιλείδης. Str.* v. 11.

[2] *τὸ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οἱονεὶ σωρός τις ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων καταμεμιγμένος σπερμάτων· ἀφ' οὗ γένους, οἱονεί τινος σωροῦ, πάντα τὰ τῶν γεγονότων εἴδη διάκειται.* HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 15. Again, *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σπέρμα, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν πανσπερμίαν, ὅ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης γένος εἶναι, εἰς ἀπείρους τεμνόμενον ἰδέας, κ.τ.λ. Ib.* 22.

[3] *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἄπορον εἰπεῖν προβολήν τινα τοῦ μὴ ὄντος Θεοῦ γεγονέναι τι οὐκ ὄν, (φεύγει γὰρ πάνυ καὶ δέδοικε τὰς κατὰ προβολὴν τῶν γεγονότων οὐσίας ὁ Βασιλείδης· ποίας γὰρ προβολῆς χρεία, ἢ ποίας ὕλης ὑπόθεσις, ἵνα κόσμον Θεὸς ἐργάσηται, καθάπερ ὁ ἀράχνης τὰ μηρύματα, ἢ θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος χαλκὸν, ἢ ξύλον, ἤ τι τῶν τῆς ὕλης μερῶν ἐργαζόμενος λαμβάνει;) ἀλλὰ, Εἶπέ φησι καὶ ἐγένετο. κ.τ.λ.* HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 22.

[4] *i. e.* if the Platonic *Epistles* be retained as genuine; in *Ep.* p. 312 E. the well-known passage occurs, *περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα πάντα· καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴτιον ἁπάντων τῶν καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα, καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα.* These words, though never read by Aristotle, may have supplied Basilides with an imagined authority.

[5] A term adopted also in the *νοῦς ὑπερκόσμιος* of PLOTINUS, *Enn.* III. v. 2; v. i. 6, and cf. PROCL. *in Tim.* p. 267.

[6] *στοιχεῖον οὖσαν ἕτερον τῶν τεττάρων, ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον.* ARIST. *de Mundo*, ii. 6. cf. *de Cœl.* I. 2. 3. But the notion was borrowed from Pythagoras.

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Light the first created substance.

heavenly bodies were formed. Similarly Basilides imagined a triple distinction in the constitution of the universe. There was the lower world, of gross material principles; the upper world or ὑπερκόσμια, corresponding with the πέμπτη οὐσία of Aristotle; and intermediately was the ἀκρωρεῖον, or μεθόριον πνεῦμα, the spirit moving between the confines of both.

The first material principle in the Basilidian, as in the Mosaic theory, was light; but then, as in the Persian Cosmogony, it was the seed from whence every other material element was evolved; it was, as Ormuzd, the word of Light and Life[1]; and the addition of a text from S. John completes the amalgam of notions borrowed from Greek philosophy and Zoroaster on the one hand, and from Moses and the Gospel on the other; for this material principle was the *light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* We shall have occasion to observe in the sequel a further application of this Zoroastrian principle.

So far the system we have been tracing was not more remote from divine truth than many of the allegorical notions of Philo; but from this point a wilder note is sounded, and dogmata are advanced that the [2]heresiarch himself appears to have referred to no higher inspiration than his own vain imagination. The power of [3]*Son-hood* (if

[1] Γέγονε, φησὶν, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ κόσμου, ὁ λόγος ὁ λεχθεὶς, Γενηθήτω φῶς· καὶ τοῦτό, φησιν, ἔστι τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις· Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Λαμβάνει τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος ἐκείνου καὶ φωτίζεται. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σπέρμα, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν πανσπερμίαν κ.τ.λ. HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 22.

[2] ὅτι ἂν λέγω, φησὶν, μετὰ ταῦτα γεγονέναι, μὴ ἐπιζήτει πόθεν. *Ib.*

[3] It should be borne in mind that the first efflux from the Deity in the Basilidian system, according to IRENÆUS, p. 199, was Νοῦς, in most of these Gnostic systems a synonym for υἱός. The ideas of *Filiety*, therefore, and Intellect coinciding, we may deduce from the system now under consideration another anticipation of the new Platonic theory. It is not at all improbable that Basilides, as an Alexandrian teacher, supplied to Alcinous his notion of a *mundane intellect*, coexistent with a *mundane soul*, ἡ ἐν ψυχῇ νόησις, but in subordination to the Supreme Intellect; (ALCIN. *in Platon. doctr.* § 10, and cf.

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the word may be allowed as expressing in *universals*, that which *Son-ship* implies in *particulars*) was inherent, as he said, in the *seed*, which was ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, manifesting the remote origin of the main weapon of offence of Arianism; and singularly enough, in declaring that this *Son-hood* was ὁμοούσιος τῷ οὐκ ὄντι Θεῷ, he indicated possibly the earliest use of the orthodox watchword in repelling the Arian attack. But the idea of the υἱότης, like that of the universe, was subject to a triple division; first there was a kindling up from below, and the more *subtle* (λεπτομερὲς) *Son-hood* at once returned from the lower world πρὸς τὸν οὐκ ὄντα. The grosser (παχυμερεστέρα) being unable to follow, μιμητική τις οὖσα took to itself, as [1]in the Platonic allegory, the [2]wing of the Holy Spirit, and both ascended to the more subtle antecedent υἱότης. But the Spirit was [3]not *consubstantial* as the *Son-hood*, and therefore could not subsist in the presence [4]τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος. Hence it remained in the intermediate confines, ὃν μεθόριον, yet not wholly deserted of *Son-hood*; but as the vase emptied of its

Three υἱότητες.

MACROB. *Somn. Scip.* I. 14) which PLOTINUS afterwards adopted, and set forth as νοῦς ἐγκόσμιος and ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος. Here at least we trace exactly the same idea in the *Demiurgic* or *mundane soul* of Basilides, and his more subtle and excellent *Son* or *Intellect*.

[1] ἐπτέρωσεν οὖν αὐτὴν ἡ υἱότης ἡ παχυμερεστέρα, τοιουτῷ τινι πτερῷ, ὁποίῳ διδάσκαλος ὁ Πλάτων Ἀριστοτέλους ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ (MILL. Φαίδωνι) τὴν ψυχὴν πτεροῖ, καὶ καλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο Βασιλείδης οὐ πτερόν, ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὃ εὐεργετεῖ ἡ υἱότης ἐνδυσαμένη καὶ εὐεργετεῖται. *Ph.* VII. 22, p. 233.

[2] In this we have a clue to the meaning of BASILIDES in calling the Holy Spirit the *Minister*, e.g. ἣν οἱ μὲν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμά φασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου τὸν διάκονον. *Excerpt. ex Theodot.* 16. Compare also τοῦ διακονουμένου Πνεύματος. CL. AL. *Str.* II. 8.

[3] ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὸ μετ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἦν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμοούσιον, observe here the precursor of Macedonius and the Semi-Arian party. *Ph.* VII. 22, p. 234.

[4] κατέλιπεν οὖν αὐτὸ πλησίον υἱότητος ἐκείνου τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ νοηθῆναι μὴ δυναμένου μηδὲ χαρακτηρισθῆναι τινὶ λόγῳ χωρίου, οὐ παντάπασιν ἔρημον οὐδὲ ἀπηλλαγμένον τῆς υἱότητος, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὥσπερ εἰς ἄγγος ἐμβληθὲν μύρον εὐωδέστατον, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπιμελῶς ἐκκενωθείη, ὅμως ὀσμή τις ἔτι μένει τοῦ μύρου καὶ καταλείπεται, κἂν ᾖ κεχωρισμένον τοῦ ἀγγείου, καὶ μύρου ὀσμὴν τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἔχει κἂν (*cod.* εἰ καὶ) μὴ μύρον, οὕτως τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μεμένηκε τῆς υἱότητος ἄμοιρον καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον, ἔχει δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ μύρου παραπλησίως τὴν δύναμιν ὀσμήν κ.τ.λ. VII. 22. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων μεθόριον πνεῦμα τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ἅγιον, καὶ τῆς υἱότητος ἔχει μένουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ὀσμήν. *Ib.*

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Spirit of Pantheism symbolised

unguent still retains a perfume, so the Holy Spirit, though separate from the *son-hood*, still possessed it *potentially*, neither had it wholly passed over. This heavenward direction of the *son-hood*, appears to have been regarded as the type of man's natural [1]yearning for a better state of existence; there being no opposite tendency in heavenly things to degenerate by a descent from the regions of light. The third and *material son-hood*, as needing purification, [2]continued in the world of matter, both conferring and receiving benefit.

The world having been willed to exist by the [3]*Inscrutable*, though undeveloped and a mere embryonic [4]seed-heap, the vital principle [5]throbbed through the mass as a power that could not again be extinguished; its influence filled the *Ogdoad*, or all [6]beneath the firmament, and was possessed with the notion, that itself was [7]the supreme and only Divine principle; whereby either the Pantheistic philosophy of the old world, or *involuntary* vital action was allegorised; the notion, as of some significance, entered into every successive system of gnostic teaching. In accordance with the predetermined counsels of the *Inscrutable*, this ἄρχων engendered of the subject substance, a [8]son greatly superior and wiser than himself, which was [9]to the

[1] σπεύδει γάρ, φησι, πάντα κάτωθεν ἄνω, ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα. Οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστι τῶν τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἵνα μὴ κατέλθῃ κάτω. *Ph.* VII. 22, p. 235.

[2] μεμένηκε τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς πανσπερμίας σωρῷ εὐεργετοῦσα καὶ εὐεργετουμένη. *Ib.*

[3] This term is the nearest that suggests itself to ὁ οὐκ ὢν Θεός.

[4] ἐγενήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ σπέρματος καὶ τῆς πανσπερμίας τοῦ σωροῦ ὁ μέγας ἄρχων, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ κόσμου, κάλλος τι καὶ μέγεθος καὶ δύναμις λυθῆναι μὴ δυναμένη. *Ib.*

[5] διέσφυξε, a term pregnant with meaning, for which however the Chev. BUNSEN would substitute διέφυγε. *Chr. and Mank.* v. p. 61.

[6] i. e. down to the sphere of the moon; τὰ αἰθέρια ἄτυπα μεχρὶ σελήνης ἐστίν· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἀὴρ αἰθέριος διακρίνεται. *Ib.* 24. Again, τῶν ὅλων ὁ μέγας ἄρχων, ἡ ὀγδοάς. 25.

[7] τὸ στερέωμα τέλος εἶναι νομίσας, καὶ μηδὲ εἶναι μετὰ ταῦτα ὅλως μηδὲν ἐπινόησας... ἠγνόει γὰρ ὅτι ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ σοφώτερα καὶ δυνατώτερα καὶ κρείττω. Νομίσας οὖν αὐτὸς εἶναι κύριος καὶ δεσπότης καὶ σόφος ἀρχιτέκτων, τρέπεται εἰς τὴν καθ' ἕκαστα κτίσιν τοῦ κόσμου. *Ib.*

[8] ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ σοφώτερον. *Ib.*

[9] ὡς οὖν ἡ ἐντελεχεία διοικεῖ τὸ σῶμα, οὕτως ὁ υἱὸς διοικεῖ τὸν ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερον Θεόν. *Ph.* VII. 24. p. 237.

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sire, as the *Entelechia* or *vis vitæ* of the Aristotelian theory was to the substantive being of the soul, or animal principle; supplying, as Hippolytus imagined, a fresh indication, that the Basilidian μέγας ἄρχων was the mundane soul of Greek philosophy. As the First Cause of all was ὁ οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς, so this subordinate ἄρχων was ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερος Θεὸς, though his ὀγδοὰς was simply ἄρρητος. The æthereal region having been reduced into order by him, and the [1]365 heavens, termed *Abraxas*, created, another ἄρχων emanated from the subjective matter, and he obtained the subordinate name of ἄρρητος. His sublunary *habitat* was the *Hebdomad*, and was ῥητός. in the ignorance of Demiurge. Phil. p. 238.

Both of these subordinate entities were inferior in dignity and power to the lower *son-hood*, still inherent in the world of matter. The Demiurge, for such was the title and function of the lower principle that inhabited the Hebdomad, also engendered a son of the quickened mass of matter, who, as in the preceding instance, [2]was of greater excellence than the sire. But although the Demiurge reduced matter into order, it was according to the preconceived plan of the [3]*Inscrutable*. Here again a philosophical bearing for the myth of heresy may be discerned; the pantheist allowed that a soul of life pervaded the entire creation, but failed to see the agency of a higher influence, from whence proceeds that which we now call the [4]*course of nature*. And so in every gnostic theory the Demiurge worked out the plans of the Supreme, but it was in a spirit of dense ignorance.

[1] An Egyptian notion, representing the solar year and the daily variation of the Sun's position with reference to the zodiacal signs. See PLUT. *Is. et Os.* 12, and below, 341, 1; also, p. xi. n. 4. Gems bearing the name Abraxas may be Egyptian, and yet not Basilidian.

[2] ποιήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς πανσπερμίας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ φρονιμώτερον καὶ σοφώτερον, παραπλησίως τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου λελεγμένοις. *Ib.* 237.

[3] καὶ γίνεται κατὰ φύσιν τὰ γινόμενα ὡς φθάσαν τεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι, ὅτε δικαιοῖ ἃ δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ λελογισμένου. Καὶ τούτων ἔστω ἐπιστάτης ἢ φροντιστὴς ἢ δημιουργὸς οὐδείς. Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ λόγισμος ἐκεῖνος ὁ οὐκ ὤν, ὅ τε ἐποίει ἐλογίζετο. *Ib.*

[4] See BUTLER'S *Analogy*, I. 2.

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The Gospel Light

The more spiritual and the æthereal *υἱότης* having respectively returned to the Father, the first by its own innate virtue and power, the second on the wings of the spirit, the [1]third or material *υἱότης* was in due course to follow. But in the mean time it had its mission to perform upon [2]earth, in perfecting the souls of the spiritual son-hood. *The whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain,* and *waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God,* the [3]Gospel therefore was sent from the Heaven of Heavens to effect this. It was sent, [4]not by local descent, but like the vibration of light, or the radiation of heat, or

Rom. viii. 22, 19.

[1] καὶ δεῖ τὴν ὑπολελειμμένην υἱότητα ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, καὶ ἀποκατασταθῆναι ἄνω ἐκεῖ ὑπὲρ τὸ μεθόριον πνεῦμα, πρὸς τὴν υἱότητα τὴν λεπτομερῆ καὶ μιμητικὴν, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ὄντα. *Ph.* VII. 25, p. 238.

[2] υἱοὶ δέ, φησιν, ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἐνθάδε καταλελειμμένοι, *ib.*; they were also called ἄνθρωποι τῆς υἱότητος, and were φύσει σωζόμενον γένος. CL. AL. *Str.* IV. 13. φύσει πιστοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοί. *Ib.* V. 1, and as such were strangers upon earth, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ξένην τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Βασιλείδης εἰληφέναι λέγει, ὡς ἂν ὑπερκόσμιον φύσει οὖσαν. *Ib.* IV. 26.

[3] ἦλθε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διῆλθε διὰ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος καὶ πάντος ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου· ἦλθε δὲ οὕτως· κατ' (Cod. MILL., BUNSEN, &c. καὶ) οὐδὲν κατῆλθεν ἄνωθεν, οὐδὲ ἐξέστη ἡ μακαρία υἱότης ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀπερινοήτου καὶ μακαρίου οὐκ ὄντος Θεοῦ· ἀλλὰ γὰρ καθάπερ. ciii. 2; *Ph.* VII. 25. A remarkable dislocation in the text both of IRENÆUS and HIPPOLYTUS may be observed, where mention is made of the Cabbalistic term *Abraxas.* There the Hippolytan context indicates the transposition of a sentence in the Irenæan, as indicated below, p. 199, n. 5. But IRENÆUS, *recto sermone,* is recounting the Basilidian theory of 365 heavens, which can only have had a local position in the *Ogdoad* of the Hippolytan account; *i. e.* above the *Hebdomad,* or our system. Now the sentence in the φιλοσοφούμενα that speaks of the *Abraxas,* is manifestly out of place, interrupting as it does the account of the evangelisation of the Hebdomad or lowest system; for this reason it can only find its proper place, as I imagine, in being incorporated in a preceding passage; I would insert therefore after ὀνομαζομένου, above, κτίσεις γάρ εἰσι κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ διαστήματα, καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἄπειροι καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐξουσίαι, περὶ ὧν μακρὸς ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς πάνυ λόγος λεγόμενος διὰ πολλῶν· ἔνθα καὶ τριακοσίους ἑξήκοντα πέντε οὐρανούς. κ.τ.λ. as in note 5, p. 199, when the digression would be recovered with ἦλθε δὲ οὕτως, above. This transposition would require that αὐτοῖς preceding κτίσεις in Hipp. 240 should be read as οὕτως, and, at the close of the resulting *lacuna,* that the very natural interpolation, ἀλλ' ἐπεί, φησι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο, should be cancelled.

[4] PHILO says also, that the human soul, θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος ψυχῆς ἐκείνης ἀπόσπασμα ἦν οὐ διαιρετόν· τέμνεται γὰρ οὐδὲν τοῦ θείου κατ' ἀπάρτησιν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐκτείνεται. *Quod deter. pot. insid.* § 24.

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as an [1]electric current, it passed through every successive principality and power, until it reached its lower destination. It was compared to the [2]kindling of naphtha by a distant flame; and in this manner the light of the Gospel, emanating from the *Son-hood*, was communicated to the *μέγας ἄρχων*, by his Son, Christ, when he first learned to know his true nature and position, and to have a perception of the [3]fear that is the "beginning of Wisdom;" at the same time also the entire *Ogdoad* was enlightened, the hidden mystery having been declared in heavenly places. The Gospel was next imparted to the Hebdomad; Christ, the son of the higher *ἄρχων*, [4]shining upon the son of Demiurge, and kindling within him the light that had emanated from the supreme *Son-hood;* and subsequently [5]upon the unformed mass of humanity, revealing the mystery to the hitherto abortive *Son-hood* contained in it. Thus the light of the *Ogdoad* descended upon [6]Jesus, the son of Mary; and since the ministering [7]Spirit of the *μεθόριον* was the conducting medium, whereby the *Son-hood* descended from above to the Hebdomad, and thence to earth, this descent was said to accomplish the prophecy[8],

kindling through the universe.

[1] Cf. the last sentence of *Ph.* VII. 25.

[2] *καθάπερ ὁ νάφθας ὁ ἰνδικὸς, ὀφθεὶς μόνον ἀπὸ πάνυ πόλλου διαστήματος, συνάπτει πῦρ, οὕτω κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμορφίας τοῦ σωροῦ διήκουσιν αἱ δυνάμεις μέχρις ἄνω τῆς υἱότητος. Ib.* 239.

[3] Compare HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 26, with the extract from BASILIDES, CLEM. AL. *Str.* II. 8. This extract was worthy a place in the Appendix of MASSUET, by whom it is omitted, and therefore also by STIEREN.

[4] *ἐπέλαμψεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ μεγάλου ἄρχοντος τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς ἑβδομάδος, τὸ φῶς ὁ εἶχεν ἅψας αὐτὸς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς υἱότητος. κ.τ.λ. Ib.* 26.

[5] *ἔδει λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ἀμορφίαν καθ' ἡμᾶς φωτισθῆναι, καὶ τῇ υἱότητι τῇ ἐν τῇ ἀμορφίᾳ καταλελειμμένῃ οἱονεὶ ἐκτρώματι ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὸ μυστήριον, ὃ ταῖς προτέραις γενεαῖς οὐκ ἐγνωρίσθη. Ib.*

[6] *καὶ ἐφωτίσθη συνεξαφθεὶς τῷ φωτὶ τῷ λάμψαντι εἰς αὐτόν. Ib.*

[7] *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς υἱότητος διὰ τοῦ μεθορίου πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τὴν ἑβδομάδα διελθὸν μεχρὶ τῆς Μαρίας. Ib.*

[8] Though, in common with other Gnostics, he taught that the Divine nature was only united with the human at his baptism, the solemnity with which this latter event was celebrated, (on Jan. 10) leads straight to this inference; *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτάζουσι, προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσεσι.* CL. *Str.* I. 21, and see NEANDER'S observations *Gen. Ent.* 49.

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The philosophical

"The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee." Finally, the world was destined to continue, until the Filial principle, that had been left to receive and reflect benefit among the souls of the unformed mass, having been formed and purified by the following of Jesus, should have become spiritualised, and [1]enabled by its own effort to ascend to the *μακαρία νιότης* of heaven's light, from whence it derived its own inherent virtue and strength. Then at length the creation should be admitted to the fullest *manifestation of the sons of God.*

Now, wild as this scheme may be, as compared with Divine Truth, there is scarcely anything more wild in it than in the statements of Plato, respecting the Nature of the Deity, of the Universe, and of man. The Basilidian scheme presented a *résumé* of the then current, as well as of antecedent philosophical speculations; it was also anticipative; thus, making allowance for the negative appellation of the Deity, *τὸ οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς*, as exemplifying that which it is impossible adequately to express, the system of Basilides presents definite analogies with the Plotinian theory; and his *οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς*, the spiritual *Ogdoad*, and the psychic *Hebdomad*, were accurately reflected in the Plotinian Trinity of the Divine Substance, *τὸ ὄν*, *νοῦς*, and *ψυχή*. His *intelligible* world also, the *Ogdoad*, as contrasted with the *sensible* system of the *Hebdomad*, may be recognised in the [2]*first* or *true world* of Plotinus; while the latter exhibiting vital action, [3]partly rational partly involuntary, represented the neo-Platonic lower world; in which also, like the Demiurge of Gnosticism, the *λόγος* formed

[1] *καὶ γίνεται λεπτομερεστάτη, ὡς δύνασθαι δι αὐτῆς ἀναδραμεῖν ὥσπερ ἡ πρώτη. Πᾶσαν γὰρ εἶχε τὴν δύναμιν συνεστηριγμένην φυσικῶς τῷ φῶτι τῷ λάμψαντι ἄνωθεν κάτω.* Ph. VII. 26.

[2] *ἡ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὄντος φύσις κόσμος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθὼς καὶ πρῶτος.* PLOTIN. *Enn.* III. ii. c. 1.

[3] *ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ πᾶν τόδε οὐχ, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ, νοῦς καὶ λόγος, ἀλλὰ μετέχον νοῦ καὶ λόγου· διὸ καὶ ἐδεήθη ἁρμονίας, συνελθόντος νοῦ καὶ ἀνάγκης· τῆς μὲν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἑλκούσης, καὶ εἰς ἀλογίαν φερούσης.* *Ib.* c. 2.

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a principle [1] dependent partly upon *νοῦς*, partly upon *ψυχή*. Basilides then was a teacher of philosophy rather than of religion. And one wide point of distinction must always separate this heresiarch from every other Gnostic teacher, which was the very decided way in which, having accepted and moulded to his purpose certain traditional results of philosophy, he discouraged all attempts at speculation [2] in matters far beyond the province of human reason. Even [3] things heavenly were only imperishable so long as they remained within their proper sphere; to transgress was to be destroyed; and man could plead no exemption from the universal law. On the other hand, we may trace in Basilides the hardy self-dependent spirit of philosophy, which, denying every *special* interference of the Divine principle, asserted the tendency of all rational Being to improve itself, and to advance from good to better; only his rational *υἱότης* was *elect* by nature, and its advantages were limited to one particular class, as was the case in the theories of Saturninus and of Valentinus next to be considered. It was in the same spirit of faith in strength growing up from below, and of man's perfectibility, that the son of Demiurge, and of the superior *ἄρχων*, were both represented as of a higher degree of excellence than their respective sires. Religionist.

[1] *ἐστὶ τοίνυν οὗτος* (*ὁ λόγος sc.*) *οὐκ ἄκρατος νοῦς, οὐδ' αὐτονοῦς, οὐδέ γε ψυχῆς καθαρᾶς τὸ γένος· ἠρτημένος δὲ ἐκείνης, καὶ οἷον ἔκλαμψις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς.* PLOT. *ib.*

[2] *ἀλλὰ γὰρ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τούτου τοῦ διαστήματος, ὅσαι φύσιν ἔχουσιν ἐν τούτῳ ἀθάνατοι διαμένειν μόνῳ, (l. διαμένειν, μόνον εἰ) μενοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμεναι τούτου τοῦ διαστήματος διάφορα οὐ βέλτιον (l. διάφορον βελτιῶσιν), οὐδὲ ἀκοή τις ἔστι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, οὐδὲ γνῶσις, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀδυνάτων αἱ ὑποκείμεναι ψυχαὶ ὀρεγόμεναι βασανίζωνται, καθάπερ ἰχθῦς ἐπιθυμήσας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι μετὰ τῶν προβάτων νέμεσθαι· ἐγένετο ἄν, φησιν, αὐτοῖς, ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπιθυμία φθορά. Ἔστιν οὖν, φησιν, ἄφθαρτα πάντα τὰ κατὰ χώραν μένοντα· φθαρτὰ δὲ, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπερπηδᾶν καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν βούλοιντο.* HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 27.

[3] *οὕτως οὐδὲν ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἑβδομάδος γνώσεται τῶν ὑπερκειμένων· καταλήψεται γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη ἄγνοια, ἵνα ἀποστῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λύπη καὶ ὀδύνη καὶ στεναγμός· ἐπιθυμήσει γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὐδὲ λυπηθήσεται. Ib.* The same is said of the *μέγας ἄρχων* of the Ogdoad.

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Varying accounts

With respect to his Christology, the miraculous conception of Christ having been described in accordance with the general tenour of his scheme, Basilides varied nothing in the Gospel account of the [1]ministry of Christ; as the birth of the Saviour however was represented by the heretic from his own peculiar point of view, so also was his death. For here again he declared, that the [2]*material body* of Jesus, having been subject to a true passion, returned to the *ἀμορφία* from whence it was taken; but that the *psychic substance*, as pertaining to the sphere of the mundane soul, the *Hebdomad*, was restored to that region; and [3]the *spiritual nature* to the *Ogdoad*, as belonging to the *μεθόριον πνεῦμα*. Irenæus however states that [4]Basilides denied the Passion of Christ; Simon of Cyrene having been substituted for him on the cross. This however is in direct antagonism with the heresiarch's words quoted by Clement, which state that Christ suffered like any other martyr; and the instance is valuable, as shewing that hearsay evidence, even from the Fathers, is to be taken with the *mica salis puri*.

But in general also, how does the Hippolytan account agree with the few materials that have come to hand, from Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria? It must be confessed that there are points of considerable variance. First we may observe that *ὁ οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς* and seven attributes constituted an *Ogdoad*, which was reflected in the lower *Ogdoad* properly so called. These emanations were not put forth in pairs, but as in the [5]Zoroastrian theory, in

[1] *γέγονε πάντα ὁμοίως κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται. Ph.* VII. 27, p. 243.

[2] *ἔπαθεν τοῦτο ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῦ σωματικον μέρος, ὁ ἦν τῆς ἀμορφίας καὶ ἀποκατέστη εἰς τὴν ἀμορφίαν. Ib.* VII. 27, p. 244.

[3] *ὅπερ ἦν τῆς ἀκρωρείας οἰκεῖον τοῦ μεγάλου ἄρχοντος. Ib.*

[4] p. 200. See BEAUSOBRE'S remarks, *Hist. de Manich.* IV. ii. 7, 8, and compare PSEUDO-TERTULL. *adv. Hær.* II. BAUR follows IRENÆUS, *Er erschien aber nur in einer Scheinform. Chr. Gn.* 210.

[5] PLUTARCH has given the Greek equivalents for the names of the six Persian Amshaspands, that apparently

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individual successive progression. Of these [1]Irenæus gives the names of five, *Nus*, *Logos*, *Phronesis*, *Sophia*, and *Dynamis*, but before these last two perhaps should be intercalated the pair mentioned by [2]Clement of Alexandria, *Eirene* and *Dikaiosyne*, because from *Sophia* and *Dynamis*, according to Irenæus, the creative angels were evolved, as well as the κυριότητες, mentioned by [3]Hippolytus as being of the *Ogdoad*, from whence proceeded the entire Abraxas system. The Irenæan statement, that *Nus* was sent into the world as Christ, though not found in Hippolytus, is not inconsistent with his account. compared.

Then again, the latter writer is silent with respect to the position occupied in this system by the God of the Jews, whereas [4]Irenæus makes him to be the chief of the *creative angels*, amongst whom the nations of the earth were distributed, and who inspired the prophets. It is also remarkable that the Cabbalistic term [5]*Caulacau*, the origin of which is traced by Nicetas to Nicolas, and by Hippolytus to the Ophites, is referred by Irenæus to the

suggested the principal Gnostic emanations; ἐξ θεοὺς ἐποίησε (Ὡρομάζης sc.) τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας (f. l. ἐννοίας) τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργόν. *De Is. et Os.* 47. Compare also a very similar series in PHILO, p. lxxi. 7.

[1] See p. 199.

[2] Βασιλείδης δὲ ὑποστάτας δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς τὴν εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει ἐν ὀγδοάδι μένειν ἐνδιατεταγμένας. CLEM. AL. *Str.* IV. 25. MATTER, II. 43, *note*, considers these two to be identical, *les juifs Hellénistes donnaient à la δικαιοσύνη le nom de εἰρήνη*: but he evidently wanders from misunderstanding his copy, NEANDER, who counts the two emanations separately, though by an error of press he omits the copula, *und*, before εἰρήνη. His words are *die höchste Tugend oder Heiligkeit δικαιοσύνη nach dem ebräischen und hellenistischen Ausdruck, εἰρήνη der wahre in der Heiligkeit gegründete Friede. Gen. Entw.* 34.

[3] See HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 26, p. 241.

[4] So also PS.-TERTULL. *in ultimis quidem angelis, et qui hunc fecerunt mundum novissimum ponit Judæorum Deum,... quem Deum negat, sed angelum dicit. Adv. Hær.* II.

[5] See p. 204, n. 4, where it will be seen that HIPPOLYTUS agrees with IRENÆUS in making *Caulacau* a name of the prototypal ἄνθρωπος, and not of any world. MATTER'S emendation therefore, *H. Cr.* II. 89, n. 1, is not admissible. He notes that those writers that endeavoured to explain the term *Abraxas* by means of the Coptic, referred also the term *Caulacau* to this language. *Ibid.*

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Varying accounts

Basilidians; and possibly it may have been adopted by his later followers; but Hippolytus has evidently derived his information from the very words of the heresiarch, and since no other Cabbalistic notion is to be traced in them, the inference arises, that either [1]Irenæus has erred in ascribing to Basilides Ophite opinion, or else, as has been suggested, that he was speaking of some later phase of this heresy.

Again, in a matter of more serious import, that of the moral character of Basilidian doctrine and practice, statements vary in a remarkable degree. Irenæus plainly charges this heresy with corruption of every shade. His

p. 201.

words are few but weighty. Hippolytus, whether from his usual unwillingness to speak even of that which is shameful, or from inability to corroborate the statement of his master, is silent upon the subject. We may safely then

See p. 84, n. 3.

accept the account of Clement, and believe that, whatever may have been the practices of his followers, [2]Basilides at least gave no sanction to licentiousness. The same writer indeed in several places indicates that Basilides and his son Isidorus, with a [3]Pelagian reliance however upon the

[1] *Irenäus irrte nur... darin, dass er die Meinungen... der spätern Schüler, die im Abendlande herumstreiften, den ersten Stiftern der gnostischen Schulen Schuld gab.* NEANDER, *Gen. Entw.* 32.

[2] So his son ISIDORUS concludes certain directions with the observation φυσικὸν δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀφροδισίων, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον δέ, and CLEMENT then draws the distinction, ταύτας παρεθέμην τὰς φωνὰς εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν μὴ βιούντων ὀρθῶς Βασιλειδιάνων, ὡς ἤτοι ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτεῖν διὰ τὴν τελειότητα, ἢ πάντως γε σωθησομένων φύσει, κἂν νῦν ἁμάρτωσι διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἐκλογήν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς πράττειν συγχωροῦσιν οἱ προπάτορες τῶν δογμάτων. Evidently therefore the immorality of the followers is not to be charged upon the principals. Indeed sin, they said, was contracted not merely by the outward act but in the *thought*; ὡς γὰρ ὁ μοιχεῦσαι θέλων μοιχός ἐστι, κἂν τοῦ μοιχεῦσαι μὴ ἐπιτύχῃ· καὶ ὁ ποιῆσαι φόνον θέλων ἀνδροφόνος ἐστι, κἂν μὴ δύνηται φονεῦσαι. κ.τ.λ. CL. AL. *Str.* IV. 12.

[3] e. g. ISIDORUS, θελησάτω μόνον ἁπαρτίσαι τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἐπιτεύξεται. *Beg.* of *Str.* III. Still it was allowed that not even the infant was free from the stain of sin; CLEMENT quotes the words of BASILIDES, ὡς οὖν τὸ νήπιον οὐ προημαρτηκὸς, ἢ ἐνεργῶς μὲν οὐχ ἡμαρτηκὸς οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ δὲ τὸ ἁμαρτήσαι ἔχον, ἐπὰν ὑποβλήθῃ τῷ παθεῖν, ... ἔχων μὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἁμαρτητικὸν, ἀφορμὴν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτηκέναι μὴ λαβών. *S.* IV. 12. Even the single exception made by the

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unaided strength of human nature, inculcated [1] moderation in all things, and complete self-controul. Certainly the notion that he entertained in common with the Egyptians, Brahmins, Pythagoras, Plato, and many of his fellow Gnostics, that life at best is a penal state, and that the soul is subjected to successive states of existence for purgation, is hardly consistent with a debased moral teaching. The sooner the soul had acquitted itself of its obligations, the sooner it would be at rest in a higher state. [2] It is also on record that contrary to the principles of many other Gnostic sects he regarded "[3] the noble army of Martyrs" with peculiar veneration. On the whole, the negative description of the Basilidians given by [4] Irenæus is certainly safe; *et Judæos quidem jam non esse dicunt, Christianos autem nondum;* but in more positive terms, this system in its origin may be said to have been an amalgam of the transitional forms of [5] philosophy taught at Alexandria in

compared.

p. 377, n. 1.

Church Catholic, was no exception in his system, καὶ περὶ τὸν Κύριον ἀντικρὺς, ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου λέγει· Ἐὰν μέντοι παραλιπὼν τούτους... ἔλθῃς... λέγων· Ὃ δεῖνα οὖν ἥμαρτεν, ἔπαθεν γὰρ ὁ δεῖνα· ἐὰν μὲν ἐπιτρέπῃς ἐρῶ· οὐχ ἥμαρτεν μέν, ὅμοιος δὲ ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι νηπίῳ· εἰ μέντοι σφοδρότερον ἐκβιάσαιο τὸν λόγον, ἐρῶ, ἄνθρωπον, ὄντιν' ἂν ὀνομάσῃς, ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, δίκαιον δὲ τὸν Θεόν. Καθαρὸς γὰρ οὐδείς, ὥσπερ εἶπέ τις, ἀπὸ ῥύπου. *S.* III.

[1] εἰ δὲ ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ Βασιλείδης, ἓν μέρος ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου θελήματος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπειλήφαμεν, τὸ ἠγαπηκέναι ἅπαντα, ὅτι λόγον ἀποσώζουσι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἅπαντα· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμεῖν· καὶ τρίτον μισεῖν μηδὲ ἕν κ.τ.λ. CLEM. AL. *Str.* IV. 12. Similarly his son ISIDORUS, δεῖ δὲ τῷ λογιστικῷ κρείττονας γενομένους, τῆς ἐλάττονος ἐν ἡμῖν κτίσεως φανῆναι κρατοῦντας. *Ib. Str.* II. 20. Where the mastery of brute passion is the subject under consideration.

[2] ἀλλὰ τῷ Βασιλείδῃ ἡ ὑπόθεσις προαμαρτήσασάν φησι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ἑτέρῳ βίῳ τὴν κόλασιν ὑπομένειν ἐνταῦθα· τὴν μὲν ἐκλεκτὴν, ἐπιτίμως διὰ μαρτυρίου· τὴν ἄλλην δὲ καθαιρομένην οἰκείᾳ κολάσει. CL. AL. *Str.* IV. 12. Cf. *Timæ.* 90.

[3] See a passage from his *Exegetica* bearing upon this subject, quoted by CLEM. AL. *Str.* IV. 12. It is printed also by the Benedictine editor and by STIEREN in the Appendix. Here again the statement of Irenæus, that the Basilidians were renegades in time of persecution, may have suited the disciples, but scarcely the master. PSEUDO-TERTULL. also says, *martyria negat esse facienda. Adv. Hær.* II. But it is only fair that the heresiarch should be judged by his own statements.

[4] Similarly NEANDER, *Basilides gehört weder in diese Classe der Judaisirenden Theosophen, noch der durchaus antijudischen Gnostiker.* 62.

[5] The first two sources are indicated by S. Jerome. *Universus pæne error de Chaldæo et Syro et Græco sermone. Ad Jovin.* II.

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His origin.

the early part of the second century, modified by the emanational theory of the East; and so far as the religious element was embodied in it, dignified with certain leading terms and traditions of the Christian Religion. It is by no means asserted that this description is applicable to the sect for any length of time from the founder. It disappeared in all probability by attraction of its elements on the one hand, towards the more poetical system of Valentinus, and on the other, towards the neo-Platonic opinions with which many principles were held in common.

[1]Valentinus was an Egyptian, as Epiphanius states, of the Phrebonitic nome; after receiving full Christian instruction, he lapsed from the faith, and amalgamating together Catholic truths with various principles of the Gnostic philosophy of his day, produced the system from him called the Valentinian heresy. The use that this heretic and his followers made of Scripture, plainly shews that he had no superficial acquaintance with the Christian doctrines. In Egypt he was still not only nominally of the Church, but, if Epiphanius may be credited, a [2]teacher. If he had continued at Alexandria, possibly he might have remained in comparative obscurity, and the five books of Irenæus, containing as they do information upon the Church system and doctrine of the earliest period, that is of incalculable value, would never have been written. But he transferred his teaching to Rome, about 140 A.D., where heresy as yet had never taken root; and he was soon deposed from his order, if he had ever been admitted to any sacred function, and expelled the Church[3]. He then retired to Cyprus, the head quarters of his heresy; but revisited Rome on more than one occasion.

[1] *Hær.* XXXI. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* 7.

[3] Speraverat Episcopatum Valentinus, quia et ingenio poterat et eloquens. Sed alium ex martyrii prærogativa locum potitum, indignatus de ecclesia authenticæ regulæ abrupit...ad expugnandum conversus veritatem, et cujusdam veteris opinionis semini nactus colubroso viam delineavit. TERT. *c. Val.* 4.

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Sources of his heresy.

The schools of Greece and Basilides furnished most of the leading ideas in his system; and even his notion of two contending principles, that is usually connected with the East, is much more suggestive of Plato and Pythagoras. The Bishop of Portus indeed has described Valentinus as a [1]follower of these two philosophers. The peculiar method however in which this heretic dealt with the notions of philosophy, with reference to the cosmogony, was essentially Oriental; and we can trace back to no other original than the Persian Amshaspands and Ferouers, his system of Æons, or consecutive emanations from One Divine Principle of Unity; though even these may be compared with the numerical harmonies of Pythagoras, and his evolution of male and female numbers.

Strong points of similarity may be observed between the respective hypotheses of Valentinus and Basilides. Reproduction was of the very essence of Gnosticism; and as in these systems every created substance was imagined to have had an antecedent εἰκών, of which it was the imitation, so also the consecutive theories themselves, that formed so prominent a feature in the history of the second century, were little else than a varied modification of one or two leading ideas, the generic characteristics of a common stock. Basilides however was the philosopher, and addressed himself to the learned; Valentinus was rather the poet, and clothed the Gnostic system, that he found ready to his hand, in a mythological dress, that was more likely to prove attractive to the fancy of the many. Hence his system acquired a rapid popularity. In the East, in the West, and in the South, it spread with remarkable rapidity, though with considerable variations

[1] Οὐαλεντῖνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συναγαγών, ὡς ἐπιδείξομεν, δικαίως Πυθαγορικὸς καὶ Πλατωνικὸς οὐ Χριστιανός, λογισθείη. And again, οἱ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος μαθηταὶ ἀκολουθήσαντες τοῖς καθηγησαμένοις, ἀριθμητικὴν τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατεβάλοντο. HIPP. *Phil.* VI. 29.

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How far Basilidian

from the common type. The broader features of this scheme are plainly discernible in the Basilidian theory, and independently of historical evidence, the comparative simplicity of this latter fully justifies the assumption that it was prior in point of date. Thus the οὐκ ὢν Θεὸς of Basilides was too severe an abstraction to be appreciated by the many, and it became in his successor's definition, the abysmal silence,[1] Βυθὸς and Σιγή, from whence not only the creative word had not yet been evolved, but to which no single definite notion of the human mind could as yet apply. Not even the term Νοῦς could be predicated of it, when as yet nothing existed for it to act upon. The fundamental notion is wholly similar. Then again the universe, whether of *intelligibles* or *sensibles*, in either case fell into three distinct classes, and the [2] ἐπιφανεία τοῦ οὐρανοῦ of Basilides was the Pleroma of his successor; the lowermost system was the astrological Hebdomad, in which a divine life and energy was attributed to the planetary worlds, as in the [3] Platonic and [4] Philonic [5] Hebdomads; though the notion is traced back to [6] Chaldæa by Bardesanes. The intermediate system was naturally the *Ogdoad* in both

[1] But even this notion is to be discerned in the Basilidian *dictum*, that all above the Ogdoad was reserved in impenetrable silence; πάντα γὰρ ἦν φυλασσόμενα ἀποκρύφῳ σιωπῇ. HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 25.

[2] ἐπιφανεία, i.e. *superficies, expanse*. So PHILO having defined γραμμὴ, a line, as μῆκος ἀπλατὲς, adds, πλάτους δὲ προσγενομένου γίνεται ἐπιφάνεια. *de M. Op.* p. 11 M. Similarly HIPPOLYTUS in speaking of the Pythagorean evolution of solids from a mere point, γίνεται δέ, φησιν, ἐκ σημείου γραμμὴ, καὶ [suppl. ἐκ γραμμῆς ἐπιφάνεια,] ἐπιφάνεια δὲ ῥυεῖσα εἰς βάθος στερεὸν ὑφέστηκέ, φησι, σῶμα. *Ph.* VI. 23.

[3] In *Timæ.*, e. g. it is said of the planets, p. 38, *lin. ult.* δεσμοῖς τε ἐμψύχοις σώματα δεθέντα ζῷα ἐγεννήθη τό τε προσταχθὲν ἔμαθε.

[4] οὗτοι γὰρ (οἱ ἀστέρες sc.) ζῷά τε εἶναι λέγονται, καὶ ζῷα νοερά· μᾶλλον δὲ νοῦς αὐτῶν ὁ ἕκαστος, ὅλος δι' ὅλων σπουδαῖος κ.τ.λ. PHIL. *de M. Op.* 24.

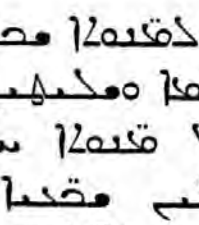
[5] σώματα δ' αὐτῶν ἑκάστων ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφορὰς ἃς ἡ θατέρου περίοδος ἤλειν, ἑπτὰ οὔσας ὄντα ἑπτὰ, meaning the sun, moon and five planets visible to the naked eye. *Tim.* 38 D.

[6] At least the ἀστρονόμοι of EUSEB. are *Chaldæans* in the Syriac, e.g. οἱ δὲ ἀστρονόμοι φασὶ τὴν γῆν ταύτην μεμερίσθαι εἰς ἑπτὰ κλίματα, καὶ ἄρχειν ἑκάστου κλίματος ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων. *Præp. Ev.* VI. 9. *Syriacè*, ܘܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ ܐ

schemes, and was presided over, as Basilides said, by the *Spirit*, but according to Valentinus by *Sophia*, whose synonym was also the *Spirit*. But in the Basilidian theory, each of these two subordinate presiding Powers, the Ogdoas and the Hebdomas, was densely ignorant as regards the originating cause of all; and the same notion was reproduced in the ignorance, not only of the Valentinian Demiurge, but also of the superior Æons. Still the ignorance of which Basilides spoke was of a preservative character, and even ὁ μέγας ἄρχων was only safe so long as he did not yearn for knowledge that was too excellent for him. The Pleroma of Valentinus was subject to a similar law, [1]the infringement of which first introduced discord into the Pleroma, that led to the disorder of Sophia, produced the abortional Achamoth, and issued in the creation of an evil world of matter. Basilides also devised the notion of the [2]ἔκτρωμα, a term applied by him to the lower *Sonhood*, and by Valentinus to the unformed issue of Achamoth.

The Inscrutable. pp. 33, 46. p. cv. 3.

Then again the tertiary *Sonhood* derived from the Inscrutable, being of a grosser order, was detained upon earth for the purpose of lustration, and was represented in the [3]ἐκλογή or elect seed that was a stranger upon earth, but a denizen of heaven. And in the same way the seed of Achamoth was a derivation from the Pleroma, whither it must infallibly return upon the restoration of all things. The more spiritual Sonhood also that instantly recurred to the Supreme, is plainly reflected in the recurrence of the



BARD. *de Fato*, p. ... CURETON.

[1] p. 21, n. 3, and cf. *Did. Or.* ὁ δὴ βουληθεὶς αἰῶν τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν γνῶσιν λαβεῖν, ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ καὶ ἀμορφίᾳ ἐγένετο. § 31.

[2] καὶ τῇ υἱότητι τῇ ἐν ἀμορφίᾳ καταλελειμμένῃ οἱονεὶ ἐκτρώματι. HIPP. *Ph.* 26.

[3] καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ξένην τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Βασιλείδης εἰληφέναι λέγει, ὡς ἂν ὑπερκόσμιον φύσει οὖσαν. CLEM. AL. *Str.* IV. 26.

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Copied Basilides,

Valentinian Christ to the Pleroma after a transient effulgence upon Achamoth; while the essential *aroma* as it were of Sonhood, that, as Basilides said, still attached to the Spirit, was no less evidently represented in the ὀδμὴ
p. 33, 6. ἀφθαρσίας that adhered to Achamoth as the gift of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. It may be observed in passing, that the *modicum* of Christian instruction that Valentinus had received is manifested in his doctrine of the Spirit. In the Basilidian scheme the Spirit was said clearly not to
p. xcix. 3. be consubstantial with the Sonhood; though the odour of Sonhood passed not wholly over from it; but Valentinus in correction of this gross misappreciation of Christian doctrine, declared that Christ and the Holy Spirit are consubstantial with each other; while the relation in which they stood to the Æons of the Pleroma, the various modes of the Divine subsistence, was to reduce all to one principle of unity, so that under the influence of one heavenly
p. 22. bond, all were equally Divine Mind, all were Logos, and Truth, and Life, &c., &c.; in other words, Christ and the Holy Spirit, as existing in the perfect consubstantiation of the [1]Pleroma, were themselves consubstantial with the Divine Entities of which it consisted. Further, in the Basilidian scheme, the unformed mass of [2]matter, called there, ἀμορφία and πανσπερμία, was first evolved, and from this unformed mass the psychic *Ogdoad*, or μέγας ἄρχων, had his being. In a similar manner the Passion of Achamoth gave rise in the first instance to *primary matter*, τοῦ
p. 41. μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους, ὁ ἦν ὕλη, but subsequently to the *psychic* principle, from whence Demiurge emanated, the Ruler of all that was consubstantial with his own *psychic* nature, and organiser of the *material*, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς

[1] *Pleroma* is expressed in Hebrew by מלוי, but this term is identified cabbalistically with אלהים, (*Int. in Zoh.* II. viii. 2,) because both terms sum 86.

[2] In Plato's philosophy matter was *uncreate;* but the soul, as dominant, was first harmonised; then the work of educing order from *chaos* commenced. Cf. also PHILOLAUS, BŒCKH, p. 166.

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ὕλης. So also the primary emanations from the fundamental unity are in both cases identical; in the one case as in the other, νοῦς, having been first evolved, was followed by λόγος: and the subsequent variations of Valentinus are attributable, partly to the Pythagorean and Egyptian modes of thinking with which he was imbued; partly to his anxiety to clothe the arithmetical mysticism of these systems in terms taken from the Christian records; partly also to the incorporation of oriental and cabbalistic ideas, that had now been long known at Alexandria from the writings of Numenius, Aristobulus and Philo. Hence the Pythagorean [1]tetractys is found to be the basis of his system. [2]Βυθὸς, Νοῦς, Λόγος, and Ἄνθρωπος are the male elements of the Tetrad; but as in the Pythagorean evolution of numbers an odd, or male term, is accompanied by an even or female expression, [3]pair by pair, so each of these effluxes of the Deity was accompanied by a female Æon; and the entire series, thus far, was set forth by Valentinus in the terms of S. John's Gospel, it being said, that *The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us; and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth;* where there is an indication of the *Father*, *Charis* the synonym of *Sige*, *Monogenes* the equivalent of *Nus*, *Aletheia*, *Logos;* and further, *Zoe*, *Anthropos* and *Ecclesia* are declared, where he says, that *in Him was life, and the life was the light of men;* the two first in express terms, the last by implication, as involved (see *Did. Or.* § 41,) in the term *Light*. But the Æon

but more widely syncretic.

p. 10.

p. 297.

Joh. i. 14.

p. 80.

Joh. i. 4.

p. 78.

[1] The Tetrad represented matter in the Pythagorean philosophy. Unity was as a *point*, and meant either material or immaterial substance. The Dyad was the point extended lineally. The square of the Dyad was *superficies*, and the *cube*, or *tetrad*, having depth and breadth, was solid *matter*. See Hipp. *Ph.* vi. 23; Pl. *de Is. et Os.* 81; Phil. *de M. Op.* § 16.

[2] Irenæus, indeed, enumerates *Bythus*, *Sige*, *Nus*, *Aletheia*, pp. 80, 100; but Sige was no invariable element in the computation. See pp. 18, 99, n. 2, 108; therefore the Tetrad must have been independent of it, and consisted only of male terms.

[3] And this binary progression was by Tetrads, e. g. 1+2=3, 3+4=7, 5+6=11.

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Three groups of Æons,

ἄνθρωπος was borrowed from the *Adam Cadmon* of the Cabbala through the medium of [1] Philo's writings, meaning the *arrhenothele* ideal of the human race; and by a further prosecution of the same notion, Bythus himself, in certain offsets of the Valentinian stock, was termed [2] ἄνθρωπος, as having been the primary *exemplar*, after which man was formed κατ' εἰκόνα. The Tetrad therefore with the correlative feminine terms formed the *Ogdoad*. But the Egyptian deities, as we have seen, were divided into

p. xxiv.

three groups. The primary order, as Herodotus has informed us, consisted of eight deities; and a certain harmonical proportion subsisting between these groups, justifies the inference that they were originally based upon definite geometrical analogies, and that Valentinus adopted from the Egyptian theosophy the same numerical mysticism, that several ages previously had suggested to Pythagoras one principal feature of his philosophy. As therefore the second group of twelve deities emanated from the primary Ogdoad in the old Egyptian mythology, so in the Valentinian system the *Decad* first was evolved from the *Ogdoad*, and the *Dodecad* from the *Decad*. But the analogy is only general, and must not be strained. The triple division of the entire system, and the co-existence of an *Ogdoad* and a *Dodecad*, as also the principle of emanation of one series from a preceding element, is all that is adduced, but this is sufficient to connect the Valentinian with the Egyptian method of progression. With regard to the *Decad*, this too was evolved from the Tetrad, but by a different process. Here the numerical value of the

p. xliv. Philo, M. Op. 15.

successive digits of the Tetrad sum *ten*; and Hippolytus,

[1] *De M. Op.* § 23, 24, 46—51; *Leg. Alleg.* 29.

[2] The Ophites, lxxxiv. considered the Adam Cadmon to be the source of their system of emanations, p. 134, n. 2. The Jews obtained the notion from the East, where it was an article of faith that the Supreme Principle, *transmisisse Voluntatem suam in forma Lucis fulgentis, compositæ in figuram humanam.* SHARISTANI *ap.* HYDE, c. 22, p. 298.

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in speaking of the Pythagorean arithmetical mysticism, thus sums the decad, τὸ γὰρ ἓν, δύο, τρία, τέσσαρα γίνεται δέκα, ὁ τέλειος ἀριθμὸς, which was perfect, as foreclosing the series of units, all succeeding numeration being carried on by combining the self-same units with a decad. It should be added, however, that Hippolytus also describes the *decad*, in the Pythagorean theory, as symbolising material substance [1]*plus* its nine accidents. This group then, either as having a *dynamic* existence in the Tetrad, was intercalated between the Ogdoad and the Dodecad; or the five Egyptian deities that were intercalated to bring the twelve lunar months of thirty days into agreement with the solar year, may have furnished the basis of the Decad, each term, as in the evolution of the *Ogdoad* from the Tetrad, having been united in συζυγία with some other correlative term. The Dodecad, in the more ancient system, was in all probability zodiacal; but in the Valentinian scheme it expressed that imitative progression that was of the very essence of this theory. Thus, as in arithmetical notation, each successive Decad is increased by units of addition, so the Valentinian Decad having been completed, was re-commenced by an initial pair; and in the same way that Bythus and Sige preceded the Pleroma of Intelligibles, the pair now added to the Decad to form the Dodecad, headed the world of Sensibles; and stood midway between the world of Intellect that they foreclosed, and the world of Matter that was next evolved. Valentinus, therefore, may have borrowed the rough outline of his system from the old mythology of Egypt, but

as in the Egyptian Mythology.

p. 157.

p. lii.

[1] Δύο οἶν κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν εἰσι κόσμοι, εἷς μὲν νοητὸς, ὃς ἔχει τὴν μονάδα ἀρχὴν, εἷς δὲ αἰσθητος, τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τετρακτὺς ἔχουσα ι', τὴν μίαν κεραίαν, ἀριθμὸν τέλειον· καί ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς τὸ ι', ἡ μία κεραία, πρώτη καὶ κυριωτάτη, καὶ τῶν νοητῶν οὐσία νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς λαμβανομένη· [*adj.* ἧ] συμβεβηκότα γένη ἀσώματα ἐννέα, ἃ χωρὶς εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας οὐ δύναται, ποιὸν καὶ ποσὸν, καὶ πρός τι, καὶ ποῦ καὶ πότε, καὶ κεῖσθαι, καὶ ἔχειν, καὶ ποιεῖν, καὶ πάσχειν. Ἔστιν οὖν ἐννέα τὰ συμβεβηκότα τῇ οὐσίᾳ, οἷς ἀριθμουμένη συνέχει τὸν τέλειον ἀριθμὸν τὸν ι'. HIPPOL. *Philos.* VI. 24.

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Æon constituents

his details were filled in with a mixed application of the philosophy of Greece, and of the terminology of the Christian Church.

The various emanations from the Deity, that in previous systems had been termed *δυνάμεις, μεγέθη*, &c. were called by Valentinus *αἰῶνες*. The *etymon* of this term, according to [1]Aristotle, is *ἀεὶ ὤν*, with which Plato apparently agrees, in saying, [2]that the soul partakes of the reason and harmony of sensible and *eternal beings;* and that time is the reflex of eternity; [3]the Eternal being *ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτά*. Thus, in philosophic language, *αἰών* being the converse of time, by a natural progression it came to express the [3]Deity, as the eternal *antithesis* of man formed in time. So Arrian, as quoted in Grabe's note, uses the term *αἰών* as the correlative of *ἄνθρωπος*. Plutarch brings the term into still closer contact with the Gnostic sense of *αἰών*, as involving an essential *γνῶσις*, when he says, that [4]a knowledge of things as they are, constitutes in his mind the felicity of the Eternal, and that apart from this knowledge immortality would be no longer *life* but *time*. But in the older language of philosophy *αἰών* was to the Deity, as time is to Man, and in the Valentinian system expressed those co-eternal emanations from the Deity, that connected

p. 8, n. 2.

[1] ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζωὴν, καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην, διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα... τὸ γὰρ τέλος τὸ περιέχον τὸν τῆς ἑκάστου ζωῆς χρόνον, οὗ μηθὲν ἔξω κατὰ φύσιν, αἰὼν ἑκάστου κέκληται· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον, καὶ τὸ τοῦ πάντος οὐρανοῦ τέλος, καὶ τὸ τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν περιέχον τέλος, αἰών ἐστιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ εἶναι εἰληφὼς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ἀθάνατος καὶ θεῖος. *De Cœl.* I. 9; *Met.* VII. 1072 *b*.

[2] λογισμοῦ δὲ μετέχουσα καὶ ἁρμονίας ψυχὴ τῶν νοητῶν ἀεί τε ὄντων. *Tim.* p. 37 A. εἰκὼ δ' ἐπινοεῖ κινητόν τινα αἰῶνος ποιῆσαι, καὶ διακοσμῶν ἅμα οὐρανὸν ποιεῖ μένοντος αἰῶνος ἐν ἑνὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἰοῦσαν αἰώνιον εἰκόνα, τοῦτον ὃν δὴ χρόνον ὠνομάκαμεν. *Ib.* D. Again, ἀλλὰ χρόνου ταῦτα αἰῶνά τε μιμουμένου ...γέγονεν εἴδη, *Ib.* 38 B; and cf. the Pindaric fragment preserved by Plutarch, ζῶν δὲ λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον. *Consol. ad Apoll.* 120.

[3] In the Syriac *αἰών* is ܥܠܡܐ, referred to ܐܝܬܝ, I AM, by EPHR. SYR. *Hom.* LIII. LIV.

[4] οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἣν ὁ Θεὸς εἴληχεν, εὔδαιμον εἶναι τὸ τῇ γνώσει μὴ προαπολιπεῖν τὰ γινόμενα, τοῦ δὲ γινώσκειν τὰ ὄντα καὶ φρονεῖν ἀφαιρεθέντος, οὐ βίον ἀλλὰ χρόνον εἶναι τὴν ἀθανασίαν. PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* 1.

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the Supreme Being with this lower world of matter and of time. Though [1]Philo does not use the term, the same idea is conveyed by his λόγος, δυναμεῖς, ἰδέαι, κ.τ.λ. We may take αἰὼν therefore, in the Valentinian acceptation of the word, to mean an emanation from the Divine Substance, subsisting co-ordinately and co-eternally with the Deity, as distinct [2]λόγοι, the Pleroma still remaining one. of the Pleroma.

The system of Valentinus, from abundant internal proof, is seen to have consisted of thirty Æons; but the theory was not spun wholly from his own brain; he borrowed from older sources, principally indeed from Basilides, but also from the Ophite, or [3]Gnostic properly so called. Then, again, his system almost immediately divaricated into an [4]Eastern and Western branch of the same stock; so that we may naturally expect to find statements in detail, that are not quite consistent with each other. Taking therefore the thirty Æons as a known quantity, there arises the doubt whether Bythus and Sige at the commencement, or Christ and the Spirit at the conclusion, are to be eliminated. Hippolytus adopts, very expressly, the former alternative, and Irenæus partially confirms his statements. Bythus, [5]he says, stood singly and alone, and was the Monadic source of the entire Pleroma, from which, in fact, he was distinct; a primary Horus intervening. Indeed the synonyms whereby the first of these Æons *Nus* was known, *Pater*, and *Arche*, shew p. 100. Sec. 14, 3.

[1] See the suggestive passage τυγχάνῃ τις ἀξιόχρεως, κ.τ.λ. *Conf. Ling.* 28.

[2] λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ὁμωνύμως τῷ λόγῳ λόγους. *Did. Or.* 25.

[3] So IRENÆUS says that the heresiarch adopted its principles from older Gnostic sources. p. 98.

[4] The eastern, and possibly the more ancient branch, was represented by Theodotus in the διδασκαλία ἀνατολική, the western is described to us by Irenæus.

[5] See note 2, p. 99. HIPPOLYTUS also shews that Christ and the Holy Spirit made up the full complement of 30. Καὶ γίνονται τριάκοντα αἰῶνες μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. It is evident also that Jesus, in the Marcosian system, represented the 30 Æons that contributed to his formation; and that Christ and the Holy Spirit were of this number; see p. 23, where Πατρὸς applies to Νοῦς. For this reason again Bythus would seem to be independent of the Pleroma. Compare p. 11, n. 4.

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Rationale

Cf. Did. Or. 6.

p. 112.

that the series [1]commenced with him, while the correlative synonyms, *Proarche* and *Propator*, as clearly mark an after thought. Still it is very evident that the Ogdoad was never complete without Bythus and Sige. Even the system that described the Æons as mere modes of the Divine Subsistence, placed Bythus at their head.

The first Ogdoad then consisted of [2]*Bythus* and *Sige*, from whence emanated *Nus* and *Aletheia*, *Logos* and *Zoe*, *Anthropos* and *Ecclesia*, four pair of masculine and feminine terms; the *rationale* of this Ogdoad being as follows: *Bythus* or Ἄρρητος, the First Inscrutable Cause of all, is perfectly incomprehensible to the finite intellect, whether of Man or Angel; *Mind* is no adequate term to describe his Being; *Truth* is no sufficient expression of his Reality; the *Word*, meaning thereby the [3]Philonic counterpart of the Divine ἰδέαι of Plato, conveys no true notion of the way in which All Things have ever been present in the Divine Prescience; neither is *Life*, comprehensive as the term is, sufficiently so to comprehend the mode of subsistence of the [4]Eternal. But these several expressions of Power and Glory co-eternal with the Deity, may serve to unite the conception of things create and finite with the Infinite; though, in proportion as they descended in closer relation with the create, the Perfection of the Deity that

Cf. Plat. Tim 68 ε; Plut. Is. et Os. 54.

[1] Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια, with the two succeeding pairs of Æons, are said to be the primary root of all the succeeding Æons; αὗται γὰρ πρῶται κατὰ Οὐαλεντῖνον ῥίζαι τῶν αἰώνων γεγόνασι. HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 30. Again, when Christ and the Holy Spirit were put forth, their immediate origin was not referred to Bythus, οὐ γὰρ αὐτός φησι προέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ Νοῦς καὶ ἡ Ἀλήθεια, Χριστὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. VI. 31.

[2] Otherwise termed ἄρρητος, Proarche and Propator. Sige however was no true consort of Bythus, who included in himself the idea of male and female, being ἀρρενοθῆλυς, 99, 2, and was the sole cause; Τελειότερος δὲ ὁ Πατὴρ, ὅτι ἀγέννητος ὢν μόνος, διὰ πρώτης τῆς μιᾶς συζυγίας τοῦ Νοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας, πάσας τῶν γενομένων προβαλεῖν εὐπόρησε ῥίζας. HIPP. *Phil.* VI. 29.

[3] 266, 2. Cf. also PLUT. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἄστροις λόγοι καὶ εἴδη καὶ ἀπορρόαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, *Is. et Os.* 59. CL. AL. says that λόγος is a barbarian (Chaldæan?) equivalent for the Platonic *idea*: ἡ δὲ ἰδέα, ἐννόημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπερ οἱ βάρβαροι λόγον εἰρήκασι τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Str.* V. 3.

[4] Cf. MAIMONIDES, p. 108, n. 2.

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consists in an entire abstraction from the material, was lowered, as it was thought, and became in a certain sense qualified; so that the Mind of the Deity, or Νοῦς, that, together with Truth, was wholly cognisant of the Being and Nature of Bythus, transmitted that knowledge in a fainter degree to the Word, or Divine Exemplar of All things create, and his consorted Life; to use the illustration of Philo; the magnet holds a whole series of detached rings, but with a force that decreases in an inverse ratio to the increasing distance. The Divine principle of γνῶσις then was the virtue that constituted the life of the entire Pleroma, but in this way there was an original taint of imperfection in it, from which none but Μονογενὴς or Νοῦς alone was free. The first three pairs of Æons therefore, counting Bythus and Sige, may be referred to the notion of the One Supreme Deity existing absolutely as Mind; and relatively also as Mind eternally cognisant of all things, before they had been called into existence. This relative notion of the Divine Mind in its contemplative aspect as Λόγος, serves to introduce the most perfect of God's works, the prototypal Idea of Man, Humanity in the abstract, so far as it is connected with the Supreme by a true *gnosis*, and therefore chosen and elect in contradistinction to those who have no such gift, and are wholly incapable of the glories of the Pleroma; hence the notion of an Ecclesia, or separation of the seed, possessed of this attribute of knowledge, from the rest of Mankind; and by a natural progression, the emanation of Logos and Zoe developed itself as Ἄνθρωπος and Ἐκκλησία; i. e. Man, as redeemed to God from the world, subsisted in the foreknowledge of the Logos, and therefore of the Deity, from all eternity. It was the heretical phase of a Catholic truth; and all these terms, as we have seen, were taken from the opening of S. John's Gospel.

of the Ogdoad.

M. Op. 49; cf. Plat. Ion, p. 533 D, E; Arist. Phys. VIII. 10, p. 267, 2.

p. 53, 1.

Did. Or. 41.

We proceed now with the Decad and Dodecad, the

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Rationale of the Decad

series of five and of six *συζυγίαι* evolved from the first Ogdoad. Here again there was considerable discrepancy in the several sections of the Valentinian school. Irenæus says throughout, that Λόγος and Ζωὴ evolved the Decad, while the Dodecad proceeded forth from Ἄνθρωπος and Ἐκκλησία, whereas Hippolytus says that Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια sent forth the *Decad*, the [1]*Dodecad* being the offset of Λόγος and Ζωή. Reasons are assigned by him that give rather an air of probability to this statement; the names also of the Æons are in harmony with it. He says, that Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια perceiving that Λόγος and Ζωὴ possessed the generative faculty, when Ἄνθρωπος and Ἐκκλησία were evolved, evinced their gratitude to the Supreme by put-
p. xliv. ting forth a *Decad*, the most [2]perfect number of Æons; because Bythus was the most perfect, as having evolved by his own individual energy, the source and germ of the entire Pleroma. Similarly Νοῦς and Ἀλήθεια being imperfect, as not possessing that power of independent production, Λόγος and Ζωὴ honoured them with a series, but of an [3]imperfect number, and put forth the Dodecad. Thus the *Decad* describes attributes and qualities that agree closely with the hypothesis that they emanated from Nus; and the male terms were *Bythius*, *Ageratos*, *Autophyes*, *Akinetos*, and *Monogenes;* while the feminine *σύζυγοι* are suggestive of the intermingling, as it were, of the Finite with the Infinite, with an anticipated solution of the result-
Cf. Did. Or. 17. ing discord in final harmony; they were *Mixis*, *Henosis*, [4]*Hedone*, *Syncrasis*, and *Macaria*.

The *Dodecad* exhibits names that are no less appli-

[1] Οὗτοι δώδεκα [*leg.* δέκα] *αἰῶνες, οὓς τινὲς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ* Νοῦ *καὶ τῆς* Ἀληθείας *λέγουσι, τινὲς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ* Λόγου *καὶ τῆς* Ζωῆς κ.τ.λ. HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 30.

[2] i. e. in the Pythagorean sense.

[3] MILLER prints ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνατελεῖ, without note or comment; but the correct reading is manifestly ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἀτελεῖ. In the last line also of the same page the reader may note the correction, Δέκα δὲ οἱ τοῦ Νοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας, δωδέκα δὲ οἱ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Ζωῆς.

[4] See lxxxi. 7, 9, lxxxii. 5, lxiii. 1.

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cable to [1]Λόγος and Ζωή. It was to the *Decad*, as the Regeneration of Man is to the Creation; and it shadowed forth the work of the Spirit in the Regeneration of Man, the recipient of that Divine seed or γνῶσις, which is his true life everlastingly decreed in the will of the Supreme. Thus we meet with the male terms *Paracletus* or [2]*Delegate*, *Patricos*, the source of filial adoption, *Metricos*, the reflex of the work of the Spirit, the *Eternal*, the *Called*, and the *Destined*; *Aionios*, *Ecclesiasticos*, and *Theletos*. While the first three female Æons speak for themselves as the gifts of grace, *Pistis*, *Elpis*, *Agape*; the [3]fourth is the Cabbalistic בִּינָה, σύνεσις, the last, חָכְמָה, (or rather חָכְמוֹת, Prov. ix. 1,) σοφία, of the same system, while the penultimate Μακαριότης was in all probability אַשֶׁרָה, the Syrian *Fortuna* (*Glücksgöttin*, Gesen.) or *Astarte*, incorporated by the heresiarch to attract converts from among the Syrian heathen. So far it is not difficult to trace a certain kind of *rationale* in the Valentinian system; and taking it as a whole, it was an attempt to exhibit Biblical truths, with a philosophic colouring, and with an Oriental application of the emanative theory to the ideas of the philosopher. In fact it was a purely syncretic combination, in which each

and Dodecad.

[1] Here again HIPPOLYTUS notes a varied account, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἕτεροι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Ζωῆς. *Ph.* VI. 30.

[2] PHILO uses the term in this sense, Οὐδενὶ δὲ παρακλήτῳ, τίς γὰρ ἦν ἕτερος; ὁ μόνῳ δὲ ἑαυτῷ χρησάμενος ὁ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ. *de M. Op.* 6. Again, παράκλητον ἐπαγόμεναι πειθώ, κ.τ.λ. *ib.* 59. The Christian instruction that Valentinus had received, and the liberal use that he made of S. John's Gospel, (see I. 75—83, II. 46,) would justify the supposition that he used the word as our Saviour, who in promising ἄλλον παράκλητον Joh. xiv. 16, implied that himself was παράκλητος, as in fact the same Apostle terms him, 1 Joh. ii. 1. In the *Didasc. Or.* the same term is declared by Theodotus to be the synonym of Jesus; see p. 38, 1, 2, 3, but it is clearly in the sense of *Delegate*, ὅτι πλήρης τῶν αἰώνων ἐλήλυθεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου προελθών, and TERTULLIAN says, *vicarium præficit Paracletum, Soterem*, c. Val. 16. Here it is applied to the Spirit, as I imagine, in the same sense, as the vicarious representative of the Pleroma in the elect seed.

[3] The Spirit throughout the Gnostic systems was considered as feminine. (See pp. 22, 3; 33, 1; 46, 224, 225; 234, 4.) So in the Cabbala בינה is the Supreme Mother, מלכות the Mother *Inferior*. *Cabb. Denud.* II. i. 362, 363. And see PHILO, *de Ebr.* § 8.

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Enthymesis.

notion as it arises may be referred with a tolerable degree of certainty to its origin, sometimes in the Oriental theosophy, sometimes in the Jewish Cabbala, but far more frequently in the Greek philosophy.

We turn now to a scarcely less abstruse subject, the Valentinian account of the Creation of the world. It may be premised that it agrees neither with the philosophical notion that matter is eternal, simply because nothing can come of nothing; nor with the later Oriental view, that matter is the matrix of the evil principle, eternally co-existing with Supreme good, and contending for the mastery; on the contrary, Bythus, in the beginning, was a solitary abstraction, and it was only after many successive emanations, that [1]matter was brought to the birth. There was a recognition of the Eastern principle, so far as it was thought impossible that gross matter should be evolved immediately from that which is purely spiritual substance; but virtually the Mosaic account was adopted, that God created the Heaven and Earth, and all the *generations* of them; and so far, as we have seen, the Basilidian system also agreed. The Valentinian theory then exhibits the following notions. In the first place [2]Love was the impulsive principle that caused the emission of the Only-begotten Νοῦς, and Ἀλήθεια, and a Divine [3]ἐνθύμησις was its mode. But [4]Γνῶσις was the substance in which Νοῦς was evolved; and that which in Bythus was an impulsive Love, developing itself in the Divine conception, was [5]engendered

p. 8.

pp. xcv. xcvii.

[1] Cf. *πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν οὐσίαν*, p. 17, where see the note also; the first germ of all things is expressly referred to Bythus, as *ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων, καὶ καθάπερ σπέρμα*, p. 9.

[2] p. 99, n. 3. Compare also *Did. Or.* 7. *γέγονεν οὖν καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ γνώσεως, τουτέστι τῆς πατρικῆς ἐνθυμήσεως προελθὼν, γνῶσις* [*f. l. νοῦς qu.* ΓΝΟΥΣ] *τουτέστιν ὁ υἱὸς, ὅτι δι' υἱοῦ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγνώσθη τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀγαπῆς πνεῦμα κέκραται τῷ τῆς γνώσεως, ὡς πατὴρ υἱῷ, καὶ ἐνθύμησις ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπ' ἀληθείας προελθὸν ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνθυμήσεως ἡ γνῶσις.*

[3] p. 14, n. 4. Similarly Ennœa and Thelema were the two co-ordinates of Bythus, in the Ptolemean view, p. 107.

[4] p. 13, § 2, *beg.*; 22, 1; 53, 1.

[5] Compare *πρόφασιν μὲν ἀγαπῆς, κ.τ.λ.* with *πάθος...ὁ ἐνήρξατο ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν*, 14, 4, also 76, 2.

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in each successive emanation, as an ἐνθύμησις or *intentio animi*, whereby every Æon desired a perfect knowledge of Bythus. [1]This γνῶσις, in each successive development, became weaker; while, in proportion to its declining strength, the [2]desire for unattainable knowledge was intensified, until a point was gained, when γνῶσις was at its *minimum*, and the primordial ἐνθύμησις at its *maximum* of development; it was under this condition that Sophia transgressed the bounds of the Pleroma, in her desire to know Bythus in his Ineffable glory; and her longing threatened speedily to [3]resolve her into the entire substance [4](εἰς τὴν ὅλην οὐσίαν) of Bythus, i. e. her *Enthymesis* into the Love of which it was the representative, and her *gnosis* into the Omniscience of the Omniscient; when the [5]entire body of Æons, becoming alarmed, lest in her fate they should behold their own, as sharing with her the same Enthymesis, besought Bythus to alleviate her distress. It was at this point that a boundary line was first drawn around the Pleroma, and [6]Horus was evolved by Bythus as the stay and support of the whole system; he was in the image of Bythus, unpaired, and without sex, and was put forth through Monogenes, that the remedy might be co-extensive

Gnosis.

pp. 15, 69, 1.

p. 16, 5.

[1] Compare the Marcosian view, pp. 130, 131, and 310, 1.

[2] See p. 14, n. 2. Compare also the Basilidian notion, p. cv. 3. It may be observed, that ἐνθύμησις, *Act.* xvii. 29, is rendered in the *Peshito* vers. by ܥܒܕܐ, γνῶσις. Also that νοῦς was evolved by the reaction of Bythus upon his own Mind; διὰ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκὼς, πνεῦμα γνώσεως οὖσης ἐν ἐνώσει προέβαλε, τὸν μονογενῆ. *Did. Or.* 7.

[3] ὑπὸ τῆς γλυκύτητος... ἂν καταπεπόσθαι. *Ibid.*

[4] The view of Neander, see p. 15, n. 3; but the sequel conveys the notion of material substance: compare p. 24, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ὕλῃ, represented Platonically as ἄπειρον, p. 27. The opening of the *Didasc. Or.* as emended by Bernays also favours this view; Christ, it is said, commended Sophia in her passion to the Father, ἵνα μὴ κατασχέθη ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν δυνάμεων, § 1, where ἀριστερῶν has been substituted for the old reading στερίσκειν.

[5] Perhaps in p. 15, ὕλην, was an early gloss upon οὐσίαν, in its Aristotelian sense of matter, but read by the translator and others as ὅλην.

[6] pp. 15, 17. Hippolytus, however, places first the emanation of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as making up the complement of thirty Æons. See 20, 4.

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Enthymesis and her Passion,

with the disorder, ἐνθύμησις having been developed with the first evolution of Νοῦς. This Horus had a two-fold function, being both *confirmative* as ὅρος, and *separative* as [1]σταυρός: in either respect he strengthened and supported Sophia, and having separated her from her passion, kept it from re-entering the Pleroma on the one hand, while on the other he stopped all further egress to the other Æons. [2]Elsewhere Horus is said to have been distinctly double; one boundary intervening between Bythus and the Pleroma, and a second shutting off *Achamoth*, the hypostatised Enthymesis of Sophia, [3]that is, the lower Ogdoad from the Pleroma. These Æons were as the ἰδέαι of Plato, having each an individual Divine character; each was a reflex of the Divine Mind, and each was the [4]archetypal representative of a subsequently created system. The personification of Wisdom by King Solomon, in the Book of Proverbs, and again by the writer of the apocryphal book, in no way offends our sense of the true and edifying. The inspired writer ascribed to Wisdom the principal agency in creating the world, so also did the heretic; only then he intercalated a whole system of Divine *entities*, and developed in an absurd and extravagantly grotesque manner material substance from spiritual; giving a shock to our feeling of reverence, and at the same time to common sense.

pp. cxiv. 1, cxx. 2.

Prov. ix. 1.

[1] σταυρὸς meaning, not a cross but a *stockade fence*, formed of σταυροὶ or stakes. HIPPOLYTUS calls it χαράκωμα. See p. 18, n. 2: for the other names of Horus, see the notes on pp. 18, 19; to which we may add the suggestion, that Valentinus borrowed his notion of *Carpistes*, the separator of chaff from the grain, from PLATO, where he speaks of the violent separative κίνησις of the material elements: Τὰ δὲ κινούμενα ἄλλα ἄλλοσε ἀεὶ φέρεσθαι διακρινόμενα, ὥσπερ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πλοκάνων τε καὶ ὀργάνων τῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου κάθαρσιν σειόμενα καὶ ἀναλικνώμενα, τὰ μὲν πυκνὰ καὶ βαρέα ἄλλῃ, τὰ δὲ μανὰ καὶ κοῦφα εἰς ἑτέραν ἴζει φερόμενα ἕδραν· τότε οὕτω τὰ τέτταρα γένη σειόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς δεξαμένης, κινουμένης αὐτῆς οἷον ὀργάνου σεισμὸν παρέχοντος, κ.τ.λ. *Tim.* p. 53. The modern dressing machine is described.

[2] p. 100, δρους τε δύο ὑπέθετο. κ.τ.λ.

[3] ἡ καλουμένη κατ' αὐτοὺς Ὀγδοὰς, ἡ ἐκτὸς Πληρώματος Σοφία. *Ph.* VI. 31.

[4] Ἕκαστος τῶν αἰώνων ἴδιον ἔχει πλήρωμα τὴν σύζυγον. Ὅσα οὖν ἐκ συζυγίας, φασὶ, προέρχεται πληρώματά ἐστιν, ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς, εἰκόνες. *Did. Or.* 32.

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Hitherto we have detected nothing approaching to a materialisation of these Æons; the first step in this direction was the separation of [1]Enthymesis with its incidental passion from Sophia, who then returned into the Pleroma relieved of her craving for forbidden knowledge, and established in that which is the only guarantee for continued duration, the conviction that the Supreme Being is wholly ineffable and inscrutable. But her Enthymesis with its passion remained without the Pleroma, as an abortive substance, spiritual in its character, but [2]without form, and void of ideality, though endued with [3]something of the Æon's impulsive character; wherefore as being without form, the paternally [4]generated element, mere substance being inherited from the mother, Enthymesis was known as the weak and female product, and was named [5]*Achamoth*, Solomon's equivalent for Wisdom, and her *πάθη* eventually were hypostatised as distinct material substance. p. 35, 2.

eliminated from the Pleroma.

In order to preserve the Æons for the future from similar passion, Nus, [6]by the Father's forecast, put forth another *συζυγία*, Christ and the Holy Spirit; the latter throughout the Gnostic systems involving [7]the feminine

[1] *Enthymesis* or *Achamoth*, as the representative of the arrhenothele Bythus, received a variety of names, the feminine titles of Mother, Ogdoas, Wisdom, Earth, Jerusalem, and Spirit, 46, as also the male appellation of Lord.

[2] The Hippolytan text is faulty. The abortion of Sophia is styled *οὐσίαν εὔμορφον καὶ εὐκατασκεύαστον*, but the scripture quotation that immediately follows, suggests the true reading, *ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος*. It should be noted that Achamoth represents the unorganised state of the Platonic soul, as yet void of Intellect.

[3] *φυσικήν τινα Αἰώνος ὁρμὴν τυγχάνουσαν*. *Ibid.* Cf. p. 33.

[4] p. 16, 4; p. 20, 2; p. 32, n. 2, 3.

[5] p. 31, *i. e.* חָכְמוֹת, *plural* in form, but in power a *singular* noun. Prov. i. 20, ix. 1. Possibly also, xiv. 1. The Valentinian Achamoth is clearly identical with this Hebrew term; for THEODOTUS after citing Prov. ix. 1, proceeds, *καὶ πρῶτον πάντων προβάλλεται εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν δι' οὗ ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κ.τ.λ. Did. Or.* 46.

[6] *κατὰ προμήθειαν τοῦ Πατρός*, but evolved by *Νοῦς*, p. 21, as HIPPOLYTUS has said, *ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπιπροβληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Νοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας, ἐμόρφωσε, κ.τ.λ.* VI. 31.

[7] p. 33, n. 1; p. 46; and p. 101; but PHILO suggested the peculiarity, p. liv. 6; cxxiii. 2.

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Christology.

notion. First of all Christ confirmed the Æons of the Pleroma, by conveying to them the knowledge that the Supreme is wholly incomprehensible, and that their only [1]security lay in a full conviction of this truth; but that the source of their being and formation, was that which may be conceived of Him, *τῆς δὲ γενέσεως αὐτοῦ* [2][*αὐτῶν*] *καὶ μορφώσεως τὸ* [3]*καταληπτὸν αὐτοῦ*. The Holy Spirit then perfected so completely the harmony of the Pleroma, that each Æon became one with the others, and the style and title of each individual became the designation of the rest; then the entire body, like the Siren, so poetically imagined by Plato as the harmony of each mundane orbit, or like the rolling spheres of Pythagoras, or, if it may be added without irreverence, like the Sons of God of the patriarch Job, pealed forth the [4]praises of Bythus, who reciprocated their joy.

But their praise took also a practical turn. For as the Æons were now *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*, so each contributed that which was most excellent in his individual being, for the formation of Jesus or Soter, *τελειότατον κάλλος τε καὶ ἄστρον πληρώματος*. Misappreciated Scripture once more was the guide, which says, *ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησε πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι*, and again, *ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*[5]. This last and final product of the Pleroma was called *Soter, Christ, Logos,* [6]*Ὅλον*, and *Πᾶν*, as being

[1] See p. 21, 3.

[2] The reading *αὐτῶν* being confirmed by TERTULLIAN, p. 21, n. 4.

[3] Hence the Enthymesis of Sophia was *ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδης, διὰ τοῦ μηδὲν καταλαβεῖν*, p. 20, n. 2, and again *ὥσπερ ἔκτρωμα διὰ τὸ μηδὲν κατειληφέναι*, p. 32, n. 2.

[4] *μετὰ μεγάλης χαρᾶς ὑμνῆσαι τὸν Προπάτορα, πολλῆς εὐφρασίας μεταση χόντα*, p. 23.

[5] Other texts to the same point of Valentinian application are added, p. 29. In this respect Soter was the counterpart of Bythus, *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ φησὶν ἔστι πάντα ὁμοῦ*. HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 30.

[6] p. 279, 2. *Salvatorem, quem etiam Totum.* Cf. *Did. Or.* 23. Possibly the Stoic distinction between *τὸ πᾶν* and *τὸ ὅλον* led to the adoption of this term. *Totality* bore reference to the entire *pleroma* exclusive of *τὸ κενὸν*, cf. 31, 4, and II. iii. vii.; and according to STOBÆUS, *Phys.* I. 3, *οἱ Στωικοὶ διαφέρειν τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ὅλον· πᾶν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι σὺν τῷ κενῷ τῷ ἀπείρῳ, ὅλον δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ κενοῦ τὸν κόσμον.* p. 53. The same idea is observable in the *Rep.* p. 273.

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of All. With him also was evolved a body-guard of connate (ὁμογενεῖς) though not consubstantial angels. Formation κατ' οὐσίαν.

It may be observed here that Christ, the σύζυγος of the Holy Spirit, was ὁ πρῶτος and ὁ ἄνω Χριστὸς, while the second Christ was a synonym of Jesus; there was also a third Christ, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, who was born of the Virgin ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος, and a fourth, that descended as a dove; shewing altogether a type of the Tetrad. Christ now conferred upon Achamoth that definite conformation, κατ' οὐσίαν, though not κατὰ γνῶσιν, that enabled her to set in order the world of matter. For Enthymesis, separate from Sophia, and remaining without the Pleroma, lay ἐν σκιᾶς καὶ κενώματος τόποις, the Mosaic chaos, *Without form and void*, or rather the Platonic whirl of rude and undigested matter. And first, Christ was said to have stretched forth beyond the bounds of the Pleroma, διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπεκταθέντα, and to have formed [1]Achamoth substantially, though not yet spiritually κατὰ γνῶσιν. It was also a secondary type of the many generations, during which man's natural reason existed, partially lighted up by the Logos, but unreclaimed by the Spirit, that intervened before Christ came in the flesh. Then after the formation of Achamoth, Christ withdrew once more into the Pleroma, and left her endowed, scarcely with a rational intellect, but with an instinct that impelled her forward in pursuit of the receding light of Christ; [2]καὶ ἔμφρονα γενομένην ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὁρμῆσαι τοῦ

p. 23, 5. p. 24. p. 60, 3; 61, 62; 150, 5. II. 82.

p. 61, 1. p. 32.

p. 31.

p. 292. 2. Timæ. 30.

p. 32.

p. 33.

[1] When IRENÆUS says that Enthymesis, at first ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος, was afterwards formed by the energy of Christ, and endued with intelligence, μορφωθεῖσάν τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἔμφρονα γενηθεῖσαν, he expresses very closely the Platonic notion, that the everchanging external chaos was animated with a soul, confused, and deprived of intelligence, and governed only by a blind necessity; that God endued this rudimental soul with intellect; subsequently the material world was organised, when the reasonable soul was placed in it, and the world became an animal endowed with intellect. Achamoth appears to have been to the Platonic ψυχὴ, as the Platonic *idea* was to *matter*; i. e. its antecedent type. Demiurge was the actual soul of the world.

[2] ἔμφρονος, it may be noted, is a term used by PLATO *Tim.* p. 46 E: τὰς τῆς ἔμφρονος φύσεως αἰτίας πρώτας μεταδιώκειν.

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Platonic

καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτός. Horus however interposed, as in the case of Sophia, and prevented her onward movement. She remained in solitude therefore, without the Pleroma, the victim of manifold distracting πάθη, fearing, doubting, and, as having received no formation κατὰ γνῶσιν, ignorant. One feature, however, in her constitution was
p. 35. peculiar to Enthymesis, that did not attach to Sophia, namely her conversion, from which there first resulted the prototypal soul of the world, and the Demiurge; and afterwards from her *sorrow*, *fear*, and various πάθη, all other created substance. So in her *tears* [1]flowed forth the element of *water;* and *light* from her hysterical laugh; while her *grief* and *consternation* gave birth to other elements. Even so, however, Valentinus may not have intended that the [2]gross matter of the elements now had their origin, but only that their ideal substance received its being in her πάθη: for it is stated in the sequel that the Demiurge was the maker of the *light* and of the *heavy*, of
p. 43. the *buoyant* and of the *gravitating*, [3]and it was only then that matter had its μέθεξις with ideal form. If so we have another point of connexion between Achamoth and the unformed Platonic matter. Thus τόπος, the *space* that
Timæ. 50. the create should occupy, or τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον, the *mould* that receives the form, or τὸ ἐν ᾧ γίγνεται, that in which substance is produced, is in the Platonic system as a [4]primitive

[1] VALENTINUS here borrowed a poetical myth from PYTHAGORAS, as instanced by PLUTARCH, δόξει δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ἡ θαλάττη Κρόνου δάκρυόν ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ. *de Is. et Os.* c. 32. See also p. xxxi. 2.

[2] Just as the first ideal matter of PLATO was undefined and undefinable, it was neither earth, air, fire, or water, μήτε ὅσα ἐκ τούτων, μήτε ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἀόρατον εἶδός τι καὶ ἄμορφον, πανδεχὲς, μεταλαμβάνον δὲ ἀπορώτατά πη τοῦ νοητοῦ, καὶ δυσαλώτατον αὐτὸ λέγοντες οὐ ψευσόμεθα. *Tim.* 51 A.

[3] In the Aristotelian theory, matter without form had substance though no true body, of which the ideal form was a necessary element; ὃν τρόπον γὰρ τὸ εἶδος τῆς ὕλης ἀφαιρεθὲν ἀσώματον εἶναι τυγχάνει, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ὕλην τοῦ εἴδους χωρισθέντος, οὐ σῶμα. Δεῖν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν τῆς συνόδου πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑπόστασιν. STOB. *Phys.* I. xi. 4.

[4] Which however, as the philosopher confesses, can be brought home to the senses only as a dream, μόγις πιστὸν, ὁ δὴ ὀνειροπολοῦμεν βλέποντες. *Tim.*

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substance, the antecedent representative of grosser matter; analogies.
the counterpart of which we easily identify in this transcendental product of Achamoth's passion. Τὸ ἐν ᾧ γίγνεται is sufficiently descriptive of the lower *Ogdoas* the region of Achamoth; it was the cradle of creation, from whence the earliest germ of the material dated its rise. Again, [1]τόπος, the *habitat* of Demiurge, was in the Platonic scheme the recipient of the eternal conception of things material in the Divine Intelligence, and it had its counterpart in the Pythagorean τὸ κενὸν, the breathing ground, as it were, of the animated world; [2]οἱ Πυθαγόρου ἐκτὸς εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου κενὸν, εἰς ὃ ἀναπνεῖ ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἐξ οὗ. Achamoth then was placed for the present εἰς τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον τούτ- p. 48.
εστιν ἐν τῇ μεσότητι, where the term μεσότης also was suggested by Plato's μεσότητες or *harmonic means*, which Tim. 36 A. 43 D.
he interposes in the generation of ψυχή. And further the constitution of Demiurge himself, intellectual but not spiritual, and evolved by Achamoth at the same time with the prot-ideal substance of matter, is in close harmony with the formation of the mundane soul in Plato; the Creator having taken a portion of indivisible substance, ἀεὶ Tim. 35.
κατὰ ταὐτὰ, eternally the same, and of that which is divisible, formed of them a third mean substance τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ ξυνεκεράσατο οὐσίας εἶδος, consisting in part of each, τῆς τε ταὐτοῦ φύσεως αὖ περὶ καὶ τῆς θατέρου, and placed the substance, thus formed, midway between the divisible and the indivisible, κατὰ ταῦτα ξυνέστησεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ἀμεροῦς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ σώματα μεριστοῦ. Still this composite substance was only *ideal*, τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὄντα συνεκεράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ἰδέαν· in all of which terms we trace the original of the Valentinian evolution of Achamoth, and the animal principle Demiurge, as also

[1] Πλάτων τόπον εἶναι τὸ μεταληπτικὸν τῶν εἰδῶν, ὅπερ εἴρηκε μεταφορικῶς τὴν ὕλην, καθάπερ τινὰ τιθήνην καὶ δεξαμένην. Stob. I. xviii. 4.

[2] Stob. *Phys.* I. xviii. 4.

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Formation κατὰ γνῶσιν.

of their particular sphere midway between the Pleroma and the *world of matter*. Enthymesis next became a suppliant for the return of Christ, whose Light had receded into the Pleroma, leaving however a certain shadow of glory, which, when contrasted with chaotic darkness, was positive light. So in the Didasc. Or. upon Lam. iv. 20, ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ αὐτοῦ ζήσονται, it is said, σκιὰ γὰρ τῆς δόξης τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῆς παρὰ τῷ Πάτρι, ἡ παρουσία ἡ ἐνταῦθα, φωτὸς δὲ σκιὰ οὐ σκότος ἀλλὰ φωτισμός ἐστιν. § 18. It was a reproduction of the inherent *aroma* τῆς νιότητος of the Basilidian scheme. Christ in answer to her prayer sent the *Paraclete* or *Saviour*, endowed with the same collective gifts as Jesus, and accompanied by an angelic [1]body-guard. Achamoth at first was alarmed at the glorious apparition, and veiled her face δι' αἰδῶ, symbolising perhaps the Platonic notion that before the orderly creation of the world commenced, matter and the soul were wholly unguided by intellect, and obeyed simply the rule of blind necessity, ἐξ ἀνάγκης κινούντων.

pp. xcix. c.

p. 38, 3.

p. 23.

Tim. 46. cf. 41 B.

Next, Achamoth received from the Saviour the formation κατὰ γνῶσιν, denied under the former revelation of the principal [2]Christ, and was set free from her πάθη. These were imperishable, as having originated in the Æon Sophia, they were therefore hypostatised, as the ideal substance [3]of matter; and it is at this point that we first observe the [4]introduction of the element of evil into

[1] Cf. the στρατιῶται θεοί of the Pythagorean Onatas, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι θεοὶ ποτὶ τὸν πρᾶτον θεὸν καὶ νοατὸν οὕτως ἔχοντι, ὥσπερ χορευταὶ ποτὶ κορυφαῖον, καὶ στρατιῶται ποτὶ στραταγόν. STOB. I. ii. 28, 39.

[2] p. 41. The Valentinian reproduction of Christ in various phases, is in complete harmony with the Egyptian mythological permutations, see pp. xx. xxii.

[3] See p. 40, n. 3, where for *unorganised*, a better term would be *unformed*, the idea followed being that of PLATO'S *first matter*.

[4] Note however, that *evil*, thus arising from the Enthymesis of Sophia, is traced back to the primary emanation Nus, and had its source in Bythus, (p. 14, n. 4), just as in the Zoroastrian theory *light* and *darkness*, as two co-ordinate ideas, sprung from the Infinite, pp. xiv. xv. The origin of evil therefore was antecedent to any contact with matter.

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the world of matter; for by reason of these *πάθη* or *affections*, the *idea* first, and consequently the *substance* of matter obtained a double character; of passion, which was evil, and of convertibility; in the words of our author, *πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι δύο οὐσίας, τὴν φαύλην τῶν παθῶν, τήν τε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐμπαθῆ.* Further, by reason of this hypostatising of ideal matter, the Saviour was said to have created the world *δυνάμει, virtually*, though not *actually*. Achamoth now separate from grosser passion, conceived, from the vision of the Saviour's angelic retinue, the spiritual principle, afterwards infused into the elect souls. The origin of all created substance, matter, soul, and spirit, is thus accounted for, *ἐν δυνάμει*: the formation of the first two principles was within the province of Achamoth, that of the latter was beyond her power, as having like herself emanated from the Pleroma, but endued with that essential [1]*γνῶσις* which was as the life of the perfect Æons.

Spiritual principle.

p. 40.

p. 41.

The principle that corresponds most closely with the mundane soul of Plato was now evolved, *Demiurge*, the king and father of all [2]psychic and [3]hylic substance. The former of these in imitation of the Platonic, or more correctly perhaps of the [4]Pythagorean notion, was termed *δεξιὸν* or the *dextral* principle, the latter *ἀριστερὸν* or *sinistral*. In the Platonic system these relative expressions had an [5]astronomical bearing, in the earlier theory,

p. 42.

Not very dissimilar was the Pythagorean theory, that *evil* was co-ordinate with the evolution of the *Dyad; τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεὸν καὶ τἀγαθὸν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ νόος φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς, καὶ τὴν ἀόριστον δυάδα δαίμονα, καὶ τὸ κακὸν, περὶ ἣν ἐστι τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος.* STOB. I. ii. 29.

[1] 22, 1, and see Index, *v. γνῶσις.*

[2] *τῶν ὁμοουσίων αὐτῷ, τουτέστι τῶν ψυχικῶν.* It was evolved from the passion of fear, the instinctive cause of animal self-preservation. Cf. also the Basilidian notion, CLEM. AL. *Str.* II. 8.

[3] *τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ὕλης.*

[4] *Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγορικοὶ διὰ πλειόνων ὀνομάτων κατηγοροῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἓν τὸ πεπερασμένον τὸ μένον τὸ εὐθὺ τὸ περισσὸν τὸ τετράγωνον τὸ ἴσον τὸ δεξιὸν τὸ λαμπρόν· τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ τὴν δυάδα τὸ ἄπειρον τὸ φερόμενον τὸ κάμπυλον τὸ ἄρτιον τὸ ἑτερόμηκες τὸ ἄνισον τὸ ἀριστερὸν τὸ σκοτεινὸν, ὥστε ταύτας ἀρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας.* PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* c. 48.

[5] *τὴν μὲν οὖν ἔξω φορὰν, ἐπεφήμισεν εἶναι τῆς ταὐτοῦ φύσεως, τὴν δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς*

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Right and Left.

as in the Valentinian they involved a [1]moral notion; and the idea has descended to us through the [2]Latin and German languages. [3]Plutarch assigns an Eastern origin to the fancy, and terming it παμπάλαιος δόξα, says that two co-ordinate principles were believed to exist, the one of good, right and true, the other of evil, and directly antagonistic of the former. [4]Lactantius apparently copies his statement. In the [5]Jewish Cabbalistic writings we find the same idea, whether borrowed from Greek philosophy or from the East; and in man's constitution, soul and spirit are symbolised by the right and left sides of the body, while Macroprosopus or [6]אֲרִיךְ אַנְפִּין, the Infinite Source

θατέρου· τὴν μὲν δὴ ταὐτοῦ, κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ περιήγαγε, τὴν δὲ θατέρου, κατὰ διάμετρον, ἐπ' ἀριστερά. PLATO, *Tim.* p. 36 c. The philosopher however is speaking of the equatorial circle and the ecliptic; of which the one was external to the other, and forming an angle with it. The East is here τὸ δεξιόν, the West τὸ ἀριστερόν. The Egyptians used the same terms, but of North and South; for the rising sun representing τοῦ κόσμου πρόσωπον, has the North to the right, and the South to the left; and identifying Kronos with the Nile, they considered that he had his origin from the *left*, and was absorbed in the ocean to the *right;* Καὶ θρῆνός ἐστιν ἱερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου γενόμενος, θρηνεῖ δὲ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς γενόμενος μέρεσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεξιοῖς φθειρόμενον· Αἰγύπτιοι γὰρ οἴονται τὰ μὲν ἑῶα τοῦ κόσμου πρόσωπον εἶναι. PLUT. *Is. et Os.* 32.

[1] THEODORUS, as quoted by PLUTARCH, used the terms of the Intellectual, and its converse, when he charged his pupils with receiving with the left, that which he gave them with his right; τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ προτείνοντος, ἐνίους τῇ ἀριστερᾷ δέχεσθαι τῶν ἀκροωμένων. *Is. et Os.* 68.

[2] *Das Recht*, and *Sinister*.

[3] ἀπὸ δυεῖν ἐναντίων ἀρχῶν καὶ δυεῖν ἀντιπάλων δυνάμεων, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κατ' εὐθεῖαν ὑφηγουμένης, τῆς δ' ἔμπαλιν ἀναστρεφούσης καὶ ἀνακλώσης, ὅ τε βίος μικτὸς, καὶ ὁ κόσμος, κ.τ.λ. *de Is. et Os.* c. 45.

[4] *Fecitque ante omnia duos fontes rerum sibi adversantium, illos videlicet duos Spiritus, quorum alter est Deo tamquam dextera, alter tamquam sinistra. Inst.* II. 9. The dualistic principle therefore was not independent of an antecedent cause. See pp. xii, xiii.

[5] כד נחית אדם דלתתא בדיוקנה בדי יוקנה) עלאה אשתכחן תרין (*l.* רוחין מתרין סטרין דימינא ושמאלא בליל אדם דימינה נשמתא קדישא דשמאלא נפש חיה *S. Zeniuth.* IV. 7, 8. *When the lower Adam descended (into the world) in the likeness (ἐν εἰκόνι) of the upper, there were found in him two spirits. Man is completed of two sides, the right and the left. The right (signifies) the holy soul; the left the animal principle (soul of life).* Compare pp. 43, 3. 51, and HIPPOLYTUS, δύναμιν ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, ἥτις καλεῖται δεξιὰ, ὁ δημιουργός. VI. 32.

[6] Without doubt Ἡρικαπαῖος or Μῆτις, the Orphic Λόγος. LOBECK *Aglaoph.* I. 469, 483, who also, like the

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of all, was wholly [1]δεξιός. The apocryphal, though highly ancient Clementine homilies, supply more than one instance of the same mode of thought, and [2]Heaven is the *Right*, Earth the *Left* principle. [3]Good and Evil also are symbolised by the same terms; and the whole human race is arrayed under these two principles, [4]the *Right* leading to God, while the *Left* is the scourge of the wicked. As regards the Valentinian system, [5]Theodotus states that the *Right* principle subsisted before Achamoth's prayer for the light of Christ's glory; but [6]the spiritual *seed* of the Church, which was still δεξιὸν, was subordinate in point of succession to the *Left* power. Evidently, however, Valentinus found these terms ready to his hand; and in his system the *Right* designated the immaterial principle of the soul; the *Left*, the grosser principle of matter; the former alone being capable of salvation, but only so far as it was conjoined with spirit.

Good and Evil.

p. 42.

p. 51.

Rabbinical prototype, was *arrhenothele*. *Ib.* 490,

Θῆλυς καὶ γενέτωρ κρατερὸς Θεὸς Ἡρικαπαῖος.

Compare also STOBÆUS, *Phys.* I. iii. 56, where the notion is traced back through Bardesanes to an Indian source.

[1] *There is nothing sinistral in this Ancient Inscrutable Being, he is wholly dextral. Idra R.* § 81. לית שמאלא בהאי עתיקא סתימאה כולא ימינא It may be noted that Demiurge, among other names, was called by the exact term so frequently applied in the Cabbala to עריך אנפין, viz. παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν. HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 32.

[2] Ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ὢν, ὥσπερ δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ, πρῶτον ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἶτα τὴν γῆν, καὶ οὕτως κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς πάσας τὰς συζυγίας συνεστήσατο. CLEM. *Hom.* II. 16. The idea was Valentinian; THEODOTUS gives as synonyms τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τουτέστι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια, τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. p. 43, n. 3.

[3] Αὐτίκα γοῦν Σίμων, ἀριστερὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ δύναμις ὤν, καὶ τῶν τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ εἰδότων, ἐπὶ κακοποιᾷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, νόσοις ὑμᾶς περιβαλεῖν ἠδυνήθη. CLEM. *Hom.* VII. 2.

[4] Δυσὶν ἑκάστοτε ἄρχουσιν, δεξιῶν τε καὶ εὐωνύμων, ... τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ δεξιοῦ ἡγεμόνος προσφύγητε . . . αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἀναιρῶν, διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς ζωοποιῆσαι δύναται. CLEM. *Hom.* VII. 3.

[5] Τὰ μὲν γὰρ δεξιὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αἰτήσεως προηνέχθη ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, τὰ δὲ σπέρματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς αἴτησιν, ὅτε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος τὰ ἀγγελικὰ τῶν σπερμάτων προεβάλετο. *Did. Or.* § 40.

[6] Ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐώνυμοι δυνάμεις, πρῶται προβληθεῖσαι τῶν δεξιῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς παρουσίας οὐ μορφοῦνται, κατελείφθησαν δὲ αἱ ἀριστεραὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου μορφωθῆναι. § 34. Here mention is simply made of the spiritual seed, not of the animal or intellectual principle, which, as in the Platonic theory, was antecedent to the material. As the

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Demiurge.

Achamoth therefore having now received her formation *κατὰ γνῶσιν*, originated those spiritual powers of inferior grade, that were no longer considered too subtle for intermixture with the gross essence of matter. These were, *Demiurge*, [1]fiery as the first matter of Plato, formed after the image of *Monogenes* or *Nus* by the co-operation of *Soter;* and the various angelic and archangelic counterparts of the Æons; these also peopled the psychic *habitat* of Demiurge, constituting the seven astronomical heavens, or [2]*Hebdomas*, or Ἀνάπαυσις, and in which the souls of the faithful and elect are reserved as in a place of rest; [3]*τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δικαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει οὖσιν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς*. Both the *psychic* or *dextral*, and the *hylic* or *sinistral* principle were embodied in form by Demiurge; the first being analogous to the formation of the mundane soul in the Timæus, while the consolidation of the second represented the Platonic sifting of opposite elements, *κούφων καὶ βαρεῶν, ἀνωφερῶν καὶ κατωφερῶν*. There is also a close ratio to be observed between this portion of the Valentinian and of the Platonic theories, and Achamoth was to her hypostatised *πάθη*, as the [4]creator deities of Plato were to the first matter; also, Achamoth with these various *πάθη*, was to Bythus, as the Platonic creators with the first matter, were to the Supreme. So, again, a definite analogy may be traced between *the three* relations of the Divine Principle in the later Platonic idea, and the triple progression of Valenti-

p. 43.

elder it ruled the younger or bodily element, *οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄρχεσθαι πρεσβύτερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρου ξυνέρξας εἴασεν. Tim.* 34 C.

[1] See p. 164, n. 3, and cf. PLATO, *Tim.* 40 A: *τοῦ μὲν οὖν θείου τὴν πλείστην ἰδέαν ἐκ πυρὸς ἀπειργάζετο.* But this element as an object of sense, was a *product* of the Creator. *Ib.* 31 B.

[2] In the later Pythagorean symbolism of particular numbers, the *Hebdomad* typified periodical Time, and *Athene*, the impersonation of the Divine *Idea*, pp. xxii. xxvii. *τὴν δὲ ἑβδομάδα Καιρὸν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν.* STOB. *Phys.* I. i. 10. Ἀθήνη also, as the Egyptian goddess Neith, the mundane Divine soul, was called ἑβδομάς. PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* 10.

[3] *Did. Or.* § 18.

[4] *τῶν δὲ θνητῶν τὴν γένεσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γεννήμασι δημιουργεῖν προσέταξεν. Tim.* 69 C.

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nianism as expressed in Bythus, the Pleroma as represented by Soter, and Achamoth, the more immediate source of this lower world of matter. Hebdomas.

The Hebdomas of [1]Demiurge also has its counterpart in the Platonic theory; only the Philosopher shews that he meant no other heavens, than space circumscribed by the planetary [2]orbits; but the Gnostic had always held that Plato was [3]blind to the spiritual sublimities of a true Gnosis; his more material views therefore were sublimated, and the seven heavens became under Valentinian treatment no mere matter-of-fact orbits, but [4]angelic virtues and powers.

The Clementine homilies endeavour to give a Catholic expression to this notion. There the Creator is exhibited as forming the worlds with six [5]intercalations of time; himself being the true Hebdomas or Ἀνάπαυσις. The Cabbala however of the Jews may have supplied the notion, having first received it from the East. The p. 44, 1.
locality of Paradise in the fourth sphere, or true mean, was undoubtedly Cabbalistic; τὸν Παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον ib.
οὐρανὸν ὄντα, from whence also Adam received the animal p. 45, 1.
soul.

Thus the ordering and disposing of the world of matter, which was deemed wholly [6]derogatory to the

[1] Ἑπτὰ καὶ οὐρανοὺς κατεσκευακέναι, ὧν ἐπάνω τὸν Δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγουσι. p. 44.

[2] Ἑπτὰ κύκλους ἀνίσους κατὰ τὴν τοῦ διπλασίου καὶ τριπλασίου διάστασιν ἑκάστην. *Tim.* p. 36 D.

Σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκάστων ποιήσας ὁ Θεὸς, ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφοράς, ἃς ἡ θατέρου περίοδος ἦει, ἑπτὰ οὔσας, ὄντα ἑπτά. Σελήνην μὲν εἰς τὸν περὶ γῆν πρῶτον, Ἥλιον δ' εἰς τὸν δεύτερον ὑπὲρ γῆς. *Tim.* p. 38 C.

[3] καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠπατωμένοι, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας οὐ πελάσαντος. PORPH. *v. Plot.* 16.

[4] τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὓς εἶναι νοητοὺς (νοερούς) φασιν, ἀγγέλους αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται. Compare 45 with 44. 1.

[5] Χρονικοῖς ἓξ διαστήμασιν συντελεῖ τὸν κόσμον, αὐτὸς ἀνάπαυσις ὢν καὶ τὸν ἐσόμενον ἄπειρον αἰῶνα εἰκόνα ἔχων· ἀρχὴ ὢν καὶ τελευτή. . . . τοῦτό ἐστιν ἑβδομάδος μυστήριον· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἀνάπαυσις· ὡς τοῖς ἐν μικρῷ μιμουμένοις αὐτοῦ τι μέγα, αὐτὸν χαρίζεται εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν. CLEM. XVII. 9, 10.

[6] So STOB. speaking of the Platonic theory, νοῦς οὖν ὁ Θεὸς, χωριστὸν εἶδος, τὸ δὲ χωριστὸν ἀκουέσθω τὸ ἀμιγὲς πάσης ὕλης, καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν σωματικῶν συμ-

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Development of Evil.

Majesty of the Supreme Being, was effected without the Pleroma, and Demiurge was the unconscious agent, performing his functions in entire ignorance of the Divine [1]ἰδέαι, or archetypal forms, as well as of the Supreme Bythus. The notion that he imagined himself to be the Supreme and only God, bears perhaps upon the belief of physical philosophers, that the world itself was the Deity. It was the very general conclusion arrived at by the ψυχικὸς, or natural man.

Evil, as in the Persian theory of Zoroaster, was no true co-ordinate of the Supreme Good; but it was mixed up with its primary emanation, so soon as *discretive* attribute brought in the idea of relation. Thus the first germ of evil shewed itself with Nus; and the aboriginal Enthymeme was to Monogenes, as Ahriman was to Ormuzd. At a later point the principle of moral evil, τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, productive also of physical evil, emanated from the *grief* of Achamoth. Hence Satanic influence was closely mixed in with the mundane principle; and *grief* rather than any other affection marked the hypostatic character of this Cosmocrator and his angels, as being the negation of [2]the Holy Spirit, which we are charged not to *grieve*. The dwelling of Cosmocrator was the world; his proper element was *air*, as the *pabulum* of *fire*; and the world contained within itself the latent element, that in the end should burst forth and [3]annihilate matter. The *distraction* of Achamoth was descriptive of the blind but continuous κίνησις, with which matter was

πεπλεγμένον, μηδὲ τῷ παθητῷ τῆς φύσεως συμπαθές. *Phys.* I. ii. 29.

[1] ἠγνοηκέναι αὐτῶν (*Int.* αὐτὸν) τὰς ἰδέας ὧν ἐποίει, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν μητέρα. p. 45.

[2] καὶ ποιεῖ ἐκ τῶν ὑλικῶν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς λύπης οὐσιῶδες κτίζων πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, πρὸς ἃ ἡ πάλη ἡμῖν· διὸ καὶ λέγει ὁ Ἀπόστολος, καὶ μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε. *Did. Or.* 48.

[3] p. 59. A notion quite inconsistent with the pre-existence of matter. If matter had an eternal existence, it could not again be annihilated, (*Tim.* 52 A,) as is stated expressly by IRENÆUS to have been a tenet in the Valentinian creed.

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agitated, according to the [1]Platonic theory, before it was organised by the infusion of the mundane rational soul, and from which it was reclaimed by the harmonising action of mind. It was matter in its subjective aspect, ever shifting and changing, even before it had been endued with the plastic properties of life. It was in this way that the *ἀπορία* of Achamoth was causative of the first or *procosmic* matter. Formation of Man.

The world being now reduced into order by the organisation of the *πάθη* of Achamoth, Man's bodily nature was next created. And Plato still gives the key-note, whose belief that Mind existed antecedently to matter, was based upon the necessity, that the [2]dominant should precede the subject; for the intellectual and vital principle, the *ψυχή* of Man, was first evolved, the gross inert element of matter, organised as his body, was an after-product. Hence also in the Cabbalistic Book Zohar, the first Adam is said to have been formed of [3]Light, and of the component elements [4]of all the *Aziluth*, or worlds; as ideal matter had an eternal existence, so man's subsistence in the Divine idea was from everlasting. And this would seem to have been the heresiarch's meaning, when he says that the choïc Man was formed by Demiurge, *οὐκ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ξηρᾶς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀοράτου οὐσίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ κεχυμένου καὶ ῥευστοῦ τῆς ὕλης*· not from the dry dust of the earth, but from the unseen substance of procosmic matter, over which the Spirit of God brooded, when the p. 49.

[1] *Tim.* 52 E. and cf. p. cxxvi. n. 1.

[2] *Tim.* 34 C. 36 E.

[3] *Et ex ea (luce) factus est Adam primus occultus, qui supra splendorem.* Introd. in Zoh. IV. c. iv. see xiii. liv. lv. lxxxiii. lxxxix. cxvi. and p. 134, 2. Cf. the oriental notion, p. cxvi. n. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* Sect. VI. c. xxxiii. 4, 7, and compare the Indian *Macroprosopus* in the myth cited by PORPHYRY, from BARDESANES in STOBÆUS, *Phys.* I. iii. 56; also the Philonic Logos, which contained a fruitful germ for after development; being designated in various parts of his writings as, *ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν, τῆς μακαρίας φύσεως ἐκμαγεῖον, ἀπαύγασμα, μονάς, ὁ ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ, υἱὸς Θεοῦ, τὸ τῶν ὄντων πρεσβύτερον ἄῤῥητον, δύναμις Θεοῦ, τύπος τοῦ κόσμου νοητοῦ, εἰκών, σκιά, παράδειγμα, ἀρχέτυπος, ἰδέα ἑρμηνεύς, ἄγγελος μεσίτης, δεύτερος Θεός, ἡ τῶν ὅλων ψυχή κ.τ.λ.*

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Tetrad represented

world existed in its first rudimental idea, without form and void. Into a body of this [1]transcendental matter the soul of life was breathed, and, by virtue of that gift, man became as the representative of the Deity, *κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*. That the choïc body, thus imagined, was not yet the body of tangible flesh is evident; this was added

p. 49. afterwards, *ὕστερον δὲ περιτεθεῖσθαι λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν δερμάτινον χιτῶνα· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν σαρκίων εἶναι λέγουσιν*, and the union of the two, in the human being Adam, was a cause of [2]fear and terror to the angels, who heard spiritual mysteries uttered by that which they deemed to have been wholly carnal. Man as yet was mere *soul* and *body;* the *spiritual* principle was infused only into the elect seed; it was the conception of Achamoth, engendered by the vision of angels; and was imparted by her without the cognisance of Demiurge. Man, therefore, in his com-

pp. 50, 51. plete condition, is a compound of four several principles; the animal soul that he received from Demiurge, the body of procosmic substance, the flesh of matter, and the spirit infused by Achamoth. Thus he comprised in himself a binary *συζυγία*, in which the higher nature, compounded of spirit and protarchal substance, was the cor-

p. 61. relative of soul and of the material flesh; he was a counterpart of the Tetrad. Practically, however, Man was viewed as a triple compound, *body*, *soul*, and *spirit;* the transcendental substance, in which he was supposed to have preexisted, in no way influenced either his present or his future Being, and was only mentioned to be forgotten

[1] The Cabbalistic books of the Jews make the same distinction as PHILO, between man created after the similitude of God, and man formed of the dust of the earth. So *Siphra da Zeniutha*, III. 22, says; ויאמר אלהים נעשה אדם. האדם לא כתיב אלא אדם סתם לאפקא דלעילא דאתעביד בישמא שלי. *And God said, Let us make Man; it is not said, the Man, but Man simply, in contradistinction to the upper Man, that was formed in the Perfect Name.*

[2] As in the fragment of an Epistle by VALENTINUS, quoted by CLEM. AL. *Strom.* II. 8: *εἰς γὰρ ὄνομα ἀνθρώπου πλασθεὶς Ἀδὰμ φόβον πάρεσχεν πρόοντος Ἀνθρώπου, ὡς δὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ καθεστῶτος.* Compare also the corresponding notion of BASILIDES, HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 26.

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in Man and in Christ.

again. Similarly the entire human race was divided into the spiritual, animal, and material, and it mattered little, practically, that there was an antecedent ideal Adam. The seed of the elect was the counterpart of the heavenly Ecclesia, the Church foreordained from everlasting in the Pleroma of Divine Ideas.

The Christology of Valentinus was essentially Docetic. p. 60. The heresiarch imagined again a four-fold constitution for his Christ; and in lieu of the body of flesh, or hylic principle, which would have involved on the one hand the [6]personal suffering of Christ, and on the other the Resurrection and Ascension into the Pleroma of a body of flesh, he substituted a being, who, though of reasonable soul, was by no means of human flesh, but was formed *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, p. 52. and *ἀῤῥήτῳ τέχνῃ*, so as to bear the outward appearance of man, though composed of the same ideal substance in which the archetypal *Ἄνθρωπος* was also formed; *καὶ ὑλικὸν δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν εἰληφέναι λέγουσιν αὐτὸν, μὴ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὕλην δεκτικὴν σωτηρίας*. The body of Christ then, as Apollinaris afterwards affirmed, was of a heavenly character, and being formed in heaven, passed into the world *ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος*, without receiving anything of the Blessed p. 60. Virgin beyond mere transmission. Similarly, before the crucifixion, the Æon Christ who descended upon Jesus at Baptism as a dove, was again separated, and left the psychic and economic Christ, the spiritual Christ being p. 61. impassible; and he suffered in no respect as an atonement p. 62. for sin, but simply to symbolise the voluntary isolation of Christ from the Pleroma, when he formed Achamoth *κατ' οὐσίαν*.

The Valentinian view of the destiny of the human race, bore a considerable resemblance to the Manichæan theory of Indefectibility, which has descended to us as the Supralapsarian theory of Predestination. Of the three classes into which the human race was divided, according to the

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Man's future destiny.

triple division of his nature into *body, soul,* and *spirit,* those that were under bondage to the first, or the *choïc,* were wholly out of the reach of salvation; the *psychic* or *animal man,* as the Church Catholic was called, was only so far salvable, as he made choice for himself of good, ἐὰν τὰ βελτίονα ἕληται· but then there was no admission for him into the Pleroma; he had his Rest in the Mean, or Μεσότης, where Achamoth for the present received the souls of the Just; and whither Demiurge, upon her final promotion to the Pleroma, should ascend after the lower worlds had passed away. But if the animal man made choice of evil, his eternal lot was, χωρήσειν πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια, *i. e.* like the choïc, εἰς τὴν φθοράν. The spiritual, that is Valentinian heretics, alone were admitted into the Pleroma, from whence their origin was dated; for at the final restitution of all things, Achamoth and the spirits that had been transfused by her into the world, should be admitted into the Pleroma, and mated with the angels, their consorts. Numerically therefore the sum of the elect was κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ. The soul however, or mere animal and intellectual principle, had no entrance into the Pleroma, it was divested of the spirit, as of the body, and remained without ἐν μεσότητι, with Demiurge and the other souls of the just. The souls of men therefore alone, as occupying the mean between the carnal and the spiritual, were capable of a two-fold division, accordingly as they inclined to the higher or the lower principle; the better souls might receive the seed, the worse never. The spiritual principle and the material were respectively *sui generis,* they were both inconvertible and incapable of further modification.

p. 54. p. 65. p. 59. p. 53. p. 58. Deut. xxxii. 8, 9. Ecclus. xvii. 7. p. 64. p. 66.

The moral effect of such doctrine was pernicious in the extreme; Irenæus gives a dark picture of its working within his own immediate observation, and such as the heresy was on the banks of the Rhone, it also was in Asia.

pp. 54—59; 118—126.

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Theory of inspiration.

But Hippolytus either draws the veil of charity over the more secret working of Gnosticism, or in Italy its votaries lived, *si non caste caute tamen*, and paid a greater regard to appearances than in the provinces; for it is remarkable that the Bishop of Portus, following as he so frequently does the account of Irenæus, and transcribing long extracts, stops short at these charges of immorality; as though he could not bear witness to the truth of the picture, so far as it had been presented to his own personal observation, amid the realities of life. One very remarkable feature in the work of S. Hippolytus, is the care that he takes not to sully his page with topics that it must always pain the Christian to read. For this reason we also may omit those details upon Valentinian and Marcosian immoralities, that followed in natural course from their ideas of indefectible privilege.

The Valentinian view of inspiration was quite consistent with the rest of the system. For the government and disposition of the affairs of life were wholly under the guidance of Demiurge, whose profound ignorance of every thing above his sphere prevented him from having any knowledge of the spiritual substance imparted by Achamoth; upon the principle indicated by the Apostle, ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ. There was something, however, intrinsically beautiful in the spiritual principle that commended it to his regard; and those into whom it was infused were advanced by him to pre-eminence, as Prophets, Priests, and Kings. But the spirits of the prophets though subject to the prophets, were no subjects of the Demiurge; hence they uttered indifferently that which was dictated by Achamoth, as in the suggestions of the seed they bore within, as well as the psychic and merely natural ideas that their human soul derived from Demiurge; adopting possibly the notion from S. Paul's words, who speaks of himself at one while as giving

1 Cor. ii. 14.

1 Cor. vii. 6, 12, 40. 2 Cor. xi. 17, 21, 23. 1 Cor. ii. 10; v. 4. 2 Cor. xiii. 3.

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Plato chiefly followed

utterance to the mere human suggestions of intellect, at another to the inspiration of the Spirit, while in another place he declares that he speaks the wisdom οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, but the wisdom of God; words that the Valentinian would interpret of Achamoth. It will not be necessary to advert to any of their more palpable perversions of Scripture, for they add nothing to our knowledge of Valentinian principles; they only illustrate them.

1 Cor. ii. 6.

pp. 24—31. 66—80.

Altogether, therefore, we have seen that the Valentinian system, in many of its notions, resembles the scheme set forth in the Timæus of Plato; and since the philosopher adopts [1] Pythagorean views, more especially with reference to the mundane soul and numerical harmonies, it is probable that this phase of Gnosticism gave back to the East that which had been borrowed from it, several centuries before, by the great master of physical philosophy. To these two systems of ancient speculation, therefore, we have chiefly reverted for the light that has served to guide us through this mazy system. The purely Oriental element consists in little else than the explanation of the creation and harmonious action of the universe, by supposing a series of successive emanations, to be re-absorbed into the Divine Nature; but always, whether in emanative diffusion, or in concentrated sublimity, God was All Things, and All Things were God. Baur, therefore, is perfectly right when he corrects the notion put forth by Mosheim, and so generally received, that we must look to the Oriental systems of philosophy for an explanation of the Valentinian theory; for it symbolises rather with modes of thought prevalent in Greece; and, so far as Oriental notions are involved, we trace them back to the Cabbala that the Jews brought away from Babylon, rather than to Zoroaster or

[1] Hence HIPPOLYTUS says, without any misgiving upon the subject, Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἡ Οὐαλεντίνου αἵρεσις Πυθαγορικὴν ἔχουσα καὶ Πλατωνικὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Καὶ γὰρ Πλάτων ὅλως ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἀπεμάξατο· τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος αὐτός ἐστιν αὐτῷ Πυθαγόρειος ξένος. *Philos.* VI. 21.

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the Zend Avesta. Like Plato, Valentinus acknowledges a higher spiritual principle, as well as the mere psychic soul of the animal; like his master also, he leaves the origin of matter wrapped in mist and obscurity, though he seems to have taught that gross matter had its origin in time, while the space that it was to occupy, its ideal forms, tendencies, and general characteristics were eternal. The Valentinian Æons have been very generally referred to the *ἰδέαι* of Plato, and in several particulars they harmonise more closely with the views of the great master, than with the *ideas* of the neo-Platonic school; the Æons of the Pleroma and the idea of the Universe, as it subsisted in Achamoth, together, are not widely different from the ideal entities of Plato.

Imitative principle.

The imitative principle, that Valentinus adopted from [1]more ancient systems of philosophy, is an idea of perpetual recurrence. [2]The entire universe was held together by *mimetic* links. Each emanation was a copy of the preceding, and a model for after development. Thus *Bythus* was reflected in *Monogenes* or *Nus*, and the two by a proportionate development became the *Tetrad;* this summed with its units the *Decad,* when a fresh series commenced, and the accession of another initial pair constituted the *Dodecad.* Various instances of this reproduction will be noticed in the account of Irenæus. The same mode of thought is perceptible in Plato. The writings of Philo give numberless instances of it, and it was principally from

Did. Or. 33.

p. xlvii.

[1] Compare Jove's reproduction of *Phanes,* Grote, *H. Gr.* I. 25, the Orphic Tetras:

Τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.—Herm. in Phædr. 137.

Lob. *Aglaoph.* I. 490; and one of the tetrad of Apelles; *ἕτερον δὲ πύρινον τὸν Φανέντα.* Hipp. *Ph.* X. 20. Cf. also *Zagreus,* Grote, I. 26, 29, 44; *ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἀπέραντος δύναμις τὸ πῦρ κατὰ τὸν Σιμῶνα,* Hipp. *Ph.* VI. 9. Apelles perceived the analogy between the Orphic and Simonian notion of a first principle of light, and adopting the idea of the Mage, he designated it in the nomenclature of the Greek.

[2] See Index, *Imitative principle of Gnosticism,* and compare the closing words of the *Timæus,* infr. 368, 2, also Plat. *Is. et Os.* p. xxiii. n. 3.

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Variations.

this magazine that the Gnostic drew his ideas; unless indeed the question be open to argument, whether both Gnostic and philosophic Jew were not here the exponents of some *tertium quid;* as rearranging for the western mind, opinions and fancies that had been derived direct from the East. Certainly there is much in the [1]Buddhist theory that bears comparison with parallel features of Gnosticism. Even in China, traces exist of a primitive theology, in which the very feature now under discussion [2]is as strongly marked, as in the more polished periods of Plato and Philo.

Valentinus could boast of a more numerous personal following than any other heresiarch; but his sect had no vitality, and could not cope with the Marcionites; neither had it any principle of unity; accordingly it varied in the hands of Ptolemy, Heracleon, Secundus, and Marcus, in the West, as compared with the more Basilidian teaching of Theodotus in the East; it will be sufficient if these variations are noticed as the work proceeds. Marcus alone appears to have imported a few fundamentally new notions into the system, derived from the numerical philosophy of the later Pythagorean *renaissance* in Egypt, and from the Cabbalistic trifling of the Jews. Here again the reader

[1] See the very interesting work of Dr ROWLAND WILLIAMS, *Christianity and Hinduism*, c. 1.

[2] There is something very Valentinian in the following notions of the Chinese philosopher LAO-TSEU, who was probably a contemporary of PYTHAGORAS, and to whom even REMUSAT assigns an antiquity of 2400 years; certainly LAO-TSEU never could have heard of Valentinus, yet he taught, "Avant le chaos qui a précédé la naissance du ciel et de la terre, un seul être existait, immense et silencieux, immuable et toujours agissant. C'est la mère de l'universe. J'ignore son nom, mais je le designe par le mot Raison...L'homme a son modèle dans la terre, la terre dans le ciel, le ciel dans la Raison, la Raison en elle-même." ABEL REMUSAT, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. p. 94. Compare also Le Père TACHARD, *Voy. de Siam*, VI. 213, who mentions three terms, regarded always with reverence by the Siamese; the first of which means, *God*, the second, the *Word of God*, and the third, the *imitator of God*. These analogies, from whatever source derived, are striking, and they were referred by the first Jesuit Missionaries to the mimetic attempts of other influences than philosophy.

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need only be referred to the notes, as these different peculiarities are observed in the text. His triple principle.

One more system has been described to us by Irenæus, which in most points is in direct antagonism with the various systems that we have been considering. These have been seen to combine the different intellectual and religious systems known to the second century; Marcion, a native of [1]Sinope in Pontus, now of historic interest, who came to Rome in the Pontificate of Anicetus, took the opposite course of evolving a spurious Christianity by a kind of centrifugal process, that eliminated not only every [2]heathen and [3]Jewish element, but every Christian doctrine and tradition, that clashed with his notions of the truths that any Revelation from the good God ought to teach. Gnosticism however had taken such deep hold upon the thinking mind, that even Marcion could not wholly evade its grasp; in fact, he was indebted for his first theosophical notions to Cerdon the Gnostic. So we observe again, the God of the Jews is Demiurge, but he is associated with [4]two others, the Good Deity of the Christian Revelation, and the Evil God of heathenism, which last was also the quickening principle of his fourth ἀρχή, an eternally subsisting matter. The statements of the [5]Old Testament were considered to be inconsistent with the characters

[1] Epiphanius, *Hær.* 42.

[2] Still his *idea* is referred to Stoicism by Tertullian, *Præscr.* 7; see p. 252, n. 1; and by Hippolytus to Empedocles, II. 134, 1.

[3] His hatred of Judaism led him to prescribe a rigid fast upon the Sabbath-day. In Epiphanius, *Hær.* 42, for νηστείαν δὲ καὶ τὸ σάββατον κηρύττει, read, κατὰ τὸ σάββατον; for compare the sequel, τὸ δὲ σάββατον νηστεύει.

[4] Epiph. *Hær.* 42. See p. 216, 2. Compare also Cyprian *ad Jubai*, 2. *Vind. Cath.* III. 226.

[5] He wrote his work entitled *Antitheses*, to mark this contrast. It consisted apparently in a citation of passages from the Old Testament, that offended his notions of the Truth and Goodness and Mercy of the Gospel. So Baur, *Wir wissen daher nur so viel, dass es sich in den Antithesen um den Gegensatz der Gerechtigkeit des Weltschöpfers, und der Güte des wahren Gottes, und die Durchführung desselben, durch eine Reihe einander gegenübergestellter Sätze des A. und N. T. handelte.* Chr. Gnosis, p. 250.

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Docetic views.

of [1]Goodness, Wisdom, and Power, that are alone suitable to the God of the Gospel. The distinctive attribute of the God of the Jews was a hard severe justice, connected rather with the notion of punishment for disobedience than with the reward of virtue. And what the Law, emanating from Demiurge, was to the Jews, the works of nature, that is, of the plastic, though evil principle, were to the heathen; but both the one and the other [2]were subordinate to the Supreme Deity of Christians.

The good Deity of Marcion, without any previous preparation by type or prophecy, revealed himself in the [3]fifteenth year of Tiberius, when Christ being sent down by him from heaven to earth to instruct mankind, appeared first at Capernaum in Galilee. But the Marcionite Christology was purely Docetic; matter was so wholly evil, that the Christ was in no sense brought into constitutional contact with it; and whereas most of the preceding Gnostic theories attempted to evade the difficulty, by imagining the illapse of some Æon or heavenly principle, into an ordinary body of flesh; Marcion on the other hand asserted that Christ as a phantasm descended from heaven and received nothing from earth, and [4]was in no sense born of woman. Consistently with this the heretic [5]rescinded the genealogy of Christ in the opening of St Luke's Gospel, which he then made the basis of his own, as having been composed under the eye of St Paul, the zealous opponent,

p. 216. 4. II. 257.

p. 217, 3. II. 41.

II. 78.

[1] See TERTULL. *c. Marc.* II. 5.

[2] *Inquiunt Marcionitæ, Deus noster, etsi non ab initio, etsi non per conditionem, sed per semet ipsum revelatus est in Christo Jesu.* TERT. *c. Marc.* I. 19.

[3] TERT. *c. Marc.* I. 19, IV. 7. EPIPH. *Hær.* 42. HIPP. *Phil.* VII. 31.

[4] See the sense attached to the term *μεσίτης* by MARCION, p. 217, 3. Compare also HIPPOLYTUS, *ὡς ἄνθρωπον φανέντα λέγων οὐκ ὄντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὡς ἐνσαρκον δοκήσει πεφηνότα, οὔτε γένεσιν ὑπομείναντα, οὔτε πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ δοκεῖν. Phil.* X. 19.

[5] *Machæra non stylo usus est.* TERT. *Præscr.* 38. Cf. p. 4, n. 3. The reader may compare the abstract made by EPIPHANIUS, (cf. also *Hær.* 42, 9) of the several texts from St Luke, and from the Pauline Epistles, that were altered by the heresiarch to suit his views, also the Marcionite Gospel in the *Codex Apocryph.* of THILO, I.

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as he considered, of the Law of the Jews. Like the Encratitæ, and the Therapeutæ of Egypt, he forbade [1]the use of animal food; and his views of the inherent malignity of matter caused him to deny the resurrection of the body; and to assert the *metensomatosis* of the soul as a purifying mean; he also condemned marriage as tending to extend the dominion of evil; and he was so far a [2]*detestator nuptiarum*, as to refuse baptism to all who were still [3]under the marriage-vow. He affected to celebrate the Eucharist, but it was as the Encratitæ or Hydroparastatæ, using only [4]the element of water for the cup, and in presence of the catechumens. He also was led by the exigencies of his own case, to declare that Baptism for the complete remission of sins might be [5]repeated indefinitely. Irenæus says that some few martyrs had been taken from among the ranks of heresy, though he refers the fact to accident; he may not improbably refer to followers of Marcion, to whom Clement of Alexandria alluded, [6]if Bishop Kaye is right, when he spoke of certain heretics who courted martyrdom through hatred of the Demiurge.

Hatred of matter and of Demiurge.

p. 218.

Epiph. Hær. 42.

II. 263.

In this as in many other heretical and spurious forms of Christianity, faith was supposed to have some secret mysterious charm that ensured the salvation of even the most reprobate; and Christ, by his descent into Hell, delivered from the receptacle of the departed the souls of Cain, Esau, Core, Dathan, Abiram, &c., who believed his

[1] κωλύεις γαμεῖν, τεκνοῦν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων ὧν ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάληψιν τοῖς πιστοῖς. Again, Τὰ βρώματα παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς διδάσκει, ἵνα μὴ φάγωσι σῶμά τι λείψανον ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κεκολασμένης. HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 30.

[2] TERT. *c. Marc.* IV. 29.

[3] *Neminem tingit nisi cœlibem aut spadonem, morti aut repudio baptisma reservat.* Ib. *c. Marc.* IV. 11. cf. 34.

[4] μυστήρια δὲ δῆθεν παρ' αὐτῷ ἐπιτελεῖται τῶν κατηχουμένων ὁρώντων· ὕδατι δὲ τούτοις ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις χρῆται. EPIPHAN. *Hær.* 42.

[5] οὐ μόνον δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ ἓν λουτρὸν δίδοται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕως τριῶν λουτρῶν, καὶ ἐπέκεινα, ἔξεστι διδόναι παρ' αὐτοῖς τῷ βουλομένῳ. *Ibid.*

[6] *Strom.* IV. 4. Bp. KAYE on CLEM. AL. p. 276.

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Marcionite Canon.

preaching; while the souls of the Just under preceding dispensations still continued firm in their former belief, and were left as *Spirits in prison*. The Law and the Prophets of course were rejected by him; as were [1]the Gospels with the exception of S. Luke's; also the Acts of the Apostles; the Pauline epistles, though much abridged, were still retained; while he quoted as from the Epistle to the Laodiceans, a slight amplification of Eph. iv. 5, 6: Εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἓν βάπτισμα, εἷς Χριστὸς, εἷς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν.

Altogether therefore, we may look upon the Marcionite ideas as the attempt of a self-constituted reformer, to purge away the presumptive remains of Judaism from the Christian religion; at the same time it was distinguished from other Gnostic systems having the same direction, by a more complete emancipation from every form of heathenism. The importance of this heretical outbreak may be imagined from the fact, that having originated before the middle of the second century, it still survived [2]after the

[1] Compare the reproachful term applied by him to S. Mark, HIPP. *Ph.* VII. 30, cited Vol. II. p. 6, notes. His Gospel after S. Luke, in one volume, and the Pauline Epistles in a second, constituted his canon of Scripture, ταύταις δὲ ταῖς δυσὶ βίβλοις κεχρῆται. EPIPH. *Hær.* 42.

[2] ἡ δὲ αἵρεσις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔν τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ τε καὶ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ, ἐν Κύπρῳ τε καὶ Θηβαΐδι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Περσίδι, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις εὑρίσκεται. EPIPH. *Hær.* 42. The heretic was to this extent as good as his word; when excommunicated by his own father, the bishop of some church in Pontus, he went to Rome, and having been refused communion with that church, he uttered the threat, σχίσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν, καὶ βαλῶ σχίσμα ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. EPIPH. *Hær.* 42. This statement certainly reads like the truth, and in the same degree TERTULLIAN'S account (*Præscr.* 30) withdraws into the region of improbability; he relates that MARCION contributed to the common stock of the Roman church 200 sesterces, which were restored to him on his ejection. According to EPIPHANIUS he came to Rome under the known ban of excommunication. It has been supposed that the history may relate to Cerdo. LARDNER, *Hist. of Her.* IX. 3. But TERTULLIAN speaks of Eleutherus as the Bishop of Rome, who succeeded to that see, certainly not before A. D. 170; and MARCION had studied under Cerdon, and had already begun to spread his poison at Rome, thirty years before.

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middle of the fourth, notwithstanding the severe edict of the [1]emperor Constantine. Justin Martyr wrote a treatise against this heresy; Irenæus contemplated a similar work, though it seems never to have been written; and [2]Tertullian, having composed two previous treatises, wrote in the third instance his five books *c. Marcionem;* which however are no very complete exposition either of the opinions in question, or of the arguments necessary to meet them. There is also a short account of the Marcionite tenets in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus; it traces them back, more fancifully perhaps than truly, to the great eclectic of antiquity, Empedocles; still it is interesting.

Vitality of this sect.

The foregoing exposition of the remote origin, the rise, and results of the principal branches of the Gnostic heresy, may enable the reader to understand better the various statements of Irenæus as they occur; and it is hoped that these observations will not be deemed more diffuse than necessary, in treating upon a subject that includes within its grasp the entire history of [3]ancient philosophical speculation.

[1] A.D. 330. EUSEB. *in Vit. Const.* III. 64, 65, gives the edict which declares their conventicles to be confiscated, with their books; but the very rigour of this edict possibly gave renewed vitality to an otherwise dying sect.

[2] Primum opusculum, quasi properatum, pleniore postea compositione rescideram, &c. *c. Marc.* I. 1.

[3] *γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, αἱρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαίας φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγμένοι.* PORPHYR. *v. Plot.* 16, and TERTULL. *Præscr. Hær.* 7: *Ipsæ denique hæreses a philosophia subornantur.*

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THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

S. IRENÆUS,

BISHOP OF LYONS IN GAUL.

Of Oriental extraction.

THE materials for a life of S. Irenæus, that have come down to us, are very scanty. We know little else for certain, than that he was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, during the latter quarter of the second century. And this *datum*, vague as it may be, gives a probable reference to the country of his birth. For circumstances shew that a certain connexion existed between the Church over which he presided and the East. The Greek names of its first Bishops indicate this origin; the account also of the persecution of the Church of Lyons A.D. 177, under Marcus Aurelius, in which its venerable Bishop Pothinus suffered martyrdom, was transmitted, not to Rome, but to the churches of Asia. So also the acquaintance manifested by Irenæus with Eastern languages, involving not only a respectable knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, but also a very perceptible familiarity with the Scriptures of the New Testament in Syriac, point directly to the same conclusion; and even the name Εἰρηναῖος, of no common occurrence in Greek nomenclature, may have been the substitute for some Syrian equivalent, as *Saul* became *Paul;* and as the orientally descended philosopher *Malcho,* became known by the adopted name of *Porphyry,* the more obvious equivalent, *Basileides,* having already been appropriated by a predecessor from the East. Consistently with this, Irenæus

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Probable date

apologises for his roughness of style, as betraying the conscious imperfection of a writer, who is not handling his own vernacular language, and hardly feels at home with the idioms, that force of circumstances has compelled him to adopt. If Greek had been his native tongue, there would have been little danger that his style should be debased through barbarian contact; and since he was neither of Gallic nor of Italian extraction, the probability is strengthened by this expression, that he was born in Syria, and having been instructed as a child in some Gr. Fragm. ii. Syriac version of Scripture, was removed during the years of boyhood to Smyrna.

The date of our author's birth is also unknown. The only clue we possess is the statement that in his boyhood, ib. παῖς ὢν ἔτι, he remembered Florinus as a fellow-hearer of Polycarp. Florinus was, doubtless, his senior, for he speaks of him as a person of some mark, and of courtly *status*, λαμπρῶς πράττοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ, and more anxious perhaps, than a mere youth would have been, to ingratiate himself with the venerable bishop Polycarp. But in his letter to Florinus he speaks of himself as is usual with the elderly, and says that he has a more vivid recollection of events that passed before him as a boy, than of those that had occurred more recently. At the time therefore of writing this epistle to Florinus, Irenæus was not less perhaps than sixty years of age. The tone also of the extract from his [1]letter to Victor, Bishop of Rome, at the same period, marks rather the experienced Bishop, addressing himself to a brother whose preferment to an important see was of recent date. Irenæus would scarcely have thought it necessary to stimulate the vigilance of Victor *after* the prompt condemnation of Theodotus A.D. 196, and the fierce excommunication of the Eastern Churches A.D. 198. The caution then concerning Florinus

[1] See Syr. Fragm. XXVIII.

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was probably communicated soon after Victor's accession to the pontificate A.D. 188. If therefore at this date Irenæus had attained his sixtieth year, about 128 A.D. would be indicated for his birth. But in the body of his work *c. Hær.* he speaks of having heard Polycarp, already far advanced in years, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ, and the term has been identified more closely than the phrase can justify, with that used in the Epistle to Florinus, παῖς ὢν ἔτι. For the author himself explains the expression as meaning [1]*early life*, extending to about the thirtieth year; at least it is impossible to obtain any more satisfactory meaning than this from the translator's words, *quia autem triginta annorum ætas prima indolis est juvenis*, (ὅτι δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἡ ἡλικία πρώτη τῆς διαθέσεώς ἐστι νέας). It is the [2]cardinal point that separates the youthful from the formed character. It is not necessary indeed to suppose, that Irenæus spent the whole of this πρώτη ἡλικία at Smyrna under its venerable Bishop. The cause of the Gospel in all probability drew him into Gaul, soon after the age had been attained for ordination; and Polycarp, who was not less than [3]eighty-six years of age when he suffered martyrdom, A.D. 167, may have survived the departure of Irenæus from Smyrna for ten or fifteen years, and yet have been more than *threescore years and ten*, when our author last heard the sound of his voice. The expression therefore, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ, in no way militates against the supposition now advanced, that the birth of Irenæus may be referred to an earlier period by at least ten years, than has usually been deemed possible, and that A.D. 130 is no very unlikely date for this event. of birth.

[1] So EUSEBIUS explains the phrase by κατὰ τὴν νεὰν ἡλικίαν. *H. E.* v. 5.

[2] As in DANTE'S expression,
Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita.

[3] Compare the memorable words, ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτη ἔχω δουλεύων αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησε, καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σώσαντά με. S. POLYC. MART. *Vind. Cath.* III. 79.

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Consecrated Bishop

It is useless to investigate, with [1]Massuet, the probabilities of his ordination; whether he received his divine commission at the hands of Pothinus, or of some other bishop. Neither is it a very material consideration, in a controversial point of view, whether or not he was consecrated as successor to Pothinus by the Bishop of Rome; for there was no other Gallican see at this period than that of Lyons, as the [2]Benedictine establishes; it was by necessity therefore, and not in consideration of the *potior principalitas*, that the church of Lyons, in such a case, would apply to Rome for the consecration of a successor to its martyred bishop. Whether he was sent to Rome for the express purpose of consecration, is, to say the least, doubtful. Certainly he was charged with a letter to Rome by certain leading members of the Church of Lyons, who awaited in prison their crown of martyrdom; but the substance of the letter sent was [3]*εἰρήνης ἕνεκα*: if it had been intended as the expression of a wish that the bearer should be consecrated bishop, the wish would have been conveyed in less enigmatical terms, than these upon which Massuet builds his theory; *καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει, ζηλωτὴν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ ἠδεῖμεν* [4]*τόπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν πρώτοις ἂν παρεθέμεθα.* No doubt he went to Rome, for it is impos-

[1] Diss. II. § 6.

[2] *Ib.* § 13—16.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 4.

[4] f. l. *τύπον*, q. d. *If we could think that a figurative name conferred goodness, we would emphatically commend to you* Εἰρηναῖος (*ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ*), *as a presbyter of our Church.* At least the terms used, conveyed to S. Jerome the idea of a play upon the name; *Irenæus Pothini Episcopi, qui Lugdunensem in Gallia regebat Ecclesiam, presbyter, a martyribus ejusdem loci, ob quasdam ecclesiæ quæstiones legatus, Romam missus, honorificas super nomine suo ad Eleutherum Episcopum perfert literas. Postea jam Pothino prope nonagenario ob Christum martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur.* Hieron. *de Scr. Eccl.* It may be observed that the term, *postea*, is scarcely consistent with the idea, that the mission to Rome was originally connected with his designation to the see; but it agrees well with the solution offered above. Indeed S. Jerome shews that Pothinus was still alive.

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sible to assent to the opinion advanced by [1]Valesius, that Irenæus, having been designated as the bearer of the epistle to Eleutherus, was preferred to the see that had become vacant by the death of Pothinus before the letter was dispatched; in this case, the name of his substitute must infallibly have replaced his own in the letter; whereas Eusebius quotes as the commencement, [2]*χαίρειν ἐν θεῷ σε ἐν πᾶσιν εὐχόμεθα καὶ ἀεὶ πάτερ Ἐλεύθερε· ταῦτά σοι τὰ γράμματα προετρεψάμεθα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινωνὸν Εἰρηναῖον διακομίσαι.* [3]S. Jerome, who was well acquainted with the Roman archives and Roman traditions, confirms the statement. Irenæus then was the bearer of this Epistle to Rome, A.D. 177. The persecution of the Church of Lyons, though sharp, was brief. Pothinus, [4]now more than ninety years old, was subjected to such cruel treatment as to die in prison; and this took place, in all probability, before Irenæus had crossed the Alps; if therefore it was necessary that his successor should be consecrated by any foreign bishop, this visit of the bishop designate to Rome was most opportune; a messenger dispatched at once would have arrived within a few days of Irenæus, making known the request of the suffering Church, that he might be consecrated to the see of Lyons. This supposition clears away all historical difficulties; for Eusebius says expressly, both that Irenæus went to Rome, as has been stated, also that he was successor to Pothinus, who must have died while he was out upon this mission. [5]*Ποθεινοῦ δὴ, ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ζωῆς ἔτεσιν ἐνενήκοντα, σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας μαρτυρήσασι τελειωθέντος, Εἰρηναῖος τῆς κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἧς ὁ Ποθεινὸς ἡγεῖτο παροικίας, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται.* The clouds of persecution might have been lowering over the Church of Lyons, and many of its

of Lyons, A.D. 177.

[1] *Not.* in Eus. *H. E.* v. 4.
[2] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 4.
[3] *Catal. Scr.* as in n. 4, p. clvi.
[4] His answer before the tribunal to the question, Who is the God of Christians? was, *ἐὰν ἧς ἄξιος γνώσῃ.* Eus. *H. E.* v. 1.
[5] Eus. *H. E.* v. 5.

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His work c. Hæreses.

members already in danger, but Irenæus could scarcely have left it in its hour of greatest need, if the storm had already burst in its full fury, and its bishop been put to death.

In proportion as this visit to Rome shews, as a probable result, the elevation of Irenæus to the vacant see, the prosecution of his journey to the far distant East, as stated by Feuardentius and Le Sueur, becomes in the same degree improbable. Neither is it at all likely, that he should have been the author of the account of the persecution sent from Lyons to the Churches of Asia, if he had not been an eye-witness. Rather we may believe that he returned home to be installed successor to Pothinus, and milder times following, that he engaged actively in the missionary work of converting pagan Gaul to Christ; for he was most truly [1]φωστὴρ Γαλατῶν τῶν ἑσπερίων, and [2]Besançon and Valence are more expressly mentioned, as having received the faith from Lyons during his incumbency. The same period of respite from persecution also permitted the Bishop to compose his great work against the heresies that forced themselves upon his notice during his visit to Rome, and that, penetrating into every province of the Western Empire, were gaining head rapidly upon the banks of the Rhone. The work was written, as Eusebius has observed, during the Episcopate of Eleutherus, down to whom the Roman succession is traced in the third Book; but it was composed also after Theodotion had completed his version of the Scriptures of the Old Testament; referred by [3]Epiphanius to the second year of Commodus, A.D. 181. Therefore since Eleutherus was succeeded by Victor A.D. 189, this work must have been written some time during the seven years included between A.D. 182 and 188.

[1] THEODORET, *Immut.*

[2] *Acta Mart.* Ferreoli, Felicis, *Presbb.* Ferut. Fortun. Achill. *Diacc.* So far as historical fact is concerned, these *Acta* may be trusted.

[3] *de Mensur.* 17.

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Paschal controversy.

After the accession of Victor, the unnecessary severity with which he visited those who infringed the Catholic rule for observing the Paschal fast and succeeding Feast, threatened the most fatal results to the peace of the Church. The Asiatic Greeks following the biblical, or, as was objected, the Jewish rule, brought the Lent fast to a close, and celebrated Easter upon the 14th day, or the Full of the first moon after the vernal equinox, on whatever day it might fall. [1]The other Churches of Christendom, on the other hand, celebrated the Feast of the Resurrection on the Lord's day following. With regard to the period of the fast, practice varied, not only among the Churches, but also among the individual members of each Church. On either side Apostolical custom was the plea; and in the East appeal was made to tradition, traced back to S. John through Melito, Polycarp, and Philip the Evangelist, while the West relied as confidently upon custom derived from S. Peter and S. Paul. The subject had hitherto been wisely considered what we call an open question, as not being of sufficient importance seriously to affect the peace of the Church. Victor, however, determined upon bending all Christendom to the Roman rule, and caused synods everywhere to be assembled upon the subject, A.D. 198. The Churches of Asia having represented and defended their view in a synodal epistle, drawn up by Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, were [2]excommunicated by Victor, and the first note of discord was sounded between the Churches of the East and of the West, that, however varied in character and object, has never to the

[1] The Churches of Britain perhaps were an exception; where, in contravention of the Nicene Council, *Vind. Cath.* III. 11, 15, the Asiatic rule, as having been received with the faith from the East, was maintained; it caused the memorable massacre of 1200 monks at Bangor, mentioned by BEDE, *H. E.* II. 2.

[2] ἄμετρα τερμανθείς, is the term used by SOCRATES, V. 22, in describing the effect produced upon Victor by the letter of the Asiatics.

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Paschal

present day been resolved in a cordial harmony. A letter was dispatched by Irenæus to Victor in consequence of his violence, urging upon his notice the necessity of more moderate counsels; and representing to him, that his course of action with respect to the Paschal [1]observance threatened to isolate the Church over which he presided from the [2]rest of the body Catholic. The letter fully effected its purpose of conciliation, as we learn from [3]Anatolius, who wrote about eighty years after; but the question was finally disposed of in favour of the Western view by the Council of Nice.

The question of the fast involved the following points. All [4]Christians, throughout the world, were unanimous in their observance of a Paschal day, as that of our Lord's Passion, by a rigid fast. But practice varied considerably with respect to the custom of the fast; [5]Irenæus describes the variation as follows: *οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν*

[1] The only fragment that has been preserved to us from this Epistle, shews that a matter open to so much *doubt*, was fairly considered to be an open question; *οὐ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστιν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις.*

[2] So EUSEBIUS assures us, *οὐ πᾶσί γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἠρέσκετο. H. E.* v. 24, and S. JEROME, *Hi qui discrepabant ab illis, Victori non dederunt manus.* Catal. Scr.

[3] *Canon. Paschal.* p. 445.

[4] MASSUET'S authorities are subjoined. *Τὴν δὲ τεσσαρακοστὴν, τὴν πρὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἁγίου πάσχα ὡσαύτως φυλάττειν εἴωθεν ἐκκλησία, ἐν νηστείαις διατελοῦσα· τὰς δὲ κυριακὰς οὐδ' ὅλως, οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ. Τὰς δὲ ἓξ ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα ἐν ξηροφαγίᾳ διατελοῦσι πάντες οἱ λαοί· Φημὶ δὲ ἄρτῳ, καὶ ἁλὶ, καὶ ὕδατι τότε χρώμενοι πρὸς ἑσπέραν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδαῖοι διπλᾶς, καὶ τριπλᾶς, καὶ τετραπλᾶς ὑπερτίθενται, καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἑβδομάδα τινὲς ἄχρις ἀλεκτρυόνων κλαγγῆς τῆς κυριακῆς ἐπιφωσκούσης.* EPIPH. *Hær. Exp. Fid.* 22. The fast was divided into three members; there was the fast of the week that preceded the Holy Week, subject to no very severe rule; the *ξηροφαγία* of the Holy Week, which, with the former, was binding upon the whole Christian world; and a third and more rigid fast that was observed by comparatively few, and that consisted in total abstinence from food for one or more days of the Paschal week. Similarly the Apostolical Constitutions, compiled at about the same date, and in part from ancient tradition, prescribe the form *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις οὖν τοῦ πάσχα νηστεύετε, ἀρχόμενοι ἀπὸ δευτέρας μέχρι τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ σαββάτου, ἓξ ἡμέρας μόνῳ χρώμενοι ἄρτῳ, καὶ ἁλὶ καὶ λαχάνοις, καὶ ποτῷ ὕδατι· οἴνου δὲ καὶ κρεῶν ἀπέχεσθε ἐν ταύταις· ἡμέραι γάρ εἰσι πένθους, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑορτῆς.* v. 18.

[5] *Ep. ad Victorem, Episc. Rom.* infr. II. p. 473.

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ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν· οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα· ὥρας ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. Considerable discussion has arisen with respect to the punctuation of this passage, whether τεσσαράκοντα should be disjoined or not from ὥρας. [1]Bellarmine considered that Irenæus was not speaking of that conventional kind of fasting, which admitted of solution, *more Judaico*, in the evening, but of rigid and total abstinence from food; he therefore removed the comma, and interpreted τὴν ἡμέραν as consisting of the two days preceding the Feast of the Resurrection, or the forty hours during which our Lord remained under the hand of death. Valesius, in his notes upon Eusebius, proposes to substitute νηστείαν for ἡμέραν, but the suggestion is without authority, and therefore inadmissible. Grabe interprets ἡμέραν indefinitely as *time, season;* which, as Massuet observes, is not more satisfactory; and he then proposes to replace the comma, and to take the words according to their plain grammatical meaning; i. e. *some again continue the fast for forty days, computing each day as comprising the hours of the night as well as of the day:* they observed that conventional kind of fasting, that does not involve total abstinence from food, but permitted the use of bread, salt, fish, and even fowl; the two latter being supposed to have had their origin from water, Gen. i. 20, 21. Fast.

[2]It is to this more indulgent variation of custom that the observations of Irenæus must be considered to apply;

[1] Bellarm. *de Bon. Op.* II. 14.

[2] ἔστι δὲ εὑρεῖν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν διαφωνοῦντας, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν ἐδεσμάτων οὐχ ὁμοίαν ποιουμένους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ, πάντη ἐμψύχων ἀπέχονται· οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐμψύχων ἰχθῦς μόνους μεταλαμβάνουσι· τινὲς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἰχθύσι, καὶ τῶν πτηνῶν ἀπογεύονται, ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέα γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες· οἱ δὲ ἀκροδρύων καὶ ὠῶν ἀπέχονται· τινὲς δὲ καὶ ξηροῦ ἄρτου μόνου μεταλαμβάνουσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ οὐδὲ τούτου· ἕτεροι δὲ ἄχρις ἐννάτης ὥρας νηστεύοντες, διάφορον ἔχουσι τὴν ἑστίαν. Socr. *H. E.* v. 22. The entire chapter is worthy of perusal, as shewing that no definite constitution with respect to fasting was ever given to the Church by the Apostles.

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The title of Martyr

although some protested silently against the increasing laxity, and continued the ξηροφαγία through the entire quadragesimal period, excepting always the Sundays; the later prescription of the Laodicene Council accorded with this, δεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν νηστεύειν ξηροφαγοῦντας.

Of the time and circumstances of the death of S. Irenæus nothing is known. And it is doubtful whether the title of [1]Martyr properly belongs to him. S. Jerome terms him Martyr; but the word was [2]added possibly by some later hand. The account of Gregory of Tours, as quoted by Massuet, may be taken for what it is worth; and it is perhaps as trustworthy as Feuardent's account of the recovery of the relics of the Saint, from the collection of *Chirurgus quidam Catholicus*, who having saved them from the fury of the Huguenots (*Hu-Gnosticorum furore*), restored them to the municipality and Church of Lyons. Upon this point it is certainly remarkable, that although citations are not unfrequently made by Syrian divines from Irenæus, which speak of him as a disciple of Polycarp *the Martyr*, this title of honour is in only one doubtful instance applied to Irenæus; and in a *Synaxarion*, which mentions other names as belonging to the noble army of Martyrs, that of Irenæus follows Justin *Martyr*, but simply as [3]Irenæus Bishop of Lyons. These extracts are found in MSS. that are considerably older than any patristical codices of the Western Church, having been transcribed principally in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

Upon this subject however the reader is referred to the arguments of Dodwell, to which Massuet has nothing better to oppose than the testimony of S. Jerome, already

[1] Compare Dr Burton, *Lect.* xxii. A.D. 203, p. 249. *Oxon.* 1833.

[2] Dodwell considers that it came in from the margin.

[3] ومن أخبار القديس ايريناوس أسقف ليون. *and of the Bishop, Saint Irenæus of Lyons.* Cod. 14, 504. *Brit. Mus.*

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mentioned, and the author of the *Qu. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos*, as also the later statement of Gregory of Tours, and certain Martyrologies. The fact that Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Ephrem Syrus, Augustin, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, as well as these early Syriac fragments, and the existing Latin MSS., excepting the *Cod.* Voss., all withhold from Irenæus the title of Martyr, will be considered by many to be a convincing proof that it does not correctly belong to him; a conclusion in which they certainly will not be shaken by the reasoning of the Benedictine editor. The active part that Irenæus took in the Paschal question in the closing years of the second century, justifies the supposition that he may have lived through the first five or six years of the third; when he would have attained, according to the supposition above, to an age of between seventy and eighty years. applied in error.

It has already been shewn that the work of Irenæus, *c. Hæreses*, must have been written between A.D. 182 and 188; i. e. between the fifty-fourth and sixtieth years of life; and the vigour, judgment, and experience that it displays, well agrees with this supposition. It was written in Greek; the Latin version, and the Syriac fragments, contain abundant internal evidence of a Greek origin. This language was adopted possibly, as Massuet says, because the friend at whose request it was undertaken was a Greek, but more probably because the Greek language was at that time more [1]*œcumenic* than the Latin; also, the Valentinian and Marcionite heresies that it meets, were far more destructively spread in the East and at Alexandria than in the West. There can be little doubt but that its title was that assigned to it by Eusebius, *π. ἐλεγχοῦ καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*. Andreas of Cæsarea, John of Damascus, Photius, Œcumenius, and the Syrian

[1] Thus HIPPOLYTUS, though Bishop of the Port of Rome, also chose the Greek language as his medium.

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Latin Version.

Fragments, all quote the work under the same title, and the author himself indicates it in several passages as the work proceeds. The ancient MSS. of the Latin Version designate it either as, *Redargutio et Eversio falso cognominatæ Agnitionis*, or as, *Exprobratio et Eversio falsæ Agnitionis*. The short title, *Contra Hæreses*, is that by which it is now more usually known. Of the Latin Version it is sufficient to say, that the Celt who made it was in every way inferior to the work that he undertook; independently of the barbarisms and solecisms with which his style abounds, he frequently is totally unable to catch his author's meaning. The servile fidelity that he evidently aimed at, as the translator's highest perfection, is in some degree compensative, and a literal transfusion into Greek often proves the most satisfactory guide for the solution of obscure passages. The translator's blunders in the Latin, as well as his frequent misappreciation of the Greek, induce the suspicion that neither of these classical languages was vernacularly known to him, but that the words of his original were truly descriptive of himself, as both born and bred ἐν βαρβάρῳ διαλέκτῳ. The antiquity of this version makes it invaluable; internal evidence persuades the judgment that Tertullian wrote his Treatise *c. Valentinum*, after A.D. 199, with this version before his eyes; Massuet's comparison of the two texts in his second Dissertation is very convincing; when the translator trips, Tertullian also stumbles; and too many minute peculiarities of nomenclature and style are found to agree in both, to be the result of accident. [1]Cyprian possibly, and [2]Augustin certainly, copied this version.

The recovery of the Syrian fragments that are found at the close of the work, gives colour to the supposition advanced by the Benedictine [3]editor, that a Syriac version

[1] *Ep. ad Pompeium (de Cerdone).*
[2] *C. Julian. Pelag.* I. 3, 7.
[3] *Sunt qui putant, nec improbabiliter, præter Latinam quinque Irenæi librorum*

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Syriac Fragments.

may formerly have been in existence. The general similarity of extracts occurring in duplicate and triplicate copies, points to one single original; and the high antiquity of many of the *codices* in which they occur, is not consistent with the suspicion that they may have been copied and recopied from isolated quotations. The extracts however are before the public, and we may be content to leave the question to be settled by the discoveries of a future generation. These Syriac fragments also indicate a subdivision of the Books, that gives a general confirmation to the Latin headings of the Arundel MS., as shewn in the present edition. The [1]Syriac subdivision very probably agreed with that indicated by Procopius, who quotes the passage that refers to Adam's *tunica pellicea*, III. xxxv. (Tom. II. p. 128), as being found in the 59th section of the third Book.

The names of a few other treatises by Irenæus, and some scattered fragments, have come down to us. His Epistle to Florinus, also known by the title π. τῆς μοναρχίας, ἢ π. τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν, has perished, with the exception of the small portion preserved by Eusebius, and found among the fragments in the second volume. Florinus appears to have so insisted upon the unity of the Deity, as to have made him the author of evil, a position never yet assumed by any heresy. The treatise caused Florinus to change his ground, and he took refuge in the Valentinian hypothesis; upon this, Irenæus, who appears to have had a degree of regard for the offender from ancient recollection, wrote the [2]work π. τῆς ὀγδοάδος, against the Valentinian Ogdoad. The solemn adjuration

interpretationem, alteram Syriacam exstitisse. Nam Ephrem Diac. Edessenus qui Græce nesciebat, integrum ex Lib. I. *(p. 67, v. Syr. Fragm.) locum exscripsit, inseruitque cap.* VIII. *Tr. de Virtute.* MASS. Diss. CIII.

[1] Compare Syr. Fragm. V. XV. Vol. II. pp. 435, 443.

[2] ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπισημαίνεται τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων κατειληφέναι ἑαυτὸν διαδοχήν. EUS. *H. E.* V. 20.

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Opuscula.

to successive scribes at the end, has alone been preserved from it by Eusebius. An extract from an Epistle from Irenæus to Victor, upon the lapse of Florinus, who was one of the presbytery of the Roman Church, is found among the Syriac fragments.

The Paschal controversy caused the production of the treatise π. τοῦ σχίσματος, addressed to Blastus, [1]an Alexandrian apparently, who was a friend and co-presbyter with Florinus, but sided with the Asiatics as regards the Paschal controversy; as the Libellus added to the *Præscriptio* of Tertullian asserts: *Blastus latenter Judaismum vult introducere; Pascha enim dicebat non aliter custodiendum esse, nisi secundum legem Moysi,* XIV. *mensis.* Theodoret says that he lapsed into Valentinianism with Florinus, but he misunderstood the words of Eusebius, who simply says [2]that they fell simultaneously, each subsiding into his own peculiar form of error. The third of Pfaff's fragments seems to have been taken from this [3]treatise.

Another treatise, π. τῆς ἐπιστήμης, is also mentioned by [4]Eusebius, and named in one of the Syriac fragments, which specifies also that it was directed against the Valentinian heresy. This indicates plainly the omission of ἄλλος τε in [4]Eusebius; and [5]S. Jerome confirms the emendation; for the Syriac gives some notion of the nature of the treatise π. ἐπιστήμης, and shews that it was no refutation of pagan, but of Gnostic, and more especially of Valentinian, error. [6]The first of the Pfaffian fragments may be referred to this treatise. The same two writers

[1] See Syriac Fragm. XXVII.

[2] ὧν ἡγεῖτο Φλωρῖνος, πρεσβυτερίου ἐκκλησίας ἀποπεσών. Βλαστός τε σὺν τούτῳ παραπλησίῳ πτώματι κατεσχημένος· οἳ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέλκοντες ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶν ὑπῆγον βούλημα· θάτερος ἰδίως περὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν νεωτερίζειν πειρώμενος. EUS. *H. E.* V. 15.

[3] Gr. Fragm. XXXVII.

[4] πρὸς Ἕλληνας λόγος συντομώτατος καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαιότατος, (ἄλλος τε) περὶ Ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγεγραμμένος. Καὶ ἄλλος δν ἀνατέθεικεν ἀδελφῷ Μαρκιανῷ τοὔνομα, εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος. *H. E.* V. 26.

[5] *Contra Gentes volumen breve, et de Disciplina aliud.* HIERON. *Catal. Scr.*

[6] See Gr. Fragm. XXXV.

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also have recorded, that Irenæus dedicated a treatise to Marcianus, most probably on the principal articles of the Creed, it being upon the *Apostolical Preaching*, a term frequently applied to the early symbol of faith; such a relic would have been of rare value if it had descended to us. Two of the [1]fragments published by Feuardent, and the [2]second and fourth of Pfaff, may have been taken from this work. Eusebius again speaks of certain [3]miscellaneous dissertations, in which the author makes mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of the Book of Wisdom. It was in all probability a collection of sermons and expositions of various texts and passages of Scripture; and under this head we may rank the various Greek fragments that indicate a commentary upon portions of the historical books of Scripture; the Syriac fragment from an exposition of the Song of Songs; the Armenian homily upon the sons of Zebedee, which may represent a genuine production of Irenæus; also the fragments edited by Cramer and Münter; and the last, from the Vienna collection. It may be added, that the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Wisdom are mentioned, not as forming the main subject of these διαλέξεις, but because the latter was universally classed with *ecclesiastical*, i. e. *apocryphal works*, and the [4]former was not received *universally* as canonical. The

Opuscula.

[1] Greek Fr. V. VI.

[2] *Ibid.* XXXVI. XXXVIII.

[3] βιβλίον τι διαλεξέων διαφόρων, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σοφίας Σολομῶντος μνημονεύει. *Ib.*—RUFFINUS rendered διαλεξέων as *Dialogus;* JEROME, as *Tractatus*, but διαλέγεσθαι is *to preach;* EUS. *H. E.* VI. 19; and the Homilies of ORIGEN are termed διαλέξεις, *ib.* 36; a name given to them apparently by their author. See S. BASIL. *de Sp.* § 73. *Vind. Cath.* I. 438.

[4] The Council of Laodicea reckoned it among the Pauline Epistles, *Vind. Cath.* I. 476, as did S. ATHANASIUS, *ib.* 465, and RUFFINUS, *ib.* 580. But S. JEROME says in his Epistle to Paulinus, *Paulus Apostolus ad septem Ecclesias scribit, (octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur). Vind. Cath.* I. 486. S. AUGUSTIN confines these doubts to the Latin Churches, *Ad Hebræos quoque Epistola quamquam nonnullis incerta sit. . . . nec movet auctoritas Ecclesiarum Orientalium, quæ hanc etiam in canonicis habent.* De Pecc. Mer. et Rem. 50, *ib.* II. 36. The variance may be traced to the absence of the Apostle's name, and certain expressions that were

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Opuscula. main work of Irenæus contains no clear quotation from this epistle, that may certainly be referred to it; and for this reason perhaps, Eusebius, as fully believing its canonical authority, adduces Irenæus, an unexceptionable witness upon a subject that had not passed unquestioned in Western Christendom. Eusebius mentions no other works of Irenæus, but [1]his words seem intended to convey the notion, that other writings may have been extant in the West, that had not yet become known to him in Palestine; accordingly his expression cannot justify the exclusion from our list, of works represented by fragments that have come down to us. Such for example is the quotation from a treatise *de Resurrectione Dominica*, found in a
II p. 460. 462. Syriac, and, in an interpolated form, in an Armenian version; the high antiquity of the Syriac MS. in which this passage is found, and it was written A.D. 562, is to a certain extent a voucher for the genuineness of its original; internal evidence shews that the longer extract in the Armenian contains a considerable interpolation, and that the Syriac is the most faithful to the lost Greek text. Maximus quotes two detached sentences from a work to [2]Demetrius, *de Fide*, which is passed over in silence both by Eusebius and Jerome; the Latin translation also of the fragment received by Feuardent from Faber, who obtained it from some collection now unknown, is from a Sermon *ad Demetrium*. It is by no means unlikely that the treatise inscribed to Demetrius should both have been unknown to Eusebius when he wrote his history, and have become so rare in the time of S. Jerome as to have escaped his notice: its inscription to a deacon of Vienne, marks that it was of a purely elementary character, it was a

supposed to favour the severe Donatist view of the irremissible character of sin after baptism; a schismatical notion that was very troublesome in the West and in Africa, but was comparatively unknown in the Greek and Oriental Churches.

[1] *καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γνῶσιν τῶν Εἰρηναίου τοσαῦτα.* v. 26.

[2] Gr. Fr. VI. VII.

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guide-book perhaps for the catechetical instruction of the young. The silence therefore of these two writers is no conclusive evidence against these fragments, taken as they are from a work π. πίστεως, the very name whereby writings upon the elementary doctrines of the Christian faith were generally designated; I am inclined therefore to refer these fragments to some writing of minor importance, that had chiefly a local application. Opuscula.

Irenæus, on more than one occasion, declares his intention to write a work [1]against the Marcionite heresy, which was developing strength, while the other forms of Gnosticism were on the decline, in the last years of the venerable Father's life. Other matters, however, and none more probable than the duty of a more complete evangelization of Gaul, interposed, and we may safely say that the intention was never carried into effect; for such a work would have had an unusual interest for Eusebius, and if published must have become known to him; but he speaks of the promise as having led to no result: ἐπήγγελται δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξειν αὐτῷ ἐν ἰδίῳ σπουδάσματι. For the same reason the notion entertained by many, that the account of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, transmitted to the Churches of Asia, was a production of the pen of Irenæus, is hardly worthy of credit. It is impossible to imagine that Eusebius should have been ignorant of the authorship of so celebrated a document, or that he should have omitted to declare it, in transcribing the entire epistle in his History. Reasons have already been assigned for supposing that Irenæus was at Rome during the heat of this persecution, and the epistle was evidently written by an eyewitness. The same consideration may be urged against Massuet's surmise, that the [2]fragment preserved by Œcumenius from

[1] See Index: *Irenæus, Marcion.*

[2] Greek Fragment XIII.

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Pfaffian

Irenæus, with reference to the answer of [1]Blandina to the heathen persecutor, was from this same epistle. It was much more probably taken from the treatise πρὸς Ἕλληνας, setting forth the cruelties that the Gallican Church had suffered in times of persecution; the moral argument for the truth of the Christian religion afforded by the constancy of its martyrs; the true idea also to be attached to Sacramental Communion, which Justin Martyr did not shrink from revealing in a similar way to the heathen. The term Ἕλληνες would bear the wider meaning of heathen, both in the title of the Irenæan treatise, and in the fragment now under consideration. Of the interpretation of the Apocalypse mentioned by S. Jerome, it is sufficient to say, that he refers in all probability to the statements of the fifth book *c. Hær.* upon this portion of Scripture. Photius moreover gives the title of a work *De Universo*, or *de Substantia Mundi*, ascribed by some to our author. The fragment numbered XXXII. may with some probability be referred to this work.

A certain degree of mystery attaches to the three fragments edited from the Turin collection by Pfaff; not at all however in consequence of any doubt that can affect the editor's account of how, when, and where he obtained them; but by reason of the entire disappearance of the Codices from whence they were taken. The fragments in question were published at the Hague A.D. 1715; in 1749 the [2]catalogue of the Turin collection was printed, and its editors, after diligent search through various *Catenæ*, could find no trace of them. Without charging Pfaff with dishonesty of any kind, they ask the very natural question why he gave no reference to the class-mark of the Codex,

[1] The martyrdom of Blandina gives an instance of wild beasts refusing to injure female purity and helplessness; καὶ μήδενος ἀψάμενου τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς, κ.τ.λ. Eus. *H. E.* v. 1.

[2] Catalogi MSS. Bibl. Reg. Taurinensis Athenæi. Recensuerunt Jos. Pasinus, &c. Taurin, 1749.

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Fragments.

or the portion of Scripture to which the *Catenæ* referred. They add that no Codex was missing from the list of the collection. But the MSS. had passed through the binder's hands in the intervening years, and they suggest the possibility that some leaves might have been lost.

In 1752 Pfaff gave an account of his discovery in the *N. Acta Eruditorum*, published at Leipsic. He found the MSS., as he says, neither classed nor marked, much less catalogued, but lying in great confusion, and very much as they had been seen shortly before by [1]Mabillon; except that the printed books were now separate from the MSS. But so little store was set by them, that a serious intention was expressed by the Curator of getting rid of the entire collection, with the exception of a *Tabula Isiaca*, and the volumes of *Pyrrhus Ligorius!* Pfaff then continues to tell his readers, that access was at first allowed, and permission given to make whatever extracts he pleased from these MSS. *omnis generis, queis literæ maxime sacræ augeri possint*, but afterwards these facilities were restricted, (*non amplius tam liber ut antea fuit,*) both as regards his own visits and those of Scip. Maffei. It is perfectly incredible either that he should have forged these fragments, which, as he truly says, *tam amice cum impressis S. Irenæi consentiunt, sua radiant authentica luce*, or that he should have removed those MSS. from the collection, whose existence he was about to indicate by publishing portions of them. Then, a comparison of his own notes of the collection with the printed catalogue shewed a considerable loss to the Library. One lost work that he instances is Origen's Philosophumena, *variæ lectiones* from which he had forwarded to [2]Wolf; but it contained no more than the first

[1] In Itin. Ital. § 13. *Bibliotheca palatii multis referta est codicibus variarum linguarum, sed qui in acervum cum editis congesti sunt ob nuperum incendium, quod multos libros corrupit.*

[2] See LEMOYNE, and MILLER's Pref. to the *Philosoph.* p. x.

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Pfaffian Fragments.

book, now known under the well ventilated name of Hippolytus; and the *var. lect.* in question are noted in Miller's edition of the *Philosophumena*.

It is unnecessary to enter further into this curious history of the *Fragmenta Anecdota*, than to state that Maffei, who had a subsequent opportunity of visiting and inspecting the collection, [1]disagreed with Pfaff with respect to the genuineness of these fragments, but never denied their existence; they disappeared therefore after his second visit. Pfaff answered this *critique* from Tubingen, and with the exception of a second paper of Maffei, 1716, for many years he heard no more upon the subject of the Turin MSS., until the Benedictine edition of Irenæus was reprinted at Venice in 1734. He was attacked in it upon other points; but his good faith as regards the existence of these *Anecdota* remained unimpeached. The Fragments therefore are offered to the reader, as possessing [2]good external authority, and far more convincing internal proof of genuineness, than can always be expected in such brief extracts.

It may be added that the reader is indebted to the *Spicilegium Solesmense* of M. Pitra, for the Armenian extracts, the last that demand our notice.

[1] *Giornale de' Letterati di Italia.* Venet. XVI. Art. IV. p. 216.

[2] Those who wish to know more concerning the views entertained respectively by writers of the Roman Communion and Lutherans with respect to the important statements contained in these Fragments, will find the following original documents in the second volume of STIEREN's edition, at p. 381, &c.:

a. The first letter of MAFFEI, published in the *Giornale de' Letterati*, 1716.

b. The answer of PFAFF, 1716.

c. MAFFEI's second letter, 1716.

d. Dissertatio Apologetica, by two pupils of PFAFF; in vindication of the genuineness of these Fragments, 1728.

e. The first epistle of F. M. LEONI, from the Veneto-Benedictine edition of IRENÆUS, 1734.

f. The second, from the same edition.

g. The third, *ibid.*

None of these deny the existence of the Fragments.

h. Extract from the Editor's Preface. *Catalog. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Taurin.* 1749.

i. Answer by CHR. M. PFAFF, 1751.

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Statements on the Eucharist.

Upon the doctrine of Irenæus it is not necessary to say many words. With few exceptions, and those not at all dependent upon doctrinal discrepancies, the Articles of the Church of England might be illustrated singly from the statement of Irenæus. The Index will enable each reader to do this for himself. The subject of the Holy Eucharist alone has given rise to expressions that need a few words of explanation.

First, I presume that a comparison of the several passages in the work *c. Hæreses*, that have reference to this subject, with the Fragment XXXVI., can throw no doubt whatever upon the genuineness of that Fragment; they present the same Catholic object of Faith to us in two different phases. In the work *c. Hær.* the subject of the Eucharist is advanced in opposition to the views respectively, of (I) the [1]Marcionite, who denied that the creation and the good gifts of God stored up in it, are the work of the Supreme Deity, or of the Divine Word; and (II) of the Valentinian, who affirmed that they were a product of ignorance and abortion. In either case there was great disparagement of the Creator's works; and the author introduces the mention of the Eucharist in course of his argument, not that he may explain the nature of that Sacrament, but that he may illustrate his reasoning from the known Catholic teaching of the Church, that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. How, therefore, should heresy declare that the Bread which Christ himself consecrated as His Body, and the Cup which He blessed as His Blood, are the creatures not of the Word, nor of God the Father, but of some subordinate Demiurge, half malignant and wholly ignorant? No one, I think, will read the statements noted below

[1] See II. 204.

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Statements

without allowing, that this is the bearing that the author's mention of the Eucharist has upon his argument.[1] And further, both Marcionite and Valentinian agreed in saying that the Saviour's Body was *phantasmal*, that it was of a heavenly formation indeed, but that it received nothing from the Blessed Virgin beyond mere transmission. But we know that our own bodies are substantial flesh and blood; we know, too, that the Bread and Wine, that by consecration become to us the very Body and Blood of Christ, nourish and strengthen us, to the increase of that bodily substance, that is so real in our own case; how, therefore, can the notion that the Body of Christ is phantasmal consist with the original terms of consecration, whereby it is said of the Bread and of the Cup, *this is my Body* and *this is my Blood?* It is quite necessary to bear in mind that the author is combating a purely Docetic view, by means of the traditional faith of the Church, that emanated confessedly from Christ himself, when we read his statement, that the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, nourishes, not merely the spiritual, but the bodily substance also of the believer. The heavenly and the earthly are made one, we know not how, in that Divine Mystery, but each still continues to discharge its own proper and natural function. That which is of the body is assimilated by the body, and in a purely natural way; that which is of the spirit goes to the nourishing and to the increase of the spirit. On the whole, the view of the Eucharist put forth by Irenæus agrees with the twenty-ninth article of our Church, scarcely perhaps with the latter portion of the twenty-eighth. In any case it should not be forgotten that an illustration may be very apt as helping the refutation of any particular heresy, and yet be far from edifying as an element of instruction. The

[1] II. 204—208; 257; 318—320.

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teaching of the Church to her children is excellently set forth in the few words of Fragment xxxvi., which it has already been conjectured may have been taken from a catechetical treatise *de Prædicatione Apostolica;* it exhibits that other phase of a Catholic verity of which mention was made above. on the Eucharist.

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PROLOGUS

FLORI DIACONI LUGDUNENSIS

IN

LIBROS S. IRENÆI CONTRA HÆRETICOS.

I. [1]Hyrenæus, episcopus civitatis Lugdunensis, instructus a Polycarpo discipulo Johannis apostoli, scripsit quinque libros cuidam episcopo, rogatus ab eo, *Contra hæreticos* valde necessarios; in quibus, ut sapiens architectus et providus medicus, perfecte nos instruit de hæresibus et hæresiarchis; primum detegens eorum prava dogmata et perversa opera, ne quis incidat in idipsum credulitatis exemplum. Nam, sicut medicus ægrum curare non potest, nisi causam morbi prius agnoscat, sic necesse fuit eum hæreticas pestes, cum suis causis, prius agnoscere, ut postmodum competenti medicina posset eis efficacius contraire.

II. In primis ergo, ipsas hæreses explicat, singulis assignans suas originales causas, scilicet a quibus acceperunt materiam exsistendi. Inter quod agendum, ponit et ignota nomina fictarum rerum, quas ipsi Virtutes appellabant, et quasi deos venerati sunt. De quorum scilicet nominum multitudine illatum tu, o lector, tædium patienter sustine, tandem philosophicarum rationum et divinarum auctoritatem copiosa dulcedine compensandum. Postea ipsos hæresiarchas nominatim memorat, et quid vel quantum, uniuscujusque discipuli suorum magistrorum adinventionibus addiderint, consequenter annectit. Dein, singulas hæreses singillatim aggrediens, et, probatissimi more philosophi, assumptis de rerum naturis peremptoriis rationibus, verum a falso discernit. Sanctitatis amictum, pravitati superductum, violenter abstrahit; ubi in melle venenum, ubi in columbæ specie vulpes lateat, curiosa

[1] The reader will observe several points of variation from Stieren's text, which is a very careless transcript from the Arundel MS.

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discussione perquirit. Hoc itaque modo sordidissimis phantasiis hæreticæ dolositatis solertissime deprehensis, et fidelium oculis patienter expositis, ad ultimum venenosos surculos, salutiferis radicibus adulterina plantatione insertos, multiplice [1]f[alce di]vinarum auctoritatum exstirpat, abjicit et culcat. Ejusdem quoque intentionis occasione, non solum quæ ab hæreticis corrupta sunt corrigit, sed insuper multa de veteri, multa de novo Testamento, ad munimentum veræ fidei, fideliter et luculenter exponit.

III. Sunt autem quinque causæ, quæ sumptum et laborem hujus libri transcribendi non sinunt, ut putamus, æstimari superfluum. Prima, quod perrarus est, hæreseum silentio, quod nunc solito vehementius interruptum est, ad ejus usum pæne neminem impellente. Secunda, quod auctor ejus antiquitatis, et apostolorum temporibus vicinus exstitit, et ideo fide dignus. Tertia, quod quæ de hæreticis scribit, non omnia per famam didicit, sed plurima de his præsenter ab eis audivit doceri, et vidit exerceri, utpote eorum *σύγχρονος*, id est, contemporaneus et comprovincialis. Quarta, quod de hæresibus illius temporis nemo plenius, sive planius noscitur disputasse. Quinta, quod arma militantis Ecclesiæ, [2]aliquantæ pacis occasione neglecta, resarciri plus solito necesse est, quia, defensore jam raro, tyrannis hæretica in eam tanto crudelius quanto impunius incipit efferari.

[1] The brackets represent a hole in the parchment.

[2] This indication of some active form of error, raising its head after a period of comparative tranquillity, agrees well with the supposition that FLORUS, Deacon of Lyons, was author of this *Prologus*. The predestinarian notions of John Scotus (Erigena) called forth a treatise by FLORUS, as well as the more widely known work by PRUDENTIUS, Bishop of Troyes. The impunity of which the writer speaks, may very possibly refer to the position of Scotus as enjoying the favour and protection of Charles the Bald. The date of this *Prologus*, therefore, may be placed at about 853 A.D.

Another treatise by FLORUS may be mentioned, as by no means void of interest, in which the right of the Church, clerical and lay, to appoint its own Bishops is asserted, as contrasted with the encroachments of the temporal power.

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Fr XV

A D 562

Fr XXV

SÆC VII VIII

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ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ

ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ

ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΛΟΥΓΔΟΥΝΟΥ

[1]ΕΛΕΓΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΤΡΟΠΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΨΕΥΔΩΝΥΜΟΥ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΠΕΝΤΕ.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α.

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ.

[2]Ἐπὶ [*l.* Ἐπεὶ] τὴν ἀλήθειαν [3]παραπεμπόμενοί τινες, ἐπεισάγουσι λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ γενεαλογίας [4]ματαίας, αἵτινες

Epiphanius de Hæres. xxxi. § 9—32.

LIBER I.

PRÆFATIO.

Quatenus veritatem refutantes quidam inducunt verba falsa, et *genealogias infinitas, quæ quæstiones magis præstant,*

1 Tim. i. 4. Tit. iii. 9.

[1] The author's title, see Præf. Libr. II. IV. V. The work is also quoted under this title by Euseb., Joh. Damasc., Photius, Œcumenius, &c. The Greek Text so far as I. v. § 2 is preserved by Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxi. § 9–32, who says at the same time that he makes an entire copy; τὰ ἑξῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προειρημένου ἀνδρὸς δούλου Θεοῦ, Εἰρηναίου δέ φημι, τὴν παράθεσιν ὁλοσχερῶς ποιήσομαι, ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. Various readings will also be noted as they occur from the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, who has occasionally made considerable extracts from the work of his preceptor.

[2] The translator read ἐπεί: for the ἀπόδοσις of the period the reader must refer to p. 4, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην κ.τ.λ.

[3] παραπεμπόμενοι] *setting aside*, so Esth. xiii. 4, παραπέμποντας διηνεκῶς τὰ τῶν βασιλέων διατάγματα. Hippolytus uses the term very much in the sense here indicated; in speaking of the Chaldæan astrology, he says, οὐδὲ τούτων τὴν ἄσοφον σοφίαν παραπέμψομαι, ἀλλ' ἐκθέμενος... ἐλέγξω. The translation *refutantes* has a cognate meaning in Cicero, *Quam quidem... bonitatem... non modo non aspernari ac* refutare *sed complecti atque augere debetis. Pro Rabir.* 16. Compare also III. xiv. *Si quis refutet et Lucam, quasi non cognoverit veritatem.* Elsewhere Irenæus shews that *Sige* and *Logos* are incompatible ideas, and the translator renders the Greek *Aut Sigen aut Logon refutent;* II. xv. 2, let them discard the one or the other. Again, *quædam refutare* is opposed to *quædam recipere,* III. xv. end. Hence Junius explains the word by παρωθοῦντες.

[4] S. Irenæus, who was of eastern extraction, had in all probability a more

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LIB. I. ζητήσεις μᾶλλον παρέχουσι, καθὼς ὁ Ἀπόστολός φησιν, ἢ οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει· καὶ διὰ τῆς πανούργως [1] συγ- MASS. p. 2. κεκροτημένης πιθανότητος παράγουσι τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀπειροτέρων, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν αὐτούς, [2] ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια Κυρίου, ἐξηγηταὶ κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημένων γινόμενοι· καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνατρέπουσιν, ἀπάγοντες αὐτοὺς προφάσει γνώσεως GRABE, p. 2. [3] ἀπὸ τοῦ τόδε τὸ πᾶν συστησαμένου καὶ κεκοσμηκότος, ὡς ὑψηλότερόν τι καὶ μεῖζον ἔχοντες ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῦ τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πεποιηκότος Θεοῦ·

cf. Tertull. Præscr. 8. 7. [4] πιθανῶς μὲν ἐπαγόμενοι διὰ λόγων τέχνης τοὺς ἀκεραίους εἰς τὸν τοῦ ζητεῖν τρόπον, ἀπιθάνως δὲ ἀπολλύντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ βλάσφημον καὶ ἀσεβῆ τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν εἰς τὸν Δημιουργὸν, μηδὲ [5] ἐν τῷ διακρίνειν δυναμένωι

quemadmodum Apostolus ait, *quam ædificationem Dei, quæ est in fide;* et per eam, quæ est subdole exercitata verisimilitudo, transducunt sensum eorum, qui sunt inexpertiores, et in captivitatem

2 Tim. iii. 6. ducunt eos, falsantes verba Domini, interpretatores mali eorum, quæ bene dicta sunt, effecti: et multos evertunt, attrahentes eos sub occasione agnitionis ab eo, qui hanc universitatem constituit et ordinavit [*l.* ornavit]; quasi altius aliquid et majus habentes ostendere, quam eum, qui cœlum et terram, et omnia quæ in eis sunt, fecit; suadenter quidem illi illiciunt per verborum artem simpliciores ad requirendi modum, male autem perdunt eos, in eo quod blasphemam et impiam ipsorum sententiam faciant in Fabricatorem, non discernere valentium falsum a vero.

familiar acquaintance in his early years, with some Syriac translation, than with the Greek original of the Scriptures of the New Testament. Instances of this will be indicated as they occur. This will serve to account for many of those variations from the sacred text, that have been ascribed to the habit of quoting from memory. In this place the Syriac for ἀπεράντους ܠܐ ܕܣܝܡ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܕܣܝ seems to have suggested the word ܡܛܥܝܢ *mataías*. Possibly the author's version may have shewn the reading ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܣܝ ἐν αἷς ματαιότης.

[1] The meaning being, *by plausible assertions craftily insinuated.* So *in Axioch.*: Κἂν πιθανωτέρους τούτων λόγους ἄρτι κροτήσῃς.

[2] ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες] cf. 2 Cor. iv. 2, δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[3] The Demiurge, the Creator of the material universe, was far inferior to the Supreme Bythus in the Gnostic Theosophy.

[4] πιθανῶς] *speciously*, ἀπιθάνως, *absurdly.*

[5] ἐν τῷ] There is no need to adopt any of the proposed conjectural alterations; the words may have the force of ἐν τούτῳ. So ÆSCH. Ἑπτὰ ἐ. Θ. 511:

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τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς· ἡ γὰρ [1]πλάνη καθ' αὑτὴν μὲν οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυται, ἵνα μὴ γυμνωθεῖσα γένηται κατάφωρος· πιθανῷ δὲ περιβλήματι πανούργως κοσμουμένη, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀληθεστέραν ἑαυτὴν παρέχειν [2][*l.* παρέχει] φαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν φαντασίας τοῖς ἀπειροτέροις· καθὼς ὑπὸ [3]τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῶν εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅτι λίθον τὸν τίμιον σμάραγδον ὄντα, καὶ πολυτίμητόν τισιν, ὕαλος ἐνυβρίζει διὰ τέχνης παρομοιουμένη, ὁπόταν μὴ παρῇ ὁ σθένων δοκιμάσαι, καὶ τέχνῃ [*Int.* τέχνην] διελέγξαι τὴν πανούργως γενομένην· ὅταν δὲ ἐπιμιγῇ ὁ χαλκὸς εἰς τὸν ἄργυρον, LIB. I. Cf. III. xix. M. 3.

Error enim secundum semetipsum non ostenditur, ne denudatus fiat comprehensibilis, suasorio autem cooperimento subdole adornatus, et ipsa veritate ([4]ridiculum est et dicere) veriorem semetipsum præstat, ut decipiat exteriori phantasmate rudiores: quemadmodum a meliore nobis dictum est de hujusmodi: Quoniam lapidem pretiosum smaragdum magni pretii apud quosdam, vitreum in ejus contumeliam per artem assimilatum, quoadusque non adest, qui potest probare, et artificium arguere, quod subdole sit factum. Quum enim commixtum fuerit

ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται, and SOPH. *Œd. Col.* 742:

πᾶς σε Καδμείων λεὼς
καλεῖ δικαίως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μάλιστ' ἐγώ.

In the same way πρὸ τοῦ for πρὸ τούτου is not unusual. The meaning being, *who not even in so gross a fiction as the Gnostic theory of the Demiurge, can distinguish truth from falsehood.* Once for all it may be observed, that the Latin version is no infallible index to the true reading in the Greek.

[1] TERTULLIAN says of the same heretical crew; *Nihil magis curant quam occultare quod prædicant; si tamen prædicant quod occultant. c. Val.* I.

[2] The reader will observe that necessary alterations are expressed by a correction within brackets, the faulty text remaining unaltered.

[3] τοῦ κρείττονος] IRENÆUS not unfrequently quotes the words of some venerable elder. Possibly he may sometimes refer to POLYCARP, (compare II. xxxix. with IV. lii. and III. xix. end, xxxv.) whom in early life he had seen and heard, and of whom he had a vivid recollection, as regards τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφήν, κ.τ.λ. *Ep. ad Florin.* But generally perhaps, Pothinus, his predecessor in the see of Lyons, is meant: as for example in citing the Iambic verses against the Gallican heretic Marcus, I. xii. 4. It is certain that in one place he speaks of one who had received instruction from the Apostles; in another, of the disciple of apostolic men. Compare IV. xlv. and lii.

[4] The translator indicates the missing words ὁ καὶ εἰπεῖν γελοῖον. In the same sentence, *præstat* is the reading of the Clerm. and Arund. MSS., but MASSUET alters it to *præfert*, which he found in the Voss. MS.

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LIB. I. τίς εὐκόλως δυνήσεται τοῦτον [1]ἀκεραίως [*Int.* ἀκέραιος ὤν] δοκιμάσαι; ἵνα οὖν μὴ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰτίαν συναρπάζωνταί τινες, ὡς πρόβατα ὑπὸ λύκων, ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἔξωθεν τῆς προβατείου δορᾶς [2]ἐπιβουλὴν, οὓς φυλάσσειν παρήγγελκεν ἡμῖν Κύριος, ὅμοια μὲν λαλοῦντας, [3]ἀνόμοια δὲ G. 3. φρονοῦντας, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην, ἐντυχὼν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, Οὐαλεντίνου μαθητῶν, ἐνίοις δ' αὐτῶν καὶ συμβαλὼν, καὶ καταλαβόμενος τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν, μηνύσαι σοι, ἀγαπητὲ, τὰ τερατώδη καὶ βαθέα μυστήρια, ἃ οὐ πάντες [4]χωροῦσιν, ἐπεὶ μὴ πάντες τὸν ἐγκέφαλον [5]ἐξεπτύκασιν, ὅπως

æramentum argento, quis facile poterit, rudis cum sit, hoc probare? Igitur ne forte et cum nostro delicto abripiantur quidam quasi oves a lupis, ignorantes eos propter exterius ovilis pellis superindumentum, a quibus cavere denunciavit nobis Dominus, similia quidem nobis loquentes, dissimilia vero sentientes: necessarium duxi, cum legerim Commentarios ipsorum, quemadmodum ipsi dicunt, Valentini discipulorum, quibusdam autem ipsorum et congressus, et apprehendens sententiam ipsorum, manifestare tibi, Dilectissime, portentuosissima et altissima mysteria, quæ non omnes capiunt, quia non omnes cerebrum habent, ut et tu

[1] The close concurrence of two adverbs in the same sentence is so harsh, that there can be little doubt but that ἀκέραιος ὤν, Lat. *rudis cum sit*, is the genuine reading.

[2] ἐπιβολὴν was the reading of the Latin translation, and is preferred by STIEREN in his note, although he retains ἐπιβουλὴν in the text: but it is objectionable as rendering superfluous the word ἔξωθεν. The ἐπιβολὴ of a fleece could not be otherwise than external.

[3] TERTULLIAN charges other heretics with mutilating scripture, but VALENTINUS, with perverting its true meaning. *Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio, quam Marcion, manus intulit veritati. Marcion exerte et palam machæra non stylo usus est; quoniam ad materiam suam eædem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit; quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit; et tamen plus abstulit et plus adjecit, auferens proprietates singulorum quoque verborum, et adjiciens proprietates non comparentium rerum. De Præscr. Hær.* 38. The reader is referred to the Appendix for the various fragments that have been preserved of the writings of Valentinus, and of his immediate followers.

[4] Ironice. So TERTULLIAN says, *Si bona fide quæras, concreto vultu, suspenso supercilio*, Altum est, *aiunt. Si subtiliter tentes, per ambiguitates bilingues communem fidem affirmant. c. Val.* 1, compare § 8 below and IV. lxix.

[5] For ἐξεπτύκασι. The Latin translator may perhaps have read ἐχς (abbrev. for ἔχοντες) τετυχήκασι. The present reading, as being the more difficult, is more likely to be genuine, and may

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καὶ σὺ μαθὼν αὐτὰ, πᾶσι τοῖς μετά σου φανερὰ ποιήσῃς, καὶ παραινέσῃς αὐτοῖς φυλάξασθαι τὸν [1]βυθὸν τῆς ἀνοίας, καὶ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν [*Int.* Θεὸν] βλασφημίας. Καὶ, καθὼς δύναμις ἡμῖν, τήν τε γνώμην αὐτῶν τῶν νῦν παραδιδασκόντων, λέγω δὴ τῶν περὶ Πτολεμαῖον, [2]ἀπάνθισμα οὖσαν τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς, συντόμως καὶ σαφῶς ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, καὶ ἀφορμὰς δώσομεν κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν μετριότητα, πρὸς τὸ ἀνατρέπειν αὐτὴν, ἀλλόκοτα καὶ ἀνάρμοστα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, μήτε συγγράφειν εἰθισμένοι, μήτε λόγων τέχνην ἠσκηκότες· ἀγάπης δὲ ἡμᾶς προτρεπομένης σοί τε καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μετά σου μηνύσαι τὰ μέχρι μὲν νῦν [3]κεκρυμμένα, ἤδη δὲ κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς φανερὸν ἐληλυθότα διδάγματα· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι κεκαλυμμένον, ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, καὶ κρυπτὸν, ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.

LIB. I.

M. 4.

cognoscens ea, omnibus his, qui sunt tecum, manifesta facias, et præcipias eis observare se a profundo insensationis, et ejus, quæ est in Deum, blasphemationis. Et quantum nobis virtutis adest, sententiam ipsorum, qui nunc aliud docent, dico autem eorum, qui sunt circa Ptolemæum, quæ est velut [4]flosculum Valentini scholæ, compendiose et manifeste ostendemus, et aliis occasiones dabimus secundum nostram mediocritatem ad evertendum eam, non stantia, neque apta veritati ostendentes ea, quæ ab iis dicuntur: neque conscribere consueti, neque qui sermonum arti studuerimus: dilectione autem nos adhortante, et tibi et omnibus, qui sunt tecum, manifestare, quæ usque adhuc erant absconsæ, jam autem secundum gratiam Dei in manifestum venerunt doctrinæ ipsorum. *Nihil enim est coopertum, quod non manifestabitur; et nihil absconsum, quod non cognoscetur.* Matt. x. 26.

be rendered, "Have purged the brain." *Facetus, emunctæ naris,* is a parallel expression in HORACE, and MASSUET compares the lines in PLAUTUS:

"Immo etiam cerebrum quoque omne
e capite emunx'ti meum,
Nam omnia malefacta vestra repperi
radicitus."

Mostell. V. 1. 61.

[1] In allusion to Βυθός, the root of the Valentinian system, c. 1.

[2] See I. i. and vi. II. iv. and xl. Compare also HIPPOLYT. *Philos.* VI. 29, 35, 38. ἀπάνθισμα, in allusion possibly to the *fructifications* of VALENTINUS; the word καρποφορία was commonly applied by the Gnostics in the sense of "emanative evolution."

[3] Compare the *Philosophumena*, vi. 9, where the words of SIMON MAGUS are recorded, "διὸ ἔσται ἐσφραγισμένον, κεκρυμμένον, κεκαλυμμένον, κείμενον ἐν τῷ οἰκητηρίῳ οὗ ἡ ῥίζα τῶν ὅλων τεθεμελίωται." In the Cabbala יסוד = יקור

[4] *Flosculum* as a neuter nominative, where we should expect *flosculus*.

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LIB. I.

Οὐκ ἐπιζητήσεις δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν [1]Κελτοῖς διατριβόντων, καὶ περὶ βάρβαρον διάλεκτον τὸ πλεῖστον ἀσχολουμένων, λόγων τέχνην, ἣν οὐκ ἐμάθομεν, οὔτε δύναμιν συγγραφέως, ἣν οὐκ ἠσκήσαμεν, οὔτε καλλωπισμὸν λέξεων, οὔτε πιθανότητα, ἣν οὐκ οἴδαμεν· ἀλλὰ ἁπλῶς, καὶ ἀληθῶς, G. 4. καὶ [2]ἰδιωτικῶς τὰ μετὰ ἀγάπης σοι γραφέντα, μετὰ ἀγάπης σὺ προσδέξῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς αὐξήσεις αὐτὰ παρὰ σεαυτῷ, ἅτε ἱκανώτερος ἡμῶν τυγχάνων, οἱονεὶ σπέρματα καὶ ἀρχὰς λαβὼν παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλάτει σου τοῦ νοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ καρποφορήσεις τὰ δι' ὀλίγων ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένα, καὶ δυνατῶς παραστήσεις τοῖς μετὰ σοῦ τὰ ἀσθενῶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπηγγελμένα· καὶ ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐφιλοτιμήθημεν, πάλαι ζητοῦντός σου μαθεῖν τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν, μὴ μόνον σοι ποιῆσαι φανερὰν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφόδια δοῦναι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτὴν ψευδῆ·

Cf. xxxv. sub f.

Non autem exquires a nobis, qui apud Celtas commoramur, et in barbarum sermonem plerumque vacamus, orationis artem, quam non didicimus, neque vim conscriptoris, quam non affectavimus, neque ornamentum verborum, neque suadelam, quam nescimus: sed simpliciter et vere et idiotice ea, quæ tibi cum dilectione scripta sunt, cum dilectione percipies, et ipse [3]auges ea penes te, ut magis idoneus quam nos, quasi semen et initia accipiens a nobis: et in latitudine sensus tui in multum fructificabis ea, quæ in paucis a nobis dicta sunt, et potenter asseres iis, qui tecum sunt, ea quæ invalide a nobis relata sunt. Et quemadmodum nos elaboravimus, olim quærenti tibi discere sententiam eorum, non solum facere tibi manifestam, sed et subministrationem dare, uti ostenderemus eam falsam: sic et

[1] Gaul was divided into three parts, as we learn from the opening of CÆSAR's Commentaries, and from PLINY, iv. 17. To the North of the Seine were the Belgæ, to the South of the Garonne the Aquitani, and between these two rivers the Celtæ; "Ab eâ ad Garumnam Celtica, eademque Lugdunensis." Lyons, the capital of Celtic Gaul, having been the see of Irenæus, it was by the effect of gross ignorance that the MSS. of EPIPHANIUS exhibited the reading of Δελφοῖς, first replaced by Κελτοῖς in the edition of Petavius.

[2] *ἰδιωτικῶς*, with no affectation of style.

[3] *Auges*, this as GRABE and MASSUET imagine, is one of those verbs that follow the inflexion both of the second and third conjugations, a future meaning being assigned to this word, as required by the preceding verb in the translation, and by *αὐξήσεις* in the Greek.

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οὕτω δὲ καὶ σὺ φιλοτίμως τοῖς λοιποῖς διακονήσεις, κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σοὶ δεδομένην, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι παρασύρεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων πιθανολογίας, οὔσης τοιαύτης.

tu efficaciter reliquis ministrabis secundum gratiam, quæ tibi a Domino data est, ut jam non abstrahantur homines ab illorum suadela, quæ est talis.

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Κεφ. α'.

M. 5.
G. 7.

Narratio omnis argumenti discipulorum Valentini.

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GR. I. i. 1.
MASS. I. i. 1.

Epiph. Hær. xxxi. cf. Theodoret. Hær. Fab. i. 7. &c. Tertull. adv. Val.

1. ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ [1]γάρ τινα εἶναι ἐν ἀοράτοις καὶ ἀκατονομάστοις ὑψώμασι [2]τέλειον Αἰῶνα προόντα· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ [προαρχὴν καὶ] προπάτορα καὶ Βυθὸν καλοῦσιν. [3]..... ὑπάρχοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀχώρητον καὶ ἀόρατον, ἀΐδιόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἠρεμίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονέναι ἐν ἀπείροις αἰῶσι [4][χρόνων]. συνυπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ἔννοιαν, ἣν δὴ

CAP. I.

1. Dicunt esse quendam in invisibilibus, et inenarrabilibus alitudinibus perfectum Æonem, qui ante fuit. Hunc autem et Proarchen, et Propatora, et Bython vocant: esse autem illum invisibilem, et quem nulla res capere possit. Cum autem a nullo caperetur, et esset invisibilis, sempiternus, et ingenitus, in silentio et in quiete multa fuisse, in immensis æonibus. Cum

[1] Epiphanius in his work upon the heresies has preserved to us the Greek text of this chapter, Theodoret has an abstract of it, and Tertullian also borrowed largely from it before the close of the second century, in his treatise against the Valentinians, and his words are often of great service as a test of the Greek. Hippolytus, and the *Didasc. Or.* Clem. Al. give the oriental phase of this heresy.

[2] Τέλειον Αἰῶνα. Tertullian *adv. Val.* 7: *Hunc substantialiter quidem* αἰῶνα τέλειον *appellant; personaliter vero* προάρχην *et* τὴν ἀρχήν, *etiam Bythion* (*mel.* Βυθόν,) *quod in sublimibus habitanti minime congruebat;* and elsewhere Valentinus, *ausus est deos concipere Bython et Sigen, cum usque ad triginta Æonum fœtus, tamquam Æoniæ scrofæ, examen divinitatis effudit. c. Marc.* i. 5. Grabe says in his note, "*Æon* igitur Valentinianis Deum denotavit; pro qua significatione, a Lexicographis prætermissa, duorum Philosophorum auctoritatem accipe, Epicteti gentilis, et Pseudo-Dionysii Christiani. Hic apud Arrianum eadem, qua Valentinus vixit, ætate florentem, lib. II. cap. 5. [ante medium,] mortis necessitatem considerans, ait: οὐ γάρ εἰμι αἰών, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος. *Neque enim sum Deus, sed homo.* Ille autem lib. de Divinis Nominibus cap. 5. § 4. Deus dicitur ἀρχὴ καὶ μέτρον αἰώνων, καὶ χρόνων ὀντότης, καὶ Αἰὼν τῶν ὄντων, *Principium et mensura seculorum, et temporum essentia, et Ævum eorum quæ existunt.* Nam quemadmodum in αἰῶνι sive æternitate, nec præteritum, nec futurum datur, sed semper præsens; ita et Deus οὔτε ἦν, οὔτε ἔσται, οὔτε ἐγένετο, οὔτε γίνεται, οὔτε γενήσεται, ut Dionysius ibidem addit, indeque concludit: Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Αἰὼν τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ ὑπάρχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων." עולם in the Cabbala means any multitudinous system; and each αἰὼν was a pleroma, § 4.

[3] Videtur Irenæus scripsisse: ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀχώρητον, Scriba vero hæc omisisse, quod eadem fere mox recurrant: ὑπάρχοντα δὲ αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ. Grabe.

[4] χρόνων, Grabe justly considers to be an interpolation. It is neither expressed in the old version nor is it

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καὶ Χάριν, καὶ Σιγὴν ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ ἐννοηθῆναί ποτε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προβαλέσθαι τὸν Βυθὸν τοῦτον, ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων καὶ καθάπερ σπέρμα, τὴν προβολὴν ταύτην, ἣν προβαλέσθαι ἐνενοήθη, καὶ [1]καθέσθαι ὡς ἐν μήτρᾳ τῇ συνυπαρχούσῃ ἑαυτῷ Σιγῇ· ταύτην δὲ ὑποδεξαμένην τὸ σπέρμα τοῦτο καὶ ἐγκύμονα γενομένην, ἀποκυῆσαι Νοῦν, ὅμοιόν τε καὶ ἴσον τῷ προβαλόντι, καὶ μόνον χωροῦντα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Πατρός· τὸν δὲ Νοῦν τοῦτον καὶ Μονογενῆ καλοῦσι, καὶ Πατέρα, [2]καὶ Ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων· συμπροβεβλῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀλήθειαν· καὶ εἶναι ταύτην πρῶτον καὶ ἀρχέγονον [3]Πυθαγορικὴν τετρακτύν, ἣν καὶ ῥίζαν τῶν πάντων καλοῦσιν· ἔστι γὰρ Βυθὸς καὶ Σιγή, ἔπειτα

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G. 8.

M. 6.

ipso autem fuisse et Ennœan, quam etiam Charin, et Sigen vocant: et aliquando voluisse a semetipso emittere hunc Bythum initium omnium, et velut semen prolationem hanc præmitti voluit, et eam deposuisse quasi in vulva ejus, quæ cum eo erat, Sige. Hanc autem suscepisse semen hoc, et prægnantem factam generasse Nun, similem et æqualem ei, qui emiserat, et solum capientem magnitudinem Patris. Nun autem hunc, et Unigenitum vocant, et Patrem, et Initium omnium. Una autem cum eo emissam Veritatem, et hanc esse primam et primogenitam Pythagoricam quaternationem, quam et radicem omnium dicunt. Est enim Bythus et Sige, deinde Nus et

indicated in TERTULLIAN'S *Infinitis retro ævis; αἰῶσι* is used here in the ordinary and not in the Valentinian sense of the word; therefore *χρόνων* was in all probability the exegetical addition of some scribe.

[1] STIEREN restores in the text *καταθέσθαι* on the faith of the Paris and Breslau MSS.; but *καθίεσθαι* is not an unlikely reading.

[2] *Νοῦς* having the two other names of *πατὴρ* and *ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων*, *Βυθὸς* from whence *Νοῦς* emanated, was also distinguished by the appellation of *προπάτωρ* and *προαρχή*. See II. 7. and 55.

[3] SELDEN, *de Diis Syr.*, Syntagm. II. c. I, and GALE in his *Court of the Gentiles*, Pt. II. c. ii. 8, say, that the Pythagoric Tetractys was no other than the *ὄνομα τετραγράμματον*, the Hebrew Jehovah; certainly the philosopher might easily have become acquainted with the name of God from his intercourse with learned Jews in his travels in Egypt, Persia and Chaldæa, and during his abode at Sidon. JOSEPHUS also and PORPHYRY declare that he had communication with the people of God. An intelligent Tetrad is here evidently spoken of by IRENÆUS, and not an irrational combination of mere numbers. See CUDWORTH, *Intell. Syst.* B. IV. § 20. But in the Pythagorean system the properties of numbers, of all things the most distinct from matter, and pure intellectual abstractions, were adopted to symbolize the immaterial and wholly spiritual nature of the Divine intellect. The foundation of ancient Theic philosophy was the axiom that the Nature of the

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Νοῦς καὶ Ἀλήθεια. Αἰσθόμενόν τε τὸν Μονογενῆ τοῦτον ἐφ' οἷς προεβλήθη, προβαλεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν Λόγον καὶ Ζωὴν, πατέρα πάντων τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ [1]μόρφωσιν παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος. Ἐκ δὴ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Ζωῆς προβεβλῆσθαι κατὰ συζυγίαν [2]Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν· καὶ εἶναι ταύτην ἀρχέγονον Ὀγδοάδα, ῥίζαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν τῶν πάντων, τέτρασιν ὀνόμασι παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένων, [l. καλουμένην] Βυθῷ, καὶ Νῷ, καὶ Λόγῳ, καὶ Ἀνθρώπῳ· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἀῤῥενόθηλυν· οὕτως πρῶτον τὸν Προπάτορα ἡνῶσθαι κατὰ συζυγίαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ Ἐννοίᾳ· τὸν δὲ Μονογενῆ, τουτέστι τὸν Νοῦν, τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ· τὸν δὲ Λόγον τῇ Ζωῇ, καὶ τὸν Ἄνθρωπον τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς Αἰῶνας εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Πατρὸς προβεβλημένους, βουληθέντας καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου δοξάσαι τὸν Πατέρα, προβαλεῖν προβολὰς ἐν συζυγίᾳ· τὸν μὲν Λόγον καὶ τὴν Ζωὴν, μετὰ τὸ προβαλέσθαι τὸν Ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἄλλους

Alethia. Sentientem autem Unigenitum hunc in quæ prolatus est, emisisse et ipsum Logon et Zoen, patrem omnium eorum, qui post se futuri essent, et initium et formationem universi Pleromatis. De Logo autem et Zoe emissum secundum conjugationem, Hominem et Ecclesiam, et esse hanc primogenitam Octonationem, radicem et substantiam omnium, quatuor nominibus apud eos nuncupatam, Bython, et Nun, et Logon, et Anthropon. Esse enim illorum unumquemque masculo-fœminam, sic, initio Propatorem illum coisse secundum conjugationem suæ Ennœæ, id est, cogitationi, quam Gratiam et Silentium vocant: Unigenitum autem, hoc est, Nun Alethiæ, id est, Veritati: Logon autem Zoæ, id est, Vitæ: et Anthropon cum Ecclesia. Hos autem Æonas in gloriam Patris emissos, volentes et ipsos de suo clarificare Patrem, emisisse emissiones in conjugatione; Logon quidem et Zoen posteaquam emissus est Homo et Ecclesia,

Deity is wholly unintelligible and inscrutable. This, as will be seen, gave rise to some of the most startling assertions of ancient heresy. The reader may compare that which has been said in the prefatory remarks upon Basilides.

[1] So TERTULLIAN, *Nus simul accepit probationis suæ officium, emittit et ipse ex semetipso, Sermonem et Vitam ... Sed et hæc soboles ad initium universitatis, et formati* [l. *formationem*] *Pleromatis totius emissa. c. Val.* 7.

[2] The archetypal idea of Man, and of the Church of redeemed souls in the Divine Mind, ἐν δυνάμει, as the Gnostic would say, not ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ.

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δέκα Αἰῶνας, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα λέγουσι ταῦτα· Βύθιος καὶ Μίξις, [1]Ἀγήρατος καὶ Ἑνώσις, Αὐτοφυὴς καὶ Ἡδονή, Ἀκίνητος καὶ Σύγκρασις, Μονογενὴς καὶ Μακαρία· οὗτοι δέκα Αἰῶνες, οὓς καὶ φάσκουσιν ἐκ Λόγου καὶ Ζωῆς προβεβλῆσθαι. τὸν δὲ Ἄνθρωπον καὶ αὐτὸν προβαλεῖν μετὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Αἰῶνας δώδεκα, οἷς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα χαρίζονται· Παράκλητος καὶ Πίστις, Πατρικὸς καὶ Ἐλπὶς, Μητρικὸς καὶ Ἀγάπη, [2]Αἰνους καὶ Σύνεσις, Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καὶ Μακαριότης, Θελητὸς καὶ Σοφία· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τριάκοντα Αἰῶνες τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν, οἱ [3]σεσιγημένοι καὶ μὴ γινωσκόμενοι· τοῦτο τὸ ἀόρατον καὶ πνευματικὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς πλήρωμα, τριχῆ διεσταμένον [4]εἰς ὀγδοάδα, καὶ δεκάδα, καὶ δωδεκάδα. Καὶ διὰ

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M. 7.

G. 9.

II. xii.

alteros decem Æonas, quorum nomina dicunt hæc: Bythius et Mixis, Ageratos et Henosis, Autophyes et Hedone, Acinetos et Syncrasis, Monogenes et Macaria. Hi decem Æones, quos dicunt ex Logo et Zoe emissos. Anthropon autem et ipsum emisisse cum Ecclesia Æonas duodecim, quibus nomina hæc donant: Paracletus et Pistis, Patricos et Elpis, Metricos et Agape, Ænos et Synesis, Ecclesiasticos et Macariotes, [5]Theletos et Sophia. Hi sunt triginta erroris eorum Æones, qui tacentur et non agnoscuntur. Hoc invisibile et spiritale secundum eos Pleroma, tripartite divisum in octonationem, et decada, et duo-

[1] Compare the Latin translation of these names, II. 19. For their rationale the reader is referred to the Prolegomena. The ten emanations from Logos and Zoe, referred in the Eastern system of this heresy to Nous and Alethia, are characteristic of the self-existent depth of blessedness of the Logos combined with that plastic energy whereby he is the Light and Life of Creation. He is the modal subsistence of the creative energy, the source of all generative life diffused throughout the universe.

[2] Since the male Æons have a derivative meaning, the term Αἰνους is hardly in keeping with the rest. TERTULLIAN has Ænos. Probably *αἰώνιος* was written, for HIPPOLYTUS in the *Philosoph.* combines it with the preceding as *ἀγάπη αἰῶνος*. VI. 30.

[3] *Sige... quæ et ipsis hæreticis suis tacere præscribit.* TERT. *c. Val.* 9. *τούτους φασι, τοὺς λ' αἰῶνας τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασω ἀδήλους εἶναι, αὐτοῖς δὲ μόνοις γνωρίμους.* THEODORET. *Hær. Fab.* I. 7.

[4] The ogdoad being Bythus, Sige, and the three primary pair of Æons. The decad, those evolved from Logos and Zoe; the dodecad, the six pair that emanated from Anthropos and Ecclesia,

[5] TERTULLIAN has Phileti as also in c. 30 and 32 *adv. Val.* But Theleti is no doubt the true reading, and it agrees best with the Valentinian myth, that Sophia transgressed by acting independently of the Divine Will. MASSUET, without much reason, supposes that this Æon had two names.

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τοῦτο τὸν Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ Κύριον ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸν θέλουσι) τριάκοντα ἔτεσι κατὰ τὸ φανερὸν μηδὲν πεποιηκέναι, ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ μυστήριον τούτων τῶν Αἰώνων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παραβολῆς τῶν εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα πεμπομένων ἐργατῶν φασὶ φανερώτατα τοὺς τριάκοντα τούτους Αἰῶνας μεμηνύσθαι· πέμπονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν περὶ πρώτην ὥραν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τρίτην, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἕκτην, οἱ δὲ περὶ ἐνάτην, ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ ἑνδεκάτην· συντιθέμεναι οὖν αἱ προειρημέναι ὧραι εἰς ἑαυτὰς, τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα ἀριθμὸν ἀναπληροῦσι· μία γὰρ, καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ ἕξ, καὶ ἐννέα, καὶ ἕνδεκα, τριάκοντα γίνονται· διὰ δὲ τῶν ὡρῶν τοὺς Αἰῶνας μεμηνύσθαι θέλουσι. Καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀπόῤῥητα

decada: et propter hoc Salvatorem dicunt (nec enim Dominum eum nominare volunt) triginta [1]annis in manifesto nihil fecisse, ostendentem mysterium horum Æonum. Sed et in parabola eorum operariorum, qui in vineam mittuntur, dicunt manifestissime triginta hos Æonas declaratos. Mittuntur enim alii quidem circa primam horam, alii circa tertiam, alii circa sextam, alii circa nonam, alii circa undecimam. Compositæ igitur prædictæ horæ in semetipsas, triginta numerum adimplent. Una enim, et tres, et sex, et novem, et undecim, triginta fiunt. Per horas autem Æonas manifestari volunt: et hæc esse magna et admirabilia et abscondita mysteria, quæ ipsi fructificant: et

Luc. iii. 23. Matt. xx. 2.

according to the western system; the oriental scheme referred the decad to Nous and Alethia, and the dodecad to Logos and Zoe. Valentinus himself seems to have considered Bythus as a monad, and Sige a mere nonentity. The two later Æons, Christ and the Holy Spirit, would then complete the mystical number XXX. Hippolytus says, γίνονται τριάκοντα αἰῶνες μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, *Philos.* VI. 31. But he proceeds to say that others incorporated Bythus and Sige, i. e. the followers of Valentinus did so. Τινὲς δὲ συνυπάρχειν τῷ Πατρὶ εἰς γῆν (l. τὴν σιγὴν) καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς καταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας θέλουσιν. The myth that Sophia evolved Enthymesis independently of her σύζυγος, agrees well with the supposition that Bythus, whom she imitated, was the sole source from whence Nous and Alethia emanated. The term also, ἀῤῥενόθηλυς, so constantly applied to Bythus, indicates the same notion. IRENÆUS, it should be remembered, is exhibiting the later system of the Valentinian Ptolemæus. HIPPOLYTUS describing the original scheme of VALENTINUS says, ἠθέλησε μιμήσασθαι τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἐγέννησε καθ' ἑαυτὴν δίχα τοῦ συζύγου, ἵνα μηδὲν ᾖ ἔργον ὑποδεέστερον τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰργασμένη, ἀγνοοῦσα ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἀγέννητος ὑπάρχων ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων καὶ ῥίζα, καὶ βάθος, καὶ βυθὸς, δυνατῶς ἔχει γεννῆσαι μόνος. *Philosoph.* VI. 30.

[1] *Annis*, as agreeing closely with the Greek text, is more likely to be the original word than *Annos* of the Arund. MS.

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Μυστήρια, ἃ καρποφοροῦσιν αὐτοί, καὶ εἴ που τι τῶν ἐν πλήθει εἰρημένων ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς δυνηθείη προσαρμόσαι, καὶ εἰκάσαι τῷ πλάσματι αὐτῶν. LIB. I. i. 2. GR. I. i. 2. MASS. I. ii. 1.

G. 10. M. 8. 2. Τὸν μὲν οὖν Προπάτορα αὐτῶν γινώσκεσθαι μόνῳ λέγουσι τῷ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότι Μονογενεῖ, τουτέστι τῷ Νῷ· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον ὑπάρχειν· μόνος δὲ ὁ Νοῦς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐτέρπετο θεωρῶν τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τὸ ἀμέτρητον αὐτοῦ κατανοῶν ἠγάλλετο· καὶ διενοεῖτο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς αἰῶσιν ἀνακοινώσασθαι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἡλίκος τε καὶ ὅσος ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ὡς ἦν ἄναρχός τε καὶ ἀχώρητος, καὶ οὐ καταληπτὸς ἰδεῖν· [1]κατέσχε δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ Σιγὴ βουλήσει τοῦ Πατρὸς, διὰ τὸ θέλειν πάντας αὐτοὺς εἰς ἔννοιαν καὶ πόθον ζητήσεως τοῦ προειρημένου Προπάτορος αὐτῶν ἀγαγεῖν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν λοιποὶ ὁμοίως Αἰῶνες ἡσυχῇ πως ἐπεπόθουν τὸν προβολέα τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἄναρχον [2]ῥίζαν ἱστορῆσαι· προήλατο δὲ πολὺ ὁ τελευταῖος

sicubi quid eorum, [3]quæ dicuntur in scripturis, poterunt adaptare et assimilare figmento suo.

2. Et propatorem quidem eorum cognosci soli dicunt ei, qui ex eo natus est, Monogeni, hoc est, [4]No: reliquis vero omnibus invisibilem et incomprehensibilem esse. Solus autem Nus, secundum eos delectabatur videns Patrem, et magnitudinem immensam ejus considerans exultabat, et excogitabat reliquis quoque Æonibus participare magnitudinem Patris; quantus et quam magnus existeret, et quemadmodum erat sine initio, et incapabilis, et incomprehensibilis ad videndum. Continuit autem eum Sige voluntate Patris, quoniam vellet omnes hos in intellectum et desiderium exquisitionis Patris sui adducere. Et reliqui quidem Æones omnes tacite quodammodo desiderabant prolatorem seminis sui videre, et eam, quæ sine initio est, radicem contemplari. Præsiliit autem valde ultimus et junior de duo-

[1] Clem. Alex. in the *Didasc. Or.* § 29, says of Sige, Σιγὴ, φασὶν, μήτηρ οὖσα πάντων τῶν ὑποβληθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βάθους (βύθους), ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔσχεν εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀῤῥήτου σεσίγηκεν· ὁ δὲ κατέλαβεν, τοῦτο ἀκατάληπτον προσηγόρευσεν.

[2] In the Cabbalistic scheme of *Sephiroth* that upon which created nature depended was יסוד *fundamentum*, or יקור *radix*.

[3] *Quæ dicuntur in scripturis*] Hic inserendæ duæ voces: *in multitudine*, (juxta Græca ἐν πλήθει) per incuriam scribæ forte ob recurrentem præpositionem *in* omissæ. Grabe.

[4] *Ita Cod. Arund.*, says Grabe, but

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LIB. I. i. 2. GR. I. i. 2. MASS. I. ii. 2.

καὶ νεώτατος τῆς δωδεκάδος, τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, προβεβλημένος Αἰὼν, τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία, καὶ ἔπαθε πάθος ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιπλοκῆς τοῦ ζυγοῦ [*l.* συζ.] τοῦ Θελητοῦ· [1]ὃ ἐνήρξατο μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, [2]ἀπέσκηψε δὲ εἰς τοῦτον τὸν παρατραπέντα, [3]πρόφασιν μὲν

decade ea, quæ ab Anthropo et Ecclesia emissa fuerat, Æon, hoc est, Sophia: et passa est passionem sine complexu conjugis Theleti: quæ exorsa quidem fuerat in iis, [4]quæ sunt erga Nun et Alethiam; derivavit autem in hunc [Æonem, id est, Sophiam], [5]demutatam, sub occasione quidem dilectionis, temeritatis autem,

he is mistaken, the MS. has *Nus;* which is also the reading exhibited in the editions of ERASMUS and GALLASIUS. Both of MERCER'S MSS. read *Nu.*

[1] TERTULLIAN expresses the force of the Greek better than the translator, *Genus contrahit vitii, quod exorsum quidem fuerat,* &c. *c. Val.* 9.

[2] *Carried infection.*] TERTULLIANUS hoc Irenæi verbum optime circumscribens: *Derivarat,* inquit, *ut solent vitia in corpore alibi connata in aliud membrum perniciem suam efflare.* Nam ut GALENUS lib. II. *de Methodo Medendi ad Glauconem* cap. 9, Tom. x. p. 382, scribit: Ἀποσκήμματα ὀνομάζουσι τὰς διαθέσεις ἐκείνας, ὅταν χυμοί τινες ἐνοχλοῦντες πρότερον ἑτέρῳ μορίῳ, καταλιπόντες ἐκεῖνο, εἰς ἕτερον μεταστῶσιν, *Aposcemmata vocant affectiones, quum humores loco, quem prius infestabant, relicto in alterum confluunt.* Aptissime igitur hâc voce expressit Irenæus sententiam Valentinianorum, dicentium, quod malum, ex inquisitione imperscrutabilis Bythi contractum, reliquos quidem Æones infestare cœperit; postmodum vero instar pravi humoris defluens, in ultimo Æone, Sophiâ, subsederit, uti hic docetur. GRABE, cf. II. c. 24, *Audent dicere, quia a Logo quidem cœpit, derivatio autem in Sophiam.*

[3] Sub. κατά. Under a semblance of that love that was the perfect attribute of Bythus. So HIPPOLYTUS says of Bythus: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν γόνιμος, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ποτὲ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τελεώτατον ὁ εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ γεννῆσαι καὶ προαγαγεῖν· φιλέρημος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν. Ἀγάπη γὰρ, φησὶν, ἦν ὅλος, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάπη, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ τὸ ἀγαπώμενον. Προέβαλεν οὖν καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ, ὥσπερ ἦν μόνος, νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, τουτέστι δυάδα, ἥτις κυρία καὶ ἀρχὴ γέγονε καὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς πληρώματος κατηριθμουμένων αἰώνων, κ.τ.λ. *Philos.* vi. 29. The reader will observe that HIPPOLYTUS refers the origin of these emanations to the Monad Bythus, irrespectively of Sige.

[4] STIEREN reads *qui,* and says *in Cod. Voss. scriptum est* q' *quod pro more librarii esse potest* qui *aut* quæ; but ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθ. is the usual periphrastic expression for ἐν τῷ Νῷ, κ.τ.λ.; the writer is not referring to any emanation from this primary pair. TERTULLIAN however has, *qui circa Noῦν.* The reader may remark that Sophia and her product Enthymesis are a reflex of the Archetypal Enthymesis, whereby Bythus in the beginning conceived the notion of evolving the entire series of Divine Intelligences named Æons; and for this reason the πάθος of Sophia, *i.e.* Enthymesis, had its commencement in the primary emanation of Bythus. So the *Did. Or.* § 7. Ἄγνωστος οὖν ὁ Πατὴρ ὤν, ἠθέλησεν γνωσθῆναι τοῖς αἰῶσιν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνθυ-

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G. 11. 2 ἀγάπης, τόλμης δὲ, διὰ τὸ μὴ κεκοινωνῆσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ τῷ τελείῳ, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Νοῦς. Τὸ δὲ πάθος εἶναι ζήτησιν τοῦ Πατρός· ἤθελε γὰρ, ὡς λέγουσι, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν· ἔπειτα μὴ δυνηθῆναι, διὰ τὸ ἀδυνάτῳ ἐπιβαλεῖν M. 9. πράγματι, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πάνυ ἀγῶνι γενόμενον, διά τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ βάθους, καὶ τὸ ἀνεξιχνίαστον τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν στοργὴν, [1]ἐκτεινόμενον ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν, [2]ὑπὸ τῆς γλυκύτητος αὐτοῦ τελευταῖον ἂν καταπεπόσθαι, καὶ ἀναλελύσθαι εἰς τὴν ὅλην [3]οὐσίαν, εἰ μὴ τῇ στηριζούσῃ καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀῤῥήτου μεγέθους φυλασσούσῃ τὰ ὅλα συνέτυχε δυνάμει. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ Ὅρον καλοῦσιν, ὑφ' ἧς LIB. I. i. 2. GR. I. i. 2. MASS. I. ii. 2.

quoniam non communicaverat Patri perfecto, quemadmodum et Nus. Passionem autem esse exquisitionem Patris: voluit enim, ut dicunt, magnitudinem ejus comprehendere. Dehinc quum non posset, quoniam impossibilem rem aggrederetur, in magna agonia constitutum propter magnitudinem altitudinis, et propter quod investigabile Patris est, et propter eam quæ erat erga eum dilectionem, quum extenderetur semper in priora, a dulcedine ejus novissime forte absorptum fuisset, et resolutum in universam substantiam, nisi ei, quæ confirmat, et extra inenarrabilem magnitudinem custodit omnia, occurrisset virtuti. Hanc autem virtutem et Horon vocant; a qua abstentum et

μήσεως τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ... προέβαλε τὸν Μονογενῆ. Γέγονεν οὖν καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ γνώσεως, τουτέστι τῆς πατρικῆς ἐνθυμήσεως προελθών... καὶ ὁ μὲν μείνας μονογενὴς υἱὸς εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἐνθύμησιν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ἐξηγεῖται τοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ προβληθείς.

[1] If, as GRABE imagines, the four preceding words are an addition of the translator, we must read *demutatum*, which would also correspond with the Greek.

[1] The Apostle's words would seem to be indicated, τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκτεινόμενος, *Phil.* iii. 13.

[2] *Modico abfuit præ vi dulcedinis et laboris devorari, et in reliquam substantiam dissolvi, nec alias quam pervendo cessasset, nisi bono fato in Horon incurrisset.* TERT. *adv. Val.* 9.

[3] ὅλην οὐσίαν. These words, passed over by GRABE, are explained by NEANDER ("Genetische Entwickelung der Gnostische Systeme") as the common substance of the Divinity in Bythus. "Also ist unter ὕλη οὐσία zu verstehen das allgemeine Daseyn in dem Bythos, der ganz natürlicher Sinn; Sie wäre fast, über die gränzen ihrer Individualität hinauswollend, aufgelöset worden in das Wesen des Unendlichen," p. 211. Compare TERTULLIAN above. Some have interpreted the words of the Chaotic substance into which the Æon Sophia passed, out of the Pleroma; but as NEANDER (and after him STIEREN) justly observes, Sophia is said ἐκτείνεσθαι ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν, and subsidence into the regions of matter would be rather a νεύειν εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν or κάτωθεν.

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[1]ἐπεσχῆσθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι, καὶ μόγις ἐπιστρέψαντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν, καὶ πεισθέντα ὅτι [2]ἀκατάληπτός ἐστιν ὁ Πατὴρ, ἀποθέσθαι τὴν προτέραν ἐνθύμησιν σὺν τῷ ἐπιγινομένῳ πάθει ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπλήκτου ἐκείνου θαύματος.

3. Ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν [3]πῶς τὸ πάθος τῆς Σοφίας καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν μυθολογοῦσιν· ἀδυνάτῳ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῳ πράγματι αὐτὴν ἐπιχειρήσασαν τεκεῖν οὐσίαν ἄμορφον, [4]οἵαν φύσιν εἶχε θήλειαν τεκεῖν· ἣν καὶ κατανοήσασαν πρῶτον μὲν λυπηθῆναι, διὰ τὸ ἀτελὲς τῆς γενέσεως, ἔπειτα φοβηθῆναι [5]μηδὲ αὐτὸ

confirmatum, vix reversum in semetipsum, et credentem jam, quoniam incomprehensibilis est Pater, deposuisse pristinam intentionem cum ea, quæ acciderat, passione, ex illa stuporis admiratione.

3. Quidam autem ipsorum hujusmodi passionem et reversionem Sophiæ, velut fabulam narrant, impossibilem et incomprehensibilem rem eam aggressam, peperisse substantiam informem, qualem naturam habebat fœmina parere: in quam cum intendisset, primo quidem contristatam, propter inconsumma-

[1] The translator evidently read ἀπεσχῆσθαι, which he rendered *abstentum*, meaning that Horus restrained the Æon Sophia from approaching the Pleroma. The word had also an ecclesiastical meaning, and signified excommunication, *e. g.* Abstinere aliquem a sacris. Abstentus a communione, &c.

[2] ἀκατάληπτος, answering to the Latin words *immensus* and *incomprehensibilis*. CHRYSOSTOM gives it rather the former meaning, where he says, ἀκατάληπτον λέγεται πελαγὸς, εἰς ὃ καθιέντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ κολυμβηταὶ, καὶ πρὸς πολὺ καταφερόμενοι βάθος, τὸ πέρας ἀδυνατοῦσιν εὑρεῖν. π. τ. ἀκαλήπτ.

[3] The translator instead of πῶς seems to have read τοῖον. If so, perhaps τοίως is the correct reading.

[4] *Such as her female nature enabled her to produce.* οἵαν referring to οὐσίαν. That this is the meaning is evident from the Gnostic notion, that in generation the male gives form, the female, substance. Bythus as being ἀῤῥενόθηλυς contributed both. Sophia, therefore, being a female Æon, gave substance alone without form, and her Enthymesis was ἄμορφος. So HIPPOLYTUS says, ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ, (*i. e.* Βυθῷ) ἔστι πάντα ὁμοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς γεννητοῖς, τὸ μὲν θῆλυ ἔστιν οὐσίας προβλητικὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄῤῥεν μορφωτικὸν τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ θήλεως προβαλλομένης οὐσίας. Προσέβαλεν (l. προέβαλεν) οὖν ἡ σοφία τοῦτο μόνον ὅπερ ἠδύνατο, οὐσίαν εὔμορφον καὶ εὐκατασκεύαστον (l. ἄμορφον καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστον) *Philos.* vi. 30.

[5] TERTULLIAN paraphrases these words, *Ne finis quoque existeret;* i. e. *lest this should be the period of her own existence.* And this expresses the sense of the Greek; for as the author uses δυνατῶς ἔχειν for δύνασθαι, so in this place τελείως ἔχειν means τελειωθῆναι. Μηδὲ possibly represents μή τι or μή γε. It may be observed that HIPPOLYTUS refers this ἀπορία to the entire Pleroma, who began to fear for their own existence, when they perceived the effect of that Enthymesis in Sophia which pervaded their own being. Θόρυβος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ

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τὸ εἶναι τελείως ἔχειν· εἶτα ἐκστῆναι καὶ ἀπορῆσαι, ζητοῦσαν [1]τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ ὅντινα τρόπον ἀποκρύψει τὸ γεγονός. Ἐγκαταγενομένην δὲ τοῖς πάθεσι λαβεῖν ἐπιστροφὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἀναδραμεῖν πειρασθῆναι, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς τολμήσασαν, ἐξασθενῆσαι, καὶ [2]ἱκέτιν τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι· συνδεηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Αἰῶνας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Νοῦν. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγουσι πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν [3]οὐσίαν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας, καὶ τῆς λύπης, καὶ τοῦ φόβου, καὶ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως. Ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ τὸν προειρημένον Ὅρον ἐπὶ τούτοις [4]διὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς

C. 12. M. 10.

LIB. I. i. 3. GR. I. i. 3. MASS. I. ii. 4.

tionem generationis: post deinde timuisse, ne hoc ipsum finem habeat: dehinc expavisse et *aporiatam, id est, confusam, quærentem causam, et quemadmodum absconderet id, quod erat natum. In iis autem passionibus factam, accepisse regressionem, et in Patrem regredi conari: et aliquamdiu ausam, tamen defecisse, et supplicem Patris factam. Una autem cum ea rogasse et reliquos Æonas, maxime autem [5]Nun. Hinc dicunt primum initium habuisse substantiam materiæ, de ignorantia, et tædio,

* II. iv. 2. vi.

πληρώματι... ὅτι παραπλησίως ἄμορφα καὶ ἀτελῆ γενήσεται τῶν αἰώνων τὰ γεννήματα, καὶ φθορά τις καταλήψεται οὐκ εἰς μακράν ποτε τοὺς αἰῶνας. *Philos.* VI. 31. So also CLEM. AL. in the *Didasc. Or.* § 31: διὰ τῆς τοῦ δωδεκάτου Αἰῶνος πείσεως τὰ ὅλα παιδευθέντα, ὡς φασὶ, συνεπάθησεν. The COD. CLAROM. has *inconsummatam* indicating *inconsummatum*.

[1] Subaud. τοῦ γενομένου, causam sc. ejus, quod sine mare peperisset. TERTULLIAN has *hærere de ratione casus, curare de occultatione. adv. Val.* 10.

[2] ἱκέτιν τοῦ πατρός. So TERTULLIAN, *Dum in malis res est, suspicit; convertit* (l. *convertitur*) *ad Patrem, sed incassum enisa, et vires deserebant. In preces succedit; tota etiam propinquitas pro ea supplicat, vel maxime Nus; quidni? causa mali tanti.* Similarly HIPPOLYTUS, κατέφυγον οὖν πάντες οἱ αἰῶνες ἐπὶ δέησιν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἵνα λυπουμένην τὴν σοφίαν ἀναπαύσῃ· ἔκλαιε γὰρ καὶ κατωδύρετο ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτρώματι· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσιν. *Philos.* VI. 31.

[3] BILLIUS supplies τῆς ὕλης, *substantiam materiæ;* but Philo speaks of unformed matter as οὐσία ἄτακτος, using the word οὐσία for the complex idea "material substance." IRENÆUS uses the word in the same sense. The reader will observe the parallel; as the Enthymesis of Bythus produced intelligent substance, so the Enthymesis of Sophia resulted in the formation of material substance. TERTULLIAN has a similar account, *illa tunc conflictatio in materiæ originem pervenit, ignorantia, mœror, pavor, substantiæ fiunt.*

[4] διὰ τοῦ Μονογένους. *Ibi demum Pater, aliquando motus, quem supra diximus Horon per Monogenem Nun in hæc promit, in imagine sua, fœmina-marem, quia de Patris sexu ita variant.* TERTULL. *c. Val.* 10; and HIPPOLYTUS, ἵν' οὖν μηδ' ὅλως τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῖς τελείοις καταφανῇ ἡ τοῦ ἐκτρώματος ἀμορφία, πάλιν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιπροβάλλει αἰῶνα ἕνα τὸν σταυρὸν, ὃς γεγενημένος μέγας ὡς μεγάλου καὶ τελείου πατρὸς, εἰς φρουρὰν καὶ χαράκωμα τῶν αἰώνων προβεβλημένος, ὅρος γίνεται τοῦ πληρώματος, κ.τ.λ. *Phil.* VI. 31.

[5] The CL. MS. adds *et;* the AR. omits *Nun*, possibly from its likeness to *Hinc.*

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προβάλλεται ἐν εἰκόνι ἰδίᾳ, [1]ἀσύζυγον, ἀθήλυντον. Τὸν γὰρ Πατέρα ποτὲ μὲν μετὰ συζυγίας τῆς Σιγῆς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὑπέραῤῥεν, καὶ ὑπέρθηλυ εἶναι θέλουσι. Τὸν δὲ Ὅρον τοῦτον καὶ [2]Συλλυτρωτὴν [*l.* Σταυρὸν καὶ Λυτρωτὴν], καὶ [3]Καρπιστὴν, καὶ Ὁροθέτην, καὶ [4]Μεταγωγέα καλοῦσι. Διὰ

et timore, et stupore. Pater autem prædictum Horon super hæc per Monogenem præmittit in imagine sua, sine conjuge masculo-fœmina. Patrem enim aliquando quidem cum conjuge Sige, modo vero et [5]pro masculo, et pro fœmina esse volunt. Horon vero hunc et Stauron, et Lytroten, et Carpisten, et Horotheten, et Metagogea vocant. Per Horon autem hunc

[1] Rendered by the translator, *sine conjuge Masculo fœmina*, in apposition with the words, *in imagine sua;* Sige was no true σύζυγος of Bythus, not having emanated coordinately with him; hence Masculofœmina was a term applied to Bythus. The Latin version and TERTULLIAN both indicate the ablative, ἀσυζύγῳ ἀθηλύντῳ, *in imagine fœminamare* are the words of TERTULLIAN; and it was after this likeness of Bythus that Horus was now put forth by Monogenes, as the words that immediately follow serve to explain. It will be seen that in several particulars the phraseology and nomenclature of ancient Theosophists was adopted by the Gnostics; for instance, the term ἀῤῥενόθηλυν as applied to Bythus was only a revival of the old dictum of the Orphic Theosophy,

Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·

So DAMASC. ἀρσενόθηλυν αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γεννητικῆς οὐσίας. WOLF, *Anecd. Græc.* HIPPOLYTUS refers the arithmetical mysticism of VALENTINUS to the Pythagorean philosophy from whence he says it was derived, and of this there can be no doubt. The term now under consideration bears its own evidence of a Pythagorean origin. The odd numbers were considered in that school to have the male character, the even numbers the female character, but the Monad had the property of investing the odd numbers, by addition, with the female type, and the even numbers with the male. Therefore it possessed the attributes of both. ἥτις ἐστὶ μονὰς ἄρσην γεννῶσα πατρικῶς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμούς. Δεύτερον ἡ δυὰς θῆλυς ἀριθμός... ἄρτιος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν καλεῖται. Τρίτον ἡ τριὰς ἀριθμὸς ἄρσην, οὗτος καὶ περισσός. HIPPOLYT. *Phil. de Pyth.* But the Monad contained within itself the properties of either gender; Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ Πυθαγορικῷ, τὸ ἕν, φησιν, ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν τῆς φύσεως· ἀρτίῳ μὲν γὰρ προστεθὲν περιττὸν ποιεῖ· περιττῷ δὲ ἄρτιον. ὃ οὐκ ἂν ἠδύνατο, εἰ μὴ ἀμφοῖν ταῖν φυσέοιν μετεῖχε. Διὸ γὰρ ἀρτιοπεριττὸν καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἕν. STOBÆUS, *Ecl. Phys.* 16.

[2] For Συλλυτρωτὴν must evidently be read Σταυρὸν καὶ Λυτρωτὴν, for compare the Latin. Σταυρὸς in its primary sense is a *stake*. So *Il.* ω. 453:

Ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ μεγάλην αὐλὴν ποίησαν ἄνακτι Σταυροῖσι πυκινοῖσι.

The idea intended to be conveyed is that of *a fence*, not *a cross*.

[3] The term Carpistes has been variously explained. GRABE, on the authority of an obscure passage in Arrian, renders it *the Emancipator;* MASSUET, the *Judge* or *Arbiter;* STIEREN, following the explanation of NEANDER, makes

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M. 11. δὲ τοῦ Ὅρου τούτου φασὶ κεκαθάρθαι καὶ ἐστηρίχθαι τὴν Σοφίαν, καὶ ἀποκατασταθῆναι τῇ [1]συζυγίᾳ· χωρισθείσης γὰρ τῆς Ἐνθυμήσεως ἀπ' αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ ἐπιγινομένῳ πάθει, αὐτὴν μὲν ἐντὸς πληρώματος εἶναι· [l. μεῖναι·

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G. 13.

dicunt mundatam et confirmatam Sophiam, et restitutam conjugi. Separata enim [2]intentione ab ea cum appendice passione, ipsam quidem infra Pleroma perseverasse. Concupiscentiam

it a synonym for θεριστὴς, *the reaper;* and this last is nearer the truth. For a twofold idea attaches to the office of Horus, that of a stay and support, involved in the term Σταυρὸς, and that of a separater of the godlike from all that is unworthy and base. In this last capacity the Baptist's description of Christ, St Luke iii. 17, was applied by the Valentinians to Horus, as winnowing good from evil, οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ., and hence the term Carpistes; in agricultural phrase, "The Tasker," *i.e.* one who separates in the barn the corn from the chaff. NEANDER, however, understands the word to apply to the final judgment, as exemplified in the Parable of the Tares. "*So viel als θεριστὴς der Erndter, mit Auspielung auf die Vergleichung des letzten Gerichts mit einer Erndte,*" u. s. f. p. 111: in confirmation of the explanation now offered compare ch. 6, and the end of next note.

[4] Μεταγωγέα *Reductorem,* from his restorative function of bringing back all to that grade of being for which they were destined. So NEANDER. These several terms are either expressed or implied in the following passages from TERTULLIAN and HIPPOLYTUS: *Adjiciunt autem Horon etiam Metagogea (i. e. circumductorem) vocari et Horotheten. Hujus prædicunt opera, et repressam ab illicitis et purgatam a malis, et deinceps confirmatam Sophiam et conjugio restitutam, et ipsam quidem in Pleromatis censu remansisse. adv. Val.* 10. καλεῖται δὲ Ὅρος μὲν οὗτος ὅτι ἀφορίζει ἀπὸ τοῦ πληρώματος ἔξω τὸ ὑστέρημα· Μετοχεὺς δὲ ὅτι μετέχει καὶ τοῦ ὑστερήματος. Σταυρὸς δὲ ὅτι πέπηγεν ἀκλινῶς καὶ ἀμετανοήτως (l. ἀμετακωήτως) ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι [χωρισθῆναι ἐν μηδένι] μηδὲν τοῦ ὑστερήματος, καὶ γενέσθαι ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐντὸς πληρώματος αἰώνων. HIPP. *Philos.* VI. 31. The term καρπιστὴς seems to be indicated in the conclusion of the following passage from the *Didasc. Or.,* ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἐν πληρώματι Ὅρου σημεῖόν ἐστιν· χωρίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀπίστους τῶν ἀπίστων, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πληρώματος, διὸ καὶ τὰ σπέρματα ὁ Ἰησοῦς διὰ τοῦ σημείου ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων βαστάσας εἰσάγει εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα. § 42. What misapprehension of an affecting image!

[5] The Greek words should have been rendered *supermasculum* and *superfœmineum.*

[1] *Ita Sophia ... declinata investigatione Patris conquievit, et totam Enthymesin, i.e. animationem cum passione, quæ insuper acciderat, exposuit. adv. Val.* 9. MASSUET rightly observes that συζυγίας would have been more correctly rendered by *conjugio.* Sige was in close relation with Bythus, both being of eternal subsistence; but Sige was no true σύζυγος of the first principle as the other pairs of συζύγοι, which were severally co-emanative. A few lines lower down the word recurs. There Sophia is said to be restored from her vague abnormal state to union with the Divine Will; her consort was Theletos, but συζυγίᾳ here also ought to have been rendered *conjugio.*

[2] *Intentione,* ἐνθύμησις, is afterwards rendered "concupiscentia."

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Tert. *remansisse.*] τὴν δὲ ἐνθύμησιν αὐτῆς σὺν τῷ πάθει ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὅρου ἀφορισθῆναι καὶ [1]ἀποστερηθῆναι [*l.* ἀποσταυρωθῆναι], καὶ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ γενομένην, εἶναι μὲν πνευματικὴν οὐσίαν, φυσικήν τινα Αἰῶνος ὁρμὴν τυγχάνουσαν· ἄμορφον δὲ καὶ ἀνείδεον [2]διὰ τὸ μηδὲν καταλαβεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [3]καρπὸν ἀσθενῆ καὶ θῆλυν αὐτὸν λέγουσι.

4. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀφορισθῆναι ταύτην ἐκτὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν Αἰώνων, τήν τε Μητέρα αὐτῆς ἀποκατασταθῆναι τῇ ἰδίᾳ συζυγίᾳ, [4]τὸν Μονογενῆ πάλιν ἑτέραν προβαλέσθαι

vero ejus cum passione ab Horo separatam et crucifixam, et extra eum factam, esse quidem spiritalem substantiam, ut naturalem quendam Æonis impetum, informem vero et sine specie, quoniam nihil apprehendisset. Et propter hoc fructum ejus invalidum et fœmineum dicunt.

4. Postea vero quam separata sit hæc extra Pleroma Æonum, et mater ejus redintegrata suæ conjugationi, Monogenem iterum alteram emisisse conjugationem, secundum provi-

[1] Ἀποσταυρωθῆναι must be the correct reading of which *crucifixam* is the translation. The meaning of the word used by IRENÆUS was not perceived; it refers to σταυρὸς in the same sense as before, viz. a *fence*. Horus fenced out and kept away this Enthymesis from the Pleroma; the word *abstentam* would have been better, though no exact equivalent. Ἀποσταυρωθῆναι hic potius reddendum fuisset, quasi *vallo cinctam et a Pleromate disjunctam esse*. Sic apud Thucydidem lib. IV. cap. 69, ἀπεσταύρουν Scholiastes explicat χαρακώματα ἐποίουν. Neque alibi in omni Irenæi opere lego, Enthymesin cruci affixam. GR. TERTULLIAN, however, had the same reading in the Greek, unless indeed, which is also probable, he copied from our translator. He says, *Enthymesin vero ejus et illam appendicem passionem ab Horo relegatam et crucifixam et extra œvum factam; malum, quod aiunt, foras: spiritalem tamen substantiam illam, ut naturalem quemdam impetum Æonis, sed informem et inspectatam, quatenus nihil apprehendisset, ideoque fructum infirmum et fœminam* (*l. fœmineum*) *pronunciatam. adv. Val.* 10.

[2] τὸ μηδὲν καταλαβεῖν, i. e. by any fœtal σύλληψις of Sophia. Enthymesis, having obtained nothing τοῦ ἀῤῥενικοῦ σπέρματος, was ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδης.

[3] The reader will observe that what we understand by *emanations* the Gnostic described as spiritual *fructification;* and as the seed of a tree is in itself, even in the embryo state, so these various Æons, as existing always in the Divine Nature, were co-eternal with it.

[4] HIPPOLYTUS says, ἐλεήσας οὖν ὁ πατὴρ τὰ δάκρυα τῆς σοφίας καὶ προσδεξάμενος τῶν αἰώνων τὴν δεήσιν, ἐπιπροβαλεῖν κελεύει (τὸν Νοῦν sc.) οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς, φησὶ, προέβαλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Νοῦς καὶ ἡ Ἀλήθεια Χριστὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰς μόρφωσιν καὶ διαίρεσιν τοῦ ἐκτρώματος, καὶ παραμυθίαν καὶ διανάπαυσιν τῶν τῆς σοφίας στεναγμῶν. *Philos.* VI. 31. TERTULLIAN is tolerably close to the original: *Igitur post Enthymesin extorrem, et matrem ejus Sophiam conjugi reducem, ille iterum*

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συζυγίαν κατὰ προμήθειαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, [1]ἵνα μὴ ὁμοίως ταύτῃ πάθῃ τις τῶν Αἰώνων, Χριστὸν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον εἰς [2]πῆξιν καὶ στηριγμὸν τοῦ Πληρώματος, ὑφ' ὧν καταρτισθῆναι τοὺς Αἰῶνας. [3]Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν διδάξαι αὐτοὺς συζυγίας φύσιν, ἀγεννήτου κατάληψιν γινώσκοντας, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι, ἀνα-
M. 12. γορεῦσαί τε ἐν αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν, ὅτι τε ἀχώρητός ἐστι καὶ ἀκατάληπτος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε ἰδεῖν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι αὐτόν· ἢ διὰ μόνου τοῦ Μονογενοῦς γινώσκεται.
G. 14. Καὶ τὸ μὲν αἴτιον τῆς αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸ πρῶτον [4]καταληπτὸν ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Πατρὸς, τῆς δὲ γενέσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ

dentiam Patris, Christum et Spiritum sanctum, a quibus consummatos esse dicunt Æonas. Christum enim docuisse eos conjugationis naturam, innati comprehensionem cognoscentes sufficientes, sive idoneos, esse: declarasse quoque in eis Patris agnitionem, quoniam incapabilis est, et incomprehensibilis, et non est neque videre, neque audire eum nisi per solum Monogenem. Et causam quidem æternæ perseverationis iis omnibus incomprehensibile Patris esse: generationis autem et formationis

Monogenes, ille Nus . . . novam excludit copulationem Christum et Spiritum Sanctum, c. 11.

[1] The translation has here lost some words, for TERTULLIAN expresses the Greek text by *Ne qua ejusmodi rursus concussio incurreret.*

[2] Again the translation is defective. TERTULLIAN paraphrases the Greek rather than translates, *Solidandis rebus et Pleromati muniendo, jamque figendo.*

[3] A passage of undoubted difficulty. By Πατὴρ is here meant Βυθὸς or Προπάτωρ, not Νοῦς or Μονογενής. A desire of penetrating the unfathomable mystery of the Being of this Propator nearly annihilated Sophia (μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολωλότος, § 5). The well-being of the rest depended upon their comprehension of the fact that he is incomprehensible. Hence Christ is represented as saying to the Æons, IV. 14, *Nolite quærere Deum, incognitus est enim, et non invenietis eum.* Before the particle ἢ, at the close of the period, must be understood οὐδὲ ἄλλως, *e. g. For, say they, Christ taught them the nature of their copulæ, (namely) that being cognizant of their (limited) perception of the Unbegotten, they needed no higher knowledge* (ἱκανοὺς εἶναι), *and that he enounced among them this conception of the Father, that he is Infinite and Incomprehensible, and it is impossible either to see or to hear him; neither is he known otherwise than through the Only-begotten.* TERTULLIAN has, *quod capere eum non sit, neque comprehendere, non visu denique, non auditu compotiri ejus, nisi per Monogenem.* c. 11.

[4] TERTULLIAN, as well as the translator, had the reading τὸ πρῶτον ἀκαταλήπτον, *Incomprehensibile quidem patris causam esse perpetuitatis ipsorum*, c. 11. He extends also to the entire body of Æons, that generation in the knowledge of God which IRENÆUS limits to Monogenes; *Comprehensibile vero ejus, generationis illorum et formationis esse rationem. Hac enim dispositione illud opinor insinuatur, experiri, deum non apprehendi;*

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μορφώσεως τὸ καταληπτὸν αὐτοῦ, ᾧ δὴ [1]υἱὸς ἐστί. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἄρτι προβληθεὶς Χριστὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐδημιούργησε. Τὸ δὲ ἓν Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον [2]ἐξισωθέντας αὐτοὺς πάντας εὐχαριστεῖν ἐδίδαξε, καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡγήσατο [*l.* εἰσηγήσατο]. Οὕτως τε μορφῇ καὶ γνώμῃ ἴσους κατασταθῆναι τοὺς Αἰῶνας λέγουσι, πάντας γενομένους Νόας, καὶ πάντας Λόγους, καὶ πάντας Ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πάντας Χριστούς· καὶ τὰς θηλείας ὁμοίως πάσας Ἀληθείας, καὶ πάσας Ζωὰς, καὶ [3]Πνεύματα, καὶ Ἐκκλησίας. Στηριχθέντα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὰ ὅλα, καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενα τελέως, μετὰ μεγάλης χαρᾶς φησιν

comprehensibile ejus, quod quidem filius est. Et hæc quidem qui nunc emissus erat Christus in eis operatus est. Spiritus vero sanctus adæquatos eos omnes gratias agere docuit, et veram requiem induxit. Et sic forma et sententia similes factos Æonas dicunt, universos factos Noas et Logos, et omnes Anthropos, et omnes Christos: et fœminas similiter omnes Alethias, et Zoas, et Spiritus, et Ecclesias. Confirmata quoque in hoc omnia, et requiescentia ad perfectum, cum magno gaudio dicunt

siquidem inapprehensibile ejus, perpetuitatis est causa; apprehensibile autem non perpetuitatis sed nativitatis et formationis egentium perpetuitatis. Filium autem constituunt apprehensibilem Patris.

[1] The translation, TERTULLIAN, and the *Didasc. Or.* all indicate the reading υἱὸς instead of ἴσος, as printed by GRABE, MASSUET, and STIEREN; it has therefore been replaced in the text. TERTULLIAN'S words are at the end of the note above; CLEM. AL. says in the *Did. Or.* προελθὼν γνῶσις, τουτέστιν ὁ υἱὸς ὅτι δι' υἱοῦ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐγνώσθη: and again, ὁ μὲν μείνας μονογενὴς υἱὸς εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν ἐνθύμησιν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ἐξηγεῖται τοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ προβληθείς. §. 7. Again, Πρόσωπον Πατρὸς ὁ υἱὸς, δι' οὗ γνωρίζεται ὁ Πατήρ: again, Τάχα δὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστι μὲν καὶ ὁ υἱός. ἔστι δὲ, καὶ ὅσον καταληπτὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' υἱοῦ δεδιδαγμένοι θεωροῦσι· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄγνωστόν ἐστι τοῦ Πατρός. Monogenes also was the very spirit of knowledge, whom the Father, having a perfect knowledge of his own being, put forth, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκὼς πνεῦμα γνώσεως οὔσης ἐν γνώσει προέβαλε τὸν Μονογενῆ. § 7. But the Father is incomprehensible, and the knowledge of this secured to the Æons of the Pleroma their continued subsistence, and the same knowledge, as a generative virtue, conferred upon Monogenes his γένεσις καὶ μόρφωσις.

[2] *i.e.* equalised in the way that he proceeds to describe, and according to TERTULLIAN, *Omnes forma et sententia pereequantur, facti omnes quod unusquisque: nemo aliud, quia alter. Omnes refunduntur in* Noûs, *in Sermones, omnes in Homines, in Theletos.* c. 12. The Pleroma was evidently intended to typify the multiplicity of Divine Attributes and Perfections in unity of substance. The *Didasc. Or.* expresses this still more clearly, Ἐν πληρώματι οὖν ἑνότητος οὔσης, ἕκαστος τῶν αἰώνων ἴδιον ἔχει πλήρωμα, τὴν συζυγίαν. § 32.

[3] רוּחַ being a feminine noun.

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ὑμνῆσαι τὸν Προπάτορα, πολλῆς εὐφρασίας μετασχόντα. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐποιΐας ταύτης βουλῇ μιᾷ καὶ γνώμῃ τὸ πᾶν Πλήρωμα τῶν Αἰώνων, συνευδοκοῦντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, [1]τοῦ δὲ Πατρὸς αὐτῶν συνεπισφραγιζομένου, ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν Αἰώνων, ὅπερ εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀνθηρότατον συνενεγκαμένους καὶ ἐρανισαμένους, καὶ ταῦτα ἁρμοδίως πλέξαντας, καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἐνώσαντας,
M. 13. προβαλέσθαι προβλήματα εἰς τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν [2]τοῦ Βυθοῦ, τελειότατον κάλλος τε καὶ [3]ἄστρον τοῦ Πληρώματος, τέλειον καρπὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν καὶ Σωτῆρα προσαγορευθῆναι, καὶ Χριστὸν, καὶ Λόγον πατρωνυμικῶς, [4]καὶ κατὰ
G. 15. [καὶ τὰ] Πάντα, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ πάντων εἶναι· δορυφόροις τε αὐτῶν [αὐτῷ] εἰς τιμὴν τὴν αὐτῶν [5]ὁμογενεῖς Ἀγγέλους συμπροβεβλῆσθαι.

LIB. I. i. 4.
GR. I. i. 4.
MASS. I. ii. 6.

hymnizare Propatorem, magnæ exultationis participantem. Et propter hoc beneficium una voluntate et sententia universum Pleroma Æonum, consentiente Christo et Spiritu, unumquemque Æonum, quod habebat in se optimum et florentissimum conferentes, collationem fecisse: et hæc apte compingentes, et diligenter in unum adaptantes, emisisse problema, et in honorem et gloriam Bythi perfectissimum decorem quendam, et sidus Pleromatis, perfectum fructum Jesum, quem et Salvatorem vocari, et Christum, et Logon patronymice, ac omnia, quoniam ab omnibus esset. Satellites quoque ei in honorem ipsorum ejusdem generis Angelos cum eo prolatos.

[1] TERTULLIAN, HIPPOLYTUS, and the Translator have nothing to correspond with these words.

[2] HIPPOLYTUS says, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ μόνον κατὰ συζυγίαν δεδοξακέναι τὸν Υἱὸν, (*i.e.* τὸν Μονογενῆ), δοξάσαι δὲ καὶ διὰ προσφορᾶς καρπῶν πρεπόντων τῷ πατρὶ. vi. 32. The translation as it stands in GRABE, has *Bythi*, on the faith of an ancient MS. as alleged by FEUARDENT; but the existing MSS. as well as the earlier editions, have either *Hori* or *Orthi;* this induces the suspicion that HIPPOLYTUS preserves the true reading, but that the translator had ὅρου in lieu of υἱοῦ in his copy. We may trace in this collective æon the origin of the Apollinarian notion, that Christ's body was of a heavenly nature, and descended from above.

[3] ἄστρον, *constellation,* as possessing the perfections of all, *In honorem et gloriam patris, pulcherrimum pleromatis sidus, fructumque perfectum compingunt Jesum.* TERT. *adv. Val.* 12.

[4] TERT. *et omnia jam.* κἀτα π.

[5] ὁμογενεῖς, homogeneous, *inter se,* as being the joint πρόβλημα of the whole pleroma. TERTULLIAN expresses a doubt about the meaning of the word, *ambigue enim positum inveni.* GRABE notices that ATHANASIUS understood the

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LIB. I. i. 5.
GR. I. i. 5.
MASS. I. iii. 1.

5. Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ ἐντὸς πληρώματος ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγομένη πραγματεία, καὶ ἡ τοῦ πεπονθότος Αἰῶνος, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπολωλότος, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ὕλῃ διὰ ζήτησιν τοῦ Πατρὸς συμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ὅρου, καὶ Στύλου [Σταυροῦ], καὶ Λυτρωτοῦ, καὶ Καρπιστοῦ, καὶ Ὁροθέτου, καὶ Μεταγωγέως ἐξ [1]ἀγῶνος σύμπηξις, καὶ ἡ τοῦ [2]πρώτου Χριστοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐκ μετανοίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς αὐτῶν μεταγενεστέρα τῶν Αἰώνων γένεσις, καὶ ἡ τοῦ [2]δευτέρου Χριστοῦ, M. 14.
ὃν καὶ Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν, ἐξ ἐράνου σύνθετος κατασκευή. Ταῦτα δὲ φανερῶς μὲν μὴ εἰρῆσθαι, διὰ τὸ μὴ πάντας χωρεῖν τὴν γνῶσιν, μυστηριωδῶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος διὰ παραβολῶν

5. Hæc igitur est quæ intra Pleroma ipsorum dicitur negotiatio et passi Æonis, et pene perditi, et quasi in multa materia propter inquisitionem Patris calamitas, et Hori, et Crucis ipsorum, et Redemptoris, et Carpistæ, et Horothetæ, et Metagogei, ex agonia compago, et primi Christi cum Spiritu sancto de pœnitentia a Patre ipsorum postrema Æonum genesis, et secundi Christi, quem Soterem dicunt, ex collatione composita fabricatio. Hæc autem manifeste quidem non esse dicta, quoniam non omnes capiunt agnitionem ipsorum, mysterialiter autem a

word to be used with relation to Christ, where he says of VALENTINUS, ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὁμογενεῖς εἴρηκε τῷ Χριστῷ. *Or.* ii. *c. Ar.* p. 363; and he then proceeds to shew that the same father cites these words of IRENÆUS in such a way, as to imply that he understood ὁμογενεῖς to mean coeval, rather than homogeneous in nature. *Ep. ad Serap.*, ὅτι πεμφθέντος τοῦ Παρακλήτου συναπεστάλησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἡλικιῶται, the citation being from § 8, where IRENÆUS says of the mission of the secondary Christ, the Paraclete, to Achamoth, ἐκπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀγγέλων.

[1] The obscurity of these words has as usual caused some variety of reading both in the Greek text and in the Latin translation. MSS. and the printed editions of Epiphanius have ἐξάγωνος; MASSUET proposes ἐξαιώνιος, in allusion to the six synonyms for the Æon Horus; STIEREN suggests *et Æonum* in the version, just as BILLIUS had preferred καὶ αἰώνων, in the Greek text. GRABE, with his usual discrimination, leaves both the Greek and Latin texts as they are here printed. This reading will be found to be the most true to the preceding account of the Valentinian system, and the words may be rendered *and the consolidation (of Sophia) by Horus*, (sub. διὰ) &c. *from her agonised condition*. Compare the latter part of § 2. ἐξ ἀγῶνος would mark subsequence in point of order, just as in the next line ἐκ μετανοίας must mean *after* the ἐπιστροφὴ of Sophia; see the opening of § 4. The reading of the ARUNDEL MS. *lex æona*, indicates ἐξ ἀγῶνος.

[2] Even in their Christology the Valentinians must have their part and counterpart.

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μεμηνύσθαι τοῖς συνιεῖν δυναμένοις οὕτως· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα Αἰῶνας μεμηνύσθαι διὰ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν [1] ὡς προέφαμεν, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐν φανερῷ φάσκουσι πεποιηκέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, καὶ διὰ τῆς παραβολῆς τῶν ἐργατῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος. Καὶ τὸν Παῦλον φανερώτατα λέγουσι τούσδε Αἰῶνας ὀνομάζειν πολλάκις, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν τετηρηκέναι οὕτως εἰπόντα, εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τῶν αἰώνων τοῦ αἰῶνος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς [2] ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνειν· καὶ ὅπου ἂν αἰὼν ἢ αἰῶνες ὀνομάζονται, τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἰς ἐκείνους εἶναι θέλουσι. Τὴν δὲ τῆς δωδεκάδος τῶν Αἰώνων προβολὴν μηνύεσθαι, διὰ τοῦ δωδεκαετῆ ὄντα τὸν Κύριον διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς νομοδιδασκάλοις, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐκλογῆς· δώδεκα γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι. Καὶ

LIB. I. i. 5. GR. I. i. 5. MASS. I. iii. 1.

G. 16.

Salvatore per parabolas ostensa iis, qui possunt intelligere, sic: triginta Æonas significari per triginta annos, sicut prædiximus, in quibus nihil in manifesto dicunt fecisse Salvatorem; et per parabolam operariorum vineæ. Et Paulum manifestissime dicunt Æonas nominare sæpissime, adhuc etiam et ordinem ipsorum servare, sic dicentem: *In universas generationes sæculi sæculorum.* Sed et nos ipsos denique in gratiarum actionibus dicentes, *æonas æonum*, illos Æonas significare: et ubicunque Æon aut Æones nominantur, in illos id referri volunt. Duodecadis autem Æonum emissionem significatam per id, quod duodecim annorum existens Dominus disputaverit cum legis doctoribus, et per Apostolorum electionem: duodecim enim

Matt. xx. 2.

Eph. iii. 21.

Luc. ii. 42 seqq.

Luc. vi. 13.

[1] *ὡς προέφαμεν.* See § 1 and 2. xxxviii.

[2] *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας.* These words need not of necessity refer to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. The translator has *in gratiarum actionibus, ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαριστίαις*; and, in fact, the words of the Apostle were at an early age incorporated in the Doxologies of the Church. *e.g.* S. BASIL quotes the words of DIONYSIUS Al. de S. Sp. 72. *τούτοις, φησὶ, πᾶσιν ἀκολούθως καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ δὴ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρειληφότες, ὁμοφώνως αὐτοῖς προσευχαριστοῦντες· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλοντες καταπαύομεν· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.* He also quotes the Christian historian AFRICANUS, as referring to the traditions of a primitive antiquity, where he says, *ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ κἀκείνων τῶν ῥημάτων τὸ μέτρον ἐπιστάμενοι, καὶ τῆς πίστεως οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν χάριν, εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ παρασχομένῳ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡμῖν Πατρὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα, μεγαλωσύνη σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.* S. BASIL then adduces the vesper Laud as *τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας.* There is no necessity, therefore, for

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LIB. I. i. 5. GR. I. i. 5. MASS. I. iii. 2.

τοὺς λοιποὺς δεκαοκτὼ Αἰῶνας φανεροῦσθαι, διὰ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν [1]δεκαοκτὼ μησὶ λέγειν διατετριφέναι αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν προηγουμένων τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ δύο γραμμάτων, τοῦ τε ἰῶτα καὶ τοῦ ἦτα, τοὺς δεκαοκτὼ Αἰῶνας εὐσήμως μηνύεσθαι. Καὶ τοὺς δέκα Αἰῶνας ὡσαύτως διὰ τοῦ ἰῶτα γράμματος, ὃ προηγεῖται τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, σημαίνουσι λέγεσθαι [σημαίνεσθαι λέγουσι]. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται. Τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν δωδέκατον Αἰῶνα γεγονὸς πάθος [2]ὑποσημαίνεσθαι λέγουσι] τῆς ἀποστασίας διὰ Ἰούδαν, ὃς δωδέκατος ἦν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, γενομένης προδοσίας δείκνυσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ ὅτι τῷ [3]δωδεκάτῳ

M. 15.

II. xxxvi.

Apostolos elegit. Et reliquos octodecim Æonas manifestari per id, quod post resurrectionem a mortuis octodecim mensibus dicant conversatum eum cum discipulis. Sed et præcedentes nominis ejus duas literas Iota et Eta, octodecim Æonas significanter manifestare. Et decem autem Æonas similiter per Iota literam, quod præcedit in nomine ejus, significari dicunt. Et propter hoc dixisse Salvatorem: *Iota unum, aut unus apex non præteriet, quoadusque omnia fiant.* Hanc autem passionem, quæ circa duodecimum Æonem facta est, significari dicunt per apostasiam Judæ, qui duodecimus erat Apostolorum, et quoniam duodecimo mense passus est; uno enim anno volunt eum post

Matt. v. 18.

limiting the term in this passage to the Eucharist properly so called.

[1] *ιή μησί.* The same misstatement as put forth by the *Ophites*, is repeated c. XXXIV. towards the close of the chapter.

[2] The text of this period is manifestly corrupt. GRABE proposes the following solution. He imagines that the faulty words *σημαίνουσι λέγεσθαι*, two lines above, had been corrected in the margin by some transcriber's note, *γρ. σημαίνεσθαι λέγουσι*, which words gave rise to the interpolation placed here within brackets. By removing these words *τῆς ἀποστασίας* would be in regimen with *πάθος*, for *Ἰούδαν* we must read *Ἰούδα*, as in fact the translator read, though he transposed the preposition; and *γενομένης προδοσίας* would be the genitive absolute. This is ingenious, but there is the difficulty that the translator indicates no error in the previous passage, rendering it as he does, *significari dicunt;* and yet he expresses the bracketed words by a repetition of the same two words. It would seem that the translator, finding in his copy this interpolation of the verbs in the wrong place, cut the knot by a wilful omission of the clause in which their equivalents stood in the Greek. GRABE's brackets are retained.

[3] *δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἔπαθεν.* A chronological error not wholly peculiar to the gnostic party. FEUARDENT. remarks that TERTULLIAN held the same notion,

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μηνὶ ἔπαθεν· ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ ἑνὶ βούλονται αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ κεκηρυχέναι. Ἔτι τε ἐπὶ τῆς αἱμορρούσης σαφέστατα τοῦτο δηλοῦσθαι· δώδεκα γὰρ ἔτη παθοῦσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος παρουσίας τεθεραπεῦσθαι, ἁψαμένην τοῦ κρασπέδου αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, τίς μου ἥψατο; διδάσκοντα τοὺς μαθητὰς τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι μυστήριον, καὶ τὴν ἴασιν τοῦ πεπονθότος αἰῶνος· [1]ἡ γὰρ παθοῦσα δώδεκα ἔτη, ἐκείνη ἡ δύναμις, ἐκτεινομένης αὐτῆς, καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ῥεούσης τῆς οὐσίας, ὡς λέγουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἔψαυσε τοῦ φορήματος αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς πρώτης τετράδος, ἥτις διὰ τοῦ κρασπέδου μεμήνυται, [3]ἀνελύθη ἂν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς·

LIB. I. i. 5. GR. I. i. 5. MASS. I. iii. 3.

G. 17.

baptisma prædicasse. Adhuc etiam in ea quæ profluvium sanguinis patiebatur, manifestissime hoc significari: duodecim enim annis passam eam, per Domini adventum esse sanatam, cum tetigisset fimbriam vestimenti ejus, et propter hoc dixisse Salvatorem: *Quis me tetigit?* docentem discipulos quod factum esset inter Æonas mysterium, et curationem passi Æonis. Per illam enim quæ passa est duodecim annis, illa virtus significatur, eo quod extenderetur, et in immensum flueret ejus substantia, quemadmodum dicunt. Et nisi tetigisset vestimentum illius [2]filii [*d.* filii], hoc est veritatis primæ tetradis, quæ per fimbriam

Marc. v. esq.

"Annos habens quasi triginta cum pateretur," *c. Jud.* 9, and CLEM. AL. *Strom.* I., καὶ ὅτι ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἐδεῖ αὖτον κηρύξαι, καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται οὕτως· Ἐνιαυτὸν δεκτὸν Κυρίου κηρύξαι ἀπέστειλέν με. And οὕτω πληροῦνται τὰ Χ ἔτη, ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν. Compare also II. xxxvi.

[1] This passage has been involved in needless difficulty. All that is required to be borne in mind is, that a close running comparison is maintained between the circumstances of the miracle and the Valentinian myth; also that Nus, or Monogenes, especially (μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Νοῦν) interested himself in the recovery of Sophia, and that the coordinate emanation, with which he was, as it were, invested, was Alethia. The woman afflicted twelve years represents Sophia, and the hem of the Saviour's garment is a type of Alethia, the σύζυγος of Νοῦς.

[2] It has been already shewn that Μονογενὴς was also styled Υἱὸς, p. 22, note 1, compare also § 9. The translation here, and at the conclusion of the next sentence, indicates τοῦ υἱοῦ as the reading of the original.

[3] For ἀνελύθη the Latin translator had ἀνῆλθε in his copy. The dissolution of Sophia would not have involved annihilation; of the two constituent elements of individuality, μόρφη and οὐσία, the first would have been lost to her, the second would have been resolved into the entire substance in which she participated; *i.e.* into the substance of the entire body of Æons. The Greek and Latin both indicate the genuineness of αὐτῆς, the word *omnem* raises the suspicion that the Greek reading originally was εἰς ὅλην τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς.

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ἀλλὰ [1]ἔστη καὶ ἐπαύσατο τοῦ πάθους· ἡ γὰρ ἐξελθοῦσα δύ- M. 16.
ναμις τούτου, εἶναι δὲ ταύτης [ταύτην] τὸν Ὅρον θέλουσιν,
ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐχώρισεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς. Τὸ δὲ,
[2]Σωτῆρα τὸν ἐκ πάντων ὄντα τὸ πᾶν εἶναι, διὰ τοῦ λόγου
τοῦ [τούτου], πᾶν ἄῤῥεν διανοῖγον μήτραν, δηλοῦσθαι λέγου-
σιν· ὃς τὸ πᾶν ὢν, [3]διήνοιξε τὴν μήτραν τῆς Ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ
πεπονθότος [4]Αἰῶνος, καὶ ἐξορισθείσης ἐκτὸς τοῦ πληρώματος·
ἣν δὴ καὶ δευτέραν ὀγδοάδα καλοῦσι, περὶ ἧς μικρὸν ὕστερον G. 18.
ἐροῦμεν. Καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου δὲ φανερῶς διὰ τοῦτο εἰρῆσθαι
λέγουσι· [5]καὶ αὐτός ἐστι τὰ πάντα· καὶ πάλιν, πάντα εἰς

manifesta est, [6]advenisse in omnem substantiam suam. Sed stetit et quievit a passione per egressam virtutem filii. Esse autem hunc Horon volunt, qui curavit eam, et passionem separavit ab ea. Quod autem Salvatorem ex omnibus existentem

Luc. ii. 23, ex Exod. xiii. 2.

Omne esse, per hoc responsum, *Omne masculinum aperiens vulvam*, manifestari dicunt. Qui cum omnia sit, aperuit vulvam excogitationis passi Æonis, et separata ea extra Pleroma, quam etiam secundam Ogdoadem vocant, de qua paulo post dicemus.

Col. iii. 11.

Et a Paulo autem manifeste propter hoc dictum dicunt: *Et*

Compare the words of IRENÆUS, Lib. II. xxxvi.: *Illa enim, quæ passa est, virtus extensa et in immensum effluens, ita ut periclitaretur in omnem substantiam dissolvi, cum tetigisset primam quaternationem, quæ per fimbriam significatur, stetit et a passione cessavit.* TERTULLIAN has *in reliquam substantiam*, see also p. 15, n. 3.

[1] Owing to the support of Horus.

[2] See § 5, where the collective emanation, Jesus, called by HIPPOLYTUS ὁ κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπὸς, is described by the appellation of τοῦ δευτέρου Χριστοῦ ὃν καὶ Σωτῆρα λέγουσιν. Again we may observe the adoption of terms common to the most ancient forms of heathen Theosophy. Τὸ πᾶν was a favourite term for the Deity. So SOCRATES addresses the Deity in terms of solemn prayer Ὦ φίλε Πᾶν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῇδε θεοί, δοίητέ μοι καλῷ γενέσθαι τἄνδοθεν. κ.τ.λ. We may observe from these words of the wisest of the ancients, that the term does not mean the inanimate world of multiformal matter, but the Intelligent Lord of all life. ORPHEUS in the earliest days declared in like manner that all things centred in one, ἕν τι τὰ πάντα. This is one of the many connecting links between the Greek and the old Egyptian Theology; PLUTARCH thus describes from HECATÆUS the Egyptian belief; τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν τῷ Πάντι τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι. *De Isid. et Osirid.* The gnostic application of the term of course was widely different, and had reference to the Pleroma alone.

[3] διήνοιξε *quâ* γεννῶν, not *quâ* γεννώμενος, as will be seen in the sequel.

[4] τῆς Σοφίας sc.

[5] The scriptural quotations made by IRENÆUS frequently bear a closer resemblance to the Syriac translation than to the Greek original, as we have already observed, see p. 1, n. 4. In the present instance we do not find these precise

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αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα· καὶ πάλιν, ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος· καὶ τὸ, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ [*suppl.* οὕτως], ἑρμηνεύουσιν εἰρῆσθαι, καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. LIB. I. i. 5. GR. I. i. 5. MASS. I. iii. 4.

6. Ἔπειτα περὶ τοῦ Ὅρου αὐτῶν, ὃν δὴ καὶ πλείοσιν ὀνόμασι καλοῦσι, δύο ἐνεργείας ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀποφαινόμενοι, τὴν ἑδραστικὴν καὶ τὴν μεριστικήν· καὶ καθὰ μὲν ἑδράζει καὶ [1]στηρίζει, Σταυρὸν εἶναι, καθὸ δὲ μερίζει καὶ διορίζει, Ὅρον· τὸν μὲν Σταυρὸν [*l.* Σωτῆρα] οὕτως λέγουσι μεμηνυκέναι τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἑδραστικὴν ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν·
M. 17. [2]ὃς οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ μοι, μαθητὴς ἐμὸς οὐ δύναται γενέσθαι· καὶ, ἄρας τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ,

ipse est omnia. Et rursus: *Omnia in ipsum, et ex ipso omnia.* Rom. xi. 36.
Et iterum: *In ipso habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis.* Et illud: Col. ii. 9.
Recapitulata esse omnia in Christo per Deum. Sic interpretantur Eph. i. 10.
dicta, et quæcunque alia sunt talia.

6. Adhuc etiam de Horo suo (quem etiam pluribus nominibus vocant) duas operationes habere eum ostendunt, confirmativam et separativam: et secundum id quidem, quod firmat et constabilit, Crucem esse; secundum id vero, quod dividit, Horon. Salvatorem autem sic manifestasse operationes ejus: et primo quidem confirmativam, in eo quod dicit: *Qui non* Luc. xiv. 27.
tollit crucem suam, et sequitur me, discipulus meus esse non potest.
Et iterum: *Tollens crucem, sequere me.* Separativam autem in Marc. x. 21.

words in Scripture, but they have a close resemblance to the Syriac version of Col. iii. 2, ... ܠܐ ܟ̈ ... ܘܢ. In the next quotation the Greek text runs ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, but the word πάντα is repeated in the Syriac, as by IRENÆUS

ܟ̈ ܟ̈ ... ܟ̈ ... ܟ̈

[6] f. l. *advenisset.*

[1] Compare *Philo.* Τοῦτον στερέωμα ἐκάλεσεν, εἶτ' αὐτὸν εὐθέως οὐρανὸν .... προσεῖπεν· ἤτοι διότι πάντων ὅρος ἦν ἤδη, κ.τ.λ. Περὶ Τ. Κοσμοπ.

[2] The peculiarity remarked in the preceding note 5 may also serve to account for the substitution of equivalent Greek terms in scriptural quotations, *e.g.* this text is read in St Luke ὅς τις οὐ βαστάζει τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔρχεται ὀπίσω μου, οὐ δύναταί μου εἶναι μαθητής. IRENÆUS varies the text by rendering the Syriac ܕ by ὃς simply, ... ܐ ... ܟ̈ by ἀκολουθεῖ μοι, and ... ܢ by γενέσθαι, and besides this he follows the exact order of the Syriac ... ... The same may be observed also of the next quotation, (where αὐτοῦ that preceded is repeated,) in which the order is that of the Syriac, ... and not of the Greek, ἀκολούθει μοι, ἄρας τὸν σταυρόν. These Valentinian interpretations

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LIB. I. i. 6. GR. I. i. 6. MASS I. iii. 5.

ἀκολουθεῖ μοι· τὴν δὲ διοριστικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν· οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν. Καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο μεμηνυκέναι, εἰπόντα· τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα, καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ· καὶ διὰ τούτου τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Ὅρου μεμηνυκέναι· πτύον γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τὸν Σταυρὸν ἑρμηνεύουσιν εἶναι, [1]ὃν δὴ [*f. l.* δεῖ] καὶ ἀναλίσκειν τὰ ὑλικὰ πάντα, ὡς ἄχυρα πῦρ· καθαίρειν δὲ τοὺς σωζομένους, ὡς τὸ πτύον τὸν σῖτον. Παῦλον δὲ τὸν Ἀπόστολον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμιμνήσκεσθαι τούτου τοῦ Σταυροῦ λέγουσιν οὕτως· ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστὶ, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις Θεοῦ· καὶ πάλιν· ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο ἐν μηδενὶ καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, G. 19. κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ πλάσματος πάντες [*l.* τοῦ πάντος] λέγουσιν, [2]ἐφαρ-

Matt. x. 34. Luc. iii. 17.

eo quod dicit: *Non veni mittere pacem, sed gladium.* Et Joannem dicunt hoc ipsum manifestasse, dicentem: *Ventilabrum in manu ejus, emundare aream, et colliget frumentum in horreum suum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili;* et per [3]hæc operationem Hori significasse. Ventilabrum enim illud crucem interpretantur esse, quæ scilicet consumit materialia omnia, quemadmodum paleas ignis: emundat autem eos qui salvantur, sicut ventilabrum triticum. Paulum autem Apostolum et ipsum reminisci

1 Cor. i. 18.

hujus crucis dicunt sic: *Verbum enim crucis iis qui pereunt stultitia est: iis autem, qui salvantur, virtus Dei.* Et iterum:

Gal. vi. 14.

Mihi autem non eveniat in ullo gloriari, nisi in Christi cruce, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo. Talia igitur de Pleromate ipsorum, et plasmate universorum dicunt, adaptare cupientes ea quæ bene dicta sunt, iis quæ male adinventa sunt

are an independent proof, that the Sacrifice of the Death of Christ was denied stubbornly by the ancient heretic. The rationalist, as well as the high predestinarian, may find for himself a certain historical position in the primitive period, but it must be in the ranks of heresy.

[1] ὅν, referring to the σταυρὸς of the Pleroma, whose function it was to separate the material and gross from the spiritual and heavenly, hence the agricultural name of Carpistes.

[2] VALENTINUS is nowhere accused of having altered the text of Scripture, as MARCION did, but of having perverted its meaning. See note 3, p. 4.

[3] The reading of the ARUND. MS.

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μόζειν βιαζόμενοι τὰ καλῶς εἰρημένα τοῖς κακῶς ἐπινενοημένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πειρῶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιεῖσθαι, παρατρέποντες τὰς ἑρμηνείας, καὶ ῥᾳδιουργοῦντες τὰς ἐξηγήσεις· ἀλλὰ, καὶ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, ἅτε πολλῶν παραβολῶν καὶ ἀλληγοριῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ ἕλκειν δυναμένων τὸ ἀμφίβολον διὰ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, ἕτεροι δὲ δεινῶς, [1][δεινοτέρως] τῷ πλάσματι
M. 18. αὐτῶν καὶ δολίως ἐφαρμόζοντες, αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας τοὺς μὴ ἑδραίαν τὴν πίστιν [2]εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφυλάσσοντας.

7. Τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ πληρώματος λεγόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐστι τοιαῦτα· τὴν Ἐνθύμησιν τῆς ἄνω Σοφίας, ἣν καὶ [3]Ἀχαμὼθ καλοῦσιν, ἀφορισθεῖσαν τοῦ [ἄνω] πληρώματος σὺν τῷ πάθει λέγουσιν, ἐν σκιαῖς καὶ [4]σκηνώματος [κενώματος] τόποις

ab ipsis. Et non solum autem ex Evangelicis et Apostolicis tentant ostensiones facere, convertentes interpretationes, et adulterantes expositiones: sed etiam ex Lege et Prophetis, cum multæ parabolæ et allegoriæ sint dictæ, et in multa trahi possint ambiguum per expositionem, propensius ad figmentum suum et dolose adaptantes, in captivitatem ducunt a veritate eos, qui non firmam fidem in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in unum Jesum Christum Filium Dei conservant.

7. Ea vero quæ extra Pleroma dicuntur ab iis, sunt talia: Enthymesin illius superioris Sophiæ, quam et Achamoth vocant, separatam a superiore Pleromate cum passione dicunt, in umbra

[1] The representative of ἔτ. δὲ δεινῶς. I would also suggest ἑτεροῖας, δεινοτ.

[2] ἕνα. The reader will observe the exact terms of the Oriental Creed: this word had been introduced in it to meet gnostic rather than Pagan error.

[3] Achamoth is evidently the Hebrew חכמה or rather the Syriac ܚܟܡܬ. The second of the Cabbalistic Sephiroth was חכמה, derived from the inspired description of Divine Wisdom in *Prov.* viii. Σοφία, γνῶσις, though TERTULLIAN says, the derivation of the term was unknown to him, *Enthymesis de actu fuit; Achamoth unde, adhuc quæritur.*

[4] Σκιαῖς καὶ σκηνώματος τόποις] Legendum σκιᾶς καὶ κενώματος τόποις juxta antiquum Interpretem et THEODORETUM, qui lib. I. *Hæret. Fabul.* cap. 7, p. 199, hanc matrem Achamoth ait ἐν σκιᾷ τινι καὶ κενώματι διάγειν. Ipse IRENÆUS paulo post scribit, καταλελεῖφθαι μόνην ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ κενώματι. Et lib. II. cap. 7, sæpius nominat *vacuum et umbram.* Porro TERTULLIANUS, cap. 14 habet: *Explosa est in loca luminis aliena, quod Pleromatis est, in vacuum atque inane illud Epicuri.*

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LIB. I. i. 7. GR. I. i. 7. MASS. I. iv. 1.

ἐκβεβράσθαι κατὰ ἀνάγκην. Ἔξω γὰρ [1]φωτὸς ἐγένετο καὶ Πληρώματος, ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνείδεος, ὥσπερ ἔκτρωμα, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν [2]κατειληφέναι· οἰκτείραντά τε αὐτὴν τὸν [ἄνω] Χριστὸν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἐπεκταθέντα, [3]τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει μορφῶσαι μόρφωσιν τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν κατὰ γνῶσιν· καὶ πράξαντα τοῦτο [4]ἀναδραμεῖν συστείλαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ καταλιπεῖν, ὅπως αἰσθομένη τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθους διὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ Πληρώματος, ὀρεχθῇ τῶν

et vacuitatis locis [5]defervisse per necessitatem: extra enim lumen facta est, et extra Pleroma, informis et sine specie, quasi abortus, ideo quia nihil apprehendit. Misertum autem ejus superiorem Christum, [6]et per crucem extensum, sua virtute formasse formam, quæ esset secundum substantiam tantum, sed non secundum agnitionem: et hæc operatum recurrere subtrahentem suam virtutem, et reliquisse illam, uti sentiens passionem, quæ erga illam esset per separationem Pleromatis, concupiscat

Cum quo et Auctor noster istud comparat, lib. II. cap. 19, scribens: *Umbram autem et vacuum ipsorum a Democrito et Epicuro sumentes, sibimetipsis aptaverunt.* GRABE.

[1] *φῶς* and *πλήρωμα*, being the exact correlatives of *σκιὰ* and *κενῶμα*.

[2] *μηδὲν κατειληφέναι, i.e. τοῦ ἀῤῥενικοῦ*, her parentage being alone of Sophia; hence she had no portion of that which the sire confers, viz. *μορφή*. See pp. 16, n. 4, and 20. 2. That *γνῶσις* also which Monogenes derived from the Father and communicated to the other Æons could not be conferred by Sophia alone upon her Enthymesis, who received from Christ *μόρφωσις* rather than *μορφὴ*, and *κατ' οὐσίαν μόνον*, but not *κατὰ γνῶσιν*. The reader may compare that which is said respecting this generative and formative function of *γνῶσις* in the *Didasc. Or.* § 7. The account of HIPPOLYTUS is not quite consistent with that of IRENÆUS. He says, *ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπιπροβληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Νοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας, ἐμορφώσε καὶ ἀπειργάσατο τέλειον αἰῶνα οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐντὸς πληρώματος χείρονουν... ον γενέσθαι.* (*χείρονα ἐνιπόστατον γενέσθαι*). Implying that Achamoth was not inferior in *γνῶσις* to the other Æons. But the text is defective.

[3] So TERTULLIAN *ut informet illud suis viribus*: it is doubtful however whether the *ἰδία δύναμις* be not that of Enthymesis, *in her own essence*, the formation *κατ' οὐσίαν* being of a female character, that *κατὰ γνῶσιν* male.

[4] So HIPPOLYTUS, *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεμόρφωτο ἡ σοφία ἔξω, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν* (suppl. *ἦ*) *ἴσον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον* [Πνεῦμα] *ἐκ τοῦ νοὸς προβεβλημένα καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἔξω τοῦ πληρώματος μένειν, ἀνέδραμεν ἀπὸ τῆς μεμορφωμένης ὁ Χριστός, κ.τ.λ. Philos.* VI. 31.

[5] MASSUET observes correctly that "defervisse" conveys only the idea of subsidence from a state of fervour, possibly "effervisse" may be the true reading, as agreeing closely with the Greek. GRABE has "vanitatis," but *vacuitatis* is the reading found in the Voss., ARUND. and MERC. II. MSS.

[6] *Per crucem extensum*, Gr., *διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐκτεινόμενον*, the Valentinian *σταυρός* was as the boundary fence of the Pleroma, beyond which Christ ex-

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διαφερόντων, ἔχουσά τινα ὀδμὴν ἀφθαρσίας, ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαν αὐτὴν [*l.* αὐτῇ ὑπὸ] τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου [1]Πνεύματος. G. 20. Διὸ καὶ [2]αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ὀνόμασι καλεῖσθαι, [3]Σοφίαν τε πατρωνυμικῶς, (ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτῆς Σοφία κλῄζεται), καὶ M. 19. πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν πνεύματος. Μορφωθεῖσάν τε αὐτὴν, καὶ [4]ἔμφρονα γενηθεῖσαν, παραυτίκα δὲ κενωθεῖσαν ἀοράτου αὐτῇ συνόντος Λόγου, τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, [5]ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὁρμῆσαι τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν inf. § 8. φωτὸς καὶ μὴ δυνηθῆναι καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸ, διὰ τὸ κωλυθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὅρου. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ὅρον κωλύοντα αὐτὴν τῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ὁρμῆς εἰπεῖν Ἰαώ· ὅθεν τὸ [8]Ἰαὼ ὄνομα

LIB. I. i. 7. GR. I. i. 7. MASS. I. iv. 1.

eorum quæ meliora essent, habens aliquam [6]odorationem immortalitatis relictam in [7]semetipsa a Christo et Spiritu sancto. Quapropter et ipsam duobus nominibus vocari, Sophiam paternaliter (Pater enim ejus Sophia vocatur) et Spiritum sanctum ab eo, qui est erga Christum Spiritus. Formatam autem eam et sensatam factam, statim autem evacuatam ab eo qui invisibiliter cum ea erat Verbo, hoc est Christo, in exquisitionem egressam ejus luminis, quod se dereliquisset; et non potuisse apprehendere illud, quoniam coërcebatur ab Horo. Et sic Horon coërcentem eam ne anterius irrueret, dixisse *Iao*, unde

tended his virtue and power for the sake of Enthymesis, as IRENÆUS says, III. xx.: *Is, qui ab illis affingitur sursum Christus, superextensus Horo, id est, fini, et formavit eorum matrem.* THEODORET, therefore, adds the term ὅρου in explanation, Χριστὸν ἐπεκτανθῆναι διὰ τοῦ Ὅρου, καὶ Σταυροῦ καλουμένου.

[1] The reader should observe that רוּחַ *spirit*, is in the Hebrew and in the Syriac generally of the feminine gender; hence the συζυγία of Χριστὸς and Πνεῦμα. This may be adduced as another proof of the Oriental origin of the Valentinian heresy.

[2] αὐτὴν, *i.e.* Enthymesis.

[3] So it is said of Soter that he retained the names of his ancestral Æons, τὰ προγονικὰ ὀνόματα διασώζοντα, c. vii. Sophia was the sole generative origin of Achamoth. So far as the production of Enthymesis was concerned, Sophia, having imitated Bythus, seems to have been considered to be ἀῤῥενόθηλυς like him.

[4] ἔμφρονα, possessing now that intelligence, which was conferred by her μόρφωσις, though not κατὰ γνῶσιν.

[5] ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὁρμῆσαι. Ἡ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πληρώματος σοφία ἐπιζητοῦσα τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν μεμορφωκότα καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐν φόβῳ μεγάλῳ κατέστη, ὅτι ἀπολεῖται τοῦ κεχωρισμένου τοῦ μορφώσαντος αὐτὴν καὶ στηρίσαντος. HIPPOL. *Philos.* VI. 32.

[6] TERTULLIAN expresses it, "iteratur odor incorruptibilitatis."

[7] The ARUND. MS. agrees with the Greek, having *Semetipsam*. GRABE does not notice this, but it is of no great importance.

[8] Ἰαώ. It is usual to treat this word as identical with the Hebrew Tetragrammaton יהוה Jehovah. If so,

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γεγενῆσθαι φάσκουσι. Μὴ δυνηθεῖσαν δὲ διοδεῦσαι τὸν Ὅρον, διὰ τὸ συμπεπλέχθαι τῷ πάθει, καὶ μόνην ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ἔξω, παντὶ μέρει τοῦ πάθους ὑποπεσεῖν πολυμεροῦς καὶ πολυποικίλου ὑπάρχοντος, καὶ παθεῖν, λύπην μὲν, ὅτι οὐ κατέλαβε· φόβον δὲ, μὴ καθάπερ [1]αὐτὴν τὸ φῶς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐπιλίπῃ· [2]ἀπορίαν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις· [3]ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ δὲ τὰ πάντα.

et Iao nomen factum dicunt: et cum non posset pertransire Horon, quoniam complexa fuerat passionem, et sola fuisset derelicta foris, omni parti passionis succubuisse multifariæ et variæ existentis: et passam eam, tristitiam quidem, quoniam non apprehendit, timorem autem, ne quemadmodum eam lumen, sic et vita relinqueret: consternationem autem super hæc: [in] ignorantia autem omnia. Et non quemadmodum mater ejus

the vowels must have been transposed; for, with the help of the digamma, indicated in the forms Ἰαυὲ and the Samaritan Ἰαβὲ, and Ἰευὼ, ἸωFα would express with tolerable accuracy what we imagine to have been the pronunciation of the Hebrew יהוה. If, however, Ἰαὼ be the correct orthography, of which there is little doubt, the word may be simply a collection of symbolical letters derived from the Hellenistic Synagogues. I or י was the well-known abbreviation of יְהוָה; while the remaining two letters indicate the attribute of eternity, A and Ω, the first and the last. Now if this is a true analysis of the word, and if the term was known, as EPIPHANIUS assures us, (*Hær.* XXVI. 10) to the earlier Gnostics, it is interesting to observe St John following exactly the same course in the Apocalypse with regard to the term Ἰαὼ, that he observed in the Gospel with respect to the name Λόγος. For the term Logos was adopted in the Gospel as one familiar to the half Oriental half Greek philosophy of the day; the use of any word being immaterial so long as it conveys a correct theological notion. In the same way the word Ἰαὼ would seem to be indicated in the A and Ω of the Apocalypse, and in applying the term to Christ, St John apparently avails himself of a term current in the Hellenistic theosophy, in order to teach the eternal attributes of Him, who being, as the divine Logos, "in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God," in eternal perfection. "I am the first and I am the last, and beside me there is no God." Is. xliv. 6. The reader should consult Bp PEARSON'S notes on the word "Our Lord." The MSS. write the word with a Hebrew termination *Jaoth*, or *Joath*. TERTULLIAN is more exact, *inclamaverit in eam Jao*, c. 14.

[1] STIEREN mentions with approbation the reading αὐτὴ of the Ed. Princ., Breslau MS. and Gallas; but αὐτὴν is no doubt the genuine reading, and is more like the Greek construction, e. g. ISOCR. *ad Dem.*: ἐπιλίποι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος. TERTULLIAN has, *ne sicut luce, ita et vita orbaretur.*

[2] The ἀπορία of Achamoth is thus described by HIPPOLYTUS: ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐγένετο πολλῇ, λογιζομένη τίς ἦν ὁ μορφώσας, τί τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ποῦ ἀπῆλθε, τίς ὁ κωλύσας αὐτὴν συμπαρεῖναι, τίς ἐφθόνησε τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ μακαρίου θεάματος

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Καὶ οὐ καθάπερ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς, ἡ πρώτη Σοφία καὶ Αἰὼν, [1]ἑτεροίωσιν ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐναντιότητα. Ἐπισυμβεβηκέναι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἑτέραν διάθεσιν, τὴν τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ζωοποιήσαντα. Ταύτην [2]σύστασιν καὶ οὐσίαν τῆς ὕλης γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσιν, ἐξ ἧς ὅδε ὁ κόσμος συνέστηκεν. Ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τὴν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ [3]τοῦ δημιουργοῦ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν τὴν γένεσιν εἰληφέναι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῆς λύπης τὰ λοιπὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκέναι· [4]ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν δακρύων αὐτῆς γεγονέναι πᾶσαν ἔνυγρον οὐσίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος, τὴν φωτεινήν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως, τὰ σωματικὰ

LIB. I. i. 7. GR. I. i. 7. MASS. I. iv. 1.

G. 21.

M. 20.

Cf. § 10.

prima Sophia Æon, demutationem in passionibus habuit, sed contrarietatem. Super hæc autem evenisse ei et alteram affectionem conversionis ad eum qui vivificavit. Eam collectionem et substantiam fuisse materiæ dicunt, ex qua hic mundus constat. De conversione enim mundi et Demiurgi omnem animam genesin accepisse: de timore autem et tristitia reliqua initium habuisse. A lacrymis enim ejus factam universam humidam substantiam: a risu autem lucidam: a tristitia autem et pavore

ἐκείνου. Ἐπὶ τούτοις καθεστῶσα τοῖς πάθεσι τρέπεται ἐπὶ δέησιν καὶ ἱκετείαν τοῦ ἀπολιπόντος αὐτήν. *Philos.* VI. 32.

[3] In the sequel it is said more clearly, καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τοῖς τρισὶ πάθεσιν ἐγκεκρύφθαι διδάσκουσι, viz. *in grief, fear and perplexity.* Compare also TERTULL. c. *Val.* § 14, *cœpit affligi mœrore, metu, consternatione, tum ignorantia.* The reader may bear in mind that her formation was οὐ κατὰ γνῶσιν. Wherefore her passion was ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ.

[1] Sophia declined from a comparative state of γνῶσις. Her ignorance, therefore, was by degeneration; ἑτεροίωσιν εἶχεν. Achamoth never enjoyed a ray of this γνῶσις, and her ignorance from the first was *connate,* and κατ' ἐναντιότητα. TERTULLIAN draws the same distinction, but still more obscurely, *tum ignorantia; nec ut mater ejus. Illa enim Æon; at hæc pro conditione deterius.* § 14.

[2] σύστασιν, *consistency.* According to HIPPOLYTUS, ἀπολέσθαι αὐτὰ (τὰ πάθη sc.) αἰώνια ὄντα καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἴδια οὐ καλόν....ἐποίησεν οὖν (ὁ Ἰησοῦς sc.) ὡς τηλικοῦτος αἰὼν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος ἔκγονος, ἐκστῆναι τὰ πάθη ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὑποστάτας οὐσίας, καὶ τὸν μὲν φόβον ψυχικὴν ἐποίησεν ἐπιθυμίαν, τὴν δὲ λύπην, ὑλικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἀπορίαν, δαιμόνων, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ δέησιν καὶ ἱκετείαν, ὁδὸν καὶ μετάνοιαν καὶ δύναμιν ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, ἥτις καλεῖται δεξιὰ, ὁ (*l.* ἡ) δημιουργός, κ.τ.λ. *Philos.* VI. 32.

[3] The Demiurge derived from Enthymesis an animal and not a spiritual nature, "Ex hac (conversione scil.) omnis anima hujus mundi dicitur constitisse, etiam ipsius Demiurgi, id est, Dei nostri." TERTULL. c. 15. "Audisti mœrorem et timorem; ex his initiata sunt cætera." *Ibid.*

[4] "Ex lacrymis ejus universa aquarum natura manavit....Proinde ex consternatione et pavore corporalia elementa ducta sunt.... ridebat interdum, qua conspecti Christi recordans, eodem gaudio risu lumen effulsit." TERT. *adv. Val.* 15.

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LIB. I. i. 7. GR. I. i. 7. MASS. I. iv. 2.

τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα. Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἔκλαιε καὶ ἐλυπεῖτο, ὡς λέγουσι, διὰ τὸ καταλελεῖφθαι μόνην ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ κενώματι· ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἥκουσα τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτὸς, διεχεῖτο καὶ ἐγέλα· ποτὲ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐφοβεῖτο· ἄλλοτε δὲ διηπόρει, καὶ ἐξίστατο.

8. Καὶ τί γάρ; τραγῳδία πολλὴ λοιπὸν ἦν ἐνθάδε, καὶ φαντασία ἑνὸς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν, ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως [1]σοβαρῶς ἐκδιηγουμένου ἐκ ποταποῦ πάθους, ἐκ ποίου στοιχείου [2]ἡ οὐσία τὴν γένεσιν εἴληφεν· ἃ καὶ εἰκότως δοκοῦσί μοι μὴ ἅπαντας θέλειν ἐν φανερῷ διδάσκειν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνους ἐκείνους τοὺς καὶ μεγάλους μισθοὺς ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων μυστηρίων τελεῖν δυναμένους. Οὐκέτι γὰρ ταῦτα ὅμοια ἐκείνοις, περὶ ὧν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν εἴρηκε, δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε· ἀλλὰ ἀνακεχωρηκότα, καὶ τερατώδη καὶ βαθέα μυστήρια μετὰ πολλοῦ καμάτου περιγινόμενα τοῖς φιλοψευδέσι. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐκδαπανήσειε πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μάθῃ, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων τῆς Ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ πεπονθότος Αἰῶνος, θάλασσαι, καὶ πηγαὶ, καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ πᾶσα ἔνυδρος οὐσία τὴν

Cf. note 2.

corporalia mundi elementa. Aliquando enim plorabat et tristis erat, quomodo dicunt, quod derelicta sola esset in tenebris et in vacuo: aliquando autem in cogitationem veniens ejus quod dereliquerat eam lumen, diffundebatur et ridebat: aliquando autem rursus timebat: aliquando consternabatur, et ecstasin patiebatur.

8. Et quidem enim [Ecquid enim?] tragœdia multa est jam hic, et phantasia uniuscujusque illorum, aliter et aliter graviter exponentis, ex quali passione, et ex quali elemento substantia generationem accepit. Quæ etiam convenienter videntur mihi non omnes velle in manifesto docere, sed solos illos qui etiam grandes mercedes pro talibus mysteriis præstare possunt. Non enim jam dicunt similia illis, de quibus Dominus noster dixit: *Gratis accepistis, gratis date:* sed [3]separata et portentuosa, et alta mysteria cum magno labore exquisita fallacibus. Quis enim non eroget omnia quæ sunt ejus, uti discat, quoniam a lacrymis Enthymeseos, quæ est ex passione Æonis, maria et fontes, et flumina, et universa humida materia genera-

Matt. x. 8.

[1] σοβαρῶς, pompously.

[2] ἡ οὐσία here used in the sense of ὕλη, material substance.

[3] Separata, *abstrusa* would have better expressed the sense.

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γένεσιν εἴληφεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος αὐτῆς τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ τῆς ἀμηχανίας τὰ σωματικὰ τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα; Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεισενεγκεῖν τι τῇ καρποφορίᾳ αὐτῶν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁρῶ τὰ μὲν γλυκέα ὕδατα ὄντα,
G. 22. οἷον πηγὰς, καὶ ποταμοὺς, καὶ ὄμβρους, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς θαλάσσαις ἁλμυρά· ἐπινοῶ μὴ πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων αὐτῆς προβεβλῆσθαι, διότι τὸ δάκρυον ἁλμυρὸν τῇ ποιότητι ὑπάρχει· φανερὸν οὖν, ὅτι τὰ ἁλμυρὰ ὕδατα ταὐτά ἐστι τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων. Εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ πολλῇ
M. 21. καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ γεγονυῖαν καὶ ἱδρωκέναι· ἐντεῦθεν δὴ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ, πηγὰς καὶ ποταμοὺς, καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλα γλυκέα ὕδατα ὑπάρχει, τὴν γένεσιν μὴ [*l.* μετεσχ.] ἐσχηκέναι ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων [ἱδρώτων] αὐτῆς· ἀπίθανον γὰρ, μιᾶς ποιότητος οὔσης τῶν δακρύων, τὰ μὲν ἁλμυρὰ, τὰ δὲ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἐξ αὐτῶν προελθεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ πιθανώτερον, τὰ μὲν εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδρώτων. Ἐπειδὴ

tionem acceperunt: de risu autem ejus lumen, de pavore autem et inconstabilitate corporalia mundi elementa? Volo autem aliquid et ego conferre fructificationi eorum. Quoniam enim video dulces quidem quasdam aquas, ut fontes, et flumina, et imbres, et talia; quæ autem sunt in mari salsas: adinvenio non omnia a lacrymis ejus emissa, quoniam lacrymæ salsæ sunt qualitate. Manifestum igitur, quoniam salsæ aquæ sunt hæ a lacrymis. Opinor autem eam in agonia et in inconstantia grandi constitutam et sudasse. Unde etiam secundum argumentationem ipsorum suspicari oportet, fontes et flumina, et si quæ sunt aliæ aquæ dulces, generationem habuisse a [1]sudoribus ejus. Non est enim suadibile, cum sint unius qualitatis lacrymæ, alteras quidem salsas, alteras dulces aquas ex iis exisse. Hoc autem magis suadibile, alteras quidem esse a lacrymis, alteras vero a sudoribus. Quoniam autem et calidæ et austeræ quædam sunt aquæ

[1] The translator clearly indicates the preferable reading of *ἱδρώτων*, supported as it is by the apt quotation of GRABE, from NILUS Asc. the disciple of S. J. Chrysostom (*ad Carpion. Valent.*) Ἐχρῆν σε ἀπαντῆσαι λέγοντα, ὅτι τὰ μὲν πικρὰ τῆς ἀνυπάρκτου Ἀχαμὼθ δάκρυα τὰς ἁλμύρας θαλάσσας ὑπέστησεν, ὡς ἐξ ὀδύνης καὶ δριμυγμοῦ ἱκανοῦ προχυθέντα. Ὁ δὲ ἱδρὼς τῆς ταλαιπώρου γυναικὸς πηγὰς ἐξηρεύξατο καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ φρέατα, λίμνας τε καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς γλυκέα· ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν σὸν λῆρον γελοιωδῶς λέγομεν.

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LIB. I. i. 8. GR. I. i 8. MASS I iv. 4.

καὶ θερμὰ καὶ δριμέα τινὰ ὕδατά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, νοεῖν ὀφείλεις, τὶ ποιήσασα, καὶ ἐκ ποίου μορίου προήκατο ταῦτα· ἁρμόζουσι γὰρ τοιοῦτοι καρποὶ τῇ ὑποθέσει αὐτῶν. Διοδεύσασαν οὖν πᾶν πάθος τὴν Μητέρα αὐτῶν, καὶ μόγις ὑπερκύψασαν, [1]ἐπὶ ἱκεσίαν τραπῆναι τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτὸς, τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, λέγουσιν· ὃς ἀνελθὼν μὲν εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰκὸς ὅτι [2]ὤκνησεν ἐκ δευτέρου κατελθεῖν, τὸν [3]Παράκλητον δὲ ἐξέπεμψεν [εἰς] αὐτὴν, τουτέστι τὸν σωτῆρα, [4]ἐνδόντος αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ πᾶν ὑπ' ἐξουσίαν παραδόντος, [5]καὶ τῶν αἰώνων δεόμενος [δὲ ὁμοίως], ὅπως ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα κτισθῇ τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ G. 23.
ἀόρατα, θρόνοι, [6]θεότητες, κυριότητες· ἐκπέμπεται δὲ πρὸς

in mundo, intelligere debes, quid faciens, et ex quo membro emisit has. Apti sunt enim hujusmodi fructus argumento ipsorum. Cum igitur peragrasset omnem passionem mater ipsorum, et vix cum elata esset, ad obsecrationem conversa est ejus luminis, quod dereliquerat eam, hoc est, Christi, dicunt: qui regressus in Pleroma, ipse quidem, ut datur intelligi, pigritatus est secundo descendere: Paracletum autem misit ad eam, hoc est, Salvatorem, præstante ei virtutem omnem [7]Patre, et omnia sub potestate tradente: et Æonibus autem similiter, uti
Col. i. 16. *in eo omnia conderentur, visibilia et invisibilia, throni, divinitates,*

[1] THEODOTUS in the *Didascalia Or.* varies the account: Χριστὸς γὰρ, καταλείψας τὴν προβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸν Σοφίαν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἔξω καταλειφθείσης Σοφίας ἠτήσατο τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ ἐξ εὐδοκίας τῶν Αἰώνων Ἰησοῦς προβάλλεται Παράκλητος τῷ παρελθόντι Αἰῶνι. § 23.

[2] ὤκνησεν. So TERTULLIAN, *Sed Christus, quem jam pigebat extra Pleroma proficisci, vicarium præficit Paracletum, Soterem . . . . ad eam emittit cum officio atque comitatu coætaneorum angelorum.* 16. See also THEODORET, *Hær. Fab.* 1. 7. p. 299. Ed. Schultze.

[3] Jesus or Soter was also called the Paraclete in the sense of Advocate, or one acting as the representative of others. So the *Didasc. Or.* 24: Τὸν Παράκλητον οἱ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πλήρης τῶν αἰώνων ἐλήλυθεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου προελθών.

[4] Καὶ δόντος πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πνεύματος (lege potius ex Irenæo πατρὸς, Grabe) συναινέσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πληρώματος, ἐκπέμπεται ὁ τῆς βουλῆς ἄγγελος, καὶ γίνεται κεφαλὴ τῶν ὅλων μετὰ τὸν πατέρα· πάντα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, βασιλεῖαι, θεότητες, λειτουργίαι. *ib.* § 43.

[5] τῶν αἰώνων (sc. ἐνδόντων τὴν δύναμιν), compare § 4, Soter being a collective impersonation of the entire Pleroma.

[6] θεότητες is a word interpolated by the Valentinians, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, THEODORET adds; sometimes at least VALENTINUS "excogitavit Scripturas ad materiem." TERT. *Præscr. Hær.* cf. n. 4.

[7] The MSS. have *Patris*; cf. the Gr.

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αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν [1]ἡλικιωτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀγγέλων. Τὴν δὲ Ἀχαμὼθ ἐντραπεῖσαν αὐτὸν λέγουσι πρῶτον μὲν [2]κάλυμμα ἐπιθέσθαι δι' αἰδῶ, μετέπειτα δὲ ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ
M. 22. [3]καρποφορίᾳ αὐτοῦ, προσδραμεῖν αὐτῷ, δύναμιν λαβοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ· κἀκεῖνον μορφῶσαι αὐτὴν [4]μόρφωσιν τὴν κατὰ γνῶσιν, καὶ ἴασιν τῶν παθῶν ποιήσασθαι αὐτῆς· χωρίσαντα δ' αὐτὰ αὐτῆς, [5]μὴ ἀμελήσαντα δὲ αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν [6]δυνατὰ ἀφανισθῆναι, ὡς τὰ [7]τῆς προτέρας, διὰ τὸ ἐκτικὰ

dominationes. Mittitur autem ad eam cum coætaneis suis Angelis. Hanc autem Achamoth reveritam eum dicunt primo quidem coopertionem imposuisse propter reverentiam: deinde autem cum vidisset eum cum universa fructificatione sua, accurrisse ei, virtute accepta de visu ejus. Et illum formasse eam formationem, quæ est secundum agnitionem, et curationem passionum fecisse ejus, separantem eas ab ea, et non eas neglexisse, nec enim erat possibile eas exterminari quemadmodum

[1] Angels were the male seed, the initiated were the female seed of Sophia, henceforth to be united in the final ἀποκατάστασις. The *Didasc. Or.* says, τὰ μὲν ἀῤῥενικὰ ἀγγελικὰ καλοῦσι, τὰ θηλυκὰ δ' ἑαυτοὺς τὸ διαφέρον πνεῦμα.... τὰ οὖν ἀῤῥενικὰ μετὰ τοῦ λόγου συνεστάλη, τὰ θηλυκὰ δὲ ἀπανδρωθέντα ἑνοῦται τοῖς ἀγγέλοις καὶ εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα χωρεῖ. § 21.

[2] Ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ Σοφία, ὅμοιον τῷ καταλιπόντι αὐτὴν φωτὶ ἐγνώρισεν, καὶ προσέδραμεν, καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο, καὶ προσεκύνησεν· τοὺς δὲ ἄῤῥενας ἀγγέλους τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπεμφθέντας θεασαμένη, κατηδέσθη, καὶ κάλυμμα ἐπέθετο· διὰ τούτου τοῦ μυστηρίου ὁ Παῦλος κελεύει τὰς γυναῖκας φορεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους. *ib.* § 44. TERTULLIAN says, "Adventu pompatico ejus concussa Achamoth, protinus velamentum sibi obduxit, ex officio primo venerationis et verecundiæ."

[3] καρποφορία, emanation of excellencies derived from all the Æons, as the ἀπάνθισμα of the entire Pleroma. So TERTULLIAN has, *Contemplatur eum fructiferum suggestum.*

[4] The reader may refer back to § 7, where it is said that Christ formed her in her own essence τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει, κατ' οὐσίαν only, but not κατὰ γνῶσιν. Soter or the Paraclete now confers the formation κατὰ γνῶσιν. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐπιφέρει αὐτὴν (forte αὐτῇ) μόρφωσιν τὴν κατὰ γνῶσιν καὶ ἴασιν τῶν παθῶν, δείξας ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀγεννήτου τὰ ἐν πληρώματι, καὶ τὰ μέχρι αὐτῆς. *Didasc. Or.* § 45. HIPPOLYTUS seems to refer this more perfect μόρφωσις to the previous mission of Christ.

[5] μὴ ἀμελήσαντα. "Susceptam ille confirmat atque conformat agnitione jam, et ab omnibus injuriis passionis expumicat, non eadem negligentia in exterminium discretis, quæ acciderat in casibus matris." TERT. *adv. Val.* 16. Ἀποστήσας δὲ τὰ πάθη τῆς πεπονθυίας, αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπαθῆ κατεσκεύασεν, τὰ πάθη δὲ διακρίνας ἐφύλαξεν· καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τῆς ἔνδον διεφορήθη, ἀλλ' εἰς οὐσίαν ἤγαγεν αὐτά τε καὶ τῆς δευτέρας διαθέσεως. *Didasc. Or.* 45.

[6] See Note 2, p. 35.

[7] τῆς προτέρας, Σοφίας *sc.*, or, as

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LIB. I. i. 8. GR. I. i. 8. MASS. I. iv. 5.

ἤδη καὶ [1] δυνατὰ εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίναντα [2] χωρήσει τοῦ [χωρὶς, εἶτα] συγχέαι καὶ πῆξαι, καὶ ἐξ ἀσωμάτου πάθους εἰς [3] ἀσώματον τὴν ὕλην μεταβαλεῖν αὐτά· εἶθ' οὕτως ἐπιτηδειότητα καὶ G. 24. φύσιν ἐμπεποιηκέναι αὐτοῖς, ὥστε εἰς συγκρίματα καὶ σώματα ἐλθεῖν, πρὸς τὸ γενέσθαι [4] δύο οὐσίας, τὴν φαύλην τῶν παθῶν,

prioris, eo quod jam habilia et possibilia essent; sed segregantem separatim commiscuisse et coagulasse, et de incorporali passione in incorporalem materiam transtulisse eas: et sic aptabilitatem et naturam fecisse in eis, ut in congregationes et corpora venirent, uti fierent duæ substantiæ, una quidem mala ex passionibus,

she was also called, τῆς ἄνω Σοφίας. Achamoth being ἡ κάτω and δευτέρα Σοφία.

[1] As having a *virtual* existence. TERTULLIAN says, "eo quod jam habitum et robur contraxissent." 17.

[2] For χωρήσει τοῦ which is manifestly a corrupt reading, BILLIUS proposes simply χωρὶς, and GRABE χωρὶς αὐτῆς. χωρὶς, εἶτα is no improbable reading. TERTULLIAN has, *Atque ita massaliter solidata defixit scorsim in materiæ corporalem paraturam.*

[3] ἀσώματον is retained for the reasons given by GRABE, to whose note the reader is referred; he quotes here from the *Didasc. Or.*, Πρῶτον οὖν ἐξ ἀσωμάτου πάθους καὶ συμβεβηκότος εἰς ἀσώματον τὴν ὕλην αὐτὰ μετήντλησεν καὶ μετέβαλεν. The English equivalent is not *incorporeal substance* but *unorganized matter*, which is the meaning of the passage quoted by GRABE from the *Philosophumena* of HIPPOLYTUS, in speaking of the opinion of PLATO respecting matter, π. Πλάτωνος. Ἀσχημάτιστον γὰρ αὐτὴν (τὴν ὕλην) οὖσαν καὶ ἄποιον, προσλαβοῦσαν σχήματα καὶ ποιότητας γενέσθαι σῶμα, (p. 21, ed. Miller), and the author immediately before had described this ὕλη as the rude subjective material out of which the elements and earthly bodies were formed, ὕλην δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ὑποκειμένην, ἣν καὶ δεξαμένην καὶ τιθήνην καλεῖ, ἐξ ἧς, διακοσμηθείσης γενέσθαι τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν ὁ κόσμος πυρὸς, ἀέρος, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα συγκρίματα καλούμενα, ζῷά τε καὶ φυτὰ συνεστηκέναι. p. 20, ed. Miller. IRENÆUS uses the same philosophical term in this passage, ὥστε εἰς συγκρίματα καὶ σώματα ἐλθεῖν. Further that this is the meaning of ἀσώματον is evident from the words of the *Didasc. Or.* § 47, ἀσώματον δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐν ἀρχῇ αἰνίσσεται, τὸ φάσκειν ἀόρατον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ μηδέπω ὄντι ἀόρατος ἦν, οὔτε τῷ (....) ἐδημιουργεῖ γάρ· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄμορφον καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον αὐτῆς ὧδέ πως ἐξεφώνησεν. DIOG. LAERTIUS, III. 86, records PLATO'S opinion in very similar terms, εἶναι δὲ τὴν ὕλην ἀσχημάτιστον καὶ ἄπειρον, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τὰ συγκρίματα. The German language expresses the meaning with greater accuracy than our own, e. g. BAUR, as quoted by STIEREN, "Das unkörperliche Leiden ging in eine unkörperliche Materie über; diese verdichtete sich in Körper, und es enstanden zwei Substanzen eine böse aus dem Leiden, und eine Leidens fähige aus der Sehnsucht. Dies bewirkte die bildende Macht des Soter." *Chr. Gnos.* p. 134.

[4] HIPPOLYTUS says that these πάθη were hypostatised as substance, but he expresses himself in such a way as to shew that the idea in his mind was not that of the creation of matter, but of certain moral qualities supposed by the Gnostics to have a substantive existence. He

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τήν τε τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐμπαθῆ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμει τὸν Σωτῆρα [1]δεδημιουργηκέναι φάσκουσι. Τήν τε Ἀχαμὼθ ἐκτὸς πάθους γενομένην, καὶ [2]συλλαβοῦσαν τῇ χαρᾷ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ φώτων τὴν θεωρίαν, τουτέστι τῶν Ἀγγέλων τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ [3]ἐγκισσήσασαν αὐτούς, κεκυηκέναι καρποὺς κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα διδάσκουσι, κύημα πνευματικὸν καθ' ὁμοίωσιν γεγονότως [γεγονὸς] τῶν δορυφόρων τοῦ Σωτῆρος. LIB. I. i. 8. GR. I. i. 8. MASS. I. iv. 5.

M. 23.

9. Τριῶν οὖν ἤδη τούτων ὑποκειμένων κατ' αὐτούς, τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους, ὃ ἦν ὕλη· τοῦ δὲ ἐκ τῆς [4]ἐπιστροφῆς, ὃ

altera autem conversionis passibilis: et propter hoc virtute Salvatorem fabricasse dicunt. Hanc autem Achamoth extra passionem factam concepisse de gratulatione eorum, quæ cum eo sunt luminum visionem, id est, Angelorum qui erant cum eo, et delectatam in conspectu [conceptu] eorum peperisse fructus secundum illius imaginem docent, partum spiritalem secundum similitudinem factum satellitum Salvatoris.

9. Tria igitur hæc cum subsistant secundum eos, unum quidem ex passione, quod erat materia, alterum vero de conversione,

says that the πάθη of Achamoth having been separated from her by Soter, ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὑποστάτας οὐσίας, καὶ τὸν μὲν φόβον ψυχικὴν ἐποίησεν ἐπιθυμίαν, τὴν δὲ λύπην ὑλικήν, τὴν δὲ ἀπορίαν δαιμόνων, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ δέησιν καὶ ἱκετείαν, ὁδὸν (f. l. ροπὴν) καὶ μετάνοιαν καὶ δύναμιν ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, ἥτις καλεῖται δεξιά. *Philos.* VI. 32. The consolidation of matter was the subsequent work of the Demiurge. See page 43.

[1] δεδημιουργηκέναι, intransitively in the sense of ἐργάζεσθαι.

[2] συλλαβοῦσαν. GRABE, MASSUET, and STIEREN agree in allowing no other force to this word in connexion with τὴν θεωρίαν, than *visu apprehendentem*, the word κεκυηκέναι notwithstanding. But TERTULLIAN gives an almost contemporaneous interpretation, which would fix upon συλλαβοῦσα its more ordinary meaning: *Abhinc Achamoth... in opera majora frugescit. Præ gaudio enim tanti ex infelicitate successus concalefacta, simulque contemplatione ipsa angelicorum luminum, ut ita dixerim, subfermentata, (pudet, sed aliter exprimere non est,) quodammodo substruit intra et ipsa in illos, et conceptu statim intumuit spiritali. Adv. Val.* 17. Afterwards, also, IRENÆUS seems to decide the question when he says, § 10: τὸ δὲ κύημα τῆς Μητρὸς αὐτῆς (αὐτῶν) τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ, ὁ κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀγγέλων ἀπεκύησεν κ.τ.λ., where the σύλληψις was clearly said to be κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν.

[3] ἐγκισσήσασαν, LXX. *Gen.* xxx. 38, 39, ἵνα ἐγκισσήσωσι τὰ πρόβατα εἰς τοὺς ῥάβδους.

[4] ἐπιστροφῆς rendered here by *conversione*, is afterwards expressed by *impetu*. II. lii. *Facta est exinde trinitas generum, ex trinitate causarum. Unum materiale, quod ex passione; aliud animale, quod ex conversione; tertium spiritale, quod ex imaginatione.* TERT. *adv. Val.* 17.

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ἦν τὸ ψυχικόν· τοῦ δὲ ὃ ἀπεκύησε, τουτέστι τὸ πνευματικὸν, οὕτως ἐτράπη ἐπὶ τὴν μόρφωσιν αὐτῶν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πνευματικὸν μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι αὐτῇ [αὐτὴν] μορφῶσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁμοούσιον ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῇ· τετράφθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γενομένης ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς αὐτῆς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, [1] προβαλεῖν τε τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος μαθήματα. Καὶ πρῶτον μεμορφωκέναι αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας λέγουσι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα πάντων, τῶν τε ὁμοουσίων αὐτῷ, τουτέστι τῶν ψυχικῶν, ἃ δὴ [2] δεξιὰ καλοῦσι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς ὕλης, ἃ δὴ ἀριστερὰ καλοῦσι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ κατ' [f. l. μετ'] αὐτὸν φάσκουσι μεμορφωκέναι, λεληθότως κινούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Μητρός· ὅθεν καὶ [3] Μητροπάτορα, καὶ Ἀπάτορα, καὶ Δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ Πατέρα καλοῦσι· τῶν μὲν δεξιῶν πατέρα λέγοντες αὐτὸν, τουτέστι τῶν ψυχικῶν· τῶν δὲ ἀριστερῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ὑλικῶν, δημιουργὸν, συμπάντων δὲ βασιλέα. Τὴν γὰρ Ἐνθύμησιν ταύτην βουληθεῖσαν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν Αἰώνων τὰ πάντα ποιῆσαι, εἰκόνας λέγουσι πεποιηκέναι αὐτῶν, [4] μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Σωτῆρα δι'

M. 24. G. 25.

quod erat animale: alterum vero quod enixa est, quod est spiritale, sic conversa est in formationem ipsorum. Sed spiritale quidem non potuisse eam formare, quoniam [5] ejusdem substantiæ ei erat. Conversam autem in formationem ejus, quæ facta erat de conversione ejus, animalis substantiæ, emisisse quoque a Salvatore doctrinas. Et primo quidem formasse eam de animali substantia dicunt Deum Patrem, et Salvatorem, et Regem omnium [5] ejusdem substantiæ ei, id est, animalium, quas dextras vocant; et eorum quæ ex passione et ex materia, quas sinistras dicunt. Ea enim quæ post eum sunt, eum dicunt formasse latenter motum a matre sua. Unde et Metropatorem, et Apatorem, et Demiurgum eum, et Patrem vocant: dextrorum quidem Patrem dicentes eum, id est, Psychicorum; sinistrorum vero, id est, Hylicorum, Demiurgum: omnium autem Regem. Hanc enim Enthymesin volentem in Æonum honorem omnia facere, imagines dicunt fecisse ipsorum, magis autem Salvatorem

[1] *Ut scilicet hæc formatio non esset tantum* κατ' οὐσίαν *sed et* κατὰ γνῶσιν, *uti supra formatio matris Achamoth distinguebatur.* GRABE.

[2] Compare note 4, p. 40, and 3, p. 43.

[3] μητροπάτορα because Achamoth, from whom he emanated, was the sole cause of his being; ἀπάτορα because he proceeded from no other σύζυγος.

[4] μᾶλλον δὲ ... The Valentinian

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αὐτῆς· καὶ αὐτὴν [*l.* ἑαυτὴν] μὲν [1]ἐν εἰκόνι τοῦ ἀοράτου Πατρὸς τετηρηκέναι μὴ γινωσκομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ· τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Αἰώνων τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτων [τούτου] γεγονότας Ἀρχαγγέλους τε καὶ Ἀγγέλους. Πατέρα οὖν καὶ Θεὸν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ πληρώματος, ποιητὴν ὄντα πάντων ψυχικῶν τε καὶ ὑλικῶν· διακρίναντα γὰρ τὰς δύο οὐσίας συγκεχυμένας, καὶ ἐξ ἀσωμάτων [2]σωματοποιήσαντα, δεδημιουργηκέναι τά τε οὐράνια καὶ τὰ γήϊνα, καὶ γεγονέναι ὑλικῶν καὶ ψυχικῶν, [3]δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν δημιουργὸν, κούφων καὶ βαρέων, ἀνωφερῶν καὶ

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per ipsam. Et ipsam quidem in imagine invisibilis Patris conservasse incognitam a Demiurgo. Hunc autem unigeniti Filii: reliquorum vero Æonum eos, qui ab hoc facti sunt Angeli et Archangeli. Patrem itaque et Deum dicunt factum eorum quæ sunt extra Pleroma, fabricatorem esse omnium Psychicorum et Hylicorum. Separantem enim duas substantias confusas, et de incorporalibus corporalia facientem, fabricasse quæ sunt cœlestia et terrena, et factum Hylicorum et Psychicorum, dextrorum et sinistrorum fabricatorem, levium et gravium,

Saviour being an aggregation of all the Æonic perfections, the images of them were reproduced by the spiritual conception of Achamoth beholding the glory of Σωτήρ. The reader will not fail to observe that every successive development is the reflex of a more divine antecedent.

[5] *Unius substantiæ quod Græce ὁμοούσιον dicitur.* RUFFIN. See my *Hist. and Theol. of the Creeds*, p. 234, &c.

[1] ἐν εἰκόνι. Achamoth now formed κατὰ γνῶσιν, was without the Pleroma as the image of Propator, Demiurgus as that of Monogenes or Nus, and in the world the angels his creation were as the likeness of the other Æons of the Pleroma. *Qui per illam sit operatus, ut ipsam quidem imaginem Patris invisibilis et incogniti daret, incognitam scilicet et invisibilem Demiurgo, eundem autem Demiurgum Noûν filium effingeret, Archangeli vero, Demiurgi opus, reliquos Æonas exprimerent.* As BAUR expresses it: "Die Enthymesis habe sich unter dem Bilde des unsichtbaren Vaters, sofern sie das Nachbild desselben war, verborgen gehalten." *Chr. Gnosis*, p. 145.

[2] The supposed moral tendencies of matter having been developed by Enthymesis, the grosser substance now owed its being to Demiurge. TERTULLIAN follows closely the account of IRENÆUS: *Ex incorporalibus corpora edificat, gravia, levia, sublimantia, atque vergentia, cœlestia atque terrena; tum ipsam cœlorum septemplicem scenam, solio desuper suo fixit; unde et Sabbatum dictum est, ab hebdomade sedis suæ, et Ogdoas mater Achamoth, ab argumento Ogdoadis primigenitalis.* 20.

[3] Καὶ πρῶτον πάντων προβάλλεται εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς θεὸν δι' οὗ ἐποίησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τουτέστι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια, τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. *Didasc. Or.* § 47.

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κατωφερῶν· [1] ἑπτὰ γὰρ [*l.* καὶ] οὐρανοὺς κατεσκευακέναι, ὧν ἐπάνω τὸν Δημιουργὸν εἶναι λέγουσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [2] ἑβδομάδα καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν Ἀχαμὼθ Ὀγδοάδα, ἀποσώζουσαν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ [τῆς] ἀρχεγόνου, καὶ πρὸ τῆς [πρώτης] τοῦ πληρώματος Ὀγδοάδος. Τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς οὐκ [*d.* οὐκ] εἶναι [3] νοητούς [*f. l.* νοερούς] φασιν· Ἀγγέλους δὲ

sursum advolantium, et deorsum devergentium: septem quoque cœlos fecisse, super quos Demiurgum esse dicunt. Et propter hoc Hebdomadam vocant eum, matrem autem Achamoth Ogdoada, servantem numerum primogenitæ et primariæ Pleromatis Ogdoadis. Septem autem cœlos, quos intellectuales esse dicunt,

[1] The Valentinian notion of the seven heavens is referrible to the Jewish Cabbala, which in its origin consisted of myths received by the Jews from Babylon and the East, rather than of fables of their own invention. So in this instance, these seven heavens of the Cabbala have their counterpart in the seven Amshaspands of Zoroaster. In the Book עמק המלך cap. שבע ארצות tit. שלם הבריא, it is said העולמות הקדשות הם מקיפים זו למטה מזו עד שטבור הארץ הנקראת תבל היא באמצע ונמצא שיש שבע שמים מקיפים וגו׳ "The holy worlds are in circles, the one beneath the other, unto the navel of the earth called תבל which is in the centre, and it is true that seven heavens encompass them." The seven heavens, however, of VALENTINUS, were more true to their Eastern origin, for they were defined neither by locality nor shape, but were rather angelical excellencies, such as Ormuzd and his six subordinate Amshaspands. Thus the heavens were *νοεροὶ, ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται.* So also the Paradise above the third of these heavens they called *τέταρτον ἄγγελον*, where Adam at first was placed, and from whence he derived certain qualities of the soul. This may be the proper place to remark, that in the Cabbalistic Book Zohar, Paradise is said to have been among these seven worlds ובינייהו גן ערן also that Adam when ejected from Paradise had his dwelling in the first instance upon the lowermost earth, a region of darkness and discomfort וכשנגרש אדם הראשון מגן ערן שלחו הק״בה לארץ התחתונו שהוא מקום חושך שם שום דבר וגו׳ and afterwards raised to the second, called Adamah. והיה מעלהו הק״בה על האדמה שהיה שניה ממטה למעלה שנאמר וישלחהו י״י אלהים מגן ערן לעבוד את האדמה. ibid.

[2] *ἑβδομάδα.* As the heavens are angels in the Valentinian scheme, so the term Hebdomas was applied indifferently to Demiurge and the mode, scarcely the region, of his subsistence. Thus HIPPOLYTUS says, *ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης ἡ φυσικὴ οὐσία, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ τόπος ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἑβδομὰς, καὶ παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα λέγουσι περὶ τούτου, ταῦτα εἶναι τοῦ ψυχικοῦ ὃν φησιν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργόν.* TERT. cf. p. 45, n. 2.

[3] Cf. TERTULLIAN'S version, *Cœlos autem noëros deputant, et interdum angelos eos (cœlos) faciunt, sicut et ipsum Demiurgum sicut et Paradisum Archangelum quartum, quoniam et hunc supra cœlum tertium pangunt; ex cujus virtute sumserit Adam diversatus illic inter nubeculas, &c.* 20.

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αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται, καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἄγγελον Θεῷ ἐοικότα· ὡς καὶ τὸν Παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον οὐρανὸν
M. 25. ὄντα, τέταρτον Ἄγγελον λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τι εἰληφέναι τὸν Ἀδὰμ διατετριφότα ἐν αὐτῷ. Ταῦτα
G. 26. δὲ τὸν δημιουργὸν φάσκουσιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν [1]ὠῆσθαι κατασκευάζειν, πεποιηκέναι δ' αὐτὰ τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ προβαλλούσης· οὐρανὸν πεποιηκέναι μὴ εἰδότα τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ ἄνθρωπον πεπλακέναι, μὴ εἰδότα τὸν ἄνθρωπον· γῆν τε δεδειχέναι, μὴ ἐπιστάμενον τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων οὕτως λέγουσιν [2]ἠγνοηκέναι αὐτῶν τὰς ἰδέας ὧν ἐποίει, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν μητέρα· αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον ὠῆσθαι πάντα εἶναι. Αἰτίαν δ' αὐτῷ γεγονέναι τὴν μητέρα τῆς οἰήσεως ταύτης φάσκουσιν, τὴν οὕτω βουληθεῖσαν προαγαγεῖν αὐτόν, κεφαλὴν μὲν καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας, κύριον δὲ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας. [3]Ταύτην δὲ τὴν

Angelos autem eos tradunt et Demiurgum et ipsum angelum, Deo autem similem, quemadmodum et Paradisum supra tertium cœlum existentem virtutem Archangelum quartum dicunt esse, et ab hoc aliquid accepisse Adam conversatum in eo. Hæc autem Demiurgum dicunt a semetipso quidem putasse in totum fabricasse; fecisse autem ea Achamoth. Cœlum enim fecisse nescientem cœlum, et hominem plasmasse ignorantem hominem, terram autem ostendisse non scientem terram, et in omnibus sic dicunt ignorasse eum figuras eorum, quæ faciebat, et ipsam matrem; semetipsum autem putasse omnia esse. Causam autem ei fuisse matrem ejus talis [4]operationis dicunt, quæ sic voluerit producere eum: caput quidem et initium suæ substantiæ,

[1] Ἄνθρωπος γοῦν ἐστιν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχικὸς ἐν χοϊκῷ, οὐ μέρει μέρος, ἀλλὰ ὅλῳ ὅλος συνὼν ἀῤῥήτῳ δυνάμει θεοῦ, ὅθεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ τετάρτῳ οὐρανῷ δημιουργεῖται, ἐκεῖ γὰρ χοϊκὴ σὰρξ οὐκ ἀναβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἦν τῇ ψυχῇ θείᾳ οἷον σὰρξ ἡ ὑλική. *Did. Or.* § 51.

[2] Hippolytus similarly, μωρία δὲ, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, μωρὸς γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἄνους, καὶ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτὸς δημιουργεῖν τὸν κόσμον, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πάντα ἡ σοφία, ἣ μητὴρ ἦ ὀγδοάς, ἐνεργεῖ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ κόσμου οὐκ εἰδότι. *Philos.* VI. 34, and the *Didasc. Or.* Οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν, οἰόμενος ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει δημιουργεῖν, φιλεργὸς ὢν φύσει. § 49.

[3] ταύτην δὲ τὴν μητέρα. Achamoth by these names must be understood to have an intermediate position between the divine prototypal idea and creation: she was the reflex of the one, and therefore ἀῤῥενόθηλυς, she was the pattern to be realized in the latter, and therefore was named γῆ καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ.

[4] The translator had in his copy ποιήσεως, but cf. ὠῆσθαι just before.

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Μητέρα καὶ Ὀγδοάδα καλοῦσι, καὶ Σοφίαν, καὶ Γῆν, καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ Κύριον ἀρσενικῶς. Ἔχειν δὲ τὸν τῆς μεσότητος τόπον αὐτὴν, καὶ εἶναι ὑπεράνω μὲν τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, ὑποκάτω δὲ ἢ ἔξω τοῦ Πληρώματος μέχρι [1]συντελείας.

10. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν ὑλικὴν οὐσίαν ἐκ τριῶν παθῶν συστῆναι λέγουσι, φόβου τε, καὶ [2]λύπης, καὶ ἀπορίας· ἐκ μὲν τοῦ φόβου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τὰ ψυχικὰ τὴν σύστασιν εἰληφέναι· ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τὸν Δημιουργὸν βούλονται τὴν γένεσιν ἐσχηκέναι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόβου τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν ψυχικὴν ὑπόστασιν, ὡς ψυχὰς ἀλόγων ζώων, καὶ θηρίων, καὶ ἀνθρώπων. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀτονώτερον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὸ M. 26. γινώσκειν τινὰ πνευματικὰ, [3]αὐτὸν νενομικέναι μόνον εἶναι

dominum autem universæ operationis. Hanc autem Matrem et Ogdoadem vocant, et Sophiam, et Terram, et Hierusalem, et Spiritum sanctum, et Dominum masculiniter. Habere autem medietatis locum eam, et esse quidem super Demiurgum, subtus autem sive extra Pleroma usque ad finem.

10. Quoniam quidem materialem substantiam ex tribus passionibus constare dicunt, timore, et tristitia, et aporia, de timore quidem et de conversione animalia subsistentiam accepisse: de conversione quidem Demiurgum volunt genesin habuisse: de timore autem reliquam omnem animalem [4]substantiam mutorum animalium, et hominum. Et propter hoc [5]superiorem eum existentem præscire quæ sunt spiritalia, et se putasse solum

[1] But in the end Achamoth regains the Pleroma, § 12.

[2] λύπης rendered here by *tristitia*, is afterwards expressed by *tædium*, II. lii. HIPPOLYTUS enumerates a fourfold passion, εὑρὼν αὐτὴν ἐν πάθεσι τοῖς πρώτοις τέτρασι, καὶ φόβῳ καὶ λύπῃ καὶ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ δεήσει. The latter is to be identified with the ἐπιστροφὴ of IRENÆUS.

[3] To the passage from HIPP. quoted in note 2, p. 45, the following may be added from a preceding section, οὐδὲν οἶδεν, λέγουσιν, ὁ δημιουργὸς ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἄνους καὶ μωρὸς κατ' αὐτούς, καὶ τί πράσσει ἢ ἐργάζεται οὐκ οἶδεν. Ἀγνοοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι δὲ ποιεῖ, ἡ σοφία ἐνήργησε πάντα καὶ ἐνίσχυσε, καὶ ἐκείνης ἐνεργούσης, αὐτὸς ᾠήθη ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖν τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ κόσμου· ὅθεν ἤρξατο λέγειν· Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστιν, c. 33.

[4] GRABE would fill out the translation after the Greek, *Substantiam ut animas brutorum animalium, et ferarum, et hominum;* but it is not unlikely that the word ψυχὰς should have been interpolated in the Greek.

[5] *Superiorem i. e.* ἀνώτερον. Shortly afterwards it is said, that the Cosmo-

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Θεὸν, καὶ διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν εἰρηκέναι· ἐγὼ Θεὸς, πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐδείς. [1] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς λύπης τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας διδάσκουσι γεγονέναι· ὅθεν τὸν [2] Διάβολον τὴν γένεσιν ἐσχηκέναι, ὃν καὶ [3] κοσμοκράτορα καλοῦσι, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πνευματικὴν τῆς πονηρίας ὑπόστασιν. LIB. I. i. 10. GR. I. i. 10. MASS. I. v. 4.

Deum, et per prophetas dixisse, *Ego Deus, et præter me nemo.* De tristitia autem spiritalia malitiæ docent facta: unde et diabolum genesin habuisse, quem et Cosmocratorem vocant, et dæmonia, et omnem spiritalem malitiæ substantiam. Sed Esai. xlv. 5,6; xlvi. 9.

crator had cognizance of things above him because he was the *spirit* of evil; whereas the Demiurge that formed him was *animal*, and therefore was wholly ignorant of the spiritual. The reading ἀνώτερον scarcely consists with this assertion, or with TERTULLIAN'S words, *Invalidus spiritalia accedere, ut se solum ratus concionaretur: Ego Deus et absque me non est.* JUNIUS conjectures *infirmiorem* to be the true reading. May not ἀνοώτερον have been written by IRENÆUS?

[1] Ἐκ τῆς ὑλικῆς οὐσίας οὖν καὶ διαβολικῆς ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα. *Philos.* VI. 34. οὗτός ἐστι κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος ὁ ψυχικὸς ἐν τῷ σώματι κατοικῶν τῷ ὑλικῷ, ὁ ἐστιν ὑλικὸς, φθαρτὸς, τέλειος ἐκ τῆς διαβολικῆς οὐσίας πεπλασμένος, ibid.

[2] The Cabbala refers the origin of evil spirits to fire and air, the constituent elements of Demiurge. עיקר הויתם משתי יסודות קלים והם האש והרוח ובן יטוסו לרוב דקותם וקלותם..... והשדים המורכבים משני יסודות אלה הם נוף דק איננו מורגש ולא מושג לחושי האדם..... והנה הם נוף רוחני כי כן היסודות האלה רחניים *Nishmath Chajim. Meamar.* 3. "Their substance is of two subtle elements, fire and spirit, and so they fly by reason of their exceedingly subtle and light nature.... And devils are composed of these two elements, but they have a subtle body that cannot be conceived or apprehended by mortal sense...but behold they are a spiritual body, for so are these elements spiritual." The *Didascal. Or.* agrees with the statement of IRENÆUS, Καὶ ποιεῖ ἐκ τῶν ὑλικῶν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ λύπης οὐσιώδες, κτίζων πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας πρὸς ἃ ἡ πάλη ἡμῖν, § 48.

[3] Κοσμοκράτορα. A term applied by S. Paul to the "rulers of the darkness of this world," Ephes. vi. 12, *i.e.* to the heathen and Jewish persecutors of Christ's Church; but transferred by VALENTINUS to his fanciful system. It was a term well known in Rabbinical commentaries, meaning "an universal Monarch," כל מלך שאינו קוזמוקרטור. In the Cabbalistic Treatise ויקרא רבה. § 18, it is applied to the Angel of Death; *In that hour the Lord called the Angel of Death, and said unto him, Although I have constituted thee a Monarch* (*Cosmocrator*) *among other creatures*, &c. אע"פי שעשיתי אותך קוזמוקרטור על הבריות. It should be observed that S. John in speaking of Satan as ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, John xii. 31, translates literally a denomination of Satan that had become familiar among the Jews since the Babylonian Captivity, viz. שַׂר שֶׁל עוֹלָם. Κοσμοκράτωρ is the equivalent for this Hebrew term, and being expressed in Hebrew characters, re-entered the Rabbinical demonology, from whence no doubt the Gnostic extracted it.

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Ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Δημιουργὸν υἱὸν τῆς Μητρὸς αὐτῶν λέγουσι, τὸν δὲ κοσμοκράτορα κτίσμα τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ· καὶ τὸν μὲν G. 27. κοσμοκράτορα γινώσκειν τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν, ὅτι [1]πνεῦμά [πνευματικά] ἐστι τῆς πονηρίας· τὸν δὲ Δημιουργὸν ἀγνοεῖν, ἅτε ψυχικὰ ὑπάρχοντα. Οἰκεῖν δὲ τὴν Μητέρα αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ μεσότητι· τὸν Δημιουργὸν δὲ εἰς τὸν [2]ὑπερουράνιον [ἐπουράνιον,] τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ ἑβδομάδι· τὸν δὲ παντοκράτορα [κοσμοκράτορα] ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς κόσμῳ. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ τῆς ἀμηχανίας [*l.* ἀπορίας], ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἀσημοτέρου τὰ σωματικὰ, καθὼς προείπαμεν, τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖα γεγονέναι· τὴν [*l.* γῆν] μὲν κατὰ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως στάσιν, ὕδωρ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φόβου τῶν δακρύων [*l.* τῶν δακρύων] κίνησιν, [3]ἀέρα τε κατὰ τὴν λύπης πῆξιν· τὸ

Demiurgum quidem psychicum filium matris suæ dicunt, Cosmocratorem vero creaturam Demiurgi: et Cosmocratorem quidem intelligere ea quæ sunt supra eum, quoniam sit spiritalis malitia; Demiurgum vero ignorare, cum sit animalis. Habitare [autem] matrem quidem ipsorum in eo qui sit cœlestis [*l.* supercœlestis] locus, hoc est in medietate; Demiurgum vero in eo qui sit in cœlo locus, hoc est hebdomade: Cosmocratorem vero in eo qui sit secundum nos mundo. De expavescentia vero et aporia, quasi de vesaniori, corporalia, quemadmodum prædiximus, mundi elementa facta esse: terram vero secundum expavescentiæ statum, aquam vero secundum timoris motum, aërem vero secundum materiæ [4]mœstitiæ] fixionem: ignem vero omnibus iis inesse

[1] Lege omnino, *πνευματικά*, compare Eph. vi. 12. TERTULLIAN says, *Munditenentem appellant, et superiorum magis ignarum defendunt, ut spiritalem natura, quam Demiurgum ut animalem.*

[2] *ὑπερουράνιον, ἐπουράνιον* is proposed as a preferable reading, and for the following reasons. The *habitat* of Achamoth was without the Pleroma, but above the seven heavens, to which the term *ὑπερουράνιος* applies; but the Demiurge was of an inferior position. He was above (*ὧν ἐπάνω*, 9) the seven heavens, though not exterior to them, an idea expressed by *ἐπουράνιος*. This distinction is expressed by the translator; the superior grade he renders by *cœlestis*, or more probably, by *supercœlestis*; the inferior by *qui sit in cœlo locus*; the one is *heavenly* or *supercelestial*, the other *in heaven*. *Subest*, says TERTULLIAN of the Demiurge, *in hebdomade sua*; and *Metatur medietatem Achamoth, filium calcans.*

[3] Compare the *Did. Or.* § 48, Ἐν δὲ τοῖς τρισὶ στοιχείοις τὸ πῦρ ἐναιωρεῖται καὶ ἐνέσπαρται καὶ ἐμφωλεύει, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξάπτεται, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαποθνήσκει.

[4] Cf. TERT. *Si non et istum Sophiæ mœstitia colasset.* § 23.

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M. 27. δὲ πῦρ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἐκπεφυκέναι θάνατον καὶ φθοράν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τοῖς τρισὶ πάθεσιν ἐγκεκρύφθαι διδάσκουσι. Δημιουργήσαντα δὴ τὸν κόσμον, [1] πεποιηκέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν χοϊκόν· οὐκ ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς ξηρᾶς γῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀοράτου οὐσίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ κεχυμένου καὶ ῥευστοῦ τῆς ὕλης λαβόντα· καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐμφυσῆσαι τὸν ψυχικὸν διορίζονται. Καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν γεγονότα· κατ' εἰκόνα μὲν τὸν ὑλικὸν ὑπάρχειν, παραπλήσιον μέν, ἀλλ' οὐχ [2] ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ· καθ' ὁμοίωσιν δὲ τὸν ψυχικόν, ὅθεν καὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ εἰρῆσθαι, ἐκ πνευματικῆς G. 28. ἀπορρύοίας οὖσαν. Ὕστερον δὲ περιτεθεῖσθαι λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὸν

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mortem et corruptelam, quemadmodum et ignorantiam omnibus tribus passionibus inabsconsam docent. Cum fabricasset igitur mundum, fecit et hominem choicum, non autem ab hac arida terra, sed ab invisibili substantia, et ab effusili et fluida materia accipientem: et in hunc insufflasse psychicum definiunt. Et hunc esse secundum imaginem et similitudinem factum: secundum imaginem quidem hylicum esse, proximum quidem, sed non ejusdem substantiæ esse Deo: secundum similitudinem vero psychicum, unde et spiritum vitæ substantiam ejus dictam, cum sit ex spiritali defluitione. Post deinde circumdatam dicunt ei

[1] πεποιηκέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, compare the similar statement of the *Did. Or.* § 50: Λαβὼν χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, οὐ τῆς ξηρᾶς, ἀλλὰ τῆς πολυμεροῦς, καὶ ποικίλης ὕλης μέρος, ψυχὴν γεώδη καὶ ὑλικὴν ἐτεκτήνατο ἄλογον, καὶ τῆς τῶν θηρίων ὁμοούσιον· οὗτος κατ' εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπος. Ὁ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ὃν εἰς τοῦτον ἐνεφύσησέν τε, καὶ ἐνέσπειρεν, ὁμοούσιόν τι αὐτῷ δι' ἀγγέλων ἐνθείς. Καθὸ μὲν ἀόρατός ἐστιν καὶ ἀσώματος, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς προσεῖπεν· μορφωθὲν δὲ ψυχὴ ζῶσα ἐγένετο. TERTULLIAN follows IRENÆUS with his usual closeness: *Molitus enim mundum Demiurgus ad hominem manus confert, et substantiam ei capit non ex ista, inquiunt, arida, quam nos unicam novimus terram... sed ex invisibili corpore materiæ illius, scilicet philosophicæ, de fluxili et fusili ejus... Figulat ita hominem Demiurgus, et de afflatu suo animat; sic erit et choicus et animalis, ad imaginem et similitudinem factus... Imago quidem, choicus deputetur, materialis scilicet; etsi non ex materia Demiurgus. Similitudo autem, animalis; hoc enim et Demiurgus... Interim carnalem superficiem postea aiunt choico supertextam, et hanc esse pelliceam tunicam, obnoxiam sensui. Adv. Val.* 24.

[2] The reader will observe this early use of the word ὁμοούσιος, the great test of orthodoxy in the Arian age. Cf. p. 43 n. 5. The primitive meaning of the word is well expressed by our English version in the Nicene Creed, *Of one substance with.* The term was known to philosophy: so ARISTOTLE says, ὁμοούσια δὲ πάντα ἄστρα: and PORPHYRY, εἴγε ὁμοούσιοι αἱ τῶν ζώων ψυχαὶ ἡμετέραις.

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[1] δερμάτινον χιτῶνα· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν σαρκίον εἶναι λέγουσι. [2] Τὸ δὲ κύημα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς [αὐτῶν] τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ, ὅ κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀγγέλων ἀπεκύησεν, ὁμοούσιον ὑπάρχον τῇ μητρὶ, πνευματικὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἠγνοηκέναι τὸν Δημιουργὸν λέγουσι· καὶ λεληθότως [3] κατατεθεῖσθαι εἰς αὐτὸν, μὴ εἰδότος αὐτοῦ, ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς

dermatinam tunicam: hanc autem sensibilem carnem esse volunt. Partum vero matris ipsorum, quæ est Achamoth, quem secundum inspectionem eorum Angelorum qui sunt erga Salvatorem generavit, existentem ejusdem substantiæ matri suæ spiritalem, et ipsum enim ignorasse Demiurgum dicunt: et latenter depositum esse in eum, nesciente eo, uti per eum in eam quæ ab eo

[1] Τοῖς τρισὶν ἀσωμάτοις ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀδὰμ τέταρτον ἐπενδύεται τὸν χοϊκὸν, τοὺς δερματίνους χιτῶνας. *Didasc. Or.* 55.

[2] The author now describes the infusion of that spiritual seed into Man by Achamoth, which resulted from her conception of the vision of angels, and from her fruition of the light of the Pleroma. The Church was thus evolved; the counterpart of the Ἐκκλησία of the Pleroma. May we not trace in these myths a parody of the Christian doctrine that the Church of Christ was predestined to glory, in the eternal counsels of the Father, before the foundation of the world was laid? Divine grace was called by VALENTINUS the seed of Sophia. The ἀπορρροία proceeding from her was σπέρμα ἀῤῥενικὸν, and ἡ ἐκλογὴ, and by virtue of it the Church was to be re-united to its angelic origin in the final consummation of all things. So the *Didasc. Or.* says, ἀφ' ἧς (τῆς Σοφίας sc.) τὰ μὲν ἀῤῥενικὰ ἡ ἐκλογὴ, τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ ἡ κλῆσις, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀῤῥενικὰ ἀγγελικὰ καλοῦσι, τὰ θηλυκὰ δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τὸ διαφέρον πνεῦμα....τὰ οὖν ἀῤῥενικὰ μετὰ τοῦ Λόγου συνεστάλη, τὰ θηλυκὰ δὲ ἀπανδρωθέντα ἑνοῦται τοῖς ἀγγέλοις καὶ εἰς πλήρωμα χωρεῖ. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ γυνὴ εἰς ἄνδρα μετατίθεσθαι λέγεται καὶ ἡ ἐνταῦθα ἐκκλησία εἰς ἀγγέλους. § 21. Compare also §§ 39, 40. Elsewhere it is said that this spiritual seed was infused into the soul of Adam while sleeping. Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, πλασθέντος φασὶ τοῦ ψυχικοῦ σώματος, τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ ψυχῇ οὔσῃ ἐν ὕπνῳ ἐντεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου σπέρμα ἀῤῥενικὸν, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀπορρροία τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ. § 2. But it was always referred, as above, to angelic origin. Τὸ σπέρμα ἀπορρροία ἦν τοῦ ἄῤῥενος καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ. Ibid. Δι' ἀγγέλων οὖν τῶν ἀῤῥένων τὰ σπέρματα ὑπηρετεῖται, τὰ εἰς γένεσω προβληθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Σοφίας, καθὸ ἐγχωρεῖ γίνεσθαι. § 53. TERTULLIAN'S account may assist the reader in the interpretation of IRENÆUS: *Inerat autem in Achamoth, ex substantia Sophiæ matris peculium quoddam seminis spiritalis.... ut cum Demiurgus animam mox de suo afflatu in Adam communicaret, pariter et semen illud spiritale quasi per canalem animam* (f. l. *animæ*) *derivaretur in choicum, atque ita faturatum in corpore materiali, velut in utero, et adultum illic, idoneum inveniretur suscipiendo quandoque Sermoni perfecto. Itaque cum Demiurgus traducem animæ suæ committit in Adam, latuit homo spiritalis flatu insertus, et pariter corpori inductus; quia non magis semen noverat matris Demiurgus, quam ipsam. Hoc semen ecclesiam dicunt, ecclesiæ supernæ speculum, et hominis censum.* c. 25.

[3] The spiritual principle of which

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τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν σπαρὲν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑλικὸν τοῦτο σῶμα, LIB. I. i. 10. GR. I. i. 10. MASS. I. v. 6.
κυοφορηθὲν ἐν τούτοις καὶ αὐξηθὲν, ἕτοιμον γένηται εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ [1]τελείου [λόγου]. Ἔλαθεν οὖν, ὡς φασὶ, τὸν Δημιουργὸν ὁ συγκατασπαρεὶς τῷ ἐμφυσήματι αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς Σοφίας πνευματικὸς ἀνθρώπων [ἄνθρωπος] ἀῤῥήτῳ [adj. δυνάμει καὶ] προνοίᾳ. Ὡς γὰρ τὴν μητέρα ἠγνοηκέναι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῆς· ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἄνω Ἐκκλησίας· καὶ τότε [τόνδε] εἶναι
M. 28. τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς [ἄνθρωπον] ἀξιοῦσιν, ὥστε ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ χοὸς, καὶ τὸ σαρκικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης, τὸν δὲ πνευματικὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς Ἀχαμώθ.

G. 29. 11. [2]Τριῶν οὖν ὄντων, τὸ μὲν ὑλικὸν, ὃ καὶ ἀριστερὸν II. xlii.
καλοῦσι, κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἀπόλλυσθαι λέγουσιν, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἐπιδέξασθαι πνοὴν ἀφθαρσίας δυνάμενον· τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, ὃ καὶ δεξιὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἅτε μέσον ὂν τοῦ τε πνευματικοῦ

esset animam seminatum, et in materiale hoc corpus, gestatum quoque velut in utero in iis et amplificatum, paratum fiat ad susceptionem perfectæ rationis. Latuit igitur, quemadmodum dicunt, Demiurgum conseminatus insufflationi ejus a Sophia spiritalis homo, inenarrabili virtute et providentia. Quemadmodum enim Matrem suam ignoravit, sic et semen ejus. Quod etiam ipsum Ecclesiam esse dicunt, exemplum superioris Ecclesiæ: et hunc esse in semetipsis hominem volunt, uti habeant animam quidem a Demiurgo, corpus autem a limo, et carneum a materia, spiritalem vero hominem a matre Achamoth.

11. Cum sint igitur tria, alterum materiale (quod etiam sinistrum vocant) ex necessitate perire dicunt, quippe cum nullam spirationem incorruptelæ recipere possit: Animale vero (quod etiam dextrum appellant) cum sit medium spiritalis et materialis,

the Demiurge, as being animal, could have no cognizance, was secretly infused into him, and by this means passed into the living, though otherwise animal souls that he made.

[1] Λόγου may be added to τελείου, because the translator wrote *perfectæ rationis*, while TERTULLIAN has, *Sermoni perfecto.*

[2] Hence TERTULLIAN speaks of the *Trinitas Hominis apud Valentinum. Præscr. Hær.* 7. The translation is my authority for reading ἐπιδέξασθαι in lieu of ἐπιδείξασθαι. The reader may compare the account in the *Didasc. Or.* § 56: τὸ μὲν οὖν πνευματικὸν φύσει σωζόμενον, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν αὐτεξούσιον ὂν ἐπιτηδειότητα ἔχει πρός τε πίστιν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν καὶ φθορὰν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αἵρεσιν· τὸ δὲ ὑλικὸν φύσει ἀπόλλυται.

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LIB. I. i. 11. GR. I. i. 11. MASS. I. vi. I.

καὶ ὑλικοῦ, [1]ἐκεῖσε χωρεῖν, ὅπου ἂν καὶ τὴν πρόσκλισιν ποιήσηται· τὸ δὲ πνευματικὸν ἐκπεπέμφθαι, ὅπως ἐνθάδε τῷ ψυχικῷ συζυγὲν μορφωθῇ, συμπαιδευθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ. Καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγουσι τὸ ἅλας, καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου· ἔδει γὰρ [2]τῶν ψυχικῶν [τῷ ψυχικῷ] καὶ αἰσθητῶν παιδευμάτων. Δι' ὧν καὶ κόσμον κατεσκευάσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτο παραγεγονέναι τὸ ψυχικὸν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτεξούσιόν ἐστιν, ὅπως αὐτὸ σώσῃ. Ὧν γὰρ ἤμελλε σώζειν, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι φάσκουσιν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ τὸ πνευματικὸν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἐνδεδύσθαι τὸν ψυχικὸν Χριστὸν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας [3]περιτεθεῖσθαι σῶμα ψυχικὴν

cf. p. 60. n. 3.

ἔχον οὐσίαν, κατεσκευασμένον δὲ ἀῤῥήτῳ τέχνῃ, πρὸς τὸ καὶ [4]ἀόρατον, καὶ ἀψηλάφητον, [leg. ὅρατον καὶ ψηλάφητον] καὶ παθητὸν γεγενῆσθαι· [5]καὶ ὑλικὸν δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν εἰληφέναι

M. 29.

illuc redigi, quocunque declinaverit: Spiritale vero emissum esse, uti hic animali conjunctum formetur, coëruditum ei in

Matt. v. 13, 14.

conversatione. Et hoc esse dicunt, *sal*, et *lumen mundi*. Opus erat enim animali sensibilibus disciplinis. Ob quam causam et mundum fabricatum dicunt, et Salvatorem autem ad hoc venisse animale, quia suæ potestatis est, ut id salvet. Quæ enim salvaturus erat, eorum primitias eum suscepisse dicunt: ab Achamoth quidem spiritale, a Demiurgo autem indutum psychicum (id est animalem) Christum, a dispositione autem circumdatum corpus, animalem habens substantiam, paratum vero inenarrabili arte, ut et visibile, et palpabile, et passibile fieret. Et hylicum autem

[1] ἐκεῖσε χωρεῖν, i. e. *Inter materialem et spiritalem nutanti, et illuc debito qua plurimum annuerit.* TERT. 26. The ψυχικοὶ become more and more confirmed either in all faith and goodness, or in infidelity and corruption, they alone having freedom of will.

[2] *Indiguisse enim animalem etiam sensibilium disciplinarum.* TERT. 26. But the spiritual seed needed the animal discipline of life, see p. 58, and for this reason GRABE'S conjecture expressed within brackets is unnecessary; although confirmed by the translator and Tertullian.

[3] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας. Hence we may trace back to the Gnostic period the Apollinarian notion that the body of Christ was of a heavenly constitution, and not truly of this earth earthy.

[4] Ὁρατὸν καὶ ψηλάφητον is the undoubted reading; compare with the translation TERTULLIAN'S words, *Quo congressui, et conspectui, et contactui, et defunctui, ingratis subjaceret.* The passage as altered has been almost transcribed by THEODORET, n. 5. The proposed reading is fully confirmed, § 20.

[5] The doctrine of VALENTINUS, therefore, as regards the human nature of Christ was essentially Docetic. His body was *animal* but not *material*, and

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λέγουσιν αὐτόν· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὕλην δεκτικὴν σωτηρίας. Τὴν δὲ συντέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ὅταν μορφωθῇ καὶ τελειωθῇ [1] γνώσει πᾶν τὸ πνευματικόν, τουτέστιν οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν ἔχοντες περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀχαμώθ· μεμυημένους δὲ μυστήρια εἶναι τούτους ὑποτίθενται. Ἐπαιδεύθησαν γὰρ τὰ ψυχικὰ οἱ ψυχικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ δι' ἔργων καὶ πίστεως ψιλῆς βεβαιούμενοι, καὶ μὴ τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν

LIB. I. i. 11. GR. I. i. 11. MASS. I. vi. I.

nihil omnino suscepit: non enim esse hylicum capacem salutis. Consummationem vero futuram, cum formatum et perfectum fuerit scientia omne spiritale, hoc est, homines qui perfectam agnitionem habent de Deo, et hi qui ab Achamoth initiati sunt mysteria: esse autem hos semetipsos dicunt. Erudiuntur autem [2] psychica (id est animalia) psychici (id est animales) homines, qui per operationem et fidem nudam firmantur, et non perfectam

only visible and tangible as having been formed κατ' οἰκονομίαν and κατεσκευασμένον ἀῤῥήτῳ τέχνῃ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκονομίας περιθέσθαι σῶμα ψυχικὴν ἔχον οὐσίαν, ἀῤῥήτῳ δὲ σοφίᾳ πεποιημένον, πρὸς τὸ ἁπτὸν καὶ ὁρατὸν γενέσθαι καὶ παθητόν. THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. 7. This is also sketched out in its usual *chiaro-oscuro* style in the *Didasc. Or.*, still with sufficient distinctness to justify the assertion that VALENTINUS in this respect taught Docetic error, e. g. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος ὁ ψυχικὸς Χριστὸς, ὃν ἐνεδύσατο, ἀόρατος ἦν, ἔδει δὲ τὸν εἰς κόσμον ἀφικνούμενον, ἐφ' ᾧτε ὀφθῆναι, κρατηθῆναι, πολιτεύσασθαι καὶ αἰσθητοῦ σώματος ἀντέχεσθαι. Σῶμα τοίνυν αὐτῷ ὑφᾶναι ἐκ τῆς ἀφανοῦς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας δυνάμει δὲ θείας ἐκ κατασκευῆς εἰς αἰσθητὸν κόσμον ἀφιγμένον. § 59. Again, ἵνα ἴδωσιν εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν· ἐξεκέντησαν δὲ τὸ φαινόμενον, ὃ ἦν σὰρξ τοῦ ψυχικοῦ. § 62. The observation of TERTULLIAN therefore is perfectly just; *ut carnis nostræ habitum alienando a Christo a spe etiam salutis expellant.* c. 26.

[1] γνῶσις was the generic attribute wherein Nus was evolved from Bythus, and the other emanations in succession after Nus. So THEODOTUS says of Bythus, Ἄγνωστος οὖν ὁ Πατὴρ ὢν ἠθέλησεν γνωσθῆναι τοῖς αἰῶσι.... ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκὼς πνεῦμα γνώσεως οὔσης ἐν γνώσει προέβαλε τὸν μονογενῆ. *Did. Or.* § 7. It was also the spiritual seed derived from the Pleroma that made perfect the initiated. So CL. AL. STROM. II, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, τὴν μὲν πίστιν τοῖς ἁπλοῖς ἀπονείμαντες ἡμῖν, αὐτοῖς δὲ τὴν γνῶσιν, τοῖς φύσει σωζομένοις κατὰ τὴν τοῦ διαφέροντος πλεονεξίαν σπέρματος, ἐνυπάρχειν βούλονται, μακρῷ δὲ κεχωρισμένην πίστεως, ἣ τὸ πνευματικὸν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ λέγοντες.

[2] Is the meaning of the author expressed here by the Greek text or by the Latin version? GRABE says the latter; the foreign editors, BILLIUS, JUNIUS, MASSUET, and STIEREN prefer the Greek; and, I think, justly; for as the Benedictine editor says, *Isti enim sese jactabant perfectos et semina electionis, ut paullo inferius Irenæus, ut qui a matre Achamoth spiritale semen participassent,* καὶ ἰδιόκτητον ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου καὶ ἀνονομάστου συζυγίας συγκατελληλυθυῖαν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, *qua scilicet a matre sua accepta, mysteriis initiati fuerant. Hinc subditur,* διὸ καὶ ἐκ πάντος τρόπου δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τὸ τῆς συζυγίας μελετᾶν μυστήριον. p. 57.

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ἔχοντες· εἶναι δὲ τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμᾶς λέγουσι· διὸ καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν ἀγαθὴν πρᾶξιν [1]ἀποφαίνονται· ἄλλως γὰρ ἀδύνατον σωθῆναι. Αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ διὰ πράξεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ [2]φύσει πνευματικοὺς εἶναι, πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως σωθήσεσθαι δογματίζουσιν. Ὡς γὰρ τὸ χοϊκὸν ἀδύνατον σωτηρίας μετασχεῖν· (οὐ γὰρ εἶναι λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ δεκτικὸν αὐτῆς) οὕτως πάλιν τὸ πνευματικὸν θέλουσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ [ὁ θέλουσιν αὐτοὶ] εἶναι ἀδύνατον φθορὰν καταδέξασθαι, [3]κἂν ὁποίαις συγκαταγένωνται πράξεσιν. [4]Ὃν γὰρ G. 30.

agnitionem habent. Esse autem hos nos, qui sumus ab Ecclesia, dicunt. Quapropter et nobis quidem necessariam esse bonam conversationem respondent: aliter enim impossibile esse salvari. Semetipsos autem non per operationem, sed eo quod sint naturaliter spiritales, omnimodo salvari dicunt. Quemadmodum enim choicum impossibile est salutem percipere, (non enim esse illum capacem salutis dicunt,) sic iterum quod spiritale (quod semetipsos esse volunt) impossibile esse corruptelam

[1] ἀποφαίνονται. The translator read ἀποκρίνονται, a variation of no great importance, only the conjecture may be hazarded whether ὑποκρίνονται was not originally written by IRENÆUS.

[2] τὸ μὲν πνευματικὸν φύσει σωζόμενον. *Didasc. Or.* BASILIDES held the same opinion, in affirming ἐκλογὴν.... ὑπερκόσμιον φύσει οὖσαν. *Strom.* IV. 540. φύσει τις τὸν Θεὸν ἐπίσταται ὡς Βασιλείδης οἴεται. *Strom.* V. 545. φύσιν καὶ ὑπόστασιν.... οὐχὶ δὲ ψυχῆς αὐτεξουσίου λογικὴν συγκατάθεσιν λέγει τὴν πίστιν. *Ibid.*

[3] These monstrous notions were first entertained by Simon Magus, as we learn from HIPPOLYTUS: ἀλλὰ καὶ μακαρίζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ ξένῃ μίξει, ταυτὴν εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὸ, ἅγιος ἁγίων.... λλη.... ος ἁγιασθήσεται [perhaps ἅγιος ἁγίων μελήσεται, οἷς ἁγιασθήσεται]. Οὐ γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπί τινι νομιζομένῳ κακῷ, λελύτρωνται γάρ. *Philos.* VI. 19. The proposed insertion is partly supported by the words of IRENÆUS that shortly follow, when he says the Valentinian Gnostic professed ἀεὶ τὸ τῆς συζυγίας μελετᾶν μυστήριον. ORIGEN, as GRABE observes, charges Heracleon with holding the same execrable notion, *Comm. in Joh.*, and CLEMENT of Alexandria says the same of the Basilidians, ὡς ἤτοι ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν καὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτεῖν διὰ τὴν τελειότητα, ἢ πάντως γε σωθησομένων φύσει, κἂν νῦν ἁμάρτωσι διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἐκλογήν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς πράττειν συγχωροῦσιν οἱ προπάτορες τῶν δογμάτων. CLEM. AL. *Strom.* III. 427. Hence BEAUSOBRE says, *Hist. de Man.* IV. iii. 17, *Mais quand les mœurs des Basilidiens auroient été cent fois plus corrompues, c'est une haute injustice de s'en prendre aux chefs de leur secte.* AUGUSTINE declares of Eunomius, *Fertur usque adeo fuisse bonis moribus inimicus, ut asseveraret, quod nihil cuique obesset quorumlibet perpetratio ac perseverantia peccatorum, si hujus, quæ ab illo docebatur, fidei particeps esset. De Hær.* 54. As most errors recur at different periods, so even this was not too gross for John of Leyden

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τρόπον χρυσὸς ἐν βορβόρῳ κατατεθεὶς οὐκ ἀποβάλλει τὴν καλλονὴν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν διαφυλάττει, τοῦ βορβόρου μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι δυναμένου τὸν χρυσόν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς λέγουσι, κἂν ἐν ὁποίαις ὑλικαῖς πράξεσι καταγένωνται, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παραβλάπτεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀποβάλλειν τὴν πνευματικὴν ὑπόστασιν. LIB. I. i. 11. GR. I. i. 11. MASS. I. vi. 2. M. 30.

12. Διὸ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀπειρημένα πάντα ἀδεῶς οἱ τελειότατοι πράττουσιν αὐτῶν, περὶ ὧν αἱ γραφαὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται, τοὺς ποιοῦντας αὐτὰ βασιλείαν Θεοῦ μὴ κληρονομήσειν. Καὶ γὰρ [1]εἰδωλόθυτα διαφόρως [ἀδιαφόρως] ἐσθίουσι, μηδὲ [μηδὲν] μολύνεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι· καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἑορτάσιμον τῶν ἐθνῶν [2]τέρψιν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν εἰδώλων γινομένην πρῶτοι συνίασιν, ὡς μηδὲ τῆς παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις μεμισημένης τῆς τῶν θηριομάχων καὶ μονομαχίας ἀνδροφόνου G. 31.

percipere, licet in quibuscunque fuerint factis. Quemadmodum enim aurum in cœno depositum non amittit decorem suum, sed suam naturam custodit, cum cœnum nihil nocere auro possit: sic et semetipsos dicunt, licet in quibuscunque materialibus operibus sint, nihil semetipsos noceri, neque amittere spiritalem substantiam.

12. Quapropter et intimorate omnia quæ vetantur hi, qui sunt ipsorum perfecti, operantur, de quibus Scripturæ confirmant, quoniam *qui faciunt ea, Regnum Dei non hæreditabunt.* Gal. v. 21. Etenim idolothyta indifferenter manducant, nihil inquinari ab iis putantes, et in omnem diem festum ethnicorum pro voluntate in honore [3]idolorum [*l.* pro voluptate in honorem Deorum] factum primi conveniunt; uti in nihilo quidem abstineant, quod est apud Deum et apud homines odiosum muneris [4]homicidiale

in the 16th century, or for the Mormonite in the nineteenth.

[1] The use of meats offered to idols was forbidden in the first synod, *Acts* xv. 20, xxi. 25; but the offence continued; so it arose in the Church of Corinth, 1 *Cor.* viii. 10, it reappeared in the Church of Pergamos, *Rev.* ii. 14, and of Thyatira, 20; and is mentioned with reprobation by TERTULLIAN, *de Idol.*, *de Spectac.*, ORIGEN, VIII. *c. Cels.*, CYPRIAN *de Lapsis*, &c., whose words are quoted by FEUARDENTIUS.

[2] Τέρψιν. The Latin translation, *pro voluntate*, indicates the preposition διὰ, itself a very possible corruption of καὶ, which would give a very clear sense.

[3] *Idolorum* has been placed in the text rather arbitrarily by GRABE; the Arundelian and other MSS. exhibit *eorum; Deorum*, therefore, is the more probable reading.

[4] GRABE considers that for *muneris*

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θέας ἀπέχεσθαι ἐνίους αὐτῶν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδοναῖς κατακόρως δουλεύοντες τὰ σαρκικὰ τοῖς σαρκικοῖς, καὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς ἀποδίδοσθαι λέγουσι. Καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν λάθρα τὰς διδασκομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὴν διδαχὴν ταύτην γυναῖκας διαφθείρουσιν, ὡς [πολλαὶ] πολλάκις ὑπ' ἐνίων αὐτῶν ἐξαπατηθεῖσαι, ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέψασαι γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, σὺν τῇ λοιπῇ πλάνῃ καὶ τοῦτο ἐξωμολογήσαντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ φανερὸν ἀπερυθριάσαντες, ὧν ἂν ἐρασθῶσι γυναικῶν, ταύτας ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἀποσπάσαντες, ἰδίας γαμετὰς ἡγήσαντο. Ἄλλοι δὲ αὖ πάλιν σεμνῶς κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς μετ' ἀδελφῶν προσποιούμενοι συνοικεῖν, προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἠλέγχθησαν, ἐγκύμονος τῆς ἀδελφῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ γενηθείσης. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ μυσαρὰ καὶ ἄθεα πράσσοντες, ἡμῶν μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ φυλασσομένων καὶ μέχρις ἐννοίας καὶ λόγου ἁμαρτεῖν, κατατρέχουσιν, ὡς ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ μηδὲν ἐπισταμένων· ἑαυτοὺς δὲ ὑπερυψοῦσι, M. 31.

spectaculum. Quidam autem et carnis voluptatibus insatiabiliter inservientes, carnalia carnalibus, spiritalia spiritalibus reddi dicunt. Et quidam quidem ex ipsis clam eas mulieres, quæ discunt ab eis doctrinam hanc, corrumpunt: quemadmodum multæ sæpe ab iis suasæ, post conversæ mulieres ad Ecclesiam Dei, cum reliquo errore et hoc confessæ sunt. Alii vero et manifeste, ne quidem erubescentes, quascunque adamaverint mulieres, has a viris suis abstrahentes, suas nuptas fecerunt. Alii vero valde modeste initio, quasi cum sororibus fingentes habitare, procedente tempore manifestati sunt, gravida sorore a fratre facta. Et alia multa odiosa et irreligiosa facientes, nos quidem, qui per timorem Dei timemus etiam usque in mentibus nostris et sermonibus peccare, arguunt quasi idiotas, et nihil scientes; semetipsos extollunt, perfectos vocantes, et semina electionis. Nos enim in usu gratiam accipere dicunt, quapropter

should be read *bestiariorum et gladiatorum*, bringing the translation into closer harmony with the Greek text; but *munus* was a term of the arena, very nearly equivalent to the Spanish *Funcion* (*de toros*, &c.) and meant the exhibition of any public spectacle granted in *largesse* to the people. MASSUET makes the appropriate citation from SUETONIUS *in Cæs.*: *Bestias quoque ad munus populi comparatas trucidaverunt ... Edidit spectacula varii generis, munus gladiatorium, ludos etiam regionatim urbe tota.*

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τελείους ἀποκαλοῦντες, καὶ σπέρματα ἐκλογῆς. Ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἐν χρήσει τὴν χάριν λαμβάνειν λέγουσι· διὸ καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι αὐτῆς [αὐτήν]· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἰδιόκτητον ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου καὶ ἀνονομάστου συζυγίας συγκατεληλυθυῖαν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προστεθήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς. Διὸ καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τὸ τῆς συζυγίας μελετᾷν μυστήριον. Καὶ τοῦτο πείθουσι τοὺς ἀνοήτους, αὐταῖς λέξεσι λέγοντες οὕτως· ὃς ἂν [1]ἐν κόσμῳ γενόμενος γυναῖκα οὐκ ἐφίλησεν, ὥστε αὐτὴν [2]κρατηθῆναι, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ἀληθείας, καὶ οὐ χωρήσει εἰς ἀλήθειαν· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ κόσμου γενόμενος, [3]μὴ [l. καὶ] κρατηθεὶς γυναικὶ, οὐ χωρήσει εἰς ἀλήθειαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν [l. τὸ ἐν τῇ] G. 32. ἐπιθυμίᾳ κρατηθῆναι γυναικός. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἡμᾶς [4]καλοὺς

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et auferri a nobis: semetipsos autem proprie possidere, desursum ab inenarrabili et innominabili syzygia descendentem habere gratiam, et propterea adjici eis. Quapropter ex omni modo oportere eos semper syzygiæ meditari mysterium. Et hoc suadent insensibilibus iis sermonibus dicentes sic: Quicunque in sæculo est, et uxorem non amat, ut ei conjungatur, non est de veritate, et non transiet in veritatem. Qui autem de sæculo est mixtus mulieri, non transit in veritatem: quoniam in concupiscentia mixtus est mulieri. Quapropter nobis quidem, quos

Marc. iv. 25. Luc. xix. 26.

[1] There is a distinction intended by the change of preposition *ἐν κόσμῳ.... ἀπὸ κόσμου*, equivalent, as BILLIUS conjectures, to a similar expression in ST JOHN, where our Lord says of his disciples that they were *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*, but not *ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου*. So the Valentinian, though *in the world*, claimed to be *not of the world* which the *ψυχικὸς* was.

[2] For *αὐτὴν κρατηθῆναι* the Latin translator seems to have read *αὐτῇ κραθῆναι*. The same observation will apply to *κρατηθεὶς* and *κρατηθῆναι γυν.*

[3] There is no authority for cancelling the two negative particles *μὴ*, as MASSUET has done; but they destroy the sense, and are ignored by the translator. I have, therefore, judged it best to hazard a conjectural emendation in either place, whereby the sense of the translation is preserved. The author's meaning is probably this: That no man is *ἐξ ἀληθείας*, who does not express, by an earthly *συζυγία*, the likeness of the heavenly *συζυγίαι*; but all are not of the spiritual seed; and any other, *ὁ ἀπο κόσμου*, represents nothing heavenly by a *συζυγία ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ*, and as such has nothing in common with heavenly truth.

[4] The Greek text plainly requires correction. BILLIUS, and after him the Benedictine, MASSUET and STIEREN, propose to read *ἡμῖν μὲν οὖς ψυχικοὺς ὀνομάζουσι .... ἀναγκαίαν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν κ.τ.λ.* GRABE only cancels the word *καλοὺς*, which makes sense, but certainly does not express the translator's words. I am inclined to think that the present text represents the following construction; *διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἡμῖν οὓς καὶ ψυχικοὺς ὀνομάζουσι .... ἀναγκαίαν τὴν ἐγκρ. κ.τ.λ.*

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ψυχικοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ἐκ κόσμου εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ ἀναγκαίαν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ ἀγαθὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς ἔλθωμεν εἰς τὸν τῆς [1]μεσότητος τόπον· αὐτοῖς δὲ πνευματικοῖς τε καὶ τελείοις καλουμένοις μηδαμῶς· οὐ γὰρ πρᾶξις εἰς πλήρωμα εἰσάγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ σπέρμα τὸ ἐκεῖθεν νήπιον ἐκπεμπόμενον, [2]ἐνθὰ δὲ τελειούμενον. Ὅταν δὲ πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τελειωθῇ, τὴν μὲν Ἀχαμὼθ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν μεταβῆναι τοῦ τῆς μεσότητος τόπου λέγουσι, καὶ ἐντὸς πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν νυμφίον αὐτῆς τὸν Σωτῆρα, τὸν ἐκ πάντων γεγονότα, ἵνα συζυγία γένηται τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Σοφίας τῆς Ἀχαμώθ. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι [3]νυμφίον καὶ νύμφην, [4]νυμφῶνα M. 32.

psychicos vocant, et de sæculo esse dicunt, necessariam continentiam, et bonam operationem, uti per eam veniamus in medietatis locum. Sibi autem, spiritalibus et perfectis vocatis, nullo modo. Non enim operatio in Pleroma inducit, sed semen quod est inde pusillum quidem emissum, hic autem perfectum factum. Cum autem universum semen perfectum fuerit, Achamoth quidem matrem ipsorum transire de medietatis loco dicunt, et intra Pleroma introire, et recipere sponsum suum Salvatorem, qui est ex omnibus factus, uti syzygia fiat Salvatoris et Sophiæ, quæ est Achamoth. Et hoc esse sponsum et sponsam: nym-

[1] *μεσότητος τόπον*, i. e. in the intermediate condition between the Pleroma and the seven heavens, which was the dwelling of Achamoth, until the consummation spoken of in the sequel, when Achamoth enters the Pleroma, but leaves without, *τὰς τῶν δικαίων ψυχὰς*, the souls of the just, with Demiurge, among the *ψυχικοί*. For that such is the meaning of the *δίκαιοι* is evident from the *Didasc. Or.*, *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τρεῖς φύσεις γεννῶνται, πρώτη μὲν ἡ ἄλογος, ἧς ἦν Καΐν· δευτέρα δὲ ἡ λογικὴ καὶ ἡ δικαία, ἧς ἦν Ἄβελ· τρίτη δὲ ἡ πνευματικὴ, ἧς ἦν Σήθ.* § 54.

[2] *ἐνθὰ δὲ*, GRABE'S proposed reading, instead of *ἐκθαδέ*, which he retains in the text. STIEREN overlooked his note, *Lege cum veteri interprete ἔνθα δέ.*

[3] At the risk of wearying the reader, it is repeated that one portion of the Valentinian scheme reflects another; *omnia in imagines urgent*, says TERTULLIAN, *plane et ipsi imaginarii Christiani.* Achamoth, the formal origin of the spiritual seed, the Church, [§ 10. end,] upon entering the Pleroma was to be united with her *σύζυγος*, Soter, the collective excellence of the Pleroma and head of the Church; just as the Æon Ecclesia, or ideal Church in the Divine Pleroma, had as her *σύζυγος*, *ἄνθρωπος*, the prototypal divine symbol of the Man Christ Jesus, the Æon *ἄνθρωπος*.

[4] The Valentinian, as might be expected, made his appeal to *Matt.* xxv. 6, &c. For *νυμφῶνα δὲ τὸ πᾶν πλήρωμα*, TERTULLIAN has, *Hic erit in Scripturis sponsus, et sponsalis Pleroma.* 31.

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δὲ τὸ πᾶν πλήρωμα. Τοὺς δὲ πνευματικοὺς [1]ἀποδυσαμένους τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ πνεύματα νοερὰ γενομένους, ἀκρατήτως καὶ ἀοράτως ἐντὸς πληρώματος εἰσελθόντας νύμφας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἀγγέλοις. Τὸν δὲ Δημιουργὸν μεταβῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν τῆς μητρὸς [2]Σοφίας τόπον, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ μεσότητι· τάς τε τῶν δικαίων ψυχὰς ἀναπαύσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ τῆς μεσότητος τόπῳ. Μηδὲν γὰρ ψυχικὸν ἐντὸς πληρώματος χωρεῖν.

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13. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων οὕτως, τὸ ἐμφωλεῦον τῷ κόσμῳ πῦρ ἐκλάμψαν καὶ ἐξαφθὲν, καὶ [3]κατεργασάμενον πᾶσαν ὕλην [4]συναναλωθήσεσθαι αὐτῇ, καὶ εἰς τὸ μηκέτ' εἶναι χωρήσειν διδάσκουσι. Τὸν δὲ Δημιουργὸν μηδὲν τούτων ἐγνω-

cf. II. 52.

phonem vero universum Pleroma. Spiritales vero exspoliatos animas, et spiritus intellectuales factos, [5]inapprehensibiliter et invisibiliter intra Pleroma ingressos, sponsas reddi iis qui circa Salvatorem sunt angelis. Demiurgum vero transire et ipsum in matris suæ Sophiæ locum, hoc est, in medietatem. Justorum quoque animas [6]refrigerare et ipsas in medietatis loco. Nihil enim psychicum intra Pleroma transire.

Matt. ix. 15.

13. His autem factis ita, is qui latet in mundo ignis exardescens et comprehendens, universam materiam consumit, et ipsum simul consumptum abire in id, ut jam non sit. Demiurgum autem nihil horum cognovisse ostendunt ante Salvatoris adventum.

[1] ἀποδυσαμένους τὰς ψυχάς. Their souls were the creation of Demiurgus, their spirits were secretly infused by Achamoth, § 10, end. A separation is now effected, and the spirit is admitted to the Pleroma, while the indestructible soul rests in heaven. Τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποθέμενα τὰ πνευματικὰ τὰς ψυχὰς, ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ κομιζομένῃ τὸν νυμφίον, κομιζόμενα καὶ αὐτὰ τοὺς νυμφίους τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἑαυτῶν, εἰς τον νυμφῶνα ἐντὸς τοῦ δρου εἰσίασι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὄψιν ἔρχονται, αἰῶνες νοεροὶ γενόμενα, εἰς τοὺς νοεροὺς καὶ αἰωνίους γάμους τῆς συζυγίας. § 64.

[2] i. e. τῆς Ἀχαμώθ.

[3] κατεργασάμενον. The translator seems to have read κατακαυσάμενον; possibly also for *comprehendens*, he may have written *comburens*.

[4] Material fire, as every thing else that is material, having no prototype in the *Pleroma*, should burn itself out. So TERTULLIAN, *Tunc credo ignis ille erumpet, et universam substantiam depopulatus, ipse quoque decineratis omnibus in nihilum finietur.* c. 32. Compare also *Didasc. Or.* § 81, and n. 3, p. 48.

[5] Inapprehensibiliter. *Id est ut superioribus potestatibus nec detineri nec videri queant, ut inferius explicabitur.* Ed. Bened.

[6] *Interpres, refrigerare, passive accepit, sicut mox apparet ex* § 14. *Hominem animalem, si meliora elegerit, in loco medietatis refrigeraturum.* GRABE.

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LIB. I. i. 13. GR. I. i. 13. MASS. I. vii. 2.

cf. III. 18. 31. 32.

κέναι ἀποφαίνονται πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος παρουσίας. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες [1]προβαλέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν υἱὸν ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχικόν· [καὶ] περὶ τούτου διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν λελαλη- G. 33. M. 33. κέναι. Εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ Μαρίας διοδεύσαντα, καθάπερ ὕδωρ [2]διὰ σωλῆνος ὁδεύει, καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κατελθεῖν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πληρώματος ἐκ πάντων Σωτῆρα, ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς· γεγονέναι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [l. ἀπὸ] τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ σπέρμα πνευματικόν. Τὸν οὖν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ [3]τεσσάρων τούτων σύνθετον γεγονέναι φάσκουσιν, ἀποσώζοντα τὸν τύπον τῆς ἀρχεγόνου καὶ πρώτης

Sunt autem qui dicunt emisisse eum Christum filium suum, sed et animalem: et de hoc per Prophetas locutum esse. Esse autem hunc qui per Mariam transierit, quemadmodum aqua per tubum transit, et in hunc in baptismate descendisse illum qui esset de Pleromate ex omnibus Salvatorem in figura columbæ: fuisse autem in eo et illud quod est ab Achamoth semen spiritale. Dominum igitur nostrum ex quatuor iis compositum fuisse

[1] So TERTULLIAN, *Esse etiam Demiurgo suum Christum, filium naturalem.* 27. Similarly the *Didasc. Or.*, Οὗτος (ὁ Δημιουργὸς sc.) ὡς εἰκὼν πατρὸς πατὴρ γίνεται, καὶ προβάλλει πρῶτον τὸν ψυχικὸν Χριστὸν υἱοῦ εἰκόνα. § 47.

[2] διὰ σωλῆνος. Compare TERTULL. *De Carne Christi*, 2, and *De Res. Carnis*, 1. Thus we may trace back to the Gnostic period the Apollinarian error, closely allied to Docetic, that the body of Christ was not derived from the Blessed Virgin, but that it was of heavenly substance, and was only brought forth into the world by her instrumentality. The Catholic faith was never other than this, that the creation of the first germ of Christ's human nature at the Annunciation, and the inseparable union with it of the Godhead, was one act of Almighty Power, whereby Christ, both God and Man, is one Christ. GRABE quotes from THEODORET, Ep. 145, *ad Mon. CPtanos*, Σίμων μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μένανδρος, Κέρδων καὶ Μαρκίων παντάπασιν ἀρνοῦνται τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν μυθολογίαν ἀποκαλοῦσι. Βαλεντῖνος δὲ καὶ Βασιλείδης, καὶ Βαρδησάνης, καὶ Ἁρμόνιος, καὶ οἱ τῆς τούτων συμμορίας, δέχονται μὲν τῆς παρθένου τὴν κύησιν καὶ τὸν τόκον· οὐδὲν δὲ τὸν Θεὸν λόγον ἐκ τῆς παρθένου προσειληφέναι φασὶν, ἀλλὰ πάροδόν τινα δι' αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ διὰ σωλῆνος, ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιφανῆναι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φαντασίᾳ χρησάμενον· καὶ δόξας εἶναι ἄνθρωπος, ὃν τρόπον ὤφθη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν παλαιῶν.

[3] *Ut spiritalem quidem susceperit ab Achamoth; animalem vero, quem mox a Demiurgo induit, Christum; cæterum corporalem, ex materiali substantia, sed miro et inenarrabili rationis ingenio constructum, administrationis causam vi contulisse, quo congressui et conspectui et contactui et defunctui ingratis subjaceret.* TERT. 26. Afterwards the fourth component element is added, *Super hunc itaque Christum devolasse tunc in baptismatis sacramento Ien* ('Ιῆν, i. e. Ἰησοῦν) *per effigiem columbæ.* 27.

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[1]τετρακτύος· ἔκ τε τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, ὃ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ψυχικοῦ, ὃ ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας, [2]ὃ ἦν κατεσκευασμένον ἀῤῥήτῳ τέχνῃ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὃ ἦν κατελθοῦσα εἰς αὐτὸν περιστερά. Καὶ τοῦτο [l. τοῦτον] μὲν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηκέναι· (οὐ γὰρ ἐνεδέχετο παθεῖν αὐτὸν [3]ἀκράτητον καὶ ἀόρατον ὑπάρχοντα·) [4]καὶ διὰ LIB. I. i. 13. GR I. i. 13. MASS. I. vii. 2. p. 52.

dicunt, servantem typum primogenitæ et primæ [5]quaternionis; de spiritali, quod erat ab Achamoth: et de animali, quod erat de Demiurgo: et de dispositione, quod erat factum inenarrabili arte: et de Salvatore, quod erat illa, quæ descendit in eum columba. Et hunc quidem impassibilem perseverasse: (non enim possibile erat pati eum, cum esset incomprehensibilis et invisibilis) et propter hoc ablatum esse, cum [6]traheretur ad

[1] *In figuram principalis tetradis, quatuor eum substantiis stipant; spiritali Achamothiana, animali Demiurgina, corporali Ine enarrativa* (l. *inenarrativa*, ἀῤῥήτῳ τέχνῃ) *et illa Sotericiana, id est, columbina.* TERT. *adv. Val.* 27. The *Did. Or.* § 59, gives substantially the same account, though not quite consecutively; according to this account Christ σπέρμα πρῶτον παρὰ τῆς τεκούσης (Ἀχαμὼθ sc.) ἐνεδύσατο.... κατὰ δὲ τὸν τόπον (l. τύπον) γενόμενος εὗρεν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν προκεκηρυγμένον.... ὄντα εἰκόνα τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ψυχικὸς Χριστὸς ὃν ἐνεδύσατο, ἀόρατος ἦν. See the quotation continued in note 5, p. 52. To these three, the Achamothian, the Demiurgian, and the material κατ' οἰκονομίαν, must be added the efflux from the Pleroma that descended as the Dove in Baptism, mentioned before, § 16, καὶ ἡ περιστερὰ δὲ σῶμα ὤφθη, ἣν οἱ μὲν τὸ ἅγιον ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου (φασιν) τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς Ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ πατρὸς, τὴν κατέλευσιν πεποιημένον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου σάρκα.

[2] ὃ ἦν, referring to that which had already been said, § 11. οἰκονομία is expressed in Latin either by *dispensatio* or *dispositio*, or by *administratio*, as in the Treatise *adv. Val.* 26; either of the three preserves the fundamental idea of a steward's duty, which is *dispensare*, to weigh out, or *disponere*, to set out, the master's work to be performed by each servant, or to *minister* to his will. As a theological term it applies to the Incarnation, Christ being the agent whereby God's eternal purposes as regards man's salvation have been dispensed; the substitution, therefore, of *dispensationis*, proposed by JUNIUS, is superfluous.

[3] *Et Soter quidem permansit in Christo impassibilis, illæsibilis, inapprehensibilis.* TERT. 27.

[4] ἤρθαι, *discessit ab illo in cognitione Christi.* TERT. 27. So in the *Did. Or.* § 61, Ἀπέθανεν δὲ, ἀποστάντος τοῦ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ πνεύματος, οὐκ ἰδίᾳ γενομένου, ἀλλὰ συσταλέντος, ἵνα καὶ ἐνεργήσῃ ὁ θάνατος· ἐπεὶ πῶς τῆς ζωῆς παρούσης ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀπέθανε τὸ σῶμα;

[5] GRABE'S reading, *quaternionis*, is analogically correct; for as *terni* makes *ternio*, and *seni senio*, so *quaterni* is the correlative of *quaternio*.

[6] *traheretur ad*, there can be no doubt that this is the true reading. Even the ancient translator could not have been guilty of such a solecism as *traderetur*

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LIB. I. i. 31. GR. I. i. 13. MASS. I. vii. 2.

τοῦτο ἦρθαι, προσαγομένου αὐτοῦ τῷ Πιλάτῳ, τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν κατατεθὲν πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς σπέρμα πεπονθέναι λέγουσιν. [1]Ἀπαθὲς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ [*l.* ἅτε] πνευματικὸν, καὶ ἀόρατον καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ δημιουργῷ. [2]Ἔπαθε δὲ λοιπὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ψυχικὸς Χριστὸς, καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας κατεσκευασμένος μυστηριωδῶς, ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ [δι'] αὐτοῦ ἡ μήτηρ τὸν τύπον τοῦ ἄνω Χριστοῦ, ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπεκταθέντος τῷ [3]Σταυρῷ, καὶ μορφώσαντος τὴν Ἀχαμὼθ μόρφωσιν τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τύπους ἐκείνων εἶναι λέγουσι. Τὰς δὲ ἐσχηκυίας τὸ σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ ψυχὰς ἀμείνους λέγουσι γεγονέναι τῶν λοιπῶν· διὸ καὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων ἠγαπῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, μὴ εἰδότος τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ λογιζομένου εἶναι τοιαύτας. Διὸ καὶ εἰς προφήτας, φασὶν, ἔτασσεν αὐτοὺς [αὐτὰς], καὶ M. 34.

Pilatum, illum qui depositus erat in eum spiritus Christi. Sed ne id quidem quod a matre erat semen, passum esse dicunt. Impassibile enim et illud, quippe spiritale, et invisibile etiam ipsi Demiurgo. Passus est autem secundum hos animalis Christus, et ille qui ex dispositione fabricatus in mysterio, ut ostendat per eum mater typum superioris Christi, illius qui extensus est Cruci, et formavit Achamoth formationem secundum substantiam: omnia enim hæc exempla illorum esse dicunt. Eas vero quæ habuerunt semen id quod est ab Achamoth animas, meliores dicunt fuisse quam reliquas: quapropter et plus eas dilectas a Demiurgo, non sciente causam, sed a semetipso putante esse tales. Quapropter et in prophetas, aiunt, distri-

ad. Tradi in manum, or *tradi ad supplicium* (*irrogandum*), are good Latin; but *tradi ad aliquem* could never have been written. Here GRABE must give way to the Benedictine.

[1] *ἀπαθές*, rendered by TERTULLIAN *insubditivum*, from the idea of subjectivity involved in *πάσχειν*.

[2] *Patitur vero animalis et carneus Christus in delineationem superioris Christi*, TERT. c. 27. *τὸν τύπον* in the text suggests the emendation proposed in note 1, p. 61.

[3] *Σταυρὸς* or Horus, see note 6, p. 32, as THEODORET says, *Χριστὸν ἐπεκταθῆναι διὰ τοῦ Ὅρου, καὶ Σταυροῦ καλουμένου*. Compare the word *ἐπεκταθεὶς* in § 16, where it is parallel with *ἑπιστὰς*, to the note upon which passage the reader is referred. TERTULLIAN also shews that he understood the term as the synonym of Horus, rather than as involving the notion of the Cross. *Qui ad Achamoth formandam, substantivali non agnitionali forma Cruci, id est Horo, fuerat innixus.* c. 27. Still if the

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c. 34. ἱερεῖς, καὶ βασιλεῖς. Καὶ πολλὰ [1]ὑπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος τούτου εἰρῆσθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐξηγοῦνται, ἅτε ὑψηλοτέρας φύσεως [2]ὑπαρχούσας· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω εἰρηκέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [3]διὰ τούτου καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου γενομένων ψυχῶν. Καὶ λοιπὸν [4]τέμνουσι τὰς προφητείας, τὸ μέν τι ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς εἰρῆσθαι θέλοντες, τὸ δέ τι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος, τὸ δέ τι ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὡσαύτως, τὸ μέν τι ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰρηκέναι, τὸ δέ τι ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, τὸ δέ τι ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, καθὼς ἐπιδείξομεν προϊόντος ἡμῖν τοῦ λόγου. Τὸν δὲ Δημιουργὸν, ἅτε ἀγνοοῦντα τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν, κινεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις, καταπεφρονηκέναι δὲ αὐτῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλην αἰτίαν νομίσαντα, ἢ [5]τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ προφητεῦον, ἔχον

LIB. I. i. 13. GR. I. i. 13. MASS. I. vii. 3.

IV. lxix.

cf. c. xxxiv.

buebat eas, et sacerdotes, et reges. Et multa de [ab] hoc semine dicta per prophetas exponunt: quippe cum altioris naturæ esset. Multa autem et matrem de superioribus dixisse dicunt; sed et per hunc, et per eas, quæ ab hoc factæ sunt animæ. Ac deinceps dividunt prophetias, aliquid quidem a matre dictum docentes, aliquid a semine, aliquid autem ab ipso Demiurgo: et Jesum tantundem aliquid quidem [a] Salvatore[m] dixisse, aliquid a matre, aliquid a Demiurgo, quemadmodum ostendemus procedente nobis sermone. Demiurgum autem, quippe ignorantem quæ essent super eum, moveri quidem in iis quæ dicuntur, contempsisse vero ea, aliam atque aliam causam putantem, quam [sive] spiritus qui prophetat, habens et ipse

passion of the *dispensational* Christ was prefigured by the Christ of the Pleroma, this would infer the notion also of the Cross.

[1] ὑπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος, the translator read περὶ but *vitiose*.

[2] sc. ψυχὰς τὸ σπέρμα τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ ἐχούσας.

[3] The reader will remember from § 9, 10, that Achamoth infused a higher principle into the spiritual portion of mankind through the unconscious Demiurge; and in the same way, the souls formed by him were gifted by Achamoth with the spirit of prophecy.

[4] So TERTULLIAN, *dividunt enim et prophetiale patrocinium in Achamoth, in semen et in Demiurgum*. 28. Accordingly the prophetic writings were dictated, as they imagined, partly by a higher and more divine excellence, partly by an inferior power. Οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν γραμμάτων τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ θειοτέρας λέγοντες εἶναι δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ ὑποδεεστέρας. ORIG. *in Ezek.* I. p. 200.

[5] Imagining at one while that the spiritual principle had gained an independent utterance, and had spoken by the prophets; at another, that it was

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καὶ αὐτὸ ἰδίαν τινὰ κίνησιν, ἢ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἢ τὴν προσπλοκὴν τῶν χειρῶν [χειρόνων] καὶ οὕτως ἀγνοοῦντα [1]διατετελεκέναι ἄχρι τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου. Ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, μαθεῖν αὐτὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντα λέγουσι, καὶ ἄσμενον αὐτῷ [2]προσχωρήσαντα μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ ἑκατόνταρχον, λέγοντα τῷ Σωτῆρι· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω στρατιώτας καὶ δούλους, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν προστάξω, ποιοῦσι. Τελέσειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον οἰκονομίαν μέχρι τοῦ M. 35. δέοντος καιροῦ, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἑτοιμασθέντος αὐτῷ ἐπάθλου, ὅτι εἰς τὸν τῆς μητρὸς τόπον χωρήσει.

14. Ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρία γένη ὑφίστανται, πνευματικὸν, χοϊκὸν, ψυχικὸν, καθὼς ἐγένοντο Κάϊν, Ἄβελ, Σήθ· καὶ

suam aliquam motionem, sive hominem, sive perplexionem pejorum: et sic ignorantem conservasse usque ad adventum Salvatoris. Cum venisset autem Salvator, didicisse eum ab eo omnia dicunt, et in gaudium ei cessisse cum omni virtute sua, et eum esse illum in Evangelio Centurionem, dicentem Salvatori: *Et ego enim sub potestate mea habeo milites et servos, et quod jussero, faciunt.* Perfecturum autem eum eam quæ secundum ipsum est mundi [3]creationem, usque ad id tempus quod oportet, maxime autem propter Ecclesiæ diligentiam atque curam, et propter agnitionem præparati præmii, quoniam in locum matris transibit.

Matt. viii. 9. et Luc. vii. 8.

14. Hominum autem tria genera dicunt; spiritalem, psychicum, choicum, quemadmodum fuit Cain, Abel, Seth; ut

the expression of the animal man; or, again, that it was even the crafty device of the lowest and carnal order of men; ἢ is *sive*, and must not be taken with ἄλλην. The unknown word προσπλοκὴν seems to bear the meaning of διαπλοκὴν, *simultatem*, though the translator renders it by *perplexionem, mystification. Interea Demiurgus omnium adhuc nescius et si aliquid et ipse per prophetas concionabitur, ne hujus quidem operis sui intelligens.* TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Val.* 27.

[1] The translator had διατετηρηκέναι.

[2] προσχωρήσαντα, προσχωρῆσαι is suggested by FRONTO DUC, and he corrects the Latin translation, *In gaudio ei accessisse.* cf. TERTULL. 28. *Propere et ovanter accurrit cum omnibus viribus suis.*

[3] For *creationem* we may read *procurationem*, or simply *curationem*. Certainly TERTULLIAN follows the Greek reading, *dispensationem mundi hujus, vel maxime ecclesiæ protegendæ nomine, quanto tempore oportuerit insequitur.* 28.

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ἐκ τούτων[1] τὰς τρεῖς φύσεις, [2]οὐκέτι καθ' ἕν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γένος. Καὶ [3]τὸ μὲν χοϊκὸν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν· καὶ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἐὰν τὰ βελτίονα ἕληται, [4]ἐν τῷ τῆς μεσότητος τόπῳ ἀναπαύ[σ]εσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ τὰ χείρω, χωρήσειν καὶ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια· τὰ δὲ πνευματικά, [5]ἃ ἂν κατασπείρῃ ἡ Ἀχαμὼθ ἕκτοτε ἕως τοῦ νῦν δικαίαις ψυχαῖς, παιδευθέντα ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐκτραφέντα, διὰ τὸ νήπια ἐκπεπέμφθαι, ὕστερον τελειότητος ἀξιωθέντα, νύμφας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ Σωτῆρος Ἀγγέλοις δογματίζουσι, τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν ἐν μεσότητι κατ' ἀνάγκην [6]μετὰ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ ἀναπαυσαμένων εἰς τὸ παντελές.

LIB. I. i. 14. GR I. i. 14. MASS. I. vii. 5.

G. 35.

ostendant et ex his tres naturas, jam non secundum unumquemque. sed secundum genus. Et Choicum quidem in corruptelam abire: Animale vero, si meliora elegerit, in loco medietatis refrigeraturum: si vero pejora, transire et ipsum ad similia. Spiritalia vero inseminat Achamoth, ex illo tempore usque nunc, propter quod et animæ erudientur quidem hic: et semina enutrita, quia pusilla emittantur, post deinde perfectione digna habita, sponsas reddi Salvatoris Angelis respondent; animabus eorum ex necessitate in medietate cum Demiurgo

[1] Either ἵν' ἐπιδείξωσι must be supplied in the Greek, or *ut ostendant* cancelled in the Latin. I prefer the latter.

[2] These three natures are no longer united in each individual as they were in Adam, but they constitute distinct generic characters perceptible in three several classes of the human race. Compare p. 58. note 1, and Hippolytus: Ναασσηνοὶ ἄνθρωπον .... τριχῇ διαιροῦσιν· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φασὶ, τὸ μὲν νοερὸν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν. *Phil.* x. 9. Καὶ ὁ μὲν χοϊκός ἐστι κατ' εἰκόνα, ὁ δὲ ψυχικὸς καθ' ὁμοίωσιν θεοῦ, ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς κατ' ἰδίαν (l. ἰδέαν). *Didasc. Or.* 54.

[3] *Choicum enim genus nunquam capere salutaria.* TERT. 29.

[4] *Animale mediæ spei delibratum ad Abel componunt.* ibid. The *Didasc. Or.* describes this threefold distinction as follows: πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ ὑλικοί, οὐ πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ψυχικοί, σπάνιοι δὲ οἱ πνευματικοί. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πνευματικὸν φύσει σωζόμενον, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν αὐτεξούσιον ὂν ἐπιτηδειότητα ἔχει πρός τε πίστιν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν, καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν καὶ φθοράν, κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αἵρεσιν, τὸ δὲ ὑλικὸν φύσει ἀπόλλυται. § 56. The Valentinian, therefore, held the doctrine of absolute election of the Pneumatici, not however by any arbitrary decree of God, but by a kind of natural fitness and necessity.

[5] TERTULLIAN has simply, *Spiritale certæ saluti præjudicatum, in Seth recondunt.* The Greek and Latin texts are at variance. Of the two the Greek is preferable. The translator, as the Benedictine editor observes, seems to have read τὰ δὲ πν. κατασπείρει.... and for δικαίαις ψυχαῖς κ.τ.λ. he had διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς παιδευθήσεσθαι ἐνθάδε· καὶ τὰ σπέρματα ἐκτραφέντα, κ.τ.λ.

[6] ἐν μεσότητι, these words were repeated a second time through carelessness; so manifest a blemish has been removed from the text without scruple.

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Καὶ αὐτὰς μὲν τὰς ψυχικὰς [1][ψυχὰς] πάλιν ὑπομερίζοντες λέγουσιν, ἃς μὲν φύσει ἀγαθὰς, ἃς δὲ φύσει πονηράς. Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ταύτας εἶναι τὰς δεκτικὰς τοῦ σπέρματος γινομένας· τὰς δὲ φύσει πονηρὰς μηδέποτε ἂν ἐπιδέξασθαι ἐκεῖνο τὸ σπέρμα.

15. [2]Τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως αὐτῶν οὔσης, ἣν οὔτε Προφῆται ἐκήρυξαν, οὔτε ὁ Κύριος ἐδίδαξεν, οὔτε Ἀπόστολοι παρέδωκαν, ἣν [3]περὶ τῶν ὅλων αὐχοῦσι πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων ἐγνωκέναι, [4]ἐξ ἀγράφων ἀναγινώσκοντες, καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, [5]ἐξ ἄμμου σχοινία πλέκειν ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἀξιοπίστως [ἀξιόπιστα *Assem.*] προσαρμόζειν πειρῶνται [6]τοῖς εἰρημέ- M. 36.

refrigeraturis in æternum. Et ipsas autem animas rursus subdividentes, dicunt quasdam quidem natura bonas, quasdam autem natura malas. Et bonas quidem has esse, quæ capaces seminis fiunt: alias vero natura nequam, nunquam capere illud semen.

15. Cum sit igitur tale illorum argumentum, quod neque Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apostoli tradiderunt, quod abundantius gloriantur plus quam cæteri cognovisse, de iis quæ non sunt scripta legentes, et quod solet dici, de arena resticulas nectere affectantes, fide [7]digna aptare conantur iis quæ dicta sunt, vel parabolas dominicas, vel dic-

The *Didasc. Or.* may here be compared, ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνάπαυσις ἐν κυριακῇ, (suppl. ἤτοι) ἐν ὀγδοάδι, (ἡ κυριακὴ ὀνομάζεται,) παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ ἔχοντα τὰς ψυχὰς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἀχρὶ συντελείας· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πισταὶ ψυχαὶ παρὰ τῷ δημιουργῷ, περὶ δὲ τὴν συντέλειαν ἀναχωροῦσι καὶ αὗται εἰς ὀγδοάδα· εἶτα τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν γάμων κοινὸν πάντων τῶν σωζομένων, ἄχρις ἂν ἀπισωθῇ πάντα καὶ ἄλληλα γνωρίσῃ. § 63.

[1] ψυχὰς is evidently the true reading. The Valentinian hypothesis with respect to the condition of the soul after death is refuted II. l—lii.

[2] GRABE first observed that this section, with the exception of the last line, was quoted by S. EPHREM SYRUS in the eighth paragraph of his treatise, περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς. It is not referred to IRENÆUS by name, but it is introduced with the words, καλῶς καὶ μεγάλως ἀπεφήνατό τις τῶν ἁγίων οὕτω διδάξας, καὶ φησιν, Τοιαύτης κ.τ.λ. In GRABE'S day the Treatise (MSS. *Bodl. Cod. Laud.* C. 97) had not been published. MASSUET indicates some readings from a MS. in the Colbertine collection, and STIEREN adds others from ASSEMAN'S edition of S. EPHREM'S works, prepared from the collation of nine MSS.

[3] For περὶ τῶν ὅλων the translator reads περισσοτέρως.

[4] ἐξ ἀγράφων, written, but not Scripture.

[5] ἐξ ἄμμου, an adage descriptive of the incoherent misquotations of Scripture by the Valentinian heretics.

[6] i. e. by themselves.

[7] *digna* is found in the ARUND. MS. and agrees with ASSEMAN'S reading ἀξιόπιστα; *digne*, therefore, is corrected.

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νοις, ἤτοι παραβολὰς κυριακὰς, ἢ ῥήσεις προφητικὰς, ἢ λόγους ἀποστολικοὺς, ἵνα τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν μὴ ἀμάρτυρον εἶναι δοκῇ· τὴν μὲν τάξιν καὶ τὸν εἱρμὸν τῶν γραφῶν ὑπερβαίνοντες, καὶ, ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, λύοντες τὰ μέλη τῆς ἀληθείας. Μεταφέρουσι δὲ καὶ μεταπλάττουσι, καὶ ἄλλο ἐξ ἄλλου ποιοῦντες ἐξαπατῶσι πολλοὺς τῇ τῶν ἐφαρμοζομένων κυριακῶν λογίων κακοσυνθέτῳ σοφίᾳ [φαντασίᾳ *Ephr. S.*]. Ὅνπερ τρόπον εἴ τις βασιλέως [1]εἰκόνος καλῆς κατεσκευασμένης [ἐπιμελῶς] [2]ἐκ ψηφίδων ἐπισήμων ὑπὸ σοφοῦ τεχνίτου, λύσας τὴν ὑποκειμένην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἰδέαν, [3]μετενέγκῃ τὰς ψηφῖδας ἐκείνας, καὶ μεθαρμόσοι, καὶ ποιήσει μορφὴν κυνὸς ἢ ἀλώπεκος, καὶ [4]ταύτην φαύλως κατεσκευασμένην, ἔπειτα διορίζοιτο, καὶ λέγοι ταύτην εἶναι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνην εἰκόνα τὴν καλὴν,

LIB. I. i. 15. GR. I. i. 15. MASS. I. viii. 1.

λέξιν Ephr. Syr.

G. 36.

μετενέγκει Ephr. μεθαρμόσει Ephr. ποιήσας Ephr. cf. xxxv.

tiones propheticas, aut sermones apostolicos, ut figmentum illorum non sine teste esse videatur; ordinem quidem et textum Scripturarum supergredientes, et quantum in ipsis est, solventes membra veritatis. Transferunt autem et transfingunt, et alterum ex altero facientes, seducunt multos ex iis quæ aptant ex dominicis eloquiis male composito phantasmati. Quomodo si quis regis imaginem bonam fabricatam diligenter ex gemmis pretiosis a sapiente artifice, solvens subjacentem hominis figuram transferat gemmas illas, et reformans faciat ex iis formam canis, vel vulpeculæ, et hanc male dispositam; dehinc confirmet et dicat, hanc esse regis illam imaginem bonam, quam sapiens

[1] The MSS. of S. Ephr. Syr. have, like the translator, the accusative, *εἰκόνα καλὴν κατεσκευασμένην*, with the addition of *ἐπιμελῶς*, the equivalent of *diligenter*.

[2] *ψηφίδων*, the small squares of which a tesselated pavement is composed.

[3] Stieren's note is here given; *Quum conjunctio, εἰ, ex grammatices regulis hoc loco poscat optativum, pro μετενέγκῃ uti legunt Grab. et Mass. excudi jussi μετενέγκοι* (melius *μετενέγκαι*) *et pro ποιήσει legendum conjicio ποιήσειε.* The copies of S. Ephr. Syrus for *ποιήσει* read *ποιήσας*, and write the two preceding verbs in the indicative; suggesting rather the form *ποιήσαι*. The learned editor's canon as regards *εἰ* does not hold good in later Greek, and instances might be quoted from the best classical writers of *εἰ* with the conjunctive, though open to the doubt whether later transcribers may not have replaced *ἦν* with *εἰ*. On the whole I should be inclined to write all three verbs in the conjunctive, and account for the present forms of the two last as having arisen from the final *ι*, now subscript.

[4] The Bodleian and Colbertine MSS. as well as Asseman's edition of S. Ephr. Syr. have the genitive absolute, *καὶ ταύτης φαύλως κατεσκευασμένης*, the translator's testimony however is in favour of the present reading.

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LIB. I. i. 15. GR. I. i. 15. MASS. I. viii. 1.

ὑπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου Ephr. Syr.

ἦν ὁ σοφὸς τεχνίτης κατεσκεύασε, δεικνὺς τὰς ψηφῖδας τὰς καλῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τεχνίτου τοῦ πρώτου εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα συντεθείσας, κακῶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑστέρου εἰς κυνὸς μορφὴν μετενεχθείσας, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ψηφίδων φαντασίας μεθοδεύοι τοὺς ἀπειροτέρους, τοὺς κατάληψιν βασιλικῆς μορφῆς οὐκ ἔχοντας, καὶ πείθοι ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σαπρὰ τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἰδέα ἐστὶν ἐκείνη ἡ καλὴ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκών· τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ

συγκαττύουσι Assem.

τρόπον καὶ οὗτοι γραῶν μύθους συγκαττύσαντες, ἔπειτα M. 37.

μεθαρμόζειν Ephr. Syr.

ῥήματα καὶ λέξεις καὶ παραβολὰς ὅθεν καὶ πόθεν ἀποσπῶντες, ἐφαρμόζειν βούλονται τοῖς μύθοις αὐτῶν [ἑαυτῶν *Ephr. S.*] τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν τοῖς [*l.* τοῖς ἐντὸς] τοῦ Πληρώματος ἐφαρμόζουσιν, εἰρήκαμεν.

16. Ὅσα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς τοῦ Πληρώματος αὐτῶν προσοικειοῦν πειρῶνται ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν, ἔστι τοιαῦτα· τὸν Κύριον ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τοῦ κόσμου χρόνοις διὰ τοῦτο ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος λέγουσιν, ἵν' ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ περὶ τὸν ἔσχατον τῶν Αἰώνων γεγονὸς πάθος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ τέλους

Jac. v. 11.

ἐμφήνῃ τὸ τέλος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Αἰῶνας πραγματείας. Τὴν δὲ δωδεκαετῆ παρθένον ἐκείνην, τὴν τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου θυγατέρα, ἣν ἐπιστὰς ὁ Κύριος ἐκ νεκρῶν ἤγειρε, τύπον εἶναι

artifex fabricavit, ostendens gemmas, quæ bene quidem a primo artifice in regis imaginem compositæ erant, male vero a posteriore in canis figuram translatæ sunt, et per gemmarum phantasiam decipiat idiotas, qui comprehensionem regalis formæ non habeant, et suadeat quoniam hæc turpis vulpeculæ figura illa est bona regis imago: eodem modo et hi anicularum fabulas assumentes [adsuentes], post deinde sermones, et dictiones, et parabolas hinc inde auferentes, adaptare volunt fabulis suis eloquia Dei. Et quanta quidem iis, qui [quæ] sunt intra Pleroma, aptant, diximus.

16. Quanta autem de iis, qui [quæ] extra Pleroma sunt ipsorum, ad suos insinuare conantur ex Scripturis, sunt talia: Dominum in novissimis mundi temporibus propter hoc venisse ad passionem dicunt, ut ostendat, quæ circa novissimum Æonum facta est, passionem, et per hunc finem manifestet finem ejus, quæ est

Luc. viii. 41 seqq.

circa Æonas, dispositionis. Duodecim autem annorum virginem illam archisynagogi filiam, quam insistens Dominus a mortuis

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διηγοῦνται τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ, ἣν [1]ἐπεκταθεὶς ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸν [αὐτῶν] ἐμόρφωσε, καὶ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἤγαγε τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτός. Ὅτι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐπέφανεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐκτὸς οὔσης τοῦ Πληρώματος, ἐν ἐκτρώματος μοίρᾳ, τὸν Παῦλον λέγουσιν εἰρηκέναι ἐν [2]τῇ [adj. πρώτῃ] πρὸς Κορινθίους· Ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι, ὤφθη κἀμοί. Τήν τε μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος παρουσίαν πρὸς τὴν Ἀχαμὼθ, ὁμοίως πεφανερωκέναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ, εἰπόντα· Δεῖ τὴν γυναῖκα [3]κάλυμμα ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους.

LIB. I. i. 16. GR. I. i. 16. MASS. I. viii. 2.

cf. § 7.

cf. § 8.

liberavit, typum esse narrant Achamoth quam extensus Christus eorum figuravit, et ad sensibilitatem adduxit ejus, quod dereliquerat eam, luminis. Quoniam autem ei manifestavit semetipsum Salvator, existenti extra Pleroma in abortionis partu [parte], Paulum dicunt dixisse in prima ad Corinthios epistola: *Novissime autem tanquam abortivo visus est et mihi.* Et illam quæ est cum cœtaneis Salvatoris adventationem ad Achamoth, similiter manifestasse eum in eadem epistola dicentem: *Oportere mulierem velamen habere in capite propter Angelos.* Et quoniam

1 Cor. xv. 8.

1 Cor. xi. 10.

[1] *ἐπεκταθεὶς.* The use of this word in apposition with *ἐπιστὰς* I think affords a conclusive proof that it need not involve the notion of extension upon the Cross in § 13, where see note. It has exactly the force of *ἐπεκτεινόμενος* in *Phil.* III. 13, and conveys the notion of progressive movement, *stretching forward.* The geographical position of our Saviour, when he raised the daughter of Jairus from the dead, very possibly suggested a point of analogy to Valentinus. He was without the boundary of Palestine in the region of Gadara, which JOSEPHUS calls *τὴν μητρόπολιν τῆς Περαίας, B. J.* IV. viii. § 3. To which Christ, *ἐπεκταθεὶς* beyond the bounds of the Pleroma, was no doubt considered parallel. Of the translation GRABE says, Achamoth, quam, *ita recte* ARUND. But that MS. errs with the rest in having *quem.*

[2] The numeral letter *α'* expressed in the translation would easily be lost from the text.

[3] I cannot agree with GRABE that IRENÆUS quoting from memory substitutes *κάλυμμα* for *ἐξουσίαν.* A better reason may be found in the Syriac version; there the word ܫܘܠܛܢܐ is the exact equivalent for *ἐξουσία,* but it also means any thing worn on the head, i. e. the turban or other ornament serving to distinguish the Satrap's rank. (So the word שולטניא occurring in the Jerusalem Targum שבת. cap. VI. is interpreted מצנפת מרוקמת בגוונים, *a turban or fillet, embroidered with divers colours.*) As referring to female costume this could only be the veil. Hence the commentators have found no difficulty in assigning to the word *ἐξουσία* its proper signification. So THEOPHYLACT says, Τὸ *τοῦ ἐξουσιάζεσθαι σύμβολον, τουτέστι τὸ κάλυμμα,* and CHRYSOSTOM, *διηνεκῶς ἐγκεκαλύφθαι δεῖ ἡ γυνή.* THEODORET also renders it *κάλυμμα.* A line has been lost here from the translation; in all probability the words *velamen imposuit* commenced two consecutive

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LIB. I. i. 16. GR. I. i. 16. MASS. I. viii. 2.

Καὶ ὅτι ἤκοντος τοῦ Σωτῆρος πρὸς αὐτὴν, δι' αἰδὼ κάλυμμα G. 37.
ἐπέθετο ἡ Ἀχαμὼθ, Μωσέα πεποιηκέναι φανερὸν, κάλυμμα
θέμενον ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τὰ πάθη δὲ αὐτῆς,
ἃ ἔπαθεν, ἐπισεσημειῶσθαι τὸν Κύριον φάσκουσιν ἐν τῷ
σταυρῷ. Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ εἰπεῖν· Ὁ Θεός μου, [ὁ Θεός μου,] M. 38.
εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; μεμηνυκέναι αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἀπελείφθη ἀπὸ
τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ Σοφία, καὶ ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὅρου τῆς εἰς
τοὔμπροσθεν ὁρμῆς· τὴν δὲ λύπην αὐτῆς, ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν· Περί-
λυπός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή μου ἕως θανάτου [*del.* ἕ. θ.]· τὸν δὲ
φόβον, ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν· Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατὸν, παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ
τὸ ποτήριον· καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν δὲ ὡσαύτως, ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι·
Καὶ τί εἴπω, [1]οὐκ οἶδα. Τρία δὲ γένη ἀνθρώπων οὕτως
δεδειχέναι διδάσκουσιν αὐτόν· τὸ μὲν ὑλικὸν, [2]ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν

adventante Salvatore ad eam, propter verecundiam velamen imposuit Achamoth in faciem suam. Et passiones autem, quas passa est, significasse Dominum dicunt[3]: in hoc quidem, quod
Matt. xxvii. 46. derelicta est a lumine; in eo, cum dicit in cruce: *Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti?* manifestasse eum, quoniam derelicta est a lumine Sophia, et prohibita est ab Horo in priora
Matt. xxvi. 38. impetum facere. Tædium autem ejus, in eo quod dixisset: [4]*Quam*
Matt. xxvi. 39. *tristis est anima mea!* Timorem autem, in eo quod dixerit: *Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix.* Et aporiam autem (id est
Joh. xii. 27. consternationem) similiter in eo quod dixerit: *Et quid dicam nescio.* Tria autem genera hominum [sic] ostendisse docent
Luc. ix. 57, 58. eum; hylicum quidem, in eo quod responderit dicenti: *Sequar te?*

lines, one of which was omitted by careless transcription at a very early date; for every MS. exhibits the same *lacuna*. GRABE supplies the words, *Mosen id perspicuum fecisse, dum velamen imposuit*, &c. Cf. p. 39, n. 2.

[1] οὐκ οἶδα, a Valentinian addition to the sacred text, to mark more completely the notion of ἀπορία.

[2] The words were read interrogatively by the Valentinians as expressing a total inability on the part of gross humanity to follow Christ.

[3] The carelessness of copyists has caused confusion. After *dicunt* read *in cruce. Et in hoc quidem quod dicit*, then the quotation from S. Matthew.

[4] *Quam tristis.* GRABE says that *quam* most probably should have been written *quoniam*, representing ὅτι in the original. But it is not impossible that ὡς may have originally preceded the quotation as the equivalent of ܕ, the Syriac particle that, prefixed to participial nouns, serves to mark any particular state or condition. ܠܝܬ ܕ would easily lose the particle again by assimilation, and it is not found now in the Syriac text. Still GRABE is perhaps right.

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τῷ ἐρωτήσαντι, Ἀκολουθήσω σοι; Οὐκ ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλῖναι [κλίνῃ]· τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι τῷ εἰπόντι, Ἀκολουθήσω σοι, ἐπίτρεψον δέ μοι πρῶτον ἀποτάξασθαι τοῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου· Οὐδεὶς ἐπ' ἄροτρον τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν, καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω βλέπων, εὔθετός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ [εἰς τὴν β.] τῶν οὐρανῶν. Τοῦτον γὰρ λέγουσι τὸν μέσον εἶναι. Κἀκεῖνον δὲ ὡσαύτως τὸν τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὁμολογήσαντα πεποιηκέναι, ἔπειτα μὴ θελήσαντα ἀκολουθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ πλούτου ἡττηθέντα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τέλειον γενέσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον τοῦ ψυχικοῦ γένους γεγονέναι θέλουσι. Τὸ δὲ πνευματικὸν, ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν· Ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς· σὺ δὲ πορευθεὶς διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ἐπὶ Ζακχαίου του τελώνου εἰπών· Σπεύσας κατάβηθι, ὅτι σήμερον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου δεῖ με μεῖναι· τούτους γὰρ πνευματικοῦ γένους καταγγέλλουσι γεγονέναι. Καὶ τὴν τῆς ζύμης παραβολὴν, ἣν ἡ γυνὴ

LIB. I. i. 16. GR. I. i. 16. MASS. I. viii. 3.

Non habet filius hominis ubi caput reclinet. [1]Animale autem, in eo quod dixerit dicenti: *Sequar te, permitte autem mihi* [2]*ire et renunciare domesticis: Nemo super aratrum manum imponens, et in posteriora respiciens, aptus est regno cœlorum.* Hunc autem dicunt de mediis esse. Et illum autem similiter, qui multas partes justitiæ confitebatur se fecisse, post deinde noluisse [nolentem] sequi, sed a divitiis victum, ut ne fieret perfectus, et hunc de psychico genere fuisse volunt. [3]Spiritale vero, in eo quod dicit: *Remitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, tu autem vade et annuncia regnum Dei;* Et Zacchæo publicano dicens: *Properans descende, quoniam hodie in domo tua oportet me manere...*[4]. Et fermenti parabolam, quod mulier abscondisse dicitur in farinæ

Luc. ix. 61, 62.

Matt. xix. 16 seqq.

Luc. ix. 60.

Luc. xix. 5.

[1] The ARUND. MS. has *animales*, but the error is apparent, and all other MSS. and the editions read *animale*; see note 3.

[2] Here again, perhaps, the Latin text expresses more faithfully than the Greek the words originally written by IRENÆUS, for although the word *ire* has nothing corresponding with it in the Greek text, it has in the Syriac, where we read ܐܙܠ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܠܗ, *Suffer that I should go and bid farewell.* Cf. E. V.

[3] The AR. MS. has *spiritalem*, and the reading agrees with *τὸν μέσον* preceding; but the concord to be followed is *γένος*.

[4] *Post hæc adde, quæ respondeant Græcis: τούτους γὰρ πνευματικοῦ γένους καταγγέλλουσι γεγονέναι, nempe: Hos namque spiritalis generis fuisse tradunt.* The MSS. omit *Properans.*

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ἐγκεκρυφέναι λέγεται εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία, τὰ τρία γένη δηλοῦν λέγουσι· γυναῖκα μὲν γὰρ τὴν Σοφίαν λέγεσθαι διδάσκουσιν· ἀλεύρου σάτα [τὰ τρία], τὰ τρία γένη τῶν M. 39. ἀνθρώπων, πνευματικὸν, ψυχικὸν, χοϊκόν· ζύμην δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Σωτῆρα εἰρῆσθαι διδάσκουσι. Καὶ τὸν Παῦλον διαῤῥήδην εἰρηκέναι χοϊκοὺς, ψυχικοὺς, πνευματικούς· ὅπου μὲν, Οἷος ὁ χοϊκὸς, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ χοϊκοί· ὅπου δὲ, Ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος G. 38. οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος[1]· ὅπου δὲ, Πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει πάντα. Τὸ δὲ, Ψυχικὸς οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐπὶ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ φασὶν εἰρῆσθαι, ὃν ψυχικὸν ὄντα[2] μὴ ἐγνωκέναι μήτε τὴν μητέρα πνευματικὴν οὖσαν, μήτε τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῆς, μήτε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πληρώματι Αἰῶνας. Ὅτι ἰδὼν [ὅτι δὲ, ὢν] ἤμελλε σώζειν ὁ Σωτὴρ, τούτων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀνέλαβε, τὸν Παῦλον εἰρηκέναι· Καὶ ἦν ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἁγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα. Ἀπαρχὴν μὲν τὸ πνευματικὸν εἰρῆσθαι διδάσκοντες· φύραμα δὲ ἡμᾶς, τουτέστι τὴν ψυχικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν,

sata tria, tria genera manifestare dicunt. Mulierem quidem Sophiam dici docent; farinæ vero sata tria, tria genera hominum, spiritale, animale, choicum. Fermentum vero ipsum Salvatorem dictum dicunt. Et Paulum autem manifeste dixisse choicos, animales, spiritales. Alibi quidem: *Qualis choicus, tales et choici.* Alibi autem: *Animalis homo non percipit quæ sunt spiritus.* Alibi autem: *Spiritalis examinat omnia.* [*Suppl.* Id autem,] *Animalis autem non percipit quæ sunt spiritus*, de Demiurgo dictum dicunt, qui cum Psychicus sit non cognoverit neque matrem spiritalem existentem, neque semen ejus, neque eos qui sunt in Pleromate Æones. Quoniam autem eorum quos salvaturus erat Salvator initia accepit, Paulum dixisse: *Et si delibatio sancta, et massa.* Delibationem quidem, quod est spiritale dictum docentes: conspersionem autem nos, id est psychicam

1 Cor. xv. 48. 1 Cor. ii. 14. 1 Cor. ii. 15. Rom. xi. 16.

[1] Grabe observes that the word Θεοῦ is supplied in our received text; but that it is omitted in the Syriac version, by S. Joh. Chrysostom in his commentary, and by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* v. 557 (Potter's ed.). Stieren supposes that either the author quoted as usual from memory, or that he was applying the words as altered by the Valentinians, who had their reasons for omitting the word. The Spirit with them was of Monogenes, p. 21.

[2] The unconscious ignorance of Demiurge, and its removal by Soter, is described above, p. 64.

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ἧς τὸ φύραμα ἀνειληφέναι λέγουσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ [1] συνεσταλκέναι, ἐπειδὴ ἦν αὐτὸς ζύμη. LIB. I. i. 17. GR. I. i. 17. MASS. I. viii. 4.

17. Καὶ ὅτι ἐπλανήθη ἡ Ἀχαμὼθ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Πληρώματος, καὶ ἐμορφώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἀνεζητήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, μηνύειν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τὸ πεπλανημένον [*suppl.* πρόβατον]. Πρόβατον μὲν γὰρ πεπλανημένον τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ἐξηγοῦνται λέγεσθαι, ἐξ ἧς τὴν ὧδε θέλουσιν ἐσπάρθαι Ἐκκλησίαν· πλάνην δὲ, τὴν ἐκτὸς Πληρώματος ἐν [*Int.* πᾶσι] τοῖς πάθεσι διατριβὴν, ἐξ ὧν γεγονέναι τὴν ὕλην ὑποτίθενται. Τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν σαροῦσαν τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ εὑρίσκουσαν τὴν δραχμὴν, τὴν ἄνω Σοφίαν διηγοῦνται λέγεσθαι, ἥτις ἀπολέσασα τὴν Ἐνθύμησιν αὐτῆς, ὕστερον καθαρισθέντων πάντων διὰ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος παρουσίας εὑρίσκει αὐτήν· διὸ καὶ ταύτην [2] ἀποκαθίστασθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐντὸς πληρώματος. Συμεῶνα τὸν cf. 3 and 13.

Ecclesiam, cujus substantiam assumpsisse dicunt eum, et cum semetipso erexisse, quoniam erat ipse fermentum.

17. Et quoniam erravit Achamoth extra Pleroma, et formata est a Christo, et quæsita est a Salvatore, manifestare eum dicunt, in eo quod dixit, semetipsum venisse ad eam quæ errasset ovem. Ovem enim errantem matrem suam referunt dici, ex qua eam, quæ sit hic, volunt esse seminatam Ecclesiam. Errorem autem, eam, quæ est extra Pleroma, in omnibus passionibus immorationem, ex quibus factam materiam tradunt. Mulierem autem illam quæ mundat domum, et invenit drachmam, superiorem Sophiam narrant dici: quæ cum perdidisset intentionem suam, post deinde, mundatis omnibus per Salvatoris adventum, invenit eam: quoniam et hæc restituitur secundum eos intra Pleroma. Luc. xv. 4 seq. Luc. xv. 8 seq.

[1] *συνεσταλκέναι* is not expressed by *erexisse;* either the Greek or the Latin text has suffered change; perhaps both. The older editors adapt the Latin to the Greek text, and read *contraxisse*. GRABE observes that the metaphor from the fermentation of dough should be preserved, and for the word in the text he proposes to read *συνανεστηκέναι*. But the subject of the verb is *αὐτὸν*, meaning *Christ*, *ἐν αὐτῷ* referring to *φύραμα*. Hence *συνεστηκέναι*, *constitisse*, would give an unexceptionable meaning, and was most probably the author's word; although his translator read perhaps *ἀνατεταλκέναι* and wrote *evexisse*.

[2] The restoration of the superior Sophia to the Pleroma is described above, § 3 of this chapter; that of the inferior Sophia, Achamoth or Enthymesis, towards the close of § 12, when she is restored to her consort Soter.

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LIB. I. i. 17. GR. I. i. 17. MASS. I. viii. 4.

εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας λαβόντα τὸν Χριστὸν, καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα M. 40.
[1]αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰπόντα· Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τύπον εἶναι τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ λέγουσιν, ὡς [ὃς] ἐλθόντος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἔμαθε τὴν μετάθεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ηὐχαρίστησε τῷ Βυθῷ. Καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ κηρυσσομένης [2]προφήτιδος, ἑπτὰ ἔτη μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐζηκυίας, τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον χήρας μενούσης, ἄχρις οὗ τὸν Σωτῆρα ἰδοῦσα ἐπέγνω αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐλάλει περὶ αὐτοῦ πᾶσι, φανερώτατα τὴν Ἀχαμὼθ μηνύεσθαι διορίζονται, ἥτις πρὸς ὀλίγον ἰδοῦσα τὸν Σωτῆρα μετὰ τῶν [3]ἡλικιωτῶν αὐτοῦ, G. 39.

Luc. ii. 28 seq.

Simeon autem eum qui *in manus suas accepit Christum, et gratias egit Deo, et dixit: Nunc* [4]*remittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum sermonem tuum in pace*, typum esse Demiurgi dicunt, qui veniente Salvatore didicit transpositionem suam, et gratias egit

Luc. ii. 36.

Bytho. Et per Annam, quæ in Evangelio dicitur *septem annis cum viro vixisse*, reliquum autem omne tempus vidua perseverasse, donec vidisset Salvatorem, et agnovisset eum, et loqueretur de eo omnibus, manifestissime Achamoth significari dicunt: quæ cum ad modicum vidisset tunc Salvatorem cum coætaneis suis,

[1] GRABE remarks that the translator agrees closely with the received text of the N. T. in supplying *Deo*. But the author manifestly gives the sense of the passage from memory, and instead of εὐλόγησε τὸν θεὸν exhibits a paraphrase.

[2] The translator names the prophetess. STIEREN corrects the Greek from the Latin. But the Greek seems genuine, and requires no correction, if we consider the name to have been substituted by the translator for the sake of perspicuity.

[3] ἡλικιωτῶν. According to STIEREN this word explains the sense in which VALENTINUS uses the term ὁμογενεῖς, with reference to the angelic train that accompanied Soter; i. e. coæval in point of origination, and not homogeneous in point of nature, see note on § 4. But I am inclined to think that the two words are used with relation to two several conditions of their existence. They were simultaneous with the emanation Jesus or Paracletus, § 8, or Soter, § 4, and therefore ἡλικιῶται of Soter, § 8; but they were an ἀπάνθισμα of the entire Pleroma, and, therefore, *inter se* ὁμογενεῖς. TERTULLIAN seems to have understood the term as having reference rather to the source of their emanation, the Æons of the Pleroma, *Angelos famulos, simulacra dominorum*, 19, and he shews that their homogeneity could in no way apply to Soter. *Par genus; si inter se, fieri potest; si vero Soteri consubstantivos (ambigue enim positum inveni) quæ erit eminentia ejus inter satellites coæquales?* These ἡλικιῶται ἄγγελοι certainly recal to mind the ἐξομοιούμενοι ἄγγελοι of JUSTIN M. *Apol.* I. 6, upon which passage the reader may consult if he pleases note 3, p. 84, in my *Hist. and Theol. of the Creeds*. Cf. p. 23, n. 5.

[4] It may be observed that *remittis* is found in the translation of the same

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τῷ λοιπῷ χρόνῳ παντὶ μένουσα ἐν τῇ μεσότητι προσεδέχετο αὐτὸν, πότε πάλιν ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει αὐτὴν τῇ αὐτῆς συζυγίᾳ. Καὶ τὸ ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῆς μεμηνύσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι· Καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς· καὶ ὑπὸ Παύλου δὲ οὕτως· Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις. Καὶ τὰς συζυγίας δὲ τὰς ἐντὸς πληρώματος τὸν Παῦλον εἰρηκέναι φάσκουσιν [1]ἐπὶ ἑνὸς δείξαντα· περὶ γὰρ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον συζυγίας γράφων ἔφη· Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστὶν, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. LIB. I. i. 17. GR. I. i. 17. MASS. I. viii. 4.

18. Ἔτι τε [l. δὲ] Ἰωάννην τὸν μαθητὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδάσκουσι τὴν πρώτην ὀγδοάδα [2]μεμηνυκέναι αὐταῖς λέξεσι, λέγοντες οὕτως· Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου βουλόμενος

postero omni tempore perseverans in medietate, sustinebat eum, quando iterum veniat et reponat eam suæ conjugationi. Et nomen autem ejus significatum a Salvatore, in eo quod dixerit: *Justificata est Sapientia a filiis ejus:* et a Paulo autem sic: *Sapientiam autem loquimur perfectis.* Et conjugationes autem quæ sunt intra Pleroma Paulum dixisse dicunt, in uno ostendentem; de ea enim conjugatione, quæ est secundum hanc vitam scribens ait: *Hoc enim mysterium magnum est; dico autem in Christo et Ecclesia.* Luc. vii. 35. 1 Cor. ii. 6. Eph. v. 32.

18. Adhuc autem Johannem discipulum Domini docent primam ogdoadem, et omnium generationem significasse ipsis dictionibus. [3]Itaque principium quoddam subjecit, quod primum

text, IV. 15. At p. 71 also, in quoting *Luke* ix. 60, ἄφες is rendered *Remitte.*

[1] ἐπὶ ἑνός. A contrast is drawn between the συζυγίαι in common life and those within the Pleroma. The Æon Ecclesia represented the entire body, probably, because each Æon was a Pleroma, and the Æons were all Ἐκκλησίαι. See p. 22, n. 2. Cf. p. 78, l. 6.

[2] It has generally been considered that the Latin version, *et omnium generationem,* is redundant. I am inclined rather to suspect a loss of the words καὶ τὴν τῶν πάντων γένεσιν, from the Greek; because of the Valentinian comment on Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, as appears a few lines on; as NEANDER says, *Genetische Entwickelung d. Gnost. Syst.* p. 102, *Der Logos wurde Ursache der Gestaltung und des Daseyns für alle folgende Æonen.* It may be open to conjecture, however, whether *omnium* does not represent *Æonum,* καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰώνων γένεσιν.

[3] The version is defective and may be made good from the translation of BILLIUS, by replacing *Itaque* with the words *Hismet verbis utentes; Johannes Domini discipulus, rerum omnium ortum exponere cupiens, juxta quem Pater omnia produxit.*

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LIB. I. i. 18. GR. I. i. 18. MASS. I. viii. 5.

εἰπεῖν τὴν τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν, καθ' ἣν τὰ πάντα προέβαλεν ὁ Πατὴρ, ἀρχήν τινα ὑποτίθεται τὸ πρῶτον γεννηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὃν [ὃ] δὴ καὶ Υἱὸν Μονογενῆ καὶ Θεὸν κέκληκεν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα ὁ Πατὴρ [1]προέβαλε σπερματικῶς. Ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου φησὶ τὸν Λόγον προβεβλῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ὅλην [2]τῶν Αἰώνων οὐσίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὕστερον ἐμόρφωσεν ὁ Λόγος. Ἐπεὶ οὖν περὶ πρώτης γενέσεως λέγει, καλῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, τουτέστι τοῦ [3]Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, τὴν διδασκαλίαν ποιεῖται· λέγει δὲ οὕτως· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος· οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. Πρότερον διαστείλας τὰ τρία, Θεὸν, καὶ Ἀρχὴν, καὶ M. 41.

factum est a Deo: quod [4]etiam Nun vocat et filium: et unigenitum Domini vocat, in quo omnia Pater [5]præmisit [*leg.* emisit] seminaliter. Ab hoc autem aiunt Verbum emissum, et in eo omnem Æonum substantiam, quam ipsum postea formavit Verbum. Quoniam igitur de prima genesi dicit, bene a principio, hoc est a Filio, et Verbo doctrinam facit. Dicit autem sic: *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum.* Prius distinguens in tria, Deum, et Principium, et Verbum, iterum

Joh. i. 1, 2.

[1] As NEANDER expresses it, p. 101, *in welchem der Vater Alles dem Keime nach aus sich erzeugte;* but the author is speaking of the spiritual seed, or γνῶσις, the substantive life of the Pleroma, see note 1, p. 53, rather than of the seed of all created substance. The Pleroma was the ideal of the universe. The reader will have remarked that the highest gift that Æon or created being could receive was that μόρφωσις κατὰ γνῶσιν, that was derived through Νοῦς or Μονογενὴς from Bythus, as a spiritual seed.

[2] Καὶ ὁ μὲν μείνας μονογενὴς Υἱὸς εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς τὴν ἐνθύμησιν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ἐξηγεῖται τοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ προβληθείς. *Didasc. Or.* § 7.

[3] The translator gives the synonym, *Filii*, by way of gloss.

[4] The translator evidently read ὃ δὴ καὶ Νῦν καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ θεοῦ κέκληκεν. The *Didasc. Or.* indicates μονογενῆ θεὸν to be the true reading, ἀρχὴν γὰρ τὸν Μονογενῆ λέγουσι, ὃν καὶ θεὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἀντικρυς θεὸν αὐτὸν δηλοῖ λέγων, ὁ μονογενὴς θεὸς (Syr. ܝܠܕܐ ܚܝܕܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ) ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο. Τὸν δὲ Λόγον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, τοῦτον τὸν ἐν τῷ μονογενεῖ, ἐν τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μηνύει τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν ζωήν· ὅθεν εἰκότως καὶ αὐτὸν λέγει, τὸν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ Νῷ ὄντα. § 6.

[5] GRABE, I think, is right in his conjectural reading *emisit;* if the preceding word were abbreviated *premisit* would easily be written for $\overline{Pr}$ *emisit.* The ARUNDEL MS. has *dimisit;* and here the uncial character E, through the fading of ink in the light central stroke, may have been mistaken for D.

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Λόγον, πάλιν αὐτὰ ἐνοῖ, ἵνα καὶ τὴν προβολὴν ἑκατέρων αὐτῶν δείξῃ, τοῦ τε Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἕνωσιν. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἡ ἀρχὴ, [ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ] καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Λόγος. Καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος· ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Υἱῷ· καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀρχή· καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ἀκολούθως· [1]τὸ γὰρ ἐκ Θεοῦ γεννηθὲν, Θεός ἐστιν· οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· G. 40. ἔδειξε τὴν τῆς προβολῆς τάξιν· πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο [2]οὐδ' ἕν· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν Αἰῶσι μορφῆς καὶ γενέσεως αἴτιος ὁ Λόγος ἐγένετο. Ἀλλὰ ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, φησὶ, ζωή ἐστιν· ἐνθάδε καὶ [3]συζυγίαν LIB. I. i. 18. GR. I. i. 18. MASS. I. viii. 5.

ea univit, uti et emissionem ipsorum utrorumque ostendat, id est, Filii et Verbi, et eam quæ est ad invicem simul et ad Patrem unionem. In Patre enim et ex Patre principium, in principio autem et ex principio Verbum. Bene igitur dixit, *In principio erat Verbum;* erat enim in Filio : *Et Verbum erat apud Deum:* etenim principium. *Et Deus erat Verbum*, consequenter; quod enim ex Deo natum est, Deus est. *Hic enim erat in principio apud Deum*, ostendit emissionis ordinem. *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* Omnibus enim iis qui post eum sunt Æonibus, formationis et generationis causa Verbum factum est. *Sed quod factum est in eo*, inquit, *vita est:* Joh. i. 3.

[1] *Bene notandum hoc, sive Irenæi sive Valentinianorum, axioma, per quod vera Deitas Christi, utpote ex hypostasi Patris geniti, probari potest.* GRABE. *Ex eo enim, quod Principium esset apud Deum, Valentiniani colligebant, Verbum quoque apud Deum esse, quia Verbum in Principio, id est Filio, juxta eorum placita existebat.* Ibid. And MASSUET, *Ex eo enim, quod Verbum esset* in principio *et* ex principio, *concludebant Verbum esse apud Deum, quia Principium*, i. e. *Filius Deus est.*

[2] *οὐδ' ἕν.* The Valentinians were not peculiar in closing the period with these words; some of the Catholic fathers exhibit the same defective reading, as indeed does IRENÆUS, I. 19, II. 2, III. 8, &c. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τὴν περὶ Αἰώνων ἀναπλάσαντας ἐν συζυγίαις μυθολογίαν, καὶ ὀλομένους ὑπὸ Νοῦ καὶ Ἀληθείας προβεβλῆσθαι λόγον καὶ ζωὴν, οὐκ ἀπίθανον καὶ ταῦτα ἀπορῆσαι. Πῶς γὰρ ἡ κατ' αὐτοὺς σύζυγος τοῦ λόγου ζωὴ τὸ γεγονέναι ἐν τῷ συζύγῳ λαμβάνει; ὃ γέγονε γάρ, φησὶν, ἐν αὐτῷ, δηλονότι τῷ προειρημένῳ λόγῳ, ζωὴ ἦν. ORIG. Tom. III. *Comm. in Joh.*, also S. CYRIL AL. *in Joh.*, S. AUGUSTIN, Tr. 1. *in Joh.*, &c.

[3] *συζυγίαν.* The Latin has the plural, but the Greek expresses the correct sense, for the author is speaking of no other copula than that of Logos and Zoe. May not the untranslated text have read *συζυγίας ἐμνημόνευε*? The same Valentinian notion is repeated in the

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ἐμήνυσε· Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὅλα, ἔφη, δι' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, [1]τὴν δὲ ζωὴν ἐν αὐτῷ. Αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ γενομένη οἰκειοτέρα ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων· σύνεστι γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καρποφορεῖ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπιφέρει, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ [2]φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, Ἄνθρωπον εἰπὼν ἄρτι, καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὁμωνύμως τῷ Ἀνθρώπῳ ἐμήνυσεν, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς ὀνόματος M. 42. δηλώσῃ τὴν τῆς συζυγίας κοινωνίαν. Ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Ζωῆς Ἄνθρωπος γίνεται καὶ Ἐκκλησία. Φῶς δὲ εἶπε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν Ζωὴν, διὰ τὸ πεφωτίσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὃ δή ἐστι μεμορφῶσθαι καὶ πεφανερῶσθαι. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος λέγει· Πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἐστιν. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐφανέρωσε καὶ ἐγέννησε τόν τε Ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἡ Ζωὴ, φῶς εἰρῆσθαι [εἴρηται] αὐτῶν. Σαφῶς οὖν δεδήλωκεν ὁ Ἰωάννης διὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων, τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ τὴν τετράδα τὴν δευτέραν, Λόγον καὶ Ζωὴν, Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐμήνυσε τετράδα· διηγού-

hic enim syzygias manifestavit: *Omnia enim*, ait, *per ipsum facta sunt, vita autem in ipso.* Hæc ergo quæ in eo facta est, proximior est quam ea quæ per ipsum facta sunt: cum ipso est enim, et per ipsum fructificat. Quoniam infert, *Et vita erat lux hominum.* [3]Hominem autem nunc et Ecclesiam simili nomine significavit, ut per unum nomen manifestet syzygiæ communionem. Ex Logo enim et Zoe Homo generatur et Ecclesia. Lumen autem dixit hominum vitam, quoniam illuminati sunt ab ea, quod est formatum et manifestatum. Hoc autem et Paulus dicit: *Omne enim quod manifestatur lumen est.* Quoniam igitur vita manifestavit et generavit Hominem et Ecclesiam, lumen dicta est eorum. Aperte igitur manifestavit Johannes per sermones hos, et alia, et quaternationem secundam, Logon et Zoen, Anthropon et Ecclesiam. Sed et primam significavit tetradem. Narrans enim de Salvatore, et docens omnia, quæ

Joh. i. 4.

Eph. v. 13.

Syr. ?

Didasc. Or., ὁ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ, ζωὴ ἦν ἡ σύζυγος· διὸ καί φησιν ὁ Κύριος, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωή. § 6.

[1] MASSUET reminds his reader that the Macedonians or Pneumatomachi adopted this Valentinian view of the same text, that they might include the Holy Spirit, with them a mere spirit of life or ἐντελέχεια, among the number of things create.

[2] ὁ δὲ ἐν ταυτότητι μονογενὴς, οὗ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀδιάστατον ὁ σωτὴρ ἐνεργεῖ, οὗτός ἐστι τὸ φῶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρότερον ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ οὔσης. *Didasc. Or.* § 8.

[3] The MSS. have *Homines.*

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μενος γὰρ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος, καὶ λέγων πάντα τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ πληρώματος δι' αὐτοῦ μεμορφῶσθαι, καρπὸν εἶναί φησιν αὐτὸν [1]παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος. Καὶ γὰρ φῶς εἴρηκεν αὐτὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαινόμενον, καὶ μὴ καταληφθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ [2]γενόμενα ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἁρμόσας ἠγνοήθη ὑπ' [3]αὐτῆς. Καὶ υἱὸν δὲ, καὶ ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ζωὴν λέγει αὐτὸν καὶ λόγον σάρκα γενόμενον· οὗ τὴν δόξαν ἐθεασάμεθά, φησι, καὶ ἦν ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ, [4]οἵα ἦν ἡ τοῦ μονογενοῦς, ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ
G. 41. πατρὸς δοθεῖσα αὐτῷ, [5]πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. Λέγει

LIB. I. i. 18. GR. I. i. 18. MASS. I. viii. 5.

extra Pleroma sunt, per eum formata, fructum quoque eum esse dicens intra Pleroma. Etenim *lumen* dixit illum *quod in tenebris lucet, et non comprehenditur* ab eis, quoniam omnia quæ facta sunt ex passione formans, ignoratus est ab eis. Et Filium et Veritatem et Vitam dicit eum, et Verbum carnem factum: cujus gloriam vidimus, ait, et erat gloria ejus qualis erat unigeniti, quæ a Patre data est ei, plena gratia et veritate. Dicit

[1] παντὸς is undoubtedly the true reading; the Valentinian Soter being an emanation from the collective Pleroma, see end of § 4. The translator read ἐντός.

[2] γεν. ἐκ τοῦ πάθους, i. e. the formation of matter and material objects from the passion of Sophia.

[3] αὐτῆς, τῆς σκοτίας sc., that is, all that was not of the spiritual seed, for so ἡ σκοτία is interpreted in the *Didasc. Or.*, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν, οἱ ἀποστατήσαντες, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἔγνωσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐ κατέσχεν αὐτόν. § 8. Hence, perhaps, the translator expresses that which he knew to be his author's meaning rather than his exact words when he renders ὑπ' αὐτῆς twice by *ab eis*.

[4] There is some heretical significance in this alteration from ὡς to οἵα ἦν ἡ τοῦ Μον. For the Valentinian Σωτὴρ upon earth was ὁ πρωτότοκος Ἰησοῦς of whom it was said S. John was speaking; but in the Pleroma he was ὁ μονογενής, as the *Didasc. Or.* states § 7, ὁ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὀφθεὶς οὐκ ἔτι μονογενὴς, ἀλλ' ὡς μονογενὴς πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου προσαγορεύεται· δόξαν ὡς Μονογενοῦς· ὅτι εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν μὲν τῇ κτίσει πρωτότοκός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς, ἐν δὲ πληρώματι Μονογενής.

[5] πλήρης. The Valentinian, as GRABE shews, did not stand alone in referring this word ungrammatically to δόξαν instead of to λόγος; he cites S. CYR. AL. and THEOPHYLACT. It would seem that this entire passage, from the first reference to the opening of S. John's Gospel, introduced with the words λέγοντες οὕτως, to the end of this section, is quoted from the writings of the Valentinian PTOLEMÆUS. The misquotations of Scripture are marked with a φησί, and in the present instance error is exposed by the production of the exact words of S. John. The genuine text, therefore, with its prefatory λέγει δὲ οὕτως, is parenthetical; just as in the outset the Valentinian perversion of the Apostle's words is first given, and the text itself is then added parenthetically, λέγει δὲ οὕτως, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, κ.τ.λ. The reader will also observe the paraphrase of the words παρὰ πατρός, whereby the glory of the Only Begotten, i. e. his modal subsistence or γνῶσις, p. 53, n. 1, and

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LIB. I. i. 18. GR. I. i. 18. MASS. I. viii. 5.

δὲ οὕτως· Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρὸς, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. Ἀκριβῶς οὖν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἐμήνυσε τετράδα· [1]Πατέρα εἰπὼν, καὶ Χάριν, καὶ τὸν Μονογενῆ, καὶ Ἀλήθειαν. Οὕτως ὁ Ἰωάννης περὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ μητρὸς τῶν ὅλων Αἰώνων ὀγδοάδος εἴρηκε. Πατέρα γὰρ εἴρηκε, καὶ Χάριν, καὶ Μονογενῆ, καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Λόγον, καὶ Ζωὴν, καὶ Ἄνθρωπον, καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν[2].

M. 43

19. Ὁρᾷς, ἀγαπητὲ, τὴν μέθυδον, ᾗ οἱ χρώμενοι φρενατοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς, ἐπηρεάζοντες τὰς γραφὰς, τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν συνιστάνειν πειρώμενοι. Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ

Joh. i. 14.

autem sic: *Et Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis, et vidimus gloriam ejus, gloriam quasi unigeniti a Patre,* [3]*plenum gratia et veritate.* Diligenter igitur ostendit primam quaternationem, Patrem dicens, et Gratiam, et Monogenem, et Veritatem. Sic Johannes de prima et matre omnium Æonum ogdoade dixit. Patrem enim dixit, et Gratiam, et Monogenem, et Veritatem, et Verbum, et Vitam, et Hominem, et Ecclesiam. Et Ptolemæus quidem ita.

19. Vides igitur, dilectissime, adinventionem, qua utentes seducunt semetipsos, calumniantes scripturis, fictionem suam ex eis [4]constare annitentes. Propter hoc enim et ipsas eorum ad-

not his very substance was derived from the Father.

[1] Πατέρα, i. e. Βυθόν· Χάριν, i. e. Σιγήν. § 1. It is evident therefore that the western Valentinians included Bythus and Sige in their system of thirty Æons. It will be seen in the sequel that the Eastern branch of this heresy adhered more closely to the original notion of VALENTINUS, and treating Bythus as the Monad, and Sige as a mere negation, made up the number of thirty by substituting in their place Christ and the Holy Spirit; these two Æons were included in the Pleroma, and such a mode of enumeration very likely expresses the original conception of the heresiarch.

[2] Suppl. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὕτως, whose words have been quoted throughout this section, excepting only the two first lines and the parenthetical texts. Ptolemy and Heracleon were the chief teachers of Valentinianism in the West, and in the East Theodotus, Axionicus, and Bardesanes, who, however, is styled more justly the precursor of Manicheism. HIPP. *Phil.* VI. 35.

[3] *Plenum*, MASSUET'S reading is confirmed by consent of MSS. in V. xviii. 2.

[4] *constare, conflare* would make a better sense if the Greek agreed. The Ogdoad as forming an even number was feminine; the even numbers, according to the Pythagorean notions so manifestly adapted by VALENTINUS, were considered to involve the feminine idea, as the odd numbers were deemed masculine. So HIPPOLYTUS, speaking of the Pytha-

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αὐτὸς [αὐτὰς] παρεθέμην αὐτῶν [1]τὰς λέξεις, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῶν κατανοήσῃς τὴν πανουργίαν τῆς μεθοδείας, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν τῆς πλάνης. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰ προέκειτο Ἰωάννῃ τὴν ἄνω ὀγδοάδα μηνύσειν, τὴν τάξιν ἂν τετηρήκει τῆς προβολῆς, καὶ τὴν πρώτην τετράδα σεβασμιωτάτην οὖσαν, καθὼς λέγουσιν, ἐν πρώτοις ἂν τεθείκει τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ οὕτως [2]ἐπεζεύχθη τὴν δευτέραν, ἵνα διὰ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ὀνομάτων ἡ τάξις δειχθῇ τῆς ὀγδοάδος· καὶ οὐκ ἂν μετὰ τοσοῦτον διάστημα, ὡς ἐκλελησμένος, ἔπειτα ἀναμνησθεὶς, ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ πρώτης ἐμέμνητο τετράδος. Ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰς συζυγίας σημᾶναι θέλων, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἂν παρέλιπεν ὄνομα· ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συζυγιῶν ἠρκέσθη τῇ τῶν ἀῤῥένων προσηγορίᾳ, ὁμοίως δυναμένων κἀκείνων συνυπακούεσθαι, ἵνα τὴν ἑνότητα διὰ πάντων ᾖ πεφυλακώς· [*suppl.* ἢ] εἰ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰς συζύγους

LIB. I. i. 19. GR. I. i. 19. MASS. I. ix. 1.

f. l. μηνύσαι.

posui astutias et dictiones, ut ex eis consideres malitiam inventionis et nequitiam erroris. Primo enim si propositum esset Johanni, illam quæ sursum est octonationem ostendere, ordinem custodisset utique emissionis, et primam quaternationem, cum sit venerabilior, quemadmodum dicunt, in primis utique posuisset nominibus, et sic adjunxisset secundam, ut per ordinem nominum ordo ostenderetur octonationis: et non utique post tantum intervallum quasi oblitus, [3]deinde commemoratus, in novissimo primæ memoratus fuisset quaternationis. Deinde autem et conjugationes significare volens, et Ecclesiæ non prætermisisset nomen; sed aut et in reliquis conjugationibus contentus fuisset masculorum appellatione, similiter cum possent et illa simul subaudiri, ut unitatem per omnia esset custodiens;

gorean Tetrad says, Ἀριθμὸς γέγονε πρώτως ἀρχὴ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἓν, ἀόριστος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἐπ' ἄπειρον δυναμένους ἐλθεῖν ἀριθμοὺς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος. Τῶν δὲ ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ γέγονε καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡ πρώτη μονὰς, ἥτις ἐστὶ μονὰς ἄρσην, γεννῶσα πατρικῶς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμούς. Δεύτερον ἡ δυὰς θῆλυς ἀριθμὸς, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄρτιος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν καλεῖται. Τρίτον ἡ τριὰς ἀριθμὸς ἄρσην, οὗτος καὶ περισσὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν νενομοθέτηται καλεῖσθαι. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις ἡ τετρὰς θῆλυς ἀριθμὸς, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄρτιος καλεῖται ὅτι θῆλυς ἐστιν. *Phil.* 1.

[1] Suppl. τὰς τεχνὰς καὶ. Cf. Int.

[2] For ἐπεζεύχθη GRABE proposes to read ἐπεζεύκει, and MASSUET ἐπέζευξε. It is more probable that ἐπεζεύχθη ἂν ἡ δευτέρα was written originally.

[3] MS. CLERMONT, *dein recommemoratus*, which reading seems to embrace the elements of the several *variæ lectiones*, *deinde comm.* and *de re comm.*

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κατέλεγε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου ἂν μεμηνύκει σύζυγον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀφῆκεν ἐκ μαντείας ἡμᾶς λαμβάνειν τοὔνομα αὐτῆς. Φανερὰ οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως [1]παραποίησις. Τοῦ γὰρ Ἰωάννου ἕνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ ἕνα μονογενῆ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσοντος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα γεγονέναι λέγει, τοῦτον υἱὸν M. 44. [l. Λόγον] Θεοῦ, τοῦτον Μονογενῆ, τοῦτον πάντων ποιητὴν, τοῦτον φῶς ἀληθινὸν φωτίζοντα πάντα ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτον κόσμου ποιητὴν, τοῦτον εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἐληλυθότα, τοῦτον αὐτὸν σάρκα γεγονότα, καὶ ἐσκηνωκότα ἐν ἡμῖν· οὗτοι παρατρέποντες κατὰ τὸ πιθανὸν τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ἄλλον μὲν τὸν Μονογενῆ θέλουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν προβολὴν, ὃν δὴ καὶ [2]ἀρχὴν καλοῦσιν, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν Σωτῆρα γεγονέναι θέλουσι, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Λόγον [3]υἱὸν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ πληρώματος προβεβλημένον· G. 42. καὶ ἕν ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, καταχρησάμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν μετή-

aut si reliquorum conjugationes enumerabat, et Anthropi, (id est, Hominis) utique manifestasset conjugem, et utique non remisisset de divinatione nos accipere nomen ipsius. Manifesta igitur expositionis eorum transfictio. Johanne enim unum Deum exponente [*l.* Omnipotentem], et unum Unigenitum Christum Jesum annunciante, per quem omnia facta esse dicit, hunc Verbum Dei, hunc unigenitum, hunc factorem omnium, hunc lumen verum illuminans omnem hominem, hunc mundi fabricatorem, hunc in sua venisse, hunc eundem carnem factum, et inhabitasse in nobis: hi transvertentes secundum verisimilem [verisimile] expositionem, alterum quidem Monogenem volunt esse secundum emissionem, quem scilicet et Principium vocant: alterum autem Soterem, (id est, Salvatorem) fuisse volunt, et alterum Logon, (id est, Verbum) filium Monogenis, (id est, Unigeniti) et alterum Christum ad emendationem Pleromatis emissum: et unumquodque eorum quæ dicta sunt auferentes a veritate, et abutentes nominibus, in suam argumentationem

[1] *παραποίησις*, the preposition having its peculiar force, conveys the notion of perversion, e. g. *vain fiction*. Compare the last words of § 20, p. 89.

[2] Bythus was the *προαρχή*; *Νοῦς*, the reflex of Bythus, was called *ἀρχή*. See § 1.

[3] Monogenes was called the Son of Bythus, but we do not find elsewhere that the Word was derived by VALENTINUS from Monogenes by filiation; it is perhaps the author's own inference.

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νεγκαν, ὥστε κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοσούτοις τὸν Ἰωάννην τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μνείαν [*suppl.* μὴ ἂν] ποιεῖσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ Πατέρα εἴρηκε, καὶ Χάριν, καὶ Μονογενῆ, καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Λόγον, καὶ Ζωὴν, καὶ Ἄνθρωπον, καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν, κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόθεσιν περὶ τῆς πρώτης ὀγδοάδος εἴρηκεν, ἐν ᾗ οὐδέπω Ἰησοῦς, οὐδέπω Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διδάσκαλος. Ὅτι δὲ οὐ περὶ τῶν συζυγιῶν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀπόστολος εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃν καὶ Λόγον οἶδε τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτὸς πεποίηκε φανερόν. Ἀνακεφαλαιούμενος γὰρ περὶ τοῦ εἰρημένου αὐτῷ [1] ἄνω ἐν ἀρχῇ Λόγου, ἐπεξηγεῖται· Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόθεσιν, οὐχ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὅς γε οὐδὲ ἦλθέ ποτε ἐκτὸς Πληρώματος· ἀλλὰ ὁ τῆς [2] οἰκονομίας μεταγενέστερος τοῦ Λόγου Σωτήρ.

transtulerunt: ut secundum eos in tantis Johannes Domini Christi Jesu memoriam non fecerit. Si enim Patrem dixit, et Charin, et Monogenem, et Alethian, et Logon, et Zoen, et Anthropon, et Ecclesiam, secundum illorum argumentationem de prima ogdoade dixit, in qua nondum Jesus, nondum Christus Johannis magister. Quia autem non de syzygiis ipsorum Apostolus dixit, sed de Domino nostro Jesu Christo, quem et Verbum scit esse Dei, idem ipse fecit manifestum. Recapitulans enim de eo Verbo quod ei in principio dictum est, insuper exponit: *Et Verbum caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis.* Secundum autem illorum argumentationem, non Verbum caro factum est, quod quidem nec venit unquam extra Pleroma: sed qui ex omnibus factus est, et sit posterior Verbo, Salvator.

[1] *ἄνω.* The omission of any equivalent for this particle in the Latin version, makes it doubtful whether the word ought not to be omitted in the Greek. The writer, however, is contrasting the two passages, wherein it is first (*ἄνω*) predicated of the *Λόγος* that He was *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, and subsequently, that *σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, and, by a comparison of the two, he deduces the proof that the same Logos which was in the beginning was also incarnate.

[2] *οἰκονομίας.* How is the Greek here to be harmonised with the Latin? GRABE supposes that EPIPHANIUS has preserved the genuine words, and that the translator, taking an unusual degree of latitude, has rendered them freely. MASSUET takes just exception to this mode of settling the difficulty, as being wholly at variance with the close spirit of the translation. STIEREN launches out into an irrelevant discussion upon certain phases of Valentinian error, but leaves the difficulty unsolved. That either the text or the translation is faulty is certain; perhaps both. BILLIUS corrects the Greek to the Latin, and proposes,

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LIB. I. i. 20. GR. I. i. 20. MASS. I. ix. 3.

20. Μάθετε οὖν ἀνόητοι, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ παθὼν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὁ κατασκηνώσας ἐν ἡμῖν, οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰώνων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας σὰρξ ἐγένετο, εἰκὸς ἦν περὶ ἄλλου εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ἀπόστολον. Εἰ δὲ ὁ Λόγος ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὁ καταβὰς, αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς, [1] ὁ τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ μονογενὴς υἱὸς, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς εὐδοκίαν σαρκωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, οὐ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς, οὐδὲ περὶ ὀγδοάδος τὸν λόγον [2] ἐμπεποίηται, ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Λόγος κατ' αὐτοὺς προηγουμένως σὰρξ γέγονε. Λέγουσι δὲ τὸν Σωτῆρα M. 45.

20. Discite igitur insensati, quoniam Jesus, qui passus est pro nobis, qui inhabitavit in nobis, idem ipse est Verbum Dei. Si enim alius ex Æonibus pro nostra salute caro factus est, æstimandum erat de altero dixisse Apostolum. Si autem Verbum Patris qui descendit, ipse est et qui ascendit, ab uno Deo unigenitus Filius, secundum Patris placitum incarnatus pro hominibus, non de alio aliquo, neque de ogdoade Johannes sermonem fecit, sed de Domino [3] Jesu Christo. Neque enim Verbum secundum eos principaliter caro factum est. Dicunt

Eph. iv. 10.

instead of ὁ τῆς οἰκ., to read ὁ ἐκ πάντων γεγονώς. MASSUET combines both Greek and Latin, thus, ὁ ἐκ πάντων γεγονὼς, καὶ τῆς οἰκ. But may not the translator have rendered the Greek term οἰκονομία in this place by *œconomia*, as is usual with the Latin fathers, TERTULLIAN especially? If so, I would propose an alteration both in the Greek and in the Latin, e. g. ἀλλ' ὁ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ γενόμενος ἤτε μεταγενέστερος κ.τ.λ. *Sed qui economia* (mendose, *ex omnibus*) *factus, et sit* [ἤ τε] *posterior*, &c. For an explanation of the *dispensational* σωτὴρ the reader is referred back to § 11; he may compare also the next section.

[1] The translator for ὁ reads ἀπὸ, which, in fact, gives a heretical cast to the words. To say that the Word descended from the only God, would be to advance a statement with which almost every heresy but Sabellianism would symbolise. ὁ τοῦ μόνου Θεοῦ expresses as closely as ἀπὸ τ. μ. Θ. that the Word is of the only God, and is the negation of the Gnostic notion that the Soter was a joint emanation from all the Æons of the Pleroma. With regard to the words adduced from *Eph.* iv. 10, VALENTINUS also assigned to them their Catholic interpretation. In the *Didasc. Or.*, after it had been said that the same primary emanation was called Monogenes in the Pleroma, but Jesus, the first-begotten in creation, it is added, ὁ δὲ αὐτός ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὢν ἑκάστῳ, οἷος κεχωρῆσθαι δύναται· καὶ οὐδέποτε τοῦ μείναντος ὁ καταβὰς μερίζεται, φησι γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος, ὁ γὰρ ἀναβὰς αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ καταβάς. § 7.

[2] The translator adds *Johannes*. Scripture is so frequently cited by a mere φησιν, that in all probability the author's name was omitted in the original.

[3] These names are restored to the Greek order, on the authority of the ARUNDEL MS.

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ἐνδύσασθαι [1]σῶμα ψυχικὸν ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας κατεσκευασμένον [2]ἀῤῥήτῳ προνοίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ὁρατὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ψηλαφητόν. Σὰρξ δέ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρχαία ἐκ τοῦ χοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἡ γεγονυῖα πλάσις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣν ἀληθῶς γεγονέναι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐμήνυσεν ὁ Ἰωάννης. Καὶ λέλυται αὐτῶν ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἀρχέγονος ὀγδοάς. Ἑνὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεικνυμένου Λόγου, καὶ Μονογενοῦς, καὶ Ζωῆς, καὶ Φωτὸς, καὶ Σωτῆρος, καὶ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Υἱοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ σαρκωθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, λέλυται ἡ τῆς ὀγδοάδος [3]σκηνοπηγία. G. 43. Ταύτης δὲ λελυμένης, διαπέπτωκεν αὐτῶν πᾶσα ἡ ὑπόθεσις, ἣν [4]ψευδῶς ὀνειρώττοντες [5]κατατρέχουσι τῶν γραφῶν, ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν ἀναπλασάμενοι. Ἔπειτα λέξεις καὶ ὀνόματα σποράδην κείμενα συλλέγοντες, μεταφέρουσι, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, ἐκ τοῦ

LIB. I. i. 20. GR. I. i. 20. MASS. I. ix. 3.

enim Sotera induisse corpus animale, de dispositione aptatum inenarrabili providentia, ut visibile et palpabile fieret. Caro est autem illa vetus de limo secundum Adam facta plasmatio a Deo, quam vere factum Verbum Dei manifestavit Johannes. Et soluta est illorum prima et primogenita octonatio. Cum enim unus et idem ostenditur Logos et Monogenes, et Zoe et Phos, et Soter et Christus [et] filius Dei, et hic idem incarnatus pro nobis, soluta est octonationis illorum compago. Hac autem soluta, decidit illorum omnis argumentatio, quam falso nomine somniantes infamant Scripturas, ad propriam argumentationem confingendam. Post deinde dictiones et nomina dispersim posita colligentes, transferunt, sicut prædiximus, ex eo quod est secun-

[1] Still there was nothing ὑλικὸν in the Saviour. His body was ἐκ τῆς ἀφανοῦς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας, and as such under the regime of the Demiurge; such at least was the western notion. The eastern phase of the heresy imagined, ὅτι πνευματικὸν ἦν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος. HIPPOLYT. *Phil.* VI. 35.

[2] Or, as the author before expressed it, ἀῤῥήτῳ τεχνῇ. See p. 52, n. 5.

[3] σκηνοπηγία, apparently in continued allusion to the words of S. John, where after the declaration, καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, it is added καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν. The Ogdoad, centring as it did in Christ, also ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

[4] The Latin version has *falso nomine*, indicating ψευδωνύμως, in its abbreviate form ψευδ$\overline{\omega\varsigma}$. GRABE, MASSUET, and STIEREN agree in condemning the reading followed by the translator, still an allusion to the words of S. Paul, 1 *Tim.* vi. 20, may justify it; and the Valentinian correlatives are a sufficiently close illustration of the ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως of which the Apostle speaks; compare also c. v.

[5] κατατρέχουσι, as in ATHEN. v., πικρῶς Ἀλκιβιάδου κατατρέχει ὡς οἰνόφλυγος. *Fall foul of.*

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LIB. I. i. 20. GR. I. i. 20. MASS. I. ix. 4.

κατὰ φύσιν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν· ὅμοια ποιοῦντες τοῖς ὑποθέσεις τὰς τυχούσας αὐτοῖς προβαλλομένοις, ἔπειτα πειρωμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων [1] μελετᾷν αὐτὰς, ὥστε τοὺς ἀπειροτέρους δοκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἐξ ὑπογυίου μεμελετημένης ὑποθέσεως Ὅμηρον τὰ ἔπη πεποιηκέναι, καὶ πολλοὺς συναρπάζεσθαι διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐπῶν συνθέτου ἀκολουθίας, μὴ ἄρα ταῦθ' οὕτως Ὅμηρος εἴη πεποιηκώς. Ὡς ὁ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἅδῃ κύνα πεμπόμενον [2] διὰ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν στίχων γράφων οὕτως· (οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει παραδείγματος χάριν ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ τούτων, ὁμοίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὔσης ἐπιχειρήσεως τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις.) M. 46.

Od. κ'. 76. Ὡς εἰπὼν, ἀπέπεμπε δόμων βαρέα στενάχοντα
Od. φ'. 26. Φῶθ' Ἡρακλῆα, μεγάλων ἐπίστορα ἔργων,
Il. τ'. 123. Εὐρυσθεὺς, Σθενέλοιο πάϊς Περσηϊάδαο

dum naturam, in id quod est contra naturam: similia facientes iis, qui controversias sibimetipsis quaslibet proponunt, post deinde conantur et [*l.* ex] Homericis versibus meditari eas: ita ut idiotæ putent ex illa temporali declamata controversia Homerum versus fecisse, et multi abducantur per compositam consequentiam versuum, ne forte hæc sic Homerus fecerit. Quemadmodum Herculem ab Eurystheo ad eum qui apud inferos est canem missum ex Homericis versibus scribens ita: nihil enim prohibet exempli gratia [3] commemorari et horum, cum sit similis et eadem utrisque argumentatio.

Hæc ubi dicta dedit, emisit limine flentem
[4] Herculem invictum, magnarum non inscium rerum,
Eurystheus natus Sthenelo prosapia Persei,

[1] μελετᾷν, Lat. *meditari*, to which rendering GRABE, MASSUET and STIEREN take exception. Bearing in mind, however, the Virgilian phrase *musam meditaris avena*, and the custom of authors to declaim (*Græce* μελετᾷν) their verses in public, the translation is not amiss.

[2] TERTULLIAN speaks of the *Homerocentones*, of which IRENÆUS preserves this specimen, *Homerocentonas etiam vocare solent, qui de carminibus Homeri propria opera, more centonario, ex multis hinc inde compositis, in unum sarciunt corpus. Præscr. Hær.* 39.

[3] The translator elsewhere uses *commemorari* in an active sense. Conversely *refrigero* is used by him in a passive, or rather a reflective sense. *Et horum* in the genitive is a copy of καὶ τούτων.

[4] The translator evidently lived in an unpoetical age; but JUNIUS is not very happy in his second line,

Herclem magnarum cui mens non inscia rerum.

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Ἐξ Ἐρέβευς ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἀΐδαο.
Βῆ δ' ἴμεν, ὥστε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,
Καρπαλίμως [1]ἀνὰ ἄστυ· φίλοι δ' [2]ἀνὰ πάντες ἔποντο,
Νύμφαι τ' ἠΐθεοί τε, πολύτλητοί τε γέροντες,
[3]Οἰκτρ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι, ὡσεὶ θάνατόνδε κίοντα.
Ἑρμείας δ' [4]ἀπέπεμπεν, ἰδὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
Ἤιδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν, ὡς ἐπονεῖτο.

LIB. I. i. 20.
GR. I. i. 20.
MASS. I. ix. 4.

Il. θ'. 368.
Od. ζ'. 130.
Il. ω'. 327.
Od. λ'. 38.
Il. ω'. 328.
Od. λ'. 625.
Il. β'. 409.

Τίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ἀπανούργων συναρπαγείη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπῶν τούτων, καὶ νομίσειεν οὕτως αὐτὰ Ὅμηρον ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως πεποιηκέναι; Ὁ δ' ἔμπειρος τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιγνώσεται, [*suppl.* μὲν τὰ ἔπη, τὴν δ' ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ ἐπιγνώσεται,] εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ μέν τι αὐτῶν ἐστι περὶ Ὀδυσσέως εἰρημένον, τὸ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, τὸ δὲ περὶ Πριάμου, τὸ δὲ περὶ Μενελάου καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονος. Ἄρας δὲ αὐτὰ, καὶ ἓν ἕκαστον ἀποδοὺς τῇ [5]ἰδίᾳ, ἐκποδὼν ποιήσει τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ [6]τὸν

G. 44.

Ducturum ex Erebo canem atri Ditis ad auras.
Vadit at ille, velut leo nutritus montibus acer,
Urbem per mediam : noti simul omnes abibant,
Et senes, et pueri, et nondum nuptæ puellæ,
Plorantes multum, ac si mortem iret ad ipsam.
Mercurius præmittit et cæsia Pallas euntem :
Fratrem etenim sciebat quatenus dolor exagitaret.

Quis non ex simplicibus abripiatur ab hujusmodi versibus, et putet sic illos Homerum in hoc argumento fecisse? Qui autem scit Homerica, cognoscet quidem versus, argumentum autem non cognoscet, sciens quoniam aliquid quidem eorum est de Ulysse dictum, aliud vero de Hercule, aliud vero de Priamo, aliud vero de Menelao et Agamemnone. Si autem [7]tulerit illos, et unumquemque suo libro reddiderit, auferet de medio præsens

[1] Hom. *κατά*. [2] Hom. *ἅμα*.
[3] Hom. *πολλ'*.
[4] Hom. *δέ μ' ἔπεμψεν*.
[5] *ἰδίᾳ*. BILLIUS understands *βίβλῳ*, with the assent of MASSUET and STIEREN. GRABE prefers *τάξει* as it stands in the sequel; but why travel out of the context, when the word *ὑπόθεσιν* suggests *ὑποθέσει*? e. g. *Arranging each verse to suit his own, he destroys the poet's meaning.*
[6] *κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ... ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε*, i. e. the Primitive Apostolical form of sound words, the Creed, the baptismal use of which was from the beginning. The various names given to the Creed in ancient times are all indicative of its high Apostolical authority. Thus IRENÆUS in this place and in c. 19, calls it, The Canon of Truth; and below, the Truth preached by the Church, the Preaching of Truth, and the Tradition, c. II., and elsewhere the

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LIB. I. i. 20. GR. I. i. 20. MASS. I. ix. 4.

κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῆ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, [1]ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς ἐπιγνώσεται, τὴν δὲ βλάσφημον ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην [αὐτῶν] οὐκ ἐπιγνώσεται. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰς ψηφῖδας γνωρίσει, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς εἰκόνος οὐ παραδέξεται· ἓν ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποδοὺς M. 47.

argumentum. Sic autem et qui Regulam Veritatis immobilem apud se habet, quam per baptismum accepit, hæc quidem quæ sunt ex Scripturis nomina, et dictiones, et parabolas cognoscet: blasphemum autem illorum argumentum non cognoscet. Etenim si gemmas agnoscet, sed vulpem pro regali imagine non recipiet. Unumquemque autem sermonum reddens suo ordini, et aptans

Ancient Tradition, III. ii. iii.; and I. xix. the translator calls it REGULA VERITATIS, which term TERTULLIAN also adopts, *Apol. adv. Gentes*, 47, and REGULA FIDEI, *Præscr. Hær.* 13, *de Virg. Vel.* 1, *adv. Prax.* 2. ORIGEN describes it as the PRÆDICATIO APOSTOLICA (Procem. in Lib. I. π. ἀρχ. 3, 4). LUCIAN the Martyr similarly, the APOSTOLICAL TRADITION (*Act. Conc. Harduin*, A. D. 341; *Bull. Def. Fid. Nic.* 2. XIII. 5—8). The Council of Antioch quotes it as τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστολῶν; while S. CYPRIAN first gives it a name suggestive rather of the stringent vow of members of the Church Catholic, than of its Apostolical origin, and calls it SYMBOLUM. Upon these points the reader may refer to my *Hist. and Theol. of the Three Creeds*, 76. The word κανὼν means the builder's plumb rule, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλώμεθα τὸ ὀρθὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ, κανόνα προσφέρομεν, ÆSCHIN.; and IRENÆUS evidently had this primary idea upon his mind in writing the words, ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῆ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων. Cf. my *Vind. Cath.* Art. VIII.

[7] *Tulerit* is omitted in the ARUNDEL MS., but it should have commenced a page, a place of frequent error through carelessness. See the ARUND. specimen.

[1] With respect to the Baptismal use of the Creed, it exhibits faith in the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, in which faith the convert was baptized. The formula at first was short, but from that it was gradually developed, until it obtained its present complete form as the Creed, and became the vehicle for conveying more full instruction to the neophyte. This catechetical application of the Creed was of established usage in the days of S. CYPRIAN, for in comparing the schismatical baptism of NOVATIAN with the Catholic sacrament of the Church, he says, *Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo, quo et nos, baptizare, eundem nosse Deum Patrem, eundem Filium Christum, eundem Spiritum S. ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione Baptismi a nobis non discrepare, sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum, non esse unam nobis et Schismaticis Symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. Nam cum dicunt:* Credis remissionem peccatorum, et vitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam? *mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Ecclesiam.* Ep. 76, see also Ep. 70, and S. HILAR. Lib. *ad Const. Aug.*; S. CYRIL HIEROS. *Catech.* II. *Mystag.*; S. BASIL *de Sp. S.* 26; *Const. Ap.* VII. 41.

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τῇ ἰδίᾳ τάξει, καὶ προσαρμόσας τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας σωματίῳ, γυμνώσει καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ἐπιδείξει τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ ταύτῃ λείπει ἡ [1]ἀπολύτρωσις, ἵνα τις τὸν [2]μῖμον αὐτὸν [l. αὐτῶν] [3]περαιώσας τὸν ἀνασκευάζοντα λόγον ἐπενεγκεῖν, [l. ἐπενέγκῃ,] καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάβομεν ἐπιδεῖξαι πρότερον, ἐν οἷς οἱ πατέρες αὐτοὶ τοῦδε τοῦ [4]μύθου διαφέρονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς ἐκ διαφόρων πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης ὄντες. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου γὰρ ἀκριβῶς συνιδεῖν ἔσται [ἐστι], καὶ [5]πρὸ τῆς ἀποδείξεως, βεβαίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένην ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων παραπεποιημένην ψευδηγορίαν.

LIB. I. i. 20. GR. I. i. 20. MASS. I. ix. 5.

veritatis corpusculo, denudabit, et insubstantivum ostendet figmentum ipsorum. Quoniam autem scenæ huic deest redemptio, ut quis mimum ipsorum explicans, destructorem sermonem inferat, bene habere putavimus ostendere primo in quibus ipsi patres hujus fabulæ discrepant adversus se invicem, quasi qui sint ex variis spiritibus erroris. Et ex hoc enim diligenter cognoscere est, et ex ostensione, eam firmam quæ ab Ecclesia prædicatur veritatem, et ab iis id quod fingitur falsiloquium.

[1] ἀπολύτρωσις may here represent a scenic term; if PETAVIUS, *Not. in Epiphan.* be right. But his criticism fails to satisfy the judgment, though he is followed by GRABE and MASSUET and STIEREN. The ἐξόδιον of a play was called the ἀπόλυσις, for which, though in another sense, ἀπολύτρωσις was a synonym, as HESYCHIUS shews. TERTULLIAN, where he says, (c. 13 *adv. Val.*), *Quod superest, inquis, vos valete et plaudite,* marks an ἀπόλυσις of the Latin drama. I must confess however that a clear case has not been made out to fix upon ἀπολύτρωσις the scenic signification of ἀπόλυσις, however close a synonym it may be of that word as regards the manumission of a slave or captive. I am more inclined therefore to suppose that ἀπόλυσις was written by IRENÆUS, but that through carelessness some writer substituted the word so frequently in the mouth of the Gnostic party, ἀπολύτρωσις, also that this corruption was antecedent to the translation; similar instances to which will be noticed as they occur.

[2] Μῖμος and *mimus*, like our English word *mask*, mean any irregular dramatic action, as well as the impersonator. Here it has the meaning of *farce*.

[3] περαιώσας, *explicans*, i. e. having rolled or read out the MS. scroll to the last word. In x. § 4, it is the equivalent of ἀπετέλεσε.

[4] For θυμοῦ the *recepta lectio*.

[5] The translator indicates the corrupt reading ὑπό. But πρὸ makes far better sense. It marks the *Præscriptio* of IRENÆUS. For as TERTULLIAN, in his treatise bearing that title, shewed that for heretics there lay no appeal to the Scriptures, because of their dissent from the Church to which those Scriptures were originally committed; so S. IRENÆUS shews that the universality and uniformity, with which the Church Catholic had held a definite body of doctrine, as contrasted with the variations of the Valentinian error, constituted

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LIB. I. ii.
GR. I. ii.
MASS. I. x. 1.

Κεφ. β'.

Expositio prædicationis veritatis, quam ab Apostolis Ecclesia percipiens custodit.

Epiphanius de Hær. xxxi. § 30, &c. cf. III. iv.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς [1]ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς [2]τὰς οἰκονομίας, καὶ [3]τὰς ἐλεύσεις,

G. 45. M. 48.

CAP. II.

cf. p. 92.

Ecclesia enim [et quidem] per universum orbem usque ad fines terræ [dis]seminata, et ab Apostolis, et discipulis eorum accepit eam fidem, quæ est in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, *qui fecit cœlum et terram, et mare, et omnia quæ in eis sunt:* et in unum [4]Christum Jesum filium Dei, incarnatum pro nostra salute: et in Spiritum Sanctum, qui per Prophetas prædicavit

Ps. cxlv. 6; Act. iv. 24; et xiv. 15.

the strongest proof of the falsity of this latter.

[1] The reader will observe the necessity arising out of Gnostic perversion of the truth, for the formal assertion of faith in *One God the Creator*, &c. The notion of a Demiurge or Creator far inferior to the Supreme Bythus was to be abjured by the convert. For a similar reason faith is expressed in *One Lord Jesus Christ*, to exclude the Gnostic notion of the fourfold Christ. See note 1, p. 61. The primitive Creed of the Church Catholic was variously modified to suit the varying need of the Church in different localities. Very possibly Irenæus, by the introduction of particular terms, and the modification of others, has given it a more anti-Valentinian cast than its more simple Oriental prototype; such terms are σαρκωθέντα &c., τὸ διὰ προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς, τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις, ... τὸ πάθος, ... τὴν ἔνσαρκον ἀνάληψιν, ... τὴν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν, ... ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα, ... κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηται, ... τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ... εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ, ... τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, ... τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ... δόξαν αἰωνίαν.

[2] τὰς οἰκονομίας. The translator adds *Dei*, as excluding the Valentinian οἰκονομία.

[3] τὰς ἐλεύσεις. The translator reads the singular. But it would seem from IV. lvi. that the Greek preserves the true reading, in allusion to the double Advent of Christ proclaimed by the prophets, the first in great humility upon his Incarnation, the second in power and glory.

[4] The Greek order, *Christum Jesum*, is restored on the faith of the Arundel MS.

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καὶ τὴν ἐκ Παρθένου γέννησιν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ Σωτῆρι, καὶ Βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου, πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται αὐτῷ, καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηται· τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, καὶ ἀγγέλους [τοὺς] παραβεβηκότας, καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους, καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις, καὶ ὁσίοις, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκόσι τοῖς [μὲν] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζωὴν [1]χαρισάμενος ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσηται, καὶ δόξαν αἰωνίαν περιποιήσῃ.

LIB. I. ii. GR. I. ii. MASS. I. x. 1.

V. xx.

cf. IV. lxiii.

M. 49.

dispositiones Dei, et adventum, et eam, quæ est ex Virgine generationem, et passionem, et resurrectionem a mortuis, et in carne in cœlos ascensionem dilecti Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et de cœlis in gloria Patris adventum ejus, ad *recapitulanda* universa, et resuscitandam omnem carnem humani generis, ut Christo Jesu Domino nostro, et Deo, et Salvatori, et Regi, secundum placitum Patris invisibilis *omne genu curvet cœlestium, et terrestrium, et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur* ei, et judicium justum in omnibus faciat: *spiritalia* quidem *nequitiæ*, et angelos [2]transgressos, atque apostatas factos, et impios, et injustos, et iniquos, et blasphemos homines in æternum ignem mittat: justis autem et æquis, et præcepta ejus servantibus, et in dilectione ejus perseverantibus, quibusdam quidem ab initio, quibusdam autem ex pœnitentia, vitam donans incorruptelam loco muneris conferat, et claritatem æternam circumdet.

Ephes. i. 10.

Phil. ii. 10, &c.

Ephes. vi. 12.

[1] χαρισάμενος, *confers as an act of grace.* Salvation with the Valentinian depended upon whether or no a man were of the spiritual seed, irrespectively of his actions: it was the effect therefore of fate and necessity, and not of grace. GRABE observes: *Alii enim mox incunte ætate viam virtutis ingressi, perpetuo in ea ambularunt; alii prius per invia vitiorum aberrantes, deinde ad meliorem frugem conversi, in recto tramite perstiterunt: quibus utrisque vitam æternam pollicetur Auctor noster.*

[2] The ARUND. MS. has *transgressores.*

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LIB. I. iii.
GR. I. iii.
MASS. I. x. 2.

Κεφ. γ'.

Ostensio neque plus, neque minus de ea quæ est fide posse quosdam dicere.

ΤΟΥΤΟ τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, G. 46.
ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς [1]ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα
IV. lxiii. καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. Καὶ γὰρ [2]αἱ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. Καὶ οὔτε αἱ [3]ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν

CAP. III.

Hanc prædicationem cum acceperit, et hanc fidem, quemadmodum prædiximus, Ecclesia, et quidem in universum mundum disseminata, diligenter custodit, quasi unam domum inhabitans: et similiter credit iis, videlicet quasi unam animam habens et unum cor, et consonanter hæc prædicat, et docet, et tradit, quasi unum possidens os. Nam etsi in mundo loquelæ dissimiles sunt, sed tamen virtus traditionis una et eadem est. Et neque hæ quæ in Germania sunt fundatæ ecclesiæ, aliter credunt, aut aliter tradunt: neque hæ quæ in Hiberis sunt, neque hæ quæ in

[1] God "maketh men to be of one mind in an house," and this scripture guided the words of the writer, as also of S. Cyprian, *de Un. Eccl., In domo Dei in Ecclesia Christi, unanimes habitant, concordes et simplices perseverant.* The character of the Christian Church on the day of Pentecost still subsisted, and the various members of the Church Catholic were of one accord, *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ.*

[2] For *al* the translator seems to have read *el, If there be,* &c.

[3] *ἐν Γερμανίαις.* Pliny uses the plural, *Galliæ Germaniæque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt. H. N.* xxxi. 7. Tacitus the same, *Perculsus tot victoriis Germanias servitium premere. An.* ii. 73. Cæsar, like the translator, writes it always in the singular. The plural of course must apply to the whole of Germany proper, and not, as some have supposed, to the Rhenish provinces alone. Grabe cites Tertullian, *c. Jud.* 7: *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita; et Sarmatarum, et Dacorum, et Germanorum, et Scytharum, et multarum abditarum gentium.*

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ταῖς [1]Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν [2]Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ [3]κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἱδρυμέναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς LIB. I. iii. GR. I. iii. MASS. I. x. 2.

Celtis, neque hæ quæ [4]in Oriente, neque hæ quæ in Ægypto, neque hæ quæ in Libya, neque hæ quæ in medio mundi sunt constitutæ: sed sicut sol creatura Dei in universo mundo unus et idem est; sic et [5](lumen,) prædicatio veritatis, ubique lucet,

[1] Ἰβηρίαις. We have PLINY's authority for the plural form, *Omnes autem Hispaniæ a duobus Pyrenæi promontoriis*, &c. *H. N.* IV. 22. Also S. JEROM, *Marcum Ægyptium Galliarum primum circa Rhodanum, deinde Hispaniarum nobiles fœminas decepisse. Comment. in Is.* LXIV. The word marks the division of Spain into two unequal portions, the one north and the other south of the Ebro. The translation however would seem to indicate ἐν τοῖς Ἰβηροῖς. It is in the highest degree probable that S. Paul first preached the Gospel in Spain, to the Spanish descendants of his own Tartessian ancestors. He expresses a decided intention of visiting Spain, Rom. XV. 24, 28, and the years that intervened between his first and second imprisonment would allow sufficient time for the purpose. The assertion of S. CLEMENS ROM. is confirmatory of this notion, where he says that the Apostle journeyed ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως on his sacred mission; *the confines of the West*, in a letter written *at Rome*, can scarce mean any thing else than the southern coast of France (*Gallia Narbonensis*) and Spain. Accordingly, it has been a constant tradition in the Church, that at least this latter country was evangelised by S. Paul; compare TILLEMONT, *Mem.* I. 867, and GRABE'S authorities.

[2] ἐν Κελτοῖς. *Gallorum diversas nationes Christo subditas*, are words of TERTULLIAN, *c. Jud.* 7. The central part of Gaul was Celtic, between the Seine and the Garonne. *A Scaldi ad Sequanam Belgica; ab eo ad Garumnam Celtica, eademque Lugdunensis.* PLINY, *N. H.* IV. 17. The writer therefore was a bishop of Celtic Gaul. But the inhabitants of the whole of Gaul and Germany were styled Celts. The reader may compare *The Hist. and Theol. of the Three Creeds*, p. 680, where he will find a brief statement of reasons for assigning the establishment of Christianity in Gaul to an eastern rather than to any western source.

[3] κατὰ μέσα. *Ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam, eique vicinas, Irenæum hic intellexisse... unicuique notum est.* GRABE. So decided an opinion makes me hesitate in asking whether the Church of Jerusalem was not comprised among those κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς, leaving τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου to embrace the Churches of imperial Italy as the central point, relatively to which the Churches of the East and of the West are mentioned? Or it may mean the central continent of Europe, so far as the Gospel had then penetrated, which would supply the fourth cardinal point of the compass, and fill up the definition of the Churches of the East, West, South, and North. Perhaps the first may be the preferable interpretation. In the translation MASSUET omits *sunt* through carelessness, and he is followed by STIEREN.

[4] *In Oriente*] Melius reddidissent vetus et novi Interpretes *in partibus Orientalibus*, quia Irenæus in Græco posuit pluraliter κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς· varias

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LIB. I. iii. GR. I. iii. MASS. I. x. 2.

ἀληθείας πανταχῆ φαίνει, καὶ φωτίζει [1]πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ [2]δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων, ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον· οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν. Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἠλαττόνησε. G. 47. M. 50.

Κεφ. δ'.

Secundum quid fiat putare alios quidem plus, alios vero minus habere agnitionis.

ΤΟ δὲ πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον κατὰ σύνεσιν εἰδέναι τινὰς, οὐκ ἐν τῷ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν ἀλλάσσειν γίνεται, καὶ ἄλλον Θεὸν παρεπινοεῖν παρὰ τὸν δημιουργὸν, καὶ ποιητὴν, καὶ τροφέα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς, [3]ὡς μὴ ἀρκουμένους τούτους, ἢ ἄλλον

et illuminat omnes homines, qui volunt ad cognitionem veritatis venire. Et neque is qui valde prævalet in sermone, ex iis qui præsunt ecclesiis, alia quam hæc sunt dicet: nemo enim super magistrum est: neque infirmus in dicendo deminorabit traditionem. Cum enim una et eadem fides sit, neque is qui multum de ea potest dicere ampliat, neque is qui minus deminorat.

Exod. xvi. 18. LXX.

CAP. IV.

Plus autem aut minus secundum prudentiam nosse quosdam [4][intelligentiam,] non in eo quod argumentum immutetur, efficitur, et alius Deus excogitetur præter fabricatorem, et factorem, et nutritorem hujus universitatis, quasi non ipse

orientales provincias, nisi fallor, indigitans, non solum districtum Antiochenum, qui nomine *Orientis* in singulari numero designari solet. Grabe.

[5] The word *lumen* evidently came in from the margin. It is found however in the Arund. and other MSS.

[1] πάντας. A knowledge of the truth (ἀληθεία) is not limited to those who by birth are of the spiritual (Valentinian) seed, it is offered to all alike.

[2] At least here there is no reserve made in favour of any theory of development. If ever we find any trace of this dangerous delusion in Christian antiquity, it is uniformly the plea of heresy. *Idem licuit Valentinianis quod Valentino, idem Marcionitis quod Marcioni, de arbitrio suo fidem innovare.* Tert. *Præscr. Hær.*

[3] ὡς μὴ ἀρκουμένους τούτους. If it were not for the similar order of the translation, it might have been imagined that this member had been trans-

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Χριστὸν, ἢ ἄλλον Μονογενῆ· ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ τὰ ὅσα ἐν παραβολαῖς εἴρηται [1]προσεπεργάζεσθαι, καὶ οἰκειοῦν τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὑποθέσει· καὶ ἐν τῷ τήν τε πραγματείαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι γενομένην, ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἐμακροθύμησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπί τε τῇ [2]τῶν παραβεβηκότων ἀγγέλων ἀποστασίᾳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ παρακοῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, σαφηνίζειν· καὶ διὰ τί τὰ μὲν πρόσκαιρα, τὰ δὲ αἰώνια, καὶ τὰ μὲν οὐράνια, τὰ δὲ ἐπίγεια [3]εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς πεποίηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλειν· καὶ διὰ τί ἀόρατος ὢν ἐφάνη τοῖς

sufficiat nobis, aut alius Christus, aut alius Monogenes: sed in eo, quod omnia quæ in parabolis dicta sunt exquirere, et adjungere [4]veritatis argumento, et in eo, ut [5]instrumentum et dispositionem Dei in genere humano factam enarrat: et quoniam magnanimus extitit Deus, et in transgressorum angelorum apostasia, et in inobedientia hominum, edisserere; et quare alia quidem temporalia, alia vero æterna, et quædam cœlestia, quædam terrena unus et idem [Deus] fecit, annunciare: et quare

posed from the end of the sentence, where it would have referred to the terms Creator, Christ, and the Only-begotten. Various emendations have been proposed; but the most obvious has been overlooked, ὡς μὴ ἀρκοῦντος ἡμῖν τούτου, which partly follows the form of the Greek, and is exactly expressed by the Latin.

[4] A marginal gloss on *prudentiam*.

[1] προσεπεργάζεσθαι, *working out the truth from the figurative, as well as from the plain portions of Scripture.*

[2] The early fathers agree in referring the fall of a portion of the heavenly host to their alliance with the daughters of men, Gen. vi. 2, e.g. JUSTIN M. *Apol.* I. 5, δαίμονες φαῦλοι ... γυναικὰς ἐμολύνεσαν. TERTULLIAN, *De Virg. Vel.* 7, *Si enim propter angelos, scilicet quos legimus a Deo et cœlo excidisse ob concupiscentiam fœminarum*, &c. *De Or.* 22, *Angeli propter filias hominum desciverunt a Deo. Adv. Marc.* v. 18, *Angelorum scandalisatorum in filias hominum. De Idolol., Unum propono, angelos esse illos desertores Dei, amatores fœminarum*, &c. CLEM. AL. *Strom.* v. 725; VII. 884. The Rabbinical writings give abundant proof that the notion was borrowed from the Jews, who in their turn imported it from Babylon. So the book Zohar says that imps of evil are of a mixed race, partly human, partly angelic. שרין ורוחין פלגותא איתמבני נשא ופלגותא ממלאכין.

[3] εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς, and no part of it was the work of any subordinate Æon.

[4] *Veritatis*, as the translation of πίστεως, is free, but quite intelligible. The author having previously used ἀλήθεια as the synonym of πίστις, in speaking of the Rule of Faith.

[5] I would read οἰκοδομίαν καὶ πραγματείαν in the Greek. οἰκοδομίαν might be translated *instrumentum*, as οἰκοδομήσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, III. iii. is rendered *instruentes ecclesiam*, and πραγματεία is translated by *dispositio*, § 16, and v. § 1. In this way all difficulty disappears.

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LIB. I. iv. GR. I. iv. MASS. I. x. 3.

προφήταις ὁ Θεὸς, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ ἰδέᾳ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως ἄλλοις, συνιεῖν· καὶ διὰ τί διαθῆκαι πλείους γεγόνασι τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι μηνύειν, καὶ τίς ἑκάστης τῶν διαθηκῶν ὁ χαρακτὴρ, διδάσκειν· καὶ διὰ τί συνέκλεισε [1]πάντα [*ita* iii. 22] εἰς ἀπείθειαν ὁ Θεὸς, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ, ἐξερευνᾷν· καὶ διὰ τί ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔπαθεν, [2]εὐχαριστεῖν· καὶ διὰ τί ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν ἡ παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ τέλει ἐφάνη ἡ ἀρχὴ, ἀπαγγέλλειν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ὅσα τε κεῖται ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἀναπτύσσειν· καὶ τί ὅτι τὰ ἀπεγνωσμένα ἔθνη συγκληρονόμα καὶ σύσσωμα, καὶ συμμέτοχα τῶν ἁγίων πεποίηκεν ὁ Θεὸς, μὴ σιωπᾷν· καὶ πῶς τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο σαρκίον ἐνδύσεται ἀθανασίαν, καὶ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἀφθαρσίαν, διαγγέλλειν· πῶς τε [3]ἐρεῖ,

G. 48. M. 51.

cum invisibilis sit, apparuit Prophetis Dei [Deus] non in una forma, sed aliis aliter, [4]adesse: et quare testamenta multa tradita humano generi, annunciare, et quis sit uniuscujusque testamentorum character, docere: et quare *conclusit omnia in incredulitatem Deus, ut universis misereatur*, exquirere: et quare *Verbum* Dei *caro factum est*, et passus est, gratias agere: et quare in novissimis temporibus adventus Filii Dei, hoc est in fine apparuerit, [5]et non in initio, annunciare: et de fine et de futuris, quæcunque posita sunt in Scripturis, revolvere: et quare desperatas Gentes cohæredes et concorporatas et participes Sanctorum fecit Deus, non tacere: et quemadmodum *mortalis hæc* caro

Rom. xi. 32.

Joh. i. 14.

f. l. evolvere.

1 Cor. xv. 54.

[1] Here again the Syriac reads ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ *omnem hominem*.

[2] εὐχαριστεῖν. It is so difficult to make a satisfactory sense with this word, that I am inclined to suspect some alteration in the text antecedently to the translation; παριστᾶν, *exhibere*, would harmonise well with the other verbs, and if we educe the initial syllable εὐ from the final syllable of the preceding word ἔπαθεν, the substitution of the remainder χαριστεῖν for παριστᾶν would easily follow. HESYCHIUS explains παριστῶ by ἀποδείκνυμι. Or διότι might be proposed, if the context would bear the change.

[3] For ἐρεῖ STIEREN proposes γέγονε as agreeing with the Latin, and imagines, that since ἐρῶ serves to introduce the text in the LXX, it first obtained a place in the context, and subsequently became converted into ἐρεῖ, and that then γέγονε disappeared. But the reason adduced is a very strong one for retaining ἐρεῖ in the text, as having been suggested by the passage quoted. By a very slight alteration in the Latin, *fatus est* may have become *factus est*.

[4] *adesse* is no equivalent for the manifestly genuine reading in the Greek συνιεῖν. If the Latin translation has suffered no change, it indicates the word συνεῖναι, *mendose*. JUNIUS proposes to read *addiscere*, but this is not sufficiently close either in meaning to

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Ὁ οὐ λαὸς, λαὸς, καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἠγαπημένη, ἠγαπημένη, καὶ πῶς Πλείονα τῆς ἐρήμου τὰ τέκνα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα, κηρύσσειν. Ἐπὶ τούτων γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῖς ἐπεβόησεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος· Ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ· ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ. Ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τὸν κτιστὴν καὶ Δημιουργὸν Μητέρα τούτων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἐνθύμησιν Αἰῶνος πεπλανημένου παρεπινοεῖν, καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἥκειν βλασφημίας· οὐδὲ [*suppl.* ἐν τῷ] τὸ ὑπὲρ ταύτην πάλιν Πλήρωμα, [1]τὸν μὲν ἕνα, νῦν δὲ ἀνήριθμον φῦλον Αἰώνων ἐπιψεύδεσθαι, καθὼς λέγουσιν οὗτοι οἱ ἀληθῶς ἔρημοι θείας συνέσεως διδάσκαλοι· τῆς οὔσης Ἐκκλησίας πάσης μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν ἐχούσης εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον, καθὼς προέφαμεν.

LIB. I. iv. GR. I. iv. MASS. I. x. 3.

induet immortalitatem, et corruptibile incorruptelam. annunciare: et quemadmodum factus [*l.* fatus] est *Qui non erat populus, populus: et dilecta, dilecta;* et quemadmodum *Plures filii ejus quæ deserta est, magis quam ejus quæ habet virum,* [2]præconare. In talibus enim et in similibus eis exclamavit Apostolus: *O altitudo divitiarum et sapientiæ et agnitionis Dei! quam inscrutabilia judicia ejus, et investigabiles viæ ejus.* Sed non in eo, ut supra Creatorem et Fabricatorem, matrem ejus et illorum, Enthymesin Æonis errantis adinvenires, et ad tantam pervenires blasphemiam: neque in eo quod est super hanc rursus Pleroma, aliquando quidem xxx. aliquando vero innumerabiles multitudines Æonum mentiri: quemadmodum dicunt hi, qui vere sunt deserti a divina sententia magistri; cum ea, quæ est Ecclesia universa, unam et eandem fidem habeat in universo mundo, quemadmodum prædiximus[3].

Osea ii. 23 seq. et Rom. ix. 25. Esai. liv. 1, et Gal. iv. 27.

Rom. xi. 33.

the Greek, or in character to the Latin. NOSSE through disfigurement of its initial letters may have been mistaken for ADESSE.

[5] *Et non in initio* ought to have been rendered *principium*, to agree with the Greek and with the context; ἀρχὴ is not unfrequently rendered by the translator *initium*, where it evidently means *principle*.

[1] τὸν μὲν ἕνα. GRABE'S can hardly be called a conjecture, for it is self-evident that the translation is correct, and *aliquando quidem triginta* can only represent νῦν μὲν τριάκοντα in the Greek; only the MS. would express the capital Λ as the symbol for thirty, which easily became A, *one*.

[2] I follow the reading of the ARUND. MS. GRABE has *præconiare* contrary to the analogy of *sermonari* AUL. GELL. and *obsonari* TERENT.

[3] See pp. 90—92.

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LIB. I. v. 1.
GR. I. v. 1.
MASS. I. xi. 1.

Κεφ. ε'.

Quæ est Valentini sententia, in quibus discrepant adversus eum discipuli ejus.

1. Ἴδωμεν νῦν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἄστατον [*l.* ἀσύστ.] γνώμην δύο που καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, πῶς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐναντία ἀποφαίνονται· Ὁ μὲν γὰρ [1]πρῶτος, ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης γνωστικῆς αἱρέσεως τὰς [2]ἀρχὰς εἰς [3]ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου G. 49. M. 52.

CAP. V.

1. Videamus nunc et horum inconstantem sententiam, cum sint duo vel tres, quemadmodum de eisdem non eadem dicunt, sed et nominibus et rebus contraria respondent. Qui enim est primus, ab ea quæ dicitur gnostica hæresis, antiquas in suum

[1] πρῶτος with relation to the *two or three* before mentioned, not with relation to those who originated the Gnostic heresy. S. Ignatius, in his epistle to the Magnesians, alluded to the Gnostic emanation of the Λόγος from Σιγή, and says, ὃς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Λόγος ἀΐδιος, οὐκ ἀπὸ Σιγῆς προελθών, and Blondel and the Père Daillé inferred from this passage, as compared with the words of Irenæus above, that the Ignatian text could not have been written before the age of Valentinus, who, as they say, was the first who spoke of Σιγή. Bp Pearson's vindication of the genuineness of the epistle, shews that πρῶτος does not refer to the origination of the Gnostic Sige, but to the δύο καὶ τρεῖς of the Valentinian school who are mentioned, namely, Secundus, and two or three others. It is very certain that Simon Magus was the first that spoke of Sige as the root of all; for this is the meaning of the words of Eusebius, *de Eccl. Th.* II. 9, in describing as one fundamental tenet of Simon Magus, ἦν Θεὸς καὶ Σιγή, *God was also Silence*, not, *there was God and Silence*. For in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus we read, δύο εἰσὶ παραφυάδες τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων... ἀπὸ μίας ῥίζης, ἥτις ἐστὶ δύναμις Σιγὴ, ἀόρατος, ἀκατάληπτος, ὧν ἡ μία φαίνεται ἄνωθεν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μεγάλη δύναμις, νοῦς τῶν ὅλων, διέπων τὰ πάντα, ἄρσην· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα κάτωθεν, ἐπίνοια μεγάλη, θήλεια, γεννῶσα τὰ πάντα. *Philos.* VI. 18, where the δύναμις Σιγή is clearly the radical base of νοῦς and ἐπίνοια, the Divine Intelligence. It is also certain that Valentinus took the fundamental principles of his scheme, common perhaps to every form of Gnosticism, at second hand from Simon, for Hippolytus says in the sequel; οὗτος δὴ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὸν Σίμωνα μῦθος, ἀφ' οὗ Οὐαλεντῖνος τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν, ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι καλεῖ. But the reader should consult the note of Grabe on this place, and study Pearson's argument in his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, III—VI, which, as a masterly piece of criticism, has not yet been shaken.

[2] ἀρχὰς, *principles*; the translator read most erroneously τὰς ἀρχαίας... διδασκαλίας. To the proof given above

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μεθαρμόσας Οὐαλεντῖνος, οὕτως [1]ἐξηροφόρησεν, ὁρισάμενος εἶναι [2]δυάδα ἀνονόμαστον, ἧς τὸ μέν τι καλεῖσθαι Ἄρρητον, τὸ δὲ Σιγήν. Ἔπειτα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς [3]δυάδος δευτέραν δυάδα

LIB. I. v. 1. GR. I. v. 1. MASS. I. xi. I. II. xviii. 2.

characterem doctrinas transferens Valentinus, sic definivit; dualitatem quandam innominabilem, cujus quidem aliquid [aliud] vocari Inenarrabile, aliud autem Sigen. Post deinde ex hac

from HIPPOLYTUS that Valentinus borrowed his system from Simon, we may add the testimony of IRENÆUS, II. xviii. § 1, where the *initia emissionum*, ἀρχαὶ τῶν προβολῶν, are referred to him.

[3] ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου is rather a φίλη λέξις of IRENÆUS, as DODWELL observes, and compares c. 23 end, and c. 31, where the translator again stumbles at the word διδασκαλεῖον, and renders it *doctrinas*, whereas it means *a school*.

[1] ἐξηροφόρησεν. STIEREN may well say, *Barbara vox;* and unfortunately, by some omission, the Latin ignores the word. Various corrections have been proposed, for correction is indispensable; thus, HAMMOND would read ἐξεφόρησεν. VOSS, ἐληροφόρησε. BILLIUS, most uncritically, ἔφη. COTELERIUS, ἐψηφοφόρησεν. PEARSON (and GRABE inclines the same way) proposes to make the best of the word as it now stands, and considers it to embody the compound idea of speaking ξηραῖς λέξεσι. Adding one more leaf to this *sylva*, I would propose ἐξῆς ἀφόρισεν, in allusion to the emanations successively described, and which would agree to a certain extent with the translation. Ὁρισάμενος may express the marginal attempt of some reader to recover the true reading. In the translation the Cod. ARUND. has *definit*, VOSS and others *diffinivit:* from the two I take *definivit* with MASS. and STIEREN. *Esse* must still be understood.

[2] Compare the extract from the *Didasc. Or.* § 29, quoted in note 1, p. 13, which, like IRENÆUS, speaks of the fundamental duality, Bythus and Sige; HIPPOLYTUS however speaks of a closer approximation to the Monad of PYTHAGORAS, and in all probability indicates the starting-point of Valentinus himself, from which position his followers subsequently drifted. The variation in the number of Æons described as contained in the Pleroma of different Valentinian schools, gives colour to this supposition. The parallel and independent account of HIPPOLYTUS, from its novelty, is interesting. Οὐαλεντῖνος τοίνυν καὶ Ἡρακλέων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τούτων σχολή, οἱ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος μαθηταὶ, ἀκολουθήσαντες τοῖς καθηγησαμένοις, ἀριθμητικὴν τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατεβάλοντο. Καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῶν πάντων μονὰς ἀγέννητος, ἄφθαρτος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀπερινόητος, γόνιμος, καὶ πάντων τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία τῶν γενομένων. Καλεῖται δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡ προειρημένη μονὰς, πατήρ. Διαφορὰ δέ τις εὑρίσκεται πολλὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἴν' ᾖ παντάπασιν καθαρὸν τὸ δόγμα τοῦ Οὐαλεντίνου Πυθαγορικὸν, ἄθηλυ καὶ ἄζυγον καὶ μόνον τὸν Πατέρα νομίζουσιν εἶναι· οἱ δὲ ἀδύνατον νομίζοντες δύνασθαι ἐξ ἄρρενος μόνου γένεσιν ὅλως τῶν γεγενημένων γενέσθαι τινὸς, καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, ἵνα γένηται πατὴρ, Σιγὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης συναριθμοῦσι τὴν σύζυγον. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν Σιγῆς πότερόν ποτε σύζυγός ἐστιν ἢ οὐκ ἐστιν, αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τοῦτον ἐχέτωσαν τὸν ἀγῶνα. HIPPOLYT. *Philos.* VI. 29.

[3] Consistently with the above, HIPPOLYTUS proceeds to say, Πατὴρ...ἦν μόνος ἠρεμῶν ὡς λέγουσι καὶ ἀναπαυόμενος αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ μόνος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν γόνιμος, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ποτὲ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τελεώτατον ὃ εἶχεν ἐν αὑτῷ γεννῆσαι καὶ προαγάγεω· φιλέρημος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν. Ἀγάπη γάρ φησιν ἦν ὅλος, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἐστιν ἀγάπη, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ τὸ

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LIB. I. v. 1. GR. I. v. 1. MASS. I. xi. 1.

προβεβλῆσθαι, ἧς τὸ μέν τι Πατέρα ὀνομάζει, τὸ δὲ Ἀλήθειαν. G. 50.
Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τετράδος ταύτης καρποφορεῖσθαι Λόγον καὶ Ζωὴν, Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν· εἶναί τε ταύτην ὀγδοάδα πρώτην. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Ζωῆς δέκα δυνάμεις λέγει προβεβλῆσθαι, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δώδεκα, ὧν μίαν ἀποστᾶσαν καὶ ὑστερήσασαν, τὴν λοιπὴν πραγματείαν πεποιῆσθαι. Ὅρους τε δύο ὑπέθετο, ἕνα μὲν μεταξὺ τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ Πληρώματος, διορίζοντα τοὺς γεννητοὺς Αἰῶνας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Πατρός· ἕτερον δὲ τὸν ἀφορίζοντα αὐτῷ [αὐτῶν] τὴν μητέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πληρώματος. Καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πληρώματι Αἰώνων προβεβλῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, ἔξω [1][*suppl.* δὲ] γενομένης, κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τῶν κρειττόνων ἀποκεκυῆσθαι μετὰ σκιᾶς τινος. Καὶ τοῦτον μὲν, ἅτε ἄῤῥενα ὑπάρχοντα, ἀποκόψαντα ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν σκιὰν, ἀναδραμεῖν εἰς τὸ Πλήρωμα. Τὴν δὲ μητέρα ὑπολειφθεῖσαν μετὰ τῆς σκιᾶς, κεκενωμένην τε τῆς πνευματικῆς ὑποστάσεως, ἕτερον M. 53.

dualitate, secundam dualitatem emissam, cujus aliud quidem Patrem vocat, aliud autem Aletheiam. Ex hac autem quaternatione fructificari Logon et Zoen, Anthropon et Ecclesiam. Esse autem hanc octonationem primam. Et a Logo quidem et Zoe decem virtutes dicit emissas, sicut prædiximus. Ab Anthropo autem et Ecclesia xii. ex quibus unam discedentem et destitutam, reliquam dispositionem fecisse. Terminos autem duos adhibet: unum quidem inter Bythum et [*suppl.* reliquum] Pleroma, determinantem natos Æones ab infecto Patre; alterum vero separantem illorum matrem a Pleromate. Et Christum autem non ab his qui sunt in Pleromate Æonibus emissum, sed a matre[1] foris autem facta secundum [2]memoriam meliorum enixam [enixum] esse cum quadam umbra. Et hunc quidem, quippe cum esset masculus, abscidisse a semetipso umbram, et regressum in Pleroma. Matrem autem subrelictam sub umbra, vacuatam

ἀγαπώμενον. Προέβαλεν οὖν καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ, ὥσπερ ἦν μόνος, Νοῦν καὶ Ἀλήθειαν, τουτέστι δυάδα, ἥτις κυρία καὶ ἀρχὴ γέγονε καὶ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καταριθμουμένων Αἰώνων. *Ibid.*

[1] The ARUND. MS. I think, has preserved the true reading, *foris autem facta*, which I restore; δὲ in the Greek may have been easily absorbed in the following γεν. The particle marks more strongly that this ἀποκύησις was without the Pleroma. MASS. has *matrem foris factam*. See p. 41.

[2] Indicating the preferable reading μνήμην.

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υἱὸν προενέγκασθαι· καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Δημιουργὸν, ὃν καὶ παντοκράτορα λέγει τῶν ὑποκειμένων. Συμπροβεβλῆσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄριστον [*l.* ἀριστερὸν] ἄρχοντα ἐδογμάτισεν, ὁμοίως τοῖς ῥηθησομένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ψευδωνύμως Γνωστικοῖς. Καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ποτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ συσταλέντος ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν, συναναχυθέντος [*ad.* τε] τοῖς ὅλοις προβεβλῆσθαί φησι, τουτέστι τοῦ Θελητοῦ· ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναδραμόντος εἰς τὸ Πλήρωμα, τουτέστι τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ποτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὑπὸ τῆς [1]Ἐκκλησίας [*l.* Ἀληθείας] φησὶ προβεβλῆσθαι εἰς ἀνάκρισιν καὶ καρποφορίαν τῶν Αἰώνων, ἀοράτως εἰς αὐτοὺς εἰσιόν· δι' οὗ τοὺς Αἰῶνας καρποφορεῖν τὰ [2]φυτὰ τῆς ἀληθείας.

LIB. I. v. 1. GR. I. v. 1. MASS. I. xi. 1.

Epiph. Hær. xxxii. 1.

2. [3]Σεκοῦνδος λέγει εἶναι τὴν πρώτην ὀγδοάδα, τετράδα δεξιὰν καὶ τετράδα ἀριστερὰν, οὕτως παραδιδοὺς

Σεκοῦνδος μέν τις κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ γενόμενος, οὗτος λέγει τετράδα εἶναι δεξιὰν καὶ τετράδα

S. Hippolyti Philosoph. vi. 38.

autem spiritali substantia, alterum filium emisisse. Et hunc esse Demiurgum, quem et omnipotentem dicit eorum quæ ei subjacent. Coëmissum autem ei et sinistrum principem, similem [similiter] iis qui dicentur a nobis falsi nominis Gnostici. Et Jesum autem aliquando quidem ab eo qui separatus a matre eorum et coadunatus est cum reliquis, emissum dicit, id est a Theleto: aliquando autem ab eo, qui recucurrit sursum in Pleroma, hoc est a Christo: aliquando autem ab Anthropo et Ecclesia. Et Spiritum autem sanctum a Veritate dicit emissum, in examinationem et fructificationem Æonum, invisibiliter in eos introëuntem, per quem Æones fructificarent folia veritatis. [4]Hæc quidem ille.

2. Secundus autem primam ogdoadem sic tradidit, dicens: quaternationem esse dextram, et quaternationem sinistram,

[1] We must certainly read Ἀλη*θείας*, for though the Spirit is said to have emanated from Monogenes, § 4, still Ἀλή*θεια* was his *σύζυγος*, and so far inseparable from him in function.

[2] *φυτά*. The translator indicates the worse reading of *φύλλα*.

[3] The Greek text has been supposed hitherto to have been preserved alone by EPIPHANIUS, *c. Hær.* XXXI. 1, but a more literal counterpart of the Latin, in some respects, is now supplied by HIPPOLYTUS, the friend and disciple of IRENÆUS; this stands in the right-hand column.

[4] The translator read, *καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα*, and the apodosis follows, *Secundus autem*.

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καλεῖσθαι, [1]τὴν μὲν μίαν φῶς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην σκότος· τὴν δὲ ἀποστᾶσάν τε καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων, (ἀλλὰ) . . . . . ἄλλος . . .

ἀριστερὰν, καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος· καὶ τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. Ἄλλος

G. 51. M. 54.

et lumen et tenebras; et discedentem autem [et] destitutam virtutem, non a triginta Æonibus dicit fuisse, sed a fructibus eorum. [2]Alius vero quidam, qui et clarus est magister ipsorum,

[1] The reader will observe that for the first few sentences the text of HIPPOLYTUS is a more literal counterpart of the Latin than the received text; TERTULLIAN also follows them:—*Secundus .... Ogdoaden in duas Tetradas dividens, in dextram et sinistram, in lumen et tenebras;* adding, *tantum quod desultricem et defectricem illam virtutem non vult ab aliquo deducere æonum, sed a fructibus de substantia eorum venientibus.* Similarly the author of the *Libellus adv. omnes Hær.* 5: *Post hunc exstiterunt Ptolemæus et Secundus hæretici, qui cum Valentino per omnia consentiunt, in illo solo differunt: nam cum Valentinus æonas tantum triginta finxisset, isti addiderunt alios complures, quatuor enim primum, deinde alios quatuor aggregaverunt; et quod dicit Valentinus Æonem trigesimum excessisse de pleromate, ut in defectionem, negant isti; non enim ex illa triacontade fuisse hunc, qui fuerit in defectione, propter desiderium videndi Propatoris.* The author of the *Libellus* scarcely gives an accurate account of the notion of Secundus, who made no addition, but simply grouped the Valentinian Ogdoad into two quaternions; those on the right, or masculine appellatives, he called light, while the feminine appellatives, he called darkness. It was a closer approximation to the fundamental notion of Eastern Theosophy, that Ahriman, the Evil Principle or Darkness, was the eternal correlative of the Good Principle or Light. The words of THEODORET also correspond with the text as preserved by HIPPOLYTUS, and rendered by the Translator.

[2] Bishop PEARSON supplies the Greek exactly as we read in HIPPOLYTUS, adding however the words [ὁ καί]. It has been generally supposed that Epiphanes, the son of Carpocrates, is here meant, but CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS says, that he died at the early age of 17, ἔζησε καὶ τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα. Any philosophical opinions, therefore, formed and taught at this early age, are little likely to have attracted public notice; though it is quite in character with heathen superstition, that he should have been deified for certain qualities that endeared him to those with whom he had lived: for the same author adds, καὶ Θεὸς ἐν Σάμῃ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τετίμηται. *Strom.* III. The apotheosis of Epiphanes is quite consistent with the idea of his own personal obscurity, as NEANDER observes:—*Es ist keine Ursache da, diese Nachricht des Clemens zu bezweifeln, da der leicht zu täuschende Aberglaube und Schwärmergeist unter den Heiden in dieser zeit dies nicht unglaublich macht. Genet. Entw.* p. 335. If the translator is mistaken in rendering ἐπιφανὴς by *clarus*, TERTULLIAN, who was a contemporary writer, errs with him in speaking of this individual as *insignioris apud eos*

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LIB. I. v. 2. GR. I. v. 2.

Epiph. Hær. xxxii. 5.

. . . . . δέ τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος
. . . ἐπὶ τὸ ὑψηλότερον καὶ αὐτῶν . . . . . .
γνωστικώτερον ἐπεκτεινόμενος, ...
τὴν πρώτην τετράδα . . . .
οὕτως· Ἔστι τις πρὸ πάντων . . . . οὕτως λέγει· Ἦν ἡ
προαρχὴ, προανεννόητος, ἄ- πρώτη ἀρχὴ ἀνεννόητος, ἀ-
ῥητός τε καὶ ἀνονόμαστος, ἣν ῥητός τε καὶ ἀνονόμαστος, ἣν
ἐγὼ μονότητα ἀριθμῶ. Ταύτῃ μονότητα καλεῖ· ταύτῃ [δὲ

in majus sublime, et quasi in majorem agnitionem extensus, primam quaternationem dixit sic: Est quidem ante omnes Proarche, [1]Proanennoëtos, et Inenarrabilis, et Innominabilis, quam ego [2]Monotetem voco. Cum hac Monotete est virtus, quam et

magistri. The words also of HIPPOLYTUS, *Philos.* VI. 38, read altogether as if ἐπιφανὴς were intended to qualify the word διδάσκαλος, *e. g.* ἄλλος δέ τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν, where, if the word under consideration had been a proper name, its ambiguity would have required either the addition of ὀνόματι, that its meaning might be distinctly marked, or the name would have been placed last, as in the similar construction, c. VIII. Altogether I am inclined to dissent from the ordinary opinion, that *clarus* represents the name Epiphanes, and that IRENÆUS here alludes to the son of Carpocrates, author of the treatise *de Justitia*, quoted by CLEMENS ALEX. *Strom.* III. 2. Reasons will be assigned in the sequel for considering Colorbasus really to have been intended by the author. It is certainly remarkable that HIPPOLYTUS should class Colorbasus with heretics who called themselves προγνωστικοί, *Philos.* IV. 13, and that IRENÆUS should say of those that ranked with this ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος, that they were τελείων τελειότεροι, and γνωστικῶν γνωστικώτεροι, while himself was εἰς ὑψηλότερον καὶ γνωστικώτερον ἐπεκτεινόμενος. It may be observed, that NEANDER also denies that IRENÆUS here alludes in any way to Epiphanes the Samian, though he is very probably mistaken in saying that the opinions indicated are those of MARCUS. His words are, *In der Stelle des Irenäus aber* I. v. 2, *haben einige Gelehrte mit Unrecht die Lehre des Epiphanes zu finden geglaubt, da hier offenbar* (*s. oben.* s. 169) *von dem Gnostiker* MARCUS *die Rede ist.* NEANDER, p. 356.

[1] The word is rendered by TERTULLIAN as *Inexcogitabile*, c. 37, with which HIPPOLYTUS agrees.

[2] The translator probably expressed the Greek terminations, as seen in the ARUNDEL readings, *Monotetam*, *Henotetam*, the final letter having been added, under the idea that the mark of abbreviation had been lost. CLEMENS AL. says, that Epiphanes, son of Carpocrates, was the originator τῆς μοναδικῆς γνώσεως, but the account is not supported by any other ancient testimony, and was possibly suggested by this passage of IRENÆUS; for it is quite as likely, to say the least, that CLEMENT should have mistaken ἐπιφανὴς for a name, as that TERTULLIAN should not have known the heretic whose course was scarcely run when he was born. In default of any other account of the Monadic Gnosticism, we may very fairly identify the theosophic notions here impugned by IRENÆUS, with the arithmetical lucubrations of Colorbasus as described by HIPPOLYTUS. This writer has recorded the busy trifling of Colorbasus, in divining the relative fortune of individuals by a comparison of the monads or units that remain after the letters

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τῇ μονότητι συνυπάρχει δύναμις, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω ἑνότητα. Αὕτη ἡ ἑνότης, ἥ τε μονότης, τὸ ἓν οὖσαι, προήκαντο, [1]μὴ προέμεναι, ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων νοητὴν, ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον, ἣν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος μονάδα καλεῖ. Ταύτῃ τῇ μονάδι συνυπάρχει δύναμις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω τὸ ἕν. Αὗται αἱ δυνάμεις, ἥ τε μονότης καὶ ἑνότης, μονάς τε καὶ τὸ ἓν, προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς προβολὰς τῶν

συνυπάρχ]ειν δύναμιν, ἣν ὀνομάζει ἑνό[τητα]. Αὕτη ἡ ἑνότης εἴτε [ἥ τε] μονότης προήκαντο, μὴ προέμεναι, ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων νοητῶν ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον, ἣν . . . μονάδα καλεῖ. Ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει συνυπάρχει δύναμις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω τὸ ἕν. Αὗται αἱ τέσσαρες δυνάμεις . . . . . προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν αἰώνων προβολάς. G. 32.

ipsam voco Henotetem. Hæc Henotes et Monotes cum sint unum, emiserunt, cum nihil emiserint, principium omnium [2]noëton, et agenneton, et aoratum, quam Archem sermo Monada vocat. Cum hac Monade est virtus ejusdem substantiæ ei, quam et eam voco Hen. Hæ autem virtutes, id est Mono-

found in their names are summed as units and numerical factors, and the nines cast out. Thus the letters in the word Ἑκτὼρ express 5 + 20 + 300 + 800 + 100, the initial digits sum 19; cast out the nines and there remains unity, and upon this residue, as compared with a similar arithmetical deduction from any other name, the relative fortune of the individual was seen. The reader may refer to a rather curious passage in HIPPOLYTUS, *Philos.* IV. 14. It may also be noticed, that among other properties of the unit, it was observed by the Egyptian sages that it was for ever recurring, *quâ digit*, in decimal notation. Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι μονάδα ἀδιαίρετον, καὶ αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν γεννῶσαν· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα κατεσκευάσθαι· αὕτη γάρ, φησιν, ἀγέννητος οὖσα τοὺς ἐξῆς ἀριθμοὺς γεννᾷ· οἷον ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ μονὰς ἐπιπροστεθεῖσα, γεννᾷ τὴν δυάδα, καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπιπροστεθεμένη, γεννᾷ τὴν τριάδα καὶ τετράδα μέχρι τῆς δεκάδος, ἥτις ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τελὸς τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἵνα γένηται πρώτη καὶ δεκάτη ἡ μονὰς, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν δεκάδα ἰσοδυναμεῖν καὶ ἀριθμεῖσθαι εἰς μονάδα· καὶ αὕτη δεκαπλασιασθεῖσα γένηται ἑκατοντὰς, καὶ πάλιν γίνεται μονὰς, κἂν ἡ ἑκατοντὰς δεκαπλασιασθεῖσα ποιήσῃ χιλιάδα, καὶ αὕτη ἔσται μονάς. HIPPOL. *Phil.* IV. 43.

[1] μὴ προέμεναι. The translator read μηδέν, but HIPPOLYTUS has μὴ, and TERTULLIAN, *protulerunt non proferentes*, the meaning being this, *Unity* and *Abstraction* (μονότης) put forth, as the original cause, *the Beginning*, yet so as that *the Beginning* was eternally inseparable from their *Unity*. As NEANDER expresses it, *Diese beiden Mächte, welche die höchste Einheit bilden, erzeugen, ohne eigentlich zu erzeugen, (er will sagen, dass man hier sich keine eigentliche Erzeugung oder Emanation .... denken müsse) das erste von dem Gedanken zu erfassende, ursprunglose und unsichtbare Grundprincip alles Daseyns, u. s. f.* p. 169.

[2] TERTULLIAN, c. 37: *Intellectuale, innascibile, invisibile.*

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Αἰώνων. Ἰοῦ ἰοῦ, καὶ φεῦ φεῦ. Τὸ τραγικὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς[1] ἐπειπεῖν ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ[2] συμφορᾷ τῶν τὰ γελοιώδη ταῦτα γεγραφότων τῆς τοιαύτης ὀνοματοποιΐας, καὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τόλμῃ, ὡς ἀπερυθριάσας τῷ ψεύσματι αὐτοῦ ὄνομα [ὀνόματα] τέθεικεν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ λέγειν, ἔστι τις προαρχὴ πρὸ πάντων, προανεννόητος, ἣν ἐγὼ μονάδα
M. 55. [μονότητα] καλῶ· καὶ πάλιν, ταύτῃ τῇ μονάδι [μονότητι] συνυπάρχει δύναμις, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ἑνότητα ὀνομάζω· σαφέστατα, ὅτι τε πλάσμα [πλάσματα] αὐτοῦ ἐστι τὰ εἰρημένα, ὡμολόγηκε, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ὀνόματα τέθεικε τῷ πλάσματι, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πρότερον ἄλλου τεθειμένα. Καὶ σαφές ἐστιν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ταῦτα τετόλμηκεν ὀνοματοποιῆσαι· καὶ εἰ μὴ παρῆν τῷ βίῳ αὐτὸς, οὐκ ἂν ἡ ἀλήθεια εἶχεν ὄνομα. Οὐδὲν οὖν κωλύει, καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως οὕτως ὁρίσασθαι [3]ὀνόματα. . . . . .

tes, et Henotes, et Monas, et Hen, emiserunt reliquas emissiones Æonum. Iu iu! et Pheu pheu! Tragicum vere dicere oportet super [4]hanc nominum factionem et tantam audaciam, quemadmodum sine rubore mendacio suo nomina posuit. In eo enim quod dicit, est ante omnia Proarche, Proanennoëtos, quam ego Monoteta voco, et iterum, cum hac Monotete est virtus, quam et ipsam voco Henotetem, manifestum, quoniam figmenta sunt quæcunque ab eo dicta sunt, confessus est, [et] quoniam ipse nomina posuit figmento, quæ a nemine altero [*adj.* antea] posita sunt: qui nisi hæc [5]auderet, hodie veritas secundum eum non habuisset nomina [nomen]. Nihil igitur prohibet et alterum quendam in tali argumento sic præfinire nomina: Est

[1] The text as restored by MASSUET is here followed.

[2] The text of STIEREN as read in EPIPHANIUS.

[3] EPIPHANIUS does not think it necessary to make a close copy, but merely gives a brief abstract. Εἶτα λοιπὸν εἰς ταῦτα αὐτὸς ὁ μακάριος ἐπίσκοπος Εἰρηναῖος, ὥς γε προείπαμεν, γελοιώδη ῥήματα καὶ αὐτὸς προεῖπεν ἑτερωνυμίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἀντάξια τῆς αὐτῶν ληρωδίας χαριεντιζόμενος, πεπόνων γένη, καὶ σικύων, καὶ κολοκυνθῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ ὑποκειμένων τίνων ἐπιπλασάμενος, ὡς τοῖς φιλολόγοις σαφὲς ἂν εἴη, ἀφ' ὧν προανέγνωσαν.

[4] JUNIUS supplies, as the version of the words recovered in EPIPHANIUS, *Super hac miseria eorum, qui res hujusmodi ridiculas scripserunt propter hanc.*

[5] The Latin reads most like the original flow of expression, and it is not open to the charge of tautology to which the Greek is amenable. This period, in the Greek, from καὶ σαφές ἐστιν, seems to have been mutilated, and to have been restored conjecturally.

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quædam Proarche regalis Proanennoëtos, Proanypostatos virtus, Proprocylindomene. Cum illa autem est virtus, quam ego cucurbitam voco: cum hac cucurbita autem est virtus, quam et ipsam voco perinane. Hæc cucurbita et perinane, cum sint unum, emiserunt, cum non emisissent, fructum, in omnibus visibilem manducabilem et dulcem, quem fructum sermo cucumerem vocat. Cum hoc cucumere est virtus ejusdem potestatis ei, quam et ipsam peponem voco. Hæ virtutes, cucurbita, et perinane, et cucumis, et pepo, emiserunt reliquam multitudinem Valentini deliriosorum peponum. Si enim eum sermonem qui de universis fit, transfigurari in primam quaternationem oportet, et quemadmodum vult aliquis ipse ponere nomina, quis prohibet his nominibus, ut multo credibilioribus, et in usu positis, et ab omnibus cognitis?

Epiphan. Hær. xxxii. 7.

3. [1]Ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρχέγονον ὀγδοάδα τούτοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεκλήκασι· πρῶτον προαρχὴν,

3. Ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀρχαιόγονον [ἀρχέγονον] ὀγδοάδα τούτοις τοῖς ὀνομάσιν ἐκάλεσαν . . .

G. 33 S. Hipp. ibid.

3. Alii autem rursus ipsorum primam et archegonon octonationem his nominibus nominaverunt: primum Proarchen,

[1] TERTULLIAN, *c. Val.* 35, gives an almost literal translation of this section, without professing to explain it, but adds: *Hoc quæ ratio disponat, ut singula binis locis et quidem tam intercisis, nascantur, malo ignorare quam discere. Quid enim recti habent, quæ tam perverse proferuntur?* But reproduction was of the very essence of the Valentinian system. So, ἀρχὴ was a term applied by Valentinus to βυθὸς as the προαρχὴ and to Νοῦς as ἀρχή, § 1. So, after the ogdoad of the Pleroma had been evolved, Achamoth was styled the second ogdoad, § 9. So, there was the prototype Ecclesia in the Pleroma, and its earthly copy; the Æon Anthropos, and Man the spiritual seed of the animally constituted Demiurge. One and all of these notions may be referred back to the Platonic ἰδέαι, or forms of things that subsisted eternally in the Divine mind, the Gnostic Pleroma, before they were called into being; in this place they are the Divine attributes themselves that are represented as reaching further and further back in eternity, doubtless with the view of symbolising the truth that they are without beginning. Bythus in the Gnostic Theosophy must be taken as the fixed point, the Divine subsistence; and whereas in every preceding scheme the Æons were evolved from Bythus and Sige, so in this system a quaternion of his attributes are imagined antecedently as it were to Bythus, and subsisting in him when as yet nothing else was; and again a quaternion of attributes of equally coeternal subsistence. The notion was borrowed from Pythagoras, for Hierocles in his commentary on the golden verses, says; οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὁ μὴ τῆς τετρακτύος ὡς ῥίζης καὶ ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται· ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς ἔφαμεν, δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, καὶ αἰτία ἡ τέτρας, Θεὸς νοητὸς, αἴτιος τοῦ οὐρανίου καὶ αἰσθητοῦ Θεοῦ. p. 170. The tetractys being of the

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ἔπειτα ἀνεννόητον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἄῤῥητον, καὶ τὴν τετάρτην ἀόρατον· καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης Προαρχῆς προβεβλῆσθαι πρώτῳ καὶ πέμπτῳ . . . ἀρχὴν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς [ἀρχῆς τῆς] ἀνεννοήτου δευτέρῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ τόπῳ ἀκατάληπτον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου τρίτῳ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ τόπῳ ἀνονόμαστον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀοράτου ἀγέννητον, πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης ὀγδοάδος. Ταύτας βούλονται τὰς δυνάμεις προϋπάρχειν τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τῆς Σιγῆς, ἵνα τελείων τελειότεροι φανῶσιν ὄντες, καὶ Γνωστικῶν γνωστικώτεροι· πρὸς οὓς δικαίως ἄν τις ἐπιφωνήσειεν· ὦ ληρολόγοι σοφισταί. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ

M. 56.

. . . . . τετάρτην ἀόρατον. Καὶ ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης προαρχῆς προβεβλῆσθαι πρώτῳ καὶ πέμπτῳ τόπῳ ἀρχήν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀνεννοήτου, δευτέρῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ ἀκατάληπτον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου τρίτῳ καὶ ἑβδόμῳ τόπῳ, ἀνονόμαστον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀοράτου, ἀγέννητον, πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης ὀγδοάδος. Ταύτας βούλονται τὰς δυνάμεις προϋπάρχειν τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τῆς [Σι]γῆς . . . . . .

deinde Anennoëton, tertiam autem Arrheton, et quartam Aoraton. Et de prima quidem Proarche emissum esse primo et quinto loco Archen, ex Anennoëto secundo et sexto loco Acatalepton, et de Arrheto autem tertio et septimo loco Anonomaston, de Aorato autem quarto et octavo loco Agenneton, Pleroma hoc primæ ogdoadis. Has volunt virtutes fuisse ante Bython et Sigen, ut perfectorum perfectiores appareant, et Gnosticorum magis gnostici veri [*l.* viri.] ad quos juste quis hoc dicat. [2]O pepones, sophistæ vituperabiles, et non viri [veri]. Etenim de ipso

Divine attributes, was co-ordinate with the Deity; so that S. CYRIL of Alexandria (*c. Jul.* I. p. 30), could say truly of Pythagoras, ἰδοὺ δὴ σαφῶς, ἕνα τε εἶναι λέγει τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν, καὶ πάντων ἀρχὴν, ἐργάτην τε τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων, φωστῆρα καὶ ψύχωσιν, ἤτοι ζωοποίησιν τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύκλων πάντων κίνησιν· expressions taken from the αὐτὸς ἔφα of the philosopher, as recorded by CLEMENS AL. Ὁ μὲν θεὸς εἷς· χ' οὗτος οὐχ ὥς τινες ὑπονοοῦσιν, ἐκτὸς τᾶς διακοσμήσιος, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτᾷ ὅλος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ, ἐπίσκοπος πάσας γενέσιος, κρᾶσις τῶν ὅλων· ἀεὶ ὤν, καὶ ἐργάτας τῶν αὐτοῦ δυνάμιων καὶ ἔργων ἁπάντων, ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστὴρ, καὶ πάντων πατὴρ, νοῦς καὶ ψύχωσις τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ, πάντων κίνασις. *Ad Gent.* 6.

[1] Delendæ hæ duæ voces, quæ sensum conturbant, quasque nec vetus interpres, nec Tertullianus legerunt. MASS. HIPPOLYTUS also ignores them.

[2] GRABE imagines the author to have quoted the Homeric line,

Ὦ πέπονες κάκ' ἐλέγχε', Ἀχαιΐδες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀχαιοί.—*Il.* β'. 235.

but it is more probable that he parodied it:—

Ὦ πέπονές ῥα, σοφισταὶ ἐλεγκτοί, μηδὲ τ' ἀληθεῖς,

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τοῦ Βυθοῦ πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι γνῶμαι παρ' αὐτοῖς. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄζυγον λέγουσι, [1]μήτε ἄῤῥενα, μήτε θήλειαν, [2]μήτε ὅλως ὄντα τι. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἀῤῥενόθηλυν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι, ἑρμαφροδίτου φύσιν αὐτῷ περιάπτοντες. Ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βυθοῦ ἀδιαφόρως κινούμενοι, οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἄζυγον λέγουσι, μήτε ἄῤῥενα μήτε θῆλυν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Σιγὴν θήλειαν αὐτῷ συμπαρεῖναι, καὶ εἶναι ταύτην πρώτην συζυγίαν. S. Hipp. ibid.

Σιγὴν δὲ πάλιν ἄλλοι συνευνέτιν αὐτῷ προσάπτουσιν, ἵνα γένηται πρώτη συζυγία.

Bytho variæ sunt sententiæ apud eos. Quidam enim sine conjugatione dicunt eum, neque masculum, neque fœminam, neque omnino aliquid esse. Alii autem et masculum et fœminam eum dicunt esse, hermaphroditi genesin [genus] ei donant. Sigen autem rursus alii conjugem ei addunt, ut fiat prima conjugatio.

which would require *veri* in the translation, as in the ARUND. MS. and MERC. I.

[1] *Et fortasse hoc Deum, non hic Deus neutro genere pronuntiant.* TERT. *c. Val.* 34. The truth, that no notion of sex can attach to the Deity, was acknowledged at a very early date. So the Magi condemned the notion τῶν λεγόντων ἀῤῥένας εἶναι Θεοὺς καὶ θηλείας. DIOG. LA. *Procem.* EUSEBIUS says that primitive heathenism, whether barbarian or Greek, knew nothing of the later πολυφλυαρία τῆς τῶν Θεῶν ἀῤῥένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν κατονομασίας. *Præp. Ev.* I. 9. Hence the Orphic verse (PROCLUS in *Tim.* PLAT.) says:

Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη.

DAMASCIUS (*Wolfii Excerpta ex Dam. in Anecd. Gr.* III. 254,) accounts for this Orphic dictum as follows:—ἀρσενόθηλυν αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο, πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γεννητικῆς οὐσίας. SCÆVOLA, head of the college of augurs, affirmed that no image expressed the Deity, *Quod verus Deus nec sexum habeat, nec ætatem* &c. AUG. *Civ. Dei*, IV. 27. GRABE quotes SYNESIUS to the same effect.

[2] μήτε ὅλως ὄντα τι. The Basilidian error is here indicated. As the fathers distinguished between the Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, and the Λόγος προφορικός, so the heretic discriminated between the Pantheistic notion of the Deity, as the soul or entelechy of the universe, and the Deity as He was before anything was created. The words εἶναι and οὐσία were considered to apply only to the state of either material or active existence; hence before anything existed upon which Divine benevolence could act, the Divine Principle was an unintelligible abstraction, ἀκατονόμαστος, ἄῤῥητος and ἀνεννόητος, and it was in order to mark the utter impossibility for the human mind to conceive the Divine subsistence prior to the revelation of Himself in creation, that Basilides asserted with a fearful hardiness, λέγω εἶναι θεὸν οὐκ ὄντα πεποιημένον κόσμον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐκ ὄντα οὐκ ὤν. HIPPOL. *Phil.* X. 14. Compare also the term ἀνούσιος as applied to the Deity by the Marcosians in c. X. Similarly MAIMONIDES says of the Deity, that He exists, *non per existentiam*, that He lives, *non per vitam*, He is powerful, *non per potentiam*, He knows, *non per scientiam*, but all attributes centre in one reality wherein is no multiplicity. His words are

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Κεφ. ζ'.

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Quæ sunt, in quibus non consonant adversus invicem hi, qui sunt a Valentino omnes: quæ est Colorbaseorum et Marci doctrina.

Epiph. Hær. xxxiii. 1. 1. ΟΥΤΟΣ τοίνυν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἔτι ἐμπειρότερος ἡμῖν τοῦ ἑαυτῶν διδασκάλου προελήλυθε, . . . δύο γὰρ οὗτος συζύγους τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς Βυθῷ καλουμένῳ, ἐπενόησέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο. Ταύτας δὲ καὶ διαθέσεσιν [*lege* διαθέσεις] ἐκάλεσεν, Ἔννοιάν τε καὶ Θέλημα. Πρῶτον γὰρ G. 54. ἐνενοήθη προβαλεῖν, φησὶν, εἶτα ἠθέλησε. Διὸ καὶ τῶν M. 57. δύο διαθέσεων τούτων, ἤ καὶ δυνάμεων, τῆς Ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς Θελήσεως, ὥστε συγκραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας, τῇ προβολῇ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας

1. [1]ΟΙ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, δύο συζύγους αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγουσιν, ἃς καὶ διαθέσεις καλοῦσιν, ἔννοιαν καὶ θέλησιν. Πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη τι προβαλεῖν, ὥς φασιν, ἔπειτα ἠθέλησε. Διὸ καὶ τῶν δύο τούτων διαθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεων, τῆς τε ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς θελήσεως, ὥσπερ κραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας, ἡ προβολὴ τοῦ τε Μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας κατὰ συζυ- S. Hippolyti Philosoph. vi. 38.

CAP. VI.

1. [2]Hi vero qui sunt circa Ptolemæum scientiores, duas conjuges habere eum Bython dicunt, quas et dispositiones vocant, Ennœan et Thelesin. Primo enim mente concepit quid emittere, (sicut dicunt) post deinde voluit. Quapropter duobus his affectibus et virtutibus, id est, [3]Ennœas et Theleseos, velut commixtis in invicem, emissio Monogenis et Aletheiæ secundum

موجود لا بوجود وحي لا بحياة
وقدر لا بقدرة وعالم لا بعلم بل
الكل راجع لمعني واحد لا تكثير
فيه

Moreh Nevoch. i. 57.

[1] The reader will perceive that HIPPOLYTUS indicates the principal corrections that serve to harmonise the Greek with the Latin.

[2] EPIPHANIUS adds a few words, possibly by way of explanation:—*καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἔννοιαν ἀεὶ συνυπάρξασαν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐννοουμένην ἀεὶ τὸ τί προβαλέσθαι, τὸ δὲ Θέλημα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιγινόμενον.*

[3] MASSUET very properly restores the Greek termination; the ARUND. MS. has *Ennoias* and the CLERM. MS. *Æennonias*. So also below, in § 2, it is not at all improbable that the translator wrote Ennœas, as agreeing with the Greek, though departing from the Latin

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LIB. I. vi. 1. GR. I. vi. 1. MASS. I. xii. 1.

κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐγένετο. Οὕστινας τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ Πατρὸς προελθεῖν, τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατάς· τοῦ μὲν Θελήματος τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, τῆς δὲ Ἐννοίας τὸν Νοῦν, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ Θελήματος, ὁ μὲν ἄῤῥην εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγεννήτου Ἐννοίας γέγονεν, ὁ δὲ θῆλυς τοῦ Θελήματος· τὸ Θέλημα τοίνυν δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς Ἐννοίας. Ἐνενόει μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἔννοια τὴν προβολήν· οὐ μέντοι προβαλεῖν αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἠδύνατο ἃ ἐνενόει. Ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Θελήματος δύναμις ἐπεγένετο, τότε ἃ ἐνενόει [ἐνενοεῖτο] προέβαλε . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

γίαν ἐγένετο· ὡς [οὕς] τινας τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ Πατρὸς διελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατὰς, τοῦ μὲν Θελήματος [1]τὸν Νοῦν, τῆς δὲ Ἐννοίας τὴν Ἀλήθειαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπιγεννητοῦ Θελήματος, ὁ ἀῤῥενικός· [*l.* ὁ ἄῤῥην μὲν εἰκών·] τῆς δὲ ἀγεννήτου Ἐννοίας ὁ θῆλυς, ἐπὶ [ἐπεὶ] τὸ Θέλημα ὥσπερ δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς Ἐννοίας. Ἐννοεῖν [ἐνενόει] μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡ Ἔννοια τὴν προβολὴν, οὐ μέντοι γε προβάλλειν αὐτὴν [αὐτὴ] κατ' αὐτὴν [καθ' ἑαυτὴν] ἠδύνατο, ἀλλὰ [ἃ] ἐνενοεῖτο [ἐνενόει.] Ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Θελήματος δύναμις . . . τότε ἐνενοεῖτο προβάλλει [ὁ ἐνενοεῖτο προέβαλε]. . . . .

conjugationem facta est. Quos typos et imagines duorum affectuum Patris egressas esse, invisibilium visibiles; Thelematis quidem Nun, Ennœas autem Aletheian: et propter hoc adventitiæ voluntatis masculus est imago, innatæ vero Ennœæ fœmininus, quoniam Voluntas velut virtus facta est Ennœæ. Cogitabat enim Ennœa semper emissionem, non tamen et emittere ipsa per semetipsam poterat quæ cogitabat. Cum autem Voluntatis virtus advenit, tunc quod cogitabat, emisit. Non videntur tibi hi, o dilectissime, [2]Homerici Jovis, propter solicitudinem

concord; and the final letter C having been mistaken by some early scribe for the first half of Φ (M), was replaced by him with that letter. The ARUND. and CLERM. MSS. there have *Ennœam*.

[1] τὸν νοῦν, or Monogenes. The order is disturbed in the Epiphanian text, it is preserved in the Hippolytan, with which also TERTULLIAN agrees, *c. Val.* 33: *Ad imaginem quidem Cogitationis, fœminam Veritatem; ad imaginem Voluntatis, marem Monogenem; Voluntatis enim vis, uti quæ effectum præstat Cogitationi, maris obtinet censum.*

[2] *Homerici Jovis*, &c. in allusion to the opening of *Il.* β′:

Ἄλλοι μέν ῥα Θεοί τε, καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ
Εὗδον παννύχιοι. Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος. κ.τ.λ.

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Epiph. ἢ περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότου· ὃς ἅμα [1]τῷ νοηθῆναι καὶ ἐπιτετελεκέν[αι d.] τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἅμα τῷ θελῆσαι καὶ ἐννοεῖται τοῦθ' ὅπερ καὶ ἠθέλησε, τοῦτο ἐννοούμενος, ὃ καὶ θέλει, καὶ τότε θέλων, ὅτε ἐννοεῖται, ὅλος ἔννοια ὤν, [2]ὅλος θέλημα, ὅλος νοῦς, [ὅλος φῶς *Epiphan.*] ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς, ὅλος ἀκοὴ, ὅλος πηγὴ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν. LIB. I. vi 1. GR. I. vi. 1. MASS. I. xii 2.

2. ...[3]τὴν πρώτην ὀγδοάδα, οὐ καθ' ὑπόβασιν ἄλλον ὑπὸ ἄλλου Αἰῶνα προβεβλῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ [4]εἰς ἅπαξ τὴν τῶν ἓξ Αἰώνων προβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προπάτορος καὶ τῆς Ἐννοίας αὐτοῦ τετέχθαι, ὡς [5]αὐτὸς μαιωσάμενος, διαβεβαιοῦται. Καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ Λόγου καὶ Ζωῆς Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐξ Ἀνθρώπου, ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι [*l.* ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι· ἀλλ' ἐξ Ἀνθρώπου], Epiphan. Hær. xxxv. 1. M. 58. G 55.

non dormientis, sed curæ habentis, quando poterit honorare Achillem, et multos perdere Græcorum, apprehensionem habuisse magis, quam ejus, qui est universorum Deus; qui simul ut cogitavit, perfecit id quod cogitavit: et simul ac voluit, et cogitat hoc quod voluit: tunc cogitans cum vult, et tunc volens cum cogitat: cum sit totus cogitatus, et totus sensus, et totus oculus, et totus auditus, et totus fons omnium bonorum.

2. Qui autem [6]prudentiores putantur illorum esse, primam octonationem non gradatim, alterum ab altero Æonem emissum dicunt, sed simul et in unum Æonum emissionem a Propatore et Ennœa ejus, cum crearentur, ipsi obstetricasse se affirmant. Et jam non ex Logo et Zoe Anthropon et Ecclesiam, sed ex

[1] S. Basil says that God spake the word γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα ἔργον ἦν. And similarly Clem. Al. ψιλῷ τῷ βούλεσθαι δημιουργεῖ, καὶ τῷ μόνον ἐθελῆσαι αὐτὸν, ἕπεται τὸ γεγενῆσθαι.

[2] Ὅλος θέλημα] Hæ duæ voces ab Epiphanio additæ videntur, cum in veteri interpretatione hujus loci non extent, nec lib. II. xvi. 3, ubi Auctor noster hanc sententiam repetit. Grabe.

[3] Τὴν πρώτην ὀγδοάδα] Hæc, ut et sequentis capitis Græca verba ex Epiphanii Hær. xxxv. Colorbaseorum § 1, petita sunt; unde discimus, illorum placita Irenæum hoc loco perstrinxisse. Gr.

[4] Tertullian alludes to the same notions c. 36, *Quanto meliores qui totum hoc tædium de medio amoliti, nullum Æonem voluerunt alium ex alio per gradus revera gemonios structum, sed mappa, quod aiunt, missa, semel octojugem istam ex Patre et Ennœa ejus exclusam.*

[5] αὐτὸς, i. e. Colorbasus, as Epiphanius declares, xlviii. Sabellius seems to have developed his principle.

[6] *Prudentiores illorum.* The reader will have observed the same solecism, caused by a servile copying of the Greek construction in the preceding chapter, *perfectorum perfectiores, et Gnosticorum magis Gnostici.* The translation speaks of the followers as a body, the Greek text applies to the heresiarch singly.

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LIB. I. vi. 2. GR. I. vi. 2. MASS. I. xii. 3.

καὶ Ἐκκλησίας Λόγον καὶ Ζωὴν φασι τετέχθαι αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τοῦτο λέγουσιν· ὅτι ὅπερ ἐνενοήθη προβαλεῖν ὁ Προπάτωρ, τοῦτο Πατὴρ ἐκλήθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ προεβάλετο ἀλήθεια [1][ἀληθῆ] ἦν, τοῦτο Ἀλήθεια ὠνομάσθη· ὅτε οὖν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτὸν [1][ἑαυτὸν], τοῦτο Ἄνθρωπος ἐλέχθη· οὓς δὲ [2]προελογίσατο ὅτε προέβαλε, τοῦτο Ἐκκλησία ὠνομάσθη· καὶ ὁ Ἄνθρωπος [3]τὸν Λόγον, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρωτότοκος Υἱός· ἐπακολουθεῖ δὲ τῷ Λόγῳ καὶ ἡ Ζωή· καὶ οὕτως πρώτη Ὀγδοὰς συνετελέσθη.

3. Πολλὴ δὲ μάχη παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ πάντων γεγονέναι λέγουσι· διὸ καὶ Εὐδοκητὸν καλεῖσθαι, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ηὐδόκησεν [4][δι' αὐτοῦ δοξάσαι τὸν Πατέρα]. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ μόνων τῶν δέκα Αἰώνων, τῶν ἀπὸ Λόγου καὶ Ζωῆς, προβεβλῆσθαι αὐτὸν λέγουσι, [5]τὰ προ-

Anthropo et Ecclesia Logon et Zoen dicunt generatos, in hunc modum dicentes: quando cogitavit aliquid emittere Propator, hoc Pater vocatus est; at ubi quæ emisit vera fuerunt, hoc Alethia vocatum est. Cum autem voluit semetipsum ostendere, hoc Anthropos dictus est. Quos autem præcogitaverat posteaquam emisit, hoc Ecclesia vocata est. Locutus est Anthropos Logon, hic est primogenitus Filius. Subsequitur autem Logon Zoe, et sic prima octonatio completa est.

3. Multa autem pugna apud eos, etiam de Salvatore. Quidam enim eum ex omnibus generatum dicunt, quapropter Beneplacitum vocari, quoniam universum Pleroma bene sensit per eum glorificare Patrem. Alii autem ex solis decem Æonibus, qui sunt a Logo et Zoe emissi, et propter hoc Logon et

[1] These readings are suggested by the translation and confirmed by TERTULLIAN, c. 36: *Cum protulit, quia vera protulit, hic veritas appellata est. Cum semetipsum voluit probari, hoc homo pronunciatus est.*

[2] The heresiarch adopts the Christian verity of predestination as attaching to the Body of Christ, the Church. TERTULLIAN exactly renders the Greek *Quos autem præcogitavit, quum protulit.*

[3] Suppl. ἐξεφώνησε. TERT. *sonuit;* the CLERMONT MS. however omits *locutus est.*

[4] Supplied by GRABE from THEODORET, *Hær. Fab.* I. 12. In the translation of the next sentence the ARUND. MS. omits *decem,* which would easily happen if written as in the CLERM. MS. *ex solis* X *Æonibus.*

[5] τὰ προγονικὰ ὀνόματα διασώζοντα. One cause of perplexity in unravelling the Valentinian scheme is the recurrence of similar names at different points of the system, *e. g.* the Enthymesis of Sophia was called Sophia and Spiritus, see I. 1. § 7; and Pater, Arche, Unigenitus, Christus, Homo, Ecclesia, were all of

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M. 59. γονικὰ ὀνόματα διασώζοντα. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεκαδύο Αἰώνων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ Ζωῆς [*l.* Ἐκκλησίας] γενομένων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο υἱὸν Ἀνθρώπου [*adj.* ἑαυτὸν] ὁμολογεῖ, ὡσανεὶ ἀπόγονον Ἀνθρώπου. Οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος [1][τῶν] εἰς στήριγμα τοῦ Πληρώματος [1][*Int.* προβεβλημένων] γεγονέναι λέγουσιν αὐτόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Χριστὸν λέγεσθαι αὐτὸν, τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἀφ' οὗ προεβλήθη, G. 56. διασώζοντα προσηγορίαν. [2]Ἄλλοι δὲ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ῥαψῳδοὶ, τὸν Προπάτορα τῶν ὅλων, καὶ Προάρχην, καὶ Προανεννόητον Ἄνθρωπον λέγουσι καλεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ μέγα καὶ ἀπόκρυφον μυστήριον, ὅτι ἡ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα δύναμις

LIB. I. vi. GR. I. vii. MASS. I. xii. 4.

Zoen dici eum, parentum nomina custodientem. Alii autem ex duodecim Æonibus his qui sunt ab Anthropo et Ecclesia facti: et propter hoc Filium hominis se confiteri, velut postgenitum Anthropi. Alii [3]autem a Christo et Spiritu sancto, iis qui ad firmamentum Pleromatis emissi sunt, factum eum dicunt, et propter hoc Christum vocari eum dicunt, Patris sui a quo emissus est, custodientem appellationem. Alii autem sunt, qui ipsum Propatorem omnium, et Proarchen, et Proanennoeton Anthropon dicunt vocari: et hoc esse magnum et absconditum mysterium, quoniam quæ est super omnia virtus, et continet

them terms of a double denomination.

For αὐτὸν λέγουσι the translator read καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λόγον καὶ ζωὴν λέγεσθαι αὐτόν.

[1] This addition suggested by the version is confirmed by TERTULLIAN *c. Val.* 39. *Alii a Christo et Spiritu Sancto constabiliendæ universitati provisis confictum.* THEODORET however exhibits the same omission as EPIPHANIUS, *Hær. Fab.* I. 13, see above I. § 4. STIEREN boldly substitutes *eorum* in the version for *iis;* it is the reading of the CLERM. and ARUND. and, as MASSUET and GRABE affirm, of all the other MSS. but it is not retained, although the Greek may have had τῶν ... προβεβλημένων.

[2] GRABE suggests that these may be the Anthropiani mentioned by S. CYPRIAN (*ad Jubaianum Ep.* 73) in conjunction with Patripassians, Valentinians, Marcionites, &c. *Vind. Cath.* III. 226. MASSUET observes that LACTANTIUS (*de V. Sap.* IV. *sub fin.*) also speaks of them, as denying the Divinity of Christ, an idea scarcely compatible with the deification of the manhood by the heretics to whom Irenæus alludes. However this may be, it is certain that the author here indicates the remote source of the Apollinarian notion, that the manhood of Christ descended from heaven as a mixed theanthropic nature.

[3] The word *autem* is found in the CLERM. MS. and corresponds with the particle in the Greek; it is therefore restored.

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LIB. I. vi. GR. I. vii. MASS. I. xii. 4.

καὶ ἐμπεριεκτικὴ τῶν πάντων Ἄνθρωπος καλεῖται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτὸν λέγειν τὸν Σωτῆρα.

Κεφ. ζ'.

Quæ est industria Marci, et quæ sunt quæ ab eo. Qualis conversatio ipsorum, et quæ est figuratio vitæ.

Epiphanius c. Hær. xxxiv. 1.

1. Μάρκος δέ τις . . . . . γύναια καὶ ἄνδρας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπλανημένα τε καὶ πεπλανημένους ἐπηγάγετο, ὑποληφθεὶς ὁ ἐλεεινὸς διορθωτὴς εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων ἀπατεώνων, μαγικῆς ὑπάρχων κυβείας ἐμπειρότατος. Ἀπατήσας δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους πάντας καὶ τὰς προειρημένας προσέχειν αὐτῷ, ὡς γνωστικωτάτῳ, καὶ δύναμιν τὴν μεγίστην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τόπων

Ἄλλος δέ τις διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν Μάρκος μαγικῆς ἔμπειρος, ἃ μὲν διὰ κυβείας δώρων [καὶ ἐπῳδῶν], ἃ δὲ καὶ διὰ δαιμόνων ἠπάτα πολλούς. Οὗτος ἔλεγεν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγίστην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τόπων εἶναι δύναμιν. Καὶ δὴ πολλάκις λαμβάνων ποτήριον . . . κ.τ.λ. M. 60. *infra not.* 3, *p.* 115.

Hippol. Philos. vi. 39.

omnia, Anthropos vocatur: et ideo hoc Filium hominis se dicere Salvatorem.

CAP. VII.

1. [1]Alius vero quidam ex iis, qui sunt apud eos, magistri emendatorem se esse glorians, ([2]Marcus est autem illi nomen) magicæ imposturæ peritissimus, per quam et viros multos, et non paucas fœminas seducens, ad se converti, velut ad scientissimum, [[3]et perfectissimum,] et virtutem maximam ab invisi-

[1] The Greek text is that of Epiphanius, *c. Hær.* xxxiv. 1. It is also preserved in a closer form in the *Philos.* of Hippolytus, vi. 39, which the reader will now find to be of great service in settling the text. The extracts are considerable, and extend over the five following chapters. The texts of both Epiphanius and Hippolytus are in the first section introductory and loose; but afterwards they are represented accurately by the version.

[2] S. Irenæus speaks of the opinions of Marcus, as having existed now for some length of time, xi. end. He must have been contemporary with Valentinus. The Clerm. MS. has *est* erased, the Greek text perhaps having originally run thus, Μάρκος δὲ αὐτῷ ὄνομα, the reader may compare the Greek of Hippolytus with the passage above, v. § 2, in which the doubtful word ἐπιφανὴς occurs; if the proper name had been intended, the present order of the words would have been observed.

[3] These words are bracketted for

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Epiphanius. ἔχοντι, ὡς πρόδρομος ὢν ἀληθῶς τοῦ [1]Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποδέδεικται. Τὰ γὰρ [2]Ἀναξιλάου παίγνια τῇ τῶν λεγομένων μάγων πανουργίᾳ, συμμίξας, δι' αὐτῶν φαντάζων τε καὶ μαγεύων, εἰς ἔκπληξιν τοὺς ὁρωντάς τε καὶ πειθομένους αὐτῷ περιέβαλεν. . . . . Οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ περιεργίας ὁρῶντες δοκοῦσι δυνάμεις τινὰς ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι . . . . . Τὸν γὰρ νοῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπολέσαντες οὐχ ὁρῶσι μὴ γινώσκοντες δοκιμάσαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ μαγείας ἡ σύστασις τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ παιγνίου, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἐπιτελεῖται. LIB. I. vii. 1. GR. I. viii. MASS. 1. xiii. 1.

G. 57. 2. [3]Ποτήρια οἴνῳ [4]κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν,

bilibus et ab inenarrabilibus locis habentem, fecit, præcursor quasi vere existens Antichristi. Anaxilai enim ludicra cum nequitia eorum, qui dicuntur magi, commiscens, per hæc virtutes perficere putatur apud eos, qui sensum non habent, et a mente sua excesserunt.

2. Pro calice enim vino mixto fingens se gratias agere, et

omission, neither EPIPHANIUS nor HIPPOLYTUS recognise them, and they are omitted in the CLERM. and VOSS. MSS. they were perhaps suggested by the similar expressions in v. § 3.

[1] Evidently in allusion to Matt. xxiv. 24, Ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται, καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα, ὥστε πλανῆσαι, εἰ δυνατὸν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς.

[2] GRABE rightly understands the author to refer to that Anaxilaus whose recreations in natural magic are described by PLINY, *Lusit et Anaxilaus eo* (*sulphure* [*sc.*]) *candens in calice novo, prunaque subdita circumferens, exardescentis repercussu, pallorem dirum, velut defunctorum, offundente convivis.* PLIN. *Hist. N.* XXXV. 15; see also *H. N.* XIX. 1; XXVIII. 11; XXXIII. 10.

[3] EPIPHANIUS, as GRABE observes, engages to give verbatim the words of IRENÆUS, which he does most faithfully, introducing the passage with the following words: Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἵνα μὴ εἰς δεύτερον κάματον ἐαυτὸν ἐπιδῶ, ἀρκεσθῆναι δεῖν ἡγησάμην τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου Εἰρηναίου κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μάρκου, καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁρμωμένων πραγματευθεῖσιν· ἅτινα ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἔπος ἐκθέσθαι ἐσπούδασα, καὶ ἔστι τάδε· φάσκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς, (forte αὐτὸς) Εἰρηναῖος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν τῷ ὑποφαίνειν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, λέγων οὕτως. HIPPOLYTUS is here less close, his text therefore is confined to the notes. He says: καὶ δὴ πολλάκις λαμβάνων ποτήριον ὡς εὐχαριστῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεον τὸ κέρασμα ἐποίει φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ποτε [καὶ πόμα] ἐρυθρὸν, ὡς δοκεῖν τοὺς ἀπατωμένους [τοῖς ἀπατωμένοις] χάριν τινα κατιέναι καὶ αἱματώδη δύναμιν παρέχειν τῷ πόματι... Ὃς καὶ ποτήριον παρ' ἑτέρου κιρνῶν, ἐδίδου γυναικὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, αὐτὸς παρεστὼς, καὶ ἕτερον κρατῶν ἐκείνου μεῖζον, κενὸν, καὶ εὐχαριστησάσης τῆς ἀπατωμένης, δεξάμενος ἐπέχει εἰς τὸν μείζω, καὶ πολλάκις ἀντεπιχέων ἕτερον εἰς ἕτερον, ἐπέλεγεν οὕτως. Then follows the invocation as in EPIPHANIUS; and subsequently, Καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα ἐπειπὼν καὶ ἐκστήσας τήν τε ἀπατωμένην καὶ τοὺς παρόντας, ὡς θαυματοποιὸς ἐνομίζετο, τοῦ μείζονος ποτηρίου

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LIB. I. vii. 2. GR. I ix. 1. MASS. I. xiii. 2.

καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα [1]Χάριν τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς στάζειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑπεριμείρεσθαι τοὺς παρόντας ἐξ ἐκείνου γεύσασθαι τοῦ πόματος, ἵνα καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐπομβρήσῃ ἡ διὰ τοῦ μάγου τούτου κληϊζομένη Χάρις. Πάλιν δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπιδοὺς ἐκπώματα κεκραμένα, αὐτὰς εὐχαρι-

in multum extendens sermonem invocationis, purpureum et rubicundum apparere facit, ut putetur ea Gratia ab iis quæ sunt super omnia, suum sanguinem stillare in illius calicem per invocationem ejus, et valde concupiscere præsentes ex illo gustare poculo, ut et in eos stillet quæ per magum hunc vocatur Gratia. Rursus mulieribus dans calices mixtos, ipsas gratias

πληρουμένου ἐκ τοῦ μικροτέρου, ὡς καὶ ὑπερχεῖσθαι πλεόναζον...Διὸ μετὰ σπουδῆς τοῖς παροῦσι παρεδίδου πίνειν· οἱ δὲ ὡς θεῖόν τι καὶ θεῷ μεμελετημένον φρίσσοντες ἅμα καὶ σπεύδοντες ἔπινον. HIPPOLYT. *Philosoph.* VI. 39, 40. The object of the imposture being to procure credit for his Gnostic teaching, under the plea of a divine commission. See Iambic lines c. XI. § 4. The evidence of IRENÆUS and HIPPOLYTUS is quite of sufficient strength to fix a charge of imposture upon Marcus, and Neander's defence of the heretic fails to satisfy the judgment. He says, Die Abendmahlsfeier verbanden sie (Marcosii) mit symbolischen, auf ihre Lehre von der Erlösung sich beziehenden Gebraüchen. Wie der Wein Allen mitgetheilt wird, so verbreitet sich in Alle das verborgene göttliche Leben. Diese Vorstellung wurde missverstanden und veranlasste das Gerücht, dass sie vorgeben, der Wein würde durch das Blut der Charis roth gefärbt. *Genet. Entw.* p. 183. Would the author have been equally indulgent to the exhibitors of the blood of S. Januarius?

[4] κεκραμένα. Water in the primitive Church was mingled with wine in the Eucharistic cup; so JUSTIN M. asserts in his deeply interesting account of the Christian Sacraments: παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται, καὶ οἶνος, καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ διακόνων πέμπεται. *Vind. Cath.* III. 169. Hence it is called, V. ii., τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, where the reader may consult the note. The translator read ποτήριον οἴνῳ κεκραμένον. Hippolytus says nothing of wine being mixed in the cup, and the juggle would be spoiled by its presence; it is therefore highly probable that Marcus adopted the practice of the Hydroparastatæ, or followers of Tatian, who used only water, where Christ ordained the use of wine, as CLEM. AL. says, Strom. I., εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσιν. The word εὐχαριστεῖν being especially used for consecration; compare the words of JUSTIN M. above.

[1] Χάριν, GRABE reminds us that Σιγὴ was also called Χάρις, and in the invocation that follows, Χάρις is designated by the Gnostic terms ἀνεννοήτος and ἀῤῥήτος. To this therefore, and not to any Christian gift of grace, reference is made.

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στεῖν ἐγκελεύεται παρεστῶτος αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τούτου γενομένου, LIB. I. vii. 2. GR. I. ix. 1. MASS I. xiii. 2.
G. 58 αὐτὸς ἄλλο ποτήριον πολλῷ μεῖζον ἐκείνου, οὗ ἡ ἐξηπατημένη εὐχαρίστησε, προσενεγκὼν, [*Int.* προενεγκών. *Hipp.* κρατῶν] καὶ μετακενώσας ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροτέρου, τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ηὐχαριστημένου, εἰς τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκοσμημένον [*Int.* κεκομισμένον], ἐπιλέγων ἅμα οὕτως· Ἡ πρὸ τῶν ὅλων, ἡ ἀνεννόητος καὶ
M. 61. ἄῤῥητος Χάρις πληρώσαι σου τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πληθύναι ἐν σοὶ τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτῆς, ἐγκατασπείρουσα τὸν κόκκον τοῦ σινάπεως εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν γῆν. Καὶ τοιαῦτά τινα εἰπὼν, καὶ ἐξοιστρήσας [ἐκστήσας *Hippol.*] τὴν ταλαίπωρον, θαυματοποιὸς ἀνεφάνη, τοῦ μεγάλου πληρωθέντος ἐκ τοῦ μικροῦ ποτηρίου, ὥστε καὶ ὑπερεκχεῖσθαι ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἄλλα τινα τούτοις παραπλήσια ποιῶν ἐξηπάτησε πολλοὺς, καὶ ἀπαγήοχεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ. Εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δαίμονά τινα πάρεδρον ἔχειν, δι' οὗ αὐτός τε [1] προφητεύειν δοκεῖ, καὶ ὅσας ἀξίας

agere jubet præsente se. Et ubi hoc factum est, ipse alium calicem multo majorem quam est ille, in quo illa seducta Eucharistiam facit [fecit], proferens, et transfundens a minori, qui est a muliere [2]Eucharistiæ factus, in illum qui est ab eo allatus [3](multo majorem), statim dicens ita: *Illa quæ est ante omnia,* Marc. iv. 31. *inevcogitabilis et inenarrabilis gratia, adimpleat tuum intus hominem, et multiplicet in te agnitionem suam, inseminans granum sinapis in bonam terram.* Et talia quædam dicens, et in insaniam mittens illam infelicem, admirabilia faciens apparuit, quando major calix adimpletus est de minori calice, ut et supereffunderet ex eo. Et alia quædam his similia faciens. [4]exterminavit multos, et abstraxit post se. Datur autem intelligi, eum et dæmonem quendam paredrum habere, per quem ipse quoque prophetare videtur, et quotquot dignas putat fieri

[1] Hippolytus says in like manner, VI. 41, Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα ἐπεχείρει ὁ πλάνος ποιεῖν· διὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπατωμένων ἐδοξάζετο, καὶ ποτὲ [μὲν] αὐτὸς ἐνομίζετο προφητεύειν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐποίει· ὅτε μὲν καὶ διὰ δαιμόνων ταῦτα ἐνεργῶν, ὅτε δὲ καὶ κυβεύων ὡς προείπομεν. Πολλοὺς τοίνυν ἐξαφανίσας κ.τ.λ. The venerable writer, as is usual with him, throws the veil of silence over these Marcosian practices, and substitutes a brief account of their method of retaining their hold upon those whom they had once perverted.

[2] The Arundel reading *Eucharistiæ* is adopted, from the analogy of the expression of S. Paul, τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, 1 Cor. x. 16.

[3] *Multo majorem,* these words are found in all the MSS., but they correspond with nothing in the Greek, and are apparently repeated from above.

[4] *Exterminare* is used in the sense of *leading astray, infr.* c. xx. 4, it is not

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ἡγεῖται μετόχους τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, προφητεύειν ποιεῖ. Μάλιστα γὰρ περὶ γυναῖκας ἀσχολεῖται, καὶ τούτων [τοῦτο] τὰς εὐπαρύφους, καὶ περιπορφύρους, καὶ πλουσιωτάτας, ἃς πολλάκις ὑπάγεσθαι πειρώμενος, κολακεύων φησὶν αὐταῖς· Μεταδοῦναί σοι θέλω τῆς ἐμῆς χάριτος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων τὸν ἄγγελόν σου διαπαντὸς βλέπει πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ τόπος τοῦ [1]μεγέθους ἐν ἡμῖν ἐστι δι' ἡμᾶς ἐγκαταστῆσαι [*l.* δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἓν καταστῆσαι.] Λάμβανε πρῶτον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ τὴν χάριν. Εὐτρέπισον σεαυτὴν, ὡς νύμφη ἐκδεχομένη τὸν νυμφίον ἑαυτῆς, ἵνα ἔσῃ ὃ ἐγὼ, καὶ ἐγὼ ὃ σύ. Καθίδρυσον ἐν τῷ νυμφῶνί σου τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ φωτός. Λάβε παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν νυμφίον, καὶ χώρησον αὐτὸν, καὶ χωρήθητι ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἰδοὺ ἡ χάρις κατῆλθεν ἐπί σε· ἄνοιξον τὸ στόμα σου, καὶ προφήτευσον. Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀποκρινομένης, οὐ προεφήτευσα πώποτε, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα προφητεύειν· ἐπικλήσεις τινὰς ποιούμενος ἐκ δευτέρου εἰς κατάπληξιν τῆς ἀπατωμένης, φησὶν αὐτῇ· Ἄνοιξον τὸ στόμα σου, λάλησον ὅ τι δήποτε, καὶ προφητεύσεις. Ἡ δὲ [2]χαυνωθεῖσα, καὶ κεπφωθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων, διαθερμανθεῖσα τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τῆς M. 62

participes suæ gratiæ, prophetare facit. Maxime enim circa mulieres vacat, et hoc circa eas quæ sunt honestæ, et circumpurpuratæ, et ditissimæ, quas sæpe abducere tentans, dicit blandiens eis: *Participare te volo ex mea gratia, quoniam Pater omnium angelum tuum semper videt ante faciem suam. Locus autem tuæ magnitudinis in nobis est: oportet nos in unum convenire. Sume primum a me, et per me gratiam. Adapta te ut sponsa sustinens sponsum suum, ut sis quod ego, et ego quod tu. Constitue in thalamo tuo semen luminis. Sume a me sponsum, et cape eum, et capere in eo. Ecce gratia descendit in te, aperi os tuum, et propheta.* Cum autem mulier responderit: *Nunquam prophetavi, et nescio prophetare:* invocationes quasdam faciens denuo, ad stuporem ejus quæ seducitur, dicit ei: *Aperi os tuum, et loquere quodcunque, et prophetabis.* Illa autem seducta et elata ab iis quæ prædicta sunt, concalefaciens animam a sus-

Matt. xviii. 10.

necessary therefore to substitute *externare*, as Heumann, with his usual infelicity, has proposed.

[1] *μέγεθος*, as MASSUET observes, is used in the sequel by the Marcosians as synonymous with *ἄγγελος*, § 2, which sense it will also bear here.

[2] *χαυνωθεῖσα*, *puffed up*. *κεπφωθεῖσα* ad lit. *gulled*, *κέπφος* being a sea-bird of light and rapid flight.

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προσδοκίας τοῦ μέλλειν αὐτὴν προφητεύειν, τῆς καρδίας πλέον τοῦ δέοντος παλλούσης, ἀποτολμᾷ λαλεῖν [*Int.* καὶ λαλεῖ] ληρώδη καὶ τὰ τυχόντα πάντα κενῶς καὶ τολμηρῶς, ἅτε ὑπὸ κενοῦ τεθερμαμένη πνεύματος· (καθὼς ὁ [1]κρείσσων ἡμῶν ἔφη περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅτι τολμηρὸν καὶ ἀναιδὲς ψυχὴ κενῷ ἀέρι θερμαινομένη,) καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου λοιπὸν προφήτιδα ἑαυτὴν μεταλαμβάνει, καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ Μάρκῳ τῷ ἐπιδιδόντι τῆς ἰδίας χάριτος αὐτῇ· καὶ ἀμείβεσθαι αὐτὸν πειρᾶται, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δόσιν, (ὅθεν καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος πολὺ συνενήνοχεν,) ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κοινωνίαν, κατὰ πάντα ἑνοῦσθαι αὐτῷ προθυμουμένη, ἵνα σὺν αὐτῷ κατέλθῃ εἰς τὸ ἕν.

LIB. I. vii. 2. GR. I. ix. 1. MASS. I. xiii. 3.

G. 59.

Cf. Rom. x. 20.

3. Ἤδη δὲ τῶν προτέρων [*Interpres*, πιστοτάτων] τινὲς γυναικῶν τῶν ἐχουσῶν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατηθεισῶν, ἃς ὁμοίως ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπετήδευσε παραπείθειν, κελεύων αὐταῖς προφητεύειν, καὶ καταφυσήσασαι, καὶ καταθε-

picione quod incipiat prophetare, cum cor ejus multo plus quam oporteat palpitet, audet, et loquitur deliriosa, et quæcunque evenerint omnia, vacue et audacter, quippe calefacta spiritu, (sicut melior nobis de talibus prophetis exequitur, quod audax et[2] inverecunda est anima quasi[2] vacuo aëre excalefacta [est]) et exinde Prophetidem semetipsam putat, et gratias agit Marco ei, qui participavit ei suam gratiam: et remunerare eum gestit, non solum secundum substantiæ suæ dationem, (unde [3]et divitiarum copiam magnam collegit) sed et secundum corporis copulationem, et secundum omnia uniri ei cupit, ut cum eo descendat in unum.

3. Jam vero quædam ex fidelissimis mulieribus, quæ habent timorem Dei, et non sunt seducibiles, quas similiter ut reliquas affectavit seducere, jubens eis prophetare, exsufflantes et [4]catathematizantes [Ar. anathem.] eum, separaverunt se ab hujus-

[1] Possibly meaning either his instructor Polycarp, or his predecessor Pothinus; see note 3, p. 3.

[2] Massuet reads *quæ*, but the MSS. have *quasi*, which is therefore retained. The text requires *inverecundum; est* at the close of the parenthesis may be expunged, as having arisen out of *et* following.

[3] *Et* is inserted on the authority of the Clerm. MS., supported as it is by the text of Epiphanius.

[4] *Catathematisantes*, is the reading of the Clerm. and Voss. MSS. and is restored by Massuet. Compare XII. 2, where the same word recurs.

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LIB. I. vii. 3. GR. I. ix. 1. MASS. I. xiii. 4.

ματίσασαι αὐτὸν, ἐχωρίσθησαν τοῦ τοιούτου θιάσου· ἀκριβῶς εἰδυῖαι, ὅτι προφητεύειν οὐχ ὑπὸ Μάρκου τοῦ μάγου ἐγγίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν ὁ Θεὸς ἄνωθεν ἐπιπέμψῃ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, οὗτοι θεόσδοτον ἔχουσι τὴν προφητείαν, καὶ τότε λαλοῦσιν ἔνθα καὶ ὁπότε Θεὸς βούλεται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτε Μάρκος κελεύει. Τὸ γὰρ κελεῦον τοῦ κελευομένου μεῖζόν τε καὶ κυριώτερον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν προηγεῖται, τὸ δὲ ὑποτέτακται. Εἰ οὖν Μάρκος μὲν κελεύει, ἢ ἄλλος τις, ὡς εἰώθασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς M. 63. δείπνοις [1]τοῦ κλήρου οὗτοι πάντοτε παίζειν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελεύεσθαι τὸ προφητεύειν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας ἑαυτοῖς μαντεύεσθαι, ἔσται ὁ κελεύων μείζων τε καὶ κυριώτερος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος, ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ὅπερ ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα κελευόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν πνεύματα, καὶ λαλοῦντα ὁπότε βούλονται αὐτοὶ, ἐπίσαθρα καὶ ἀδρανῆ ἐστι, τολμηρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναιδῆ, ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐκπεμπόμενα πρὸς ἐξαπάτησιν καὶ ἀπώλειαν τῶν μὴ εὔτονον τὴν πίστιν, ἣν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρέλαβον, φυλασσόντων.

modi insano, qui se divinum spirare simulabat: pro certo scientes, quoniam prophetare non a Marco mago inditur hominibus, sed quibuscunque Deus desuper immiserit gratiam suam [2]hi a Deo traditam habent prophetiam, et tunc loquuntur ubi, et quando Deus vult; sed non quando Marcus jubet. Quod enim jubet, eo quod jubetur majus est et dominatius. quoniam illud quidem principatur, illud autem subjectum est. Si ergo Marcus quidem jubet, vel alius quis, sicut solent in cœnis sortibus hi omnes ludere, et sibimetipsis invicem imperare ut prophetent, et secundum suas concupiscentias eos sibi prophetare, erit ille qui jubet et major et dominatior prophetico spiritu, cum sit homo, quod est impossibile. Sed tales quidem qui jubentur ab ipsis spiritus, et loquuntur quando volunt ipsi, terreni et infirmi sunt. audaces autem et impudentes, a Satana immissi ad seductionem et perditionem eorum, qui non firmam fidem, quam ab initio per ecclesiam acceperunt, custodiunt.

[1] "Ἐπὶ τοῖς δείπνοις τοῦ κλήρου οὗτοι πάντοτε παίζειν] Hæ cœnæ, in quibus sortibus utebantur, in memoriam nobis revocant illa apud Horatium:

Nec regna vini sortiere talis; et,
Quem Venus arbitrum Dicet bibendi?

cum modiperatores talorum jactu deligerent. *Fr. D.* Videtur autem Interpres hic legisse: *τοὺς κλήρους οὗτοι πάντες παίζειν.*" GRABE.

[2] MASSUET omits to remark, that the CLERM. MS. has *hi a Deo*, the older editions reading with the ARUND. MS. *hi ab eo*.

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G. 60. 4. Ὅτι δὲ [1]φίλτρα καὶ ἀγώγιμα, πρὸς τὸ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν ἐνυβρίζειν, ἐμποιεῖ οὗτος ὁ Μάρκος ἐνίαις τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάσαις, αὗται πολλάκις ἐπιστρέψασαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξωμολογήσαντο, καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἠχρειῶσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρωτικῶς πάνυ αὐτὸν πεφιλῆκέναι· ὥστε καὶ διάκονόν τινα τῶν ἐν [2]τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποδεξάμενον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, περιπεσεῖν ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ, [3]τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ εὐειδοῦς ὑπαρχούσης,

LIB. I. vii. 4. GR. I. ix. 2. MASS. I. xiii. 5.

4. Adhuc etiam et amatoria et adlectantia efficit, ut et corporibus ipsarum contumeliam irroget, hic idem Marcus quibusdam mulieribus, etsi non universis. Hæ sæpissime conversæ ad ecclesiam Dei. confessæ sunt, et secundum corpus exterminatas se ab eo, velut cupidine et inflammatas valde illum se dilexisse; ut et diaconus quidam eorum qui sunt in Asia nostri, suscipiens eum in domum suam. inciderit in hujusmodi calamitatem. Nam cum esset uxor ejus speciosa, et sen-

[1] *φίλτρα*. The followers of Simon Magus and Carpocrates lay under the same imputation. *c.* XVI., XX. The translator read *ἔτι δὲ* in the Greek. S. JEROME alludes to this statement of IRENÆUS, in the following passage in his *Ep.* 29, *ad Theodoram*, as quoted by GRABE: *Refert Irenæus, vir Apostolicorum temporum, et Papiæ auditoris Evangelistæ Joannis discipulus, Episcopus Ecclesiæ Lugdunensis, quod Marcus quidam de Basilidis Gnostici stirpe descendens, primum ad Gallias venerit, et eas partes, per quas Rhodanus et Garumna fluunt, sua doctrina maculaverit; maximeque nobiles fœminas, quædam in occulto mysteria repromittens, hoc errore seduxerit, magicis artibus et secreta corporum voluptate amorem sui concilians: inde Pyrenæum transiens Hispanias occuparit, et hoc studii habuerit, ut divitum domos, et in ipsis fœminas maxime appeteret*, quæ ducuntur variis desideriis, semper discentes, et nunquam ad scientiam veritatis pervenientes. See p. 126, n. 1.

[2] *ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*. A close connexion appears to have subsisted between the churches of Gaul and of Asia. The account of the persecution of the church at Vienne, and of the martyrdom of some of its members, was addressed, not to Rome, nor to Jerusalem, but to the Church of Asia. The names of the first Gallican bishops are Greek. The Aquileian creed, as used in Gaul, had an Eastern cast in some of its clauses. In the Paschal controversy, the churches of Gaul, and of the far west, symbolised with the eastern churches rather than with Rome. Here also IRENÆUS speaks of this Asiatic deacon's domestic affairs, and calls him *τινα τῶν ἡμετέρων*.

[3] GRABE directs the reader's attention to the fact that in these primitive times at least, the marriage state was not thought incompatible with the diaconate. One of the charges brought against Callistus, bishop of Rome, by his suffragan bishop Hippolytus, was the fact that he tolerated the marriage of those *ἐν κλήρῳ*: no doubt this term, unless the context requires it, may not embrace the higher orders; for it is not unusually applied in designating the lower clerical grades of lectores, cantores, sub-deacons, acolyths, &c. *e. g. Can. Apost.* 55,

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καὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ σῶμα διαφθαρείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ μάγου τούτου, καὶ ἐξακολουθησάσης αὐτῷ πολλῷ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἔπειτα μετὰ πολλοῦ κόπου τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστρεψάντων, αὐτὴ [*l.* ἐ. αὐτὴν,] τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον [1]ἐξομολογουμένη διετέλεσε, πενθοῦσα καὶ θρηνοῦσα ἐφ' ᾗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάγου διαφθορᾷ.

tentia et corpore corrupta esset a mago isto, et secuta eum esset multo tempore, post deinde cum magno labore fratres eam convertissent, omne tempus in exhomologesi consummavit, plangens et lamentans ob hanc, quam passa est ab hoc mago, corruptelam.

εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὑβρίζει πρεσβύτερον ἢ διάκονον, ἀφοριζέσθω. See also *Conc. Nic.* Can. III. The Council of Laodicea distinguishes the κληρικοί from the higher orders, or ἱερατικοί, in the following synodal canons, 27, 30, 41, 42, 54, 55. S. AMBROSE also observes the same distinction: *Sed prius cognoscamus non solum hoc de episcopo et presbytero statuisse, sed etiam patres in concilio Nicæni tractatus edidisse, neque clericum quemdam debere esse, qui secunda conjugia sortitus sit. Ep.* 63, § 64. Nothing is more certain, from these words of IRENÆUS, than that the marriage of deacons was still permitted towards the close of the third century. The words of HIPPOLYTUS, taking his entire context, will shew that this was tolerated also in the Roman Church, which gave offence to the high disciplinarian views of HIPPOLYTUS, views in fact which afterwards led to the Novatianist schism. His words are, Ἐπὶ τούτου ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι δίγαμοι καὶ τρίγαμοι καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους. Εἰ δὲ καί τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὢν γαμοίη, μένειν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς μὴ ἡμαρτηκότα, κ.τ.λ. Certainly if it had not been for the complete identification of the higher orders of bishops, priests, and deacons with the κλήροι, in the former case of second and third marriages, we might have found it difficult to prove that the same term was subsequently used in this less restricted meaning in the case of marriages contracted after ordination. But let the reader ask himself, whether it is at all likely that Hippolytus, taking umbrage at his metropolitan's connivance, merely as respects the marriage of the subordinate clergy, would have so expressed himself as to lead readers of no superficial habits to infer that the bishop of Rome permitted marriage in the very highest orders of his clergy? Generally speaking, primitive instances of the non-celibacy of the primitive clergy are not inconsistent with the explanation that the married state had been dissolved by the death of the wife before ordination, or that it had become virtually inoperative by a voluntary separation. Here at least we have as clear a statement as any critical mind could wish, that in the Church of Rome the marriage of bishops, priests and deacons was sanctioned by one of its bishops, early in the third century.

[1] ἐξομολογουμένη. The ecclesiastical term whereby the public confession of penitents was expressed; an act that was indispensable for the removing of the temporal censures and penalties of the Church. The Greek term was also adopted by the Latin Church, *Actus pœnitentiæ, qui magis Græco vocabulo exprimitur et frequentatur, exhomologesis est... Exhomologesis prosternendi et humilificandi hominis disciplina est.* TERTULL. de Pœn. *Exhomologesin conscientiæ faciunt.* CYPR. de Lapsis. The power of the Keys may be stated briefly to have been exercised partly in the admission

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5. Καὶ μαθηταὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τινες [1]περιπολίζοντες ἐν τοῖς
M. 64. αὐτοῖς, ἐξαπατῶντες γυναικάρια πολλὰ διέφθειραν, τελείους ἑαυ-
τοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες· ὡς μηδενὸς δυναμένου ἐξισωθῆναι τῷ μεγέ-
G. 61. θει τῆς γνώσεως αὐτῶν, μηδ' ἂν Παῦλον, μηδ' ἂν Πέτρον εἴπῃς,
μηδ' ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων· ἀλλὰ πλείω πάντων ἐγνωκέ-
ναι, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς γνώσεως τῆς ἀῤῥήτου δυνάμεως μόνους
καταπεπωκέναι. Εἶναί τε αὐτοὺς ἐν ὕψει ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δύναμιν·
διὸ καὶ ἐλευθέρως πάντα πράσσειν, [2]μηδένα ἐν μηδενὶ φόβον
ἔχοντας. Διὰ γὰρ τὴν [3]ἀπολύτρωσιν ἀκρατήτους καὶ ἀοράτους

5. Et discipuli autem ejus quidam circumobversati in iisdem, seducentes mulierculas multas corruperunt, perfectos semetipsos vocantes: quasi nemo possit exæquari magnitudini agnitionis ipsorum, nec si Paulum aut Petrum dicas, vel alterum quendam Apostolorum: sed plus omnibus se cognovisse, et magnitudinem agnitionis illius, quæ est inenarrabilis virtutis, solos ebibisse. Esse autem se in altitudine super omnem virtutem: quapropter et libere omnia agere, nullum in nullo timorem habentes. Propter enim redemptionem et incomprehensibiles et invisibiles fieri

of converts into the Church by Baptism, partly also in the infliction and removal of temporal censure and interdict. No other power of binding and loosing was claimed by the Primitive Church.

[1] περιπολίζοντες, *going about idly*. STIEREN quotes the words of STRABO, τῶν περιπολιζόντων, καὶ σχολὰς διατιθεμένων. 14, p. 675.

[2] HIPPOLYTUS says the same of the followers of Simon Magus, λέγοντες... καὶ τὸ ἅγιος ἁγίων...λλη...δς ἁγιασθήσεται [i.e. perhaps, καὶ τὸ, ἅγιος ἁγίων μελήσεται, οἳς ἁγιασθήσεται·] οὐ γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπί τινι νομιζομένῳ κακῷ, λελύτρωνται γάρ.

[3] GRABE adopts the idea of Rhenferd, that the ἀπολύτρωσις of the Marcosians consisted merely in this imprecatory formula, that was analogous to the גאולה or thanksgiving for their redemption from Egypt, that was offered up night and morning by the Jews. He says in his note, Per *redemptionem*, quam hic et paulo post memorat, certam orationis formulam intelligendam esse, non modo ipse Irenæi contextus, in quo sequitur, ὦ πάτερ Θεοῦ &c. ostendit, sed et Judaici ritus ratio plane confirmat, quam ex Viri docti, Jacobi Rhenferdii Disputatione de Redemptione Marcosiorum et Heracleonitarum § 21. explicatam dabo. Habent scilicet Judæi formulam quandam precationis, vel *confessionis* potius, quam precibus quotidianis interserunt, qua Deum O. M. Vindicem suum et Redemtorem celebrant; unde eam גאולה Geulah, id est, *Liberationem* vel *Redemtionem* appellant; cui tantam vim tribuunt, ut si quis ea rite utatur, illi spem certam faciant beatudinis æternæ. Codice Berachoth, fol. 4. colum. 2. אמר ר' יוחנן איזהו בן העולם הבא זה הסומך גאול לתפלה של ערבית *Dixit R. Johannes: Quis est filius seculi futuri? Quicunque precibus vespertinis subjungit Redemtionem.* Ubi voce *Redemtionis* vel *Liberationis* nihil aliud intelligitur, quam formula de illa

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γίνεσθαι τῷ [1]κριτῇ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπιλάβοιτο αὐτῶν, παραστάντες αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τάδε εἴποιεν· ὦ [2]πάρεδρε Θεοῦ καὶ μυστικῆς πρὸ [3]αἰῶνος [*Int.* αἰώνων] Σιγῆς, ἣν τὰ μεγέθη

judici. Si autem et apprehenderit eos, assistentes ei cum redemptione hæc [4]dicerent: *O assessor Dei et mysticæ illius pro*

Matt. xviii. 10.

liberatione agens. Est autem illa duplex, altera quæ matutinis precibus additur, altera quæ vespertinis. Quæ tempore matutino recitatur, inde ab אמת ויציב (Emeth Vejazzib) incipit, atque ab his initialibus vocibus appellatur. In qua cum sæpius mentio fit liberationis, Deique assertatoris, et liberatio ex Ægypto satis prolixe narratur; tum tandem hac clausula finitur, quæ stricte גאולה appellatur: נואלנו יהוה צבאות שמו קדוש ישראל ברוך אתה יהוה גואל ישראל: *Redemtor noster Dominus Sabaoth est nomen ejus, Sanctus Israelis. Benedictus sis tu, Domine, Redemtor Israelis.* Vespertinæ formulæ hoc initium est, אמת ואמונה (Emeth Veemunah) quæ tandem sic clauditur: נואמר כי פדה יהוה את יעקוב וגאלו מיד־ חזק ממנו ברוך אתה גואל ישראל *Et dictum est* (Jerem. xxxi. 11), *Quoniam redemit Deus Jacobum, et asseruit illum ex manu potentioris ipso. Benedictus sis tu, Domine, Redemtor Israelis.* The Marcosians, see c. XIV., like the Marcionites, were not content with baptizing their converts once; they repeated the rite, and the second lustration was their ἀπολύτρωσις that removed them from the cognizance of the Demiurge. The first baptism was material as the baptism of Jesus in the river Jordan, and was for the remission of sins; the second Baptism was as the descent of the Æon Christ in form of a dove, and this was spiritual, and conferred redemption, see c. xviii. HIPPOLYTUS also mentions the twofold baptism of the Marcosians; referring to this passage of IRENÆUS, he says; καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος Εἰρηναῖος, παρὴσιαίτερον τῷ ἐλέγχῳ προσενεχθείς, τὰ τοιαῦτα λούσματα καὶ ἀπολυτρώσεις ἐξέθετο, ἀδρομερέστερον εἰπὼν ἃ πράσσουσιν, οἱ [οἷς], ἐντυχόντες τινες αὐτῶν ἤρνηνται οὕτως παρειληφέναι, ἀεὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι μανθάνοντες· διὸ φροντὶς ἡμῖν γεγένηται ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιζητῆσαι καὶ ἀνευρεῖν λεπτομερῶς, ἃ καὶ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λουτρῷ παραδιδόασι, τὸ τοιοῦτο καλοῦντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ὁ ἀπολύτρωσιν καλοῦσιν. *Philos.* VI. 42. It was on account of this heretical repetition of Baptism, early in the second century, that the Eastern creeds express faith in the efficacy of "*One Baptism for the Remission of sins.*" The Valentinians baptized only once, but conferred imposition of hands with the words εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικήν, in confirmation of the baptismal λύτρωσις. And as all things on earth had their counterpart in the Pleroma, a λύτρωσις was necessary for the angels; ἐβαπτίσαντο δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν λυτρώσει τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ περιστερᾷ κατελθόντος καὶ λυτρωσαμένου αὐτόν. Ἐδέησεν δὲ λυτρώσεως καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα μὴ κατασχεθῇ τῇ ἐννοίᾳ ᾗ ἐνετέθη τοῦ ὑστερήματος προσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς Σοφίας. *Didasc. Or.* 22.

[1] τῷ κριτῇ, *i. e.* to Demiurge, to whom the spiritual principle was imperceptible. See I. § 10, towards the end.

[2] ὦ πάρεδρε, *i. e.* Sophia, of whom the Valentinian mother, Achamoth, was the emanation. Compare I. § 18, towards the close.

[3] Compare the opening, p. 8, note 4; the word αἰώνων referring possibly to duration, rather than to the Valentinian emanations.

[4] The reading of the CLERMONT MS.

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διαπαντὸς βλέποντα, τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁδηγῷ σοι καὶ προσαγωγεῖ χρώμεθα [χρώμενα], [1] ἀνασπῶσιν ἄνω τὰς αὐτῶν μορφὰς, ἃς ἡ μεγαλότολμος ἐκείνη φαντασιασθεῖσα, διὰ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ Προπάτορος προεβάλετο ἡμᾶς τὰς εἰκόνας, τότε ἐνθύμιον τῶν ἄνω ὡς ἐνύπνιον ἔχουσα· ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς ἐγγὺς, καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ με κελεύει ἀπολογεῖσθαι· σὺ δὲ ὡς ἐπισταμένη τὰ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ὑπὲρ [2] ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν λόγον, ὡς ἕνα ὄντα τῷ κριτῇ παράστησον. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ταχέως ἀκούσασα τούτων, τὴν Ὁμηρικὴν [3] Ἄϊδος κυνέην αὐτοῖς περιέθηκε, πρὸς τὸ ἀοράτως ἐκφυγεῖν τὸν κριτήν· καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀνασπάσασα αὐτοὺς, εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα εἰσήγαγε, καὶ ἀπέδωκε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νυμφίοις.

LIB. I. vii. 5. GR. I. ix. 2. MASS. I. xiii. 6.

G. 62. M. 65.

æonon Siges, quam magnitudines semper videntes, faciem Patris, te viæ duce et adductore utentes, abstrahunt sursum suas formas, quas valde audax illa ducta phantasmate, propter bonum Propatoris emisit nos imagines illorum, tunc intentionem illorum quæ sunt sursum, quasi somnium habens; Ecce, judex in proximo, et præco me jubet meæ defensioni adesse. Tu autem, quasi quæ scias utrorumque nostrorum rationem, tanquam unum exsistentem judici assiste. Mater autem cito, audiens hæc, Homericam inferorum galeam eis superimposuit, ut invisibiliter effugerent judicem, et statim eripiens eos in thalamum duxit, et reddidit suis sponsis.

is restored as suiting εἶποιεν better than *dicent*.

[1] The reader will observe that the angels that accompanied Soter are said to be the σύζυγοι of spiritual gnostics, to whom they are restored after death. The spiritual soul was also, in gnostic phrase, the form of its correlative angelic emanation, because Achamoth engendered these souls after the likeness of the ange's, who formed the body-guard of Soter. See c. i. § 8, 10. Compare also the sequel, παραχρῆμα ἀνασπάσασα, κ.τ.λ. with the end of c. i. § 12.

[2] ἀμφοτέρων. No doubt GRABE has correctly understood this to refer to Achamoth on the one part and to the spiritual seed on the other, to both of whom the Pleroma was a matter of final attainment. But GRABE says nothing of the words ὡς ἕνα ὄντα, which refer to the consubstantiality of the spiritual with Achamoth; compare c. i. 9, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πνευματικὸν μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι αὐτὴν μορφῶσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁμοούσιον ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῇ. They, conjointly with Achamoth, passed into the Pleroma, after undergoing the appointed ordeal.

[3] Ἄϊδος κυνέην. Having the effect of rendering the wearer invisible. So Pallas rendered herself invisible to Mars,

Τὸν μὲν Ἄρης ἐνάριζε μαίφονος, αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη
Δῦν' Ἄϊδος κυνέην, μή μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης. *Il. ε.* 844.

It was the higher and spiritual principle, that withdrew the seed of Achamoth from the cognizance of Demiurgus. FEUARDENT quotes instances of the use of this Homeric myth by the Fathers.

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LIB. I. vii. 6. GR. I. ix. 2. MASS. I. xiii. 7.

6. Τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς κλίμασι [1]τῆς Ῥοδανουσίας, [2]πολλὰς ἐξηπατήκασι γυναῖκας, αἵτινες κεκαυτηριασμέναι τὴν συνείδησιν, αἱ μὲν καὶ [3]εἰς φανερὸν ἐξομολογοῦνται, αἱ δὲ δυσωπούμεναι τοῦτο, ἡσυχῇ δέ πως ἑαυτὰς ἀπηλπικυῖαι τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔνιαι μὲν εἰς

6. Talia autem dicentes et operantes, et in iis quoque quæ sunt secundum nos regiones Rhodanenses, multas seduxerunt
2 Tim. iii. 6 mulieres, quæ cauteriatas conscientias habentes, quædam quidem etiam in manifesto exhomologesin faciunt, quædam autem reverentes hoc ipsum, in silentio sensim semetipsas
Eph. iv. 18. retrahunt, desperantes a vita Dei, quædam quidem in totum

[1] τῆς Ῥοδ. *i. e.* of Gallia Lugdunensis or Λουγδουνησία watered by the Rhone, in which country Marcus first broached his heresy. *Per Marcum Ægyptium Galliarum primum circa Rhodanum, deinde Hispaniarum nobiles fœminas decepisse, miscentes fabulis voluptatem, et imperitiæ suæ nomen scientiæ venditantes.* HIERON. *in Es.* lxiv. GRABE however observes that the introduction of gnosticism into Spain is erroneously attributed by S. JEROM to Marcus the Mage. But there was another of this name who gave a starting point to the Priscillianist heresy in Spain, and mentioned by Sulpitius Severus as belonging to the latter half of the fourth century. *Primus eam* (Gnosticam hæresin sc.) *intra Hispanias Marcus intulit Ægypto profectus, Memphis ortus. Hujus auditores fuere Agape quædam non ignobilis mulier, et Rhetor Helpidius.* His followers were condemned at Saragossa, A.D. 380. See also p. 121, n. 1.

[2] From the days of the Apostle this
2 Tim. iii. 6. was still the case; Ἐκ τούτων γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, αἰχμαλωτεύοντες τὰ γυναικάρια σεσωρευμένα ἁμαρτίαις, ἀγόμενα ἐπιθυμίαις ποικίλαις. S. JEROM recounts the several instances in which other heretics adopted the same *modus operandi. Simon Magus hæresim condidit Helenæ meretricis adjutus auxilio; Nicolaus Antiochenus, omnium immunditiarum repertor, choros duxit fœminarum: Marcion Romam præmisit mulierem, quæ decipiendos sibi animos præpararet; Apelles Philomenen comitem suarum habuit doctrinarum; Montanus immundi spiritus prædicator, multas Ecclesias per Priscam et Maximillam nobiles et opulentas fœminas, primum auro corrupit, deinde hæresi polluit. Arius ut orbem deciperet, sororem Principis prius decepit. Donatus per Africam, ut infelices quosque fœtentibus polluere aquis, Lucillæ opibus adjutus est. In Hispania Agape Elpidium, mulier virum, cæcum cæca duxit in foveam, successoremque sui Priscillianum habuit, cui juncta Galla, alterius et vicinæ hæreseos reliquit hæredem.*

[3] Publicam pœnitentiam et satisfactionem in conspectu Ecclesiæ ex hoc loco colligit *Feuardentius;* ego vero et confessionem publicam quandoque factam exin demonstrari puto. Cujus usum satis clare quoque docet Origines, Hom. ii. in Ps. xxxvii. ubi hæc habentur verba: *Si ergo hujusmodi homo memor delicti sui confiteatur quæ commisit, et humana confusione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, et notant, vel irrident &c. Si ergo sit aliquis ita fidelis, ut si quid conscius sit sibi, procedat in medium et ipse sui accusator existat &c.* Item: *Si intellexerit et præviderit* (Sacerdos) *talem esse languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari &c.* GRABE.

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τὸ παντελὲς ἀπέστησαν, ἔνιαι δὲ ἐπαμφοτερίζουσι, καὶ τὸ τῆς παροιμίας πεπόνθασι, μήτε ἔξω, μήτε ἔσω οὖσαι, ταύτην ἔχουσαι τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν τοῦ σπέρματος τῶν τέκνων τῆς γνώσεως. LIB. I. vii. 6. GR. I. ix. 2. MASS. I. xiii. 7.

Κεφ. η'.

Quemadmodum quidam ex eis per numeros, et per syllabas et per literas conantur constituere eam, quæ est secundum eos, argumentationem.

G. 63. 1. Οὕτως [οὗτος οὖν ὁ] Μάρκος μήτραν καὶ ἐκδοχεῖον τῆς [1]Κολορβάσου εἰσηγήσατο αὐτὸν [Σιγῆς, ἑαυτὸν] μονώ-

abscesserunt; quædam autem inter utrumque dubitant, et quod est proverbii passæ sunt, neque intus, neque foris exsistentes, hunc fructum habentes seminis filiorum agnitionis.

CAP. VIII.

1. Hic igitur Marcus vulvam et [2]susceptorium Colorbasi Silentii semet solum fuisse dicens, quippe [3]unigenitus exsistens,

[1] This first sentence is one of great difficulty, and no satisfactory interpretation of it has yet been given. HEUMANN thinks that Κολαρβάσου, written without the final syllable, is nothing else than a Hebrew name for the Tetrad כל-ארבע, that it was first written *Colarbasi* in the Latin, and that the termination was added in the Greek. A similar corruption therefore took place, independently, in the Latin and in the Greek; which is a very improbable coincidence. By a little ingenuity the letters might be twisted into an expression of the mystical number 888, and be a Marcosian correlative of the Basilidian Abraxas: *e.g. Colarbaxus* would sum 888, if we assign its Greek numerical value to each letter, and take the *b* for the digamma, or ἐπίσημον βαῦ, and as BEAUSOBRE says, *C'est assez ordinaire aux Grecs de mettre le 'ξ pour le 'σ. Hist. de Manich.* IV. iv. § 7. But we are not at liberty to eject troublesome characters from the ancient *heresiologia* by such summary process. In explaining the meaning of this sentence, the first step will be to define the text. If the translation may be trusted, there can be no doubt it ran as follows; Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Μάρκος, μήτραν καὶ ἐκδοχεῖον τῆς Κολορβάσου σιγῆς (σειγῆς), ἑαυτὸν μονώτατον γεγονέναι λέγων, ἅτε μονογενὴς ὑπάρχων, τὸ τοῦ ὑστερήματος κατατεθὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ὠδέ πως ἀπεκύησεν. *Wherefore this Marcus professing that himself, the very sole Being, is the matrix and receptacle of the Sige of Colorbasus, (as being the only-begotten), hath brought to the birth, in some such way as follows, that which hath been committed to him by the abortive Enthymesis.* In the first place, who was this Marcus? He was a disciple of Valentinus, who professed to improve upon his master's teaching, *Magistri emendatorem se esse glorians*, c. VII. § 1 declaring, like the Arch-gnostic Simon, that there dwelt in him the

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LIB I. viii. 1. GR. I. x. MASS. I. xiv. 1.

τατον γεγονέναι λέγων, ἅτε μονογενὴς ὑπάρχων αὐτῷ, [*del.* αὐτῷ,] τὸ τοῦ ὑστερήματος κατατεθὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ὧδέ πως ἀπεκύησεν. Αὐτὴν τὴν πανυπερτάτην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τούτων [*l.* τόπων] Τετράδα κατεληλυθέναι [4]σχή-

M. 66

[5]semen, [*f. l.* postremitatis] quod depositum est in eum, sic enixus est. Illam quæ est a summis, et ab invisibilibus, et innominabilibus locis quaternationem descendisse figura muliebri

very highest power of the Pleroma; οὗτος ἔλεγεν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγίστην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τόπων ἔχειν δύναμιν. *Ibid.* Now between the notions of Marcus and Colorbasus there was a close affinity, and if this latter heretic was the follower of Valentinus, before mentioned as ἄλλος τις ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν, we must refer once more to the account of this disciple. He held that there was an ineffable principle of unity, though constituting a tetrad, antecedently to βυθὸς and σιγή; since therefore Marcus professed himself to be μεγίστη δύναμις, it was a legitimate deduction that he declared himself to be μήτρα καὶ ἐκδοχεῖον τῆς Κολορβάσου σιγῆς; also that he was μονώτατος, and, as being the outward manifestation of the inherent μονοτής, that he was also μονογενής, although this last assumption may have been more a matter of inference on the part of IRENÆUS, than of positive assertion by Marcus. For this proärchical tetrad is described to us as wholly feminine, and the names given express unity; μονότης and ἑνότης, μονάς, and δύναμις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴ· ὀνομάζω τὸ ἕν. Their four qualitative attributes were inseparable from them, and formed together a προαρχὴ that was ἀνωνόμαστος, ἀνεννόητος, ἄῤῥητος, and ἀόρατος. Hence the δύναμις μεγίστη to which Marcus laid claim as inherent in himself, was ἀπὸ τῶν ἀοράτων καὶ ἀκατονομάστων τόπων. The reader may compare p. 98, n. 1. These considerations help to confirm the suspicion that the διδάσκαλος ἐπιφανὴς may have been Colorbasus, and that Marcus, teaching like him that there was a tetrad of unity antecedent to βυθὸς, which in fact resided in himself, implied that he was the matrix and source from whence Βυθὸς and Σιγὴ drew their existence. This solution of a considerable difficulty is not advanced as entirely free from objection; it is the best that offers itself; and the reader may be requested,

Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum. HOR. *Ep.* I. 6.

[2] *Susceptorium.* The ARUND. MS. has as a marginal correction, but in another hand, *exceptorium;* the emendation possibly of some collator of the Greek Text.

[3] The CLERM. MS. has *unitus;* and PASS. *unctus.* May not these represent *unitas* in the Latin and μονότης in the Greek?

[4] HIPPOLYTUS tells us that Valentinus pretended to a similar revelation from the Logos, who appeared to him as an infant; καὶ γὰρ Οὐαλεντῖνος φάσκει ἑαυτὸν ἑωρακέναι παῖδα νήπιον ἀρτιγέννητον, οὗ πυθόμενος ἐπιζητεῖ τίς ἂν εἴη. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων, ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν Λόγον· ἔπειτα προσθεὶς τραγικόν τινα μῦθον, ἐκ τούτου συνιστᾶν βούλεται τὴν ἐπικεχειρημένην αὐτῷ αἵρεσιν. Τούτῳ τὰ ὅμοια τολμῶν ὁ Μάρκος, λέγει ἐληλυθέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν σχήματι γυναικείῳ τὴν τετράδα. κ.τ.λ. HIPPOL. *Philos.* VI. 42.

[5] *Defectus* is not found in any MS. and was added by FEUARDENT before

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 42.

ματι γυναικείῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐπειδή, φησι, [1]τὸ ἄῤῥεν αὐτῆς ὁ κόσμος φέρειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, καὶ μηνύσαι αὐτὴ τὶ ἦν, [Hipp. αὐτὴν ἥτις ἦν] καὶ τὴν τῶν πάντων γένεσιν, ἣν οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὐδὲ Θεῶν οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀπεκάλυψε, τούτῳ μονωτάτῳ [Hipp. μόνῳ] διηγήσασθαι, οὕτως εἰποῦσαν· ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ὁ Πατὴρ [2]ὤδινεν [l. ᾧ Πατὴρ οὐδεὶς] ὁ ἀνεννόητος καὶ [3]ἀνούσιος, ὁ μήτε ἄῤῥεν μήτε θῆλυ, ἠθέλησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄῤῥητον [supple ex Hipp. ῥητὸν] γεννηθῆναι [Hipp. γενέσθαι] καὶ τὸ ἀόρατον μορφωθῆναι, ἤνοιξε τὸ στόμα καὶ προήκατο λόγον ὅμοιον αὐτῷ· ὃς παραστὰς ὑπέδειξεν [Hipp. ἐπέδ.] αὐτῷ ὃ ἦν, αὐτὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου μορφὴ φανείς. Ἡ δὲ ἐκφώνησις τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐγένετο

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ad eum: (quoniam, inquit, ejus masculinum mundus ferre non poterat) et ostendisse quoque semetipsam quæ esset, et universorum genesim, quam nemini unquam neque deorum neque hominum revelavit, huic solo enarrasse, ita dicentem: Quando primum Pater, cujus Pater nemo est, qui est inexcogitabilis et insubstantivus, qui neque masculus neque fœmina est, voluit suum inenarrabile [4]narrabile fieri, et quod invisibile sibi est, formari; aperuit os, et protulit Verbum simile sibi: quod adsistens ostendit ei quod erat ipse, cum invisibilis forma apparuisset.

semen, it has therefore been removed. This latter word also has no counterpart in the Greek; I imagine it arose from *postremitatis*, the translation of *ὑστερήματος* in the Pref. of Lib. II. This word therefore is inserted within brackets.

[1] *τὸ ἄῤῥεν*, das Männliche, das verborgene, unbegreifliche Wesen; das weibliche, die fassliche Offenbarung; das Männliche, heisst es daher, konnte die Welt nicht fassen. NEANDER, 169.

[2] For *ὤδινεν* HIPPOLYTUS has *αὐτοῦ*; the translator indicates the words *ᾧ πατὴρ οὐδεὶς*, which possibly stood in the original text; *ᾧ πατὴρ* would easily be omitted as following *ὁ Πατὴρ*, and the word *οὐδεὶς* then took the form of *ὤδινεν* in some copies, and of *αὐτοῦ* in others. Hence Neander says, p. 170, Als zuerst der ursprungslose Vater Leben aus sich zu verbreiten den Trieb fühlte.

[3] *ἀνούσιος*. The reader will bear in mind the twofold sense that *οὐσία* bore, while as yet the language of theology was vague and loose. Most usually it is found to convey the same meaning as our word *Being*, without reference to materiality; but it also meant material substance, see p. 43, and in this sense alone the Deity can be said to be *ἀνούσιος*. But, as the Gnostic argued, the Divine Being is incomprehensible, our own being is in a certain sense comprehensible, therefore the same idea not attaching to both, *τὸ εἶναι* cannot be predicated of creature and Creator alike. GRABE'S note should be consulted. Compare also note 2, p. 108. HIPPOLYTUS has the same word.

[4] The CLERMONT MS. omits *narrabile* in the Latin, and the Greek text of EPIPHANIUS is without *ῥητὸν*, the word however is preserved by HIPPOLYTUS. It was omitted in both cases from the usual cause of error, a sequence of similar syllables.

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τοιαύτη· ἐλάλησε λόγον τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, Hipp. Philos. vi. 42. G. 64.
ἥτις ἦν ἀρχὴ, καὶ ἦν ἡ συλλαβὴ αὐτοῦ στοιχείων τεσσάρων.
Ἐπισυνῆψε [*Hipp.* ἔπειτα συνῆψε] τὴν δευτέραν· καὶ ἦν καὶ
αὐτὴ στοιχείων τεσσάρων. Ἐξῆς ἐλάλησε τὴν τρίτην[1]· καὶ ἦν
καὶ αὐτὴ στοιχείων δέκα. Καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλάλησε· καὶ
ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ στοιχείων δεκαδύο. Ἐγένετο οὖν ἡ ἐκφώνησις[2] τοῦ
ὅλου ὀνόματος στοιχείων μὲν τριάκοντα, συλλαβῶν δὲ τεσσά-
ρων. Ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν στοιχείων ἴδια γράμματα, καὶ ἴδιον M. 67.
χαρακτῆρα, καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκφώνησιν, καὶ σχήματα, καὶ εἰκόνας
ἔχειν, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι, ὃ τὴν ἐκείνου καθορᾷ μορφὴν,
οὗπερ αὐτὸς [*Hipp.* αὐτὸ] στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ γινώ-
σκει [γινώσκειν] αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ μὴν τὴν τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ

Enuntiatio autem nominis facta est talis: Loquutus est verbum primum nominis ejus; fuit ἀρχὴ, et [3]syllabæ [syllabe] ejus literarum quatuor. Conjunxit et secundam, et fuit hæc literarum quatuor. Post loquutus est et tertiam, et fuit hæc literarum x. Et eam, quæ est post hæc, loquutus est, et fuit ipsa literarum xii. Facta est ergo enuntiatio universi nominis, literarum xxx, syllabarum autem quatuor. Unumquodque autem elementorum suas literas, et suum characterem, et suam enuntiationem, et figurationes, et imagines habere: et nihil eorum esse, quod illius videat formam, [4]neque ipsum super elementum est. Sed nec cognoscere eum, [5]sed ne quidem proximi ejus unumquodque

[1] Hippolytus has ἥτις ἦν.

[2] τοῦ ὅλου ὀνόματος, *i. e.* of the Pleroma, for the Valentinian αἰωνογονία is exactly expressed by the (4 + 4 + 10 + 12) elementary letters of which the Divine name was declared to consist, the four συλλαβαὶ are, of course, the four Æonic groups that are summed in the bracketted numbers; the only variation is that the Valentinian ogdoad I. § 1 is separated into two Marcosian tetrads.

[3] *Syllabe*, having been written after the Greek orthography, was eventually copied as the plural.

[4] *Neque ipsum.* The MSS. agree in reading *neque ipsum super el.* as though the Greek copy had been written οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ στοιχεῖόν ἐστιν· Grabe and Junius alter the translation to *cujus ipsum*, that it may express the evidently genuine Greek text. But the words of Hippolytus agree with that of Epiphanius; the Latin shews a clear instance of corruption prior to the translation. The word στοιχεῖον is to be identified with the several Æons of the Pleroma, all of whom, with the exception of Nus, were ignorant of the nature of Bythos, and of the emanations preceding them.

[5] There was a gradual deterioration therefore in the Pleroma; Philo's illustration, in speaking of the similarly degenerating tendency of man, may be quoted, for it deserves to be known. Παραπλήσιον δὲ πάθος καὶ ἡ μαγνῆτις ἐπιδείκνυται λίθος, τῶν γὰρ σιδηρῶν δακτυλίων ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ψαύσας, βεβαιότατα

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 42.

ἕκαστον ἐκφώνησιν [1]πολιορκεῖ, [*Hipp. γινώσκειν*] ἀλλὰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκφωνεῖ, ὡς τὸ πᾶν ἐκφωνοῦντα, τὸ ὅλον ἡγεῖσθαι ὀνομάζειν. Ἕκαστον γὰρ αὐτῶν μέρος ὂν τοῦ ὅλου, τὸν ἴδιον ἦχον ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὀνομάζειν, καὶ μὴ παύσασθαι ἠχοῦντα, [2]μέχρι ὅτου ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον γράμμα τοῦ ἑκάστου [*Hipp. ἐσχάτου*] στοιχείου μονογλωσσήσαντος καταστῆσαι [*Hipp. μονογλωττήσαντι καταντῆσαι*]. Τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῶν ὅλων ἔφη γενέσθαι, ὅταν τὰ πάντα κατελθόντα εἰς τὸ ἓν γράμμα, μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἠχήσῃ· ἧς ἐκφωνήσεως εἰκόνα τὸ ἀμὴν ὁμοῦ λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὑπέθετο εἶναι. Τοὺς δὲ φθόγγους ὑπάρχειν τοὺς μορφοῦντας τὸν ἀνούσιον καὶ ἀγέννητον Αἰῶνα· καὶ εἶναι τούτους μορφὰς, ἃς ὁ Κύριος ἀγγέλους εἶρηκε, τὰς διηνεκῶς βλεπούσας τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρός.

LIB. I. viii. 1. GR. I. x. 1. MASS. I. xiv. 1.

enuntiationem scire, sed quod ipse enuntiat, ita omne quod enuntiat, illud quod est totum nominet. Unumquemque enim ipsorum, pars existens totius, suum sonum quasi omne nominare, et non cessare sonantia, quoadusque ad novissimam literam novissimi elementi singulariter enuntiata deveniant. Tunc autem et redintegrationem universorum dicit futuram, quando omnia devenientia in unam literam, unam et eandem consonationem sonent, cujus exclamationis imaginem, Amen simul dicentibus nobis, tradidit esse[3]. Sonos autem eos esse qui formant insubstantivum et ingenitum Æona, et esse hos formas, quas Dominus Angelos dixit, quæ sine intermissione vident faciem Patris.

1 Cor. xv. 28.

Matt. xviii. 10.

κρατεῖται· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ψαύσαντος ἧττον· ἐκκρέμεται δὲ καὶ τρίτος δευτέρου, καὶ τέταρτος τρίτου, καὶ πέμπτος τετάρτου, καὶ ἑτέρων ἕτεροι κατὰ μακρὸν στοῖχον ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὁλκοῦ δυνάμεως συνεχόμενοι, πλὴν δὲ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἱ πόῤῥω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπηρτημένοι χαλῶνται, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὁλκὴν ἀνεῖσθαι, μήκεθ' ὁμοιῶς σφίγγειν δυναμένην. π. τ. κοσμοπ.

[1] HIPPOLYTUS preserves the true reading, γινώσκειν. This word written in capitals, might, with a slight mutilation, be mistaken for ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΕΙΝ, *e. g.* ΓΙΝΩCΚΕΙΝ, where Π = ΓΙ, ΛΙ = Ν.

[2] Qu'on se fasse, says MATTER, d'après cela une idée des profondeurs revélées à Marcus sur le nom entier du père, qui fut avant tous les autres êtres, qui les renfermes tous lui même. II. 4. So NEANDER, p. 170. *Die Sylben sind also die Æonenreihen, jeder einzelne Buchstabe der Sylbe ein Æon. Jeder Æon enthält in sich das göttliche Wesen, nur nach einer besonderen Richtung hin, mit Vorherrschen einer besondern Form entfaltet und gestaltet, jeder Æon umfasst daher in sich eine ganze Welt, wird Schöpfer einer grossen Reihe von Wesen, indem die in ihm liegende Lebenskeime sich entfalten und selbständig werden.*

[3] *esse* is transferred to the end of the sentence, on the faith of the CLERM. ARUND. and VOSS. MSS., as well as of the Greek text on *Amen*, see p. 159, n. 2.

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LIB. I. viii. 2. GR. I. x. 1. MASS. I. xiv. 2.

2. Τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα τῶν στοιχείων τὰ ῥητὰ καὶ κοινὰ [H. κοινὰ καὶ ῥητὰ], Αἰῶνας καὶ λόγους, καὶ ῥίζας, καὶ σπέρματα, καὶ πληρώματα, καὶ καρποὺς ὠνόμασε. Τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἑκάστου ἴδια ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεριεχόμενα νοεῖσθαι ἔφη. Ὡς [*l.* ὧν στοιχείων τοῦ ἐσχάτου H.] στοιχείου τὸ ὕστερον [*l.* ὕστατον] γράμμα φωνὴν προήκατο τὴν αὐτοῦ· [1]οὗ [*suppl.* ὁ. H.] ἦχος ἐξελθὼν κατ' εἰκόνα τῶν στοιχείων στοιχεῖα ἴδια ἐγέννησεν· ἐξ ὧν τά τε ἐνταῦθα κατακεκοσμῆσθαί [*Hipp.* διακεκ.] φησι, [2]καὶ τῶν [τὰ H.] πρὸ τούτων γεγενῆσθαι. [3]Τὸ μέν τοι γράμμα αὐτὸ, [4]οὗ ὁ ἦχος ἦν συνεπακολουθῶν τῷ ἤχῳ καὶ τὸ [κάτω, H.] ὑπὸ τῆς συλλαβῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνειλῆφθαι ἄνω [5]λέγει εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὅλου· μεμενηκέναι δὲ εἰς τὰ κάτω τὸν ἦχον, ὥσπερ ἔξω ῥιφέντα. [6]Τὸ δὲ στοιχεῖον αὐτὸ ἀφ' οὗ τὸ γράμμα σὺν τῇ ἐκφωνήσει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συγκατῆλθε κάτω, ὃ [*dele* ὃ] γραμμάτων εἶναί φησι τριάκοντα, καὶ ἓν

Hipp. Philos. vi. 43.

M. 68. G. 65.

2. Nomina autem elementorum communia et enarrabilia Æonas, et verba, et radices, et semina, et plenitudines, et fructus vocavit. Singula autem ipsorum et uniuscujusque propria in nomine Ecclesiæ contineri et intelligi ait. Quorum elementorum novissimi elementi ultima litera vocem emisit suam, cujus sonus exiens secundum imaginem elementorum elementa propria generavit: ex quibus et quæ sunt hic, disposita dicit, et ea quæ sunt ante hæc, generata. Ipsam quidem literam, cujus sonus erat consequens sonum deorsum, a syllaba sua sursum receptam dicit, ad impletionem universi: remansisse autem deorsum sonum quasi foras projectum. Elementum autem ipsum, ex quo litera cum enuntiatione sua descendit deorsum, literarum ait esse xxx, et unamquamque ex his xxx

[1] ὁ ἦχος, *i.e. Achamoth*, who according to the Pantheistic notions of the East, is said to have given birth to the material elements, after the type of the divine στοιχεῖα.

[2] *i.e.* the Demiurge, seven heavens, &c.

[3] The Æon Sophia of VALENTINUS.

[4] Four words, τὸ ἦχος τῷ ἤχει, are here expunged. They are evidently a marginal interpolation, and are neither found in HIPPOLYTUS nor acknowledged by the translator; the four words moreover involve two solecisms.

[5] HIPPOLYTUS has λέγει, the translator *dicit*, the usual reading λέγειν is therefore corrected without scruple.

[6] τὸ στοιχεῖον is here the Pleroma.

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Hipp. Philos vi. 43.

ἕκαστον τῶν τριάκοντα γραμμάτων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν ἕτερα γράμματα, δι' οὗ [H. l. ὧν] τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ γράμματος ὀνομάζεται· καὶ αὖ πάλιν τὰ ἕτερα δι' ἄλλων ὀνομάζεσθαι γραμμάτων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δι' ἄλλων· ὡς [H. l. ὥστε] εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπίπτειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γραμμάτων. Οὕτω δ' ἂν σαφέστερον μάθοις τὸ λεγόμενον·

I.IB. I. viii. 2. GR. I. x 1. MASS. I. xiv. 2.

3. Τὸ δέλτα στοιχεῖον γράμματα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει πέντε, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ δέλτα, καὶ τὸ[1] ει, καὶ τὸ λάμβδα, καὶ τὸ ταῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄλφα· καὶ ταῦτα πάλιν τὰ γράμματα δι' ἄλλων γράφεται γραμμάτων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δι' ἄλλων. Εἰ οὖν ἡ πᾶσα ὑπόστασις τοῦ δέλτα εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπίπτει, ἀεὶ ἄλλων ἄλλα γράμματα γεννώντων, καὶ διαδεχομένων ἄλληλα, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐκείνου τοῦ στοιχείου μεῖζον εἶναι τὸ πέλαγος τῶν γραμμάτων; Καὶ εἰ τὸ ἓν γράμμα οὕτως ἄπειρον, ὅρα ὅλου τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸν βυθὸν τῶν γραμμάτων, ἐξ ὧν τὸν προπάτορα ἡ Μάρκου Σιγὴ συνεστάναι ἐδογμάτισε. [2]Διὸ καὶ τὸν Πατέρα ἐπιστάμενον τὸ ἀχώρητον αὐτοῦ, δεδωκέναι τοῖς στοιχείοις, ἃ καὶ Αἰῶνας καλεῖ, ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν τὴν

literis in semetipsa habere alias literas, per quas nomen literæ nominatur. Et rursus alias per alias nominari literas, et alias per alias, ita ut in immensum decidat multitudo literarum. Sic autem planius disces quod dicitur;

3. Delta elementum literas habet in se quinque, et ipsum Δ, et E, et Λ, et T, et A, et hæ rursus literæ per alias scribuntur literas, et aliæ per alias. Si ergo universa substantia Deltæ in immensum decidit, aliis alias literas generantibus et succedentibus alterutrum, quanto magis illius elementi majus esse [3]pelagus literarum? Et si una litera sic immensa est, vide totius nominis profundum literarum, ex quibus Propatora Marci Silentium constare docuit. Quapropter et Patrem scientem incapabile suum, dedisse elementis, quæ et Æonas vocat, unicuique

[1] The reading of HIPP.; see p. 146, n. 1.

[2] Da das unendlichen Wesen Gottes von keinem erfasst werden kann, und jede Æon seine eigene Welt in sich trägt, die er zum Daseyn bringen soll, so heisst es, keiner der Æonen kennt die Aussprache und Schriftzüge des andern, ein jeder glaubt in dem was er selbst für sich ausspricht, das Ganze auszusprechen, u. s. f. NEANDER, 171.

[3] This word is written *pelagos* in the ARUND. MS. with *u* superscribed, but in another hand. The translator most probably used the Greek termination.

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LIB. I. viii. 3. GR. I. x. 2. MASS. I. xiv. 2.

ἰδίαν ἐκφώνησιν ἐκβοᾷν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἕνα τὸ ὅλον ἐκφωνεῖν. Hipp. Philos. vi. 44.

4. Ταῦτα δὲ σαφηνίσασαν αὐτῷ τὴν τετρακτὺν εἰπεῖν· [1]θέλω δέ σοι καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν Ἀλήθειαν. Κατήγαγον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑπερθεν δωμάτων, ἵν' ἐσίδῃς αὐτὴν γυμνὴν, καὶ καταμάθοις [H. καταμάθῃς] τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκούσῃς αὐτῆς λαλούσης, καὶ θαυμάσῃς τὸ φρόνημα αὐτῆς. Ὅρα οὖν κεφαλὴν ἄνω, τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ω, [H. τὸ πρῶτον ἄλφα ω] τράχηλον δὲ β καὶ ψ, ὤμους ἅμα χερσὶ γ καὶ χ, στήθη δ καὶ φ, διάφραγμα [H. φράγμα] ε καὶ υ, νῶτον [H. κοιλίαν] ζ καὶ τ, κοιλίαν [H. αἰδοῖα] η καὶ σ, μηροὺς θ καὶ ρ, γόνατα ι καὶ π, κνήμας κ καὶ ο, σφυρὰ λ καὶ ξ, πόδας μ καὶ ν. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τῆς κατὰ τὸν μάγον Ἀληθείας· τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ στοιχείου, οὗτος ὁ χαρακτὴρ τοῦ γράμματος. Καὶ καλεῖ τὸ στοιχεῖον τοῦτο [2]Ἄνθρωπον· εἶναί τε πηγήν φησιν αὐτὸ παντὸς λόγου, καὶ M. 69. G. 66.

eorum suam enuntiationem exclamare, eo quod non possit unum, illud quod est totum enuntiare.

4. Hæc itaque exponentem ei quaternationem dixisse [dedisse, MSS. Cl. Ar. Voss. &c.]: Volo autem tibi et ipsam ostendere Veritatem. Deposui enim illam de superioribus ædificiis, ut circumspicias eam nudam, et intuearis formositatem ejus; sed et audias eam loquentem, et admireris sapientiam ejus. Vide quid igitur in caput ejus sursum, primum A et Ω. Collum autem B et Ψ. Humeros cum manibus Γ et X. Pectus Δ et Φ. Cinctum E et Y. Ventrem Z et Γ. Verenda H et Σ. Femora Θ et P. Genua I et Π. Tibias K et O. Crura Λ et Ξ. Pedes M et N. Hoc est corpus ejus, quæ est secundum magum, Veritatis; hæc figura elementi, hic character literæ. Et vocat elementum hoc, Hominem: esse autem fontem eum

[1] So Hippolytus; Gr. and Mass. *θέαν δή*.

[2] Ἄνθρωπον. The Ophites or Naassenes (from נחש *serpens*) were the precursors of Gnosticism, and they first borrowed the Cabbalistic notion of the Adam Cadmon or Adam Elion, from whom the Jews were taught to believe that their souls were derived; *e. g.* in the Book עמק המלך it is said, אתם קרויים אדם מעד נשמת אדם העליון *Ye are called men* (*Adam*) *because of the* (*spiritual*) *soul that you receive from the Supreme Adam:* but the heathen are not dignified by this name, as receiving a mere animal soul or נפש from the *Adam Belial*, or χοϊκὸς of the Gnostic. Hippolytus says of the Naassenes: οὗ-

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 44.

ἀρχὴν πάσης φωνῆς, καὶ παντὸς ἀῤῥήτου ῥῆσιν, καὶ τῆς σιωπωμένης Σιγῆς στόμα. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς. Σὺ δὲ μετάρσιον ἐγείρας τὸ [H. *adj.* τῆς] διανοίας νόημα, τὸν αὐτογεννήτορα καὶ πατροδότορα [H. γεννήτορα καὶ προπάτορα] λόγον ἀπὸ στομάτων Ἀληθείας ἄκουε.

LIB. I. viii. 4. GR. I. x. 2. MASS. I. xiv. 3.

omnis verbi, et initium universæ vocis, et omnis inenarrabilis enarrationem, et taciti Silentii os. Et hoc quidem corpus ejus. Tu autem sublimius allevans sensus intelligentiam, Autogenitora et Patrodotora verbum ab ore Veritatis audi.

τοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον τιμῶσιν ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Ἔστι δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἀρσενόθηλυς, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀδάμας παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὕμνοι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόνασι πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι· οἱ δὲ ὕμνοι, ὡς δι' ὀλίγων εἰπεῖν, λέγονται παρ' αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτόν τινα τρόπον· Ἀπὸ σοῦ, Πάτερ, καὶ διὰ σὲ, μῆτερ, τὰ δύο ἀθάνατα ὀνόματα αἰώνων γονεῖς, πολῖτα οὐρανοῦ, μεγαλώνυμε ἄνθρωπε. *Philos.* v. 6. Again, the spiritual seed or ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, was an efflux ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχανθρώπου ἄνωθεν Ἀδαμάντος, v. 7, which is a close copy of the Cabbalistic אדם עליון. This Adamas in their system, then, was the higher or spiritual principle of Man, perfectly distinct from the animal principle, (Hipp. *Philos.* v. 6), as the soul of man is distinct from his body; no wonder then that man, fashioned after this exalted prototype should be placed at the head of creation, accordingly, Ναασσηνοὶ ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσιν τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου· τοῦτον δὲ τριχῇ διαιροῦσιν. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φασὶ, τὸ μὲν νοερὸν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀδάμαν, καὶ νομίζουσι τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εἶναι γνῶσιν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι θεόν. *Philos.* x. 9. It also may be noted as worthy of remembrance that this belief in a twofold humanity perfectly distinct, and of successive development in order of creation, was deduced by the Jews from the book of Genesis, where man is said to have been created first, in the likeness of God, Gen. i. 27, and afterwards, of the dust of the earth, Gen. ii. 7. Philo clearly expresses this notion, π. τ. κοσμοπ. In commenting upon Gen. ii. 7, he says, ἐναργέστατα καὶ διὰ τούτου παρίστησιν ὅτι διαφορὰ παμμεγέθης ἐστὶ τοῦ τε νῦν πλασθέντος ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα θεοῦ γεγονότος πρότερον. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαπλασθεὶς ἤδη, αἰσθητὸς, μετέχων ποιότητος, ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς συνεστὼς ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνὴ, φύσει θνητὸς ὤν· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, ἰδέα τις, ἢ γένος, ἢ σφραγὶς, νοητὸς, ἀσώματος, οὔτ' ἄῤῥην οὔτε θῆλυ, ἄφθαρτος φύσει, τοῦ δὲ αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀνθρώπου τὴν κατασκευὴν σύνθετον εἶναί φησιν ἐκ γεώδους οὐσίας καὶ πνεύματος θείου. There can be little doubt, I think, but that St Paul, who was so well versed in Jewish philosophy as well as theology, had these notions in view when he drew a contrast between the first and second Adam, in 1 Cor. xv. As St John adopted the current term Λόγος, and shewed that there was no impropriety in it if correctly understood, so St Paul contrasts the natures of the first and second Adam; but the terms must be understood in a Christian and theological, and not in a Jewish and philosophical sense. The adoption of these terms severally by the Evangelist and St Paul stopped their misuse by heresy, and when the Gnostic age had passed away, the true catholic meaning of these terms was the only one that remained.

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LIB. I. viii. 5. GR. I. x. 3. MASS. I. xiv. 4.

5. Ταῦτα δὲ ταύτης εἰπούσης, προσβλέψασαν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἀνοίξασαν τὸ στόμα λαλῆσαι λόγον· τὸν δὲ λόγον ὄνομα γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα γενέσθαι [H. εἶναι] τοῦτο, ὃ γινώσκομεν καὶ λαλοῦμεν, Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν· ὃ καὶ ὀνομάσασαν αὐτὴν παρ' αὐτῇ [H. παραυτίκα σιωπῆσαι,] καὶ σιωπήν. Προσδοκῶντος δὲ τοῦ Μάρκου πλεῖόν τι μέλλειν αὐτὴν λέγειν, πάλιν ἡ τετρακτὺς παρελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ μέσον, φησίν· ὡς εὐκαταφρόνητον ἡγήσω τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἀπὸ στομάτων τῆς Ἀληθείας ἤκουσας· οὐ τοῦθ', ὅπερ οἶδας καὶ δοκοῖς, παλαιόν [H. l. δοκεῖς ἔχειν, πάλαι] ἐστιν ὄνομα· φωνὴν γὰρ μόνον ἔχεις αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀγνοεῖς. Ἰησοῦς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν [1]ἐπίσημον ὄνομα, ἓξ ὢν [H. l. ἔχον] γράμματα, ὑπὸ πάντων [2]τῶν τῆς κλήσεως γινωσκόμενον. Τὸ Hipp. Philos. vi. 45. M. 70.

5. Hæc autem cum dixisset illa, attendentem ad eum Veritatem, et aperientem os, [3]locuta est verbum: verbum autem nomen factum, et nomen esse hoc quod scimus et loquimur Christum Jesum; quod cum nominasset, statim tacuit. Cum autem putaret Marcus plus aliquid eam dicturam, rursus Quaternatio veniens in medium ait: Tanquam contemptibile putasti esse verbum, quod ab ore Veritatis audisti. Non hoc quod scis et putas habere, olim est nomen. Vocem enim tantum habes ejus, virtutem autem ignoras. Jesus autem est insigne nomen, sex habens literas, ab omnibus qui sunt voca-

[1] *ἐπίσημον, i.e.* an arithmetical symbol. There were three *ἐπίσημα* in the Greek notation; the *ἐπίσημον βαῦ* or digamma, having the power of 6, the *ἐπίσημον κόππα* for 90, and the *ἐπίσημον σαμπῖ* for 900; see SCALIGER, *Animadv. in Euseb.* 112, 115, 116. It is remarkable that each of these three characters were in form similar to the Samaritan letters expressed by their names, the equivalents for the Hebrew ו, ק, and ש. According to the Valentinian notion the name Ἰησοῦς expressed 888, and for this reason was called *ἐπίσημον ὄνομα*, not because it consisted of six letters, as some have supposed, forgetting that there were other *ἐπίσημα* besides the *βαῦ*=6, but because the letters, of which the name is composed, symbolised that mystic number, *e. g.* (10 + 8 + 200 + 70 + 400 + 200) = 888. That this is the meaning of *ἐπίσημον* in this place is evident from the words found in II. xli. *Falsa est ergo episemi eorum redditio, et numerus eorum eversus est manifeste.*

[2] *τῶν τῆς κλήσεως*, meaning the Catholic Church, for from the earliest days the gnostic party made a threefold distinction in the Church, corresponding with their triple division of humanity into the spiritual, the animal, and the material; *οὕτω φάσκουσι τριγενῆ, ἀγγελικόν, ψυχικόν, χοϊκόν· καὶ τρεῖς εἶναι ἐκκλησίας, ἀγγελικὴν, ψυχικὴν, χοϊκήν· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκλεκτὴ, κλητὴ, αἰχμάλωτος.* HIPPOLYT. *Phil.* x. 9. Did a modern writer borrow his notion of the "Church in chains" from ancient heresy?

[3] *locutam esse* is required by the context.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 45. δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰῶσι τοῦ Πληρώματος πολυμερὲς τυγχάνον, ἄλλης ἐστὶ μορφῆς, καὶ ἑτέρου τύπου, γινωσκόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων τῶν [1]συγγενῶν, ὧν τὰ μεγέθη παρ' αὐτῶν [H. αὐτῷ] ἐστι διαπαντός. LIB. I. viii. 6. GR. I. x. 3. MASS. I. xiv. 5.

6. Ταῦτ' οὖν τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν εἰκοσιτέσσαρα γράμματα ἀπορρήτου ὑπάρχειν γίνωσκε τῶν τριῶν δυνάμεων εἰκονικὰς, τῶν περιεχουσῶν [H. *habet* ἐμπεριεχουσῶν] τὸν ὅλον τῶν ἄνω στοιχείων τὸν ἀριθμόν. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄφωνα γράμματα ἐννέα νόμισον εἶναι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀληθείας, διὰ τὸ ἀφώνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι, τουτέστιν ἀῤῥήτους καὶ ἀνεκλαλήτους. Τὰ δὲ ἡμίφωνα ὀκτὼ, ὄντα τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς Ζωῆς, διὰ τὸ μέσα ὥσπερ ὑπάρχειν τῶν τε ἀφώνων καὶ τῶν φωνηέντων· καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι τῶν μὲν ὑπερθεν τὴν ἀπόῤῥοιαν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν [H. *l.* ὑπ' αὐτὰ] τὴν [2]ἀναφοράν. Τὰ δὲ φωνήεντα καὶ αὐτὰ ἑπτὰ ὄντα τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐπεὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου φωνὴ προελθοῦσα, ἐμόρ-
G. 67. φωσε τὰ ὅλα. Ὁ γὰρ ἦχος τῆς φωνῆς [3]μορφὴν αὐτοῖς περι-

tionis cognitum. Illud autem quod est apud Æonas Pleromatis, cum sit multifarium exsistens, alterius est formæ, et alterius typi, quod intelligitur ab ipsis qui sunt cognati ejus quorum magnitudines apud eum sunt semper.

6. [4]Has igitur, quæ apud nos [Gr. *melius* apud vos] sunt viginti quatuor literæ, emanationes esse intellige trium virtutum imaginales, eorum quæ continent universum, quæ sunt sursum, elementorum numerum. [5]Mutas enim literas novem puta esse Patris et Veritatis, quoniam sine voce sint, hoc est, et inenarrabiles et ineloquibiles. [6]Semivocales autem cum sint octo, Logi esse et Zoës, quoniam quasi mediæ sint inter mutas et vocales: et recipere eorum quidem quæ super sint, emanationem, eorum vero quæ subsint elevationem. Vocales autem et ipsas septem esse, Anthropi et Ecclesiæ: quoniam per Anthropum vox progrediens formavit omnia. Sonus enim vocis formam

[1] *συγγενῶν*, the *ἡλικιῶται ἄγγελοι* of the Saviour. I. § 17.

[2] *ἀναφορά*, the converse of *ἀπόῤῥοια*.

[3] Compare I. § 9.

[4] The MSS. are so unanimous in reading *Hæc*, that it is impossible not to allow the truth of Grabe's supposition, that the translator rendered *ταῦτα* in the neuter, without observing that the concord should have been with *literæ*.

[5] Mutas, *i.e.* $\phi, \chi, \theta, \pi, \kappa, \tau, \beta, \gamma, \delta$.

[6] Semivocales, *i.e.* $\lambda, \mu, \nu, \rho, \sigma, \zeta, \xi, \psi$.

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LIB. I. viii. 6. GR. I. x. 3. MASS. I. xiv. 5.

εποίησεν. Ἔστιν [H. οὖν] ὁ μὲν Λόγος ἔχων καὶ ἡ Ζωὴ τὰ ὀκτὼ, ὁ δὲ Ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὰ ἑπτὰ, ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ καὶ ἡ Ἀλήθεια τὰ ἐννέα. Ἐπειδὴ [H. Ἐπὶ δὲ] τοῦ ὑστερήσαντος λόγου ὁ ἀφεδρασθεὶς ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ κατῆλθε, πεμφθεὶς [H. ἐκπεμφθεὶς] ἐπὶ τὸν ἀφ' οὗ ἐχωρίσθη ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν πραχθέντων, [1]ἵνα ἡ τῶν πληρωμάτων ἑνότης ἰσότητα ἔχουσα καρποφορῇ μίαν ἐν πᾶσι τὴν ἐκ πάντων δύναμιν. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ τῶν ἑπτὰ τὴν τῶν ὀκτὼ ἐκομίσατο δύναμιν· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ [H. τρεῖς] τόποι ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, ὀγδοάδες ὄντες· οἵτινες τρεῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐλθόντες, τὸν τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ἀνέδειξαν ἀριθμόν. Τὰ μέν τοι τρία στοιχεῖα ἀφίησιν [H. (ἆ) φησιν] αὐτὸς τῶν τριῶν ἐν συζυγίᾳ δυνάμεων ὑπάρχειν, ἅ ἐστιν [2]ἓξ, ἀφ' ὧν ἀπερρύη τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, τετραπλασιασθέντα τῷ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου τετράδος λόγῳ, τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ποιεῖ, [3]ἅπερ φησὶ τοῦ ἀνονομάστου ὑπάρχειν. Φορεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν [4]τριῶν δυνάμεων, εἰς ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἀοράτου, ὧν στοιχείων

Hipp. Philos. vi. 45.

M. 71.

eis circumdedit. Est igitur Logos habens et Zoe VIII. Anthropos autem et Ecclesia VII. Pater autem et Alethia IX. Ex minori autem computatione, qui erat apud Patrem descendit, emissus illuc unde fuerat separatus ad emendationem factorum, ut Pleromatum unitas æqualitatem habens, fructificet unam in omnibus quæ est ex omnibus virtus. Et sic is qui est numeri VII eorum qui sunt octo accepit virtutem, et facta sunt tria loca similia numeris, cum sint octonationes: quæ ter in se venientia viginti quatuor ostenderunt numerum. Et tria quidem elementa, quæ dicit ipse trium in conjugatione virtutum exsistere, quæ fiunt VI. ex quibus emanaverunt viginti quatuor literæ, quadripertita inenarrabilis quaternationis ratione, eundem [cum illis GR.] numerum faciunt, quæ quidem dicit illius qui est innominabilis exsistere. Indui autem eas a tribus virtutibus, in simili-

[1] Compare I. § 4, on the unity of the Pleroma. The ninth letter being taken from the mutes and added to the seven vowels, the twenty-four letters were then equally distributed.

[2] *i.e.* three pair of *συζύγοι*, represented by Pater, Anthropos, Logos.

[3] *ἅπερ*, i. e. *στοιχεῖα*.

[4] HIPPOLYTUS has *ἓξ*, the *ἐπίσημον βαῦ*=6 was easily mistaken for *γ*=3, as instanced by St JEROM in Ps. lxxvii. *Scriptum est in Matthæo (et Johanne,) quod Dominus noster hora sexta crucifixus sit. Rursum scriptum est in Marco, quia hora tertia crucifixus sit.—Error scriptorum fuit: et in Marco hora sexta fuit: sed multi episemum Græcum* F *putaverunt esse* Γ.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 46. εἰκόνες εἰκόνων τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν [1]διπλᾶ γράμματα ὑπάρχειν, ἃ συναριθμούμενα τοῖς εἰκοσιτέσσαρσι στοιχείοις δυνάμει τῶν [H. τῇ] κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα ποιεῖ ἀριθμόν. LIB. I. viii. 7. GR. I. x. 4. MASS. I. xiv. 6.

7. Τούτου τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας [H. ἀναλογίας] ταύτης [2]καρπόν φησιν ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος πεφυκέναι [*Hipp.* πεφηνέναι] ἐκεῖνον, τὸν μετὰ τὰς ἓξ ἡμέρας τέταρτον ἀναβάντα εἰς τὸ [3]ὄρος, καὶ γενόμενον [4]ἕκτον, τὸν κρατηθέντα καὶ καταβάντα [H. καταβ. καὶ κρατ.] ἐν τῇ G. 68. [5]ἑβδομάδι, ἐπίσημον ὀγδοάδα ὑπάρχοντα, [6]καὶ ἔχοντα ἐν

tudinem illius qui est invisibilis: quorum elementorum imagines imaginum esse eas quæ sunt apud nos duplices literæ, quas cum XXIV literis adnumerantes, virtute quæ est secundum analogiam, XXX faciunt numerum.

7. Hujus rationis et dispositionis fructum dicit in similitudinem imaginis apparuisse illum, qui post VI dies quartus ascendit in montem, et factus est sextus, qui descendit et detentus est in hebdomade, cum esset insignis octonatio, et [7]haberet Matt. XVII. 1. Marc. IX. 2.

[1] διπλᾶ, the letters ζ, ξ, ψ, = (δσ, κσ, πσ,) enumerated among the ἡμίφωνα.

[2] κάρπον. Compare i. 4. τέλειον καρπὸν τὸν Ιησοῦν, κ. τ. λ.

[3] *i.e.* Mount Tabor, in allusion to the Transfiguration.

[4] With the addition of Moses and Elias. This event was considered by the Marcosians to be typical of Soter visiting Achamoth, with whom Horus and Demiurge made four; while, by the addition of the συζυγία, Christ and the Spirit from the Pleroma, those four became six.

[5] ἑβδομάδι. GRABE imagines that this means the seventh day, as the completion of the six that preceded the Transfiguration. PETAVIUS, that it alludes to the seventh day during which Christ lay in the tomb; but more probably it means the Hebdomas, the *habitat* of Demiurgus, pp. 44, 48, i. e. the seven heavens above which Achamoth dwelt, exterior to the Pleroma, but above the material universe. Κρατηθέντα here means *contained* rather than *detained*, the Saviour Æon, p. 64, having been contained for a while in the space beneath the Pleroma, but not permanently. Here ἐπίσημον ὀγδοάδα refers to the word Χρειστός: see XII. § 3. Generally the ogdoad was the receptacle of the spiritual seed, to which the faithful among the ψυχικοὶ should eventually be raised, p. 59.

[6] The Saviour contained in himself the mystical number of the thirty Æons, having been thirty years of age when baptized, I. § 1, 5. As Α and Ω, again, he was symbolised by the dove, the sum of the Greek numerals π, ε, ρ, ι, σ, τ, ε, ρ, α, being 801. It was by the illapse of the dove that the Saviour Æon descended upon Jesus. I. § 13, and XII. § 3. See TERTULLIAN *de Præscr. Hær.* 50. Καὶ ἡ περιστερὰ δὲ σῶμα ὤφθη· ἣν οἱ μὲν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα φασίν· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλείδου, τὸν διάκονον· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὴν κατέλευσιν πεποιημένον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου σάρκα. *Did. Or.* § 16.

[7] FEUARDENT restored the original

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LIB. I. viii. 7. GR. I. x. 4. MASS. I. xiv. 6.

ἑαυτῷ τὸν ἅπαντα τῶν στοιχείων ἀριθμὸν, [H. ὃν] ἐφανέρωσεν, ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἡ τῆς περιστερᾶς κάθοδος, ἥτις ἐστὶν ω καὶ α. Ὁ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῆς μία καὶ ὀκτακόσιαι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μωϋσέα ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν [H. ἡμέρᾳ] ἡμερῶν εἰρηκέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι· καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν δὲ [1]ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν ἡμερων, ἥτις ἐστὶ παρασκευὴ, [2]τὸν ἔσχατον ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀναγέννησιν τοῦ πρώτου ἀνθρώπου πεφηνέναι, ἧς οἰκονομίας ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ [*del.* καὶ H.] τὴν ἕκτην ὥραν [H. εἶναι], ἐν ᾗ προσηλώθη τῷ ξύλῳ. Τὸν γὰρ τέλειον νοῦν, ἐπιστάμενον τὸν τῶν ἓξ ἀριθμὸν, δύναμιν ποιήσεως καὶ ἀναγεννήσεως ἔχοντα, φανερῶσαι τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ φωτὸς [3]τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ [*l.* διὰ τοῦ] Hipp. Philos. vi. 47. M. 72.

in se omnem elementorum numerum, quem manifestavit, cum ipse venisset ad baptismum, columbæ descensio, quæ est Ω et A. Numerus enim ipsius unum et DCCC. Et propter hoc Mosen in sexta die dixisse hominem factum: et dispositionem autem in sexta die, quæ est in [4]cœna pura, novissimum hominem in regenerationem primi hominis apparuisse. Cujus dispositionis initium et finem sextam horam, in qua affixus est ligno. Perfectum enim sensum, scientem eum numerum qui est sex, virtutem fabricationis et regenerationis habentem, manifestasse filiis luminis eam generationem quæ facta est per eum, qui manifestatus

reading *haberet*. In the CLERM. MS. it had become *habent*, and by a corrective attempt *habet* in the ARUND. and other MSS.

[1] Here the words τοῦ πάθους, as required by the sense, are inserted by HIPPOLYTUS. Οἰκονομία taken absolutely, means the mystery of the Incarnation, see I. § 11, although when modified by any other term, it may mean almost any mystery.

[2] HIPPOLYTUS supplies ᾗ, which seems to be required, though it is not expressed by the translator. His copy had ἐν παρασκευῇ, a mistake arising from the terminal letter ν of the word ἐστὶν preceding.

[3] The text of EPIPHANIUS and HIPPOLYTUS are both corrupt, and the translator's copy was no better. HIPPOLYTUS has τὴν διὰ τοῦ φανέντος ἐπίσημου εἰς τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπιγενομένην ἀναγέννησιν. The text is re-constructed above from the three. The Latin confirms the reading of διὰ τοῦ; it also indicates the words ἐπισήμου εἰς τόνδε ἀριθμόν, instead of this I propose to read εἰς ἐπίσημον τοῦδε ἀριθμοῦ, *q. d. as the symbol of the mystic number, 6.*

[4] *Cœna pura. Græce,* ἥτις ἐστὶ παρασκευή. *Hic veteris Interpretis locus Josephi Scaligeri observationem confirmat in Festum, voce* Penem: Cœna pura est, qua fungebantur, cum in casto essent. *Glossarium:* Cœna pura, προσάββατον. *Imitatione Gentilium* παρασκευὴν *Judæorum ita vocat (Interpres.)* Fronto Duc. *Ita et lib.* V. *cap.* 23 *sextam diem, qua Dominus cruci confixus est, appellavit* cœnam puram: *cujus nominis memine-*

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Hipp. Philos. iv. 47. φανέντος ἐπισήμου εἰς αὐτὸν δι' αὐτοῦ [*l.* εἰς ἐπίσημον τοῦ δε ἀριθμοῦ] γενομένην ἀναγέννησιν. Ἔνθεν καὶ τὰ διπλᾶ γράμματα τὸν ἀριθμὸν [1]ἐπίσημον ἔχειν φησίν. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσημος ἀριθμὸς συγκραθεὶς τοῖς εἰκοσιτέσσαρσι στοιχείοις, τὸ τριακοντα γράμματον ὄνομα ἀπετέλεσε. LIB. I. viii. 8. GR. I. x. 4. MASS. I. xiv. 6.

8. Κέχρηται δὲ διακόνῳ τῷ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμῶν [2]μεγέθει, ὡς φησιν ἡ Μάρκου Σιγή, ἵνα τῆς αὐτοβουλήτου βουλῆς φανερωθῇ ὁ καρπός. Τὸν μέν τοι ἐπίσημον τοῦτον ἀριθμὸν [HIPP. *delet* τοῦτον ἀρ·] ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, φησὶ, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπισήμου μορφωθέντα νόησον, τὸν ὥσπερ μερισθέντα [3]ἢ διχοτομηθέντα καὶ ἔξω μείναντα, ὃς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμει τε καὶ φρονήσει, διὰ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προβολῆς τοῦτον τὸν τῶν G. 69. ἑπτὰ δυνάμεων, καὶ [κατὰ HIPP. *μιμήσει tamen*] μίμησιν τῆς [4]ἑβδομάδος δυνάμεως, ἐψύχωσε κόσμον, καὶ ψυχὴν ἔθετο

est insignis in eum numerum. Hinc etiam et duplices literas numerum insignem habere ait. Insignis enim numerus commixtus viginti quatuor elementis xxx literarum nomen explicuit.

8. Usus est autem Diacono septem numerorum magnitudine, quemadmodum dicit Marci Sige, ut ab se cogitatæ cogitationis manifestetur fructus. Et insignem quidem hunc numerum in præsenti, ait, eum qui ab insigni figuratus est intelligi [intellige,] eum qui quasi in partes divisus est, aut præcisus, et foris perseveravit, qui sua virtute et prudentia per eam quæ est ab eo emissionem, hunc, qui est [5]septem virtutum, secundum imitationem

runt etiam Tertull. lib. v. *adv. Marcionem cap.* 4. *Augustinus Tract.* 120 *in Johan. et Beda in cap.* 19. *Johan. Sic autem eam diem appellant, quod juxta Legis præscriptum puros vestimentis, cibis, corporibus, et animis eos esse decebat, qui sacrum Pascha essent celebraturi. Unde et Judæorum principes* non intraverunt prætorium Pilati, ut non contaminarentur (*ait Evangelista*) *sed puri videlicet manducarent Pascha. Feuard.*

[1] *τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπίσημον*, i. e. the number 6, of which the *ἐπίσημον βαῦ* was the symbol, and of which the three double consonants, when resolved into their simple elements, contain the sum.

[2] *μεγέθει*, namely *ἀληθείᾳ*, having seven letters. *Αὐτοβουλήτου βουλῆς*, meaning the independent *σύλληψις* of Achamoth. Here see the preface.

[3] *ἢ διχοτομηθέντα*, these words read like a gloss from the margin, HIPPOLYTUS omits them. Still, if they are an interpolation, the translator had them in his copy.

[4] *ἑβδομάδος*, the Demiurge called Hebdomas, I. § 9. Hippolytus has *ἑπταδυνάμου*, and the sense would be the same; for each of the seven heavens presided over by the Demiurge was an angelic essence or *δύναμις*.

[5] *est*, omitted by GRABE, is found in the CLERM. and ARUND. MSS.

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LIB. I. viii. 8. GR. I. x. 4. MASS. I. xiv. 7.

εἶναι τοῦ ὁρωμένου παντός. Κέχρηται μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς [H. *loco* αὐτὸς *l.* καὶ] οὗτος τῷδε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς αὐθαιρέτως ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ γενομένῳ· [1]τάδε διακόνει, μιμήματα ὄντα τῶν ἀμιμήτων, τὴν ἐνθύμησιν τῆς μητρός. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος οὐρανὸς φθέγγεται τὸ α, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον τὸ ει, ὁ δὲ τρίτος η, τέταρτος δὲ καὶ μέσος τῶν ἑπτα τὴν τοῦ ι δύναμιν ἐκφωνεῖ, ὁ δὲ πέμπτος τὸ ου, ἕκτος δὲ τὸ υ, ἕβδομος [H. δὲ] καὶ τέταρτος ἀπὸ μέρους [H. ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου] τὸ ω στοιχεῖον ἐκβοᾷ, καθὼς ἡ Μάρκου Σιγή, ἡ πολλὰ μὲν φλυαροῦσα, μηδὲν δὲ ἀληθὲς λέγουσα, διαβεβαιοῦται. Αἵτινες δυνάμεις ὁμοῦ, φησί, πᾶσαι εἰς [2]ἀλλήλας συμπλακεῖσαι ἠχοῦσι καὶ δοξάζουσιν ἐκεῖνον, ὑφ᾽ οὗ προεβλήθησαν· ἡ δὲ δόξα τῆς ἠχῆς [H. ἠχήσεως] ἀναπέμπεται εἰς τὸν Προπάτορα. Ταύτης μέν τοι τῆς δοξολογίας τὸν ἦχον εἰς τὴν γῆν φερόμενόν φησι πλάστην γενέσθαι, καὶ γεννήτορα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Hipp. Philos. vi. 48.

M. 73.

9. Τὴν δὲ ἀπόδειξιν φέρει ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρτι γεννωμένων

hebdomadis virtutis animavit mundum, et animam posuit esse hujus universi quod videtur. Utitur autem et ipse hoc opere quasi spontanee ab ipso facto: reliqua vero ministrant, cum sint imitationes imitabilium, enthymesin matris. Et primum quidem cœlum sonat A, quod autem est post illum E, tertium autem H, quartum vero et medium numeri VII Iotæ virtutem enarrat, quintum vero O, sextum autem Υ, septimum autem et IV a medio Ω elementum exclamat, quemadmodum Marci Sige, quæ multa quidem loquacius exsequitur, nihil autem verum loquens, affirmat. Quæ virtutes, ait, omnes simul in invicem complexæ, sonant et glorificant illum a quo emissæ sunt, gloria autem soni mittitur in Propatorem. Hujus autem glorificationis sonum in terram delatum ait plasmatorem factum, et generatorem eorum quæ sunt in terra[3].

9. Ostensionem autem affert ab iis qui nunc nascuntur in-

[1] EPIPHANIUS agrees with the translation, but HIPPOLYTUS suggests the genuine reading; he has, *τὰ δι᾽ εἰκόνων, μιμήματα ὄντα τῶν ἀμιμήτων, τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τῆς μητρός*. The presence of *reliqua* in the Latin, justifies the restoration of *ἀλλὰ τάδε δι᾽ εἰκόνων . . . . . τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τ. μ.*, which also harmonises with the recapitulation in § 10.

[2] Hippolytus has *εἰς ἓν* for *εἰς ἀλ.*

[3] *in terram . . . in terra.* In the ARUNDEL MS. these are the emendations of another hand, written over *litterarum . . . . littera.*

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 48. βρεφῶν, ὧν ἠχὴ [H. ἡ ψυχὴ] ἅμα τῷ ἐκ μήτρας προελθεῖν ἐπιβοᾷ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν στοιχείων τούτων [H. τοῦτον] τὸν ἦχον. Καθὼς οὖν αἱ ἑπτὰ, φησὶ, δυνάμεις δοξάζουσι τὸν G. 70. Λόγον, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τοῖς βρέφεσι κλαίουσα [1]καὶ θρηνοῦσα Μάρκον, δοξάζει αὐτόν. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τὸν Δαβὶδ εἰρηκέναι· Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον· καὶ πάλιν, Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν Θεοῦ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔν τε [H. ἐπὰν δὲ ἐν] πόνοις καὶ ταλαιπωρίαις ψυχὴ γενομένη, [2]εἰς διϋλισμὸν αὐτῆς, ἐπιφωνεῖ τὸ ω εἰς σημεῖον αἰνέσεως, ἵνα γνωρίσασα ἡ ἄνω [3]ψυχὴ τὸ συγγενὲς αὐτῆς, βοηθὸν αὐτῇ καταπέμψῃ. LIB. I. viii. 9. GR. I. xi. MASS. I. xiv. 8.

fantibus, quorum anima simul ut de vulva progressa est, exclamat uniuscujusque elementi hunc sonum. Sicut ergo septem virtutes (inquit) glorificant Verbum, sic et anima in infantibus plorans et plangens Marcum, glorificat eum. Propter hoc autem et David dixisse: *Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem.* Et iterum, *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei.* Et propter hoc quando in doloribus et calamitatibus anima fuerit, in relevationem suam, dicit Ω, in signum laudationis, ut cognoscens illa quæ sursum est anima, quod est cognatum suum, adjutorium ei deorsum mittat. Ps. viii. 2. Ps. xix. 1.

[1] The next five words are omitted by HIPPOLYTUS, doubtless as interfering with the meaning.

[2] *εἰς διϋλισμόν.* So Matt. xxiii. 24, *οἱ διϋλίζοντες τὸν κωνῶπα, who strain out the gnat.* In what does this *defæcation* consist? as GRABE says, in the chastening of the soul *πόνοις καὶ τ.* MASSUET, however, cites a passage from CLEM. AL. *Pæd.* I, where in speaking of Gnostics, he says that the memory of good incites the soul to virtue, to the purging out of evil; *διϋλισμὸν μὲν τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρειττόνων εἶναι φασίν· διϋλισμὸν δὲ νοοῦσι, τὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπομνήσεως τῶν ἀμεινόνων, τῶν χειρόνων χωρισμόν· ἔπεται δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, τῷ ὑπομνησθέντι τῶν βελτιόνων, ἡ μετανοία ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἥττοσιν.* Either interpretation is far-fetched; a simple meaning, though at variance with the translation, may be obtained by substituting, for *εἰς διϋλισμὸν, in defæcationem, δι' ἀλύσμου, præ angore.*

The reading, *αἰνέσεως,* may have been by a corruption from *ἀνιάσεως,* HIPPOLYTUS having for *εἰς σημεῖον αἰνέσεως,* the words, *ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνιᾶται,* but the derivative forms *ἀνιῶμαι* and *ἀνιάσις* are unknown elsewhere, and HIPPOLYTUS probably wrote *αἰνεῖται.* On the whole, the explanation of GRABE is the most suitable to the context, and if any correction be required, it would be best to substitute *παραινέσεως* for *αἰν.* in the sense indicated by AUL. GELL. VI. 14. *Puniendis peccatis tres esse debere causas existimatum est; una est quæ νουθέσια vel κόλασις vel παραίνεσις dicitur, cum pœna adhibetur castigandi atque emendandi gratia, ut is, qui fortuito deliquit, attentior fiat correctiorque.*

[3] *ἡ ἄνω ψυχή,* the angelical counterpart of the human soul.

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LIB. I. viii. 10. GR. I. xi. MASS. I. xiv. 9.

10. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ [1] παντὸς, ὀνόματος τριάκοντα ὄντος γραμμάτων τούτου, καὶ τοῦ Βυθοῦ τοῦ αὔξοντος ἐκ τῶν τούτου γραμμάτων, ἔτι τε τῆς Ἀληθείας σώματος δωδεκαμελοῦς ἐκ δύο γραμμάτων συνεστῶτος, καὶ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῆς, ἣν [*Int.* προσωμίλησε μὴ] προσομιλήσασα, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπιλύσεως τοῦ μὴ λαληθέντος ὀνόματος, καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, καθὰ ἔχουσι τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως ἐλήρησεν. Ἐξῆς δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἰσάριθμον δύναμιν ἐπέδειξεν ἡ τετρακτὺς αὐτῷ, ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, ἵνα μηδὲν λάθῃ M. 74. σε τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων ἐληλυθότων, ἀγαπητέ, καθὼς πολλάκις ἀπῄτησας παρ' ἡμῶν.

11. Οὕτως οὖν ἀπαγγέλλει ἡ πάνσοφος αὐτῷ Σιγὴ τὴν Hipp. Philos. vi. 49. γένεσιν τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων στοιχείων· τῇ μονότητι συνυπάρχειν ἑνότητι [H. ἑνότητα], ἐξ ὧν δύο προβολαὶ, καθ' ἃ προείρηται· μονάς τε καὶ τὸ ἕν ἐπὶ [H. *l.* δὶς] δύο οὖσαι τέσσαρα [H. τέσσαρες] ἐγένοντο· δὶς γὰρ δύο, τέσσαρες. Καὶ πάλιν, αἱ δύο καὶ τέσσαρες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συντεθεῖσαι τὸν τῶν ἓξ ἐφανέρωσαν ἀριθμόν. Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ ἓξ τετραπλασιασ-

10. Et de omni quidem nomine, quod est xxx literarum, et de Bytho, qui augmentum accipit ex hujus literis, adhuc etiam de Veritatis corpore, quod est duodecim membrorum, unoquoque membro ex duabus literis constante; et de voce ejus quam locuta est non locuta; et de resolutione ejus nominis, quod non est enarratum; et de mundi anima, et hominis, secundum quæ habent illam, quæ est ad imaginem, dispositionem, sic deliravit. Dehinc autem quemadmodum ex nominibus æquiparatam virtutem ostendit eorum quaternatio, referemus, ut nihil lateat te, dilectissime, eorum quæ ad nos pervenerunt ex iis, quæ ab iis dicuntur, quemadmodum sæpe postulasti a nobis.

11. Sic autem annuntiat perquam sapiens eorum Sige generationem xxiv elementorum: cum [2] solitate esse unitatem, ex quibus duæ sunt emissiones, sicut prædictum est, monas et hen, quæ duplicatæ, iv factæ sunt: bis enim duo, quatuor. Et rursus duo et quatuor in idipsum compositæ, sextum manifestaverunt numerum. Hi autem sex quadruplicati viginti quatuor

[1] *τοῦ παντός*, the name of Soter, the perfect fructification of the whole Pleroma, called *τὰ πάντα, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ παντῶν εἶναι*. 1. § 4, end.

[2] All the Manuscripts here have *soliditate*, but the error is evident, and need not otherwise have been mentioned.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 49. θέντες, τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἀπεκύησαν μορφάς. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τετράδος ὀνόματα ἅγια ἁγίων νοούμενα, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενα λεχθῆναι, γινώσκεσθαι [H. *adj.* δὲ] ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ἃ ὁ Πατὴρ οἶδε τίνα ἐστί. [1]Τὰ δὲ σεμνὰ, καὶ μετὰ G. 71. πίστεως ὀνομαζόμενα παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστι ταῦτα· Ἄῤῥητος καὶ Σιγὴ, Πατήρ τε καὶ Ἀλήθεια. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς τετράδος ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμός ἐστι στοιχείων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄῤῥητος ὄνομα γράμματα ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἑπτὰ, [2]ἡ δὲ Σιγὴ πέντε, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ [H. *ha.* πέντε], καὶ ἡ Ἀλήθεια ἑπτά· ἃ συντεθέντα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, τὰ δὶς πέντε, καὶ δὶς ἑπτὰ, τὸν τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ἀριθμὸν ἀνεπλήρωσεν. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τετρὰς, Λόγος καὶ Ζωὴ, Ἄνθρωπος καὶ Ἐκκλησία, τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν στοιχείων ἀνέδειξαν. Καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος δὲ ῥητὸν ὄνομα, [3]ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα, γραμμάτων LIB. I. viii. 11. GR. I. xii. 1. MASS. I. xv. I.

generaverunt figuras. Et quidem quæ sunt primæ quaternationis nomina sancta sanctorum intelliguntur, quæ non possunt enarrari; intelliguntur autem a solo Filio, quæ Pater scit quænam sunt. Alia vero, quæ cum gravitate, et honore, et fide nominantur apud eum, sunt hæc, Ἄῤῥητος et Σιγὴ, Πατὴρ et Ἀλήθεια. Hujus autem quaternationis universus numerus est literarum viginti quatuor: Ἄῤῥητος enim nomen literas habet in se septem, Σειγὴ quinque, et Πατὴρ quinque. et Ἀλήθεια VII, quæ composita in se, bis [4]quini, et bis septem, XXIV numerum adimpleverunt. Similiter et secunda quaternatio Logos et Zoe, Anthropos et Ecclesia eundem numerum elementorum ostenderunt. Et Salvatoris quoque narrabile nomen Ἰησοῦς

[1] τὰ δὲ σεμνά. HIPPOLYTUS has τὰ δὲ μετὰ σιωπῆς, the true reading perhaps lies midway, τὰ δὲ μετὰ σεμνότητος. The translator read in addition, καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ πίστεως, which I imagine expresses the genuine text.

[2] ἡ δὲ Σιγὴ πέντε, spelling the word Σειγὴ, as in the sequel. Χριστὸς is computed as Χρειστὸς, hence the form Chrestus in TACITUS. HIPPOLYTUS supplies πέντε after Πατήρ.

[3] ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα. Hippolytus neither recognises these words, nor I H, the abbreviated form of Ἰησοῦς; but after the words, τὸ δὲ ἄῤῥητον αὐτοῦ, he inserts the gloss, ἐπ' ἀριθμῷ τῶν κατὰ ἓν γραμμάτων, τουτέστι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. The entire passage is obscure, and GRABE says of it, "*Quænam fuerit autem mystica illa nominis Jesu expositio....vix quisquam dicere poterit.*" The words of Hippolytus, however, explain it; for, in the present instance, the letters that form the word Ἰησοῦς, are 24, e. g. (Ἰῶτα, ἦ, σῖγμα, οὖ, ὖψιλον, σῖγμα). ἦ follows the analogy of εἰ, n. 1, p. 146, as indicated in ἦτα, ἦτα. See the false reading, p. 147, n. 1.

[4] The CLERMONT, Voss, MERC. II. MSS., as also PASS., have *quini*, which has therefore been replaced in the text.

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LIB. I. viii. 11. GR. I. xii. 1. MASS. I. xv. 1.

Cf. x. § 4.

ὑπάρχειν [H. ὑπάρχει] ἓξ, τὸ δ' ἄῤῥητον αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων. [1]Υἱὸς Χρειστὸς, γραμμάτων δώδεκα· τὸ δὲ ἐν [H. τῷ] Χριστῷ [2]ἄῤῥητον, γραμμάτων τριάκοντα. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν αὐτὸν α καὶ ω, ἵνα τὴν περιστερὰν μηνύσῃ, τοῦτον ἔχοντος τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου τοῦ ὀρνέου. Hipp. Philos. vi. 49. M. 75.

12. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ταύτην ἔχει, φησὶ, τὴν ἄῤῥητον γένεσιν. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν ὅλων, τῆς πρώτης τετράδος, ἐν θυγατρὸς [3]τρόπῳ προῆλθεν ἡ δευτέρα τετρὰς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὀγδοὰς, ἐξ ἧς προῆλθε δεκάς· οὕτως ἐγένετο δεκὰς καὶ

literarum est sex; inenarrabile autem ejus, literarum viginti quatuor. [4]Υἱὸς Χρειστὸς literarum XII; quod est autem in Christo inenarrabile, literarum XXX. Et propter hoc ait eum A et Ω, ut [5]περιστερὰν manifestet, cum hunc numerum habeat hæc avis.

12. Jesus autem hanc habet inquit inenarrabilem genesin. A matre enim universorum, id est primæ quaternationis, in filiæ locum processit secunda quaternatio, et facta est octonatio, ex qua progressa est decas: sic factum est XVIII. Decas itaque

[1] Υἱὸς Χρειστός. The text of HIPPOLYTUS is here given: Υἱὸς δὲ Χρειστὸς δώδεκα, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ Χρειστῷ ἄῤῥητον γραμμάτων τριάκοντα, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ γράμμασι κατὰ ἓν στοιχεῖον ἀριθμούμενον. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ χεῖ τριῶν, τὸ δὲ ῥὼ δύο, καὶ τὸ εἶ δύο, καὶ ἰῶτα τεσσάρων, τὸ σῖγμα πέντε, καὶ τὸ ταῦ τριῶν, τὸ δὲ ου δύο, καὶ τὸ σὰν τριῶν. Οὕτως τὸ ἐν τῷ Χρειστῷ ἄῤῥητον φάσκουσι στοιχεῖων τριάκοντα. The passage is defective, for Χρειστὸς so summed, only gives 24. It is no more perhaps than the endeavour of some reader to sum the characters, on the margin of his copy, in a calculation that afterwards found its way into the text; still it indicates the mode of solution. The calculation runs thus, χι, ῥὼ, εἶψιλον, ἰῶτα, σῖγμα, ταῦ, ου, σῖγμα, which letters sum 30. The letters ε and ο were written with the vowel sound next in sequence, to enounce them; so Nigidius, as quoted by AULUS GELLIUS, XIX. 14: *Græcos non tantæ inscitiæ arcesso, qui* ου (vocalem sc. ο,) *ex* ο *et* υ *scripserunt, quantæ, qui* ει (vocalem ε,) *ex* ε *et* ι; *illud enim inopia fecerunt, hoc nulla re subacti.* Ο was not then known as ο μικρόν, but ε was already εἶψιλον. Here the ancient and later modes are combined. Compare p. 133, n. 1.

[2] The term ἄῤῥητον, here applies to the pronunciation, not to the notion of inscrutability, for as the name Ἰησοῦς is ῥητὸν, i. e. articulate, when each letter is expressed by the sound that it symbolises, so the same name is ἄῤῥητον, i. e. not to be pronounced, when the constituent elements of each literal appellative are to be brought into the account. In the same way, the mystical jargon used in the Marcosian baptism is said to be uttered ἀῤῥήτῳ φωνῇ. HIPPOL. *Phil.* VI. 41.

[3] The translator read τόπῳ faultily.

[4] The CLERMONT MS. has Υἱὸς Χριστός, as in the Greek. The ARUNDEL omits Υἱός. The VOSS MS. inserts the copula, which is here cancelled.

[5] The earlier editions had *per ista*

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 50. [1]ὀγδοάς. Ἡ οὖν δεκὰς ἐπισυνελθοῦσα τῇ ὀγδοάδι, καὶ δεκαπλασίονα αὐτὴν ποιήσασα, τὸν τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα προεβίβασεν ἀριθμόν· καὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα πάλιν δεκαπλασιάσασα, τὸν τῶν ὀκτακοσίων ἀριθμὸν ἐγέννησεν· ὥστε εἶναι τὸν ἅπαντα τῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμὸν ἀπὸ ὀγδοάδος εἰς δεκάδα προελθόντα, G. 72. η καὶ π καὶ ω, ὅ ἐστι δεκαοκτώ (ιη′) [H. Ἰησοῦς]. Τὸ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ [H. Ἰησοῦς] ὄνομα κατὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἀριθμὸν, [2]ω ἔστιν ὀγδοηκονταοκτώ. Ἔχει [Ἔχεις] σαφῶς καὶ τὴν ὑπερουράνιον τοῦ η καὶ τοῦ σ [l. τοῦ Ἰησοῦ] κατ' αὐτοὺς γένεσιν. Διὸ καὶ τὸν ἀλφάβητον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν [H. ἔχει] [3]μονάδας ὀκτὼ, καὶ δεκάδας ὀκτὼ, καὶ ἑκατοντάδας M. 76. ὀκτὼ, τὴν τῶν ὀκτακοσίων ὀγδοηκονταοκτὼ ψῆφον ἔπειτα δεικνύοντα [INT. et H. ἐπιδεικνύοντα], τουτέστι τὸ ε ι η, [H. τὸν Ἰησοῦν] [4]τὸν ἐκ πάντων συνεστῶτα τῶν ἀριθμῶν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦ [H. τοῦτο] ἄλφα καὶ ω ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐτὸν, τὴν ἐκ πάντων γένεσιν σημαίνοντα. Καὶ πάλιν οὕτως· τῆς πρώτης LIB. I. viii. 12. GR. I. xii. 2. MASS. I. xv. 2.

adjuncta octonationi et decuplam eam faciens LXXX [5]fecit numerum: et rursus octuagies decies octingentorum numerum fecit, ut sit universus literarum numerus ab octonatione in decadem progrediens octo et octuaginta et DCCC quod est JESUS. Jesus enim nomen secundum Græcarum literarum computum DCCC sunt LXXXVIII. Habes manifeste et supercœlestis JESU secundum eos genesin. Quapropter et A B Græcorum habere monadas octo, et decadas VIII, et hecatontadas VIII, DCCCLXXXVIII numerum ostendentia, hoc est, Jesum, qui est ex omnibus constans numeris: et propter hoc A et Ω nominari eum, cum significet ex omnibus ejus generationem. Et iterum ita: primæ

manifeste; the last word is found in the ARUNDEL MS., otherwise it expresses the correct reading, though abbreviated, e. g. p̄ista. The CL. has *περυστεράν*.

[1] HIPP. has *δέκα εἶτα [ἤιτα] δεκαοκτώ*.

[2] For the numerical equivalents of the several letters I, *η*, *σ*, *ο*, *υ*, *σ*, see p. 66, note 1, and note 1, p. 148.

[3] *μονάδας ὀκτώ*. The reader may be again reminded that in the Greek numerical alphabet, three extraneous characters are imported; the *ἐπίσημα*, *βαῦ* for 6, *κόππα* for 90, and *σαμπῖ* for 900. As regards the true Greek character therefore, the units contain nine less one, or eight, the tens the same, the hundreds also the same; which will serve to explain the text.

[4] The name Jesus was said to represent the entire Alphabet, as the Æon Jesus represented the entire pleroma, of which, taken collectively, he was the *τέλειος καρπὸς*, p. 148, n. 2.

[5] The CLERMONT MS. reads *confecit*.

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I IB. I. viii. 12. GR. I. xli. 2. MASS. I. xv. 2.

τετράδος κατὰ πρόσβασιν [πρόβασιν] ἀριθμοῦ εἰς αὐτὴν συντιθεμένης, ὁ τῶν δέκα ἀνεφάνη ἀριθμός. Μία γὰρ καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συντεθεῖσαι, δέκα γίνονται· καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι θέλουσι τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

13. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Χρειστὸς, φησὶ, γραμμάτων ὀκτὼ ὤν, τὴν πρώτην ὀγδοάδα σημαίνει, ἥτις τῷ δέκα [ι] [1]συμπλακεῖσα, G 73. τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπεκύησε. Λέγεται δὲ, φησὶ, καὶ υἱὸς Χρειστὸς, τουτέστιν ἡ δωδεκάς· τὸ γὰρ υἱὸς ὄνομα γραμμάτων ἐστὶ τεσσάρων, τὸ δὲ Χρειστὸς ὀκτώ· ἅτινα συντεθέντα τὸ τῆς δωδεκάδος ἐπέδειξαν μέγεθος. Πρὶν μὲν οὖν, φησὶ, τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος τὸ [2]ἐπίσημον φανῆναι, τουτέστι τὸν Ἰησοῦν,

quaternationis secundum progressionem numeri in semetipsam compositæ x apparuit numerus. A enim et B et [3]Γ et Δ in [4]semetipsa composita x fiunt, quod est I, et hoc esse volunt Jesum.

13. Sed et Christus, inquit, literarum est VIII, [5]ex quibus primam octonationem significari, quæ cum Iota applicita DCCCLXXXVIII numerum generavit. Dicitur autem, ait, et filius Christus, hoc est duodecas: Υἱὸς enim nomen literarum quatuor est, Χρειστὸς autem octo: quæ composita duodecadis ostenderunt magnitudinem. Prius autem, inquit, quam hujus nominis insigne appareret, hoc est Jesus, filius, in ignorantia magna

[1] *συμπλακεῖσα*, eight, and the sum of eight multiplied into ten, and also into ten squared, e. g. 8 + 80 + 800 = 888 = the numerical value of I, η, σ, ο, υ, σ.

[2] *ἐπίσημον*. MASSUET says that σ', as symbolising the six letters of the name Ἰησοῦς, is the symbol of Christ; but σ is the sign for 200, not for 6, and the context leads us to look for the exact equivalent of *thirty*. GRABE'S note is not more satisfactory, who says that Ἰησοῦς is the *ἐπίσημον* of Christ, *quia positum est in assimilationem et figurationem ejus*, as IRENÆUS says below, p. 151; which is in fact no help, for in what consisted the similitude? Now it has been shewn, note 1, p. 146, that Χρειστὸς is a combination of thirty elements; the alphabet is a combination of the same number, the three double consonants being resolved and added again to the 24, note 1, p. 139. But Ἰησοῦς is a combination of twenty-four elements, therefore add to them the single characters that compose the name, and we obtain, in the same way as in the alphabet, the number thirty. In this way Ἰησοῦς is the *ἐπίσημον* of Χρειστός.

[3] The CLERMONT writes the Γ as G, the other MSS. have ς. It is simply an instance of mistake arising from the similarity of the sigma and of the gamma. See note 4, p. 138.

[4] The reading of MASSUET is adopted on the sole authority of the ARUND. MS. The CLERM. and all other MSS. have *semetipso*.

[5] Indicating *ἐξ ὧν* in the Greek.

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τοῖς υἱοῖς [τὸν υἱὸν], ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ πολλῇ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πλάνῃ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐφανερώθη τὸ ἑξαγράμματον ὄνομα, ὃς σάρκα περιεβάλλετο, ἵνα εἰς τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατέλθῃ, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ αὐτὰ τὰ ἓξ καὶ τὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα, τότε γνόντες αὐτὸν ἐπαύσαντο τῆς ἀγνοίας, ἐκ θανάτου δὲ εἰς ζωὴν ἀνῆλθον, τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῖς [1]ὁδοῦ γεννηθέντος πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας. Τεθεληκέναι γὰρ τὸν Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων λῦσαι τὴν ἄγνοιαν, καὶ καθελεῖν τὸν θάνατον. Ἀγνοίας δὲ λύσις ἡ ἐπίγνωσις αὐτοῦ ἐγίνετο. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλεχθῆναι τὸν κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα [2]τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως οἰκονομηθέντα Ἄνθρωπον. LIB. I. viii. 13. GR. I. xii. 2. MASS. I. xv. 2.

M. 77. Hipp. Philos. vi. 51.

14. Ἀπὸ τετράδος γὰρ προῆλθον οἱ Αἰῶνες. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ τετράδι Ἄνθρωπος καὶ Ἐκκλησία, Λόγος καὶ Ζωή. Ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν δυνάμεις, φησὶν, ἀπορρυεῖσαι, ἐγενεσιούργησαν τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς φανέντα Ἰησοῦν. Καὶ τοῦ μὲν Λόγου

fuerunt homines et errore. Cum autem manifestatum est VI literarum nomen, hoc quod est secundum carnem amictum est, ut ad sensibilitatem hominis descenderet, habens in semetipso ipsum quoque VI et viginti quatuor; tunc cognoscentes eum cessaverunt ab ignoratione, et a morte in vitam ascenderunt, nomine eis facto ducatore ad Patrem veritatis. Voluisse enim Patrem universorum solvere ignorantiam, et destruere mortem. Ignorantiæ autem solutio, agnitio ejus fiebat. Et propter hoc dictum secundum voluntatem ejus, eum qui est secundum imaginem ejus, quæ sursum est virtus, dispositum Hominem. II. xxix. IV. xxviii.

14. A quaternatione enim progressi sunt Æones. Erat autem in quaternatione Anthropos et Ecclesia, Logos et Zoe. Ab iis igitur virtutes, ait, emanatæ generaverunt eum, qui in terra manifestatus est, Jesum. Et Logi quidem locum adimplesse

[1] The Greek text is most likely to be right, for there is a manifest allusion to the words of our Lord, Joh. xiv. 6, *I am the way, the truth, and the life.* It is a matter of surprise that this has not been remarked. The passage gives another proof that the translator's copy, taken perhaps at third hand from the original, was at that early date no model of accuracy. So within a few lines we have the false reading λεχθῆναι, indicated in the version by *dictum*, unless indeed the translator wrote *electum*.

[2] τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως, neither Χριστὸς nor Σωτὴρ, as GRABE imagines, and to which MASSUET half assents, but the Supreme Æon Anthropos, which the Ptolemæan precursors of the Marcosian heresy identified with Propator. See VI. § 2, 3. vii. ὅτι ἡ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα δύναμις καὶ ἐμπεριεκτικὴ τῶν πάντων Ἄνθρωπος καλεῖται. See note 2, p. 134.

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LIB. I. viii. 14. GR. I. xii. 3. MASS. I. xv. 3.

ἀναπεπληρωκέναι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἄγγελον Γαβριὴλ, τῆς δὲ Ζωῆς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦ δὲ Ἀνθρώπου τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ υἱοῦ [H. τὴν τοῦ ὑψίστου δ.]· τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τόπον ἡ Παρθένος ἐπέδειξεν. Οὕτως τε ὁ κατ' οἰκονομίαν διὰ τῆς Μαρίας γενεσιουργεῖται [1]παρ' αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος, ὃν ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων διελθόντα διὰ μήτρας ἐξελέξατο διὰ Λόγου εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν αὐτοῦ. Ἐλθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς περιστερὰν τὸν [2]ἀναδραμόντα ἄνω, καὶ πληρώσαντα τὸν δωδέκατον ἀριθμόν· ἐν ᾧ ὑπάρχει τὸ σπέρμα τούτων τῶν [3]συμπαρέντων αὐτῷ, καὶ συγκαταβάντων, καὶ συναναβάντων. Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν δύναμιν κατελθοῦσαν σπέρμα φησὶν εἶναι τοῦ [4]Πατρὸς [H. πληρώματος], ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, τήν τε διὰ τούτων γινωσκομένην ἀνονόμαστον δύναμιν τῆς Σιγῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἅπαντας Αἰῶνας. Καὶ τοῦτ' [H. τούτον] εἶναι [5]τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ [H. δ. τ. στόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ], τὸ ὁμολογῆσαν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν

Hipp. Philos. vi. 31.

Cf. i. § 13.

x. § 4.

G. 74.

Luc. i. 35.

angelum Gabriel, Zoes autem Spiritum sanctum, Anthropi autem Altissimi virtutem: Ecclesiæ autem locum Virgo ostendit. Et sic ille qui est secundum dispositionem, per Mariam generatur apud eum homo, quem Pater omnium transeuntem per vulvam elegit per Verbum ad agnitionem suam. Cum autem venisset ipse ad aquam, descendisse in eum, quasi columbam, eum qui recurrit sursum, et implevit XII numerum: in quo inerat semen eorum qui conseminati sunt cum eo, et condescenderunt et coascenderunt. Ipsam autem virtutem quæ descendit, semen dicit esse Patris, habens in se et Patrem, et Filium, et eam quæ per eos cognoscitur innominabilis virtus Siges, et omnes Æonas. Et hunc esse Spiritum qui locutus est per os

[1] παρ' αὐτῶν, the reading of HIPPOLYTUS suggests παρ' αὐτόν, *præter eum*, though at variance with the translation.

[2] HIPPOLYTUS has ἀναβαίνοντα.

[3] συμπαρέντων, i. e. the angels who were his ἡλικιῶται and ὁμογενεῖς, pp. 23, 39. HIPPOLYTUS reads συγκατασπαρέντων, and since this is the compound form used before, p. 51, it is most likely to be the genuine reading.

[4] HIPPOLYTUS reads πληρώματος, and the reading, but for the Latin version, might be defended; for the δύναμις that descended upon Jesus at baptism was Σωτὴρ, ὁ ἐκ πάντων γεγονώς, p. 58. He was an emanation from the whole body, and not from the Father alone.

[5] τὸ πνεῦμα. The reader should compare with this passage the previous statement of IRENÆUS, respecting the fourfold constitution of the Valentinian Christ, p. 60, note 3. Two of the particulars mentioned refer to his heavenly, and two to his earthly character, and

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 51. ἀνθρώπου, καὶ φανερώσαντα [H. φανερῶσαν] τὸν Πατέρα, κατελθὸν μὲν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἡνῶσθαι δ' [H. δ' *abest*] αὐτῷ. Καὶ καθεῖλε μὲν τὸν θάνατον, φησὶν, ὁ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας Σωτὴρ, ἐγνώρισε δὲ τὸν Πατέρα [1]Χριστόν [H. Χρ. Ἰησοῦν]. Εἶναι οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα μὲν τοῦ [2]ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας
M. 78. ἀνθρώπου λέγει, τεθεῖσθαι δὲ εἰς ἐξομοίωσιν καὶ μόρφωσιν τοῦ μέλλοντος εἰς αὐτὸν κατέρχεσθαι Ἀνθρώπου, τὸν [H. ὃν] χωρήσαντα αὐτόν. [3]Ἐσχηκέναι δὲ αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἄνθρωπον,

LIB. I. viii. 14. GR. I. xii. 3. MASS. I. xv. 3.

Jesu, qui se confessus est Filium hominis, et manifestavit Patrem, descendens quidem in Jesum, unitus est. Et destruxit quidem mortem, ait, qui fuit ex dispositione Salvator Jesus; agnovit autem Patrem Christum Jesum. Esse ergo Jesum nomen quidem ejus, qui est ex dispositione homo, dicit, positum autem esse in assimilationem et figurationem ejus, qui incipit in eum descendere, Hominis, quem capientem habere et ipsum

of each pair, one indicates the pre-existent prototype of that which was in due time revealed. So, there was the spiritual substance derived from Achamoth, and the subsequent revelation of this substance, as the Æon Soter, at the baptism of Christ; there was the *ψυχικὸς σωτὴρ*, p. 52, generated of Demiurge, and the revelation of this non-choic, though animal principle, in the *οἰκονομία*. In the present passage there is the same allusion, 1, to the spiritual substance, 2, to its illapse on Jesus at baptism, 3, to the pre-existent psychical Saviour, the prototypal origin of, 4, the Saviour *ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας*, who abolished death. In all this, heresy gives a turbid reflection of the great catholic truth, the mystery of godliness, *God manifest in the flesh*. The reader may also refer to III. XVII., where he will find again the Valentinian assertion that Jesus and Christ were the pre-existent cause of *ὁ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας Σωτήρ*.

[1] GRABE proposes to read *Χριστὸς*, MASSUET replies that IRENÆUS mentions certain heretics, III. XVII., who affirmed *esse quidem filium Jesum, Patrem vero Christum, et Christi Patrem Deum*, and that MARCUS *may* have been of their number. But the translation introduces an additional difficulty in reading *Christum Jesum*, with which HIPPOLYTUS agrees, *ἐγνώρισε δὲ τὸν πατέρα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν*. For this reason I am inclined to side with GRABE, and to suspect that some variation has taken place in the text. But I would prefer to stop at *πατέρα*, and to commence the next sentence with the two next words, reading *Χριστὸν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἶναι ὄνομα μὲν .... τεθεῖσθαι δὲ, κ. τ. λ.* The combination of these two names in the opening of the sentence obviates the difficulty that otherwise occurs in the close, where the assertion would be expected that Jesus bore the title and power of Christ also, as well as of the other Æons.

[2] *ὁ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας Ἄνθρωπος* was the predestined hypostasis, upon which the Æon *Ἄνθρωπος* was in due course to descend.

[3] The two Greek texts, that we now possess, and the translation, enable us to restore this passage with tolerable

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αὐτόν τε τὸν Λόγον, καὶ τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄρρητον, καὶ τὴν Σιγὴν, καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν, καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ Ζωήν[1]. Hipp. Philos. vi. 51.

15. Ταῦτα δὴ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἰού, καὶ τὸ φεῦ, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ [τὴν] πᾶσαν τραγικὴν φώνησιν καὶ σχετλιασμόν ἐστι. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν μισήσειε τῶν τηλικούτων ψευσμάτων κακοσύνθετον ποιητὴν, τὴν μὲν Ἀλήθειαν ὁρῶν εἴδωλον ὑπὸ Μάρκου γεγονυῖαν, καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου γράμμασι κατεστιγμένην. [2]Νεωστὶ, πρὸς [ὡς] τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον χθὲς καὶ πρώην, Ἕλληνες ὁμολογοῦσιν [3]ἀπὸ Κάδμου πρῶτον ἓξ καὶ δέκα παρειληφέναι, εἶτα μετέπειτα προβαινόντων τῶν

Hominem, et ipsum Logon, et Patrem, et Arrheton, et Sigen, et Alethian, et Ecclesiam, et Zoen.

15. Hæc jam supra Iu Iu, et super Pheu, et super universam tragicam exclamationem et doloris vociferationem sunt. Quis enim non oderit eum, qui tantorum mendaciorum malus compositor est poeta, cum [4]viderit veritatem idolum a Marco factam, et hoc [5]Alphabetæ literis stigmatam? Nuper, sicut quod est ab initio, quod dici solet *heri et ante*, Græci confitentur a Cadmo se primum sedecim accepisse: post deinde proceden-

accuracy; it must have run thus, δν χωρήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐσχηκέναι αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἄνθρ. κ.τ.λ. The text of HIPPOLYTUS is as follows, δν χωρίσαντα ἐσχηκέναι αὐτόν. Αὐτόν τε εἶναι τὸν Ἄνθρ. κ. τ. λ.

[1] Here HIPPOLYTUS leaves our author for a few pages, and indicates the Pythagorean, but omits to notice the truer Cabbalistic, source of this arithmetical mysticism.

[2] νεωστὶ, κ. τ. λ. The punctuation of this passage, the meaning of which is altogether missed by the translator, has been altered according to SCALIGER'S suggestion, *Euseb. Chron.* p. 112, the sense of the passage being as follows: "The Greeks confess that they received sixteen letters from Cadmus, recently, as compared with the beginning of all things, the undefined antiquity of which is described by the scriptural proverb, *Yesterday and before.*" Gen. xxxi. 2, &c. For πρὸς we may substitute with the translator ὡς.

[3] The translator seems to have read, as SCALIGER remarked, ἀπ' εἰκασμοῦ, else the two ancient MSS. CLERM. and ARUND. would hardly have agreed in the preposterous reading *ab æstimatione*. Sixteen letters were first introduced by Cadmus from Phœnicia, and were therefore called καδμήϊα and φοινικήϊα γράμματα, in form and order they agree with the Samaritan. SIMONIDES of Ceos and EPICHARMUS of Sicily, or, as IRENÆUS here says, PALAMEDES, who lived before the Trojan war, added the eight ζ. η. ψ. ω. θ. ξ. χ. φ, as used in Asia Minor and insular Greece. Three however, θ. φ. χ, are found in the oldest inscriptions. BŒCKH. *Econ. Inscr.* I. The Ionians first adopted the entire

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χρόνων αὐτοὶ ἐξευρηκέναι ποτὲ μὲν τὰ δασέα, ποτὲ δὲ τὰ διπλᾶ· ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων Παλαμήδην φασὶ τὰ μακρὰ τούτοις προστεθεικέναι· πρὸ τοῦ οὖν Ἕλλησι ταῦτα γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἦν Ἀλήθεια· τὸ γὰρ σῶμα αὐτῆς κατά σε, Μάρκε, μεταγενέστερον μὲν Κάδμου, καὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ· μεταγενέστερον δὲ τῶν τὰ λοιπὰ προστεθεικότων στοιχεῖα· μεταγενέστερον δὲ καὶ σαυτοῦ· σὺ γὰρ μόνον εἴδωλον κατήγαγες τὴν ὑπό σου λεγομένην Ἀλήθειαν. G. 75. LIB. I. viii. 15. GR. I. xii. 4. MASS. I. xv. 4.

16. Τίς δ' ἀνέξεταί σου τὴν τοσαῦτα φλυαροῦσαν Σιγὴν,

tibus temporibus semetipsos adinvenisse, aliquando quidem aspiratas, aliquando autem duplices: novissime autem omnium Palamedem aiunt longas eis apposuisse. Prius igitur quam apud Græcos hæc fierent, non erat veritas. Corpus enim ejus secundum te, Marce; posterius est tempore quam Cadmos, et ii qui ante eum sunt; posterius autem his, qui reliqua elementa addiderunt [1][temporis quam Palamedes]: posterius autem tempore, quam et tu ipse. Tu autem solus in idolum deposuisti eam, quæ a te prædicatur Veritas.

16. Quis autem sustinebit tuam illam, quæ tantum [2]verbosata

alphabet, the Samians earlier than the rest, and from these latter it was received by the Athenians, although the additional letters were not used at Athens in public acts before the Peloponnesian war. Hence the shorter alphabet obtained the name of Ἀττικά, while the fuller form was known as Ἰωνικὰ γράμματα. The reader will find full information upon this subject in SCALIGER *ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 110; MONTFAUCON, *Palæograph. Gr.*; BOCHART, *Canaan*, I. 20; BŒCKH'S *Publ. Econ. Ath.*; MATTH. *Gr. Gr.*; PLIN. VII. 16.

[4] *Viderit*, the reading of the CLERMONT MS. which MASSUET adopts, though as STIEREN says, *auctoritatem nullam memorat*; the VOSS MS. shews the same.

[5] The CLERM. MS. has *alfabetæ* and ARUND. *alfa vitæ*, the termination therefore is retained.

[1] The mention of CADMUS (in the CLERM. and ARUND. MSS. CADMOD), and the subsequent personal application, σαυτοῦ, induces the belief that the translation indicates a lacuna in the Greek, in the words *temporis quam Palamedes*, i. e. τοῦ καιροῦ Παλαμήδους, in regimen with τῶν preceding; the translator, however, made the name dependent upon μεταγενέστερον. I would insert these words, therefore, in the Greek text; it is to mark omission in the CLERM., VOSS and MERC. II. MSS. that these words are bracketed in the Latin.

[2] *Verbosata, chattering.* GRABE, and his predecessor FEUARDENT, altered this word to *verbosa*, but MASSUET, supported by the universal consent of MSS., restores the final syllable, *verbosari* being an equivalent in later Latin for *garrire*; and he quotes S. AUGUSTIN, Serm. 265, *de Temp.* (*App.*), *In ecclesia stantes, nolite verbosari*; also from a genuine work, Op. Imp. *c. J.* 46, *Inaniter verbosaris.*

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LIB. I. viii. 16. GR. I. xii. 4. MASS. I. xv. 6.

ἢ τὸν ἀνονόμαστον ὀνομάζει, καὶ τὸν ἄῤῥητον ἐξηγεῖται, καὶ τὸν ἀνεξιχνίαστον ἐξιστορεῖ· καὶ ἠνοιχέναι τὸ στόμα φησὶν αὐτὸ [*l.* αὐτὸν], ὃν ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνείδεον λέγεις· καὶ προενέγκασθαι Λόγον, ὡς ἔν τι τῶν συνθέτων ζώων· τόν τε Λόγον αὐτοῦ ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ προβαλόντι, καὶ μορφὴν τοῦ ἀοράτου γεγονότα, στοιχείων μὲν εἶναι τριάκοντα, συλλαβῶν δὲ τεσσάρων; Ἔσται οὖν κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Λόγου ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν πάντων, ὡς σὺ φὴς, στοιχείων μὲν τριάκοντα, συλλαβῶν δὲ τεσσάρων. Ἢ πάλιν τίς ἀνέξεταί σου εἰς σχήματα καὶ ἀριθμοὺς, ποτὲ μὲν τριάκοντα, ποτὲ δὲ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα, ποτὲ δὲ ἓξ μόνον, συγκλείοντος τὸν τῶν πάντων κτιστὴν, καὶ δημιουργὸν, καὶ ποιητὴν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ· κατακερματίζοντος αὐτὸν εἰς συλλαβὰς μὲν τέσσαρας, στοιχεῖα δὲ τριάκοντα· καὶ τὸν πάντων Κύριον τὸν ἐστερεωκότα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, εἰς ω π η κατάγοντος ἀριθμὸν, ὁμοίως τῷ ἀλφαβήτῳ αὐτὸν γεγονότα [*l.* ἀλφ. γεγ. καὶ αὐτὸν π. χ. π.], πάντα χωροῦντα Πατέρα, ἀχώρητον δὲ ὑπάρχοντα, εἰς τετράδα, καὶ ὀγδοάδα, M. 79.

est Sigen, quæ innominabilem nominat (Æonem), inenarrabilem exponit, et eum qui [1]investigabilis est enuntiat, et aperuisse os dicit eum, quem incorporalem et infiguratum dicis, et emisisse Verbum, quasi unum ex his quæ composita sunt animalia: Verbum quoque ejus simile esse ei qui eum emisit, et formam invisibilis factum, elementorum quidem esse triginta, syllabarum autem quatuor? Erit ergo secundum similitudinem Verbi Pater omnium, sicut tu ais, elementorum quidem triginta, syllabarum autem quatuor. Aut iterum quis sustinebit te in schemata et numeros, aliquando quidem triginta, aliquando autem viginti quatuor, aliquando sex tantum, concludentem universorum conditorem, et Demiurgum, et factorem Verbum Dei, et minuentem eum in syllabas quidem quatuor, elementa autem triginta: et omnium Dominum qui [2]firmavit cœlos, in DCCCLXXXVIII deducentem numeros, similiter atque Alphabetum: et ipsum qui omnia capit Patrem, a nullo autem capitur, in quaternationem et octonationem [et decadem] et duodecadem sub-

[1] *Investigabilis*, that cannot be investigated, as in p. 15, and II. xxv.

[2] On the authority of the ARUND. MS. I restore *firmavit* for *confirmavit*, as agreeing better with *ἐστερεωκότα*. The Voss MS. also agrees.

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καὶ δεκάδα, καὶ δωδεκάδα ὑπομερίζοντος, καὶ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων πολυπλασιασμῶν, τὸ ἄῤῥητον καὶ ἀνεννόητον, ὡς σὺ φὴς, τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκδιηγουμένου; Καὶ ὃν ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνούσιον ὀνομάζεις, τὴν τούτου οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐκ πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἑτέρων ἐξ ἑτέρων γεννωμένων, κατασκευάζεις, αὐτὸς [1]Δαίδαλος ψευδὴς, καὶ τέκτων κακὸς γενόμενος τῆς προπανυπερτάτου δυνάμεως· καὶ ἣν ἀμέριστον φὴς εἶναι, εἰς ἀφώνους, καὶ φωνήεντας, καὶ ἡμιφώνους φθόγγους ὑπομερίζων· τὸ ἄφωνον αὐτῶν τῷ τῶν πάντων Πατρὶ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ [*l.* τούτου] ἐννοίᾳ ἐπιψευδόμενος, εἰς τὴν ἀνωτάτω βλασφημίαν καὶ μεγίστην ἀσέβειαν ἐμβέβληκας ἅπαντας τούς σοι πειθομένους. LIB. I viii. 16. GR. I. xii. 4. MASS. I xv. 5. M. 80.

17. Διὸ καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἁρμοζόντως τῇ τοιαύτῃ σου τόλμῃ ὁ [2]θεῖος πρεσβύτης καὶ κήρυξ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐμμέτρως ἐπιβεβόηκέ σοι, εἰπὼν οὕτως· G. 76.

[3]Εἰδωλοποιὲ, Μάρκε, καὶ τερατοσκόπε,
Ἀστρολογικῆς ἔμπειρε καὶ μαγικῆς τέχνης,

partientem, et per hujusmodi multiplicationes illud quod est inenarrabile et [4]incognoscibile, quemadmodum tu dicis, Patris enarrantem? Et quem incorporalem et insubstantivum nominas, hujus materiam et substantiam ex multis literis, aliis ex aliis generatis, fabricas, ipse Dædalus fictor et faber malus factus sublimissimæ virtutis: et quam indivisibilem dicis substantiam, in mutas, et vocales, et semivocales sonos subdividens, id quod est mutum in his, omnium Patri et hujus intentioni mentiens, in summam blasphemiam et magnam impietatem immisisti omnes qui tibi credunt.

17. Quapropter et juste et apte tali temeritati tuæ divinæ aspirationis senior et præco veritatis invectus est in te, dicens sic:

Idolorum fabricator, Marce, et portentorum inspector,
Astrologiæ cognitor et magicæ artis,

[1] DÆDALUS, the fabricator of the Cretan labyrinth, aptly illustrative of the Marcosian maze.

[2] The translator probably read ὁ θεόπνευστος πρ.

[3] εἰδωλοποιὲ, as having given a monstrous development to the ἰδέαι of philosophy; and as having deified the αἰῶνες of the Pleroma; but more especially Ἀλήθεια. cf. § 15. τερατοσκόπε, *Zeichendeuter.* ST.

[4] The CLERMONT MS. omits this word, but it is owing to the similar termination of a preceding word.

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LIB. I. viii. 17.
GR. I. xii. 4.
MASS. I. xv. 6.

Δι' ὧν κρατύνεις τῆς πλάνης τὰ διδάγματα,
Σημεῖα δεικνὺς τοῖς ὑπό σου πλανωμένοις,
Ἀποστατικῆς δυνάμεως ἐγχειρήματα,
[1]Ἃ σὺ χορηγεῖς ὡς πατὴρ Σατανᾶ, εἰ
Δι' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως [2]Ἀζαζὴλ ποιεῖν
Ἔχων σε πρόδρομον ἀντιθέου πανουργίας.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θεοφιλὴς πρεσβύτης. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς μυσταγωγίας αὐτῶν, μακρὰ ὄντα, πειρασόμεθα βραχέως διεξελθεῖν, καὶ [3]τὰ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κεκρυμμένα εἰς φανερὸν ἀγαγεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο εὐέλεγκτα πᾶσι.

Per quæ confirmas erroris doctrinas,
Signa ostendens his qui a te seducuntur,
Apostaticæ virtutis operationes,
Quæ tibi præstat tuus pater Satanas
Per angelicam virtutem Azazel facere, habens te
Præcursorem contrariæ adversus Deum nequitiæ.

Et hæc quidem amator Dei senior. Nos autem reliqua mysteria eorum, quæ sunt longa, conabimur breviter expedire, et ea quæ multo tempore sunt occultata, in manifestum producere. Sic enim fit ut facile argui et convinci possint ab omnibus.

[1] The translation in part, and in part the metre, justifies the emendation, Ἃ *σοι χορηγεῖ σὸς Πατὴρ Σατᾶν ἀεί.*

[2] Ἀζαζήλ. The same demon, as GRABE says, that is mentioned in the Targum Jon. on Gen. vi. 4, under the name Uzziel; and again by רשי on Num. xiii. 34: הנפילים ענקים מבני שמחזאי ועזאל שנפלו מן השמי' בימי דור אנוש. *The Nephilim are Anakim (giants) of the sons of Shamhazai and Uzziel, who fell from heaven in the days of Enoch.* In the Jewish demonology Azael and Asa, were two angels that cavilled at the creation of man, and were punished by being subjected to trial upon earth; they were the progenitors of the Anakim; and were bound with a chain of iron, and plunged in the midst of the abyss, where they are man's instructors in sorcery; as R. Menachem says, in his Commentary upon the Pentateuch: ואינון משלשלאין משקעין עד גו תהומא רבא ותמן אולפי חרשין לבני נשא. Hence the mention of Azael here, in connexion with the juggling of Marcus. The demonology of the Jews, borrowed from Babylon, not improbably incorporated the names of some whose gigantic vices were punished by the flood. So the Rabbinical Miscellany ילקום חדש, says, נשמת דור המבול נעשו רוחות ומזיקין.

[3] Marcus was a contemporary of IRENÆUS; but these words apply to the Ophites and Peratæ already of an old date. The Marcosian heresy was first broached in Gaul, but notwithstanding its abstruse and unattractive character, it had spread and taken root in Asia, as we know from the case of the Asiatic deacon, IX. 2. Still Marcus was a follower, not a precursor of Valen-

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LIB. I. ix. 1.
GR. I. xiii. 1.
MASS I. xvi. 1.

Κεφ. θ'.

Quomodo solvunt parabolas.

Hipp. Philos. vi. 52. G. 77.

1. ΤΗΝ *οὖν γένεσιν τῶν Αἰώνων αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν πλάνην τοῦ προβάτου, καὶ ἀνεύρεσιν, ἑνώσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, μυστικώτερον ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν οὗτοι οἱ εἰς ἀριθμοὺς τὰ πάντα κατάγοντες, ἐκ μονάδος καὶ δυάδος φάσκοντες τὰ ὅλα συνεστηκέναι* [H. *συνεστάναι*]· *καὶ ἀπὸ μονάδος ἕως τῶν*
M. 81. *τεσσάρων ἀριθμοῦντες οὕτω γεννῶσι τὴν δεκάδα.* [1]*Μία γὰρ, καὶ δύο, καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ τέσσαρες, συντεθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, τὸν τῶν δέκα Αἰώνων ἀπεκύησαν ἀριθμόν. Πάλιν δ' αὖ ἡ δυὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς προελθοῦσα ἕως τοῦ* [2]*ἐπισήμου, οἷον δύο καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ ἕξ, τὴν δωδεκάδα ἀπέδειξε. Καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς δυάδος*

CAP. IX.

1. GENERATIONEM itaque Æonum, et errorem ovis, et adinventionem, adunantes in unum, mystice audent annunciare hi qui in numeros omnia deduxerunt, de monade et dualitate dicentes omnia constare: et a monade usque ad quatuor numerantes, sic generant decadem. Unum enim et duo, et tres, et quatuor, in unum compositæ, decem Æonum generaverunt numerum. Rursus autem dualitas ab ea progressa usque ad episemon, duo et quatuor et sex, duodecadem ostendit. Et rursus a dualitate

tinus, whom he copied in the pretended revelation of the supreme Tetras; as HIPPOLYTUS says, *Philos.* VI. 42: Ὁ δὲ Μάρκος *μιμούμενος τὸν διδάσκαλον* (Valentinum sc.), &c. IRENÆUS also speaks of him as *magistri emendatorem*, c. VIII. We may, therefore, safely class him with the immediate followers of Valentinus, and not with the apostolical age as Predestinatus has done.

[1] These words bear the appearance of having been interpolated prior to the translation; for the words *ἀπ' αὐτῆς* that follow, bear relation to *μονάδος* that precedes the passage, which HIPPOLYTUS omits altogether. Elsewhere he demonstrates the Pythagorean origin of the Valentinian numerical system, in which the decad or Pythagorean *τέλειος ἀριθμὸς* was deduced from the Tetractys. *Ph.* VI. 23: *ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ τετρακτὺς γεννᾷ, φησὶ, τὸν τέλειον ἀριθμὸν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς τὸν δέκα, διδάσκουσιν οὕτως. Εἰ ἀρξάμενος ἀριθμεῖν λέγει τις ὅτι ἕν, καὶ ἐπιφέρει δύο, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως τρία, ἔσονται ταῦτα ἕξ· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτι τέσσαρα, ἔσται ὁμοίως τὸ πᾶν, δέκα. Τὸ γὰρ ἕν, δύο, τρία, τέσσαρα, γίνεται δέκα ὁ τέλειος ἀριθμός. Οὕτως, φησὶ, κατὰ πάντα ἐμιμήσατο ἡ τετρακτὺς τὴν νοητὴν μονάδα, τέλειον ἀριθμὸν γεννῆσαι δυνηθεῖσαν.*

[2] *ἐπισήμου*, the cipher, i. e. 6. See note 3, p. 147. Here 2+4+6=12, and 2+4+6+8+10=30.

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LIB. I. ix. 1. GR. I. xiii. 1. MASS. I. xvi. 1.

ὁμοίως ἀριθμούντων ἡμῶν ἕως τῶν δέκα, ἡ λ ἀνεδείχθη, ἐν ᾗ ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα καὶ δώδεκα [H. ὀγδοὰς καὶ δεκὰς καὶ δωδεκάς]. Hipp. Philos. vi. 52.

Τὴν οὖν δωδεκάδα, [1]διὰ τὸν [H. τὸ] ἐπίσημον συνεσχηκέναι, διὰ τὸ συνεπακολουθήσασαν [H. συνεπακολουθῆσαν] αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπίσημον, πάθος λέγουσι. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [2]περὶ τὸν δωδέκατον ἀριθμὸν τοῦ σφάλματος γενομένου, τὸ πρόβατον ἀποσκιρτῆσαν πεπλανῆσθαι· ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ δωδεκάδος γεγενῆσθαι φάσκουσι. Τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δωδεκάδος ἀπόστασιν [l. ἀποστᾶσαν] μίαν δύναμιν ἀπολωλέναι μαντεύονται· καὶ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἀπολέσασαν τὴν δραχμὴν, καὶ ἅψασαν λύχνον, καὶ εὑροῦσαν αὐτήν. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ [3](ἐπὶ) τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τοὺς καταλειφθέντας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς

similiter numerantibus nobis usque ad x, xxx numerus ostensus est, in quo est ogdoas et decas et duodecas. Duodecadem igitur eo quod episemon habuerit (consequentem sibi propter episemon) passionem vocant. Et propter hoc circa XII numerum cum labes quædam facta fuisset, ovem luxuriatam oberrasse: quoniam apostasiam a duodecade factam dicunt. Similiter et a duodecade abscedentem unam virtutem perisse divinant: et

II. xviii. 2 Luc. xv. 8.

hanc esse mulierem quæ perdiderit drachmam, et accenderit lucernam, et invenerit eam. Sic igitur et numeros reliquos in drachma, qui sunt novem, in ove vero undecim, perplexos sibi-

[1] Without stopping to detail the explanations and alterations offered successively by GRABE, MASSUET, and STIEREN, none of which are satisfactory, I add that which seems nearer to the truth. In the first place the text, as corrected from HIPPOLYTUS, runs with tolerable accuracy as follows: *τὴν οὖν δωδεκάδα διὰ τὸ ἐπίσημον συνεσχηκέναι, (διὰ τὸ συνεπακολουθῆσαν αὐτῇ τὸ ἐπίσημον,) πάθος λέγουσι.* For the number six (*ἐπίσημον βαῦ*) symbolised the *οἰκονομία τοῦ πάθους*, because man, the counterpart of the heavenly Adam, was formed on the sixth day of creation, and Christ suffered on the sixth day of the week, and at the sixth hour of the day Christ was nailed to the cross, and the name Jesus, implying the suffering Manhood, consists of six Greek letters, pp. 140, 145, 146. Since, therefore, the even digits, up to the *ἐπίσημον βαῦ*, i. e. 2, 4, 6, sum twelve, therefore twelve was called that, which was symbolised so clearly, as they said, by the cipher 6, and bore the character of Passion.

[2] *περὶ τὸν δωδέκατον.* The *σφάλμα* of the last of the twelve Æons, developed by Anthropos and Ecclesia, caused the passion of Enthymesis. *τὸ πρόβατον* must here be restricted to Sophia, the prototypal lost sheep. At the close of this period, HIPPOLYTUS ceases for a few sentences to transcribe, and gives the substance in words that are still similar to those of IRENÆUS.

[3] *del. ἐπί.* Of ten pieces of silver one was lost, and nine left.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 52. G. 78.

δραχμῆς τοὺς ἐννέα, [1]ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ προβάτου τοὺς ἕνδεκα ἐπιπλεκομένους ἀλλήλοις τὸν τῶν ἐνενηκονταεννέα τίκτειν ἀριθμόν· ἐπεὶ ἐννάκις τὰ ἕνδεκα ἐνενηκονταεννέα γίνεται. Διὸ καὶ τὸ [2]ἀμὴν τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἔχειν τὸν ἀριθμόν.

LIB. I. ix. 1. GR. I. xiii. 1. MASS. I. xvi. 1.

2. Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ἄλλως ἐξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ἵνα πανταχόθεν κατανοήσῃς τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῶν. Τὸ γὰρ στοιχεῖον τὸ η σὺν μὲν [*ap.* H. *deest* μὲν] τῷ ἐπισήμῳ ὀγδοάδα εἶναι θέλουσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ὀγδόου κείμενον τόπου [H. ἀπὸ τοῦ A ὀγδόῳ κείμενον τόπῳ]· εἶτα πάλιν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισήμου ψηφίζοντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν τῶν στοιχείων, καὶ ἐπισυνθέντες [H. συντιθέντες] μέχρι τοῦ η, τὴν τριακοντάδα ἐπιδεικνύουσιν. Ἀρξάμενος γὰρ [H. τις]
M. 82. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα, καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὸ η τῷ ἀριθμῷ [H. τὸν ἀριθμὸν] τῶν στοιχείων, ὑπεξαιρούμενος δὲ τὸ ἐπίσημον, καὶ ἐπισυντιθεὶς τὴν ἐπαύξησιν τῶν γραμμάτων, εὑρήσει τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα ἀριθμόν. [3]Μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ [4]θ [ε'] στοιχείου

metipsis, XCIX numerum generare: quoniam novies [5]undeni XCIX fiant. Quapropter et Amen hunc habere dicunt numerum.

2. Non pigritabor autem tibi et aliter eos interpretantes annunciare, ut undique conspicias fructum eorum. Literam enim H cum episemo Ogdoadem esse volunt, cum ab alpha[beta] octavo sit posita loco: rursus iterum sine episemo computantes numerum ipsarum literarum, et componentes usque ad H, triacontadem ostendunt. Incipiens enim quis ab A, et perfiniens in H, [per numeros] [*l.* numerum] literarum, abstrahens autem episemum, et insuper conjungens incrementum literarum, inveniet tricenarium numerum. Usque enim ad E literam, XV

[1] *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ προβάτου*, the lost sheep of Valentinus, not of S. LUKE. Sophia having strayed from her twelve co-ordinates, left eleven in the Pleroma.

[2] *ἀμήν*. The letters of which sum {1 + 40 + 8 + 50} = 99. The idea is borrowed from the Jewish Cabbala, in which the same word is observed to sum, Jehovah Adonai, = 91. ובכוונת אָמֵן דהוא כליל תרין שמהן יהוה אדני וגו׳ *of similar character is* AMEN, *which sums the two names* JEHOVAH ADONAI. *Seph. Zeniutha*, a compendium of the Cabbala, III. 19, 6.

[3] HIPPOLYTUS omits the following computation as far as the words *τριάκοντα αἰώνων*. This may have been the result of error in transcribing, owing to the somewhat similar conclusion of the preceding clause, *τριάκοντα ἀριθμόν*. Just as in the CLERMONT MS. the words *appositus eis* in the translation, have

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LIB. I. ix. 2. GR. I. xiii. 2. MASS. I. xvi. 2.

πεντεκαίδεκα γίνονται· ἔπειτα προστεθεὶς αὐτοῖς ὁ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸς, β καὶ κ ἀπετέλεσε· προσελθὼν τούτοις τὸ η, ὅ ἐστιν ὀκτὼ, τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην τριακοντάδα ἀνεπλήρωσε. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδεικνύουσι τὴν ὀγδοάδα μητέρα τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκ τριάκοντα [H. τῶν τριῶν] δυνάμεων ἥνωται ὁ τῶν λ ἀριθμὸς, τρεῖς [*l.* τρὶς] αὐτὸς γενόμενος τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἐποίησε· τρεῖς [H. τρὶς] γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐνενήκοντα. Καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ τριὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς συντεθεῖσα, ἐννέα ἐγέννησεν. Οὕτως [δὲ] ἡ ὀγδοὰς τὸν τῶν ἐννέα παρ' αὐτοῖς [H. ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἀπεκ. ἀρ.] ἀπεκύησεν ἀριθμόν. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ δωδέκατος Αἰὼν ἀποστὰς κατέλειψε τοὺς ἄνω ἕνδεκα, κατάλληλον λέγουσι τὸν τύπον τῶν γραμμάτων τῷ σχήματι τοῦ [1]λόγου κεῖσθαι· ἑνδέκατον γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων κεῖται [H. κεῖσθαι] τὸ λ, ὅ ἐστιν ἀριθμὸς τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα κεῖσθαι τῆς ἄνω οἰκονομίας· ἐπειδὴ [2]ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλφα,

Hipp. Philos. vi. 52.

fiunt: post deinde appositus eis VII numerus, II et XX perficit. Cum autem appositum est eis H, quod est VIII, admirabilem triacontadem adimplevit. Et hinc ostendunt Ogdoadem matrem triginta Æonum. Quoniam igitur ex tribus virtutibus unitus est tricenarius numerus, ter idem factus XC fecit. Et ipsa autem trias in se composita IX generavit. Sic Ogdoas XCIX generavit numerum. Et quoniam duodecimus Æon absistens reliquit sursum XI, consequenter dicunt typum literarum in figura Logi positum esse: (Undecimam enim in literis esse Λ, qui est numerus XXX) et secundum imaginem positum esse superioris dispositionis: quoniam ab Alpha sine episemo, ipsarum litera-

caused an omission of a couple of lines, being followed by H, *quod est VIII.*

[4] *θ* has been copied by mistake for *ϵ*, some accidental mark perhaps having given to the vowel the appearance of the consonant.

[5] The CLERMONT, AR. and MERC. II. MSS. have *undecies novem.* ERASM. and GALLAS. have the same; PASS. and VOSS MSS. *novies undeni.*

[1] It has been proposed and allowed by GRABE and MASSUET that Λ′ should be substituted for λόγου. But this word means here *computum;* and the sense of the passage will then be, *They say that the position of the letters is a true co-ordinate of the method of their calculation.* The Latin translation *Logi* is altogether unsuitable. HIPPOLYTUS is suggestive; after mentioning the aberration of the lost Æon, he proceeds—*κατάλληλον καὶ τοῦτο. Ὁ γὰρ τύπος τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκει· ἑνδέκατος γὰρ, κ.τ.λ.* Would *τόπος* make a more complete sense both in IRENÆUS and HIPPOLYTUS?

[2] *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄ.*, i.e. the sum of the Greek numeral letters from *α* to *λ* inclusive, omitting the *ἐπίσημον* F, is 99.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 52. χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισήμου, αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἕως τοῦ λ συντιθέμενος κατὰ τὴν παραύξησιν τῶν γραμμάτων σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ λ, τὸν τῶν ἐνενηκονταεννέα ποιεῖται ἀριθμόν. Ὅτι δὲ τὸ λ ἐνδέκατον ὂν [1][l. ἐν ἐνδεκάτῳ ὂν τόπῳ] τῇ τάξει ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου [2]αὐτοῦ [H. αὐτῷ] κατῆλθε ζήτησιν, ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸν δωδέκατον ἀριθμὸν, καὶ εὑρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπληρώθη, φανερὸν εἶναι ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ στοιχείου.

LIB I. ix. 2. GR. I. xiii. 1. MASS. I. xvi. 2.

G. 79. Τὸ γὰρ λ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὁμοίου αὐτῷ ζήτησιν παραγενόμενον, καὶ εὑρὸν, καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἁρπάσαν αὐτὸν, τὴν τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἀνεπλήρωσε χώραν, τοῦ Μ στοιχείου ἐκ δύο Λ συγκειμένου. Διὸ καὶ φεύγειν αὐτοῦ [H. αὐτοὺς] διὰ τῆς γνώσεως τὴν τῶν ϙθ [H. ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα] χώραν, τουτέστι

M. 83. τὸ ὑστέρημα, τύπον ἀριστερᾶς χειρός· μεταδιώκειν δὲ τὸ ἓν, ὃ προστεθὲν τοῖς ἐνενηκονταεννέα, [3]εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ [l. αὐτοὺς] χεῖρα μετέστησε.

rum numerus usque ad Λ compositus, secundum augmentum literarum cum ipso Λ, XC et IX facit numerum. Quoniam autem Λ, quæ est undecimo loco in ordine, ad similis [y]sui descendit inquisitionem, ut impleret XII numerum, et cum invenisset eum, adimpleta est, manifestum esse ex ipsa figuratione literæ. Λ enim quasi ad sui similis inquisitionem adveniens, et inveniens, et in semet rapiens ipsum, duodecimi adimplevit locum, M litera ex duobus Lambdis ΛΛ consistente. Quapropter et fugere eos per agnitionem XCIX locum, hoc est deminorationem, typum sinistræ manus: sectari autem unum, quod additum super XCIX in dexteram eos manum transtulit.

[1] The reading proposed within the brackets is suggested by a comparison of the translation with the text of HIPPOLYTUS, which has *ἐν δεκάτῳ κείμενον τόπῳ*.

[2] *αὐτῷ* is the reading of HIPPOLYTUS, for which perhaps the translator read *αὐτῶν*; the CLERM., ARUND. and other MSS. having *eorum* in the Latin.

[3] *εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν*, MASSUET transcribes, but omits to acknowledge his obligation to GRABE for the following note:—"*Sinistræ digitis utebantur Veteres, ut eorum gestibus usque ad* 99 *numerarent; centum vero et reliquas centurias dextera gestibus exprimebant: unguem scilicet indicis in medio figentes artu pollicis centum dabant.* JUVENALIS, Sat. 10. Atque suos jam dextera computat annos. FRONTO DUC. *Similiter, ut ex Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus hunc locum explicem,* SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, Lib. IX. Epist. 9, *ad Faustum, in fine scribit:* Quandoquidem tuos annos jam dextera numeraverit, *id est jam* 100 *annum attigisti, vel superasti. Nam ut* CASSIANUS *Collat.* 24, cap. 26, *ait:*—Centenarius numerus de sinistra transfertur

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LIB. I. ix. 3. GR. I. xiii. 2. MASS. I. xvi. 3.

3. Σὺ μὲν ταῦτα διερχόμενος, ἀγαπητὲ, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι γελάσεις πολλὰ τὴν τοιαύτην αὐτῶν [1]οἰησίσοφον μωρίαν. Ἄξιοι δὲ πένθους οἱ τηλικαύτην θεοσέβειαν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀληθείας [l. ἀληθῶς] ἀῤῥήτου δυνάμεως, καὶ τὰς τοσαύτας οἰκονομίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦ ἄλφα, καὶ τοῦ βῆτα, καὶ δι' ἀριθμῶν οὕτως ψυχρῶς καὶ βεβιασμένως διασύροντες. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀφίστανται τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τούτοις τοῖς γραώδεσι μύθοις πείθονται, ἀληθῶς αὐτοκατάκριτοι. Οὓς ὁ Παῦλος ἐγκελεύεται ἡμῖν μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτεῖσθαι. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς ἐπέτεινε τὴν καταδίκην αὐτῶν, μηδὲ χαίρειν αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι βουληθείς. Ὁ γὰρ λέγων αὐτοῖς, φησὶ, χαίρειν, κοινωνεῖ τοῖς

3. Tu quidem hæc pertransiens, dilectissime, optime scio quoniam ridebis multum tantam illorum in tumore sapientem stultitiam. Sunt autem digni planctu, qui tantam Dei religionem et magnitudinem vere inenarrabilis virtutis, et tantas dispositiones Dei per A et B, et per numeros tam frigidos, et vi extortos enunciant. Quotquot autem absistunt ab Ecclesia, et iis anilibus fabulis assentiunt, vere a semetipsis sunt damnati. Tit. iii. 10. Quos Paulus jubet nobis *post primam et secundam correptionem devitare.* Johannes enim Domini discipulus superextendit damnationem in eos, neque Ave a nobis eis dici volens: *Qui enim* 2 Joh. 11. *dicit*, inquit, *eis Ave, communicat operibus ipsorum nequissimis.*

in dexteram, et licet eandem in supputatione digitorum figuram tenere videatur, nimium tamen quantitatis magnitudine supercrescit." There is a mixture, however, of Heathen and Rabbinical conceit; for the Jews imagined a right and a left soul; the latter merely animal, the former spiritual:—e.g. the *Miscellany* ילקוט חדש quotes from the Cabbalistic book *Zohar*,—כשנברא אדם הראשון ירד בדמות עליוני וירדו עמו שני רוחות אחד מימינו ואחד משמאלו דימינא איקרי נשמה קדושה דכתיב ויפח באפיו נשמת חיים ודשמאל איקרי נפש חיה ואותו נפש חיה עלה וירד ולא היה יכול להתישב עד שחטא אדם ובהרף עין וגו׳ *When the first man was created he descended in the likeness of the heavenly* (cf. אדם עליון note 2, p. 134), *and there descended with him two spirits, one on his right, the other on his left. That on the right was called* the holy soul, *as it is written*, And he breathed into his nostrils the breath (*soul*) of life. *And that on the left is called* the animal soul; *it moved up and down, and could not rest until man had sinned, and suddenly*, &c. We have here clearly the distinction of the spiritual seed of Achamoth, and the animal soul of Demiurge. The right and the left immaterial substance. The notion may be traced back to Plato's cosmogonical account of the mundane soul in the Timæus. See Pref.

[1] The translator indicates *οἰδησίσοφον* to have been in his copy.

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ἔργοις αὐτῶν τοῖς πονηροῖς. Καὶ εἰκότως· οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ χαίρειν τοῖς ἀσεβέσι, λέγει Κύριος. Ἀσεβεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν οὗτοι, οἱ τὸν ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς μόνον Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄλλος Θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐξ ὑστερήματος, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἄλλου ὑστερήματος γεγονότος, προβεβλῆσθαι λέγοντες· ὥστε κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι αὐτὸν προβολὴν [1]τρίτου ὑστερήματος. [a]Ἣν γνώμην ὄντως [2]καταφυσήσαντας, καὶ καταθεματίσαντας, δέον πόῤῥω που μακρὰν φυγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ᾗ πλέον διισχυρίζονται, καὶ χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς παρευρήμασιν αὐτῶν, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον εἰδέναι πλέον αὐτοὺς ἐνεργεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ὀγδοάδος τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων· καθάπερ οἱ εἰς
G. 80. φρενίτιδα διάθεσιν ἐμπεσόντες, ᾗ πλέον γελῶσι, καὶ ἰσχύειν δοκοῦσιν, καὶ ὡς ὑγιαίνοντες πάντα πράττουσι, ἔνια δὲ καὶ

LIB. I. ix. 3. GR. I. xiii. 2. MASS. I. xvi. 3.

Et merito: *Non enim est gaudere impiis*, dicit Dominus. Impii autem super omnem impietatem hi sunt, qui factorem cœli et terræ, unum Deum omnipotentem, super quem alius Deus non est, ex Labe, et ipsa ex altera Labe facta, emissum dicunt: et sic jam secundum eos esse eum emissionem tertiæ Labis. Quam sententiam digne exsufflantes et catathematizantes, oportet porro alicubi et longe fugere ab eis: et quanto plus hæc affirmant et gaudent in iis adinventionibus suis, tanto magis sciamus plus eos agitari ab Ogdoadis nequissimis spiritalibus: quemadmodum hi qui in phreneticam passionem inciderunt, aut plus rident, et valere se putant, et quasi sani omnia

memoriter. Esai. xlviii. 22. Aug. Civ. Dei, xiv. 8.

[1] *τρίτου ὑστερήματος.* Demiurgus was the produce of the abortive conversion of the abortive passion of Achamoth, who was herself the abortive issue of Sophia.

[2] As in baptism evil spirits were exorcised and driven forth by ministerial *ex-sufflation*; a custom formerly of universal observation, as GENNADIUS says, *de Dogm. Eccl.* 31: *Cum sive parvuli sive juvenes ad regenerationis veniunt sacramentum, non prius fontem vitæ adeant, quam exorcismis et ex-sufflationibus clericorum spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur.* So also CYR. HIEROS. *in Catech. Præf.* § 5: κἂν ἐμφυσηθῇς κἂν ἐπιορκισθῇς σωτηρία σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα νόμισον εἶναι. The origin of the practice is best expressed in the following rubric and commencement of one of the prayers in the Syrian Order of Baptism:—

ܢܦܫ ܩܕܡܝ ܐܬܝ
ܠܡܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐ
ܡܥܠ ܒܟܘ ܡܝ ܐܠܗܐ
ܒܝ ܒܢܝ ܢܦܫ ܕܐ
ܕܐܟܠܝܡ ܡܝ ܒܥܐ

Insufflat in aquas tribus vicibus.

O Trinitas, da ipsis Domine, sanctum illum afflatum tuum, quem unicus Filius tuus insufflavit in sanctos discipulos suos. SEVERI *Patr. Rit.*

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ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον κακῶς ἔχουσι. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οὗτοι, ᾗ μᾶλλον ὑπερφρονεῖν δοκοῦσι, καὶ [1]ἐκνευρίζουσιν M. 81. ἑαυτοὺς, ὑπέρτονα τοξεύοντες, ταύτῃ μᾶλλον οὐ σωφρονοῦσιν. Ἐξελθὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα τῆς ἀγνοίας [*l.* ἀνοίας], ἔπειτα σχολάζοντας αὐτοὺς, οὐ Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ κοσμικαῖς ζητήσεσιν εὑρὸν, προσπαραλαβὸν ἕτερα πνεύματα ἑπτὰ πονηρότερα ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ χαυνῶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην, ὡς δυναμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Θεὸν ἐννοεῖν, καὶ ἐπιτήδειον εἰς [2]ὑπερέκκρουσιν κατασκευάσαν, τὴν ὀγδοάδα τῆς ἀνοίας τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνεθήκωσε.

Κεφ. ι'.

Quemadmodum conversationem secundum figuram ejus, qui apud eos Pleroma, exponunt factam.

ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ δέ σοι καὶ ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν κτίσιν κατ' εἰκόνα τῶν ἀοράτων ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, ὡς ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτοῦ, κατεσκευάσθαι διὰ τῆς Μητρὸς λέγουσι, διηγήσασθαι. Πρῶτον Hipp. Philos. vi. 53. μὲν τὰ [3]τέσσαρα στοιχεῖά φασι, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα, εἰκόνα

agunt, quædam autem et quasi plus quam sani sunt, tanto magis male habent. Similiter autem et hi, quo magis plus sapere putantur, enervantes semetipsos, super tonum sagittantes, tanto magis non sapiunt. Exiens enim immundus spiritus ignorantiæ, dein vacantes eos non Deo, sed mundialibus quæstionibus inveniens, assumens alios spiritus septem nequiores semetipso, et infatuans illorum sententiam, quasi possint quæ sunt super Deum adinvenire, et aptabiliter in exclusionem compositam Ogdoadem ignorantiæ nequissimorum spirituum in eos deposuit.

Matt. xii. 43.

CAP. X.

Volo autem tibi referre quemadmodum et ipsam conditionem secundum imaginem invisibilium a Demiurgo, quasi ignorante eo, fabricatam per Matrem dicunt. Primo quidem quatuor elementa dicunt, ignem, aquam, terram, et aërem, imaginem

[1] *ἐκνευρίζουσιν ἑαυτούς*, exhaust their strength.

[2] *ὑπέκκρουσιν* is the conjecture of Billius. See also p. 118, n. 2.

[3] So in the Pythagorean cosmogony—*ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ γῆς ἀέρος τε τὸ τοῦ πάντος ἐδημιούργησε σῶμα.* Hipp. *Phil.* vi. 28. And hence the Gnostics borrowed their notion of a fiery Demiurge, presiding

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 53. προβεβλῆσθαι τῆς ἄνω [πρώτης] [*deest ap.* H.] τετράδος· τάς τε ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν συναριθμουμένας, οἷον θερμόν τε καὶ ψυχρόν, ξηρόν τε καὶ ὑγρόν, ἀκριβῶς ἐξεικονίζειν τὴν ὀγδοάδα· [1]ἐξ ἧς δέκα δυνάμεις οὕτως καταριθμοῦσιν· ἑπτὰ μὲν σωματικὰ κυκλοειδῆ, ἃ καὶ οὐρανοὺς καλοῦσιν· ἔπειτα τὸν περιεκτικὸν G. 81. αὐτῶν κύκλον, ὃν καὶ ὄγδοον οὐρανὸν ὀνομάζουσι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην. Ταῦτα δέκα ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, εἰκόνας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῆς ἀοράτου δεκάδος, τῆς ἀπὸ Λόγου M. 85. καὶ Ζωῆς προελθούσης. Τὴν δὲ δωδεκάδα μηνύεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ τοῦ καλουμένου κύκλου. Τὰ γὰρ δώδεκα ζώδια φανερώτατα τὴν τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θυγατέρα δωδεκάδα σκιαγραφεῖν λέγουσι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ [2]ἀντεπεζεύχθη, LIB. I. x. GR. I. xiv. MASS. I. xvii. 1.

emissam esse superioris quaternationis: et operationes eorum cum eis annumeratas, id est, calidum et frigidum, humectum et aridum, diligenter imaginare Ogdoadem, ex qua decem virtutes sic enumerant: septem quidem corporea circumlata, quæ etiam cœlos vocant: post deinde continentem eos circulum, quem octavum cœlum vocant, post deinde solem et lunam. Hæc cum sint decem numero, imagines dicunt esse invisibilis decadis ejus, quæ a Logo et Zoe progressa sit. Duodecadem autem ostendi per eum, qui Zodiacus vocatur circulus. XII enim signa manifestissime Hominis et Ecclesiæ filiam duodecadem, quasi per quandam umbram pinxisse dicunt. Et e contrario superjunctum,

over a material system of the seven heavens, fire being the most active agent in creation: *ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης ἡ ψυχικὴ οὐσία*, 32 . . . . . and, *πάντων ὅσων γένεσίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ πυρός*. 17 . . . . . *ὑπεράνω δὲ τῆς ὕλης ἣ ἐστι δημιουργός*. PYTHAGORAS in the same way imagined two *δαίμονες*, the one earthy, the other heavenly; *τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον, πῦρ μέτεχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν*. HIPP. *Philos.* i. *π.* Πυθαγ.

[1] Either *ἐξῆς, in continuation*, as the editions print, or *ἐξ ἧς* (sc. *ὀγδοάδος*) as the translator read; and seeing that the seven heavens were considered to derive their substance and their properties from the lower ogdoad, the reading may be adopted.

[2] With the exception of the other word *ἀνεζεύχθης*, the text of HIPPOLYTUS is much to be preferred, and agrees almost literally with the version; the passage may be rendered, *And since the highest heaven bearing upon the very sphere (of the seven heavens) has been linked with the most rapid precession of the whole system, as a check, and balancing that swiftness with its own gravity, so that it completes the cycle from sign to sign in thirty years; they say that this is an image of Horus encircling their thirty-named mother.* *ἀναφορὰ*, as an astronomical term, is to be preferred to *φορὰ* a burthen, which cannot be said to have velocity *per se;* but I do not profess to give the calculation upon

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LIB. I. x. GR. I. xiv. MASS. I. xvii. 1.

φασὶ, τὴν τῶν ὅλων φορὰν ὠκυτάτην ὑπάρχουσαν, οὗπερ ὁ χρόνος [H. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀνεζεύχθη, φησὶ, τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἀναφορᾷ ὠκυτάτῃ ὑπαρχούσῃ ὁ ὕπερθεν οὐρανὸς] ὁ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ κύτει βαρύνων, καὶ ἀντιταλαντεύων τὴν ἐκείνων ὠκύτητα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βραδυτῆτι, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἔτεσι τὴν περίοδον ἀπὸ σημείου ἐπὶ σημεῖον ποιεῖσθαι, εἰκόνα λέγουσι αὐτὸν τοῦ Ὅρου τοῦ τὴν [1] τριακοντώνυμον Μητέρα αὐτῶν περιέχοντος. Τὴν σελήνην τε πάλιν ἑαυτῆς οὐρανὸν [2] ἐμπεριεχομένην τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, διὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων [3] ἐκτυποῦν. Καὶ τὸν ἥλιον δὲ ἐν δεκαδύο μησὶ περιεχόμενον [*l.* περιερχ.], καὶ τερματίζοντα τὴν κυκλικὴν Hipp. Philos. vi. 53.

inquiunt, universorum oneri, cum sit velocissimum, quod superpositum est cœlum, qui [quod] ad ipsam concavationem aggravat, et ex contrarietate moderatur illorum velocitatem sua tarditate, ita ut in xxx annis circuitum a signo in signum faciat, imaginem dicunt eum [id] Hori ejus, qui trigesimam nominis illorum matrem circumtinet. Lunam quoque rursus suum cœlum circumeuntem xxx diebus, per dies numerum xxx Æonum significare. Et solem autem in duodecim mensibus circumeuntem et perficientem circularem suam apocatastasin,

which this cycle of thirty years was based. It can scarcely allude to any erroneous lunar cycle, for the nineteen years' period, or cycle of the golden number, had been calculated by the Athenian astronomer METON, six hundred years before, although it was not applied to ecclesiastical purposes before the Council of Nice, when EUSEBIUS corrected the sixteen years' cycle of HIPPOLYTUS, which was faulty. So S. JEROME says of HIPPOLYTUS—*Sedecim annorum circulum, quem Græci ἐκκαιδεκαετηρίδα vocant, reperit; et Eusebio, qui super eodem Pascha canonem decem et novem annorum circulum, id est ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίδα composuit, occasionem dedit.* These facts are mentioned, that one occasion of misconception may be eliminated. Possibly it was imagined that the equinoctial precession moved at the rate of a degree in the year, and passed through an entire sign in thirty years. The Latin version *oneri* shews that *ἀναφορᾷ* preserves the correct construction.

[1] It may be observed that numbers, whether they were cardinal or ordinal, were expressed in MSS. by their proper numerical letters; since, therefore the translator has *trigesimam nominis*, it would seem that his copy had λ′ *ὀνόματος*, instead of λ′ *ὤνυμον*, a name given here to Sophia, the thirtieth Æon, to identify her more clearly with the cycle of thirty years.

[2] *Leg. ἐμπεριερχομένην.*

[3] *ἐκτυποῦν* is the conjecture of PETAVIUS, and it corresponds with the Latin. But the testimony of MSS. is in favour of *ἐκτυποῦσι*, which is only a step perhaps towards the true reading preserved by HIPPOLYTUS, *ἐκτυποῦσαν*. *Ἀποκατάστασιν*, the sun's return to any particular point in the ecliptic.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 53. αὐτοῦ ἀποκατάστασιν, διὰ τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν τὴν δωδεκάτην [H. δωδεκάδα] φανερὰν ποιεῖν. Τὰς δὲ [H. Καὶ αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς] ἡμέρας [1] δεκαδύο ὡρῶν τὸ μέτρον ἐχούσας, τύπον τῆς [2] φαεινῆς δωδεκάδος εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν ὥραν φασὶ, τὸ δωδέκατον τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐκ τριάκοντα μοιρῶν κεκοσμῆσθαι διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς τριακοντάδος. Καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου τὴν περίμετρον εἶναι μοιρῶν τριακοσίων ἑξήκοντα· ἕκαστον γὰρ ζώδιον μοίρας ἔχει [H. ἔχειν] τριάκοντα. Οὕτως δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ κύκλου τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς συναφείας τῶν δώδεκα πρὸς τὰ τριάκοντα τετηρῆσθαι λέγουσιν. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς

LIB. I. x. GR. I. xiv. MASS. I. xvii. 1.

per duodecim menses duodecadem manifestare. Et ipsos autem dies duodecim horarum mensuram habentes, typum non apparentis duodecadis esse. Sed et horam dicunt, quod est duodecimum diei, ex triginta partibus adornatam propter imaginem triacontadis. Et ipsius autem Zodiaci circuli circummensurationem esse partium CCCLX, quodque enim signorum partes habere XXX. Sic quoque per circulum imaginem copulationis eorum, quæ sunt duodecim, ad XXX custoditam dicunt. Adhuc etiam et terram in XII [3] climata divisam dicentes, et in unoquoque

[1] *δεκαδύο ὡρῶν.* In our system the equinoctial circle, comprising 360 degrees, and subdivided by 24, gives 15 astronomical degrees to each hour. The ancients divided it by 12, and assigned 30 deg. to each double hour. See the notes of GRABE and MASSUET, who follow PETAVIUS *in Epiphan.* Among the Romans the length of the hours varied according to the length of the day; the only definition of a day in the twelve tables was the rising and setting of the sun, PLINY, *H. N.* VII. 60; and the period of light was divided into twelve equal portions. Hence the *hora æstiva* of MARTIAL, *Epigr.* XII. 1, and *hiberna* of PLAUTUS, *Pseud.* V. ii. 10. Scipio having introduced the clepsydra, PLINY says, *Primus aqua divisit horas æque noctium ac dierum.* (ibid.) It is with reference to this loose mensuration of time, that he says elsewhere of the tides, that they recur *paribus intervallis reciproci, senisque semper horis non cujusque diei aut noctis, aut loci, sed æquinoctialibus.* II. 97. We need not be surprised therefore at the Marcosian division of the day.

[2] HIPPOLYTUS reads *τῆς κενῆς*, which also makes sense. It should be observed that a contrast is drawn between things heavenly and invisible, and the objects of human perception; hence the translation *non apparentis*, may express, better than the present Greek text, the writer's meaning.

[3] *Climata*, zones parallel with the equator, which decrease in breadth as they approach the Pole according to the increasing length of the longest day; each climate marking the difference of half an hour of day. They were named by old geographers, after the different latitudes, *διαμεροῦς, διασιεννῆς, διαλεξανδρίας, διαῤῥωδῆς, διαῤῥωμῆς.*

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LIB. I. x. GR. I. xiv. MASS I. xvii. 1, 2.

δώδεκα κλίματα διηρῆσθαι φάσκοντες, [1]καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν κατὰ κάθετον ὑποδεχομένην, ἐοικότα τίκτουσαν τέκνα τῇ καταπεμπούσῃ τὴν ὑπόῤῥοιαν δύναμιν, τύπον εἶναι τῆς δωδεκάδος καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς σαφέστατον διαβεβαιοῦνται. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θελήσαντά φασι τὸν δημιουργὸν τῆς ἄνω ὀγδοάδος τὸ ἀπέραντον, καὶ αἰώνιον, καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἄχρονον μιμήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα τὸ μόνιμον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀΐδιον ἐκτυπῶσαι, διὰ τὸ καρπὸν [*adde ex* H. αὐτὸν] εἶναι ὑστερήματος, εἰς χρόνους, καὶ καιροὺς, ἀριθμούς τε πολυετεῖς τὸ αἰώνιον αὐτῆς κατατεθεῖσθαι, οἰόμενον [2]ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρόνων μιμήσασθαι αὐτῆς τὸ ἀπέραντον. Ἐνταῦθά τε λέγουσιν, ἐκφυγούσης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπηκολουθηκέναι τὸ ψεῦδος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατάλυσιν πληρωθέντων τῶν χρόνων λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον. G. 82 M. 86. Hipp. Philos. vi. 53.

climate unamquamque virtutem ex cœlis secundum demissionem suscipientem, et similes generantem filios ei virtuti, quæ demiserit distillationem, typum esse duodecadis et filiorum ejus manifestissimum asseverant. Ad hæc autem volentem aiunt Demiurgum superioris Ogdoadis interminabile, et æternum, et infinitum, et intemporale imitari, et cum non potuisset perseverabile ejus et perpetuum deformare, ideo quod fructus sit Labis, in temporum spatia, et tempora, et numeros multorum annorum æternitatem ejus deposuisse. existimantem in multitudine temporum imitari ejus interminatum. Hic dicunt, cum effugisset eum veritas, subsecutum mendacium: et propter hoc destructionem, adimpletis temporibus, accipere ejus opus.

[1] The sense flows so clearly in the Greek that I am not willing to disturb the text by inserting those readings from HIPPOLYTUS that are also indicated by the translator. The *variæ lectiones* supplied by HIPPOLYTUS are *καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον . . . . ἀνὰ μίαν δύναμιν . . . . καὶ ὁμοιώμ[εν]α τίκτουσαν.* The reader will observe that the translator had *κατὰ κάθεσιν*, though *κατὰ κάθετον*, *in perpendiculum*, is preferable; and that *ὑποδεχ.* must be understood as referring to *τὴν γῆν*. HIPPOLYTUS has *κατὰ τὴν ἀπόῤῥοιαν δύναμιν*, i.e. *καταπεμπούσῃ δυν.* And since both Greek texts agree in the reading of the latter word, they are possibly more correct than the copy followed by the Translator.

[2] *ἐν τῷ πλήθει τ. χ.* Thus the Platonist's *ἀπειρία* was not absolute infinity, but indefinite duration. So also ARISTOTLE speaks of infinity as a numerical sum, which, however vast, may still receive the addition of more.

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Κεφ. ια'.

LIB. I. xi. 1. GR. I. xv. 1. MASS. I. xviii. 1.

Quemadmodum ea quæ sunt in Lege in suum transferunt figmentum.

1. ΚΑΙ περὶ μὲν τῆς κτίσεως τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιγεννᾷ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, καθὼς δύναται, καινότερον. Τέλειος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁ μὴ μεγάλα ψεύσματα παρ' αὐτοῖς καρποφορήσας. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν προφητικῶν ὅσα μεταμορφάζουσιν, ἀναγκαῖον μηνύσαντα τὸν ἔλεγχον αὐτοῖς ἐπάγειν. Ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς, φασὶ, ἀρχόμενος τῆς κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν πραγματείας, εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν μητέρα τῶν ὅλων ἐπέδειξεν, εἰπών· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Τέσσαρα οὖν ταῦτα ὀνομάσας, Θεὸν, καὶ ἀρχὴν, οὐρανὸν, καὶ γῆν, τὴν
M. 87. [1]τετρακτὺν αὐτῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, διετύπωσε. Καὶ τὸν ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπόκρυφον αὐτῆς μηνύοντα εἰπεῖν· Ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος. Τὴν δευτέραν τετράδα, γέννημα πρώτης τετράδος, οὕτως αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι θέλουσιν,

CAP. XI.

1. Et de conditione quidem talia dicentes, quotidie adinvenit unusquisque eorum, quemadmodum potest, aliquid novi. Perfectus enim nemo, nisi qui maxima mendacia apud eos fructificaverit. De propheticis autem quæcunque transformantes coaptant, necessarium est manifestantes arguitionem his inferre. Moyses enim, inquiunt, incipiens id quod est secundum conditionem opus, statim in principio matrem omnium ostendit, dicens: *In principio fecit Deus cœlum et terram.* Quatuor hæc nomi- Gen. i. 1.
nans, Deum et principium, cœlum et terram, quaternationem ipsorum, quemadmodum ipsi dicunt, figuravit. Et invisibile autem et absconditum ejus manifestantem dicere: *Terra autem* Gen. i 2.
erat invisibilis et incomposita. Secundam autem quaternationem, progeniem primæ quaternationis, sic eum dixisse volunt,

[1] τετρακτύν. Simon Magus first made οὐρανὸς and γῆ synonymous with νοῦς and ἀλήθεια, as Hippolytus says: τῶν δὲ ἓξ δυνάμεων . . . . καλεῖ τὴν πρώτην συζυγίαν νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄῤῥενα ἄνωθεν ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ προνοεῖν τῆς συζύγου, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὑποδέχεσθαι. *Philos.* VI. 13.

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LIB. I. xi. 1. GR. I. xv. 1. MASS. I. xviii. 1.

ἄβυσσον ὀνομάζοντα καὶ σκότος, ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τῷ ὕδατι [1]πνεῦμα. Μεθ' ἣν τῆς δεκάδος μνημονεύοντα φῶς λέγειν, καὶ ἡμέραν, καὶ νύκτα, στερέωμά τε, καὶ ἑσπέραν, καὶ ὃ καλεῖται πρωΐ, ξηράν τε καὶ G. 83. θάλασσαν, ἔτι τε βοτάνην, καὶ δεκάτῳ τόπῳ ξύλον· οὕτω δὲ διὰ τῶν δέκα ὀνομάτων τοὺς δέκα Αἰῶνας μεμηνυκέναι. Τῆς δὲ δυοδεκάδος οὕτως ἐξεικονίσθαι [2]παρ' αὐτῷ τὴν δύναμιν· ἥλιον γὰρ λέγειν καὶ σελήνην, ἀστέρας τε καὶ καιροὺς, ἐνιαυτούς τε καὶ κήτη, ἰχθύας καὶ ἑρπετὰ, πετεινὰ καὶ τετράποδα, θηρία τε, καὶ [3]πετεινά που τοῖς δυοδέκατον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν τριάκοντα [τριακοντάδα] διὰ Μωϋσέως εἰρῆσθαι διδάσκουσιν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸν πλαστὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς ἄνω δυνάμεως ἔχειν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς πηγήν [*l.* πηγῆς δύναμιν]. Ἱδρῦσθαι δὲ ταῦτα [ταύτην] ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τόπῳ· ἀφ' ἧς ἀποῤῥεῖν [4]δυνάμεις τέσσαρας, κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς ἄνω τετράδος,

abyssum nominantem et tenebras, in quibus sunt et aquæ, et qui ferebatur super aquas Spiritus. Post quam decadis commemorantem, lumen dicere, et diem, et noctem, et firmamentum, et vesperam, et quod vocatur mane, et aridam, et mare, adhuc etiam et herbam, et decimo loco lignum: sic quoque per decem nomina, x Æonas manifestasse. Duodecadis autem sic formatam apud eos virtutem: Solem enim dicere, et Lunam, et stellas, et tempora, et annos, et cetos, adhuc etiam pisces, et serpentia, et volatilia, et quadrupedia, feras quoque, et super hæc omnia duodecimum hominem. Sic ab Spiritu triacontadem per Moysen dictam docent. Nec non et formatum hominem secundum imaginem superioris virtutis, habere in se eam, quæ sit ab uno fonte, virtutem. Constitutam autem eam esse in eo,

[1] *πνεῦμα*. The Spirit in this system occupies the third place in the second tetrad, and water the last. This again was asserted by SIMON, whose words are cited by HIPPOLYTUS, *ἑβδομὴ δὲ . . . δύναμις ὑπάρχουσα ἐν τῇ ἀπεράντῳ δυνάμει, ἥτις γέγονε πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, αὕτη ἐστὶ ἡ ἑβδομὴ δύναμις, περὶ ἧς λέγει Μωϋσῆς, Καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Philos.* VI. 14.

[2] *παρ' αὐτῷ*, sc. *Μωϋσεῖ*.

[3] BILLIUS proposes to read *ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῦτοις*, and the necessity is self-evident. The verbal similarity suggests *ἐπέκεινα τουτῶν*. The eye of the writer was confused by the preceding *πετεινά*.

[4] *δυνάμεις τέσσαρας*. That heretics so terribly afflicted with an *ἀπολίθωσις τοῦ νοητικοῦ* should cancel one of the senses is not surprising. The Marcosian only followed the lead of the more ancient Ophite, who called Eden the

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καλουμένας, τὴν μὲν ὅρασιν, τὴν δὲ ἀκοὴν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ὄσφρησιν, καὶ τὴν τετάρτην γεῦσιν. Τὴν δὲ Ὀγδοάδα φασὶ μηνύεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὕτως· ἀκοὰς μὲν δύο ἔχοντας [*l.* ἔχοντος], καὶ τοσαύτας ὁράσεις, ἔτι τε ὀσφρήσεις δύο, καὶ διπλῆν γεῦσιν, πικροῦ τε καὶ γλυκέως. Ὅλον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πᾶσαν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς τριακοντάδος οὕτως ἔχειν διδάσκουσιν· ἐν μὲν ταῖς χερσὶ διὰ τῶν δακτύλων τὴν δεκάδα βαστάζειν· ἐν ὅλῳ δὲ τῷ σώματι εἰς δεκαδύο μέλη διαιρουμένῳ τὴν δωδεκάδα. Διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ, καθάπερ τὸ τῆς Ἀληθείας διήρηται παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς [*l.* σῶμα *et dele* ,] σώμασι, περὶ οὗ προειρήκαμεν. Τήν τε οὖν ὀγδοάδα, ἄῤῥητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον οὖσαν, ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχνοις κρυβομένην νοεῖσθαι.

LIB. I. xi. 1. GR. I. xv. 1. MASS. I. xviii. 1.

X. § 2.

M. 88.

2. Ἥλιον δὲ πάλιν τὸν μέγαν φωστῆρα ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν γεγονέναι διὰ τὸν τῆς τετράδος ἀριθμὸν φάσκουσι. Τῆς τε σκηνῆς, τῆς ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως κατασκευασθείσης, αἱ αὐλαὶ ἐκ βύσσου, καὶ ὑακίνθου, καὶ πορφύρας, καὶ κοκκίνου γεγονυῖαι, τὴν αὐτὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέδειξαν εἰκόνα. Τόν τε τοῦ ἱερέως ποδήρη, τέσσαρσι στοιχείοις [*l.* στίχοις] λίθων

Exod. xxviii. 17.

qui sit in cerebro locus, ex [1]quo defluant virtutes quatuor secundum imaginem supernæ tetradis, quæ vocantur, una quidem visio, altera autem auditus, tertia odoratus, et quarta gustatio. Octonationem autem dicunt significari per hominem sic: aures quidem duas habentem, et totidem visus, adhuc etiam odorationes duas, et duplicem gustationem, amari et dulcis. Totum autem hominem omnem imaginem triacontadis sic habere docent: in manibus quidem per digitos decadem bajulare: in toto autem corpore, cum in XII membra dividatur, duodecadem. Dividunt autem illud, quemadmodum Veritatis apud eos divisum est corpus, de quo prædiximus. Ogdoadem autem, et inenarrabilem et invisibilem, in visceribus absconditam intelligi.

2. Solem quoque iterum, qui sit magnum luminare, in quarta dierum fieri propter quaternationis numerum dicunt. Tabernaculi quoque, quod a Moyse compositum est, atria de bysso, et hyacintho, et purpura, et coccino facta, eandem apud eos ostenderunt imaginem. Sacerdotis quoque poderem quatuor

Exod. xxvi. 1, et xxxvi. 8.

Exod. xxviii. 17.

brain, and the four rivers the *four* senses. HIPPOLYTUS, *Phil.* v. 9.

[1] The CLERM., ARUND., VOSS, and MERC. II. MSS. agree in this reading. FEUARD. first printed *qua* after the Greek.

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LIB. I. xi. 2. GR. I. xv. 2. MASS. I. xviii. 2.

πολυτελῶν κεκοσμημένον, τὴν τετράδα σημαίνειν διορίζονται· καὶ εἴ τινα τοιαῦτα κεῖται ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, εἰς τὸν τῶν τεσσάρων δυνάμενα ἄγεσθαι ἀριθμὸν, διὰ τὴν τετρακτὺν αὐτῶν φασι γεγονέναι. Τὴν δὲ ὀγδοάδα πάλιν δείκνυσθαι οὕτως· ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν πεπλάσθαι λέγουσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ἕκτῃ βούλονται γεγονέναι, ποτὲ δὲ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, εἰ μὴ τὸν μὲν χοϊκὸν ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐροῦσι πεπλάσθαι, τὸν δὲ σαρκικὸν ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ· G. 84.

Cf. X. § 3.

διέσταλται γὰρ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῖς. Ἔνιοι δὲ ἄλλον θέλουσι τὸν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ γεγονότα ἀρσενόθηλυν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πνευματικόν· ἄλλον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πλασθέντα. Καὶ τὴν τῆς κιβωτοῦ δὲ οἰκονομίαν ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ, ἐν ᾗ ὀκτὼ ἄνθρωποι διεσώθησαν, φανερώτατά φασι τὴν σωτήριον ὀγδοάδα μηνύειν. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν Δαβὶδ, ὄγδοον ὄντα τῇ γενέσει τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, σημαίνειν. Ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν, ὀκταήμερον γινομένην, τὸ περίτμημα τῆς ἄνω ὀγδοάδος δηλοῦν. Καὶ ἁπλῶς ὅσα

ordinibus lapidum pretiosorum adornatum, quaternationem significare præfiniunt. Et si qua omnino talia sunt posita in scripturis, quæ quatuor possunt numerum designare, propter quaternationem ipsorum dicunt [1]factum. Octonationem rursus ostendi sic: in octavo dierum formatum dicunt hominem. Aliquando enim volunt eum sexto die factum, aliquando autem in octavo, nisi forte choicum quidem in sexto dierum dicunt formatum, carnalem autem in octavo: distincta sunt enim hæc apud eos. Quidam autem et alterum esse volunt qui secundum imaginem et similitudinem Dei factus est homo masculo fœmineus, et hunc esse spiritalem: alterum autem qui ex terra plasmatus sit. Et

1 Pet. iii. 20.

arcæ autem dispositionem in cataclysmo, in qua octo homines liberati sunt, manifestissime dicunt ogdoadem [*adj.* salutarem]

1 Sam. xvi. 10.

ostendere. Hoc autem idem et David, cum octavus esset genitus inter fratres suos, significare. Adhuc etiam et circum-

Gen. xvii. 12 seqq.

cisionem, quæ octavo die fit, circumcisionem superioris ogdoadis manifestare. Et omnino quæcunque inveniuntur in Scripturis

[1] The MSS. agree in reading *factum*, which the translator with no more than his usual carelessness of concord, wrote for γεγονέναι. There is no reason however why it should not refer to *numerum*. MASSUET has *facta*, but upon insufficient grounds.

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εὑρίσκεται ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ὑπάγεσθαι δυνάμενα εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτὼ, τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ὀγδοάδος ἐκπληροῦν λέγουσιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δεκάδα σημαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν δέκα ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς κατάσχεσιν δοῦναι, λέγουσι· καὶ τὴν περὶ Σάῤῥαν δὲ οἰκονομίαν, ὡς μετὰ ἔτη δέκα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτῆς δούλην Ἄγαρ, ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκνοποιήσηται τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῦν. Καὶ ὁ δοῦλος δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥεβέκκαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ φρέατι διδοὺς αὐτῇ ψέλλια χρυσῶν δέκα, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῆς κατέχοντες αὐτὴν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας· ἔτι τε Ῥοβοὰμ [*l.* Ἱεροβοὰμ] ὁ τὰ δέκα σκῆπτρα λαμβάνων, καὶ τῆς σκηνῆς αἱ δέκα αὐλαῖαι, καὶ οἱ στύλοι οἱ δεκαπήχεις, καὶ οἱ δέκα υἱοὶ Ἰακὼβ, ἐπὶ τὴν ὠνὴν τοῦ σίτου τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον πεμφθέντες, καὶ οἱ δέκα Ἀπόστολοι, οἷς φανεροῦται μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν ὁ Κύριος, τοῦ Θωμᾶ μὴ παρόντος, τὴν ἀόρατον διετύπουν κατ' αὐτοὺς δεκάδα. LIB. I. xi. 2. GR. I. xv. 2. MASS. I. xviii. 3. M. 89.

3. Τὴν δυοδεκάδα δὲ, περὶ ἣν καὶ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ πάθους τοῦ ὑστερήματος γεγονέναι, ἐξ οὗ πάθους τὰ βλεπόμενα κατεσκευάσθαι θέλουσιν, ἐπισήμως καὶ φανερῶς πανταχῆ

obduci posse ad numerum octavum, mysterium ogdoadis adimplere dicunt. Sed et decadem significari per decem gentes, quas promisit Deus Abrahæ in possessionem dare, dicunt: et [1]dispositio quæ est secundum Saram, quomodo post decem annos dat ei ancillam suam Agar, ut ex ea filium faciat, idem significare. Et servus autem Abraham missus ad Rebeccam, et super puteum dans ei armillas aureorum decem, et fratres ejus tenentes eam in dies decem, adhuc etiam Jeroboam, qui decem sceptra accepit, et tabernaculi decem atria, et columnæ decem cubitorum, et decem filii Jacob ad emptionem tritici prima vice in Ægyptum missi, et decem Apostoli. quibus manifestatur post resurrectionem Dominus, cum Thomas non esset præsens, invisibilem defigurabant secundum eos decadem. Gen. xv. 19 seqq. Gen. xvi. 3. Gen. xxiv. 22, 55. 1 Reg. xi. 31. Exod. xxvi. 1, et xxxvi. 8. Exod. xxxvi. 21. Gen. xlii. 3. Joh. xx. 24.

3. Duodecadem autem, erga quam et mysterium passionis Labis fuisse, ex qua passione visibilia fabricata esse volunt, signanter et manifestissime positam ubique dicunt: ut duodecim Gen. xxxv. 22, et xlix 28.

[1] *Dispositio.* The reading of the CLERM., ARUND., VOSS, MERC. II. But the sense requires the accusative, which MASSUET has expressed.

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LIB. I. xi. 3. GR. I. xv. 3. MASS. I. xviii. 4.

κεῖσθαι λέγουσιν, ὡς τοὺς δώδεκα υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἰακὼβ, ἐξ ὧν καὶ δεκαδύο φυλαὶ, καὶ τὸ λογεῖον τὸ ποικιλτὸν δώδεκα λίθους ἔχον, καὶ τοὺς [1] δώδεκα κώδωνας, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Μωϋσέως τεθέντας ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος δώδεκα λίθους, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς G. 85. ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ πέραν, καὶ τοὺς βαστάζοντας τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Ἠλίᾳ τεθειμένους ἐν τῇ ὁλοκαυτώσει τοῦ μόσχου, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων· καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς ὅσα τὸν δωδέκατον ἀριθμὸν διασώζει, τὴν δωδεκάδα αὐτῶν χαρακτηρίζειν λέγουσι. Τὴν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἕνωσιν ὀνομαζομένην τριακοντάδα, διὰ τῆς τριάκοντα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ἐπὶ Νῶε κιβωτοῦ, καὶ διὰ Σαμουὴλ κατακλίναντος τὸν Σαοὺλ ἐν τοῖς [2] τριάκοντα κλητοῖς M. 90.

Exod. xxviii. 2, et xxxix. 10. Exod. xxiv. 4. Jos. iv. 3, 8, 9, et 20. Jos. iii. 12. 1 Reg. xviii. 31.

filios Jacob, ex quibus duodecim quoque tribus, et logion varium duodecim habens lapides, et duodecim tintinnabula, et eos qui a Moyse positi sunt sub monte duodecim lapides, similiter autem et eos qui a Jesu in flumine positi sunt, et alteros qui trans positi sunt, et portantes arcam testamenti, et eos qui ab Helia positi sunt in holocausto vituli, et numerum quoque Apostolorum, et omnia omnino quæcunque duodecim numerum custodiunt, duodecadem ipsorum significare volunt. Horum autem unitatem

Gen. vi. 15. 1 Reg. ix. 22.

omnium, quæ vocatur triacontas, per eam arcam, cujus triginta cubitis altitudo fuit sub Noe, et per Samuelem declinantem

[1] δώδεκα κώδωνας. Since the number of these bells is nowhere mentioned in Scripture, and the same account is given by JUSTIN MARTYR, it is most probable that the information was obtained from the contemporaneous custom of the synagogue. In the *Dial. c. Tryph.* we read δώδεκα κώδωνας ἐξῆφθαι τοῦ ποδήρους τοῦ ἀρχιέρεως παραδεδόσθαι, τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστ. κ.τ.λ. § 42. Comp. GRABE'S note.

[2] LXX. ὡσεὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἀνδρῶν. The Vulgate corrects this by the Hebrew, *Erant enim quasi triginta viri.* FRONTO DUC. remarks, *Hoc notandum est, ut hinc colligamus Irenæum, vel hæreticos illos aliam Græcam editionem habuisse, in qua ex Hebræo, ut in Vulgata legebatur.* Since however the scene of the Marcosian heresy was chiefly laid in Gaul, it is not impossible that the numbers should have been taken from one of the many fragmentary Latin translations mentioned by S. JEROME as existing in the Latin Church. Other scriptural allusions in the sequel are wholly inaccurate; thus David hid himself in the field (1 Sam. xx. 5) *unto the third day;* and three only out of the *thirty chief men* came to David in the cave of Adullam (2 Sam. xxiii. 13). In the first case the error probably arose from the substitution of λ for γ, in the latter from careless omission of the numeral letter [γ]; ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα is not more vague than the text. We should remember also that the computation is taken from heretics.

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πρῶτον, καὶ διὰ Δαβὶδ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἐκρύβετο ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, καὶ διὰ τῶν συνεισελθόντων αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον (*d.* Ἰσραὴλ) καὶ διὰ (*d.* τοῦτο) τὸ μῆκος γίνεσθαι τῆς ἁγίας σκηνῆς τριάκοντα πηχῶν· καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλα ἰσάριθμα τούτοις [1]εὑρίσκουσι, τὴν τριακοντάδα αὐτῶν διὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιδεικνύναι φιλεριστοῦσιν.

LIB. I. xi. 3. GR. I. xv. 3. MASS. I. xviii. 4.

Κεφ. ιβ'.

Quemadmodum incognitum omnibus inducere conantur Patrem.

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ἡγησάμην προσθεῖναι τούτοις καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοῦ Προπάτορος αὐτῶν, ὃς ἄγνωστος ἦν τοῖς πᾶσι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, ἐκλέγοντες ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἵν' ἐπιδείξωσι τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἄλλον καταγγέλλοντα Πατέρα παρὰ τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντός· ὃν, καθὼς προέφαμεν, ἀσεβοῦντες, ὑστερήματος καρπὸν εἶναι λέγουσι. Τὸν γοῦν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν εἰπόντα· Ἰσραὴλ δέ με οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκε, τὴν τοῦ ἀοράτου Βυθοῦ ἀγνωσίαν εἰρηκέναι μεθαρμόζουσι. Καὶ διὰ Ὡσηὲ τὸ εἰρημένον·

Saul, ...qui triginta diebus abscondebatur in agro, et per eos qui cum eo intraverunt in speluncam, et propter id quod longitudo fuerit sancti tabernaculi triginta cubitorum. Et quæcunque alia æqualia numeris his [1]inveniuntur, triacontadem ipsorum per hujusmodi ostendunt asseverationes.

1 Sam. xx. 5. Vide not. 2. 2 Sam. xxiii. 13. Vide not. 1. Exod. xxvi. 8.

CAP. XII.

Necessarium autem duxi addere iis, et quanta de Propatore ipsorum, qui incognitus erat omnibus ante adventum Christi, eligentes de Scripturis suadere contendunt, ut ostendant Dominum nostrum alterum annunciare Patrem præter fabricatorem hujus universitatis: quem (sicut prædiximus) impie blasphemantes, Labis fructum esse dicunt. Prophetam igitur Esaiam dicentem; *Israel me autem non cognovit, et populus me non intellexit*, invisibilis Bythi ignorantiam dixisse coaptant. Et in

Isai. i. 3.

[1] It would seem that εὑρίσκοντες was written *a primâ manu*, but was read εὑρίσκονται by the translator, and εὑρίσκουσι by the transcriber.

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LIB. I. xii. GR. I. xvi. MASS. I. xix. 1.

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθεια, οὐδὲ ἐπίγνωσις Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συντείνειν βιάζονται. Καὶ, Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιὼν, ἢ ἐκζήτων τὸν Θεόν· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν, ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Βυθοῦ ἀγνωσίας τάττουσι. Καὶ τὸ διὰ Μωϋσέως δὲ εἰρημένον· G. 86.
Οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ζήσεται, εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἔχειν πείθουσι τὴν ἀναφοράν. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ποιητὴν ἐπιψευδόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ἑωρᾶσθαι λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ, οὐδεὶς ὄψεται M. 91.
τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ ζήσεται, περὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου μεγέθους καὶ ἀγνώστου τοῖς πᾶσιν, εἰρῆσθαι θέλουσι. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἀοράτου πατρὸς καὶ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων εἴρηται τὸ, οὐδεὶς ὄψεται τὸν Θεὸν, πᾶσιν ἡμῖν φανερόν ἐστιν· ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ [*l.* ὑπὸ] τούτων παρεπινοουμένου Βυθοῦ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀόρατος Θεὸς, δειχθήσεται τοῦ λόγου προϊόντος. Καὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημαίνειν, ἐν τῷ ἐπερωτᾶν τὸν ἄγγελον τὰς ἐπιλύσεις τῶν παραβολῶν, ὡς μὴ εἰδότα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄγγελον ἀποκρυπτόμενον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ μέγα μυστήριον τοῦ Βυθοῦ, εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ· Ἀπότρεχε Δανιήλ· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ λόγοι ἐμπεφραγμένοι εἰσὶν, [1] ἕως οἱ συνιέντες συνιῶσι, καὶ οἱ λευκοὶ

Osea iv. 1. Rom. iii. 11, 12, ex Ps. xiv. 3. Exod. xxxiii.

Osee quod dictum est: *Non est in eis veritas, neque agnitio Dei,* in hoc idem tendere conantur. Et, *Non est intelligens aut requirens Deum: Omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt,* in Bythi ignorantia apponunt. Et per Moysen autem dictum; *Nemo videbit Deum, et vivet;* in illum habere suadent relationem. Et fabricatorem quidem a prophetis visum dicunt: illud autem quod scriptum est, *Nemo videbit Deum et vivet,* de invisibili magnitudine et incognita omnibus dictum volunt. Et quoniam quidem de invisibili Patre factore omnium dictum est, *Nemo videbit Deum,* omnibus nobis manifestum est: quoniam autem non de hoc qui ab iis adinventus est Bythus, sed de Demiurgo, et ipse est invisibilis Deus, ostenditur procedente sermone. Et Danielem autem hoc idem significare, in eo quod interrogat angelum absolutiones parabolarum, quasi non scientem. Sed et angelum abscondentem ab eo magnum mysterium Bythi, dicere ei: *Recurre Daniel: hi enim sermones obstructi sunt,* Dan. xii. 9, 10.

[1] These words are not found in any Greek version of Scripture. The Hebrew has יִתְבָּרְרוּ יִתְלַבְּנוּ, E. V., *shall be purified and made white.* For

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λευκανθῶσι· καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοὺς λευκοὺς καὶ εὐσυνιέντας αὐχοῦσι. LIB. I. xiii. 1. GR. I. xvi. MASS. I. xx. 1.

Κεφ. ιγ'.

Quibus ex Scripturis testimoniis utuntur.

1. ΠΡΟΣ δὲ τούτοις ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἔπλασαν, παρεισφέρουσιν εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀνοήτων, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ ἐπισταμένων γράμματα. Προσπαραλαμβάνουσι δὲ εἰς τοῦτο κἀκεῖνο τὸ ῥᾳδιούργημα, [1]ὡς τοῦ Κυρίου τὰ διὰ [2][INT. παιδὸς ὄντος καὶ μανθάνοντος τὸ ἀλφάβητον] τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῷ φήσαντος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν, εἰπὲ ἄλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἄλφα.

quoadusque intellectores intelligant, et albi inalbentur: et seipsos esse albos et intellectores gloriantur.

CAP. XIII.

1. SUPER hæc autem inenarrabilem multitudinem apocryphorum et perperûm scripturarum, quas ipsi finxerunt, afferunt ad stuporem insensatorum, et quæ sunt veritatis non scientium literas. Assumunt autem in hoc et illam falsationem, quasi Dominus cum puer esset, et disceret literas, cum dixisset magister ejus, quemadmodum in consuetudine est, Dic A,

the former of these two words the heretic either read ܐܒܓܕ in the Syriac or יְתַבּוֹנְנוּ in the Hebrew. The *varia lectio* is not noticed elsewhere, and the corruption appears wilful.

[1] This is a very favourite myth in the apocryphal writings of the early ages. The words of IRENÆUS agree closely with the false gospel of the infancy of our Lord now existing in Arabic: وقل له قل الف فقل الف فقل له المعلم قل بيت فقل له الرب يسوع قل لى شرح الم الالف وحينيذ اقول بيت *Et dixit ei, Enuntia* Aleph, *et respondit,* Aleph; *et jussit ei magister* Beth *dicere, ait autem Dominus Jesus, Dic mihi prius quid sit* Aleph, *et tunc tibi* Beth *pronuntiabo.* The same story is told in different terms in the false gospel of S. Thomas, c. 6. The Saviour says to his teacher Zacchæus, Σὺ τὸ ἄλφα μὴ εἰδὼς κατὰ φύσιν, τὸ βῆτα πῶς ἄλλους διδάσκεις; Ὑποκριτὰ, πρῶτον, εἰ οἶδας, δίδαξον τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοι πιστεύσομεν περὶ τοῦ βῆτα. Again, c. 14, εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Εἰ ὄντως διδάσκαλος εἶ, καὶ εἰ οἶδας καλῶς τὰ γράμματα, εἰπέ μοι τοῦ ἄλφα τὴν δύναμιν, κἀγώ σοι ἐρῶ τὴν τοῦ βῆτα· πικρανθεὶς δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος κ.τ.λ. THILO, *Codex Apoc. N. T.* I.

[2] The Greek text is defective, and the words in brackets are offered for the reader's consideration, only it should be stated that Ἀλφάβητον is considered to

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LIB. I. xiii. 1. GR. I. xvii. MASS. I. xx. 1.

Πάλιν τε τὸ βῆτα τοῦ διδασκάλου κελεύσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Κύριον· σύ μοι πρότερον εἰπὲ τί ἐστι τὸ ἄλφα, G. 87. καὶ τότε σοι ἐρῶ τί ἐστι τὸ βῆτα. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγοῦνται, ὡς αὐτοῦ μόνου τὸ ἄγνωστον ἐπισταμένου, ὃ ἐφανέρωσεν ἐν M. 92. τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ ἄλφα.

2. Ἕνια δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ κειμένων εἰς τοῦτον τὸν χαρακτῆρα μεθαρμόζουσιν· ὡς τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ δωδεκαετοῦς ὄντος ἀπόκρισιν· [1]Οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου δεῖ με εἶναι; [a]Ὃν οὐκ ἤδεισαν, φασὶ, πατέρα κατήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκπέμψαι τοὺς μαθητὰς εἰς τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς, κηρύσσοντας τὸν ἄγνωστον αὐτοῖς Θεόν. Καὶ τῷ εἰπόντι αὐτῷ, Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθὲ, τὸν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν ὁμολογηκέναι εἰπόντα, Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς, [2]ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Οὐρα-

responderit A. Rursum cum magister jussisset dicere B, respondisse Dominum: Tu prior dic mihi quid est A, et tunc ego dicam tibi quid est B. Et hoc exponunt, quasi ipse solus incognitum scierit, quod manifestavit in typum [*l.* typo] A.

2. Quædam autem eorum quæ in Evangelio posita sunt, in hunc characterem transfigurant. Sicut illud quod ad matrem suam, duodecim annorum existens, respondit dicens: *Non scitis quoniam in his quæ Patris mei sunt oportet me esse?* Hunc quem non sciebant, dicunt, Patrem annunciabat eis: et propter hoc emisisse discipulos in duodecim tribus, annunciantes ignotum eis Deum. Et ei qui dixisset illi; *Magister bone*, eum, qui vere bonus esset Deus, confessum esse respondentem: *Quid me dicis bonum? unus est bonus, Pater in cœlis.* Cœlos autem nunc

Luc. ii. 49.

Matt. xix. 16 seq. Marc. x. 17 seq. Luc. xviii. 18 seq.

have been abbreviated as τὸ AB, rendered by the translator as *literas;* the words, TA ΔIA, plainly represent the *rudera* of παιδός.

[1] GR. οὐκ ἤδειτε. Syr. ܠܐ ܝܕܥܬܘܢ ܕ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܒܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܗܘ

[2] Three of the Evangelists agree in the reading εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ Θεός, and the context rather implies the presence of ὁ Θεός. EPIPHANIUS accuses MARCION of having interpolated the word πατήρ, *Hær.* XLII., προστέθηκε ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πατήρ. And in the *Dialog. Orthodoxi c. Anom.* the erroneous quotation is corrected, *Non dicitur, nemo bonus nisi unus Pater; sed, nemo bonus nisi unus Deus.* These words of our Lord, however, were so read by the aboriginal Ophites. Καὶ περὶ τούτου (τοῦ πν. sc.) λέλεχθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος λεγόμενον, Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὁ ἀνατελεῖ τὸν ἥλιον κ.τ.λ. HIPPOL. *Philos.* v. 7. The text is quoted in both forms by the Catholic fathers, hence the varia-

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νοὺς δὲ νῦν τοὺς Αἰῶνας εἰρῆσθαι λέγουσι. Καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀποκριθῆναι τοῖς εἰποῦσιν αὐτῷ, [1]Ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει τοῦτο ποιεῖς; ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀντεπερωτήσει ἀπορῆσαι αὐτοὺς, τὸ ἄῤῥητον τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐν τῷ [*adjice* μὴ] εἰπεῖν, δεδειχέναι αὐτὸν ἐξηγοῦνται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι, [2]Πολλάκις ἐπεθύμησα ἀκοῦσαι ἕνα τῶν λόγων τούτων, καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἐροῦντα, ἐμφαίνοντός φασι δεῖν [*l.* εἶναι] διὰ τοῦ ἑνὸς τὸν ἀληθῶς ἕνα Θεὸν, ὃν οὐκ ἐγνώκεισαν. Ἔτι ἐν τῷ προσσχόντα αὐτὸν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ δακρῦσαι ἐπ' αὐτὴν, καὶ εἰπεῖν· [3]Εἰ ἔγνως καὶ σὺ σήμερον τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην, ἐκρύβη δὲ [*suppl.* ἀπό] σου· διὰ τοῦ ἐκρύβη ῥήματος, τὸ ἀπόκρυφον τοῦ Βυθοῦ δεδηλωκέναι. Καὶ πάλιν εἰπόντα· Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς· καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας [4]πατέρα κατηγγελκέναι. Ὃ γὰρ οὐκ ἤδεισαν, φησὶ, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο διδάξειν... M. 93. [*adj.* Ἀπόδειξιν] δὲ τὴν [*l.* τῶν] ἀνωτάτω, καὶ οἱονεὶ κορωνίδα

LIB. I. xiii. 2. GR. I. xvii. MASS. I. xx. 2.

Æonas dictos dicunt. Et propter hoc non respondisse eis, qui ei dixerunt, *In qua virtute hoc facis?* sed e contrario interrogatione sua consternasse eos, inenarrabile Patris, in eo quod non dixerit, [*d.* non] ostendisse eum interpretantur. Sed et in eo quod dixerit: *Sæpius concupivi audire unum ex sermonibus istis, et non habui qui diceret mihi*, manifestantis dicunt esse per hoc *unum*, eum qui sit vere unus Deus, quem non cognoverint. Adhuc in eo quod appropinquans ad Hierusalem ploraverit super eam, et dixerit: *Si cognovisses et tu hodie quæ sunt ad pacem, abscondita autem sunt a te*, per eum sermonem qui est absconditus, apocryphon Bythi manifestasse. Et iterum dicentem, *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis,* [5]*discite a me*, veritatis Patrem annunciasse. Quod enim nesciebant, inquiunt, hoc eis promisit se docturum. Ostensionem autem superiorum, et velut finem

Matt. xxi. 23 seqq. Marc. xi. 28 seqq. Luc. xx. 2 seqq.

Luc. xix. 42.

Matt. xi. 28 et seq.

tion may be assigned to carelessness.

[1] Gr. ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. Syr. صاحبا the word صاحبا meaning *authority*, as in the E.V.

[2] Words taken from some apocryphal writing.

[3] This scriptural text having only been introduced on account of the word ἐκρύβη, is not quoted with any regard to verbal accuracy. As it stands, it agrees neither with the MSS., the ancient versions, nor with other quotations of the same words.

[4] The Supreme Power was called ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας πατήρ, XII. § 2, and again at the close of the present section.

[5] The translator omits the words κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς.

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IB. I. xiii. 2. G R. I. xvii. MASS. I. xx. 3.

τῆς ὑποθέσεως αὐτῶν φέρουσι ταῦτα· Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι πάτερ κύριε τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ἀπὸ G. 80. σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις· [1]οὐά, ὁ πατήρ μου, ὅτι ἔμπροσθέν σου εὐδοκία [d. μοι] ἐγένετο. Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός μου· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν Πατέρα, εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ Υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. Ἐν τούτοις διαῤῥήδην φασὶ δεδειχέναι αὐτὸν, ὡς τὸν [2]ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρεξευρημένον πατέρα ἀληθείας πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ μηδενὸς πώποτε ἐγνωκότος· καὶ κατασκευάζειν θέλουσιν, ὡς τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ κτίστου ἀεὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἐγνωσμένου· καὶ ταῦτα τὸν Κύριον εἰρηκέναι περὶ τοῦ ἀγνώστου τοῖς πᾶσι Πατρὸς, ὃν αὐτοὶ καταγγέλλουσι.

Κεφ. ιδ'.

De redemptione sua quanta dicunt et faciunt: quot modi sunt apud eos redhibitionis: quemadmodum imbuunt eos, qui sibi credunt, et quibus sermonibus utuntur.

1. ΤΗΝ δὲ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως αὐτοῖς [l. αὐτῶν] παράδοσιν συμβέβηκεν ἀόρατον εἶναι καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· ἅτε τῶν

Matt. xi 25. Luc. x. 21 seqq.

regulæ suæ afferunt hæc: *Confiteor tibi Pater Domine terræ et cœlorum, quoniam abscondisti ea a sapientibus et prudentibus, et revelasti ea parvulis. Ita Pater meus, quoniam in conspectu tuo placitum factum est. Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre: et nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius, et Filium nisi Pater, et cuicunque Filius revelaverit.* In his enim manifestissime (aiunt) ostendisse eum, quod ..... ante adventum ejus nemo manifeste cognoverit Patrem veritatis: et aptare volunt, quod quasi fabricator et conditor semper ab omnibus cognitus sit: et hæc Dominum dixisse de incognito omnibus Patre, quem ipsi annunciant.

CAP. XIV.

1. Redemptionis autem ipsorum traditionem evenit invisibilem esse et incomprehensibilem: videlicet cum sit incompre-

[1] *οὐά*. This word is the Syriac expression of sudden joy, as *οὐαὶ* would be of grief. וה לשון שמחה וי לשון צער *Midrash Echa.* § 1.

[2] *ὑπ' αὐτῶν*, Stieren's reading; the Latin omits a few words.

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ἀκρατήτων καὶ ἀοράτων μητέρα ὑπάρχουσαν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄστατον οὖσαν, οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἑνὶ λόγῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαί ἐστι· διὰ τὸ ἓν [*l.* ἕνα] ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ βούλονται, παραδιδόναι αὐτήν. Ὅσοι γάρ εἰσι ταύτης τῆς γνώμης μυσταγωγοί, τοσαῦται ἀπολυτρώσεις. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἐξάρνησιν τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῆς εἰς Θεὸν [1]ἀναγεννήσεως, καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἀπόθεσιν ὑποβέβληται τὸ εἶδος τοῦ [τοῦτο] ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ἐλέγχοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦμεν ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι τόπῳ. Λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι
M. 94. τοῖς τὴν τελείαν γνῶσιν εἰληφόσιν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα

LIB. I. xiv. 1. GR. I. xviii. 1. MASS. I. xxi. 1.

hensibilium et invisibilium mater. Et propter hoc cum sit instabilis, non simpliciter, neque uno sermone referendum est: quoniam unusquisque illorum, quemadmodum ipsi volunt, tradunt eam. Quanti enim sunt hujusmodi sententiæ mystici antistites, tot sunt et redemptiones. Et quia ad negationem baptismatis ejus quæ est in Deum regenerationis, et universæ fidei destructionem, [2]remissa [*l.* destitutionem, submissa] est species hæc a Satana, arguentes eos referemus aptiori loco. Dicunt autem eam necessariam esse iis qui perfectam agnitionem acceperunt,

[1] IRENÆUS evidently knew no distinction between baptismal regeneration and the ἀπολύτρωσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατελθόντος. The severe view of the irremissibility of sin committed after baptism, which was caused by Gnostic profligacy, was also a divergence from Catholic truth; the Novatianist schism was the correlative of Gnostic immorality. HIPPOLYTUS has been accused of having struck the first note of discord, being hurried away by his horror of heretical ἀσωτία. For what could be more detestable than the assertion of SIMON MAGUS? μηδὲν εἶναι αἴτιον δίκης εἰ πράξει τις κακῶς, οὐ γάρ ἐστι φύσει κακὸς, ἀλλὰ θέσει. HIPPOL. *Phil.* VI. 19. Or of the Carpocratians? Sola enim humana opinione negotia bona et mala dicunt. IREN. I. xxiv. Hence, he says: εὐκόλους μὲν εἶναι διδάξας (sc. ὁ Μάρκος,) πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀκινδύνους δὲ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι τῆς τελείας δυνάμεως καὶ μετέχειν τῆς ἀνεννοήτου ἐξουσίας· οἷς καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἕτερον ἀπαγγέλλονται, ὁ καλοῦσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναστρέφοντες κακῶς τοὺς αὐτοῖς παραμένοντας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, δυναμένους [*f. l.* ὀλομένους] μετὰ τὸ ἅπαξ βαπτισθέντας πάλιν τυχεῖν ἀφέσεως. κ.τ.λ. HIPP. *Phil.* VI. 41. Like those who in modern times deny baptismal regeneration, the Marcosians called the sacrament ψυχικόν, and their post-baptismal regeneration πνευματικόν.

[2] It seems doubtful whether *destitutionem* is not the true reading, for ERASMUS and GALLANDIUS have, on MS. authority, *restitutionem;* or ἀπώλειαν perhaps may be indicated in the Greek. The next word, *remissa*, may have been *submissa;* ὑποβάλλειν being, *to introduce*, in a bad sense; and *submittere* is the same; *e.g.*

Monstrumve summisere Colchi
Majus.—HOR. *Od.* IV. 4.

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LIB I. xiv.1. GR. I.xviii.1. MASS. I.xxi. 2.

δύναμιν ὦσιν ἀναγεγεννημένοι. Ἄλλως γὰρ ἀδύνατον ἐντὸς πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν· ἐπειδὴ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς τὸ βάθος [*suppl.* τοῦ βύθου] κατάγουσα αὐτούς. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ βάπτισμα τοῦ φαινομένου Ἰησοῦ, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστοῦ κατελθόντος, εἰς τελείωσιν· καὶ [1]τὸ μὲν ψυχικὸν, τὴν δὲ πνευματικὴν εἶναι ὑφίστανται. Καὶ τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου κατηγγέλθαι εἰς μετάνοιαν, τὴν δὲ ἀπολύτρωσιν ὑπὸ [*l.* τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστοῦ] Ἰησοῦ κεκομίσθαι εἰς τελείωσιν. Καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι περὶ οὗ λέγει· [2]Καὶ ἄλλο βάπτισμα ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πάνυ ἐπείγομαι εἰς αὐτό. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ζεβεδαίου, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν αἰτουμένης τὸ καθίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, ταύτην προσθεῖναι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὸν Κύριον λέγουσιν, εἰπόντα· Δύνασθε τὸ βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι, ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω βαπτίζεσθαι; Καὶ τὸν

G. 83.

ut in eam quæ est super omnia virtus, sint regenerati. Aliter enim nobis impossibile esse intra Pleroma introire, quoniam hæc est quæ in profundum Bythi deducit secundum eos. Et baptisma quidem apparentis Jesu in remissionem esse peccatorum, redemptionem autem esse ejus qui in eo descenderit [3]spiritus ad perfectionem: et illud quidem animale, illam autem spiritalem esse repromittunt. Et baptisma quidem a Joanne annunciatum in pœnitentiam, redemptionem autem ejus qui in eo est Christi, positam esse ad perfectionem: et hoc esse de quo

Luc. xii. 50.

dicit: *Aliud baptisma habeo baptizari, et valde propero ad illud.* Sed et filiis Zebedæi, matre ipsorum postulante, ut sedere faceret eos a dextris et a sinistris cum eo in regno, hanc apposuisse re-

Marc. x. 38.

demptionem Dominum dicunt, dicentem: *Potestis baptismum*

[1] τὸ μὲν ψυχικόν. S. IRENÆUS, taking the highest view of the grace of baptism, mentions, only to condemn, the notion that Christian baptism was nothing more than the baptism of John for repentance.

[2] Again, the reader may be reminded that the texts are written down as by the pen of the heretic. There would seem, however, to be a confusion between the Syriac ܐܪܟ *arctor*, and the Hebrew אריץ *ἐπείγομαι*, cf. Ps. lxviii. 32. The Hebrew student will remember that the Hebrew ל is interchangeable with the Chaldaic or Syriac ר.

[3] The correct reading seems to be *spiritus* (MSS. CLERM., PASS., VOSS) arising possibly from the Greek Χριστοῦ πνεύματος: in the Gnostic systems it was Christ, the σύζυγος of the Holy Spirit, I. § 4, that descended upon Jesus at baptism and conferred upon him miraculous powers.

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Παῦλον ῥητῶς φάσκουσι τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπολύτρωσιν πολλάκις μεμηνυκέναι· καὶ εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ποικίλως καὶ ἀσυμφώνως παραδιδομένην. LIB. I. xiv. 2. GR. I. xviii. 2. MASS. I. xxi. 3.

2. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν νυμφῶνα κατασκευάζουσι, καὶ
M. 95. μυσταγωγίαν ἐπιτελοῦσι μετ' [1]ἐπιῤῥήσεών τινων τοῖς τελειουμένοις, καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον φάσκουσιν εἶναι τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν γινόμενον, κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄνω συζυγιῶν. Οἱ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ, καὶ βαπτίζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν· Εἰς
G. 90. ὄνομα ἀγνώστου Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς Ἀλήθειαν μητέρα πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς Ἰησοῦν, [2]εἰς ἕνωσιν καὶ ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν δυνάμεων. Ἄλλοι δὲ Ἑβραϊκά τινα ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγουσι, πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς τελειουμένους, οὕτως· Βασεμὰ χαμοσσὴ βααιανορὰ

baptizari, quod ego habeo baptizari? Et Paulum manifeste dicunt eam, quæ sit in Christo Jesu, redemptionem sæpissime ostendisse: et esse hanc eam quæ ab ipsis varie et inconsonanter traditur.

2. Quidam enim ex ipsis sponsale cubiculum quoddam adaptant, et quasi mysticum conficiunt cum quibusdam profanis dictionibus iis qui sacrantur, et spiritales nuptias dicunt esse id quod ab ipsis fit, secundum similitudinem supernarum conjugationum. Alii autem adducunt ad aquam, et baptizantes ita dicunt: [3]*In nomen incogniti Patris omnium, in veritate[m]*[4] *matrem omnium, in descendentem* [4][*in*] *Jesum ad unitionem* [4][*et redemptionem*] *et communionem virtutum.* Alii autem et Hebraica nomina superfantur, ut stupori sint, vel deterreant eos qui sacrantur, sic: *Basyma cacabasa eanaa irraumista diarbada*

[1] So HIPPOLYTUS says, λέγουσι γάρ τι φωνῇ ἀῤῥήτῳ ἐπιθέντες χεῖρα τῷ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν λαβόντι, ὃ φάσκουσι ἐξειπεῖν εὐκόλως μὴ δύνασθαι, εἰ μή τις εἴη ὑπερδόκιμος κ.τ.λ. *Philos.* VI. 41.

[2] With the exception of εἰς . . . . δυνάμεων, the commencement of § 2 as far as the word τελειουμένους is found also in EUSEBIUS, *H.E.* IV. 11.

[3] The following Syriac words are obtained partly from the Greek, partly from the translation: ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝܕܥ ܐܡ ܟܠ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܐܡ ܟܠ ܢܚܬ ܠܬ ܟܠ ܐܡ ܕܢܚܬ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܠܐܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܦܪܘܩܐ ܘܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝܕܥ ܐܡ ܟܠ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܐܡ ܟܠ ܢܚܬ ܠܬ ܟܠ ܐܡ ܕܢܚܬ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܠܐܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܦܪܘܩܐ ܘܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܗܟܢܐ

In nomine Sophiæ Patris, et Lucis, quæ vocata est Spiritus Sanctitatis, in Redemptionem angelicam. The corresponding Greek words may have been, Βασεμὰ Ἀχαμῶθ Ἄβα οὐὰ νοῦρα μιστάμα Ῥοῦα δακούδσα βαφούρκαν μελάχθει. For κουστὰ I read with GR., κουδσὰ, ܒܥܠܝ *animalium*, [cf. Lat.] would scarcely make sense; and μ is substituted for

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LIB. I. xiv. 2. GR. I. xviii. 2. MASS. I. xxi. 3.

μισταδία ῥοναδὰ κουστὰ βαβοφὸρ καλαχθεῖ. Τούτων δ' ἡ ἑρμηνεία ἐστι τοιαύτη· Ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικαλοῦμαι φῶς ὀνομαζόμενον, καὶ πνεῦμα ἀγαθὸν, καὶ ζωή· ὅτι ἐν σώματι ἐβασίλευσας. Ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν τὴν λύτρωσιν ἐπιλέγουσιν οὕτως· Τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ πάσης θεότητος, καὶ κυριότητος, καὶ ἀληθείας, ὃ ἐνεδύσατο Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρηνὸς ἐν ταῖς ζωαῖς τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Χριστοῦ ζῶντος διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικήν. [1]Ὄνομα τὸ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως· Μεσσία οὐφαρὲγ ναμεμψαιμὰν G 91.

caëota bafobor camelanthi. Horum autem interpretatio est talis: *Hoc quod est super omnem virtutem Patris invoco, quod vocatur lumen, et spiritus, et vita, quoniam in corpore regnasti.* Alii autem rursus redemptionem profantur sic: *Nomen quod absconditum est ab universa deitate, et dominatione, et veritate, quod induit Jesus Nazarenus in zonis luminis, Christus Dominus viventis per Spiritum sanctum in redemptionem angelicam* Nomen quod est restaurationis: *Messia ufar magno in seenchaldia*

δ in *μισταδία*. The penultimate word also is little else than a transposition of the syllables as given in NICETAS, *Th. Orth. F. βαφογόρ*. Thus the last two words agree with the close of the next formula. But ܚܫܝܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ *βαφογὸρ κὰδ μελαχθεῖ*, expresses better the interpretation. Such passages are more open to corruption than others; and it is more likely that the ignorance of transcribers should have altered barbarous expressions that they did not understand, than that IRENÆUS, himself of Oriental extraction, should have set down a cento of unintelligible words in Hebrew or Syriac. The interpretations may be referred to some other hand.

[4] The omissions of the CLERM. MS.

[1] In offering a solution of the *ὄνομα τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως* I premise that the Syriac words correspond with the second of the two passages interpreted into Greek, the Syriac of the first having been lost; that the soul was redeemed by Jesus, p. 182; that the spiritual seed was redeemed from thraldom to the animal principle; and that initiation was by unction. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܦܪܝܩ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܝܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܦܫܐ ܒܫܡ ܝܗ ܦܪܘܩ ܢܦܫܐ ܝܫܘ ܢܙܪܢܝ *Unctus et redemptus ego ab anima et ab omni judicio, in nomine Jah; redime animam, O Jesu Nazarene!* The words written in Greek being, *Μεσσία οὐ[μ]φαρὲκ [ἄ]να με[ν ν]άψα [οὐ]μὲν χὰλ δαίαν [δίνα] [βα]σομὴ δαεα φρακ νάψα, οὐὰ Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρία.* The variations from the printed text are bracketed; of these [μ] is preserved in the Latin; [α] is an arbitrary insertion, but the sound of the letter in the Syriac word is so fleeting that it may not have been written even by the author; the [ν ν] I consider to represent the uncial M; the [οὐ] is the copula as it would be written in Greek; [βα] replaces μο, these two labials being easily interchangeable; ΔΑΕΑ I consider to have been expanded into ΔΑΕΑΑ. The word

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χαλδαίαν μοσομηδαέα ἀκφραναὶ ψαούα, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρία. Καὶ τούτων δὲ ἑρμηνεία ἐστι τοιαύτη· Οὐ διαιρῶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ τὴν ὑπερουράνιον δύναμιν, τὴν οἰκτίρμονα· ὀναίμην τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, Σωτὴρ ἀληθείας. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπιλέγουσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ τελοῦντες. Ὁ δὲ τετελεσμένος ἀποκρίνεται· Ἐστήριγμαι, καὶ λελύτρωμαι, καὶ λυτροῦμαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, καὶ πάντων τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰαὼ, ὃς ἐλυτρώσατο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ τῷ ζῶντι. Εἶτ' ἐπιλέγουσιν οἱ παρόντες· Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, ἐφ' οὓς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐπαναπαύεται. Ἔπειτα μυρίζουσι τὸν τετελεσμένον [1] τῷ ὀπῷ τῷ ἀπὸ βαλσάμου [*l.* τῷ ὀποβαλσάμῳ]· τὸ γὰρ μῦρον τοῦτο τύπον τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα εὐωδίας εἶναι λέγουσιν. LIB. I. xiv 2. GR I xviii. 2. MASS. I. xxi. 3.

M. 96.

3. Ἔνιοι δ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ περισσὸν εἶναι φάσκουσι, μίξαντες δὲ ἔλαιον καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, μετ' ἐπιῤῥήσεων ὁμοιοτρόπων, αἷς προειρήκαμεν, ἐπιβάλλουσι τῇ κεφαλῇ τῶν τελειουμένων· καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν θέλουσι. Μυρίζουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ βαλσάμῳ. Ἄλλοι

mosomeda eaacha faronepseha Jesu Nazarene. Et horum interpretatio est talis: *Christi non divido spiritum, cor, et supercœlestem virtutem misericordem: fruar nomine tuo Salvator veritatis.* Et hæc quidem profantur ipsi qui sacrant. Qui autem sacratur respondet: *Confirmatus sum. et redemptus sum, et redimo animam meam ab æone hoc, et omnibus quæ sunt ab eo in nomine Iao, qui redemit animam ejus in redemptionem in Christo vivente.* Dehinc superfantur qui astant: *Pax omnibus in quos hoc nomen requiescit.* Post deinde ungunt sacratum opobalsamo. Unguentum enim hoc typum esse dicunt ejus suavitatis, quæ sit super universa.

3. Quidam autem eorum adducere quidem ad aquam supervacuum esse dicunt; admiscentes autem oleum et aquam in unum, cum quibusdam prophanis dictionibus, similibus quæ prædiximus, mittunt super eorum caput qui sacrantur: et hoc esse redemptionem volunt. Ungunt autem et ipsi opobalsamo.

φρακ is obtained by transmutation of the letters κφρα.

[1] τῷ ὀπῷ τῷ ἀπὸ βαλσάμου. If the recent juice of the balsam were used, this reading might do; but since it was manifestly made up into an unguent, there can be little doubt but that the reading should be τῷ ὀποβαλσάμῳ, as the Latin also has it. On Catholic unction, compare Bingham, *Ant.* XI. 9.

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LIB. I. xiv. 3. GR. I. xviii. 2. MASS. I. xxi. 4.

δὲ ταῦτα πάντα παραιτησάμενοι, φάσκουσι, μὴ δεῖν τὸ τῆς ἀῤῥήτου καὶ ἀοράτου δυνάμεως μυστήριον δι' ὁρατῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κτισμάτων, καὶ τῶν ἀνεννοήτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων δι' αἰσθητῶν, καὶ σωματικῶν. Εἶναι δὲ τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν, αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ ἀῤῥήτου μεγέθους· ὑπ' ἀγνοίας γὰρ ὑστερήματος καὶ πάθους γεγονότων, διὰ γνώσεως καταλύεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοίας σύστασιν· ὥστε εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ ἔνδον ἀνθρώπου. Καὶ μήτε σωματικὴν ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν, φθαρτὸν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα· μήτε ψυχικὴν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐξ ὑστερήματος, [1]καὶ ἔστι [*l.* ἐστι, καὶ] τοῦ Πατρὸς [*l.* πνεύματος] ὥσπερ οἰκητήριον· πνευματικὴν οὖν δεῖ [*l.* δεῖν] καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν ὑπάρχειν· λυτροῦσθαι γὰρ διὰ Μωϋσέως [*l.* γνώσεως] τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον τὸν πνευ- G. 92.
ματικὸν, καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τῇ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιγνώσει· καὶ M. 97.
ταύτην εἶναι λύτρωσιν ἀληθῆ.

Alii autem hæc omnia recusantes, dicunt, non oportere inenarrabilis et invisibilis virtutis mysterium per visibiles et corruptibiles perfici creaturas: et ea quæ mente concipi non possunt, et incorporalia, et [2]insensibilia, per sensibilia et corporalia. Esse autem perfectam redemptionem, ipsam agnitionem inenarrabilis magnitudinis. Ea enim quæ sunt de ignorantia labis et passione facta, per agnitionem dissolvi universum ignorantiæ statum, uti sit agnitio redemptio interioris hominis. Et neque corporalem esse eam; corruptibile enim est corpus: neque animalem, quoniam et anima de labe est, [*adj.* et] spiritus velut habitaculum: spiritalem ergo oportere et redemptionem esse. Redimi enim per agnitionem interiorem hominem spiritalem, et sufficere eis universorum agnitionem: et hanc esse redemptionem veram.

4. Alii sunt qui [3]mortuos redimunt ad finem defunctionis, mittentes eorum capitibus oleum et aquam, sive prædictum

[1] MASSUET reads καὶ ἔτι. I would propose ἐξ ὑστερήματός ἐστι, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος κ.τ.λ. with which the Latin closely agrees, if we only restore the *et* absorbed in the preceding *est*.

[2] *Insensibilia*, in the translation, indicates καὶ ἀναισθητῶν in the original.

[3] *Mortuos*. GRABE observes that EPIPHANIUS is speaking of the dying, not of the dead; THEODORET, alluding to the same practice, says, ἕτεροι δέ τινες μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν ἔλαιον καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς τῶν τελευτώντων ἐπιβάλλουσι κεφαλαῖς, κ.τ.λ. *H. F.* I. 11. Cf. *Conc. Carth.* III. can. 6: *Corporibus defunctorum Eucharistia non detur; dictum est enim a Domino, Accipite et edite; cadavera autem nec accipere possunt nec edere.*

The preceding section is concluded by EPIPHANIUS with the words ἕως ὧδε

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4. . . . . Ἐγὼ υἱὸς ἀπὸ πατρὸς, πατρὸς προόντος, υἱὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι. Ἦλθον πάντα ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀλλότρια, καὶ τὰ ἴδια· καὶ οὐκ ἀλλότρια δὲ παντελῶς, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἀχαμὼθ, ἥτις ἐστὶ θήλεια, καὶ ταῦτα ἑαυτῇ ἐποίησε· κατάγω [*l.* κατάγει] δὲ τὸ γένος ἐκ τοῦ προόντος, καὶ πορεύομαι πάλιν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ὅθεν ἐλήλυθα. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντα . . . διαφεύγειν τὰς ἐξουσίας . . . Ἔρχεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δημιουργὸν, καὶ λέγειν . . . Σκεῦός εἰμι ἔντιμον, μᾶλλον παρὰ τὴν θήλειαν τὴν ποιήσασαν ὑμᾶς. Εἰ ἡ μητὴρ ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ῥίζαν, ἐγὼ οἶδα ἐμαυτὸν, καὶ γινώσκω ὅθεν εἰμὶ, καὶ ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὴν ἄφθαρτον Σοφίαν, ἥτις ἐστιν

LIB. I. xiv. 4. GR. I. xviii. 3. MASS. I. xxi. 5.

Epiphan. Hær. xxxvi.

unguentum cum aqua, et cum supradictis invocationibus, ut incomprehensibiles et invisibiles principibus et potestatibus fiant, et ut superascendat super invisibilia interior ipsorum homo, quasi corpus quidem ipsorum in creatura mundi relinquatur, anima vero projiciatur Demiurgo. Et præcipiunt eis venientibus ad potestates hæc dicere, posteaquam mortui fuerint: *Ego filius a Patre,* [1]*Patre qui ante fuit, filius autem in eo qui ante fuit. Veni autem videre omnia quæ sunt mea et aliena; non autem aliena in totum, sed sunt Achamoth, quæ est fœmina, et hæc sibi fecit: deducit enim genus ex eo qui ante fuit, et eo rursus in mea unde veni.* Et hæc dicentem evadere et effugere potestates dicunt. Venire quoque ad eos qui sunt circa Demiurgum, et dicere eis: *Vas ego sum pretiosum, magis quam fœmina quæ fecit vos. Si mater vestra ignorat radicem suam, ego autem novi meipsum, et scio unde sim, et invoco incorruptibilem Sophiam, quæ est in Patre, mater autem est matris vestræ,*

τὰ ὑπὸ Εἰρηναίου. But under the thirty-sixth heresy, of the Heracleonites, we find a few more fragments. At first he paraphrases, and so much of the paraphrase is here set down as serves to reflect light upon the translation, afterwards he copies more closely, and his words then form the text. He writes thus: Τοὺς τελευτῶντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξοδον φθάνοντας. . . . λυτροῦνται. . . . ποτὲ γάρ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαιον ὕδατι μίξαντες, ἐπιβάλλουσι τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἐξελθόντος. Οἱ δὲ μύρον τὸ λεγόμενον ὀποβάλσαμον, καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν κοινὴν ἔχοντες . . . . ἵνα δῆθεν . . . . ἀκράτητοι γένωνται καὶ ἀόρατοι ταῖς ἄνω ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, εἰς τὸ ὑπερβῆναι ἀοράτως τὸν ἔσω αὐτῶν ἄνθρωπον . . . . ὡς τῶν σωμάτων τούτων ἐν τῇ κτίσει καταλιμπανομένων· τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς αὐτῶν παρισταμένης τῷ Δημιουργῷ . . . . ἐγκελεύονται δὲ . . . . ὅτι . . . . ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἔχε ἐν μνήμῃ τάδε εἰπεῖν μετὰ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν τελευτήν· ἐγὼ υἱός, *supra.*

[1] The MSS. read *Patris*, cf. πατρός.

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ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, μήτηρ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ὑμῶν τῆς μὴ ἐχούσης μητέρα [Πατέρα], ἀλλ' οὔτε σύζυγον ἄῤῥενα· θήλεια δὲ ὑπὸ θηλείας γενομένη ἐποίησεν ὑμᾶς, ἀγνοοῦσα καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, καὶ δοκοῦσα ἑαυτὴν εἶναι μόνην· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπικαλοῦμαι αὐτῆς τὴν μητέρα. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δημιουργὸν ἀκούσαντας σφόδρα ταραχθῆναι, καὶ καταγνῶναι αὐτῶν τῆς ῥίζης, καὶ τοῦ γένους τῆς μητρός· [1]αὐτὸν δὲ πορευθῆναι [2]εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ῥίψαντα τὸν δεσμὸν αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τὴν ψυχήν. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ταῦτά ἐστιν ὅσα εἰς ἡμᾶς συνελήλυθαμεν [*l.* συνελήλυθε μέν]. M. 98. G. 93.

quæ non habet patrem, neque conjugem [3]*masculum; fœmina autem a fœmina nata effecit vos, ignorans et matrem suam, et putans seipsam esse solam: ego autem invoco ejus matrem.* Hæc autem eos qui circa Demiurgum sunt audientes, valde conturbari, et reprehendere suam radicem, et genus matris: ipsos autem abire in sua, projicientes nodos ipsorum, id est animam. Et de redemptione quidem ipsorum hæc sunt quæ quidem in nos venerunt. Cum autem discrepent ab invicem et doctrina, et traditione, et qui recentiores eorum agnoscuntur, affectant per singulos dies novum aliquid adinvenire, et fructificare quod nunquam quisquam excogitavit, durum est omnium describere sententias.

CAP. XV.

Quod est propositum omnibus hæreticis, et quo tendant.

Cum teneamus autem nos [4]regulam veritatis, id est, quia sit [5]unus Deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per Verbum suum, et aptavit, et fecit ex eo, quod non erat, ad hoc ut sint omnia, quemadmodum Scriptura dicit: *Verbo enim Domini cœli firmati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum.* Et iterum: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* (6Ex omnibus autem nihil subtractum est; sed omnia

Ps. xxxii. 6.

Joh. i. 3. Vide not. ad Lib. ii. cap. 2

[1] Since we read above in the Greek εἰπόντα, and in the Latin *dicentem*, the Latin version *ipsos .... projicientes* must be faulty.

[2] i. e. εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα, to take his place as among the angelic συζυγίαι of the Pleroma. Cf. p. 59, n. 1.

[3] MASS. stops here and reads *masculo-fœmina*, but is supported neither by the Greek nor by the Latin MSS.

[4] See p. 87, n. 6.

[5] IRENÆUS preserves the Oriental formula of Belief in *one* God, the form, that is, in which himself was baptized.

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per ipsum fecit Pater, sive visibilia, sive invisibilia, sive sensibilia, sive intelligibilia, sive temporalia propter quandam dispositionem, sive [sempiterna, [1]et ea omnia,] [*l.* æonia]) non per angelos, neque per virtutes aliquas abscissas ab ejus [2]sententia: nihil enim indiget omnium Deus; sed per Verbum et Spiritum suum omnia faciens, et disponens, et gubernans, et omnibus esse præstans: hic qui mundum fecit, etenim mundus ex omnibus: hic qui hominem plasmavit, hic [3]qui Deus Abraham, [*adj.* et] Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, super quem alius Deus non est, neque [4]initium, neque virtus, neque [5]Pleroma: hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quemadmodum ostendemus: hanc ergo tenentes regulam, licet valde varia et multa dicant, facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus. Omnes enim fere quotquot sunt hæreses, Deum quidem unum dicunt, sed per sententiam malam immutant, ingrati existentes ei, qui fecit eos, quemadmodum et gentes per idololatriam. [6]Plasma autem Dei contemnunt, contradicentes suæ saluti, ipsi sui accusatores amarissimi, et falsi testes existentes. Qui quidem resurgent in carne, licet nolint, uti agnoscant virtutem suscitantis eos a mortuis: cum justis autem non annumerabuntur, propter incredulitatem suam. Cum sit igitur adversus omnes hæreticos detectio atque convictio varia et multifaria, et nobis propositum est omnibus iis secundum ipsorum characterem contradicere; necessarium arbitrati sumus prius referre fontem et radicem eorum, uti sublimissimum ipsorum Bythum cognoscens, intelligas arborem, de qua defluxerunt tales fructus.

[6] *ex omnibus.* The Demiurge was in no sense the originating cause of the superior Æons, he was even ignorant of their existence; but God the Father is Creator of all things, material and spiritual, visible and invisible, of things in earth and things in heaven.

[1] The MSS. read *et æonia*, rendering superfluous *sempiterna*. I am inclined therefore to read ... *dispositionem, sive æonia, non per Angelos*, &c. It cannot be said that things eternal were created, but spiritual substance was. The sense also flows better without *et ea omnia*.

[2] *Sententia, ἐννοίας.* JUNIUS prefers to read *essentia* in the Latin; this word however is not used elsewhere by the translator. The κοσμοποιοὶ ἄγγελοι were not of the Pleroma, and for this reason may be said to have been separate from Νοῦς or Ἔννοια.

[3] *qui* may be cancelled as ignored by MSS.; it rose perhaps out of οὗτος ὁ $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$. *et* is added from the CLERMONT and Voss MSS.

[4] i. e. ἀρχή, see p. 96, note 5.

[5] But the whole Pleroma was above the Valentinian Demiurge.

[6] *Plasma*, the work of God, their own body; the resurrection of which they denied; see also V. end of V. and beginning of VI.

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LIB. I. xvi. 1.
GR. I. xx. 1.
MASS. I. xxiii. 1.

CAP. XVI.

Quæ est Simonis Samaritæ magi doctrina.

a. 1. Simon enim Samarites, magus ille, de quo discipulus et sectator Apostolorum Lucas ait: *Vir quidam autem nomine Simon, qui ante erat in civitate,* [1]*magicam evercens* [*artem*], *et seducens gentem Samaritanorum, dicens se esse aliquem magnum, quem auscultabant a pusillo usque ad magnum, dicentes: Hic est virtus Dei, quæ vocatur magna. Intuebantur autem eum, propter quod multo tempore magicis suis dementasset eos.* Hic igitur Simon, qui fidem simulavit, putans Apostolos et ipsos sanitates per magicam, et non virtute Dei perficere, et per impositionem manuum Spiritu sancto adimplere credentes Deo per eum, qui ab ipsis evangelizatur Christus Jesus, per majorem quandam magicam scientiam et hoc suspicans fieri, et offerens pecunias Apostolis, ut acciperet et ipse hanc potestatem quibuscunque velit dandi Spiritum sanctum, audivit a Petro: *Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem, quoniam donum Dei existimasti pecunia possideri: non est tibi pars, neque sors in sermone hoc: cor enim tuum non est rectum coram Deo. In felle enim amaritudinis, et obligatione injustitiæ video te esse.* Et cum adhuc [2]magis non credidisset Deo, et cupidus intendit contendere adversus Apostolos, uti et ipse gloriosus videretur esse, et universam magicam

G. 94. M. 99.

Act. viii. 9, 10, 11.

Loco citato vers. 20, 21, 23.

a. [3]Δοκεῖ οὖν καὶ τὰ Σίμωνος τοῦ Γειττηνοῦ, κώμης τῆς Σαμαρείας, νῦν ἐκθέσθαι, παρ' οὗ καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθους δείξομεν ἀφορμὰς λαβόντας, ἑτέροις ὀνόμασιν ὅμοια τετολμηκέναι. Οὗτος ὁ Σίμων μαγείας ἔμπειρος ὤν, καὶ τὰ μὲν παίξας πολλοὺς.....τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ δαιμόνων κακουργήσας, θεοποιῆσαι ἑαυτὸν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἄνθρωπος γόης καὶ μεστὸς ἀπονοίας, οὗ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἤλεγξαν.—Hipp. *Philos.* vi. 7.

[1] The Clermont MS. has simply *magiam exercens*, N. T. μαγεύων. The Voss MS. however has *artem*.

[2] The Benedictine restores *magis*, which Grabe had altered to *magus*, chiefly on the authority of the Voss MS. but the Clermont MS. has the adverb, and ἔτι μᾶλλον οὐκ ἐπιστεύσεν reads more like the Greek, though Stieren says, *quæ lectio cur magis probanda sit non liquet.*

[3] The account given of Simon Magus by Hippolytus in the sixth book of the *Philosophumena*, being more or less taken from the lost text of Irenæus, such portions of it as agree with the translation are restored as text; other extracts are added as a secondary text at the foot of the translation, with such marginal marks as may enable the reader to compare more easily the words of Hippolytus with the translation. He also says that statues of Simon, as Jove, were worshipped by his followers.

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adhuc amplius inscrutans, ita ut in stuporem cogeret multos hominum: quippe cum esset sub Claudio Cæsare, a quo etiam [1]statua honoratus esse dicitur propter magicam. Hic igitur a multis quasi Deus glorificatus est, et docuit semetipsum esse qui inter [2]Judæos quidem quasi Filius apparuerit, in Samaria autem quasi Pater descenderit, in reliquis vero gentibus quasi Spiritus sanctus adventaverit. Esse autem se sublimissimam virtutem, hoc est eum qui sit super omnia Pater, et sustinere vocari se quodcunque eum vocant homines.

LIB. I. xvi. 1. GR. I. xx. 1 MASS. I. xxiii. 1.

b.

c.

II. ix.

b.

2. Simon autem Samaritanus, ex quo universæ hæreses substiterunt, habet hujusmodi sectæ materiam. Hic Helenam quandam, [3]quam ipse a Tyro civitate Phœnices quæstuariam cum redemisset, secum circumducebat, dicens [4]hanc esse primam mentis ejus conceptionem, matrem omnium, per quam in initio mente concepit angelos facere et archangelos. Hanc enim Ennoiam exsilientem ex eo, cognoscentem quæ vult pater ejus,

d.

G. 95.

d.

b. Ἑαυτὸν δὲ λέγων τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντα δύναμιν εἶναι.....ὡς καὶ ἄνθρωπον φαίνεσθαι αὐτὸν, μὴ ὄντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ παθεῖν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ [καὶ] δεδοκηκέναι, μὴ πεπονθότα, ἀλλὰ φανέντα Ἰουδαίοις μὲν ὡς Υἱὸν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ ὡς Πατέρα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν ὡς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Ὑπομένειν δὲ αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι οἵῳ ἂν ὀνόματι καλεῖν βούλωνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι...—HIPP. *Philos.* VI. 19.

c. Ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ ἑαυτοῦ προαγαγὼν ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπίνοιαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ φανεῖσα ἐπίνοια οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν, ἐνέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ, τουτέστι τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ ἔστιν ἀρσενόθηλυς δύναμις καὶ ἐπίνοια, ὅθεν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιστοιχοῦσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέρει δύναμις ἐπινοίας, ἓν ὄντες.—C. 18.

d. Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Τρωϊκὸς πόλεμος δι' αὐτὴν γεγένηται. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ

[1] The heretic is here confounded perhaps with the Sabine deity, Semo Sancus. See BP KAYE'S *Just. M.* vii. But compare BURTON, *Bamp. L.* note 42. IRENÆUS follows the account of JUSTIN M. Ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος...Θεὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται, ὃς ἀνδριὰς ἀνεγήγερται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφύρων, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ταύτην, SIMONI. DEO. SANCTO. *Ap.* i. 26.

[2] In some particulars this sentence is preserved more accurately by THEODORET than by HIPPOLYTUS. Καὶ Ἰουδαίοις μὲν ὡς υἱὸν φανῆναι, πρὸς δὲ Σαμαρείτας ὡς πατέρα κατεληλυθέναι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπιφοιτῆσαι. THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. 1.

[3] MASSUET cancels *quam*, but he is in error as regards the CLERM. MS.

[4] THEODORET again preserves a sentence, with slight variation. Ἑλένην τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ [τοῦ νοῦ] ἔννοιαν ἔφασκεν εἶναι, καὶ μητέρα τῶν ὅλων ὠνόμαζε, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλους πεποιηκέναι. *H. F.* I. v.

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LIB. I. xvi. 2. GR. I. xx. 1. MASS. I. xxiii. 2.

degredi ad inferiora, et generare angelos et potestates, a *e.* quibus et mundum hunc factum dixit. Posteaquam autem generavit eos, hæc detenta est ab ipsis propter invidiam, quoniam nollent progenies alterius cujusdam putari esse. Ipsum enim se in totum ignoratum ab ipsis: Ennoian autem ejus detentam ab iis, quæ ab ea emissæ essent potestates, et angeli; et omnem contumeliam ab iis passam, uti non recurreret sursum ad suum patrem, usque adeo ut et in corpore humano includeretur, et per sæcula veluti de vase in vas transmigraret in altera muliebria corpora. Fuisse autem eam et in *d.* illa Helena, propter quam Trojanum contractum est bellum;

Οὕτως γοῦν τὸν [1]Στησίχορον διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν λοιδορήσαντα αὐτὴν, τὰς ὄψεις τυφλωθῆναι· αὖθις δὲ, μεταμεληθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γράψαντος τὰς παλινῳδίας ἐν αἷς ὕμνησεν αὐτὴν, ἀναβλέψαι. Μετενσωματουμένην... Hippol. Philos. vi. 19.

quapropter et Stesichorum per carmina maledicentem eam, orbatum oculis: post deinde pœnitentem et scribentem eas, quæ vocantur palinodias, in quibus hymnizavit eam, rursus vidisse. Transmigrantem autem eam de corpore in corpus, ex eo et semper contumeliam sustinentem, [2]in novissimis etiam in fornice prostitisse: et hanc esse perditam ovem. [3]Quapropter *d.*

κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ γενομένῃ Ἑλένῃ, ἐνῴκησεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ ἐπίνοια, καὶ οὕτως πασῶν ἐπιδικαζομένων αὐτῆς τῶν ἐξουσιῶν, στάσις καὶ πόλεμος ἐπανέστη, ἐν οἷς ἐφάνη ἔθνεσιν.....[2]Ὕστερον ἐπί τε τοὺς [τούτοις] ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς Φοινίκης πόλει στῆναι, ἣν κατελθὼν, εὗρεν. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν ταύτης πρώτην ζήτησιν ἔφη παραγεγονέναι, ὅπως ῥύσηται αὐτὴν τῶν δεσμῶν, ἣν λυτρωσάμενος ἅμα ἑαυτῷ περιῆγε, φάσκων τοῦτο εἶναι ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον.—c. 19.

e. ...ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν κάτω ἐξουσιῶν, οἱ καὶ τὸν κόσμον, φησὶν, ἐποίησαν...—c. 19. Vid. TERTULL. *de An.* c. 34.

[1] Stesichorus was a Sicilian poet; struck blind for the assigned offence by Castor and Pollux, and subsequently restored to sight.

[2] *Ὕστερον ἐπὶ τούτοις* expresses though imperfectly the Latin translation *in novissimis etiam*. HIPPOLYTUS preserves many of his teacher's sentences in this section, but they are scattered in much confusion; no great ingenuity however is required to re-arrange the *disjecta membra*.

[3] In THEODORET again: Ὥστε καὶ αὐτὴν τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἐλευθερῶσαι δεσμῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγνώσεως παρασχεῖν σωτηρίαν. THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. 1.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 19.

οὕτως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σωτηρίαν παρέσχε διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιγνώσεως. Κακῶς γὰρ διοικούντων τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν κόσμον, διὰ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν αὐτοὺς, εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἐληλυθέναι αὐτὸν ἔφη μεταμορφούμενον καὶ ἐξομοιούμενον ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ὡς καὶ ἄνθρωπον φαίνεσθαι αὐτὸν, μὴ ὄντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ παθεῖν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ δεδοκηκέναι [1]καὶ μὴ πεπονθότα . . .

LIB. I. xvi. 2. GR. I. xx. MASS. I. xxiii. 3.

Τοὺς δὲ προφήτας ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων ἐμπνευσθέντας εἰρηκέναι τὰς προφητείας. Διὸ μὴ φροντίζειν αὐτῶν τοὺς εἰς τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην πεπιστευκότας, [ἕως νῦν πράσσειν τὰ σὰ] [*l.* τοὺς συμπράσσοντας ἃ] βούλονται ὡς [2]ἐλευθέρους· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν αὐτοῦ [3]χάριν σώζεσθαι αὐτοὺς φάσκουσι· μηδὲν γὰρ εἶναι αἴτιον δίκης εἰ πράξει τις κακῶς,

et ipsum venisse, uti eam assumeret primam et liberaret eam a vinculis, hominibus autem salutem præstaret per suam agnitionem. Cum enim male moderarentur Angeli mundum, quoniam unusquisque eorum concupisceret principatum, ad emendationem venisse rerum, et descendisse eum transfiguratum, et assimilatum Virtutibus, et Potestatibus, et Angelis, ut et in hominibus homo appareret ipse, cum non esset homo; et passum autem in Judæa putatum, cum non esset passus. Prophetas autem a mundi fabricatoribus Angelis inspiratos dixisse prophetias: quapropter nec ulterius curarent eos hi qui in eum et in Helenam ejus spem habeant, et ut liberos agere quæ velint:
M. 100. secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas. Nec enim esse naturaliter operationes

[1] Bunsen and Dr Scott, *Theol. Critic.* Vol. II. p. 531, discard the particle καὶ, standing as it does in Miller's text before δεδοκηκέναι. They overlooked the fact, however, that Hippolytus was quoting his master's words, the translation of which enables us to restore the particle to its proper place.

[2] Theodoret slightly departs from the text of Hippolytus, as well as from the Latin version. Ἀλλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους, ἅπερ ἂν ἐθελήσωσιν· οὐ γὰρ διὰ πράξεων ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ χάριτος τεύξεσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας. *loc. cit.*

[3] The antinomian principles of Gnosticism form by no means its least conspicuous character, cf. I. § 12 and XXIV. Hippolytus describes the profligacy of the followers of Simon as being in keeping with their tenets. Οἱ δὲ αὖθις μιμηταὶ τοῦ πλάνου καὶ Σίμωνος μάγου γινόμενοι, τὰ ὅμοια δρῶσιν, ἀλογίστως φάσκοντες δεῖν μίγνυσθαι, λέγοντες, πᾶσα γῆ γῆ, καὶ οὐ διαφέρει ποῦ τις σπείρει, πλὴν ἵνα σπείρῃ, ἀλλὰ μακαρίζουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μίξει, ταυτὴν εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην . . . *Philos.* VI. 191. Then follow the words quoted at p. 123, note 2.

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οὐ γάρ ἐστι φύσει κακὸς, ἀλλὰ θέσει. Ἔθεντο γάρ φησιν οἱ ἀγγέλοι οἱ τὸν κόσμον ποιήσαντες ὅσα ἐβούλοντο, διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων δουλοῦν νομίζοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀκούοντας. Φύσιν δὲ [*l.* Λυθῆναι δὲ] αὖθις λέγουσι τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ λυτρώσει τῶν ἰδίων ἀνθρώπων. Hipp. Philos. vi. 19.

3. Οἱ οὖν τούτου μαθηταὶ [*l.* μαθητὰς] μαγείαις ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ ἐπαοιδαῖς· [1] φίλτρα τε καὶ ἀγώγιμα καὶ τοὺς λεγόμενους ὀνειροπόμπους δαίμονας ἐπιπέμπουσι πρὸς τὸ ταράσσειν οὓς βούλονται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ [2] παρέδρους τοὺς λεγομένους ἀσκοῦσιν. [Παρέδρους καὶ ὀνειροπόμπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ [3] περίεργα ὅσα ἐμμελῶς ἀσκοῦσιν.] Εἰκόνα τε τοῦ Σίμωνος ἔχουσιν εἰς Διὸς Ibid. c. 20.

justas, sed ex accidenti; quemadmodum posuerunt qui mundum fecerunt Angeli, per hujusmodi præcepta in servitutem deducentes homines. Quapropter et solvi mundum, et liberari eos qui sunt ejus ab imperio eorum qui mundum fecerunt, repromisit.

3. Igitur horum mystici sacerdotes libidinose quidem vivunt, magias autem perficiunt, quemadmodum potest unusquisque ipsorum. Exorcismis et incantationibus utuntur. Amatoria quoque et agogima, et qui dicuntur paredri et oniropompi, et quæcunque sunt alia [3]perierga apud eos studiose exercentur. Imaginem quoque Simonis habent factam ad figuram Jovis, et Helenæ in figuram Minervæ; et has adorant: habent quoque et vocabulum

[1] THEODORET gives the synonym ἐρωτικὰ, but φίλτρα is the word in HIPPOLYTUS, and also in the previous passage, p. 121. This charge was commonly urged against every sect of Simon's followers. So in the case of Carpocrates, c. XX. ἀγώγιμα, p. 121, is rendered *adlectantia;* cf.

Desiderîque temperare pocula.

HOR. *Ep.* XVII. 80.

[2] *Paredri* were such familiar spirits as the dæmon of Socrates. So TERTULLIAN: *Scimus etiam magos elicere explorandis occultis per catabolicos et paredros et pythonicos spiritus. De An.* 28, and they are indicated elsewhere. *Porro si et magi phantasmata edunt, et jam defunctorum inclamant animas; si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt; si multa miracula circulatoriis præstigiis ludunt; si et somnia immittunt habentes semel invitatorum angelorum et dæmonum assistentem sibi potentiam,* &c. *Apol.* 23. The allusion here to the πάρεδρος of Simon as mentioned in the *Recogn. Clem.* is evident, *Pueri incorrupti et violenter necati animam juramentis ineffabilibus evocatam adsistere mihi feci, et per ipsam fit omne quod jubeo.* II. § 13. RUFFINUS also speaks of Simon's familiar spirit: *Utens adminiculo assistentis sibi et adhærentis demoniacæ virtutis quam πάρεδρον vocant. H.* II. 13.

[3] περίεργα, cf. Acts xix. 20. Latin *curiosa* as in HOR.

An, quæ movere cereas imagines,
Ut ipse nôsti curiosus, et polo
Deripere Lunam vocibus possim meis.

Epod. XIII. 77.

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 20. μορφὴν, καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης ἐν μορφῇ Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ ταύτας προσκυνοῦσι, τὸν μὲν καλοῦντες κύριον, τὴν δὲ κυρίαν.

LIB. I. xvii. GR. I. xxi. MASS. I. xxiii. 4.

a principe impiissimæ sententiæ Simone, vocati Simoniani, a quibus falsi nominis scientia accepit initia, sicut ex ipsis assertionibus eorum adest discere[1].

CAP. XVII.

Quæ est Menandri sententia, et quæ operationes ipsorum.

G. 96. Hujus [2]successor fuit Menander, Samarites genere, qui et ipse ad summum magiæ pervenit. Qui primam quidem virtutem incognitam ait omnibus; se autem eum esse, qui missus sit ab invisibilibus [3]Salvatorem pro salute hominum. Mundum autem factum ab Angelis; quos et ipse similiter ut Simon, ab [4]Ennoia emissos dicit. Dare quoque per eam, quæ a se doceatur, [5]magicam scientiam addidit, ut et ipsos qui mundum fecerunt, vincat Angelos. [6]Resurrectionem enim per id quod est in eum baptisma accipere ejus discipulos, et ultra non posse mori, sed perseverare non senescentes et immortales.

[1] HIPPOLYTUS records the end of this *Hero du Roman des Héresies*, as BEAUSOBRE calls Simon, which differs from all other accounts, and since it is not at all an improbable one, it is here transcribed. Καὶ δὴ λοιπὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἐλέγχεσθαι γινόμενος, διὰ [διὰ] τὸ ἐγχρονίζειν ἔφη, ὅτι εἰ χωσθείη ζῶν, ἀναστήσεται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Καὶ δὴ τάφρον κελεύσας ὀρυγῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐκέλευσε χωσθῆναι. Οἱ μὲν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίησαν, ὁ δὲ ἀπέμεινεν ἕως νῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Χριστός. *Philos.* VI. 20. Through some mismanagement the juggler's race was run.

[2] *Successor.* Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος. EUSEB. III. 26. The historian takes the following account from IRENÆUS: ἦν καὶ οὗτος Σαμαρεὺς, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ τῆς γοητείας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθὼν, μείζοσιν ἐπιδαψιλεύεται τερατολογίαις. Ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἄρα εἴη λέγων ὁ σωτὴρ, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐξ ἀοράτων αἰώνων ἀπεσταλμένος σωτηρίᾳ. Διδάσκων δὲ μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαί τινα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων περιγενέσθαι, μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδιδομένης μαγικῆς ἐμπειρίας διδαχθέντα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταδιδομένου πρὸς αὐτοῦ βαπτίσματος· οὗ τοὺς κατηξιωμένους ἀθανασίαν ἀΐδιον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μεθέξειν τῷ βίῳ, μηκέτι θνήσκοντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ παραμένοντας, εἰς τὸ ἀεὶ ἀγήρως τινὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐσομένους. He then adds further particulars from JUST. M.

[3] EUSEBIUS supplies *æonibus*.

[4] Ἀγγέλους τῷ Σίμωνι παραπλησίως ὑπὸ τῆς ἐννοίας ἔφησε προβληθῆναι· καὶ τούτους τὸν κόσμον δημιουργῆσαι. THEODORET, *Hær. Fab.* I. 2.

[5] The CLERM. and VOSS. MSS. have *magia* possibly for *magiæ*, μαγείας having been in the Greek. MASSUET converts *addidit* into *ad id*.

[6] *Hæretici magi Menandri Samaritani furor conspuatur, dicentis mortem ad suos non modo non pertinere, verum*

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LIB. I. xviii.
GR. I. xxii.
MASS. I.
xxiv. 1.

CAP. XVIII.

Relatio ejus quæ est secundum Saturninum doctrina.

Ex iis [1]Saturninus, qui fuit [2]ab Antiochia ea quæ est apud Daphnen, et Basilides, occasiones accipientes, distantes doctrinas ostenderunt; alter quidem in Syria, alter vero in [3]Alexandria. Saturninus quidem similiter ut Menander, unum Patrem incognitum omnibus ostendit, qui fecit Angelos, Arch-

Τοῦτον ποιήσαντα ἀγγέλους, ἀρχαγγέλους, δυνάμεις, ἐξουσίας. Ἀπὸ δὲ [4]ἑπτά τινων ἀγγέλων τὸν κόσμον γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἀγγέλων εἶναι ποίημα, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐθεντίας φωνῆς [*l.* φαεινῆς] εἰκόνος ἐπιφανείσης, ἣν κατασχεῖν μὴ δυνηθέντες διὰ τὸ παραχρῆμά φησιν ἀναδραμεῖν ἄνωθεν, ἐκέλευσαν ἑαυτοῖς Hipp. Philos. vii. 28.

angelos, Virtutes, Potestates. A septem autem quibusdam Angelis mundum factum, et omnia quæ in eo. Hominem autem Angelorum esse facturam, desursum a summa potestate lucida imagine apparente, quam [5]cum tenere non potuissent, inquit, eo quod statim recurrerit sursum, adhortati sunt semet-

nec pervenire: in hoc scilicet se a superna et arcana potestate legatum, ut immortales, et incorruptibiles, et statim resurrectionis compotes fiant, qui baptisma ejus induerint. TERT. *de An.* 50.

[1] The name of this heretic is often written by Greek authors Σατορνῖλος or Σατορνεῖλος.

HIPPOLYTUS again supplies a valuable passage, which he introduces as follows: Σατορνεῖλος δέ τις συνακμάσας τῷ Βασιλείδῃ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, διατρίψας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, ἐδογμάτισε τοιαῦτα ὁποῖα καὶ Μένανδρος. Λέγει δὲ ἕνα πατέρα ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχειν, τοῦτον κ.τ.λ. VII. 28.

[2] EUSEBIUS writes with the words of IRENÆUS before him, Σατορνῖνόν τε Ἀντιοχέα κατὰ γένος, καὶ Βασιλείδην Ἀλεξανδρέα, ὧν, ὁ μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν, ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον συνεστήσαντο θεομισῶν αἱρέσεων διδασκαλεῖα. EUS. *H. E.* IV. 7. EPIPHANIUS calls Saturninus and Basilides συσχολασταί. *Hær.* 23. See also THEODORET, *Hær. Fab.* I. 3, whose words, now that we are in possession of the true text, need not be repeated.

[3] HIPPOLYTUS speaks of Basilides as σκολάσας κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. *Philos.* VII. 27.

[4] A notion derived through Menander from Simon, xvi. xvii. It is noticed more at large II. ii. iii. xi. xii.

[5] There is better authority for the Benedictine reading here followed, than for GRABE'S *cum continere*, independently of the evidence of the Greek text; the VOSS. MS. has the present reading, and singularly enough the CLERMONT MS. shews *continere* erased, and replaced in the same hand with *cum tenere*.

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Hipp. Philos. vii. 28. λέγοντες· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· οὗ γενομένου, φησὶν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένου ἀνορθοῦσθαι τοῦ πλάσματος διὰ τὸ ἀδρανὲς τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀλλὰ ὡς [1]σκώληκος σκαρίζοντος, οἰκτείρασα αὐτὸν ἡ ἄνω δύναμις διὰ τὸ ἐν ὁμοιώματι αὐτῆς γεγονέναι, ἔπεμψε σπινθῆρα ζωῆς, ὃς διήγειρε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ζῆν ἐποίησε. Τοῦτον οὖν τὸν σπινθῆρα τῆς ζωῆς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνατρέχειν πρὸς τὰ ὁμόφυλα λέγει, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο, εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀναλύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Πατέρα [2][Σωτῆρα] ἀγέννητον ὑπέθετο, καὶ ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνείδεον, δοκήσει δὲ ἐπιπεφηνέναι ἄνθρωπον· καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θεὸν ἕνα τῶν ἀγγέλων εἶναί φησι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [l. τὸ] βούλεσθαι τὸν Πατέρα καταλῦσαι πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας, παραγενέσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πειθομένων αὐτῷ· εἶναι

LIB. I. xviii. GR. I. xxii. MASS. I. xxiv. 1.

ipsos, dicentes: *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et* [3]*similitudinem:* qui cum factus esset, et non potuisset erigi plasma propter imbecillitatem Angelorum, sed quasi vermiculus scarizaret, miserantem ejus desuper Virtutem, quoniam in similitudinem ejus esset factus, emisisse scintillam vitæ, quæ erexit hominem, G. 97. et articulavit, et vivere fecit. Hanc igitur scintillam vitæ post defunctionem recurrere ad ea quæ sunt ejusdem generis, dicit: et reliqua ex quibus facta sunt [4]in illa resolvi. Salvatorem autem innatum demonstravit, et incorporalem, et sine figura, M. 101. putative autem visum hominem. Et Judæorum Deum unum ex Angelis esse [5]ait: et propter hoc quod dissolvere voluerint Patrem ejus omnes principes, advenisse Christum ad destructionem Judæorum Dei, et ad salutem credentium ei; esse

Gen. i. 25.

[1] f. l. *σκωλήκιον*. Cf. p. 224, n. 1.

[2] THEODORET has *σωτῆρα* correctly, *H. Fab.* I. 3. *q. v.* NEANDER perhaps is right in assigning to *ἀγέννητον* its usual meaning, *not born of female*, rather than the Gnostic sense of the term. *Irenæus nennt nach Saturninus Lehre den Heiland ἀγέννητος, und versteht wohl nichts anderes darunter, als nicht vom Weibe geboren. Entwurf d. Gn. S.* p. 273. EPIPHANIUS also preserves here a few lines of the original text, but less accurately. *Hær.* XXIII. § 2.

[3] *Nostram* is added in some of the earlier editions, but contrary to the testimony of MSS. and of the Hippolytan text. MASSUET says here, *Vocem illam a Saturnino consulto prætermissam, ut errori fides adstrueretur; quasi alii essent operis artifices, imago vero et similitudo ad alium referretur. Unde mirum in Theodoreto ἡμετέραν additum legi.*

[4] I insert *in* on the faith of the CLERMONT MS. and of the Greek text.

[5] *ait* is found in the CLERM. MS. and agrees better with *φησί* than *dixit*.

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LIB. I. xviii. GR. I. xxii. MASS. I. xxiv. 2.

δὲ τούτους ἔχοντας τὸν σπινθῆρα τῆς ζωῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς. Δύο γὰρ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πεπλάσθαι ἔφη, τὸν μὲν πονηρὸν τὸν δὲ ἀγαθόν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ δαίμονες τοῖς πονηροῖς [1]ἐβοήθουν, ἐληλυθέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν φαύλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δαιμόνων, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. [2]Τὸ δὲ γαμεῖν καὶ γεννᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ φησὶν εἶναι. Οἱ πλείους τε τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ἐμψύχων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τῆς προσποιήτου ταύτης ἐγκρατείας. [3]Τὰς δὲ προφητείας, ἃς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων λελαλῆσθαι, ἃς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ἄγγελον ἀντιπράττοντα τοῖς κοσμικοῖς ὑπέθεντο, [l. κοσμοποίοις ὑπέθετο,] μάλιστα δὲ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Θεόν [INT. τῷ τ. Ἰ. Θεῷ]. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Σατορνεῖλος.

Hipp. Philos. vii. 28. G. 64.

Cf. p. 208.

autem hos, qui habent scintillam vitæ ejus. Duo enim genera hic primus hominum plasmata esse ab Angelis dixit, alterum quidem nequam, alterum autem bonum. Et quoniam dæmones pessimos adjuvabant, venisse Salvatorem ad dissolutionem malorum hominum et dæmonum, ad salutem autem bonorum. Nubere autem et generare a Satana dicunt esse. Multi autem ex iis, qui sunt ab eo, et ab animalibus abstinent, per fictam hujusmodi continentiam seducentes multos. Prophetias autem quasdam quidem ab iis Angelis, qui mundum fabricaverint dictas; quasdam autem a Satana: quem et ipsum Angelum adversarium mundi fabricatoribus ostendit, maxime autem Judæorum Deo.

CAP. XIX.

Quæ est Basilidis argumentatio.

1. BASILIDES autem, ut altius aliquid et verisimilius [4]invenisse videatur, [5]in immensum extendit sententiam doctrinæ suæ,

[1] *ἐβοήθουν* confirms GRABE's reading *adjuvabant*. The CLERM. and VOSS. MSS. have *adjuvant*.

[2] The Gnostic notion of the inherent malignity of matter led to the forbidding of marriage. Upon which subject the reader may consult CLEM. AL. *Strom.* III., TERTULLIAN *c. Marc.* I. V.

[3] THEODORET again quotes a few words of the text of IRENÆUS.

[4] *Adinvenisse*, GRABE's reading, is quite one of the translator's words; still the first syllable is not found in the CLERM. or VOSS. MSS., it is therefore rescinded. So also MASSUET, but without indicating his authority. For an account of Basilides see the *Prolegomena*.

[5] *in immensum*, as professing to give the names of the angels in each of his

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ostendens [1]Nun primo ab innato natum Patre, ab hoc autem natum Logon, deinde a Logo [2]Phronesin, a Phronesi autem Sophiam et Dynamin, a Dynami autem et Sophia virtutes, et principes, et Angelos, quos et primos vocat, et ab iis primum cœlum factum. Dehinc ab horum derivatione [3]alios autem factos, aliud cœlum simile priori fecisse, et simili modo ex eorum derivatione cum alii facti essent, [4][et] antitypi eis qui super eos essent, aliud tertium deformasse cœlum: et a tertio deorsum descendentium quartum, et deinceps secundum eum modum alteros et alteros principes et angelos factos esse dicunt, et cœlos CCCLXV. [5]Quapropter et tot dies habere annum secundum numerum cœlorum. LIB. I. xix. 1. GR. I. xxiii. MASS. I. xxiv. 3.

G. 90. 2. [6]Eos autem qui posterius [7]continent cœlum angelos, [8]quod etiam a nobis videtur, constituisse ea quæ sunt in mundo omnia,

365 heavens. So HIPPOLYTUS, κτίσεις γάρ εἰσι κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ διαστήματα, καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἄπειροι καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἐξουσίαι κ.τ.λ. *Philos.* VII. 26, and EUSEBIUS, *H. E.* IV. 7, προσχήματι δὲ ἀποῤῥητοτέρων τὸν Βασιλείδην εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον τεῖναι τὰς ἐπινοίας.

[1] *Basilides dicit summum Deum nomine Abraxam; a quo mentem creatam, quam Graeci νοῦν appellant. Inde Verbum, ex illo providentiam, virtutem, et sapientiam. Ex ipsis inde principatus, et potestates, et angelos factos. Deinde infinitas Angelorum editiones et probolas. Ab ipsis Angelis trecentos sexaginta quinque cœlos institutos: et mundum in honore Abraxæ, cujus nomen hunc in se habeat numerum computatum. Pr. Hær.* 46.

[2] Ἔφησε γὰρ τὸν ἀγέννητον νοῦν πρῶτον γεννῆσαι, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νοὸς προβεβλῆθαι τὸν λόγον, φρόνησιν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους. THEODOR. *Hær. F.* I. § 4. ἐκ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σοφίας ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, ἄγγελοι, ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν δυνάμεών τε καὶ ἀγγέλων γεγονέναι ἀνώτερον πρῶτον οὐρανόν. EPIPH. *Hær.* XXIV. 1. For φρόνησις Ps. TERT. has *Providentia*, in error possibly for *Prudentia*.

[3] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀποῤῥοίας ἄλλους γενομένους ἀγγέλους, ἄλλον οὐρανὸν ποιῆσαι, τῷ πρώτῳ προσόμοιον· εἶτα πάλιν, ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἀποῤῥοίας ἑτέρους φύντας, τεκτήνασθαι καὶ τούτους ἕτερον οὐρανόν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων πάλιν ἄλλον. THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* I. § 4.

[4] *et*, indicated in *tanti typi*, the reading of the ARUND. MS.

[5] Ἔνθα καὶ τριακοσίους ἑξήκοντα πέντε οὐρανοὺς φάσκουσι, καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸν Ἀβρασὰξ, διὰ τὸ περιέχειν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ψῆφον τξε, ὡς δὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος τὴν ψῆφον περιέχειν πάντα, καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις συνεστάναι. HIPP. *Phil.* VII. 26. On the testimony of the above passage, supported also by PSEUD. TERT. I imagine that the last sentence of this chapter *esse autem*, &c. had somehow fallen out of the text, and was restored *ad calcem*, its natural position being immediately after the Roman numerals.

[6] Τοὺς δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸν ἔσχατον, τὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὁρώμενον, οἰκοῦντας Ἀγγέλους δημιουργῆσαι τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῆς γῆς διανείμασθαι δεσποτείαν. THEODOR. *loc. cit.*

[7] For οἰκοῦντας, as we read in THEODORET, the translator must have had κρατοῦντας, with the genitive.

[8] *Qui*, CLERM., ARUND., VOSS. and MERC. II. MSS. The solecism, caused by following the Greek rather than the

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LIB. I. xix. 2. GR. I. xxiii. 1. MASS. I. xxiv. 4.

et partes sibi fecisse terræ, et earum quæ super eam sunt gentium. Esse autem principem ipsorum eum, qui Judæorum putatur esse Deus. [1]Et quoniam hic suis hominibus, id est Judæis, voluit subjicere reliquas gentes, reliquos omnes principes contra stetisse ei et contraegisse. Quapropter et reliquæ [2]resiluerunt gentes ejus genti. [3]Innatum autem et innominatum Patrem, videntem perditionem ipsorum, misisse primogenitum Nun suum, et hunc esse qui dicitur Christus, in libertatem credentium ei a potestate eorum qui mundum fabricaverunt. Et gentibus ipsorum autem [4]apparuisse eum in terra hominem, et virtutes perfecisse. [5]Quapropter neque passum eum, sed Simonem quendam Cyrenæum angariatum portasse crucem ejus pro eo: et hunc secundum ignorantiam et errorem crucifixum, transfiguratum ab eo, uti putaretur ipse esse Jesus: et ipsum autem Jesum Simonis accepisse formam, et stantem irrisisse eos. Quoniam enim Virtus incorporalis erat et Nus innati Patris, transfiguratum quemadmodum vellet, et sic ascendisse ad eum qui miserat eum, deridentem eos, cum teneri non posset, et invisibilis esset omnibus. [6]Et liberatos igitur eos qui hæc sciant a mundi fabricatoribus principibus: et non oportere confiteri eum qui sit crucifixus, sed eum qui in hominis forma venerit, et putatus sit crucifixus, et vocatus sit Jesus, et missus a Patre, uti per dispositionem hanc opera mundi fabricatorum dissolveret. Si quis igitur, ait, confitetur crucifixum, adhuc hic servus est, et sub potestate eorum qui corpora fecerunt: qui autem negaverit, liberatus est quidem ab iis, cognoscit autem dispositionem innati Patris.

Latin concord, is frequently observed in the translation.

[1] Βουληθέντι δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἅπαντα ὑποτάξαι τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας ἀντιπράξασθαι. THEOD. *Hær. F.* I. 4.

[2] *resiluerunt* is found in the CLERM., VOSS., and PASS. MSS., *restiterunt*, GRABE'S reading, has more the appearance of a marginal gloss. The Greek equivalent may have been ἐπανεπήδησαν.

[3] Τὸν δὲ ἀγέννητον ταῦτα θεώμενον, τὸν πρωτόγενον αὐτοῦ νοῦν ἀποστεῖλαι, ὃν καὶ Χριστὸν προσηγόρευσεν. THEOD. *l. c.*

[4] *Secundum speciem scilicet, sive phantasiam. Unde* EPIPHANIUS *Hæres.* 24, § 3, *ait:* Αὐτὸς περὶ Χριστοῦ, ὡς δοκήσει πεφηνότος, ὁμοίως δοξάζει. GRABE.

[5] Οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν φάσκων πεπονθέναι, ἀλλὰ Σίμωνα τὸν Κυρηναῖον—καὶ φησιν ἐκεῖνον, ἐν τῷ βαστάζειν τὸν σταυρὸν, μεταμεμορφωκέναι εἰς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ εἶδος, καὶ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν Σίμωνα———ἐκείνου δὲ σταυρωμένου, ἑστήκει κατάντικρυς ἀοράτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καταγελῶν τῶν τὸν Σίμωνα σταυρούντων. EPIPHAN. *l. c.*

[6] Χρῆναι δὲ πιστεύειν ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐσταυρῶσθαι δόξαντα· οὕτω γάρ φησι δυνατὸν τῆς τῶν κοσμοποιῶν δυναστείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. THEOD. *l. c.*

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M. 102. 3. Animæ autem eorum soli esse salutem; corpus enim natura corruptibile exsistit. [1]Prophetias autem et ipsas a mundi fabricatoribus fuisse ait principibus, proprie autem legem a principe ipsorum, [2]eum qui eduxerit populum de terra Ægypti. Contemnere autem [Th. *adj.* προσέταξε] et idolothyta et nihil arbitrari, sed sine aliqua trepidatione uti eis: habere autem et reliquarum operationum usum indifferentem, et universæ libidinis. Utuntur autem et hi magia, et imaginibus, et incantationibus, et invocationibus, et reliqua universa periergia: [3]nomina quoque quædam affingentes quasi Angelorum, annunciant hos quidem esse in primo cœlo, hos autem in secundo: et deinceps nituntur CCCLXV. ementitorum cœlorum et nomina, et principia, et angelos, et virtutes exponere. [4]Quemadmodum et

LIB. I. xix. 3. GR. I. xxiii. MASS. I. xxiv. 5.

[1] *Prophetias—Ægypti.* I consider that this sentence is out of its place. Its natural position is before *Et quoniam*, p. 200, l. 3; the order followed by PSEUD. TERT. *In ultimis quidem angelis, et qui hunc fecerunt mundum, novissimum ponit Judæorum Deum; (id est Deum legis et prophetarum), quem Deum negat sed angelum dicit. Huic sortito obtigisse semen Abrahæ, atque ideo hunc de terra Ægypti filios Israel in terram Canaan transtulisse. Hunc turbulentiorem*, &c. &c. *Præscr. Hær.* 46.

Τὰς δὲ προφητείας καὶ αὐτὸς [IREN. αὐτὰς] ὑπ' Ἀγγέλων ἔφησε γεγενῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ νόμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τεθῆναι τῶν Ἰουδαίων. THEOD. *l. c.*

[2] *eum.* There is a difficulty in this word. The authority of MSS. is in its favour, although MASSUET cancels it with a *sic emendandum putavi.* GRABE supplies (*principem autem*) *eum.* But there is no need for us either to remove the word or to add fresh matter to the text, for the Greek running as follows, κυρίως δὲ τὸν νόμον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν, τοῦτον ἐξαγαγόντος τὸν λαόν κ.τ.λ. *eum* would be construed with *populum.*

[3] Καὶ Ἀγγέλων δὲ ὀνόματα διαπλάσαντες, τοὺς μὲν τὸν πρῶτον ἔχειν ἔφασαν οὐρανὸν, τοὺς δὲ τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τοῦ πέμπτου καὶ ἑξηκοστοῦ καὶ τριακοσιοστοῦ. THEOD. *l. c.*

[4] *Quemadmodum—Caulacau*, or as the CL. MS. has, *Caulagau deum*, adding a marginal gloss; a few lines lower it is written *caulacaua.* This term was not invented by Basilides. NICETAS, *Thes. Orthod.* I. says that it was first adopted by Nicolas the deacon and the earliest Gnostics; *Ad Caulacam quod attinet honeste quidem ab Hebræis effertur; a Gnosticis vero ad turpitudinem detortum est.* EPIPHANIUS, *Hær.* XXV. 3, says that the Nicolaitans called ἄρχοντά τινα by this name; he also says, in speaking of the Ophite tenets, that the word is nothing else than the Hebrew קַוקָלָוֹ *line upon line*, Is. XXVIII. 10. GRABE considers that the name was not applied to the Saviour, but to the world, in this passage; NEANDER, to the world above, in which the Saviour dwelt; *Der Name Caulacau, den nach Irenæus die Welt führt, in der der Erlöser wohnt, aus der er hinab, und in die er hinaus stieg.* But in the next sentence IRENÆUS applies the name to the Saviour. HIPPOLYTUS has a remarkable passage in which the name is said to have been applied by the Naassenes [נחשׁי] or Ophites to the Saviour. He also confirms the statement of EPIPHANIUS with respect to the origin of the word; and σαυλασαῦ in the following passage is the term in the same verse צַו־לָצַו *precept on precept*, while ζεησάρ (EP. ζιηρσάμ) is identified easily with זְעֵיר־שָׁם *here a little.* The words

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LIB. I. xix. 3. GR. I. xxiii. MASS. I. xxiv. 6.

mundus [1]nomen esse, in quo dicunt descendisse et ascendisse Salvatorem, esse Caulacau. Igitur qui hæc didicerit, et Angelos omnes cognoverit, et causas eorum, invisibilem et incomprehensibilem eum angelis et potestatibus universis fieri, quemadmodum 6. 29.
et Caulacau fuisse. Et sicut filium incognitum omnibus esse, sic et ipsos a nemine oportere cognosci; sed cum sciant ipsi omnes, et per omnes transeant, ipsos omnibus invisibiles et incognitos esse. [2]Tu enim, aiunt, omnes cognosce, te autem nemo cognoscat. Quapropter et parati sunt ad negationem qui sunt tales, imo magis ne pati quidem propter nomen possunt, cum sint omnibus similes. Non autem multos scire posse hæc, sed [3]unum a mille, et duo a myriadibus. [4]Et Judæos quidem

of the Bishop of Portus are—*εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐλαλεῖτο φησὶ, τὰ μεγέθη, ὁ κόσμος συνεστάναι οὐκ ἠδύνατο. Οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τρεῖς ὑπέρογκοι λόγοι, καυλακαῦ, σαυλασαῦ, ζεησάρ. Καυλακαῦ, τοῦ ἀνωτάτου Ἀδάμαντος· σαυλασαῦ, τοῦ κάτω θνητοῦ· ζεησὰρ, τοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω ῥεύσαντος Ἰορδάνου. Οὗτός ἐστι, φησὶν, ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρσενόθηλυς ἄνθρωπος· κ.τ.λ.* Hippolyt. *Philos.* v. 8. These words are obscure, but not hopelessly so, for they are to a certain extent explained by the context. *Καυλακαῦ* is the archetypal heavenly *ἄνθρωπος*, *σαυλασαῦ* is, irrespective of sex, the corporeal and wholly fleshly human being; and *ζεησὰμ* is the spirit raised by Gnostic doctrine from earth to heaven, *οὗτος, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὁ μέγας Ἰορδάνης, ὃν, κάτω ῥέοντα καὶ κωλύοντα ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, (ἤγουν ἐκ τῆς κάτω μίξεως, Αἴγυπτος γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα κατ' αὐτοὺς), ἀνέστειλεν Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἐποίησεν ἄνω ῥέειν. Ibid.* 7. *Caulacau* the heavenly Adam was *Line upon line, ἅτε γενόμενος ὑπὸ δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν Phil.* v. 7, and the Hebrew meaning is more likely to be true than the LXX. *ἐλπὶς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι*. In the same way the earthy Adam was *Precept on precept*, as being wholly the creation of Demiurge, the *νομοθέτης*; or as the LXX. suggests, *θλῖψις ἐπὶ θλῖψιν, Sorrow on sorrow*. While the term *Here a little* is descriptive of true Gnostics, who were few and far between, *unum a mille et duo a myriadibus*. n. 2. *Caulacau* therefore is evidently *ὁ ἄνω ἄνθρωπος*, as Theodoret observes of the Basilidians, *τὸν δὲ Σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον Καυλακαῦαν ὀνομάζουσι. H. F.* I. 4.

[1] The Latin version, as it stands, is unintelligible, but the Greek words may supply the means of tracing out the sense. I consider that the present is one of those passages in which the translator worked from a damaged text. He evidently read, *ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὄνομα εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ, κ.τ.λ.*, for which I would substitute *ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἄκοσμον ὄνομα, ἐν ᾧ, κ. τ. λ.* The word *εἶναι* may easily have crept into the text by the side of *ἐν ᾧ*, and certainly the name *Καυλακαῦ* is sufficiently barbarous to merit the appellation of *ἄκοσμον*. The sense then would be; *They affect to set forth the names and angels, &c. of the several heavens, as also that the barbarous name in which the Saviour, as they say, descended and ascended, is Caulacau.*

[2] Epiphanius slightly varies the saying; *Ὑποτίθεται τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς λέγων· ὅτι ὑμεῖς πάντα* [*πάντας*, Iren.] *γινώσκετε, ὑμᾶς δὲ μηδεὶς γινωσκέτω. Hær.* xxiv. 5.

[3] *Ἑνὶ δὲ ἀπὸ χιλίων ἀποκαλύπτεω, καὶ δυσὶν ἀπὸ μυρίων.* Ep. *l. c.*

[4] *Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἑαυτοὺς μηκέτι εἶναι φάσκουσι, Χριστιανοὺς δὲ μηκέτι γεγενῆσθαι.* Ep. *l. c.*

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jam non esse dicunt, Christianos autem nondum: [1]et non oportere omnino ipsorum mysteria effari, sed in abscondito [2]continere [pertinere] per silentium. LIB. I. xix. 4. GR. I. xxiii. MASS. I. xxiv. 6.

4. [3]Trecentorum autem sexaginta quinque cœlorum locales positiones distribuunt similiter ut [4]Mathematici. Illorum enim theoremata accipientes, in suum characterem doctrinæ transtulerunt: esse autem [5]principem illorum [6]ἀβράξας, et propter hoc CCCLXV. numeros habere in se.

[1] Φάσκει δὲ μόνον περὶ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μυστηρίου μηδενὶ ἀποκαλύπτειν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. EP. *l. c.*

[2] The word *pertinere* is discarded in rather a summary way by MASSUET, although it is confessedly found in the ARUND. and MERC. II. MSS., but not in the *Cod.* CLAROM. I am inclined therefore to think that it is a corruption of the words *continere* [*in seipsis*] *per silentium*: the reading indicated by EPIPHANIUS in the preceding note.

[3] The subject of the numerous heavens is resumed, from which the author had insensibly digressed; the idea was borrowed from astrological science.

[4] *Mathematici*, in the popular use of the term. *Hi dicebantur in eo tempore* μαθηματικοί . . . . *quoniam Geometriam et Gnomonicam, Musicam, cæterasque item disciplinas altiores* μαθήματα *veteres Græci appellabant; vulgus autem, quos gentilicio vocabulo Chaldæos dicere oportet, Mathematicos dicit.* AUL. GELL. *N. A.* I. 9. The reader may compare HIPPOLYTUS, *Philosoph.* IV. 4—12.

[5] *Principem illorum*, of whom? As the passage now stands, *mathematicorum* must be the antecedent. If brought back to the position already indicated, note 4, p. 199, the words would carry the sense on in a natural manner.

[6] *Abraxas*, so written in Latin, but Ἀβρασάξ in Greek. No other explanation is required of this mystical term than that supplied by S. AUGUSTIN:—*Basilides tercentos sexaginta quinque cœlos esse dicebat, quo numero dierum annus includitur. Unde etiam quasi sanctum nomen commendaba', quod est* ἀβράξας: *cujus nominis literæ secundum Græcam supputationem eundem numerum complent. Sunt enim septem,* α, *et* β, *et* ρ, *et* α, *et* ξ, *et* α, *et* ς: *id est, unum, et duo, et centum, et unum, et sexaginta, et unum, et ducenta, quæ fiunt in summa, trecenta sexaginta quinque.* AUG. *de Hæres.* A curious coincidence in these mystical computations of particular words may be mentioned; although it can scarcely have been accidental. *Abraxas* sums 365, the number of days in the solar year; Μειθρὰς the Persian deity sums the same number; as does also Νεῖλος. The coincidence is the more remarkable because all three terms bear relation to the sun. Ἀβράξας is the solar year; Μειθρὰς, though not exactly the solar orb, was located in it in the Persian Theosophy, as the Μεσίτης, or *mean principle*, between the light of heaven and the opacity of matter; μέσον δὲ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι. PLUT. *Os. et Is.* 46. Osiris, again, in the Egyptian system, was said at one time to be descended from Helios, εἶναι δὲ τὸν Ὄσιριν ἐξ Ἡλίου, *ibid.* 12; at another to be the sun himself, Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ λέγοντες τὸν Ὄσιριν ἀντικρυς Ἥλιον εἶναι, *ibid* 52. But Nilus was identified with Osiris, οὕτω παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν Ὄσιριν, *ibid* 32. The three terms, therefore, Abraxas, Mithras and Nilus, symbolised the sun, and they severally summed the days of a solar year. The reader will observe, however, that, in all three cases, Greek notations and Greek orthography are involved.

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LIB. I. xx. 1.
GR. I. xxiv.
MASS. I. xxv. 1.

Κεφ. κ'.

Quæ est Carpocratis doctrina, et quæ operationes ipsorum, qui ab eo sunt, omnia [omnium].

1. [1]ΚΑΡΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ τὸν μὲν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων πολὺ ὑποβεβηκότων [2]τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι λέγει· τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ ὅμοιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγονότα, δικαιότερον τῶν λοιπῶν γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εὔτονον καὶ καθαρὰν γεγονυῖαν, διαμνημονεῦσαι τὰ ὁρατὰ μὲν [*forte l.* ὁρώμενα] αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Θεοῦ [3]περιφορᾷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' ἐκείνου αὐτῷ καταπεμφθῆναι δύναμιν, ὅπως τοὺς κοσμοποιοὺς ἐκφυγεῖν δι' αὐτῆς δυνηθῇ· ἣν καὶ διὰ πάντων χωρήσασαν ἐν πᾶσί τε ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν [ἀν]ελυθέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, [4]τὰ Hipp. Philos. vii. 32.

CAP. XX.

1. CARPOCRATES autem et qui ab eo, mundum quidem, et ea quæ in eo sunt, ab Angelis multo inferioribus ingenito Patre factum esse dicunt. Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et [5]qui similis reliquis hominibus fuerit, distasse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima ejus firma et munda cum esset, commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in ea circumlatione, quæ fuisset ingenito Deo: et propter hoc ab eo missam esse ei virtutem, uti mundi fabricatores effugere posset, et per omnes transgressa, et in omnibus liberata, ascenderet [6]ad eum, et eas, quæ similia ei M. 103.

[1] Again, we are indebted to HIPPOLYTUS for an important section. The translator read the words Καρποκράτης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, implying that he was the head of a distinct branch of Gnostics. The author of the *Libellus*, ascribed by some to HIPPOLYTUS, says, *Carpocrates præterea hanc tulit sectam: Unam esse dicit virtutem in superioribus principalem, ex hoc prolatos angelos atque virtutes, quos distantes longe a superioribus virtutum [virtutibus] mundum istum in inferioribus partibus condidisse: Christum non ex Virgine Maria natum, sed ex semine Joseph hominem tantummodo genitum, sane præ cæteris justitiæ cultu integritate meliorem. Hunc apud Judæos passum, solam animam ipsius in cælo receptam, eo quod et firmior, et robustior ex cæteris fuerit. Præscr. Hær.* 48.

[2] EPIPHANIUS, who does not at all times quote his author accurately, has ἀγνώστου.

[3] ἐν τῇ περιφορᾷ, within the sphere or circle. THEODORET, *H. F.* 2, 5. διαγωγῆς.

[4] The text of HIPPOLYTUS gives a good sense. Still the Latin seems to preserve the meaning of the author, for

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Hipp. Philos. vii. 32. ὅμοια αὐτῆς ἀσπαζομένην. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσι ψυχὴν ἐννόμως ἠσκημένην ἐν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ἔθεσι, καταφρονῆσαι αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεις ἐπιτετελεκέναι, [INT. ἐπιτετυχηκέναι,] δι' ὧν κατήργησε τὰ ἐπὶ κολάσει πάθη προσόντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Τὴν οὖν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ψυχῇ δυναμένην καταφρονῆσαι τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁμοίως [1]λαμβάνειν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι τὰ ὅμοια· διὸ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ τῦφος κατεληλύθασιν, [EPIPH. ἐληλακότες,] ὥστε αὐτοὺς [*l.* τοὺς] μὲν ὁμοίους αὐτῷ εἶναι λέγουσι τῷ Ἰησοῦ, τοὺς δὲ [2]καὶ ἔτι δυνατωτέρους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ διαφορωτέρους τῶν ἐκείνου μαθητῶν, οἷον Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων· τούτους

LIB. I. xx. 1. GR. I. xxiv. MASS. I. xxv. 1.

amplecterentur, similiter. Jesu autem dicunt animam in Judæ-
G. 100. orum consuetudine nutritam contempsisse eos, et propter hoc virtutes [3]accepisse, per quas evacuavit quæ fuerunt in pœnis [*l.* pœnas] passiones, quæ inerant hominibus. Ea [*l.* eam] igitur, quæ similiter atque illa Jesu anima, potest contemnere mundi fabricatores archontas, similiter accipere virtutes ad operandum similia. Quapropter et ad tantum elationis provecti sunt, ut quidam quidem similes [4]se esse dicant Jesu: quidam autem adhuc et secundum aliquid illo fortiores, qui sunt [*l.* quidam et] distantes amplius quam illius discipuli, ut puta quam Petrus et Paulus, et reliqui Apostoli: hos autem

EPIPHANIUS expresses himself in similar terms: Ἵνα διὰ πασῶν τῶν πράξεων χωρήσασα καὶ ἐλευθερωθεῖσα διέλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄνω· καὶ τὰς ὁμοίας αὐτῇ ψυχὰς τὰ ἴσα αὐτῇ ἀσπασαμένας, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐλευθερωθείσας ἄνω πτῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἄγνωστον Πατέρα. *Hær.* 27, § 2. IRENÆUS may have written, καὶ τὰς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀσπαζομένας.

[5] The Benedictine reading *quum* is justified by the Greek, and it is found in the CLERM. MS. GRABE has *qui*.

[6] The CLERM., ARUND., and VOSS. MSS. have this reading, and it agrees with HIPPOL. GRABE prints *ad Deum*.

[1] THEODORET also gives exactly the Hippolytan text at the conclusion of this sentence. *H. F.* 1. 5.

[2] *secundum aliquid* represent the intensive words in the Greek, καὶ ἔτι, [κατά τι] being an error of similarity.

[3] It might almost be suspected that EPIPHANIUS was rendering the translation back into Greek; for εἰληφέναι is an exact equivalent of *accepisse*, the translator's interpretation of the false reading ἐπιτετυχηκέναι. The variations of EPIPHANIUS are often remarkable. Here he has Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθεσιν ἀνατραφεῖσαν καταφρονῆσαι αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεις εἰληφέναι, δι' ὧν τὰ ἐπὶ κολάσεσι πάθη προσόντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυνηθεὶς πρᾶξαι. EP. XXVII. 2. Valentinus similarly, ὁ Σωτὴρ ἦλθε διορθώσασθαι τὰ πλήθη [*l.* πάθη] τῆς ψυχῆς. *Phil.* VI. 36.

[4] The CLERMONT MS. omits *se*. The ARUND. *esse*; while the readings *sese* in the *Cod.* VOSS., and αὐτῷ εἶναι in the Greek, conjointly, indicate *se esse*.

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LIB. I. xx. 1. GR. I. xxiv. MASS. I. xxv. 2.

δὲ κατὰ μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς [1]ὑπερκειμένης ἐξουσίας [Ep. τῆς αὐτῆς περιφορᾶς] παρούσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡσαύτως [2]καταφρονεῖν [l. c. Int. καταφρονοῦσας] τῶν κοσμοποιῶν διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἠξιῶσθαι δυνάμεως, καὶ αὖθις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι. Εἰ δέ τις ἐκείνου πλέον καταφρονήσειεν τῶν ἐνταῦθα, δύνασθαι διαφορώτερον αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχειν. Hipp. Philos. vii. 32.

2. [3]Τεχνὰς οὖν μαγικὰς ἐξεργαζόμενοι καὶ ἐπαοιδὰς, φίλτρα τε καὶ χαριτήσια, παρέδρους τε καὶ ὀνειροπόμπους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κακουργήματα, φάσκοντες ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κυριεύειν ἤδη τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ποιητῶν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, [4]οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ποιημάτων ἁπάντων, οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς διαβολὴν τοῦ θείου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὀνόματος, πρὸς [l. ὡς καὶ] τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ προεβλήθησαν, ἵνα κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ἄνθρωποι,

in nullo deminorari a Jesu. Animas enim ipsorum ex eadem circumlatione devenientes, et ideo similiter contemnentes mundi fabricatores, eadem dignas habitas esse virtute, et rursus in idem abire. Si quis autem plus quam ille contempserit ea quæ sunt hic, posse meliorem quam illum esse.

2. Artes enim magicas operantur et ipsi, et incantationes, philtra quoque et charitesia, et paredros, et oniropompos, et reliquas malignationes, dicentes se potestatem habere ad dominandum jam principibus et fabricatoribus hujus mundi: non solum autem, sed et his omnibus, quæ in eo sunt facta. Qui et ipsi ad [5]detrectationem divini Ecclesiæ nominis, quemadmodum et gentes, a Satana præmissi sunt, uti secundum alium et alium modum, quæ sunt illorum audientes homines, et putantes omnes

[1] Hippolytus and Tertullian in note 2, express a manifest gloss from the margin; Epiphanius and the translator preserve the truer text.

[2] The translation seems to express the words of the writer better than the Greek, which may be thus corrected: κ. δ. τ. ὡσαύτως καταφρονοῦσας τῶν κοσμοποιῶν, τῆς αὐτῆς ἠξιῶσθαι δυνάμεως, κ.τ.λ. *Sed et Carpocrates tantundem sibi de superioribus vindicat, ut discipuli ejus animas suas jam et Christo, nedum Apostolis et perœquent, et cum volunt præferant, quas proinde de sublimi virtute conceperint despectrice mundipotentium principatuum.* Tert. *de An.* 23.

[3] See p. 194, notes 1, 2, 3.

[4] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καί, *nay but likewise*, the translator read, οὐ μόνον ἀλλὰ καί.

[5] *detrectationem* is restored from the Clerm. MS.; the Arund. MS. followed by Grabe has *detractionem*. The Ar. and Cl. MSS. both have *divini Ecclesiæ nominis*.

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Hipp. Philos. vii. 32. καὶ δοκοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντας τοιούτους ὑπάρχειν, ἀποστρέφουσι τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματος, [*adj.* ἢ καὶ] βλέποντες τὰ ἐκείνων ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς βλασφημοῦσιν. LIB. I. xx. 2. GR. I. xxiv. MASS. I. xxv. 3.

nos tales esse, avertant aures suas a præconio veritatis: aut et videntes quæ sunt illorum, omnes nos blasphement, in nullo eis communicantes, neque in doctrina, neque in moribus, neque in quotidiana conversatione. Sed vitam quidem luxuriosam, sententiam autem impiam [1]ad velamen malitiæ ipsorum nomine abutuntur, *quorum judicium justum est*, recipientium dignam Rom. iii. 8. suis operibus a Deo retributionem. Et in tantum insania effrænati sunt, uti et omnia quæcunque sunt irreligiosa et impia, in potestate habere [2]et operari se dicant. [3]Sola enim M. 104. humana opinione negotia mala et bona dicunt. Et utique secundum transmigrationes in corpora [4]oportere in omni vita, et in omni actu fieri animas: (si non præoccupans quis in uno adventu omnia agat semel ac pariter, quæ non tantum dicere et audire non est fas nobis, sed ne quidem in mentis conceptionem venire, nec credere, si apud homines conversantes in his quæ sunt secundum nos civitates, tale aliquid agitatur,) uti, secundum quod scripta eorum dicunt[5], in omni usu vitæ factæ animæ

[1] The text is manifestly defective, and requires the insertion of *habent*. HIPPOLYTUS now fails us, and we gladly accept the aid of EPIPHANIUS once more. Εἰς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁμοιοῦνται, ἢ μόνον ὀνόματι καλεῖσθαι σεμνύνονται, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπιπλάστου τὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν κακίας ἐργάσονται. Τὸ δὲ κρίμα τούτων κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐνδικόν ἐστιν, ὡς ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἔφη. I. 4.

[2] The *et* discarded by GRABE is restored; the ARUND. MS. being the sole MS. authority for its rejection. The CLERM. has *habeant et*, but *habere* is read in the ARUND. though STIEREN says otherwise, and δυνατῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἐργάζειν is a transparent ἓν διὰ δυοῖν.

[3] Compare p. 123, note 2, from HIPPOLYTUS, VI. 19, and THEODORET: Δόξῃ γάρ φησιν, οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ, τὰ μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων κακὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθά.

[4] Compare II. lvii. So TERTULLIAN, *De An.* 35: *Sed non tibi soli metempsychosis hanc fabulam instruxit, inde etiam Carpocrates utitur pariter magus, pariter fornicarius etsi Helena minus.* Many of the Gnostics believed in a Brahminical transmigration of souls, and that a man's state of existence for the future depends upon his conduct in time present and past. Only the Brahmin's faith is an incentive to virtue, because he believes that virtue shall be rewarded by advancement to a higher caste; whereas the Gnostic theory had a very opposite tendency, as this passage may show. The dark charges brought against Christians by the heathen may have been made with a sincere belief that they were true.

[5] GRABE entirely destroys the sense of this passage by concluding a period at *habeant*, and commencing the next with *Ad operandum* &c. MASSUET partially does the same by carrying on the

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LIB. I. xx. 2. GR. I. xxiv. MASS. I. xxv. 4.

ipsorum, exeuntes, in nihilo adhuc minus habeant; adoperandum autem in eo, ne forte propterea quod deest libertati aliqua res, [1] cogantur iterum mitti in corpus. Propter hoc dicunt Jesum hanc dixisse parabolam: *Cum es cum adversario tuo in via,* G. 101. *da operam, ut libereris ab eo, ne forte te det judici et judex ministro, et mittat te in carcerem. Amen dico tibi, non exies inde, donec reddas novissimum quadrantem.* Et [2] adversarium dicunt unum ex Angelis qui sunt in mundo, quem diabolum vocant, dicentes factum eum ad id, [3] ut ducat eas quæ perierunt animas a mundo ad principem. Et hunc dicunt esse primum ex mundi fabricatoribus, [4] et illum altero angelo, qui ministrat ei, tradere tales animas, uti in alia corpora includat: [5] corpus enim dicunt esse

Luc. xii. 58. & Matt. v. 25, 26.

Cf. p. 198.

sense without any stop, until the word *eo,* where he places a colon: and STIEREN follows his punctuation. Both again cancel *autem* as an interpolation. How then are we to deal with this passage? First, by translating it into Greek; which may be conceived to have run thus: ἵνα... ἐπὶ πάσῃ χρήσει τοῦ βιοῦ αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν γενομέναι, ἐξελθοῦσαι, ἐν μηδένι ἔτι ὑστερήσωσι· ἐπιπρακτέον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ, μήπως διὰ τὸ λείπειν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τι ῥῆμα, βιάσωνται πάλιν... κ.τ.λ. The only alterations required in the Latin are that *ad operandum* should be read as one word, and that the punctuation should be marked as in the text. The words of EPIPHANIUS are altogether confirmatory. Φασὶ γὰρ δεῖ παντῶς πᾶσαν χρῆσιν τούτων ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἐξελθοῦσαι καὶ ὑστερήσασαί τινος ἔργου, τούτου ἕνεκα καταστραφῶσιν εἰς σώματα πάλιν αἱ ψυχαί, εἰς τὸ πρᾶξαι αὐθις ἃ μὴ ἔπραξαν. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστί φασιν ὅπερ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ εἶπε διὰ παραβολῆς, ὅτι ἴσθι εὐνοῶν τῷ ἀντιδίκῳ σου, κ.τ.λ. *Hær.* XXVII. 5.

[1] TERTULLIAN gives the same account with IRENÆUS, *de An.* 35. *Nulli enim vitam istam rato fieri, nisi universis quæ arguunt eam expunctis; qua non natura quid malum habeatur, sed opinione. Itaque metempsychosin necessario imminere, si non in primo quoque vitæ hujus commeatu omnibus illicitis satisfiat. Scilicet facinora tributa sunt vitæ. Ceterum toties animam revocari habere, quoties minus quid intulerit, reliquatricem delictorum, donec exsolvat novissimum quadrantem, detrusa identidem in carcerem corporis. Huc enim temperat totam illam allegoriam Domini certis interpretationibus relucentem,* &c.

[2] *Adversarium.* TERTULLIAN expresses it as though the carnal Gentile were the adversary, ready to denounce the ψυχικοί to the judge. *Nam et ethnicus homo adversarius noster est, incedens in eadem via vitæ communis... et judex te tradat angelo executionis, et ille te in carcerem mandet infernum, unde non dimittaris, nisi modico quoque delicto mora resurrectionis expenso. De An.* 35, i. e. by a re-appearance in life, in consequence of the insufficiency of a moderate *delictum.* EPIPHANIUS, *l. c.,* follows IRENÆUS, and more closely perhaps than the translator. Καὶ φασιν εἶναι τὸν ἀντίδικον ἐκεῖνον, τῶν τὸν κόσμον πεποιηκότων Ἀγγέλων ἕνα—ὄνομα ἔχοντα διάβολον.

[3] *ut ducat,* compare the Marcosian idea upon the same subject, p. 124, and EPIPHANIUS, *l. c.* Εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο κατασκευάσθαι, εἰς τὸ ἀπάγειν τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς τὸν κριτήν.

[4] Παραδίδοσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ... εἰς τὸ φέρειν ψυχὰς πάλιν καὶ εἰς σώματα καταγγίζειν διάφορα. EPIPH. *l. c.*

[5] Φασὶ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν φυλακὴν τὸ σῶμα. EPIPH. *l. c.*

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Hipp. Philos. vii. 32.

carcerem. Et id quod ait: *Non exies inde, quoadusque novissimum quadrantem reddas*, interpretantur, quasi non exeat quis a potestate Angelorum eorum, qui mundum fabricaverunt; [1]sed

LIB. I. xx. 2. GR. I. xxiv. MASS. I. xxv. 4.

Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μετενσωματοῦσθαι φάσκουσι τὰς ψυχὰς, ὅσον πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα πληρώσωσιν· ὅταν δὲ μηδὲν λείπῃ, τότε ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων Θεὸν, καὶ οὕτως σωθήσεσθαι πάσας τὰς ψυχάς. Εἴ τινες δὲ φθάσασαι ἐν μίᾳ παρουσίᾳ ἀναμιγῆναι πάσαις ἁμαρτίαις οὐκέτι μετενσωματοῦνται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀποδοῦσαι τὰ ὀφλήματα, ἐλευθερωθήσονται τοῦ μηκέτι γενέσθαι ἐν σώματι.

3. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πράσσεται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄθεα, καὶ ἔκθεσμα, καὶ ἀπειρημένα, [3]ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσαιμι. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς συγγράμμασιν αὐτῶν οὕτως ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτως ἐξηγοῦνται, τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες ἐν μυστηρίῳ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλοις κατ' ἰδίαν λελαληκέναι, καὶ

Theod. Hær. Fab. I. § 5.

sic transcorporatum semper, quoadusque in omni omnino operatione, quæ in mundo est, fiat: et quum nihil defuerit ei, tum liberatam ejus animam [2]eliberari ad illum Deum, qui est supra angelos mundi fabricatores; sic quoque salvari, et omnes animas sive ipsæ præoccupantes in uno adventu in omnibus misceantur operationibus, sive de corpore in corpus transmigrantes, vel immissæ in unaquaque specie vitæ adimplentes, et reddentes debita, liberari, uti jam non [4]fiant in corpore.

3. Et si quidem fiant hæc apud eos, quæ sunt irreligiosa, et injusta, et vetita, ego nequaquam credam. In conscriptionibus autem illorum sic conscriptum est, et ipsi ita exponunt; Jesum dicentes in mysterio discipulis suis et apostolis seorsum locutum,

[1] For *sed sit* as printed by GRABE, I adopt MASSUET'S reading *sic*, both because the CLERMONT MS. has it, and because it agrees better with the Greek.

[2] Again the CLERM. reading is to be followed, although GRABE and MASSUET have *elevari*, for which there is no authority; all the MSS. agree with the CLERMONT, with the single exception of the ARUNDEL, which however has *et liberari*.

[3] ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσαιμι, *i. e. If iniquity of every kind* (and cf. CLEM. AL. *Strom.* III. 2) *is practised by them, under this condition of necessity, I can no longer believe it to be iniquity;* so TERTULLIAN understood our author. *Si omnium facinorum debitrix anima est, quis erit inimicus et adversarius ex eis intelligendus?*

[4] MASS. *faciant*, πράττωσι, in the sense of *degant;* the Greek however confirms GRABE'S reading from the AR. MS.

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LIB. I. xx. 3. GR. I. xxiv. MASS. I. xxv. 5.

αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶσαι, τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ τοῖς πειθομένοις ταῦτα παραδιδόναι. Διὰ πίστεως γὰρ καὶ ἀγάπης σώζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδιάφορα ὄντα, κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πῆ μὲν ἀγαθὰ, πῆ δὲ κακὰ νομίζεσθαι, οὐδενὸς φύσει κακοῦ ὑπάρχοντος.

4. Τούτων τινὲς καὶ [1]καυτηριάζουσι τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω μέρεσι τοῦ λοβοῦ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὠτός .... καὶ εἰκόνας δὲ .... κατασκευάζουσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, λέγοντες ὑπὸ Πιλάτου τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι ... Hipp. Philos. vii. 32.

et illos expostulasse, ut dignis et [2]assentientibus seorsum hæc traderent. Per fidem enim et caritatem salvari; reliqua vero, indifferentia cum sint, secundum opinionem hominum quædam quidem bona, quædam autem mala vocari, cum nihil natura malum sit.

4. Alii vero ex ipsis signant, cauteriantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus exstantiæ dextræ auris. [3]Unde et Marcellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit, cum esset hujus doctrinæ, multos [4]exterminavit. Gnosticos se autem vocant: M. 105. G. 102. etiam imagines, quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi [5]philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ, et Platonis, et Aristotelis, et reliquorum; et reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut gentes faciunt.

[1] Ἔνιοι δὲ ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλέων πυρὶ τὰ ὦτα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημήναντο, οὕτως ἀκούσαντες τὸ ἀποστολικόν. CLEM. AL. *Ecl. Proph. de Heracleone.*

[2] STIEREN notes, CLAROM. *consentientibus;* but that MS. shews the corrupt reading *consentionibus.*

[3] EPIPH. *Hær.* XXVII. 6, may be compared: Μαρκελλίνα τις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπατηθεῖσα ... ἐν χρόνοις ... Ἀνικήτου ... ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενομένη ... πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖσε λυμηναμένη ἠφάνισε. Καὶ ἔνθεν γέγονεν ἡ ἀρχὴ Γνωστικῶν τῶν καλουμένων. Ἔχουσι δὲ εἰκόνας ἐνζωγράφους διὰ χρωμάτων, τινὲς δὲ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ λοιπῆς ὕλης ἄτινα ἐκτυπώματά φασιν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γεγενῆσθαι ... ὅτε ἐνεδήμει τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει. Κρύβδην δὲ ἔχουσιν εἰκόνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοσόφων τινῶν, Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ λοιπῶν, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἕτερα ἐκτυπώματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τιθέασιν, ἱδρύσαντές τε προσκυνοῦσι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτέλουσι μυστήρια. *Sectæ ipsius* [Carpocr. sc.] *fuisse traditur quædam Marcellina, quæ colebat imagines Jesu et Pauli et Homeri et Pythagoræ, adorando incensumque ponendo.* AUG. *H.* 7.

[4] *Exterminavit, lead astray;* the word whereby ἐξηπάτησε was rendered, p. 117, note 4. EPIPHANIUS it will be observed has ἠφάνισε.

[5] Compare HIPPOLYT. *Philosoph.* VI. 29, and p. 99, note 2.

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LIB. I. xxi. GR. I. xxv. MASS. I. xxvi. 1.

Κεφ. κα'.

Qualis est doctrina Cerinthi.

Hipp. Philos. vii. 33.

[1]ΚΗΡΙΝΘΟΣ δέ τις, [καὶ] αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς, ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου [*suppl.* Θεοῦ] γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς κεχωρισμένης, [*suppl.* καὶ ἀπεχούσης] τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεόν. Τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Μαρίας οἷον [*l.* υἱὸν,] ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δικαιότερον γεγονέναι [INT. καὶ φρονιμώτερον] καὶ σοφώτερον. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν [*l.* ἀπὸ] τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα αὐθεντίας, τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς· καὶ τότε κηρῦξαι τὸν γνωστὸν [*l.* ἄγνωστον] πατέρα, καὶ

CAP. XXI.

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia [*l.* Ægypto], non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea principalitate quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum, [2][impossibile enim hoc ei visum est], fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariæ filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia, et prudentia, et sapientia [3]ab omnibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figura columbæ; et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes

[1] For the opinions of Cerinthus, see the *Prolegomena;* this heretic plainly departed from the common type of Docetic Gnosticism in one very important particular, which was, that he allowed the human body of our Lord to have been raised again from the dead. THEODORET combines the two statements that he was trained in Egypt, and that he taught in Asia. Οὗτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλεῖστον διατρίψας χρόνον, καὶ τὰς φιλοσόφους παιδευθεὶς ἐπιστήμας, ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκετο, κ.τ.λ. *H. F.* II. 3.

[2] These words are not indicated in the text of HIPPOLYTUS, and they may be viewed safely as a marginal gloss. Neither has THEODORET anything similar.

[3] The Hebrew comparative is often copied in the LXX. by the adjective and ἀπὸ, and through the Greek it descends to ecclesiastical Latin. *Veteres* ab *in comparationibus usi sunt, veluti Vulgatus Interpres Luc.* xviii. 14. *Justificatus* ab illo, *pro* magis quam ille. GRABE. The reader, however, will notice that these words correspond with nothing in the Greek. MASS. has *hominibus*, but GR. from the AR. MS. *omnibus*.

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LIB. I. xxi. GR. I. xxv. MASS. I. xxvi. 1.

δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι, πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει, ἀποστῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [1]Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηκέναι πατρικὸν [*l.* πνευματικὸν] ὑπάρχοντα. Hipp. Philos. vii. 33.

Κεφ. κβ'.

Quæ est Ebionitarum doctrina.

Ἐβιωναιοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ γεγονέναι· [2]τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσι. Ibid. 34.

perfecisse; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse, et resurrexisse: Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, exsistentem spiritalem.

CAP. XXII.

Qui autem dicuntur Ebionæi, consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum: ea autem quæ sunt erga Dominum, [3]non simi-

[1] Miller's text has Χριστοῦ, a palpable error. Dr Scott and Bunsen have both of them remarked this, but fail to compare the Latin translation. The readings υἱὸν for οἷον, and ἄγνωστον for γνωστὸν, are similarly indicated.

[2] Namely, that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary. Theodotus A.D. 196, was the first who ventured to assert of *Christ* that he was mere man. Before, it was either denied that Christ, *i.e.* the Divine Nature, came in the flesh, being made man of the Blessed Virgin; or that Jesus was any thing else than mere man, and born of human parents. *e.g.* Tertullian says, *Eos maxime Antichristos vocat, qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent Jesum esse Filium Dei. Illud Marcion, hoc Ebion vindicavit. Præscr.* 33. Hence Timotheus Presbyter says correctly, *Coteler.* III. p. 389: Τοῦτον τὸν Θεόδοτόν φασιν τῆς τοῦ Σαμωσατέως αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα γενέσθαι, πρῶτον εἰπόντα τὸν Χριστὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον. And Hippolytus: ὃν τρόπον εἶπεν Θεόδοτος ἄνθρωπον συνιστᾶν ψιλὸν βουλόμενος. *c. Noet.* 3; also in the *Libellus adv. omnes Hær.* in the works of Tertull. 9: *Accedit his Theodotus hæreticus Byzantius; qui posteaquam Christum, pro nomine apprehensus, negavit, in Christum blasphemare non destitit; doctrinam enim introduxit, qua Christum hominem tantummodo diceret, Deum autem illum negaret; ex Spiritu quidem Sancto natum ex virgine, sed hominem solitarium, atque nudum, nullo alio præ cæteris* [*præcellentem c.* Routh] *nisi sola justitiæ auctoritate.* *i. e.* He was the first to discard the notion, that the Ebionite and every other heretic maintained, namely, that whereas Jesus was mere mortal man, the Æon Christ descended upon him at Baptism, investing him with miraculous powers; for more than 160 years, therefore, the divinity of Christ was not impugned by heresy.

[3] *non* may have had its origin, by assimilation, from the preceding word; certainly it must be cancelled on the authority of the Hippolytan text. It

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liter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur. [1]Solo autem eo quod est secundum [2]Matthæum Evangelio utuntur, et apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes. Quæ G. 103. autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur; et circumciduntur ac perseverant in his consuetudinibus, quæ sunt secundum legem, et Judaico charactere vitæ, uti et [3]Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Dei.

LIB. I. xxii. GR. I. xxvi. MASS. I. xxvi. 2

spoils the sense; for in the first sentence it is shewn that the Ebionites disagreed with Cerinthus and Carpocrates as regards the creation; in the second, that they agreed with them as regards the birth of our Lord. In the *Libellus* this is clearly stated as the difference between Ebionite and Cerinthian error: *Hujus successor Ebion fuit, Cerintho non in omni parte consentiens, quod a Deo dicat mundum, non ab angelis factum;* c. 48. HIPPOLYTUS agrees in the same statement, Εὐιαιωναῖοι δὲ τὸν μὲν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ γεγονέναι λέγουσι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ὁμοίως Κηρινθῳ. Ζῶσι δὲ πάντα κατὰ νόμον Μωϋσῆ, οὕτω φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι. *Ph.* X. 22, cf. TERT. n. 2. GRABE refers to COTELERIUS, *Const. Ap.* VI. 6, and adds, *Quid vero si* consimiliter *pro* non similiter *legatur?*

[1] Οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀποστόλου πᾶσας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου· εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι. EUSEB. III. 27.

[2] A comparison of these words of IRENÆUS, with the passage just cited from EUSEBIUS, leads to the inference that the Gospel καθ' Ἑβραίους and that of S. Matthew are identical. IRENÆUS also says, III. 1, that S. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and since he conversed with, and often listened to the instruction of Polycarp, it is very probable that S. John himself was the original authority for the statement. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive that IRENÆUS should have expressed himself in such precise terms, if he were not certain of that which he placed upon record. It is also remarkable that PAPIAS, a writer of the Apostolical age, who received instruction from S. John, adds his testimony to the same fact: Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. EUSEB. *H. E.* III. end. S. JEROM speaks positively of possessing a copy of it in Hebrew, *Catal. in Mat.* and *in Pelag.* III. 1, which he could not possibly confound with any false Gospel of the Hebrews. Moreover, EUSEBIUS, V. 10, records the fact that Pantænus found a copy of it in India, early in the second century, whither it had been carried by S. Bartholomew. External evidence therefore is strong, that S. Matthew wrote a Gospel in Hebrew; but internal evidence is quite as strong that our present Gospel according to S. Matthew was originally composed in Greek, and the citations are from the LXX. version, which vary at times materially from the Hebrew standard. Perhaps, therefore, having composed a shorter account of our Lord's ministry for the Hebrews, S. Matthew afterwards wrote the first œcumenical Gospel for the Church of every age. An ancient copy of this Gospel, supposed to have been written by S. Barnabas, was discovered in the island of Cyprus in the fifth century, resting upon the breast of the Apostle, and transferred to Constantinople, but it was in Greek. FLEURY, XXX. 19.

[3] It seems, p. 46, that Jerusalem was one of the Valentinian appellatives of Sophia; HIPPOLYTUS says the same, and at one while the Ogdoad is called by this name, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ὀγδοάδα, ἥτις ἐστί, φησιν, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιος. VI. 32; at another the outer Sophia, αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἔξω Σοφία,

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CAP. XXIII.

Quæ sunt Nicolaitarum opera.

[1]Nicolaitæ autem magistrum quidem habent Nicolaum, unum ex VII. qui primi ad diaconium ab apostolis ordinati sunt: qui indiscrete vivunt. Plenissime autem per Johannis Apocalypsin manifestantur qui sint, nullam differentiam esse docentes in mœchando, et idolothyton edere. Quapropter dixit
Rev. ii. 6. et de iis sermo: *Sed hoc habes quod odisti opera Nicolaitarum, quæ et ego odi.*

Κεφ. κδ'.

Quæ est Cerdonis sententia.

Eus. H. E. iv. 11. ΚΕΡΔΩΝ *δέ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν,* [2]*καὶ ἐπιδημήσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου,* Hipp. Philos. vii. 37.

CAP. XXIV.

Et Cerdon autem quidam ab iis, qui sunt erga Simonem, occasionem accipiens cum venisset Romam sub Hygino, qui

καὶ ὁ νυμφίος αὐτῆς ὁ κοινωνὸς (l. κοινὸς) τοῦ πληρώματος καρπός. VI. 34. S. Barnabas charges the Jews with an idolatrous veneration for their earthly Jerusalem: *Errantes* [*Judæi* sc.] *miseri non in ipsum Deum effectorem eorum spem habuerunt, sed in ædem, quasi domus Dei esset.* S. Barn. *Ep.* § 16. Hippolytus further says of the Ebionite sect: *Ἔθεσιν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιοῦσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον· διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὠνομάσθαι, καὶ* [*l. τὸν*] *Ἰησοῦν, ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς αὐτῶν* [*sc. τῶν ἄλλων*] *ἐτέλεσε τὸν νόμον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἕτερός τις πεποιήκει τὰ ἐν νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, ἦν ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός. Δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοίως ποιήσαντας, χριστοὺς γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι πᾶσι λέγουσιν. Philos.* VII. 34.

[1] Hippolytus gives the same account, but still not the *ipsissima verba* of S. Irenæus; he says: *Πολλῆς δὲ αὐτῶν συστάσεως κακῶν αἴτιος γεγένηται Νικόλαος, εἷς τῶν ἑπτὰ εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς, ὃς ἀποστὰς τῆς κατ' εὐθεῖαν διδασκαλίας, ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ γνώσεως, οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνυβρίζοντας τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε πορνεύοντας καὶ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίοντας. Philos.* VII. 36. Tertullian classes as one the Nicolaitan and Cainite sects: *Sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitæ, Caiana hæresis dicitur. Præscr.* 33.

[2] It being an object of the author to declare the succession of the first bishops of the principal sees, the date of Cerdon's arrival at Rome is marked by the incumbency of Hyginus, who is also recorded as the *ninth* bishop of Rome. Compare III. IV. Hippolytus having no such end in view omits the sentence; S. Cyprian follows the words of Irenæus, in this place, and in the

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Hipp. Philos. vii. 37. M. 106.

ἕνατον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος, ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον Θεὸν, μὴ εἶναι Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [1]Τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι [Hipp. ἐγνῶσθαι], τὸν δὲ ἀγνῶτα [Hipp. ἄγνωστον] εἶναι· καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν.

LIB. I. xxiv. GR. I. xxviii. MASS. I. xxvii. 1.

nonum locum episcopatus per successionem ab apostolis habuit, docuit eum qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus sit Deus, non esse Patrem Domini nostri Christi Jesu. Hunc enim cognosci, illum autem ignorari: et alterum quidem justum, alterum autem bonum esse.

commencement of the next section: *Cujus [Marcionis] magister Cerdon sub Hygino tunc Episcopo, qui in urbe nonus fuit, Romam venit; quem Marcion secutus, additis ad crimen augmentis, impudentius cæteris et abruptius in Deum Patrem creatorem blasphemare instituit. Ep.* 74, *ad Pompeium.* But there is some difficulty about the numerical position of Hyginus, whether it is *eighth*, as Irenæus himself says, III. iv. and again with an enumeration of his seven predecessors III. iii., or *ninth*, as the translator in this place, and Eusebius, and Cyprian have recorded. Epiphanius places him *ninth*, by repeating the name of Evaristus as the eighth, xxvii. 6; or *tenth*, if the Apostles head the list. Cotelerius, *C. Ap.* vii. 56, imagines that the inconsistency is only apparent, it being equally the custom to place as the head of the episcopal succession of any particular Church, that Apostle by whom it was founded, or to commence the account with the bishop to whom it was first committed in charge. Either this is the true solution of the difficulty, or *nonum* marks a corrupt reading, dating higher than the translation, and that must almost have existed in the original copy. And this is by no means unlikely, from the great ease with which the numeral H might, from any slight defect or injury, be mistaken for Θ. Passeratius, whether from MS. authority or from conjecture, *non constat*, noted *octavum* in the margin of this passage. But if Epiphanius may be followed, there can be no doubt that the two Apostles rank as the first in the succession of the Roman church; he says, ἐν Ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι· and afterwards, ἠδύνατο ἔτι περιόντων τῶν ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίστασθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν πορείαν στέλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Παῦλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱσπανίαν ἀφικνεῖται, Πέτρος δὲ πολλάκις Πόντον τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο. *Hær.* xxvii. 6.

[1] Hippolyt.: τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἐγνῶσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατέρα εἶναι ἄγνωστον, καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθόν. Marcion made the same distinction of two Divine Principles, the one good, the other the *Deus sævior*, saying however, τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Hippolyt. *Philos.* x. 19. See note 2, p. 216.

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Κεφ. κε'.

Quæ sunt quæ Marcion docuerit.

1. ΔΙΑΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικὸς, ἠὔξησε τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, ἀπηρυθριασμένως βλασφημῶν.

CAP. XXV.

1. [1] SUCCEDENS autem ei Marcion Ponticus, adampliavit doctri- G. 104.
nam, impudorate blasphemans [2] eum qui a lege et prophetis annunciatus est Deus, malorum factorem, et bellorum concupiscentem, et inconstantem quoque sententia, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens. Jesum autem ab eo Patre, qui est super mundi fabricatorem Deum, [3] venientem in Judæam temporibus Pontii Pilati præsidis, qui fuit procurator Tiberii Cæsaris, [4] in hominis forma manifesta-

[1] HIPPOLYTUS has, Τούτου δὲ [*Cerdonis* sc.] τὸ δόγμα ἐκράτυνε Μαρκίων, τάς τε ἀντιπαραθέσεις ἐπιχειρήσας, καὶ ὅσα αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων δημιουργὸν δυσφημήσας, VII. 37. Cerdon was ὁ τούτου διδάσκαλος, X. 19.

[2] Originally the system of Marcion involved three co-ordinate eternal principles, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρίζουσιν εἶναι τρεῖς τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὰς, Ἀγαθὸν, Δίκαιον, Ὕλην· but a fourth was afterwards added, viz. Evil, which was then separated from the notion of *severity* involved in τὸ δίκαιον. IRENÆUS is speaking of the earlier Marcionite theory, indicated also by HIPPOLYTUS, οἱ δὲ πάντα [*lege* πάντες], τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλως [*lege* ὅλως] πεποιηκέναι, τὸν δὲ δίκαιον, οἱ μὲν τὸν πονηρὸν, οἱ δὲ μόνον δίκαιον ὀνομάζουσι, πεποιηκέναι δὲ τὰ πάντα φάσκουσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ὕλης· πεποιηκέναι γὰρ οὐ καλῶς, ἀλλ' ἀλόγως. *Phil.* X. 19. Hence TERTULLIAN affirms boldly, *Deus si non unus est, non est*, saying like HIPPOLYTUS, *Marcionem dispares deos constituere, alterum Judicem, ferum, bellipotentem; alterum mitem placidum, et tantummodo bonum atque optimum. c. Marc.* I. 5; cf. IV. i. and III. xliii. ORIGEN expresses perhaps the Valentinian reasoning in the following passage: οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρεσέων οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενοι τῷ ἀγαθὸν ἢ δίκαιον εἶναι Θεὸν δύνασθαι, τὸν ἀποδιδόντα ἁμαρτίας πατέρων εἰς κόλπον τέκνων αὐτῶν, λέγουσιν, ὅτι ὁ τοῦ νόμου Θεὸς οὐκ ἐστὶ δίκαιος, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱούς· ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν ἐκείνου μείζων Θεός. *in Exod.* XX. 5.

[3] The false gospel of Marcion, written as he professed, by the Lord himself, began with the words ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ὁ Θεὸς κατῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναούμ, κ. τ. λ. Luke iii. 1 and iv. 31. This passage of IRENÆUS, however, as well as the Dialogue *de recta fide* ascribed to ORIGEN, indicate the additional words ἡγεμονεύοντος Ποντίου Πιλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας, see p. 217, n. 3. The genealogy of our Lord was omitted, as containing the pedigree of the Blessed Virgin, and shewing that Christ was as truly man, as that Adam was God's son by creation of the flesh. The reader may compare TERTULL. *adv. Marc.* IV. 7, 8, v. 6; *de carne Christi*, 1, 2; EPIPHAN. *Hær.* XLII.; ORIG. *Comm. in Joh.* T. IV. p. 165, *de la Rue;* THEODORET, *H. F.* I. 24; ISIDOR. PELUS. *Ep.* 371; PSEUDO ORIG. *Dial.* p. 823, cf. 869.

[4] Compare p. 102, note 5. *In*

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tum his qui in Judæa erant, dissolventem prophetas, et legem, et omnia opera ejus Dei qui mundum fecit, quem et Cosmocratorem dicit. Et super hæc, id quod est secundum [1] Lucam evangelium [2] circumcidens, et omnia quæ sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens, [3] in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis

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hominis forma. Marcion taught that the human nature of Christ was of the Virgin, not by a natural birth, but that he passed into the world ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος, and was of a heavenly, not of an earthy substance; the Apollinarian error partly symbolised with Marcion's theory. So ATHANASIUS says in his treatise *de Incarn. c. Apollin.* I., τί γὰρ ἕτερον παρ' ὑμᾶς εἴρηκε Μαρκίων; οὐχὶ οὐρανοφανὲς τὸ σῶμα ἐν ὁμοιώσει ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ; § 12, and again, II. 3, Μαρκίων δὲ καὶ Μανιχαῖος, Θεὸν ἐπιδημήσαντα ἐν Παρθένῳ καὶ ἀθιγῶς προεληλυθότα καὶ ἀνεπιδέκτως ἔχοντα κοινωνῆσαι φύσει ἀνθρωπίνῃ . . . ἀλλ' ἰδίαν σάρκα ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ὡς ἠθέλησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὀφθεῖσαν, καὶ εἰς οὐρανοὺς χωρήσασαν, καὶ θεότητα ὅλην οὖσαν. S. CYPRIAN in like manner: *Numquid hanc Trinitatem Marcion tenet? Numquid eumdem asserit, quem et nos Patrem Creatorem? Numquid eumdem novit Filium Christum de Maria Virgine natum, qui Sermo caro factus sit, . . . qui resurrectionem carnis per semetipsum primus initiaverit, et discipulis suis quod in eadem carne resurrexisset, ostenderit. Ep. ad Jub.* HIPPOLYTUS describes the Marcionite Christology as follows: Τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ὑπ αὐτοῦ πεπέμφθαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν, ὃν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον καλεῖ, ὡς ἄνθρωπον φανέντα λέγων, οὐκ ὄντα ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὡς ἔνσαρκον, οὐκ ἔνσαρκον, δοκήσει πεφηνότα, οὔτε γένεσιν ὑπομείναντα οὔτε πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῷ δοκεῖν. *Philos.* X. 19.

[1] Compare TERTULLIAN, *c. Marc.* IV. 2.

[2] Compare III. xii.

[3] A notable instance of this heretical adulteration of the truth is recorded by TERTULLIAN, *c. Marc.* IV. 25, where, by a Marcionite correction, the text, Luke x. 21, is quoted as "*I thank thee, O . . . Lord of heaven . . .*," the words *Father* . . . and *earth* being suppressed, that it might not appear that our Lord addressed either the Father, as Lord of earth and Demiurge, or the Lord of Heaven, as Ruler and Governor of the earth. Marcion affirmed that Christ was of a middle character; on which point the words of HIPPOLYTUS may suffice: χωρὶς γενέσεως ἔτει πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κατεληλυθότα αὐτὸν ἄνωθεν, μέσον ὄντα κακοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, διδάσκειν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς. Εἰ γὰρ μεσότης [*l.* μεσίτ.] ἐστιν, ἀπήλλακται, φησί, πάσης τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ φύσεως. Κακὸς δ' ἐστιν, ὡς λέγει, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ τούτου τὰ ποιήματα. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀγέννητος κατῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, φησίν, ἵνα ᾖ πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένος κακίας. Ἀπήλλακται δὲ, φησί, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φύσεως, ἵνα ᾖ μεσότης [*l.* μεσίτ.], ὥς φησιν ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ, Τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; *Ph.* VII. 31. Apelles, as the follower of Marcion, copied him in mutilating Scripture, τῶν δὲ Εὐαγγελίων, ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ [*suppl.* μὴ] ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῷ αἱρεῖται. *Phil.* VII. 38. He taught that Christ as the Son τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ was not born of the Virgin, yet that he had a body of flesh, τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, οὐδὲ ἄσαρκον εἶναι φανέντα λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πάντος οὐσίας μεταλαβόντα μερῶν, σῶμα πεποιηκέναι, τουτέστι θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ καὶ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σώματι λαβόντα τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐξουσίας, βεβιωκέναι ὃν ἐβίωσε χρόνον ἐν κόσμῳ. It is afterwards added that Christ arose from the dead, and shewed the marks

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LIB. I. xxv. 1. GR. I. xxix. MASS. I. xxvii. 2.

suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; [1]semetipsum esse veraciorem, quam sunt hi qui evangelium tradiderunt apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non evangelium, sed particulam evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli epistolas abscidit, [2]auferens quæcunque manifeste dicta sunt ab Apostolo de eo Deo qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quæcunque ex propheticis memorans Apostolus docuit prænunciantibus adventum Domini.

2. Salutem autem solum animarum esse futuram, earum quæ ejus doctrinam didicissent; corpus autem, videlicet quoniam a terra sit sumptum, [3]impossibile esse participare salutem. Super blasphemiam autem quæ est in Deum, adjecit et hoc, vere Diaboli os accipiens, et omnia contraria dicens veritati: [4]Cain et eos qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomitas, et Ægyptios, et similes eis, et omnes omnino gentes, quæ in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos, et accurrissent ei, et in suum assumpsisse regnum; Abel autem et Enoch, et Noe, et reliquos justos, et eos qui sunt erga Abraham Patriarchas, cum omnibus Prophetis, et his qui placuerunt Deo, non participasse salutem, qui in Marcione G. 105. fuit serpens [5]præconavit. Quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, Deum

in his hands, feet, and side, as a proof to his disciples that his body *οὐ φάντασμα ἀλλὰ ἔνσαρκος ἦν. Philos.* VII. 38. He too imagined a quadruple principle, of Good, Just, Fiery and Evil. *ibid.*

[1] Cf. III. 12.

[2] Sacrilegam hanc audaciam frequenter arguit Tertullianus, ut libro *de carne Christi: His consiliis tot originalia instrumenta Christi delere Marcion ausus est, ne caro ejus vera probaretur. Ex qua, oro te, auctoritate? Si propheta es, prænuntia aliquid: si Apostolus, prædica publice: si Apostolicus, cum Apostolis senti: si tantum Christianus es, crede quod traditum est, &c.* Et lib. *de Præscript. Marcion exerte et palam machæra, non stylo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem Scripturarum confecit.* Idem etiam exprobrat lib. 2, et 4, 5, quos in ejus hæreses scripsit. GRABE. With regard to the prophetical writings, his disciple Apelles said that they were *ἀνθρώπινα καὶ ψευδῆ. Ph.* VII. 38.

[3] This was a necessary inference from the Gnostic notion that matter was *sua natura* evil; so the Valentinian said that it was not possible *τὸ χοϊκὸν σωτηρίας μετασχεῖν. supra*, i. 11. *σάρκα δὲ οὐ θέλει ἀνίστασθαι*, HIPPOLYTUS says of Marcion, x. 19, and of Apelles, *σάρκας δὲ ἀπόλλυσθαι ὁμοίως Μαρκίωνι λέγει.* 20.

[4] THEODORET follows the tenour of this passage, *οὗτος τὸν μὲν Κάϊν, καὶ τοὺς Σοδομίτας καὶ τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς ἅπαντας σωτηρίας ἔφησεν ἀπολελαυκέναι, προσεληλυθότας ἐν τῷ Ἅιδῃ τῷ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ, καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναληφθῆναι. Τὸν δὲ Ἄβελ καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ καὶ τὸν Νῶε, καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας τε, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς προφήτας, καὶ τοὺς δικαίους οὐ μεταλαχεῖν τῆς ἐκείνοις δεδομένης ἐλευθερίας, προσδραμεῖν αὐτῷ μὴ βουληθέντας. Οὗ δὴ χάριν φησὶν, καὶ τὸν Ἅιδην οἰκεῖν κατεκρίθησαν. Hær. Fab.* I. 24.

[5] *Præconavit*, see p. 97, note 2.

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suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentare [1]eum suspicati, non accurrerunt Jesu, neque crediderunt annuntiationi ejus: et propterea remansisse animas ipsorum apud inferos dixit. Sed huic quidem, quoniam et solus manifeste ausus est circumcidere Scripturas, et impudorate super omnes obtrectare Deum, [2]seorsum contradicemus, ex ejus scriptis arguentes eum, et ex iis sermonibus qui apud eum observati sunt, Domini et Apostoli, quibus ipse utitur, eversionem ejus faciemus, præstante Deo. Nunc autem necessario meminimus ejus, ut scires quoniam omnes qui quoquo modo adulterant veritatem, et præconium Ecclesiæ lædunt, Simonis Samaritani magi [3]discipuli et successores sunt. Quamvis non confiteantur nomen magistri sui ad seductionem reliquorum; attamen illius sententiam docent: Christi quidem Jesu nomen tanquam irritamentum [4]præferentes, Simonis autem impietatem varie introducentes, mortificant multos, per nomen bonum sententiam suam male disperdentes, et per dulcedinem et decorem nominis, amarum et malignum principis apostasiæ serpentis venenum porrigentes eis.

LIB. I. xxv. 2. GR. I. xxix. MASS. I. xxvii. 3.

CAP. XXVI.

Quæ est Continentium aversatio; qualis est Tatiani doctrina; unde hi, qui indifferentias induxerunt, acceperunt occasionem.

1. Ab his autem qui prædicti sunt, jam multæ propagines multarum hæresum factæ sunt, eo quod multi ex ipsis, imo omnes velint doctores esse, et abscedere quidem ab hæresi in qua fuerunt; aliud autem dogma ab alia sententia, et deinceps alteram ab altera componentes, nove docere insistunt, semetipsos adinventores sententiæ, quamcunque compegerint, enarrantes.

[1] GRABE prints *eos*, but the CLERMONT MS. has *eum*, and it makes a sufficiently good sense; it is therefore restored. The ARUND. MS. has *cum*.

[2] IRENÆUS expresses the same intention, III. xii., but it would seem that he never carried it into effect; for EUSEBIUS speaks of it only as a promise: ἐπήγγελται δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξειν αὐτῷ ἐν ἰδίῳ σπουδάσματι. *H. E.* v. 8.

[3] Cf. pp. 169, 170, 191. HIPPOLYTUS makes the same assertion, that Simon Magus was the originator of theosophical Gnosticism. *e. g.* παρ' οὗ καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθους ἀφορμὰς λαβόντας ἑτέροις ὀνόμασιν ὅμοια τετολμηκέναι. VI. 7.

[4] CLERM., but ARUND. *proferentes.*

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LIB. I. xxvi. 1. GR. I. xxx. xxxi. MASS. I. xxviii. 1.

Eus. H. E. iv. 29.

M. 107.

'Απὸ Σατορνίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλούμενοι ἐγκρατεῖς, ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν, [1] ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἠρέμα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ εἰς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποιηκότος· καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν εἰσηγήσαντο, ἀχαριστοῦντες τῷ πάντα πεποιηκότι Θεῷ. 'Αντιλέγουσί τε τῇ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου σωτηρίᾳ· καὶ τοῦτο νῦν ἐξευρέθη παρ' αὐτοῖς. [2] Τατιάνου τινὸς πρώτως ταύτην εἰσενέγκαντος τὴν βλασφημίαν· ὃς 'Ιουστίνου ἀκροατὴς γεγονὼς, ἐφόσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνε τοιοῦτον· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστὰς G. 106. τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οἰήματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ τυφωθεὶς ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο· Αἰῶνάς τινας ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσας· τὸν γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι καὶ Σατορνίνῳ ἀναγορεύσας· τῇ δὲ τοῦ 'Αδὰμ σωτηρίᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ [3] τὴν αἰτιολογίαν ποιησάμενος.

Ut exempli gratia dicamus, a Saturnino et Marcione, qui vocantur Continentes, abstinentiam a nuptiis annuntiaverunt, frustrantes antiquam plasmationem [4] Dei, et oblique accusantes eum, qui et masculum et fœminam ad generationem [4] hominum fecit: et eorum quæ dicuntur apud eos animalia abstinentiam induxerunt, ingrati exsistentes ei qui omnia fecit Deo. Contradicunt quoque ejus saluti, qui primus plasmatus est: et hoc nunc adinventum est apud eos. Tatiano quodam primo hanc introducente blasphemiam: qui cum esset Justini auditor, in quantum quidem apud eum erat, nihil enarravit tale: post vero illius martyrium absistens ab Ecclesia, et præsumptione magistri elatus et inflatus, quasi præ cæteris esset, proprium characterem doctrinæ constituit: [5] Æonas quosdam invisibiles similiter atque hi qui a Valentino sunt, velut fabulam enarrans: [2] nuptias autem corruptelas et fornicationes similiter ut Marcion et Saturninus dicens: Adæ autem saluti ex se contradictionem faciens.

[1] Hippolytus describes the Encratitæ as schismatical rather than as heretics. Ἕτεροι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποκαλοῦντες Ἐγκρατίτας, τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμολογοῦσι· περὶ δὲ πολιτείαν πεφυσιωμένοι ἀναστρέφονται, ἑαυτοὺς διὰ βρωμάτων δοξάζειν νομίζοντες, ἀπεχόμενοι ἐμψύχων, ὑδροποτοῦντες καὶ γαμεῖν κωλύοντες, καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ καταξήρως προσέχοντες, μᾶλλον κυνικοὶ ἢ Χριστιανοὶ κρινόμενοι. *Phil.* VIII. 20. Cf. SATURNINUS, p. 198.

[2] Hippolytus follows the sense but varies the words. Τατιανὸς δὲ καὶ

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2. Alii autem rursus a Basilide et Carpocrate occasiones accipientes, indifferentes coitus, et multas nuptias induxerunt, et negligentiam [1] ipsorum quæ sunt idolothyta ad manducandum, non valde hæc curare dicentes Deum. Et quid enim? non est numerum dicere eorum, qui secundum alterum et alterum modum exciderunt a veritate.

LIB. I. xxvi. 2. GR. I. xxxii. MASS. I. xxviii. 2.

Κεφ. κζ'.

Quæ sunt genera Gnosticorum, et quæ secundum eos sententiæ.

'ΕΚ τῶν Βαλεντίνου [*l.* Σίμωνος] σπερμάτων τὸ τῶν Βαρβηλιωτῶν, ἤγουν Βορβοριανῶν, ἢ Ναασσινῶν, ἢ Στρατιω-

CAP. XXVII.

1. Super hos autem ex his qui prædicti sunt Simoniani multitudo Gnosticorum [2] Barbelo exsurrexit, et velut a terra

αὐτὸς γενόμενος μαθητὴς Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος, οὐχ ὅμοια τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐφρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καινά τινα ἐπιχειρήσας, ἔφη αἰῶνας τινὰς παρὰ τοὺς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσασι [*l.* ..ήσαντας]. Γάμον δὲ φθορὰν εἶναι παραπλησίως Μαρκίωνι λέγει. Τὸν δὲ Ἀδὰμ φάσκει μὴ σώζεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἀρχηγὸν παρακοῆς γεγονέναι. VIII. 16. These words confirm Grabe's reading of *nuptias*, replaced with *nuptiarum* on the faith of MSS. by Mass.

[3] τὴν αἰτιολογίαν. Since this reading makes no good sense, Massuet conjectures τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, but more probably τὴν ἐναντιολογίαν may have stood in the original. Hippolytus has τὸν δὲ Ἀδὰμ φάσκει μὴ σωθῆναι. VIII. 16.

[4] The Clerm. MS. omits the words *Dei* and *hominum* in the translation.

[5] The translator so often considers *æones* to be a feminine noun, that the Clerm. and Arund. MSS. most probably express the truer reading in *quasdam*.

[1] The Clerm. MS. omits *ipsorum*, and it is not required, for a good sense is made out by the Greek words, καὶ τὴν, εἰς τὸ φαγεῖν τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα, ἀμελείαν. For *coitus* the MSS. have *cœtus*.

[2] *Barbelo;* this name is apparently taken from the margin, where it marked the paragraph in which this Gnostic Æon was mentioned. The word must not be confounded with Βαβήλ, identified by Hippolytus with Ἀφροδίτη, *Philos.* v. 26, x. 15. The word Barbelo designates the Deity as possessing the attributes of *intellect* and *prescience*, *incorruptibility* and *life eternal*. The term was derived from a sect that had for its head a Samaritan, we may therefore reasonably look to the Syriac for an explanation. Now Βαρβηλὼ is a very legitimate abbreviation of βαρβὰ Ἠλὼ, ܒܪܒܗ ܐܠܗ, *i. e.* ἐν τετράδι Θεός. According to Theodoret, these sects affected the use of Hebrew names: ἐπιτεθείκασι δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἑβραϊκὰ ὀνόματα, καταπλήττειν τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους πειρώμενοι. The equivalent term Βορβοριανῶν given above, is evidently one of alliterative contempt, being derived from βόρβορος, mud; a Coptic root has been assigned to it by Lacroze, *Lexic. Ægypt.* p. 41, as Matter also remarks: *le nom de Borboriens n'est qu'une injure degoûtante tirée du Kopte.* Matter's Hebrew derivation ברת־בעלו *Fille du Seigneur*, does not accord with the primary position assigned to this Æon by Irenæus, who says nothing of its

Theod. H. F. xiii.

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LIB. I. xxvii. 1. GR. I. xxxiii. MASS. I. xxix. 1.

τικῶν, ἢ Φημιονιτῶν καλουμένων ἐβλάστησε μῦσος. Ὑπέθεντο γὰρ Αἰῶνα τινὰ ἀνώλεθρον ἐν παρθενικῷ διάγοντι πνεύματι, ὁ Βαρβηλὼθ ὀνομάζουσι . . . Τὴν δὲ Βαρβηλὼθ [*l.* Ἔννοιαν] αἰτῆσαι Πρόγνωσιν παρ' αὐτοῦ. Προελθούσης δὲ ταύτης, εἶτ' αὖθις αἰτησάσης, προελήλυθεν Ἀφθαρσία, ἔπειτα Αἰωνία Ζωή. Εὐφρανθεῖσαν δὲ τὴν Βαρβηλὼθ . . . ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀποτεκεῖν τὸ Φῶς. . . . Τοῦτό φασι, τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος [1]χρισθὲν τελειότητι . . . ὀνομασθῆναι Χριστὸν, οὗτος πάλιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπήγγειλεν Νοῦν . . . καὶ ἔλαβεν [*f. l.* προεβάλετο]. Ὁ δὲ Πατὴρ προστέθεικε καὶ Λόγον. Εἶτα συνεζύγησαν Ἔννοια καὶ Λόγος, Ἀφθαρσία καὶ Χριστὸς, Ζωὴ Αἰωνία καὶ τὸ Θέλημα, ὁ Νοῦς καὶ ἡ Πρόγνωσις . . . Ἔπειτα πάλιν G. 78.

[2]fungi manifestati sunt, quorum principales apud eos sententias enarramus. Quidam enim eorum Æonem quendam nunquam senescentem in virginali spiritu subjiciunt, quem Barbelon nominant. Ubi esse patrem quendam innominabilem dicunt: voluisse autem hunc manifestare se ipsi Barbeloni. Ennœam autem hanc progressam stetisse in conspectu ejus, et postulasse Prognosin. Cum prodiisset autem et Prognosis, his rursum petentibus prodiit Incorruptela: post deinde Vita æterna: in quibus gloriantem Barbelon, et prospicientem in [3]magnitudinem, et conceptu delectatam, in hanc generasse simile ei lumen. Hanc initium et luminationis, et generationis omnium dicunt: et videntem Patrem lumen hoc, unxisse illud sua benignitate, G. 107. ut perfectum fieret. Hunc autem dicunt esse Christum: qui rursus postulat, quemadmodum dicunt, adjutorium sibi dari Nun, et progressus est Nus. Super hæc autem emittit pater Logon. Conjugationes autem fient Ennoiæ et Logi, et Aphtharsias et Christi: et Æonia autem Zoe Thelemati conjuncta est, et Nus

origin, though he expressly calls it *initium et luminationis et generationis omnium*; I therefore offer the above solution as involving no such inconsistency.

[1] In the Sethian scheme the Spirit, that hovered Mithra-like midway between light and darkness, was said to be οὐχ ὡς ἄνεμος, ἢ ῥιπὴ, ἢ λεπτή τις αὖρα νοηθῆναι δυναμένη, ἀλλ' οἱονεὶ μύρου τις ὀσμὴ, ἢ θυμιάματος ἐκ συνθέσεως κατεσκευασμένου, λεπτὴ διοδεύουσα δύναμις ἀνεπινοήτῳ τῳι καὶ κρείττονι ἢ λόγῳ ἐστιν ἐξειπεῖν εὐωδίᾳ. HIPP. v. 19.

[2] *Hunc locum respexit Epiphanius, quando Hæres.* XXXI. *Valentin.* § 1, *de Gnosticis scripsit:* Δίκην μυκήτων τῇ ἀμορφίᾳ ὑπὸ μίαν θίξιν πεφήνασιν, ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ Εἰρηναίῳ ἤδη περὶ αὐτῶν προείρηται. GRABE.

[3] The CLERM. readings are here followed. The VOSS. MS. has *magnitudinem et conceptum*; the ARUND. writes both in the ablative; but a comparison of the words συλλαβοῦσαν τῇ χαρᾷ, p. 41, justifies the supposition that the Greek may have had καὶ ἀποβλέπουσαν

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ἐκ τῆς Ἐννοίας καὶ τοῦ Λόγου προβληθῆναί φασι τὸν Αὐτογενῆ . . . καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν· καὶ γενέσθαι πάλιν συζυγίαν ἑτέραν Αὐτογενοῦς καὶ Ἀληθείας. . . . . LIB. I. xxvii. 1. GR. I. xxxiii. MASS. I. xxix. 2.

Prognosi. Et magnificabant hi magnum lumen et Barbelon. M. 106. Post deinde de Ennoia et de Logo Autogenem emissum dicunt ad repræsentationem magni luminis, et valde honorificatum dicunt, et omnia huic subjecta. Coëmissam autem ei Alethiam, et esse conjugationem Autogenis et Alethiæ. De lumine autem, quod est Christus, et de incorruptela, quatuor emissa luminaria ad circumstantiam Autogeni dicunt; et de Thelemate rursus et Æonia Zoe quatuor emissiones factas ad subministrationem quatuor luminaribus, quas nominant Charin, Thelesin, [1]Synesin, Phronesin. Et Charin quidem magno et primo luminario adjunctam; hunc autem esse Sotera volunt et vocant eum [2]Armogen: Thelesin autem secundo, quem et nominant [3]Raguel: Synesin autem tertio luminario; quem vocant [4]David: Phronesin autem quarto, quem nominant [5]Eleleth. Confirmatis igitur sic omnibus, super hæc emittit

εἰς τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ συλλήψει κεχαρμένην, ἐπὶ τοῦτο γεννᾶσθαι τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτῷ φῶς.

[1] *Synesis* is the Cabbalistic בִּינָה *Understanding*, of which it is said in the *Idra Zura*, c. VIII., בִּינָה *is called* (by transposition) בֶּן יָהּ *the Son of God*. It was also said to symbolise *Father, Mother*, and *Son*, because the two letters יה, of which so much abstruse mysticism is written in the Cabbalistic books, represented, the one (י) the masculine element, the other (ה) the feminine principle in Microprosopus, the psychic androgynous Adam, e. g. *ibid.* בינה אב ואם ובן יהּ אב ואם ובן בנווייה. *Binah involves Father, Mother, and Son; יהּ expresses the Father and Mother, and* בֶּן, *the Son, is also there.* See p. 224.

[2] *Et vocant eum Armogen.* The CL. MS. has *Armogenes*, and a few lines lower *Armoge*. The other three coordinates of this Tetrad are terms of Hebrew signification, therefore the word is more likely to be Hebrew than Greek; hence אוֹר־מַעְיָן *welling-light*, may be the origin of *Armogen*. Another analysis suggests itself. It may also be a transposition of the middle syllables in the word *Argaman*, ארגמן, rendered as *purple*, Cant. vii. 6, but explained in the Cabbalistic book, אדרא רבא, XL. as *many coloured*. מהו ארגמן גווני דכלילן בגו גווני. *What is the meaning of Argaman? Colours that intermingle with others.* Since the subject under discussion is the colour of the hair of Microprosopus, the psychic Adam, it is not at all improbable that *Armogen* may have arisen from this Cabbalistic source. Colours are an effect of light; and *Armogen* was the result of a combination of *Charis* with the primary light.

[3] *Raguel*, רְעוּאֵל the Hebrew equivalent of Thelesis, *The will of God;* the CL. has *Thesin*, and previously *Enthesin*.

[4] *Dadud* perhaps may have been the original reading, which is written in the margin of the ed. princ. דוֹד is ἀγαπητός. The ARUND. has *Dadub*.

[5] *Eleleth* ܐܠܠܝܬ, καρπός, or as the CL. MS. has *Eleth*, ܐܠܝܬ θεότης.

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LIB. I. xxvii. 1. GR. I. xxxiii. MASS. I. xxix. 3.

Τὸν δὲ Αὐτογενῆ φασι προβαλέσθαι Ἄνθρωπον τέλειον καὶ ἀληθῆ, ὃν καὶ [1]Ἀδάμαντα καλοῦσι . . . προβεβλῆσθαι δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμόζυγα [2]Γνῶσιν τελείαν. Ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν ἀναδειχθῆναι μητέρα, πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Γνώσεως βεβλαστηκέναι [5]Ξύλον· Γνῶσιν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προσαγορεύουσιν.

Autogenes hominem perfectum et verum, quem et Adamantem vocant: quoniam neque ipse domatus est, neque ii ex quibus erat, qui et remotus est cum primo lumine ab Armoge. Emissam autem cum homine ab Autogene agnitionem perfectam, et conjunctam ei: unde et hunc [3]cognovisse eum qui est super omnia: virtutem quoque ei invictam datam a virginali spiritu: et [4]refrigerant in hoc omnia hymnizare magnum Æona. Hinc autem dicunt manifestatam Matrem, Patrem, Filium: ex Anthropo autem et Gnosi natum [5]lignum, quod et ipsum Gnosin vocant.

[1] *ὃν καὶ Ἀδάμαντα καλοῦσιν.* See p. 134, note 2. *Adamas* was the heavenly Æon; *Adam* was the mere human being "*of this earth, earthy;*" *καὶ τοῦτον* [*τὸν Ἀδὰμ* sc.] *εἶναι φάσκουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ἀνέδωκεν ἡ γῆ μόνον. Κεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἄπνουν, ἀκίνητον, ἀσάλευτον, ὡς ἀνδριάντα, εἰκονα ὑπάρχοντα ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄνω τοῦ ὑμνουμένου Ἀδάμαντος ἀνθρώπου, γενόμενον ὑπὸ δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν, περὶ ὧν ὁ κατὰ μέρος λόγος ἐστὶ πολύς.* HIPP. *Philos.* v. 7, 8. As the name of this sect indicates a Hebrew origin, so also it borrowed many of its notions from the Jewish Cabbala; it was, in fact, the channel through which Gnosticism obtained its first shade of Rabbinical colouring. Evidently the archetypal Adamas is no other than the אדם קדמון, or procosmic idea of man, subsisting in the Divine mind, which ranked in the Cabbala as prior to all other Aziluth, *Gnostice* Æons. This Adam Cadmon emanated from the Infinite Light; אין־סוף, *Infinity*, being the co-ordinate of אור, *Light*, because their letters respectively sum the same number, CCVII. The correlative of the procosmic Adam was the אדם אחור, or the *After-Adam* identified with the lowermost of the ten Sephiroth, מלכות, the stay and support of all created nature. These two prototypes of our race, the one ideal the other substantial, were symbolised in the Cabbala by the letter א, composed of a diagonal ו, and a double י, the upper י indicating the Adam Cadmon, the lower י the Adam אחור or אחרון. The אין־סוף or Infinite Light, and the Former and Latter Adam, are clearly traced in these Barbelonite notions.

[2] Compare p. 53, n. 1; and 76, 1.

[3] The CLERM. reading *cognovisse* seems preferable to *agnovisse*.

[4] The Greek equivalent for *refrigerare* being observed elsewhere to be *ἀναπαύεσθαι*, MASSUET rightly supposes that *requiescunt* would express more exactly the meaning of IRENÆUS. See p. 59, 6; 66, l. 1. THEODORET here fails us.

[5] *Ξύλον, the Tree of Life* and *the Tree of Knowledge*, were explained by Justin *τοῦ ψευδογνωστικοῦ*, HIPPOLYTUS, *Phil.* v. 28, and not *τοῦ μάρτυρος*, VIII. 16, as allegorising angelic beings. *Τούτου τοῦ παραδείσου ἀλληγορικῶς οἱ ἄγγελοι κέ-*

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2. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγγέλου προβληθῆναι λέγουσι Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ὁ Σοφίαν καὶ [1]Προύνικον προσηγόρευσαν. Ταύτην φασὶν . . . ἐφιεμένην ὁμόζυγος . . . ἔργον ἀποκυῆσαι, LIB. I. xxvii. 2. GR. I. xxxiii. MASS. I. xxix. 4.

2. Deinde ex primo angelo [2][qui adstat Monogeni,] emissum dicunt Spiritum sanctum, quem et Sophiam, et Prunicum vocant. Hunc igitur videntem reliqua omnia conjugationem

κληνται ξύλα, καὶ ἔστι τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς, ὁ τρίτος τῶν πατρικῶν ἀγγέλων Βαρούχ. Τὸ δὲ ξύλον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνῶσιν καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ, ὁ τρίτος τῶν μητρικῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ Νάας. HIPPOL. v. 26. In the Jewish Cabbala the tree of life, as standing in the middle of Paradise, was identified with the Tetragrammaton יהוה, the central name of the Deity in the system of Divine Sephiroth. The name Βαρούχ, ברוך, is *the Blessed;* and the Gnostic JUSTIN derives the other πατρικοὶ ἄγγελοι from the Hebrew, e. g. Μιχαὴλ, Ἀμὴν [*l.* Ἀμὴθ, אֶמֶת], Γαβριὴλ and Ἡσαδδαῖος, called in the Ophite system Ἡσαλδαῖος, אשל דיה, Gen. xxi. 33, *the Tree of God*, qualified by the term πύρινος, *Philos.* v. 7, as involving the fiery sword of the cherubim; this, therefore, is in all probability the orthography of the name.

[1] The word Προύνικος is thus explained by NICETAS: *Græci si de virginum defloratoribus loquantur, his verbis uti solent,* ἐπρουνίκευσε τήνδε· *Thes. Orth. F.* and EPIPHANIUS interprets it in a similar way; Πᾶν τὸ προυνικευόμενον λαγνείας ὑποφαίνει τὸ ἐπώνυμον, φθορᾶς δὲ τὸ ἐπιχείρημα· ἐπὶ τοῖς γὰρ τὰ σώματα διακορεύουσι, Ἑλληνικὴ τίς ἐστιν ἡ λέξις, τὸ ἐπρουνίκευσε ταύτην. *Hær.* xxv. 4. The term is explained by NEANDER, as referring to the aberration of this Æon, which constituted an intellectual πορνεία. After quoting EPIPHANIUS, he adds, *Diese Bedeutung passt durchaus, ohne dass man einen unzüchtigen Sinn hineinzulegen braucht, den vielleicht unwürdige Abarten dieser Sekte damit verbanden. Die Hinneigung der gesunkenen ψυχὴ von dem göttlichen Leben, für das sie bestimmt war, zur fremdartigen ὑλὴ wurde von diesen Theosophen häufig als πορνεία bezeichnet. z. B. Julius Cassianus bei Clemens Strom.* III. p. 466. *Die Achamoth war nun die erste allgemeine zur ὑλὴ hinabgesunkene Seele, die Ursache aller Vermischung der göttlichen Lebenskeime mit der ὑλὴ überhaupt. Also ist dieser Name sehr passend, sie von allen übrigen Genien zu unterscheiden.* NEANDER, *Gen. Entw. Anmerkungen an den Ophit.* p. 257. But the word προύνικος also means a *runner* in a foot-race, &c., and in this sense it agrees tolerably well with several expressions of IRENÆUS in speaking of the struggle of Sophia. Thus προήλατο δὲ πολὺ ὁ τελευταῖος καὶ νεώτατος τῆς δωδεκάδος. . . . ἐν πολλῷ πάνυ ἀγῶνι γενόμενον . . . ἐκτεινόμενον ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν, κ.τ.λ. I. § 2. So again, when Achamoth had been formed, but abandoned by Christ, she is said ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὁρμῆσαι τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτὸς, καὶ μὴ δυνηθῆναι καταλαβεῖν αὐτό. . . . καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ὅρον κωλύοντα αὐτὴν τῆς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ὁρμῆς, κ.τ.λ. I. § 7. In the case of Prunicus also we read, *Et non inveniens (conjugem* sc.*) exsiliit tædiata quoque, quoniam sine bona voluntate Patris impetum fecerat.* It is not impossible that the Ophite applied the term in this sense, and that his antagonists took care to explain it from a more exceptionable point of view.

[2] The words included within brackets seem to be an interpolation, no mention of Monogenes having preceded, and they are not expressed by THEODORET.

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LIB. I. xxvii. 2. GR. I. xxxiii. MASS. I. xxix. 4.

ἐν ᾧ ἦν Ἄγνοια καὶ Αὐθάδεια· τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο, Πρωτάρχοντα καλοῦσι, καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγουσι τῆς κτίσεως ποιητήν. ... Τοῦτον δὲ τῇ Αὐθαδείᾳ συναφθέντα, τὴν Κακίαν ἀπογεννῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ταύτης μόρια.

Κεφ. κη'.

Quæ est Ophitarum et Cajanorum irreligiositas et impudentia, et unde conscripta ipsorum.

1. ΟΙ δὲ Σηθιανοὶ οὓς Ὀφιανοὺς ἢ Ὀφίτας τίνες ὀνομάζουσιν, Ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσι τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων Θεὸν, φῶς Theod. H. Fab. I. 14.

habentia, se autem sine conjugatione, quæsisse cui adunaretur: et cum non inveniret, [1]asseverabat et extendebatur, et prospiciebat ad inferiores partes, putans hic invenire conjugem: et non inveniens, exsiliit tædiata quoque, quoniam sine bona voluntate patris impetum fecerat. Post deinde simplicitate et benignitate acta generavit opus, in quo erat ignorantia et audacia. Hoc autem opus ejus esse Proarchontem [Protarchontem] dicunt, fabricatorem conditionis hujus: virtutem autem magnam abstulisse eum a matre narrant, et abstitisse ab ea in inferiora, et fecisse firmamentum cœli, in quo et habitare dicunt eum. Et cum sit ignorantia, fecisse eas quæ sunt sub eo potestates, et angelos, et firmamenta, et terrena omnia. Deinde dicunt adunitum eum Authadiæ, generasse Kakian, Zelon, et [2]Phthonum, et Erinnyn, et [2]Epithymiam. Generatis autem his, mater Sophia contristata refugit, et in altiora secessit et fit deorsum numerantibus octonatio. Illa igitur secedente, se solum opinatum esse, et propter hoc dixisse: *Ego sum Deus zelator, et præter me nemo est.* Et hi quidem talia mentiuntur.

Exod. xx. 5. & Esai. xlv. 5, 6; xlvi. 9.

CAP. XXVIII.

1. [3]Alii autem rursus portentuosa loquuntur, esse quoddam primum lumen in virtute Bythi, beatum, et incorruptibile, et in- G. 108.

[1] *asseverabat.* The Latin equivalent, as GRABE remarks, of *διϊσχυρίζετο*, but perhaps *διετείνατο* may have been written, and rendered as a term in dialectics; *extendebatur* in this case would be a marginal gloss.

[2] STIEREN has no authority for his Greek terminations to these words.

[3] *Alii;* the Ophites, but, according to THEODORET, the Sethiani, whom he identifies incorrectly with the Ophites. The account given by HIPPOLYTUS has

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Hipp. Philos. vi. 53. αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐπονομάζοντες, καὶ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ἀποκαλοῦντες, καὶ ἐν Βυθῷ τὴν οἴκησιν ἔχειν διαβεβαιούμενοι. Τὴν δὲ [1]Ἔννοιαν αὐτοῦ ... Υἱὸν Ἀνθρώπου καλοῦσι, καὶ δεύτερον Ἄνθρωπον. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ὑπάρχειν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· κάτω δὲ τούτων ... τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ὕδωρ, σκότος, ἄβυσσον, χάος· θῆλυ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐπιφέρεσθαι. Ἐρασθῆναι δέ φασι τὸν πρῶτον Ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸν δεύτερον, τῆς ὥρας τοῦ Πνεύματος ... καὶ παιδοποιῆσαι φῶς ... ὁ καλοῦσι Χριστόν. ... μὴ δυνηθεῖσαν δὲ βαστάσαι τὴν θήλειαν τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ...

LIB. I. xxviii. 1. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 1.

terminatum: esse autem [2]et hoc Patrem omnium, et vocari Pri-
M. 109. mum Hominem. Ennœam autem ejus progredientem, filium dicunt emittentis, et esse hunc Filium Hominis Secundum Hominem. Sub his autem Spiritum sanctum esse, et sub superiori spiritu segregata elementa, aquam, tenebras, abyssum, chaos, super quæ ferri Spiritum dicunt, primam fœminam eum vocantes. Postea, dicunt, exultante primo homine cum filio suo super formositate Spiritus, hoc est fœminæ, et [3]illuminante eam, generavit ex ea lumen incorruptibile, tertium masculum, quem Christum vocant, filium Primi et Secundi Hominis et Spiritus sancti primæ fœminæ, concumbentibus autem patre et filio fœminæ, quam et matrem viventium dicunt. [4]Cum autem non potuisset portare nec capere magnitudinem luminum, superrepletam et

only a general resemblance with this anonymous sect. The Sethians believed in a Trinity of first principles; Light Darkness and Spirit; of which we see but faint traces in this chapter. The Sethians are described by EPIPHANIUS as the 39th heresy, the Ophites as the 37th; and of these latter IRENÆUS now speaks, as may be seen from the close of this chapter. Cf. p. 134, note 2.

[1] We have here a modification of the Simonian theory, that the Deity re-acting upon his own intelligence produced ἔννοια, as HIPPOLYTUS says, ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ ἑαυτοῦ προαγαγὼν ἐφανέρωσεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπίνοιαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ φανεῖσα ἐπίνοια οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ ἰδοῦσα αὐτὸν, ἐνέκρυψε τὸν πατέρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ. *Philos.* VI. 18.

[2] *Et* is omitted by MASS. and STIEREN, but the AR. MS. has it; as also *vocare*, where MASS. adopts the CLERM. reading *invocari*. On the same authority *hunc* replaces *hanc* in the next sentence.

[3] The MSS. have *illuminantem*.

[4] *cum autem*. The second word is completely out of place according to the usual punctuation, *cum* continuing the period. GRABE proposes to eliminate *autem*, and the Benedictine brackets it for omission, allowing, however, that it has a place in every MS. and every edition. The text of THEODORET, though confessedly an abstract, suggests *Cum* after a full stop. In that case *concumbentibus*, &c. must be considered as explanatory of the preceding.

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ὑπερβλύσαι . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν Χριστὸν . . . σὺν τῇ μητρὶ εἰς τὸν ἄφθαρτον ἀναspασθῆναι Αἰῶνα, ἣν καὶ ἀληθινὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι. . . .

2. Τὴν δὲ ἀναβλυσθεῖσαν τοῦ φωτὸς ἰκμάδα . . . ἐκπεσεῖν κάτω φασι . . . καὶ κληθῆναι Σοφίαν καὶ Προύνικον καὶ Ἀρρενόθηλυν. Διανηχομένην δὲ ἐν τοῖς [1]ὕδασι . . . προσλαβεῖν μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν σῶμα . . . καὶ βαρυνθῆναι, καὶ ὑποβρύχιον κινδυ-

superebullientem secundum sinisteriores partes dicunt: et sic quidem filium eorum solum Christum, quasi dextrum, et in superiora allevatitium, arreptum statim cum matre in incorruptibilem Æonem. Esse autem hanc et veram, et sanctam Ecclesiam, quæ fuerit appellatio et conventio et adunatio Patris omnium, Primi Hominis, et Filii, Secundi Hominis, et Christi, filii eorum, et prædictæ fœminæ.

2. Virtutem autem quæ superebulliit ex fœmina, habentem humectationem luminis, [2]a patribus decidisse deorsum docent, sua autem voluntate habentem humectationem luminis: quam et Sinistram, et Prunicon, et Sophiam, et masculo-fœminam vocant. Et descendentem simpliciter in aquas, cum essent immobiles, et [3]movisse quoque eas, petulanter agentem usque

[1] The Ophites followed Thales in considering water to be the origin of the world of matter, of which element the serpent was an emblem, so HIPPOLYTUS, εἶναι δὲ τὸν ὄφιν λέγουσιν οὗτοι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν, καθάπερ καὶ Θαλὴς ὁ Μιλήσιος, καὶ μηδὲν δύνασθαι τῶν ὄντων ὅλως, ἀθανάτων ἢ θνητῶν, τῶν ἐμψύχων ἢ ἀψύχων, συνεστηκέναι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. *Philos.* v. 9, med. Accordingly the serpent was said to occupy an intermediate position between the Deity and matter; it typified also the immaterial world of intellect; so HIPPOLYTUS introduces the preceding passage with the words κἀκείνῳ μόνῳ τῷ νάας ἀνακεῖσθαι πᾶν ἱερὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τελετὴν καὶ πᾶν μυστήριον. The Peratæ affirmed that it represented the Logos, οὐδεὶς . . . . δυνάμενος σῶσαι καὶ ῥύσασθαι τοὺς ἐκπορευομένους ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, τουτέστιν ἐκ σώματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ τέλειος, ὁ πλήρης τῶν πληρῶν ὄφις· ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὁ ἐλπίσας, ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων τῆς ἐρήμου οὐ διαφθείρεται, τούτεστι τῶν Θεῶν τῆς γενέσεως. v. 16. Ὁ καθολικὸς ὄφις, φησίν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σοφὸς τῆς Εὔας λόγος. *ib.* . . . . οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ μεγάλη ἀρχὴ περὶ ἧς γέγραπται . . . . ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος. *ib.*, and in the next section he clearly identifies the terms Λόγος and ὄφις, *e. g.* Ἔστι κατ' αὐτοὺς τὸ πᾶν, πατὴρ υἱὸς ὕλη . . . . καθέζεται οὖν μέσος τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, ὁ λόγος, ὁ ὄφις ἀεὶ κινούμενος πρὸς ἀκίνητον τὸν πατέρα, καὶ κινουμένην τὴν ὑλήν, καὶ . . . . ἐκτυποῦται τὰς ἰδέας ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἃς ὁ υἱὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτυπώσατο. v. 17. Upon the relative tenets of the Ophites, Peratæ, and Sethians, the reader may consult the prefatory remarks.

[2] *i. e. a copatribus*, p. 227.

[3] *Ne* is expunged, the ARUND. alone has it; the other MSS. omit it.

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νεῦσαι γενέσθαι . . . ἀναδύναι δὲ, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περικειμένου σώματος κατασκευάσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν . . . Ἐκεῖνον δὲ υἱὸν τοῦ Προυνίκου καλοῦσι . . . Κἀκεῖνος δὲ πάλιν ἄλλον υἱὸν προεβάλετο . . . καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου συστῆναι λέγουσιν ἕτερον . . . καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἑπτὰ ἀριθμοῦ προβῆναι τὰς προβολάς. LIB. I. xxviii. 2. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 3.

ad abyssos: et assumpsisse ex eis corpus. Humectationi enim luminis ejus omnia accurrisse et adhæsisse dicunt, et circumtenuisse eam: quam nisi habuisset, tota absorpta fortasse fuisset et demersa a materia. Deligatam igitur hanc a corpore, quod erat a materia, et valde gravatam [1]repsisse [resipuisse] aliquando, et conatam esse fugere aquas, et ascendere ad matrem; non potuisse [2][eam] autem propter gravedinem circumpositi corporis. Valde autem male se habentem machinatam esse abscondere illud quod erat desuper lumen, timentem ne et ipsum læderetur ab inferioribus elementis, quemadmodum et ipsa. Et cum virtutem accepisset ab humectatione ejus quod erat secundum eam lumen, resiliit, et in sublimitatem elata est, et facta in alto [3]dilatavit, et cooperuit, et fecit cœlum hoc quod apparet, a [e] [4]corpore ejus; et remansit sub cœlo quod fecit, adhuc habens aquatilis corporis typum. Cum accepisset con-
G. 109. cupiscentiam superioris luminis, et virtutem sumpsisset per omnia, deposuisse corpus et liberatam ab eo. [5]Corpus autem hoc exuisse dicunt eam, fœminam a fœmina nominant. Et filium autem ejus dicunt habuisse et ipsum aspirationem quandam in se [6]incorruptelæ a matre relictam ei, per quam operatur, et potens factus emisit et ipse, ut dicunt, ab aquis filium sine matre: neque enim cognovisse matrem eum volunt. Et filium ejus secundum patris imitationem alterum emisisse filium. Hic quoque tertius quartum generavit, et quartus et ipse generavit filium; de quinto sextum filium generatum dicunt: et sextus

[1] The ARUND. reading.

[2] *eam* is not in the CLERM. MS.

[3] ἐπῆρε δὲ ἑαυτὴν κατὰ βίαν εἰς τὰ ἀνώτερα καὶ ἐξέτεινεν ἑαυτήν. EPIPHAN. *Hær.* XXXVII. 3. These expressions call to mind PLUTARCH'S description of the commencement of the Persian cosmogony: ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν. *Is. et Os.* 47.

[4] HIPPOLYTUS says that Simon made οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ the correlatives of νοῦς and ἐπίνοια, and that οὐρανὸς was the male σύζυγος. Τῶν δὲ ἐξ δυνάμεων τούτων....καλεῖ τὴν πρώτην συζυγίαν νοῦν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρσενα ἄνωθεν ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ προνοεῖν τῆς συζύγου, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὑποδέχεσθαι κάτω τοὺς...συγγενεῖς καρπούς. VI. 13. Compare p. 44, note 1.

[5] The Greek perhaps ran, σῶμα δὲ τοῦτο, ὅ φασιν, κ.τ.λ., of which the relative pronoun was lost to the translator.

[6] Cf. p. 51. The CLERM. MS. has *corruptelæ*, but the mistake is evident.

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3. Ὑφ' ἑκάστου δὲ τούτων ἕνα οὐρανὸν δημιουργηθῆναι, καὶ ἕκαστον οἰκεῖν τὸν οἰκεῖον . . . Διαστασιάσαι δέ φασι τοὺς

septimum generavit. Sic quoque hebdomas perfecta est apud eos, octavum matre habente locum: et quemadmodum generationibus, sic et dignitatibus, et virtutibus præcedere eos ab invicem.

3. Et nomina autem mendacio suo talia posuerunt: eum enim qui a matre primus sit, [1]Ialdabaoth vocari: eum autem qui sit ab eo, [2]Iao; et qui ab eo, Sabaoth [3][magnum;] quartum autem Adoneum, et quintum Eloeum, et sextum [4]Oreum, septimum autem et novissimum omnium [5]Astaphæum [*l.* Astanphæum]. Hos autem cœlos, et [6]areothas, et virtutes, et

[1] *Ialdabaoth.* La Croix derives this appellative for the principal Ophite emanation from the three words, יה, אל, דבא, meaning either *Deus fortis sermonum*, for which latter term there is not a shadow of proof in the Hebrew; or *fortitudinis*, for which there is but little more to be said. He adds, *utramque expositionem affert R. Salomo Jarchius;* which is not the case. The Vulgate renders the ἅπαξ λεγόμενον דבא, Deut. xxxiii. 25, by *senectus tua*, agreeing with one of the two interpretations offered by R. Salomon Jarchi כימים טובים לך סהן (סהם *l.*) ימי תחילתך ימי נעוריך כן יהיו ימי זקונתך סהם דחנים זבים ומתמיטטים *As the days of thy prosperity, which are the days of thy first condition, the days of thy youth, so shall be the days of thine old age, that are faint, feeble and tremulous.* Here Jarchi evidently identifies דבא with דאב. He then adds a second explanation כימיך . . . . כל הימים שתתם טוסים רצונו של מקום יהיו דנחך שכל התרנות דנחות כסף לארץ ישראל שתהא מבורכת בפירות וגומ" *As thy days. . . . (all the days in which thou shalt perform the will of God,) so shall thy return be; for all lands shall bring money to the land of Israel, which shall be blessed in her fruits, &c.* Here the word דבא is rendered as *making return.* But in neither case does Jarchi render the term as *sermo;* and if he assigns to it the meaning of *substance* or *reditus*, this is very wide of *robur* and *fortitudo.* The Hebrew etymology, therefore, of La Croix falls to the ground; and possibly it was a sense of his own vulnerability that made him spare other expositors, for he adds, *sed non sunt irritandi homines, qui fœnum in cornu gerunt.* Gesenius, arguing from the Arabic analogy ذَبَّ *to rest*, says that the term should have been rendered, *as thy life is, so shall be thy death; Wie dein Leben, so dein Tod.* Altogether, therefore, דבא must be set aside. Feuardentius imagines the term to mean ילד־אבות, *a patribus genitus;* which makes no suitable sense, where the Æon is first of a series; or *qui generavit patres*, which scarcely consists with the analogy of the Hebrew language. The names that follow being principally borrowed from a true theology, in this instance also the derivation may be taken from the Chaldee יַהּ־אֱלַ־דַּאֲבָהוֹת, *Dominus Deus Patrum*, a name peculiarly applicable; Ialdabaoth being said to have made choice of Abraham after the flood.

[2] Ἰαώ = Ἰαώ, the Greek equivalent of Jehovah; upon which the reader is

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angelos, et conditores subjiciunt per [1]ordinem sedentes in cœlo secundum generationem ipsorum, non apparentes, regere quoque cœlestia et terrestria; primo ipsorum Ialdabaoth contemnente matrem, in eo quod filios et nepotes sine ullius permissu fecerit, [2]adhuc etiam angelos, et archangelos, et virtutes, et potestates, et dominationes. Quibus factis ad litem et jurgium adversus

referred to p. 33, note 8, and to the editor's *Hist. and Theo. of the Creeds*, p. 249. It may be observed that the Tetragrammaton יהוה in the Cabbalistic Sephiroth, is not at the head, but in the centre of the series. So here it occupies a subordinate position to Ialdabaoth. Sabaoth, Adoneum, Eloeum, are of course the several terms צבאות . אדני . אלהים, of which nothing need be said further than that they give the name and title respectively to the 8th, 10th, and 5th of the Cabbalistic Sephiroth.

[3] *Magnum* is bracketed for omission. It is not read in the CLERM. or VOSS. MSS., or in the PASS., and was probably introduced by some writer mistaking the IV. following for M.

[4] *Oreum*. Referring again to the cabbalistic theology, we may identify this term with the word אור, light, which we have already had in Harmogen, see p. 223, n. 1, to which it may be added, that בינה, the third of the Sephiroth, was called by this name, as illuminating the five Sephiroth next in order; indeed there is no term of such universal combination with others in the Cabbalistic theology as אור.

[5] *Astaphæum*. LA CROIX interprets this name as הַשְׁטָפָה, *inundatio;* and ORIGEN, in recording the Ophite mode of addressing each of these Æons, says that Astaphæus was invoked as the third in order, *τρίτης Ἀρχων πύλης Ἀσταφαιὲ, ἐπίσκοπε πρώτης ὕδατος ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ. c. Cels.* VI. 31. The Sethian so far agreed with the Ophite as to combine the element of water with one of his three first principles, *αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν φησὶν οὐσίαι, φῶς καὶ σκότος· τούτων δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον*, and darkness is defined in a manner that harmonises tolerably well with this solution of the name Astaphæus, *τὸ δὲ σκότος ὕδωρ ἐστὶ φοβερόν.* HIPPOL. V. 19. But the presence of such a term among the easily recognisable Hebrew appellatives of the Deity is a difficulty. An Arabic solution will be thought perhaps not less so; although for this *κοσμοποιὸς ἄγγελος* a very appropriate meaning may be deduced from the root صنف, *in ordinem redegit*, and where the word next occurs, the whole weight of MSS. and earlier editions establishes the reading *Astanfei*. But a Hebrew derivation is more satisfactory. Retaining therefore the same elements, and referring it to the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* צנף, Is. xxii. 18, which the LXX. renders by the selfsame word *στέφανος*, we may identify it with the first of the Cabbalistic Sephiroth כתר, *corona*, of which the mystical name אהיה, I AM, was the exponent. It is also worthy of remark, that in this place the CLERM. MS. reads *Adstafeum*, indicating the צ. The usual Chaldaic word for *a royal tiara or diadem* is מְצַנְּפְתָּא, the same as the Hebrew צניף, as the emblem of power, therefore, it may symbolise the lowest of the Sephiroth, viz. כתר = מַלְכוּת, *the Kingdom;* compare the cognate term שׁוּלְטָנָה, *ἐξουσία*, p. 69, note 3.

[6] *areothas* clearly represents *ἀρετάς*, the word *δυνάμεις* following being rendered *virtutes*. *Subjiciunt*, as before, expresses *ὑποτίθενται, they suppose.*

[1] See pp. 44, 45.

[2] *Ἔτι δέ.*

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ἄλλους πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον . . . τὸν δὲ ἀθυμήσαντα, εἰς τὴν τρύγα τῆς ὕλης ἐρεῖσθαι [*f. l.* ἐρείδεσθαι] τὴν ἔννοιαν, καὶ γεννῆσαι υἱὸν . . . [1]ὀφιόμορφον ἐξ αὐτῆς . . . εἶτα καυχώμενον . . . εἰπεῖν, Ἐγὼ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ οὐδείς. Τὴν δὲ μητέρα δυσχεράνασαν ἐπιβοῆσαι αὐτῷ, Μὴ ψεύδου· ἔστι γὰρ ὑπὲρ σὲ Πατὴρ ἁπάντων, πρῶτος Ἄνθρωπος

eum conversos esse filios ejus de principatu: propter quæ contristatum Ialdabaoth, et desperantem, conspexisse in subjacentem fæcem materiæ, et consolidasse concupiscentiam suam in M. II eam, unde natum filium dicunt. Hunc autem ipsum esse Nun in figura [1]serpentis contortum, dehinc et Spiritum, et animam, et omnia mundialia: inde generatam omnem oblivionem, et malitiam, et zelum, et invidiam, et mortem. Hunc autem serpentiformem et contortum Nun eorum adhuc magis evertisse Patrem dicunt tortuositate, cum esset cum Patre ipsorum in cœlo et in paradiso. Unde exultantem Ialdabaoth in omnibus his quæ sub eo essent gloriatum, et dixisse: *Ego Pater et Deus, et super me nemo.* [2]Audientem autem matrem clamasse adversus eum; *Noli mentiri, Ialdabaoth: est enim super te pater omnium primus Anthropus, et Anthropus filius Anthropi.* Conturbatis autem omnibus ad novam vocem, et inopinabili nuncupatione, et quærentibus unde clamor, ad avocandos eos, et ad se seducendum, dixisse Ialdabaoth dicunt: *Venite faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram.* Sex autem virtutes audientes hæc, matre dante illis excogitationem hominis, uti per eum evacuet eos a principali virtute, convenientes formaverunt hominem immensum latitudine [3]et longitudine: [4]scarizante autem eo tantum, advexerunt eum patri suo, et hoc Sophia operante uti et illum

Gen. i. 26.

[1] Hence the appellation of Ophites was applied to this heretical sect. See the *Libellus* affixed to the *Præscriptio* of TERTULLIAN. *Sic rursum Ialdabaoth istum in indignationem conversum ex semetipso edidisse virtutem, et similitudinem serpentis, et hanc fuisse virtutem in Paradiso,* &c. c. 47.

[2] THEODORET rather indicates *indignantem.*

[3] *et longitudine* are omitted in the CLERM. MS. This notion is also borrowed from the Rabbinical λῆρήματα of the Jews. The Talmud, Tr. חגיגה, an almost contemporaneous production, says, on the authority of R. ELIEZER, that Adam, when created, reached from earth to the firmament of heaven. אמר ר׳ אליעזר אדם הראשון מן הארץ עד לרקיע. While R. JUDAH was content with saying that he stretched from one end of the earth to the other. אדם הראשון

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[*suppl.* καὶ Ἄνθρωπος] Υἱὸς Ἀνθρώπου... Τούτων δὲ φησιν ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων τοῦ ὄφεως ὁ Πατὴρ ἔφη, Δεῦτε ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμῶν. LIB. I. xxviii. 3. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 6.

c. 110. evacuet ab humectatione luminis, uti non [1]posset erigi adversus eos qui sursum [sunt], habens virtutem. Illo autem insufflante in hominem spiritum vitæ, latenter evacuatum eum a virtute dicunt: hominem autem inde habuisse Nun, et Enthymesin; et hæc esse quæ salvantur, dicunt: et statim gratias agere eum Primo Homini, relictis fabricatoribus.

4. Zelantem autem Ialdabaoth voluisse excogitare evacuare hominem per fœminam, [2]et de sua Enthymesi eduxisse fœminam, quam illa Prunicos suscipiens invisibiliter evacuavit a virtute. Reliquos autem venientes et mirantes formositatem ejus, vocasse eam Evam, et concupiscentes hanc, generasse ex ea [3][sibi] filios,

מסוף הארץ ועד סופו. And R. SOLOMON with greater precision tells us, that when the Protoplast lay down, his head was in the East, his feet in the West. בשהיה שוכב היה ראשו למזרח ורגליו למערב. Later writers pretend to give the measure; this same fable is repeated in the Tract *Sanhedrin* of the Talmud, and transferred to the two highly ancient Rabbinical writings, the *Midrash Tehillim* or Commentary on the Psalms, Ps. cxxxix, and the *Bereshith Rabba* פ. xxi. The Cabbalistic treatise, *Idra Rabba*, measures the length of Microprosopus or the psychic Adam by the worlds through which he extended, ארכיה דההוא אמה מאתן וארבעין ותמניא עלמין. c. xl.

[4] *Scarizante, writhing.* So the *Libellus* in the works of TERTULLIAN (*Præscr.* 47), *et quia ab infirmioribus et mediocribus virtutibus institutus esset, quasi vermem jacuisse reptantem.* The very word, however, occurs in HIPPOLYTUS, as we have already observed. Compare p. 197.

[1] The AR. reads *posse*, the Greek may have been, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι. *Sunt* is omitted in the same MS.

[2] *et de sua Enthymesi.* BAUR incorrectly observes that the Greek words καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως αὐτοῦ should have been rendered *et de ejus Enthymesi* (sc. *Adami*), for Adam was inspired by Ialdabaoth with Νοῦς and Ἐνθύμησις, which were then imparted through him to Eve. See BAUR'S *Christliche Gnosis*, p. 175, but an ideal and not the choic Eve is here intended. Cf. note 3, end.

[3] *Sibi*, AR.; it is omitted in the CL. There is much similarity between the Ophite theory of the generation of angels by these inferior Æons, and the account preserved to us by HIPPOLYTUS of a parallel ἀγγελογονία, as imagined by JUSTIN, the Gnostic, whose opinions he records somewhat at length; only in this latter case the principal ἀρχὴ is the generative cause of the angels' existence. The passage in HIPPOLYTUS is *Ph.* v. 26: ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ τὴν μιξοπάρθενον ἐκείνην ἀπρόγνωστος ὢν τὴν Ἐδὲμ, ἦλθεν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῆς. Ἔλωείμ δέ φησιν καλεῖται οὗτος ὁ πατήρ· οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐπεθύμησε καὶ ἡ Ἐδὲμ τοῦ Ἔλωείμ, καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐπιθυμία εἰς μίαν φιλίας εὔνοιαν. Γεννᾷ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς συνόδου τῆς τοιαύτης ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῆς Ἐδὲμ ἑαυτῷ ἀγγέλους δώδεκα. Ὀνόματα δέ ἐστι τῶν πατρικῶν ἀγγέλων τάδε· Μιχαήλ, κ.τ.λ. See p. 236, note 4. The names

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LIB. I. xxviii. 4. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 7.

quos et angelos esse dicunt. Mater autem ipsorum [1]argumentata est per serpentem seducere Evam et Adam, supergredi præceptum Ialdabaoth; Eva autem quasi a Filio Dei hoc audiens, facile credidit, et Adam suasit manducare de arbore, de qua dixerat Deus, non manducare. Manducantes autem eos cognovisse eam quæ est super omnia virtutem dicunt, et abscessisse [2]ab his qui fecerant eos. Prunicum autem videntem, quoniam et [3]per suum plasma victi sunt, valde gratulatam, et rursum exclamasse, quoniam, cum esset Pater incorruptibilis, olim hic semetipsum vocans Patrem, mentitus est: et cum Homo olim esset et [4]Prima Fœmina, et [5]hæc adulterans peccavit. Ialdabaoth autem propter eam quæ circa eum erat oblivionem, ne quidem intendentem ad hæc, projecisse Adam et Evam de paradiso, quoniam transgressi erant præceptum ejus. Voluisse enim filios ei ex Eva generari, et non adeptum esse, quoniam mater sua in omnibus contrairet ei, et latenter evacuans Adam et Evam ab humectatione luminis, uti neque maledictionem participaret, neque opprobrium, is qui esset a principalitate spiritus.

also are added of the μητρικοὶ ἄγγελοι, which preserve a family likeness with the names of some of the angels, &c. in other Gnostic systems, such as Βάβελ, Ἀχαμῶς, Νάας, Καυθᾶν (? Καυλακαῦ). *Philos.* v. 26. And the account both of IRENÆUS and EPIPHANIUS may be recognised in the following puerile Rabbinical romance. רבי סימון אמר אם כל חי אימן של כל החים ויאמר ר׳ סימון כל מאה ושלשים שנה שפירשה חווה מאדם היו רוחות הזכרים מתחממין ממנה והיא יולדת מהם. *Beresh. Rabb.* in Gen. iii. 20. The same, however, is said of Adam and *Lilith seine erste Frau* (GÖTHE). For as a Cabbalistic distinction is drawn between the protideal Man, Gen. i. 27, and man, of bodily organisation, Gen. ii. 7, so also with Woman; and before Eve was taken from the side of Adam, there is a Rabbinical account of a more spectral creation; thus the *Sepher ben Sira* having quoted the Scripture, *it is not good that man should be alone*, Gen. ii. 18, proceeds to say that הק״בה ברא לו אישה מן האדמה כמו הוא וקראה לילית, *God created woman, such as Adam was, from the earth, and called her Lilith.* לא היתה בשר רק זוהמה דארעה וישמרים *And this phantom was not of flesh and blood, but of the dregs of the earth,* and of her a series of spirits were generated. The reader will pardon the production of this trash, but it is necessary that the ravings of heresy should be traced to their source.

[1] *argumentata est*, the translation, as STIEREN imagines, of ἐπεχείρησε. But it is scarcely probable that the translator should have rendered it by a forensic term, when the more obvious *conata est* would have preserved a perfect sense. ἐτεκμαίρετο, as proposed by GRABE, is also open to objection. We fall back, therefore, upon MASSUET's conjecture ἐσοφίσατο, *callide molita est.*

[2] *ab his, i. e.* Ialdabaoth &c.

[3] *per suum plasma*, the pair, though BAUR, upon insufficient grounds, would limit it to Eve; "*Ohne Zweifel ist hier unter* plasma *blos die Eva zu verstehen,*" for Ialdabaoth and his compeers were thwarted by both.

[4] *Spiritus S. Primæ Fœminæ*, p. 227.

[5] *i.e.* Eva.

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Sic quoque vacuos a divina substantia factos, maledictos esse ab eo, [1]et dejectos a cœlo in hunc mundum docent. Sed et serpentem [2]adversus patrem operantem dejectum ab eo in deorsum mundum: in potestatem autem suam redigentem angelos qui hic sunt, et ipsum sex filios generasse, septimo ipso exsistente ad imitationem ejus, quæ circa Patrem est, hebdomadis. Et hos septem dæmonas mundiales esse dicunt, adversantes et resistentes semper generi humano, quoniam propter eos pater illorum projectus est deorsum.

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5. Adam autem et Evam prius quidem habuisse levia et clara, et velut spiritalia corpora, quemadmodum et plasmati sunt; venientes autem huc, demutasse in obscurius, et pinguius, et pigrius; sed et animam dissolutam et languidam: quippe a factore tantummodo [3]insufflationem mundialem habentes, quoadusque Prunicos miserata eorum, reddidit eis odorem suavitatis humectationis luminis: per quam in commemorationem venerunt

[1] Throughout, this section is full of Rabbinical allusions and statements. Here we have reference to Adam's fall from the fourth heaven, in which the scene of Paradise was laid, to this lower earth, as we read in the ancient treatise עמק המלך, פ"שבע ארצות, *Of the Seven Earths*, the correlative of seven firmaments. Paradise was the fourth in an ascending scale, וכשנגרש אדם הראשון מגן עדן שלחו הק"בה לארץ התחתונה שהוא מקום חושך שאין שם שום דבר וכיון שנכנם שם אדם הראשון נפל עליו פחד ואימה חשיכה גדולה מאוד ולהט החרב המתהפכת היה מלהט בכל צד ופנת הארץ ההיא שלא היה לו מקום להסתיר שמה.....והיה מעלהו הק"בה על הארמה שהיא שניה ממטה למעלה שנא' וישלחהו וגו'. *And when the Almighty drove forth Adam from Paradise he cast him on the lowermost earth, a place of darkness and void.... And when Adam came there, fear and dismay and exceeding great darkness fell upon him, and the gleam of the flaming sword was in every spot and corner of this earth, so that he had no place to hide himself.... The Almighty then raised him to Adamah, the second in an ascending series, as it is said, and the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground* (*Adamah*), from whence he was taken.

[2] *adversus patrem*. Ialdabaoth was ignorant of the superior powers of this system. The serpent Nûs was his offspring. Prunicus acting upon Adam and Eve by the serpent, caused their defection from Ialdabaoth, but at the same time their eyes were opened, and they obtained that knowledge of the supreme power which was denied to Ialdabaoth.

[3] Being formed, as the book *Zohar* on the Song of Solomon says, from the same dust of which the temple was subsequently formed; ברא הק"בה לאדם הראשון מעפרא דבי' מקדשא נטיל ומתמן אתבריא ונפח באנפוי נשמתא דחיי In the same way the material from whence the first parent of the human race was made, is thus described by the Gnostic JUSTIN: οἱ τοῦ Ἐλωεὶμ ἄγγελοι λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς καλλίστης γῆς, τουτέστιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ θηριώδους μέρους τῆς Ἐδὲμ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ βουβῶνα ἀνθρωποειδῶν καὶ ἡμέρων χωρίων τῆς γῆς, πολουσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. HIPPOL. *Phil.* v. 26.

We have already had occasion to remark the distinction drawn between נשמה and נפש, p. 161, n. 3.

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suam ipsorum, et cognoverunt seipsos nudos et corporis materiam; et cognoverunt, quoniam mortem bajulant, et [1]magnanimes exstiterunt, cognoscentes quoniam ad tempus corpus circumdatum est eis: et escas quoque invenisse eos, præeunte eis Sophia, et satiatos coisse invicem carnaliter, et generasse Cain, quem dejectibilis serpens cum filiis suis statim suscipiens evertit, et adimplevit mundiali oblivione, in stultitiam et audaciam immit- M. III. tens, ita ut et dum fratrem suum Abel occideret, primus zelum et mortem ostenderit. Post quos secundum providentiam Prunici dicunt generatum Seth, post [2]Noream: ex quibus reliquam multitudinem hominum generatam dicunt, et ab inferiori heb- G. III. domade in omnem malitiam immissam, et apostasiam [3]superiori sanctæ hebdomadæ, et idolatriam, et reliquam universam contemtionem, cum contraria eis esset semper mater invisibiliter, et proprium salvaret, hoc est, humectationem luminis. Sanctam autem hebdomadam septem stellas, quas dicunt planetas, esse volunt, et projectibilem serpentem duo habere nomina, [4]Michael et Samael, dicunt. Iratum autem Ialdabaoth hominibus, quo-

[1] *magnanimes: longanimes* would have been the better word, meaning patient, *μακροθυμοῦντες*.

[2] ARUND. *Norean:* נערה, *puella*, of whom nothing is known.

[3] The conjectural emendation of GRABE makes out a consistent sense, *a superiori sancta hebdomade;* having reference to the defection caused by Prunicos. The superior hebdomad was headed by Bythus, the inferior by Ialdabaoth.

[4] *Michael* was the first of the *μητρικοὶ ἄγγελοι* engendered by Ἐλωεὶμ and Ἐδέμ. See p. 233, note 4. He had in charge the element of water, as in the book עמודי השיבה it is said, מיכאל הוא יסודו מים ולכך הוא שר של מים This is in keeping with the notion that the serpent, or Noûs, was the offspring of Ialdabaoth, who had himself a watery origin. He was the tutelary angel also of the Jewish people, from the time when he wrestled with Jacob. In the Cabbalistic account of angels Sammael was the evil spirit that brought about the fall of man by means of the serpent, and was called the Angel of Death, the Prince of Air. So in Gen. iii. 6, the *Targum* of JONATHAN has וַחֲמָת אִתְּתָא יַת סַמָּאֵל מַלְאַךְ דְּמוֹתָא *The woman beheld Sammael, the Angel of Death.* MAIMONIDES also in the *More Nevochim*, II. 30, says that Sammael is but another name of Satan, and that he tempted Eve under the form of the serpent; in the Commentary also *Debarim Rabba* he is called סַמָּאֵל רָשָׁע רֹאשׁ כָּל הַשָּׂטָנִים *Sammael, the evil one, chief of devils.* He was also known, according to R. ELIAS, as *Asmodeus*. The reading of Σαμαννὰ is found in THEODORET, *καὶ τὸν ὀφιόμορφον δὲ ἐκεῖνον* Μιχαὴλ *καὶ* Σαμαννὰ *ὀνομάζουσι. H. Fab.* I. 14. If it were not for the translation, and for the Rabbinical authority for *Sammael*, this might be imagined to be a true reading; for as summed with the Hebdomad, the Serpentiform Æon made an Ogdoad, *i. e.* שְׁמִינִי, *octavus*. *Sammael* is certainly a name *mali ominis* to give to the symbol of Intellect.

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niam eum non colebant, neque honorificabant, quasi Patrem et Deum diluvium eis immisisse, ut omnes simul perderet. Contra stante autem et hic Sophia, salvatos eos esse qui circa Noë erant in arca, propter humectationem illius luminis quod ab ea erat, per quam iterum adimpletum esse mundum hominibus: ex quibus quendam Abraham elegisse et ipsum Ialdabaoth, et testamentum posuisse ad eum, si perseveraverit semen ejus serviens ei, dare ei hæreditatem terræ. Post per Moysen eduxisse ex Ægypto eos qui ab Abraham essent, et dedisse eis legem, et fecisse eos Judæos, [1]ex quibus elegisse septem dies, quos et sanctam hebdomadam vocant. Et unusquisque eorum suum præconem assumit ad gloriandum, et Deum annunciandum, uti et reliqui audientes glorias, servirent et ipsi his qui a prophetis annunciantur dii. Sic autem prophetas distribuunt: hujus quidem Ialdabaoth Moysen fuisse, et Jesum Nave, et Amos, et Abacuc: illius autem Iao, Samuel, et Nathan, et Jonam, et Michæam: illius autem Sabaoth, Heliam, et Joel, et Zachariam: illius autem Adonai, Esaiam, et Ezechiel, et Jeremiam, et Daniel: illius autem Eloi, Tobiam, et Aggæum: illius autem Orei, Michæam, et Nahum: illius autem [2]Astanfei, Hesdram, et Sophoniam.

LIB. I. xxviii. 5. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 10.

6. Horum igitur [3]unusquisque glorificans suum patrem et Deum, Sophiam et ipsam per eos multa locutam esse de Primo

[1] There is some difficulty in these words, and GRABE, contrary to his usual custom, waives it. MASSUET, considering that *Judæos* is the antecedent to which *ex quibus* refers, casts about for some Greek equivalent for *dies* applying to these planetary Æons, that may assist to clear the sense. He considers that φάεα is such a word, the meaning being, that Ialdabaoth made the Jews his peculiar people, and that the seven Æons chose each a prophet to glorify himself. But it is difficult to imagine that the translator having the word φάεα, or any other such word in his text, should have rendered it by *dies*, thereby confounding a very palpable and easy meaning. The best way, however, to look at all these difficulties is through the medium of the Greek; the Latin translation was in all probability suggested by some such words as follow. Ἐξ ὧν (χρονῶν *scil.*) ἐκλέξασθαι τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, ἃς καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Ἑβδομάδα καλοῦσι. Καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὸν κήρυκα αὐτοῦ προσλαμβάνει εἰς τὸ δοξάζεσθαι καὶ ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι τὸν Θεὸν, ἵνα καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀκούοντες, αὐτοὶ δουλεύσωσι τοῖς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἀπηγγελμένοις θεοῖς. Each deified day of the week had his ministering prophets. Cf. the sequel, *Horum igitur unusquisque glorificans suum Patrem et Deum.*

[2] The CLERM. MS. has *Astanfi dei.*

[3] *Unusquisque glorificans;* the use of the participle without a finite verb, though rare in classical writers, is not wholly unknown, *e.g.* οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα, οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν. THUCYD. I. 25. In such cases the finite verb must be

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LIB. I. xxviii. 6. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 11, 12.

Homine [1]et incorruptibili Æone, et de illo Christo, qui sit sursum, dicunt, præmonentem et remorantem homines in incorruptibile lumen, et in Primum Hominem, et [2]in descensionem Christi: in quibus conterritis principibus, et admirantibus novitatem in his quæ a prophetis annuntiabantur, operatam esse Prunicum per Ialdabaoth nescientem quid faciat, duorum hominum factas esse emissiones: alterum quidem de sterili Elizabeth, alterum autem ex Maria Virgine. Et quoniam non haberet eadem ipsa requiem, neque in cœlo, neque in terra, contristatam invocasse in adjutorium matrem. Mater autem ejus, Prior Fœmina, miserata est super pœnitentia filiæ, et postulavit a Primo Homine adjutorium ei mitti Christum: qui et descendit emissus ad sororem suam, et ad humectationem luminis. Cognoscentem autem eam, quæ deorsum est Sophiam, [3]descendere ad fratrem ejus, et annuntiasse ejus adventum per Johannem, et præparasse baptismum pœnitentiæ, et ante adaptasse Jesum, uti descendens Christus inveniat vas mundum, et uti per filium ejus Ialdabaoth fœmina a Christo annuntiaretur. Descendisse autem eum per septem cœlos, assimilatum filiis eorum dicunt, et sensim [4]eorum evacuasse virtutem. Ad ipsum enim universam humectationem luminis concurrisse dicunt, et descendentem Christum in hunc mundum, induisse primum sororem suam Sophiam, et exultasse utrosque refrigerantes super invicem: et hoc esse sponsum et sponsam definiunt. Jesum autem quippe ex Virgine per operationem Dei generatum, sapientiorem, et mundiorem, et justiorem hominibus omnibus fuisse; [5][in] Christum perplexum Sophiæ descendisse, et sic factum esse Jesum Christum.

7. Multos igitur ex discipulis ejus non cognovisse Christi descensionem in eum dicunt: descendente autem Christo in

supplied from the context; here perhaps *multa locutus est* must be understood from the following sentence. There is no need to alter the passage, as GRABE conjectures, to *unoquoque glorificante*, much less to supply, as MASSUET proposes, the substantive verb *est*.

[1] The CLERM. MS. omits *et incorruptibili Æone*, it was a synonym for *the First Man*, and looks like a gloss.

[2] The ARUND. has *inde*, the true reading may have been *in inde descensionem*, *εἰς τὴν ἔνθεν κατάβασιν Χριστοῦ*.

[3] MASSUET observes that the sense requires *descendere ad se fratrem suum*.

[4] The CLERMONT MS. reads *eos*, inducing the notion that the original reading may have been *eos evacuasse a virtute*; the translator's *φίλη λέξις*.

[5] The particle *in* is omitted in the CLERMONT, PASS., and VOSS. MSS., and is included in brackets, as superfluous. If admitted, we must suppose *eum* to have followed it applying to *Jesum Christum*, possibly *in Xpm* may have arisen out of *in eum*.

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LIB. I. xxviii. 7. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 13.

Jesum, tunc [1]coincepisse virtutes perficere, et curare, et annuntiare incognitum patrem, et se manifeste Filium Primi Hominis confiteri. In quibus irascentes principes et Patrem Jesu, operatos ad occidendum eum: et in eo cum adduceretur, ipsum
M. 112. G. 112. quidem Christum cum Sophia abstitisse [2]in incorruptibilem Æonem dicunt; Jesum autem crucifixum: non autem oblitum [3]suum Christum, sed misisse desuper virtutem quandam in eum, quæ excitavit eum in corpore, quod et corpus [4]animale et spiritale vocant: mundialia enim remisisse eum in mundo. Videntes autem discipuli resurrexisse eum, non eum [5]cognoverunt, sed ne ipsum quidem Jesum cujus gratia a mortuis resurrexit. Et hunc maximum errorem inter discipulos ejus fuisse dicunt, quoniam putarent eum in corpore mundiali resurrexisse, ignorantes quoniam *caro et sanguis regnum Dei non* [6]*apprehendunt.* Con- 1 Cor. xv. 50.
firmare autem volunt descensionem Christi et ascensionem ex eo, quod neque ante baptismum, neque post resurrectionem a mortuis, [7]aliquid magni fecisse Jesum dicant discipuli, ignorantes adunitum esse Jesum [8]Christo, et incorruptibilem Æonem [9]hebdomadi: et mundiale corpus animalium dicunt. Remoratum

[1] The CLERMONT MS. reads *cœpisse*, other MSS. *coincepisse*, for which it is difficult to see any reason; the first syllable possibly had its origin in the last letter of *tunc* preceding.

[2] The CLERMONT MS. omits *in*; but it cannot be spared. See p. 228.

[3] It is not improbable that the word *Jesus* may have been lost in *sui*, and that the sentence originally ran *non autem oblitum Jesus sui Christum.*

[4] Which was to the material body, as the prototypal *Adamas* was to *Adam.*

[5] There seems to be a double meaning in *cognoverunt*; the disciples knew not Jesus invested with a body, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, and they certainly knew not Jesus as he had lived upon earth, because his body was resolved again into its original elements; so HIPPOLYTUS says that the Saviour's last words to the blessed Virgin, according to the Ophite interpretation, applied to the animal and material body alone; *Γύναι, ἀπέχεις σου τὸν υἱόν, τουτέστι τὸν ψυχικὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν χοϊκόν.* v. 26. THEODORET also says that they considered *τοὺς ἀποστολοὺς πλανηθῆναι, νενομικότας τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀναστῆναι τὴν σάρκα. Hær. F.* I. 14. For *ne*, AR. reads *nec. cujus gratia, δι' οὗ.*

[6] *Apprehendunt*, agreeing with the Syriac ܣܒܩ which means *occupare* as well as *hæreditare*; the Syriac verb might be rendered by *καταλαμβάνειν*, but it is difficult to see how *κληρονομῆσαι*, of the Greek text, should be rendered by *apprehendunt.*

[7] *Aliquid magni*, the CLERMONT false reading *magnalia quæ* indicates perhaps the genuine words *magna aliquæ*, the equivalent of the Greek *μεγάλα τίνα.*

[8] The cod. CLAROM. has *Christum.*

[9] MASSUET reads *hebdomadali* on the evidence of the VOSS. and PASSERATIAN MSS. He also substitutes *animale* for *animalium*, but without sufficient authority. GRABE'S text involves no material difficulty, and it is followed. It should be noted that the disciples are said to have been ignorant of the fact that Jesus was raised from the dead, not in a body of flesh, but in a heavenly body, with which some efflux of Christ was united; also that they were not aware that Christ was only

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LIB. I. xxviii. 7. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 14.

autem eum post resurrectionem [1]xviii mensibus, et [2]sensibilitate in eum descendente [3]didicisse, quod liquidum est: et paucos ex discipulis suis, quos sciebat capaces tantorum mysteriorum, docuit hæc, et sic receptus est in cœlum, [4]Christo sedente ad dexteram Patris Ialdabaoth, uti animas eorum, qui cognoverunt eos, post depositionem mundialis carnis recipiat in se, ditans semetipsum, patre ejus ignorante, sed ne vidente quidem eum, uti in quantum Jesus semetipsum ditat in sanctis animabus, in tantum Pater ejus in detrimentis factus deminoretur, evacuatus a virtute sua per animas. Jam enim non habiturum eum animas sanctas, ut rursus demittat eas in sæculum, sed tantum eas quæ sunt ex substantia ejus, id est, quæ sunt ex insufflatione. Consummationem autem futuram, quando

united for a time with Jesus, but permanently, through the incorruptible Æon, with the principal Hebdomad, the archetype of that headed by Ialdabaoth. The Ophites argued that Christ (see p. 228), being intimately united with the incorruptible Æon or Ecclesia and with the principal Hebdomad, it was impossible that he should have been reunited with the mere earthy and corruptible man after the resurrection; the *mundiale corpus* being common to all other animals, and therefore inadmissible into the Pleroma. BAUR certainly misses the meaning of IRENÆUS, where he says, *aus den Worten des Irenæus, scheint geschlossen werden zu müssen, dass sie diese Vereinigung schon vor der Taufe Statt finden liessen. Christl. Gnosis*, p. 190. He is more successful in explaining the Ophite notion of the Resurrection of Jesus; *Jesus aber wurde gekreuzigt, doch sandte ihm Christus einen Geist von oben, der seinen Leib wiedererweckte, doch nur den psychischen und geistigen, denn das Weltliche liess er in der Welt.* The Greek words in the final sentence seem to have been, *καὶ τὸ κοσμικὸν σῶμα τὸ τῶν ζώων φασιν.*

[1] xviii *mensibus.* See p. 26. It is not improbable that this strange misstatement may have originated from abbreviated writing; and heretics with an imperfect knowledge of our Lord's history may have read IH. M. HMΣ. (Ἰησοῦς μ' ἡμεραῖς) as IH. MHΣI. xviii. *mensibus.* So the Saviour's name is computed in the Ep. of BARNABAS, *ἰῶτα δέκα, ἦτα ὀκτώ· ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν.... Δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶ γράμμασι*, c. 9. And CLEM. AL. *Str.* VI., *τὸ δὲ ι καὶ τὸ η τούνομα σημαίνει τὸ σωτήριον.*

[2] *Sensibilitate, αἰσθήσεως*, as in § 16.

[3] *Didicisse.* Perhaps the author wrote *παθεῖν* (*egisse*) *δ φανερόν*, which the translator rendered as *μαθεῖν.*

[4] *Christo sedente ad dextram, i. e.* among those higher Æons of the principal Hebdomad, which were of the Pleroma and therefore *δεξιοί* with reference to the lower or *left* Hebdomad, headed by Ialdabaoth. The emendation of NEANDER who would substitute *Jesu* for *Christo* is unnecessary; *Jesus ist dann in den Himmel erhoben worden von dem himmlischen Christus und sitzt zur rechten des Ialdabaoth, u. s. w. Genet. Ent.* 243. Cf. note p. 267. *Die Stelle* Christo sedente *ist wie schon Mosheim bemerkt, offenbar fehlerhaft.* BAUR'S words are quoted by STIEREN, and they confirm GRABE'S text. *Die Worte sagen nicht, was man sie sagen lässt, sondern vielmehr, dass Christus rechts von Ialdabaoth, dem Vater Jesu, seinen Sitz gehabt habe, d. h. im Pleroma, weil man das Pleroma und das ausserhalb desselben Befindliche wie Rechtes und Linkes unterschied.*

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tota humectatio spiritus luminis colligatur, et abripiatur in Æonem incorruptibilitatis. LIB. I. xxviii. 8. GR. I. xxxiv. MASS. I. xxx. 14.

8. Tales quidem secundum eos sententiæ sunt: a quibus, velut [1]Lernæa hydra, multiplex capitibus fera de Valentini schola generata est. [2]Quidam enim ipsam Sophiam serpentem factam dicunt: quapropter et contrariam exstitisse factori Adæ, et agnitionem hominibus immisisse, et propter hoc dictum serpentem omnium sapientiorem. Sed et propter positionem [3]intestinorum nostrorum per quæ esca infertur, [4]eo [*l.* et] quod talem figuram habeant, ostendentem absconsam generatricem serpentis figuræ substantiam in nobis.

9. Ἄλλοι δέ, οὓς Καϊνοὺς ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τὸν Κάϊν φασὶν ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν αὐθεντίας λελυτρῶσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ, καὶ τὸν Κορέ, καὶ τοὺς Σοδομίτας, καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους, συγγενεῖς ἰδίους ὁμολογοῦσι. Καὶ τούτους ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ποιητοῦ μισηθῆναι, μηδεμίαν δὲ βλάβην εἰσδέξασθαι· Theod. H. Fab. i. 15.

9. [5]Alii autem rursus Cain a superiore principalitate dicunt, et Esau, et Core, et Sodomitas, et omnes tales cognatos suos confitentur; et propter hoc a factore impugnatos, neminem ex eis male acceptos [mala acceptasse]. Sophia enim illud

[1] So HIPPOLYTUS says of the Naassenes or Ophites; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πολυκέφαλός ἐστιν ἡ πλάνη καὶ πολυσχιδὴς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱστορουμένη ὕδρα, κατὰ μίαν ταύτης κεφαλὰς πατάξαντες ... ἅπαν τὸ θηρίον ἀναιρήσομεν. *Philos.* v. 11.

[2] Τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ὄφιν τῇ σοφίᾳ συνεῖναί φασι, καὶ ὡς ἐναντίῳ Θεῷ τῷ ποιητῇ πολεμοῦντα τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐξαπατῆσαι καὶ δεδωκέναι τὴν γνῶσιν, καὶ τούτου χάριν εἰρῆσθαι φρονιμώτατον εἶναι πάντων τὸν ὄφιν. Καὶ τὴν πολυέλικτον δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐντέρων θέσιν τοῦ ὄφεως περικεῖσθαι τὸ σῶμα, δεικνῦσαν τὴν ζωογόνον σοφίαν τοῦ ὄφεως. THEOD. *Hær. Fab.* i. 14. See also p. 228, n. 1.

[3] HIPPOLYTUS represents the Ophite principal Æon, the *serpent*, as being represented by the convolutions of the brain; but νοῦς was typified by the serpent, and the two ideas symbolise. This heretical account harmonises to a certain extent with the Jewish Cabbala, where a principal excellence of the Androgynous Microprosopus is described as forming the internal *viscera*; תו אתפשט האי תפארת ואיתתקן מעוין *Idra Rabba.* XL. *Moreover this glory spread out forms the viscera.*

[4] The CLERM. reading *et* is proposed in lieu of GRABE'S *eo*, for it returns better into Greek; the translator however read δεικνῦσαν *ostendentem*, apparently in error for δεικνῦσιν *ostendunt*, the entire sentence running as follows: Ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐντέρων θέσιν, δι' ὧν εἰσφέρεται τὸ βρῶμα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν τοιάνδε τὴν μόρφωσιν, δεικνῦσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένην κ. τ. λ. The sentence as it now stands is unintelligible.

[5] Οὗτοί φασι τὸν Κάϊν ἐκ τῆς ἰσχυροτέρας δυνάμεως ὑπάρχειν καὶ τῆς ἄνωθεν αὐθεντίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κορέ, καὶ τοὺς Σοδομίτας·

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LIB. I. xxviii. 9. GR. I. xxxv. MASS. I. xxxi. 1.

ἡ γὰρ σοφία ὅπερ εἶχεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀνήρπασεν ἐξ αὐτῶν. Καὶ τὸν προδότην δὲ Ἰούδαν μόνον ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀποστόλων ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι τὴν γνῶσιν φασὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς προδοσίας ἐνεργῆσαι μυστήριον. Προφέρουσι δὲ[2].....

quod proprium ex ea erat, abripiebat ex eis ad semetipsam. Et hæc Judam proditorem [1]diligenter cognovisse dicunt, et solum præ cæteris cognoscentem veritatem, perfecisse proditionis mysterium: per quem et terrena et cœlestia omnia dissoluta dicunt. Et confinctionem afferunt hujusmodi, [2]Judæ Evange- G. 113.
lium illud vocantes. Jam autem et collegi eorum conscriptiones, in quibus dissolvere opera Hysteræ adhortantur; [3]Hysteram autem fabricatorem cœli et terræ vocant: nec enim aliter salvari eos nisi per omnia eant, quemadmodum et Carpocrates dixit. Et in unoquoque peccatorum et turpium operationum angelum assistere, et operantem [4]audire audaciam et immunditiam inferre, [4]id quod inest ei operationi, angeli nomine dicere: [5]*O tu angele, abutor opere tuo: O tu illa potestas, per-* M. 113.
ficio tuam operationem. Et hoc esse scientiam perfectam, sine [6]tremore in tales abire operationes, quas ne nominare quidem fas est.

τὸν δὲ Ἀβὲλ ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενεστέρας δυνάμεως ὑπάρχειν.... They adopted also the monstrous notions brought by the Jews from Babylon, described in p. 233, n. 3. Ταύτας δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις τῇ Εὔᾳ προσπλακείσας γεγεννηκέναι τὸν Κάϊν καὶ τὸν Ἀβὲλ κ.τ.λ. EPIPHAN. *Hær.* XXXVIII.

[1] ἀκριβῶς ἐπεγνωκέναι. EPIPHAN. *Hær. l. c.*

[2] Προφέρουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι συντεθείκασι· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εὐθὺς τὴν ἀγχόνην ἔλαβε τῆς προδοσίας μισθόν. Καὶ τὰ ἀπειρημένα πράττοντες, ἀγγέλου τινὸς ἐπιλέγουσιν ὄνομα, ὡς ἐκείνῳ δῆθεν τὴν ἀσέλγειαν χαριζόμενοι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἰδέας ἀκολάστου ποιοῦσιν. Εἶναι γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἀκολασίας εἴδεσιν ἰσαρίθμους τινὰς ἀγγέλους λέγουσιν, οἳ θεραπεύονται τοῖς δρωμένοις. THEOD. *H. Fab.* I. 14.

[3] Ὥστε καὶ συνταγμάτιόν τι φέρειν ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Ἰούδα καλοῦσι. Καὶ ἄλλα τινα συγγράμματα ὡσαύτως πλάττονται κατὰ τῆς Ὑστέρας· ἣν Ὑστέραν τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ πάντος τούτου τοῦ κύτους, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καλοῦσι. Καὶ μὴ δύνασθαί φασι σωθήσεσθαί τινα, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πάντων χωρήσωσιν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Καρποκράτης λέγει. EPIPHAN. *l. c. vid.* p. 207. Ὑστέρα may be identified with the abortive πάθη of Achamoth.

[4] For *audire* I would read *audere*, and, *et quod*, for *id quod*, *q. d.*, *and that which the action imports they express in the angel's name.*

[5] ὁ δεῖνα ἄγγελε, καταχρῶμαί σου τὸ ἔργον· ἡ δεῖνα ἐξουσία, πράττω σου τὴν πρᾶξιν. EPIPHAN. *l. c.*

[6] CLERM., but *timore* AR., VOSS.

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CAP. XXIX.

LIB. I. xxix.
GR. I. xxxv.
MASS. I. xxxi. 3.

Quibus temporibus fuerunt omnes, qui prædicti sunt, et a quibus initia et doctrinas acceperunt.

A TALIBUS matribus, et patribus, et proavis eos qui a Valentino sint, sicut ipsæ sententiæ et regulæ ostendunt eos, necessarium fuit manifeste arguere, et in medium afferre dogmata ipsorum, si qui forte ex iis pœnitentiam agentes, et convertentes ad unum solum conditorem et Deum factorem universitatis, salvari possint: reliqui autem non jam abstrahantur a prava quasi verisimili suasione eorum, putantes majus et aliquid altius ab iis scituros se mysterium; sed a nobis bene discentes quæ ab illis male docentur, derideant quidem doctrinam eorum, illorum autem misereantur, qui adhuc in his tam miserrimis et instabilibus fabulis tantam elationem assumserunt, ut meliores semetipsos reliquis propter talem agnitionem, imo ignorantiam, arbitrentur. [1]Delectatio autem eorum hæc est; sive [2]adversus eos victoria est sententiæ eorum manifestatio. Quapropter conati sumus nos universum male [3]compositum vulpeculæ hujus corpusculum in medium producere, et aperte facere manifestum. Jam enim non multis opus erit sermonibus ad evertendum doctrinam eorum, manifestam omnibus factam. Quemadmodum [4]bestiæ alicujus in sylva absconditæ, et inde impetum facientis, et multos vastantis, qui segregat et denudat sylvam, et ad visionem [5]perduxit ipsam feram, jam non elaboravit ad capiendam, [6]videntes quoniam ea fera fera est: ipsis enim adest videre et cavere impetus ejus, et jaculari undique, et vulnerare, et interficere vastatricem illam bestiam. Sic et nobis, cum in manifestum redegerimus eorum abscondita et apud se tacita mysteria, jam non erit necessarium multis destruere eorum sententiam. Adest enim et tibi, et omnibus qui tecum sunt, ad hæc quæ prædicta sunt exerceri, et evertere nequam ipsorum doctrinas [7]et inconditas, et apta veritati ostendere

Cf. i. 15.

[1] *Delectatio, detectio* FEUARD. *sive, ἤτοι, sane.*

[2] GRABE quotes from S. JEROM. *adv. Pel.* c. 4. *Sententias vestras prodidisse, superasse est. Patet prima fronte blasphemia. Non necesse habet convinci, quod sua statim professione blasphemum est.*

[3] CLERM., but *compositæ* AR., VOSS.

[4] *Bestiæ alicujus.* The Greek construction of the genitive absolute.

[5] This reading of the CLERM. MS. is preferable to *adduxit*, of GR. and MASS.

[6] *videntes*, this *enallage* may have arisen from a false reading in the Greek, such as ὁρῶντες ὅτι for ὁρῶν ὅτι, but *ipsis* is no unnatural transition in a lively description.

[7] *et* is omitted by GRABE.

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dogmata. Cum igitur hæc sic se habeant, quatenus promisi, secundum nostram virtutem inferemus eversionem ipsorum, omnibus eis contradicentes in sequenti libro: (enarratio enim in longum pergit, ut vides) et viatica quoque dabimus ad eversionem ipsorum, occurrentes omnibus sententiis secundum narrationis ordinem, ut simus non tantum ostendentes, sed et vulnerantes undique bestiam.

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ARGUMENTA CAPITUM

LIBRI SECUNDI

CONTRA HÆRESES.

CAP.		PAG.
I.	*Ostensio quod neque extra pleroma sit universorum Deus, neque extra plenitudinem ejus esse aliquid, neque quidem duos esse deos immenso intervallo ab invicem distantes, neque virtutem aliquam mundi fabricatricem in immensum separatam a Patre, et ignorantem eum* . .	251
II.	*Neque iterum in iis quæ continentur a Patre, alium quendam fabricasse hunc mundum; neque Patrem per alia adminicula eam, quæ secundum nos est, fecisse conditionem, sed tantum per Verbum suum: esse autem Conditorem eum qui est super omnia Deus; et ipsum Patrem esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi*	254
III.	*Quoniam instabile est Pleroma Valentini discipulorum* .	257
IV.	*Quoniam invisibilis quidem est Pater, sed non incognitus, neque ignorare eum quidem poterant angeli, licet plurimum deorsum dejecti essent ab eo*	261
V.	*Ostensio non esse eam quæ est secundum nos creaturam imaginem Pleromatis eorum, neque Demiurgum Unigeniti*	265
VI.	*Quomodo in immensum excidit de imaginibus eorum sermo*	267
VII.	*Quam falsa umbra et vacua eorum ostenditur* . .	270
VIII.	*Ostensio quoniam est et substitit mundi fabricator Deus, non constat autem esse qui super hunc adinvenitur Pater*	272
IX.	*De quæstionibus et parabolis, quomodo oporteat solvere ea quæ quæruntur*	273
X.	*Quoniam substantiam materiæ labi adjungere non constat; voluntate autem et virtute Dei constat, et fidem habet* .	274
XI.	*Contradictiones his qui sunt a Valentino* . . .	275
XII.	*Quomodo is sermo qui est de triacontade illorum concidit in utroque, et secundum id quod plus est, et secundum id quod minus*	276

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CAP.		PAG.
XIII.	*Quoniam impossibile est separatas esse ab invicem eas quæ infra plenitudinem dicuntur conjugationes: adunitis autem iis, impossibile est Sophiam sine conjuge assumpsisse labem, aut etiam generasse aliquid* . . .	276
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XV.	*Quomodo nullius momenti ostenditur primus ordo emissionis ipsorum*	280
XVI.	*Quoniam sensus non potuisset emitti quia ipse emittebat reliqua: et quid est emissio*	283
XVII.	*Quoniam hæ, quæ ab iis dicuntur emissiones, hominibus congruunt magis quam Deo*	286
XVIII.	*Quomodo et hinc ethnici verisimilius de universorum generatione responderunt et gratius: et quomodo ab ipsis qui sunt a Valentino initia sumpserunt, ejusque sunt secundum eos regulæ*	287
XIX.	*Quæstio de omni specie emissionis, et de Pleromatis inconsequentia*	303
XX.	*Quoniam si quis transmotus fuerit a Demiurgo, in multos Deos et infinitos mundos excidere eum necesse est* .	304
XXI.	*Quoniam quæ nobis qui sumus ab Ecclesia, imputant ii qui sunt a Valentino, illis rursus imputant hi qui sunt a Basilide, et illis item alii*	306
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XXIII.	*Quoniam Sophia nunquam in ignorantia et in deminoratione est*	312
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XXV.	*Quoniam neque dissolvi, neque pati Æon poterat, cum esset spiritalis, et in his quæ similia erant conversans* .	314
XXVI.	*Quoniam Patris exquisitio et investigatio magnitudinis ejus, neque passionem neque labem, sed statum perfectionis faciebat in Æone*	315
XXVII.	*Quoniam non capit Æonem infra Pleroma desiderium passionis percepisse*	316
XXVIII.	*Quomodo de semine ipsorum sermo universus instabilis ostenditur: et quoniam non ignoravit Demiurgus in eum seminis depositionem*	*ib.*

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CAP. PAG.

XXIX. *Quoniam si in eum depositum fuisset semen, non potuisset ignorare ea quæ sunt super eum* 317

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XXXI. *Quod neque conceptio neque generatio seminis fuerit* . 319

XXXII. *Quoniam exsolutionem Parabolarum impropriam et inconvenientem fictionis suæ faciunt* 321

XXXIII. *Ostensio quod uno anno non præconaverit Dominus post baptismum; sed omnem habuisse ætatem* . . 328

XXXIV. *Quomodo destruitur qui est de numeris ipsorum et nominibus sermo* 332

XXXV. *Quoniam secundum Legem neque imagines, neque figuræ exsistunt Plenitudinis ipsorum, sed nec figuræ esse possunt* 337

XXXVI. *Quomodo omnis numerus constare potest ex Scripturis, et typus dici omnis argumenti. De diebus, et horis, et mensibus, et vocabulis, et syllabis; de Amen, et nonaginta novem ovibus, ex quibus una periit et inventa est; et quoniam non possit constare per numeros veritas* . 338

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XXXVIII. *Ostensio quoniam Demiurgus non sit supergressibilis mente, neque super eum alteram divinitatem esse* . . 344

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XLIII. *Quomodo Dominus quædam concedit Patri, et quæ causa est propter quam diem et horam a nemine altero cognosci ait, nisi a solo Patre* 356

XLIV. *De natura animæ.*

Quoniam secundum illorum sermonem, cum animæ serventur, necesse est et corpora participare salutem . 358

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CAP.		PAG.
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XLVI.	*Quoniam in nullo potest interior illorum homo supergredi Demiurgum: et quoniam non est verisimile, hos quidem spiritales esse, Demiurgum autem animalem* . .	361
XLVII.	*De assumtione Apostoli usque ad tertium cœlum; et cur dixit, sive in corpore, sive extra corpus: necnon, ostensio quod non sit animalis Demiurgus* . . .	365
XLVIII.	*Quomodo ea quæ adversus Valentinum dicuntur, omnem evertunt hæresin*	369
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LIII.	*Quoniam in corporis communione non amittit suas virtutes anima*	379
LIV.	*Ostensio quod unusquisque nostrum suam habet animam, sicut et suum corpus*	380
LV.	*Quomodo perseverant animæ, corporis habentes figuram* .	381
LVI.	*Quomodo animæ, cum sint generabiles, in futurum incorruptibiles perseverant*	382
LVII.	*Eversio Basilidis cœlorum fabricationis* . . .	383
LVIII.	*Ostensio quoniam prophetæ non a variis diis fecerint prophetationes, sed ab uno et eodem: et expositio Hebraicorum nominum eorum quæ in prophetis posita sunt* .	384

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SANCTI IRENÆI

CONTRA HÆRESES.

LIBER II.

PRÆFATIO.

M. 115. In primo quidem libro, qui ante hunc est, arguentes [1]falsi nominis agnitionem ostendimus tibi, dilectissime, omne ab his qui sunt a Valentino per multos et contrarios modos adinventum esse falsiloquium; etiam sententias exposuimus eorum qui priores exstiterunt, discrepantes eos sibimetipsis ostendentes, multo autem prius ipsi veritati. Et Marci quoque magi sententiam, cum sit ex his, cum operibus ejus omni diligentia exposuimus, et quanta ex Scripturis eligentes adaptare conantur fictioni suæ, diligenter retulimus: et quonam modo per numeros, et per viginti quatuor elementa [2]alphabeti veritatem affirmare conantur et audent, minutatim [3]perexivimus. Et quemadmodum conditionem secundum imaginem invisibilis apud eos Pleromatis factam dicunt, et quanta de Demiurgo sentiunt ac docent, renuntiavimus, et progenitoris ipsorum doctrinam Simonis magi Samaritani, et omnium eorum, qui successerunt ei, manifestavimus. Diximus quoque multitudinem eorum, qui sunt ab eo Gnostici, et differentias ipsorum, et doctrinas, et successiones annotavimus, quæque ab eis hæreses institutæ sunt omnes exposuimus. Et quoniam omnes a Simone hæretici initia sumentes, impia et irreligiosa dogmata induxerunt in hanc vitam, ostendimus; et redemtionem ipsorum, et quomodo initiant eos qui perficiuntur, et [4]adfationes eorum, et mysteria

[1] Ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν. The Apostle's term, 1 Tim. vi. 20.

[2] Written possibly A B as in the preceding book, p. 147, 162, 177. Hence the CLERM., VOSS. and MERC. II. MSS. have *Alpha et Beta*.

[3] *perexivimus*. Græcè διεξήλθομεν.

[4] *adfationes*. MASSUET replaces GRABE'S *factiones* with this word on the authority of the CLERMONT MS., the VOSS. copy having *affectiones*. Allusion is clearly made to the mystical words used by the Marcosians, see I. xiv. § 2, 4. The author perhaps wrote προρρήσεις, which the translator read as προσρήσεις.

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manifestavimus; et quia unus Deus conditor, et quia non postremitatis fructus, et quia neque super illum, neque post eum est aliquid. In hoc autem libro instruemus, quæ nobis apta sunt, et quæ permittit tempus, et evertemus per magna capitula omnem ipsorum regulam: quapropter quod sit [1]detectio et eversio sententiæ ipsorum, operis hujus conscriptionem ita titulavimus. Oportet enim absconditas ipsorum conjugationes per manifestarum conjugationum indicium et eversionem [2]Bythum dissolvere, et quoniam neque fuerit aliquando, neque sit, accipere ostensionem.

[1] STIEREN inserts *et* from the VOSS. MS., but it is better away.

[2] GRABE proposes a transposition of the word *Bythum*, and to read, *Eversionem dissolvere, et Bythum quoniam* etc., but possibly the particle *et* may have been lost that served to connect *Bythum* with the preceding context.

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CAP. I.

LIB. II. i. 1.
GR. II. i.
MASS. II. i. 1.

Ostensio quod neque extra pleroma sit universorum Deus, neque extra plenitudinem ejus esse aliquid, neque quidem duos esse deos immenso intervallo ab invicem distantes, neque virtutem aliquam mundi fabricatricem in immensum separatam a Patre, et ignorantem eum.

G. 114. M. 116. 1. Bene igitur habet a primo et maximo capitulo inchoare nos, a Demiurgo Deo, qui fecit cœlum et terram et omnia quæ in eis sunt, quem ii blasphemantes [1]extremitatis fructum dicunt: et ostendere, quod neque super eum neque post eum est aliquid: neque ab aliquo motus, sed sua sententia et libere fecit omnia, cum sit solus Deus, et solus Dominus, et solus Conditor, et solus Pater, [2]et solus continens omnia, et omnibus ut sint ipse præstans. [3]Quemadmodum enim poterit super hunc alia plenitudo, aut [4]initium, aut potestas, aut alius Deus esse: cum oporteat Deum horum omnium pleroma in immenso omnia circumcontinere, et circumcontineri a nemine? Si autem extra illum est aliquid, jam non omnium est pleroma, neque continet omnia. Deerit enim pleromati, aut ei qui sit super omnia Deo, hoc quod extra eum dicunt. Quod autem deest, et delibatum est ab aliquo, [5]hoc non est omnium pleroma. Et terminum autem et medietatem et finem habebit ad eos qui sunt extra

[1] *extremitatis fructum*, the same Greek terms are rendered in the preface as *postremitatis fructum*, and II. xxxv. as *Labis fructum;* the two first being a literal translation of the word *ὑστερήματος καρπός*. The latter, *a labendo; in sensu obstetricio*. So S. Jerom, as quoted by Grabe, says *in Nahum* i. 11: *Annon videtur esse adversus Deum malitia et prævaricatio dicere quod Valentinianus, quasi abortivum errantis sapientiæ extremum editum Creatorem*. The Cainites called the Demiurge *ὑστέραν*, p. 242, compare also Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxviii. note, *ibid.* But the Marcosians affirmed that Demiurge was the emanation of three successive Æonic abortions, see n. 1, p. 163.

[2] *et solus omnia continens*, *καὶ μόνος πάντα κρατῶν*, unde *παντοκράτωρ*.

[3] Tertullian argues in a similar way: *Sicut enim Creator, ex hoc et Deus, et indubitans Deus, quia omnia ipsius, nihil extraneum illi: ita et alius idcirco non Deus, quia omnia non ejus, ideoque et extranea. Denique universitas Creatoris est: jam nec locum video Dei alterius. Plena et occupata sunt omnia suo auctore. Si vacat aliquid spatii alicujus divinitati in creaturis, plane false vacabit.* Tert. *c. Marc.* I. 11, cf. *The Three Creeds;* Art. faith in *One God.*

[4] *Initium.* *ἀρχὴ* should have been rendered *principium*, as editors observe.

[5] The Arund. MS. omits *hoc*, and it is scarcely wanted.

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LIB. II. i. 1. GR. II. i. MASS. II. i. 2.

eum. Si autem finis est in ea quæ sunt deorsum, initium est et in ea quæ sunt sursum. Similiter autem et ex reliquis partibus necessitas est omnis id ipsum experiri, et ab eis qui foris sunt contineri et determinari et includi. Is enim qui est deorsum finis, necessario omni modo circumscribit et circumdat eum qui finiatur in eum. Et iterum secundum eos, Pater omnium, (quem videlicet et Proonta et Proarchen vocant,) cum pleromate ipsorum, et [1]Marcionis bonus Deus, in aliquo conditus et reclusus et a foris circumdatus ab altera principalitate, quam necesse est majorem esse; quoniam id quod continet, eo quod continetur majus est: quod autem majus est, id et firmius est, et magis Dominus: et quod majus est et firmius et magis Dominus, hoc erit Deus. G. 115.

2. Cum enim sit secundum eos et aliud quid, quod quidem extra pleroma esse dicunt, in quod et superiorem erraticam virtutem descendisse opinantur, necesse est omni modo, aut continere id quod extra est, contineri autem pleroma; (alioquin non erit extra pleroma: si enim extra pleroma est aliquid, intra hoc ipsum, quod extra pleroma dicunt, erit pleroma, et continebitur pleroma ab eo quod est extra; cum pleromate autem subauditur et primus Deus), aut rursus in immensum distare et separata esse ab invicem, id est et pleroma et quod est extra illud. Si autem hoc dixerint, tertium quid erit, quod in immensum separat pleroma et hoc quod est extra illud; et hoc tertium [2]circumfinit et continebit utraque, et erit majus tertium hoc et pleromate et eo quod est extra illud, sicut in suo sinu continens utraque: et in infinitum de his quæ continentur, et de his quæ continent, incidet sermo. Si enim tertium hoc initium habebit in superiora et finem in inferiora, [3]omnino

[1] *Marcionis bonus Deus.* See p. 216. TERTULLIAN also ascribes to Marcion the same belief in the duality of eternal principles. *Ponticus duos deos affert, tanquam duas symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit, id est, Creatorem, id est nostrum: et quem probare non poterit, id est suum... Marcion dispares deos constituit, alterum judicem, ferum, bellipotentem: alterum mitem, placidum, et tantummodo bonum atque optimum. c. Marc.* i. 2, 6. Again, *de Præscr. Hæreticorum*, 7: *Inde Marcionis Deus melior de tranquillitate; a Stoicis venerat.* The reader is more especially referred to the argument of TERTULLIAN in the first book *c. Marcionem.* See note, p. 216, 217.

[2] *circumfinit*, or as the older editions have *circumdefinit*, the translation probably of περιορίσει, and which would require the future as GRABE has observed, *ego mallem futurum circumfiniet.* The reading here suggested agrees with the sequel, *Continebuntur enim et circumfinientur*, &c.

[3] The CLERMONT MS. has *omni necessitate est*, which is perhaps the

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necessitas est et a lateribus definiri illud, vel inchoans vel [1]desinens ad alia quædam: et illa rursus, et alia quæ sunt sursum et quæ deorsum, ad alia quædam habebunt initia, et hoc usque in infinitum, ut nunquam stet eorum excogitatio in uno Deo, sed per occasionem plus quam est quærendi in id quod non sit excidat, et absistat a vero Deo. LIB. II. i. 2. GR. II. i. MASS. II. i. 3.

3. Similiter autem hæc et adversus eos qui sunt a Marcione aptata sunt. Continebuntur enim et circumfinientur et duo Dei ejus ab immenso intervallo, quod separat eos ab invicem. Sic autem ad excogitandum est necessitas secundum omnem partem multos deos immensa separatione distantes, ab invicem quidem inchoantes, ad invicem autem [2]finientes: et illa ratione qua nituntur docere super fabricatorem cœli et terræ esse aliquod pleroma aut Deum, eadem ratione utens quisque adstruet super pleroma alterum esse pleroma, et super illud rursus aliud, et super Bythum aliud pelagus Dei, et a lateribus autem similiter eadem esse: et sic in immensum excidente sententia, et semper necessitas erit excogitare altera pleromata, et alteros Bythos, et nunquam aliquando consistere, semper quærentes
M. 117. alios præter dictos. Erit autem incertum, utrumnam hæc sint deorsum, quæ sunt secundum nos, an hæc ipsa superiora sint; et quæ dicuntur ab eis sursum, utrumnam sursum an deorsum sint: et nullus status neque firmitas continebit sensum nostrum, sed in immensos mundos et indeterminatos deos excedere necessitas erit.

4. Et cum hæc sic se habeant, unusquisque Deus suis contentus erit, et non curiose aget de alienis: si quo minus, injustus erit et avarus et cessans esse quod Deus est. Et unaquæque [3]conditio suum fabricatorem glorificabit, et ipso [4]sufficiens erit, et alterum non cognoscet: si quo minus, apostata justissime ab omnibus [5]judicata, dignissimam concipiet pœnam.
G. 116. Oportet enim aut unum esse qui omnia continet, et in suis fecit unumquodque eorum quæ facta sunt, quemadmodum ipse voluit, aut multos rursus et indeterminatos factores et deos, ab invicem quidem incipientes, ad invicem autem desinentes per omnem partem: et alios omnes a foris ab altero quodam majore contineri,

genuine reading, the translator having read *πᾶσῃ ἀνάγκῃ ἐστι τὸ ὁρίζεσθαι*.

[1] CL., but *deficiens* AR.

[2] CL. *definientes*.

[3] *conditio*, i. e. *κτίσις*.

[4] *ἱκανὸς*, יָשָׁר. Ruth i. 20.

[5] Perhaps *ἐλεγχθεῖσα* stood in the Greek; if so, for *judicata* we may read *indicata*. In the preface we had *indicium* as the equivalent for *ἔλεγχος*.

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LIB. II. i. 4. GR. II. i. MASS. II. i. 5.

et velut inclusos et manentes in suis unumquemque eorum confiteri necessitas erit, neminem autem horum omnium esse Deum. Deerit enim unicuique eorum partem minutissimam habenti ad comparationem omnium reliquorum, et solvetur Omnipotentis appellatio, et necessitas erit in impietatem cadere talem sensum.

CAP. II.

Neque iterum in iis quæ continentur a Patre, alium quendam fabricasse hunc mundum; neque Patrem per alia adminicula eam, quæ secundum nos est, fecisse conditionem, sed tantum per Verbum suum: esse autem Conditorem eum qui est super omnia Deus; et ipsum Patrem esse Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

1. Qui autem ab angelis mundum dicunt fabricatum, vel ab alio quodam mundi fabricatore, præter sententiam ejus qui super omnia Pater est, primo quidem ex hoc ipso peccant, præter voluntatem primi Dei talem et tantam conditionem angelos fecisse dicentes: quasi efficaciores sint angeli quam Deus, aut rursus quasi ille negligens sit, aut minor exsistens, aut nullam curam habens eorum quæ in propriis ipsius fiant, utrumnam male an bene fiant, ut illud quidem dissipet et prohibeat, alterum autem laudet et gaudeat: hoc autem ne homini quidem solerti applicet quis, [1]quanto magis Deo? Post deinde dicant nobis, Utrumnam in his quæ ab illo continentur, et in propriis ejus, fabricata sunt hæc, an in alienis et extra eum positis? Sed si quidem dicant extra eum, similiter omnia prædicta inconvenientia occurrent eis, et includetur primus Deus ab eo qui extra eum est, in quo et desinere eum necesse erit.

2. Si autem in illius[2], valde vanum erit præter sententiam ejus, in ejus propriis, ab angelis et ipsis qui sunt [3]potestatis ejus, aut ab alio quodam dicere fabricatum esse mundum, aut quasi non omnia prospiciat ipse, quæ sint in suis, ut

[1] *quanto magis*, following the Greek construction, but meaning *quanto minus*. Grabe quotes a similar passage from Epiphanius in speaking of Ptolemæus, *Hær.* xxxiii. 2: Τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοιτο παρά τινι τῶν ἐχόντων ἐρρωμένην τὴν διάνοιαν, μήτιγε ἐπὶ Θεοῦ.

[2] *propriis* is cancelled, no MS. has it.

[3] The Clerm. and Ar. reading. The Voss. MS. has *in potestate*.

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non sciat quæ ab angelis futura sunt. Si autem non præter voluntatem ejus sed volente et sciente, quemadmodum quidam opinantur, jam non angeli vel mundi fabricator causæ erunt fabricationis istius, sed voluntas Dei. Si enim mundi fabricator est, angelos ipse fecit, aut etiam causa creationis eorum ipse fuit, et mundum ipse videbitur fecisse, qui causas fabricationis ejus præparavit. Licet per longam successionem deorsum angelos dicant factos, vel mundi fabricatorem a primo Patre, quemadmodum Basilides ait, nihilominus id quod est causa eorum quæ facta sunt, in illum qui prolator fuit talis successionis, recurret: quemadmodum in regem [1]correctio belli refertur, qui præparavit ea quæ sunt causa victoriæ; et conditio hujus civitatis, aut hujus operis, in eum qui præparavit causas ad perfectionem eorum quæ deorsum facta sunt. Quapropter non jam securim dicimus concidere ligna, vel serram secare, sed hominem concidere et secare rectissime quis dicat eum, qui ipsam securim et serram ad hoc fecit, et multo prius armamenta G. 117. omnia, per quæ fabricata sunt securis et serra. Sic igitur juste secundum illorum rationem, Pater omnium dicetur fabricator hujus mundi, et non angeli, neque alius quis mundi fabricator, præter illum qui fuit prolator, et [2]prius causa factionis hujusmodi præparationis exsistens.

LIB. II. ii. 2. GR. II. ii. MASS. II. ii. 3.

3. Sit fortasse hic sermo suasorius aut seductorius apud eos, qui ignorant Deum et [3][qui] hominibus assimilant eum inopibus, et his qui non possunt statim aliquid ex parato fabri- M. 118. care, sed indigentibus multis organis ad eorum fabricationem: non autem verisimilis in totum apud eos, qui sciunt quoniam nullius indigens omnium Deus verbo condidit omnia et fecit; neque angelis indigens adjutoribus ad ea, quæ fiunt, neque virtute aliqua valde inferiori ab illo, et ignorante patrem; neque aliqua labe, neque ignorantia, ut is qui inciperet eum cognoscere, [4]homo fieret: sed ipse in semetipso, secundum id quod est inenarrabile et inexcogitabile nobis omnia prædestinans, fecit quemadmodum voluit; omnibus consonantiam, et ordinem suum,

[1] *Interpres non satis apte κατόρθωμα vel κατόρθωσιν πολέμου vertit* belli correctionem, *cum potius bellicum successum significet; πόλεμον enim κατώρθωσε, qui bellum ex animi sententia confecit: quemadmodum et κατορθοῦν σωφροσύνην idem est quod omnes temperantiæ numeros implere Bill. lib.* I. *Obs. S. c.* 33.

[2] CLERM. and AL., but VOSS. *primus.*

[3] *qui* is not in the CL. or AR. MSS. It would have no place in the Greek.

[4] GRABE misses the meaning, by applying to the redeemed that which the author says of the Redeemer: in the Greek there is no ambiguity, *ἵνα ὁ μέλλων γνῶναι αὐτὸν, ἄνθρωπος γένηται.*

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LIB. II. ii. 3. GR. II. ii. MASS. II. ii. 4.

et initium creationis donans; spiritalibus quidem spiritalem et invisibilem, et supercœlestibus cœlestem, et angelis angelicam, et animalibus animalem, et natantibus aquatilem, et terrigenis terrigenam, omnibus aptam [1]æqualitatis substantiam: omnia autem quæ facta sunt, infatigabili Verbo fecit.

4. Proprium est enim hoc Dei supereminentiæ, non indigere aliis organis ad conditionem eorum, quæ fiunt: et idoneus [i. e. Λόγος] est et sufficiens ad formationem omnium proprium ejus Verbum, quemadmodum et Johannes Domini discipulus ait de eo; *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* In *omnibus* autem est et hic qui est secundum nos mundus. Et hic ergo a Verbo ejus factus est, sicut scriptura Geneseos dicit, omnia quæ sunt secundum nos fecisse Deum per [2]Verbum suum. Similiter autem et David exsequitur: *Quoniam ipse dixit, et facta sunt: ipse mandavit, et creata sunt.* Cui igitur magis credemus de mundi fabricatione, hisne qui prædicti sunt hæreticis sic fatua et inconstantia garrientibus; an discipulis Domini, et fideli famulo Dei Moysi et Prophetæ? Qui et primo genesim mundi enarravit, dicens: *In principio Deus fecit cœlum et terram,* et deinceps reliqua omnia: sed non dii, neque angeli.

Joh. i. 3.

Psal. xxxii. 9. et Psal. cxlviii. 5.

Gen. i. 1.

5. Quoniam autem hic Deus est Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et [3]de hoc Paulus Apostolus dixit: *Unus Deus* [4]*Pater,* G. 118.

Ephes. iv.

[1] *æqualitatis, ὁμοιότητος,* ARUND., but *qualitatis* VOSS. and CLERM.

[2] e. g. *And God said.* Quomodo et inter alios Tertullianus lib. contra Praxean cap. 5. philosophatus est, ita scribens: *Ut primum Deus voluit ea, quæ cum Sophiæ ratione et Sermone (λόγῳ) disposuerat intra se, in substantias et species suas edere, ipsum primum protulit sermonem—ut per ipsum fierent universa.* Unde mox citat verba Geneseos, ubi dixit Deus: *Fiat lux* &c. GR.

[3] The reading of the CL. and AR. MSS.

[4] *Pater. In nostris Græcis et Vulgatis Latinis Novi Testamenti Codicibus legitur:* Καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, Et Pater omnium; *quomodo Firmilianus quoque Epist.* 75 *inter Cyprianicas, hunc Apostoli locum citavit. Sed in Irenæi Codice tam copulativa* καί, *quam vox* πάντων *defuisse videtur, quia sine utraque verba S. Pauli allegavit, non modo hic, sed et lib.* IV. *cap.* 37. (*Alterum enim locum lib.* IV. *c.* 52. *corruptum esse in Notis ibi moneo.*) *Neque* omnium *ab Auctore nostro lectum fuisse, exinde colligo, quia Deum* Patrem *respectu Jesu Christi hic dictum accepit. Et copula* καί *quidem abest etiam a versione Syriaca ac Æthiopica, nec non apud Chrysostomum in Comment. ad hunc locum; sed qui vocem* omnium *omiserit, excepto Irenæo, novi neminem. Quanquam in loco parallelo* 1 *Corinth.* viii. 6, *ipse Apostolus omiserit, simpliciter ponens:* εἷς Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα. *Unus Deus Pater, ex quo omnia.* GRABE. The CLERM. reads *et ipse per omnia;* may not this express the Syriac *varia lectio* ܘܗܘ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܒܟܠ instead of ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ Syr. also ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܗܘ.

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qui super omnes, et per omnia, et in omnibus [1]*nobis;* jam quidem ostendimus unum esse Deum: ex ipsis autem Apostolis, et ex Domini sermonibus adhuc ostendemus. Quale enim est, Prophetarum et Domini et Apostolorum relinquentes nos voces, attendere his nihil sani dicentibus? LIB. II. ii. 5. GR. II. iii. MASS. II. ii. 6.

CAP. III.

Quoniam instabile est Pleroma Valentini discipulorum.

1. Instabilis igitur qui est secundum eos Bythus, et id quod est hujus pleroma, et Marcionis Deus. Siquidem, quemadmodum dicunt, extra se habet subjacens aliquid, quod vacuum et umbram vocant, et vacuum hoc majus pleromate ipsorum I. i. 7. sub fin.
M. 119. ostenditur. Instabile est autem et hoc dicere, infra [2]se omnia continente eo, ab altero quodam fabricatam esse conditionem. Oportet enim illos necessario vacuum aliquid et informe confiteri, in quo fabricatum est hoc quod est universum, infra spiritale Pleroma; et informe hoc, [3]utrum præsciente Propatore quæ in eo futura erant, ex studio sic reliquisse, an ignorante? Et si quidem ignorante, jam non omnium erit præscius Deus. Sed nec quidem causam reddere habebunt, propter quam rem
G. 119. locum hunc temporibus tantis otiosum sic reliquit. Si autem præscius est, et mente contemplatus est eam conditionem, quæ in eo loco futura esset, ipse fecit eam qui etiam præformavit eam in semetipso. Quiescant igitur dicere ab alio factum esse mundum: simul enim ac mente [4]cepit Deus, et factum est hoc quod mente conceperat. Nec enim possibile erat alium quidem mente concipere, alium vero facere, quæ ab illo mente concepta fuerant. Sed aut æternum mundum mente concepit secundum eos hæreticos Deus, aut temporalem: quæ utraque incredibilia. Sed si quidem æternum eum mente concepit, et [5]spiritalem et

[1] *Nobis. In Græcis nostris Codd. est ὑμῖν. Sed nobis præter Irenæum hoc, aliisque locis ante dictis, habent Firmilianus in citata Epistola, Hilarius in Comment. ad hunc locum, Scholiastes apud Hieronymum; quamvis ipse Hieronymus in Commentario suo neutrum horum agnoscat, sicut et deest in Codice Alexandrino aliisque, quos recenset D. Millius in sua Novi Testamenti editione.* GR. *ipse* is added from the CL.

[2] The CLERM. omits *se. τὰ κάτω πάντα.*

[3] *Utrum...an. Ita minus recte ἢ...ἢ hoc loco vertit Interpres, sensumque inde obscuram reddidit. Repone itaque, aut ...aut.* GR. *præsciente* CL., AR.

[4] *cepit.* STIEREN proposes *concepit*, but since ἔλαβεν is used as *συνέλαβεν*, so ἔλαβεν ἐν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ may fairly be considered as expressing mental conception.

[5] GRABE omits *spiritalem et*, which the MSS. have. His, mallem *invisibilem*, is echoed by MASSUET'S legendum

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visibilem, talis et factus fuisset. Si autem talis [1]qualis est, et ipse fecit eum talem, qui talem quidem mente conceperat; aut in [2]præsentia Patris voluit esse eum secundum mentis conceptionem talem, et compositum, et mutabilem, et transeuntem. Cum autem sit talis, qualem Pater deformaverat apud semetipsum, [3]dignam esse Patris fabricationem. Quod autem a Patre universorum mente conceptum est et præformatum sic, quemadmodum et factum est, labis esse dicere fructum, et ignorantiæ prolationem, magnæ blasphemiæ est. Erit enim secundum illos Pater omnium secundum suam mentis conceptionem in pectore suo labis emissiones et ignorantiæ fructus generans: quæ enim mente conceperat, hæc facta sunt.

2. Causa igitur quærenda est hujusmodi dispositionis Dei, sed non fabricatio mundi alteri adscribenda: et ante præparata omnia dicenda sunt a Deo, ut fierent, quemadmodum et facta sunt, sed non umbra et vacuitas confingenda est. Cæterum, *unde vacuitas?* quæretur, utrum ab omnium Patre et prolatore secundum eos et ipsum prolatum, et est [4]æqualis honore et cognatum reliquis Æonibus, forte autem et antiquius ipsis. Si autem ab eodem emissum est, simile est ei qui emisit, et his cum quibus emissum est. Necessitas ergo erit omni modo, et Bythum ipsorum cum Sige vacuo similem esse, hoc est vacuum esse: et

videtur *et invisibilem*, and STIEREN'S malim *invisibilem;* the Benedictine editor imagines the Greek copy to have had *θεωρητὸν, sola mente percipiendum*, which the translator misunderstood as referring to sensible perception; but *visibilem* quite satisfies the sense, of which the following Greek words may be considered to be the exponent; ἀλλ' *εἰ μὲν αἰώνιον αὐτὸν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ συνείληφεν, ὁρατὸν δὲ, γέγονεν ἂν τοιοῦτος*, the sense being, *but if it had pleased God to conceive an eternal, though visible world, it would have been so*, &c. &c. In the preceding sentence, the author puts as a necessary alternative either that God conceived the world's existence from all eternity, or in time: both cannot be true, *utraque* [*ἀμφότερα*] *incredibilia.*

[1] i.e. *factus est.*

[2] There is no MS. evidence for *Præscientia*, as suggested by GRABE. The reader will observe that there are three suppositions advanced by the author: that the world, as some heretics asserted, was eternal; that it was created in time, with no previous idea of it in the Divine mind; or that it existed as a portion of the Divine counsels from all eternity, though with no temporal subsistence until the time of its creation, and of this the author now speaks; the words *in præsentia Patris*, or *ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίᾳ* (*f. l. προουσίᾳ*), implying eternal ideality in the Divine Mind. The CLERM. copy has *voluit*, GR. *volunt.*

[3] Cf. TERTULL. *adv. Marc.* I. 13, 14.

[4] *Æqualis.* Legendum *æquale*, sicut *prolatum, cognatum, antiquius* &c. aut potius hæc omnia in fœminino genere ponenda, quia præcessit *vacuitas.* Sed cum in Græco ob vocem *κένωμα* cuncta *neutra* essent, Interpres sui oblitus talia quoque in versione reddidit. GR.

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reliquos Æonas, cum sint [1]vacui fratres, vacuam et substantiam habere. Si autem non est emissum, a se natum est et a se generatum est et æquiparans in tempore ei qui est secundum eos Bytho omnium patri; et sic ejusdem naturæ, et ejusdem honoris erit vacuum ei qui est secundum eos, omnium Patri. Oportet enim illum aut emissum esse ab aliquo; aut a se gene-
G. 120. ratum, et a se natum esse. Sed si quidem emissum est vacuum, vacuus et prolator est Valentinus, vacui et sectatores ejus. Si autem non prolatum est, sed a se generatum est; et simile est et fraternum et ejusdem honoris, id quod est vacuum, ei Patri qui prædictus est a Valentino: antiquius autem et multo ante exsistens, et honorificentius reliquis Æonibus ipsius [2]Ptolemæi et Heracleonis, et reliquis omnibus qui eadem opinantur.

3. Si autem et [3]aporiati in his confiteantur continere omnia Patrem omnium, et extra Pleroma esse nihil, (nam necessitas est omni modo definiri eum et circumscribi ab aliquo majore, et id quod extra et quod intus dicere [4]eos secundum
M. 120. agnitionem et ignorantiam, sed non secundum localem sententiam [distantiam]), in pleromate autem, vel in his quæ continentur a Patre, facta a Demiurgo aut ab angelis, quæcunque et facta scimus, contineri ab inenarrabili magnitudine, velut in circulo centrum, aut velut in tunica maculam: primo quidem qualis Bythus erit sustinens in sinu suo maculam fieri, et permittens in suis alterum quendam condere vel proferre, præter suam mentem? Quod quidem [5]indescibilitatem universo Pleromati afferre inciperet, cum posset ab initio abscindere labem,

[1] *Vacui, τοῦ κενοῦ.* CL. *vacue.* See p. 267, n. 2.

[2] Heracleon and Ptolemy were chiefs of the Western sect of Valentinians, as HIPPOLYTUS informs us:— Οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὧν ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος, κ.τ.λ., and they as well as their master are identified with the later Platonic and Pythagorean schools of philosophy. Οὐαλεντῖνος τοίνυν καὶ Ἡρακλέων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τούτων σχολή, οἱ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος μαθηταί. *Philos.* VI. 29, 36. So also the author of the *Libellus* appended to TERTULLIAN'S *Præscriptio*, after mentioning Ptolemy and Secundus, adds, *exstitit præterea Heracleon alter hæreticus, qui cum Valentino paria sentit, sed novitate quadam pronuntiationis vult videri alia sentire.* 5.

[3] *Aporiati.* The translator renders ἀπορῆσαι by *aporiatam*, p. 17. He also uses the word again at the foot of p. 265. AR. and VOSS. omit *et.*

[4] *Eos* is omitted in the AR. MS.

[5] As *scio, scivi,* in later Latin made *scibilis,* so *descisco, descivi,* would make *descibilis,* and from this apparently is formed *descibilitas, degeneracy.* The true reading I imagine to be *inde descibilitatem.* There is no evidence in favour of *imbecillitatem,* as printed in the earlier editions.

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LIB. II. iii. 3. GR. II. iv. MASS. II. iv. 2.

et eas quæ [1]ab eo initium acceperunt emissiones; neque in ignorantia, neque in passione, neque in labe constitutionem creationis permittere accipere. Qui enim postea emendat labem, et velut maculam emundat [2]labem, multo prius poterat observare, ne quidem initio in suis fieri talem maculam. Vel si initio quidem concessit, quoniam aliter fieri non poterant, quæ facta sunt; oportet et semper sic fieri illa. Quæ enim initio non possunt emendationem percipere, quemadmodum hanc postea percipient? Aut quemadmodum homines advocari ad perfectum dicunt, cum illa ipsa quæ sunt causæ, ex quibus facti sunt homines, vel ipse Demiurgus vel Angeli in labe dicantur esse? Et si ideo quod benignus sit, in novissimis temporibus misertus est hominum et perfectum eis dat; illorum primo misereri debuit, qui fuerunt hominis factores, et dare eis perfectum. Sic utique et homines miserationem percepissent, de perfectis perfecti facti. Si enim operis ipsorum misertus est, multo prius illorum misereri debuit, et non sinere in tantum cæcitatis venire eos.

4. Solvetur autem eorum et ille qui est de umbra et vacuo sermo, in quibus eam quæ est secundum nos factam dicunt conditionem, si in his quæ continentur a Patre facta sunt hæc. Si enim paternum illorum lumen tale opinantur, ut omnia adimplere possit quæ intra eum sunt, et omnia illuminare, quemadmodum vacuum et umbra in his quæ a Pleromate et a paterno lumine continentur, poterat esse? Oportet enim eos [3]et locum ostendere intra Propatorem, aut intra Pleroma, non illuminatum nec retentum ab aliquo, in quo aut Angeli aut Demiurgus fecit quæcunque voluit. Nec enim modicus locus est, in quo tanta et talis conditio facta est. Necessitas erit itaque universa, intra Pleroma aut intra Patrem ipsorum localiter vacuum aliquid et informe et tenebrosum [4]fieri eos, in quo fabricata sunt, quæ fabricata sunt. Incusationem quoque recipiet paternum ipsorum lumen, quasi non possit ea quæ intra G. 121 ipsum sunt illuminare, et implere. Adhuc autem et labis fructum dicentes ea, et erroris operam, labem et errorem inducent intra Pleroma, et in sinum Patris.

[1] *ab eo*, GRABE understands to refer to the Demiurge. MASSUET and STIEREN adopt the same view, but the translator *pro suo more* may have followed the grammatical concord of the neuter *ὑστέρημα*, the origin of Demiurge, and of the material creation, the matrix, as the Gnostic imagined, of evil. AR. reads *acceperant*.

[2] *labem*, repeated perhaps in error.

[3] The CLERM. and AR. MSS. both read *et*, omitted by MASS. and STIEREN.

[4] *fieri eos*. MASSUET conjectures that the Greek had *ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς*, which the

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LIB. II. iv. 1. GR. II. v. MASS. II. v. 1.

CAP. IV.

Quoniam invisibilis quidem est Pater, sed non incognitus, neque ignorare eum quidem poterant angeli, licet plurimum deorsum dejecti essent ab eo.

1. Adversus eos igitur qui dicunt extra Pleroma, vel sub bono Deo, hunc mundum factum, ea quæ paulo ante dicta sunt a nobis, apta sunt; et concludentur tales cum patre suo ab eo qui est extra Pleroma, in quo etiam et desinere eos necesse est. Adversus eos autem qui dicunt, in his quæ continentur a Patre, ab aliis quibusdam factum hunc mundum, omnia quæ nunc dicta sunt, absurda et inconvenientia occurrent; et cogentur aut omnia lucida et plena et operosa ea quæ sunt intra Patrem confiteri, aut paternum lumen accusare, quasi [1]qui non possit omnia luminare: aut sicut pars, sic et universum Pleroma ipsorum vacuum, et indispositum, et tenebrosum confitendum; et reliqua omnia quæcunque sunt conditionis accusant, quasi temporalia sint, et [2]æterna choica. Aut [At] inaccusabilia esse oportet, cum sint intra Pleroma et in sinu patris: aut etiam
M. 121. in universum Pleroma similiter venient incusationes. Et causa ignorantiæ invenietur Christus eorum. Sicut enim dicunt, cum formasset secundum [3]substantiam matrem ipsorum, foras projecit [4]extra Pleroma, id est, separavit ab agnitione. Ipse igitur in ea ignorantiam fecit, qui separavit eam ab agnitione. Quomodo igitur idem ipse reliquis quidem Æonibus, iis qui eo anteriores erant, præstare [5]agnitionem poterat, matri autem

translator rendered as a passive instead of a middle verb, *fieri* instead of *facere*.

[1] *qui* is omitted in the Ar. MS.

[2] *æterna choica*. The Clerm. MS. has *æterno-choica*, and Massuet adopts the reading; but it by no means satisfies the judgment. For how could the complex idea be expressed in Greek? and the translator is a servile imitator of his copy. Grabe proposes the emendation, *ac terrena et choica*. And he says: "*Vox* æterna, *vel prorsus delenda, vel in aliam est commutanda. Neque enim hæretici choica dicebant æterna, imo contra diserte docebant:* Τὸ χοϊκὸν ἀδύνατον σωτηρίας μετασχεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ δεκτικὸν αὐτῆς, &c. Choicum impossibile est salutem percipere: non enim esse illum capacem salutis dicunt, *uti cap.* I. *lib.* I, 11 *legimus*. But the translation may represent the following passage: καὶ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ τῆς κτίσεως ἐλέγχουσι, ὡσανεὶ πρόσκαιρά ἐστι, καὶ τὰ αἰώνια χοϊκά. i. e. *And they charge all other substance* (*i.e. spiritual*) *with the imperfections of the material creation, as though Æon substance were equally ephemeral and choic.* cf. VII. 2.

[3] Her formation κατ' οὐσίαν was the remote cause of the material world. Cf. pp. 17, n. 3; 32, n. 2; 39, n. 4.

[4] The Ar. MS. omits *extra*, but a space is left.

[5] Cf. pp. 53, n. 1; 76, n. 1.

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LIB. II. iv. 2. GR. II. v. MASS. II. v. 2.

ejus causa esse ignorantiæ? Extra agnitionem enim fecit eam, extra Pleroma eam projiciens.

2. Adhuc quoque si secundum agnitionem et ignorantiam, intra Pleroma et extra Pleroma dicunt, sicut quidam ex ipsis dicunt, quoniam qui in agnitione est, intra id est, quod agnoscit; ipsum Salvatorem (quem *Omnia* esse dicunt) in ignorantia fuisse consentire eos necesse est. Dicunt enim eum, cum foras extra Pleroma venisset, formasse Matrem ipsorum. Si igitur id quod est extra, ignorantiam dicunt universorum, exiit autem Salvator ad formationem Matris ipsorum, extra agnitionem universorum factus est, hoc est in ignorantia. Quomodo igitur illi agnitionem præstare poterat, cum et ipse extra agnitionem esset? Et nos enim, extra agnitionem cum simus ipsorum, extra Pleroma esse dicunt. Et iterum: Si igitur Salvator exivit extra Pleroma ad investigationem perditæ ovis, Pleroma autem est agnitio, extra agnitionem factus est, quod est in ignorantia. Aut enim localiter, quod est extra Pleroma consentire eos necesse est; et omnia quæ prædicta sunt contraria occurrent eis: vel si secundum agnitionem dicunt quod est intus, et ignorantiam quod est extra, Salvator illorum, et multo ante Christus, in ignorantia facti erunt, extra Pleroma egressi ad [1]formationem matris ipsorum, quod est extra agnitionem. G. 122.

3. Hæc autem adversus omnes qui quolibet modo vel ab angelis, vel ab alio quodam præter verum Deum mundum factum esse dicunt, similiter adaptabuntur. Quam enim incusationem faciunt de Demiurgo, et de his, quæ facta sunt materialia et temporalia, recurret in Patrem: siquidem quemadmodum in ventre Pleromatis facta sunt, quæ inciperent mox demum dissolvi secundum concessionem et ad placitum Patris. Jam igitur non est fabricator causa hujus operationis, valde bene putans semetipsum fabricare, sed qui in suis concedit et probat labis prolationes et erroris opera fieri, et in æternis temporalia, et in incorruptibilibus corruptibilia, et in his quæ veritatis sunt, ea quæ sunt erroris. Si autem non concedente, neque approbante Patre universorum, facta sunt hæc; potentior, et fortior, et dominatior is, [2]qui fecit in iis, quæ propria illius sunt, quæcunque ille non concessit. Si autem non approbans

[1] The first formation of Achamoth by Christ was *κατ' οὐσίαν* only, p. 32. The second by Soter was *κατὰ γνῶσιν*, p. 39.

[2] The sentence is more intelligible in the Greek: *κυριώτερος ὁ ποιῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτοῦ ἴδια, ὅσα ἐκεῖνος* [ὁ Πατὴρ sc.] *οὐ συνεχώρησε.*

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concessit Pater ipsorum, quemadmodum quidam dicunt, aut potens prohibere concessit propter necessitatem quandam, aut non potens. Sed siquidem non poterat, invalidus et infirmus est: si autem potens, seductor et hypocrita, et necessitatis servus: non consentiens quidem, concedens autem quasi consentiat. Et initio concedens [1]sistere errorem et crescere illum, in posterioribus temporibus solvere illum conatur, quando jam multi male perierunt propter labem. LIB. II. iv. 3. GR. II. v. MASS. II. v. 3.

4. Non decet autem eum qui super omnia sit Deus, cum sit liber et suæ potestatis, necessitati servisse dicere, ut sit aliquid secundum concessionem præter sententiam ejus: alioquin necessitatem majorem et dominatiorem facient quam Deum, quando id quod magis potest, antiquius sit omnibus. Et statim in principio causas abscidere necessitatis debuit, et non concludere semetipsum ad habendam necessitatem, concedendo aliquid præterquam deceat eum. Multo enim melius, et consequentius, et magis deificum erat, ut in principio initium excideret hujusmodi necessitatis, quam postea, quasi de pœnitentia, conaretur tantam fructificationem necessitatis eradicare. Et si necessitati serviens erit Pater universorum, et sub fatum cadet moleste ferens in his quæ fiunt, præter necessitatem autem et fatum nihil agere possit: similiter atque Homericus Jupiter, qui per necessitatem dicit: [2]*Et ego enim tibi dedi velut volens,*
G. 123. *nolente animo.* Secundum igitur hanc rationem necessitatis et fati invenietur servus, Bythus ipsorum.

M. 122. 5. Quomodo autem et ignorabant vel angeli aut mundi fabricator primum Deum, quando in ejus propriis essent, et [3]creatura existerent ejus, et continerentur ab ipso? Invisibilis quidem poterat eis esse propter eminentiam, ignotus autem nequaquam propter providentiam. Etenim licet valde per descensionem multum separati essent ab eo, quomodo dicunt; sed tamen dominio in omnes extenso, oportuit cognoscere dominantem ipsorum, et hoc ipsum scire, quoniam qui creavit eos, est Dominus omnium. Invisibile enim ejus cum sit potens, magnam mentis intuitionem et sensibilitatem omnibus præstat potentissimæ et omnipotentis eminentiæ. Unde etiamsi [4]*nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius, neque Filium, nisi Pater, et quibus Filius revelaverit*, tamen hoc ipsum omnia cognoscunt, quando Rom. i. 19, 20. Luc. x. 22.

[1] Sistere, Græce *συνίστασθαι*. BILL.

[2] *Καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ σοι δῶκα ἑκὼν, ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ. Il.* δ'. 43.

[3] *κτίσμα*. Ita MSS., *creaturæ* EDD.

[4] The text is quoted in an inverse order, as at p. 180; but see IV. xiv.

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LIB. II. iv. 6. GR. II. v. MASS. II. vi. 2.

ratio mentibus [1] infixa moveat ea et revelet eis, quoniam est unus Deus, omnium Dominus.

6. Et propter hoc Altissimi et Omnipotentis appellationi omnia subjecta sunt: et hujus invocatione etiam ante adventum Domini nostri salvabantur homines, et a spiritibus nequissimis, et a dæmoniis universis, et ab [2] apostasia universa: non quasi vidissent eum terreni spiritus aut dæmones, sed cum scirent quoniam est, qui est super omnia Deus, cujus et invocationem tremebant, et tremit universa creatura et principatus et potentia et omnis subjecta virtus. Aut nunquid hi qui sub Romanorum imperio sunt, quamvis nunquam viderint Imperatorem, sed valde et per terram, et per mare separati ab eo, cognoscent propter dominium eum qui maximam potestatem habet principatus; qui autem super nos erant angeli, vel ille quem mundi fabricatorem dicunt, non cognoscent omnipotentem, quando jam et muta animalia tremant et cedant tali invocationi? Et utique non viderunt eum, tamen Domini nostri nomini subjecta sunt omnia: sic et ejus qui omnia fecit et condidit vocabulo, cum alter non sit quam ipse qui mundum fecit. Et propter hoc Judæi usque nunc hac ipsa affatione dæmonas effugant, quando omnia timeant invocationem ejus qui fecit ea. Si itaque mutis animalibus irrationabiliores noluerint angelos esse, invenient quoniam oportebat, licet non vidissent hi eum qui super omnia Deus est, uti cognoscerent potentatum et dominium ejus. Ridiculum enim vere apparebit, si se quidem, qui super terram sunt, cognoscere dicunt eum qui super omnia est Deus, quem nunquam viderunt; ei autem qui eos fecit, et universum mundum secundum eos, non permittant, cum sit in summis et super cœlos, cognoscere ea quæ ipsi, quum sint in humilibus, sciunt. Nisi forte sub terra in tartaro esse Bythum suum dicunt, quapropter et primos se cognovisse eum, quam hi qui in altitudine habitant angeli; in tantam amentiam venientes, uti dementem pronuntient mundi fabricatorem: quorum vere quidem est misereri, cum in tanta dementia dicant, neque Matrem agnovisse eum, neque semen ejus, neque Pleroma Æonum, neque Propatorem, neque quid essent quæ fabricavit; esse autem imagines eorum, quæ intra Pleroma sunt, latenter Salvatore operato sic fieri in honorem eorum qui sursum sunt.

Cf. Luc. ix. 49. Act. xix. 13.

G. 124.

[1] CL. *infixus*, i.e. λόγος.

[2] *Sic lib.* v. *cap.* 24. Dominatus est (*Diabolus*) homini per apostasiam. *Et cap.* 29. Sexcenti itaque anni Noë, sub quo fuit diluvium propter apostasiam. GRABE, see III. XXXV. IV. LXXIX.

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CAP. V.

Ostensio non esse eam quæ est secundum nos creaturam imaginem Pleromatis eorum, neque Demiurgum Unigeniti.

1. IGNORANTE itaque Demiurgo universa, Salvatorem dicunt honorasse Pleroma in conditione per Matrem, similitudines et I. i. 9.
imagines eorum quæ sursum sunt emittentem. Sed quoniam quidem impossibile erat, extra Pleroma esse aliquid, in quo imagines dicunt factas esse eorum qui sunt intra Pleroma, vel ab alio quodam præter primum Deum fabricari hunc mundum, ostendimus. Si autem suave est undique evertere eos, et mendaces arguere, dicemus adversus eos, quoniam si in honorem eorum quæ sursum [1]sunt, facta sunt hæc secundum illorum imaginem a Salvatore,
M. 123. semper ea oportet perseverare, uti et semper sint in honore, quæ sunt honorata. Si autem transeunt, quæ utilitas hujus brevissimi temporis honoris, qui aliquando quidem non fuit, rursus autem non erit? Vanæ igitur gloriæ appetitor magis [2]erit Salvator, quam honorans quæ sunt sursum, arguitur a nobis. Quis enim honor est æternorum eorum quæ semper sunt, ea quæ sunt temporalia; eorum quæ [3]stant, ea quæ prætereunt; incorruptibilium, corruptibilia? Quandoquidem et apud homines qui sunt temporales, nulla gratia est ejus honoris, qui celeriter præterit, sed ejus qui plurimum quantum potest perseverat. Quæ autem statim ut facta sunt exterminantur, in contumeliam magis eorum qui putantur honorari facta esse juste dicentur: et contumeliose tractari id quod est æternum, corrupta ejus et soluta imagine. Quid autem si non plorasset, et risisset, et aporiata esset mater ipsorum, non
G. 125. habuisset Salvator per quæ honoraret plenitudinem, [4]extremæ confusionis non habentis propriam substantiam, per quam honoraret Propatorem?

[1] *sunt* omitted in the AR., *τῶν ἄνω*.

[2] *erit*. *Verbum* erit *mallem abesse*, is the note of GRABE; *redundat* says MASSUET, and after him STIEREN. But the difficulty is caused by the translator having read *ἡ*, *quam*, instead of *ἦ*, *quâ*, *gloria* sc.; *μᾶλλον*, *magis*, referring to the previous sentences, and not to the sequel. Cf. p. 42, *lin. ult.*

[3] CL. *instant*, but *ἑστώτων* no doubt was in the original. *ὁ ἑστὼς στὰς στησόμενος*, was the title given to the Deity by Simon Magus, HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 13. Cf. CLEMENTIN. XVIII. 6, 12.

[4] The translator copies the Greek genitive absolute, as GRABE has not failed to observe. *τῆς ὑστέρας συγχύσεως οὐκ ἐχούσης, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. p. 17.

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LIB. II. v. 2. GR. II. vi. MASS. II. vii. 2.

2. O vanæ gloriæ honor, qui statim præterit, et jam non apparet! Erit aliquis Æon, in quo in totum talis honor fuisse non reputabitur, et inhonorata erunt tunc quæ sunt sursum: aut aliam iterum necesse erit Matrem emittere plorantem, et aporiatam, in honorem Pleromatis. O indissimilis, simul autem et blasphemæ imaginis! [1]Imaginem mihi dicitis emissam a [2]mundi fabricatore Unigeniti, quem et Nun vultis esse Patris universorum, et imaginem hanc ignorare quidem semetipsam; ignorare autem et conditionem, ignorare autem et Matrem, et omne quodcunque est eorum quæ sunt, et eorum quæ ab eo facta sunt: et non erubescitis [3]adversus vos ipsos ignorantiam inducentes usque ad ipsum Monogenen? Si enim secundum similitudinem eorum quæ sunt sursum, a Salvatore facta sunt hæc, ignorante eo tanta qui secundum similitudinem factus est, necesse est et circa eum et secundum eum, ad cujus similitudinem factus est is qui ignorat, hujusmodi ignorantiam exsistere spiritaliter. Non enim possibile est, cum sint utrique spiritaliter emissi, neque plasmati neque compositi,

[1] The Saviour is said above, p. 42, to have formed a counterpart to the several Æons by means of Achamoth, *τὴν γὰρ Ἐνθύμησιν ταύτην βουληθεῖσαν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν Αἰώνων τὰ πάντα ποιῆσαι, εἰκόνας λέγουσι πεποιηκέναι αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Σωτῆρα δι' αὐτῆς.* The likeness of the invisible Father was preserved by Achamoth, but that of the only begotten Son (Nûs) by Demiurge.

[2] The Saviour was the virtual origin of the Creation, as having caused the *καρποφορία* of Achamoth, *διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμει τὸν Σωτῆρα δεδημιουργηκέναι φάσκουσι.* p. 41. He devised the plan whereby all things were created, though the Demiurge executed it. Hence STIEREN scarcely gives a correct account of the Valentinian cosmogony when he says of the Saviour, *Qui insciis Achamoth et Demiurgo universas res creavit. not. in loc.* The account given by IRENÆUS is, *Hic enim operabatur similitudines tales fieri, ad imitationem eorum quæ sunt sursum, quemadmodum dicunt; Demiurgus autem perficiebat fabricationem conditionis.* III. xi. 2. There are statements in PHILO, that stand midway between the Platonic and Gnostic theories, derived from the first but the precursors of the latter. The reader will meet with many such in the commencement of the Treatise *π. τ. κοσμοποιΐας. e.g.* The Jewish philosopher there compares the work of creation to the execution of some royal architectural plan, and says, *καθάπερ οὖν ἡ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιτεκτονικῷ προδιατυπωθεῖσα πόλις, τὴν χώραν ἐκτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐνεσφράγιστο τῇ τοῦ τεχνίτου ψυχῇ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οὐδ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν κόσμος ἄλλον ἂν ἔχοι τόπον, ἢ τὸν θεῖον λόγον τὸν ταῦτα διακοσμήσαντα.* Again, *οὐδὲν ἂν ἕτερον εἴποι τὸν νοητὸν εἶναι κόσμον, ἢ Θεοῦ λόγον ἤδη κοσμοποιοῦντος,* and shortly afterwards, *δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἀρχέτυπον σφραγὶς, ὃν φαμεν εἶναι κόσμον νοητὸν, αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀρχέτυπον παράδειγμα, ἰδέα τῶν ἰδεῶν, ὁ Θεοῦ λόγος.* The Philonic *λόγος* therefore was a closer parallel to the gnostic pleroma, than to anything in the Christian Theology.

[3] *τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς ἀγνοίαν εἰσάγοντες.*

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in quibusdam quidem similitudinem servasse, in quibusdam vero depravasse imaginem similitudinis, quæ in hoc sit emissa, ut sit secundum similitudinem ejus, quæ sursum est emissio. Quod si non est similis, Salvatoris erit incusatio, qui dissimilem emisit imaginem, quasi reprobabilis artifex. Nec enim dicere possunt, quasi non haberet potestatem emissionis Salvator, quem *Omnia* esse dicunt. Si igitur dissimilis est imago, malus est artifex, et est culpa Salvatoris secundum eos. Si autem similis est, eadem ignorantia invenietur circa Nun Propatoris ipsorum, hoc est, Monogenen: et ignoravit quidem semetipsum Nus Patris, ignoravit autem et Patrem, ignoravit autem et ea quæ ab eo facta sunt. Si autem cognoscit ille, et eum, qui ad similitudinem ejus factus est a Salvatore, necesse est cognoscere quæ sunt similia: et soluta est ipsorum secundum suam regulam maxima blasphemia.

LIB. II. v. 2. GR. II. vi. MASS. II. vii. 2.

CAP. VI.

Quomodo in immensum excidit de imaginibus eorum sermo.

1. Et sine hoc autem, quonam modo ea quæ sunt [1] creaturæ, sic [2] varia et multa, et innumerabilia, eorum Æonum [3] qui sunt intra Pleroma xxx imagines esse possunt, quorum et nomina quæ sint, secundum quod dicunt, in eo qui est ante hunc libro posuimus? Et non tantum universæ creaturæ varietatem, sed ne quidem partis alicujus aut cœlestium, aut superterrestrium, aut aquatilium poterunt adaptare Pleromatis ipsorum parvitati. Quoniam enim Pleroma ipsorum xxx Æones sunt, ipsi testantur: quoniam autem in una parte ipsorum quæ dicta sunt, non xxx sed multa millia specierum esse annumerant, eos ostendere omnis quicunque confitebitur. Quomodo igitur ea, quæ tam multæ sunt conditionis et
M. 124. contrariis subsistentia, et repugnantia invicem, et interficientia alia alia, imagines et similitudines esse possunt xxx Æonum [4] Pleromati; siquidem unius naturæ, quemadmodum dicunt, ex æquali et simili exsistant, et nullam habeant differentiam? Oportebat autem, si hæc illorum imagines sunt, quemadmodum natura nequam homines

[1] τὰ τῆς κτίσεως.

[2] *varia*, the MSS. agree in reading *vacua*, the error therefore must have been of old standing; for it is evident that *varia* suits the context best; and the author would never have denied that the term *vacua* found no counterpart in the pleroma.

[3] Clerm., Arund. and Voss. have *quæ*, rendering *Æon* in the feminine.

[4] l. *Pleromatis*.

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LIB. II. vi. 1. GR. II. vi. MASS. II. vii. 3.

dicunt quosdam, et natura rursus bonos, et Æonum ipsorum ostendere tales differentias, et quosdam quidem ex ipsis natura bonos dicere emissos, quosdam autem natura malos, ut imaginis illorum adinventio congruens esset Æonibus. Adhuc autem quoniam in mundo altera quidem sunt mansueta, altera [1] vero fera, et quædam quidem non nocentia, quædam nocentia, et reliquorum corrumpentia; et quædam quidem superterrestria, quædam aquatilia, quædam volatilia, quædam cœlestia: similiter et Æonas ostendere debent tales habere affectiones, si quidem hæc illorum imagines sunt. *Et ignis* autem *æternus, quem* [2] *præparavit Pater diabolo et angelis ejus*, cujus eorum qui sunt sursum Æones imago sit interpretari debent: et ipse enim in conditione numeratur. G. 126.

Matt. xxv. 41.

2. Si autem excogitationis ejus qui passus est Æonis dicent imagines hæc esse, primum quidem impie agent adversus Matrem suam, [3] malorum et corruptibilium imaginum initiatricem esse eam dicentes. Deinde autem ea quæ sunt multa, et dissimilia, et contraria natura, quonam modo unius et ejusdem imaginis erunt? Et si Pleromatis angelos multos esse dicent, et horum illa quæ sunt multa imagines esse, nec sic eis constabit ratio. Primo enim differentias Pleromatis angelorum contrarias invicem debent ostendere, quemadmodum et subjacentes imagines contrariæ naturæ invicem sunt. Deinde autem cum sint multi et innumerabiles circa factorem angeli, quemadmodum omnes confitentur prophetæ, [4] *dena millia denum millium assistere ei, et multa millia millium ministrare ei;* et secundum eos, Pleromatis angeli angelos factoris imagines habebunt, [5] et manet conditio integra in imagine Pleromatis, jam non consequentibus xxx [6] Æonis [in] multiformem conditionis varietatem.

Dan. vii. 10.

[1] AR. *vocifera.*

[2] For ܕܡܬܩܢܐ *qui paratus est,* IRENÆUS read ܕܐܬܩܢ *quem paravit Pater,* or ܐܒܝ *Pater meus,* as in p. 263, GRABE's edition.

[3] AR., but CL. *malarum.*

[4] *Dena millia &c. Hæc Danielis verba Græce habentur in S. Clementis Epist. ad Corinth. cap.* 34. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ, καὶ χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ. *Atque ita etiam apud Gregorium Nyssenum Homil.* VIII. *in Ecclesiasten et Cyrillum Alexandrinum Epistola in Symbolum. Ast in illa, quæ jam sub nomine LXX Interpretum exstat, versione, convenienter archetypo legitur inverso ordine:* χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ. *Confer de varia hujus loci citatione Cotelerii notas ad laudatam Clementis Epistolam.* GRABE.

[5] The reasoning of IRENÆUS seems to be this. According to the Gnostic theory the Æons and angels of the Pleroma were homogeneous. They were also the archetypes of things created.

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LIB. II. vi. 3. GR. II. vi. MASS. II. vii. 5.

3. Adhuc etiam, si secundum similitudinem hæc illorum facta sunt, illa rursus ad quorum similitudinem erunt facta? Si enim mundi fabricator non a semetipso fecit hæc, sed quemadmodum nullius momenti artifex, et quasi primum discens puer, de alienis archetypis transtulit, [1]Bythus ipsorum unde habuit speciem ejus quam primum emisit dispositionis? Consequens est igitur, illum ab altero quodam, qui super eum est, exemplum accepisse, et illum rursus ab altero. Et nihilominus in immensum excidet de imaginibus sermo: quemadmodum et de Diis, si non fixerimus sensum in unum artificem, et in unum Deum, qui a semetipso fecit ea quæ facta sunt. Aut de hominibus quidem aliquis permittit, a semetipsis utile aliquid ad vitam adinvenisse: ei autem Deo, qui mundum consummavit, non permittit a semetipso fecisse speciem eorum quæ facta sunt, et adinventionem ornatæ dispositionis? Unde autem et hæc illorum imagines, cum sint illis contraria, et in nullo possunt eis communicare? Quæ enim sunt contraria, eorum, quorum sunt contraria, esse quidem possunt exitiosa; imagines vero [3]nullo modo, quemadmodum aqua igni, et rursus lumen tenebris, et alia [2]tanta, [3]nequaquam erunt invicem imagines. Sic nec ea quæ sunt corruptibilia, et terrena, et composita, et prætereuntia, eorum, quæ secundum eos sunt, spiritalium imagines erunt: nisi et ipsa composita, et in circumscriptione, et in figuratione confiteantur esse, et non jam spiritalia et effusa et locupletia et
G. 127. incomprehensibilia. Necesse est enim ea in figuratione esse, et circumscriptione, ut sint imagines veræ: et absolutum est ea non esse spiritalia. Si autem illa spiritalia et effusa et incomprehensibilia dicunt, quomodo possunt, [4]quæ sunt in figura, et in circum-

But things created are heterogeneous, therefore either these Æons are heterogeneous, which is contrary to theory; or things create are homogeneous, which is contrary to fact.

[6] *Æonis.* STIEREN after MASSUET says, Æonis *nonnunquam scribit Irenæus pro* Æonibus. The abbreviate form *Æonib.* may serve to account for the reading. The AR. MS. adds *in, συνακολουθησάντων... εἰς, corresponding with.*

[1] Bythus having commenced the series of emanations, *καθάπερ σπέρμα,* I. i. 1, held within himself the archetypal germ of things create. See c. xx.

[2] GRABE says, Talia *hic debuisset reddere Interpres. Græce τοσαῦτα.* STIEREN faithfully echoes the note, although *talia* is by no means the equivalent for *τοσαῦτα.* The translator was probably misled by an error in the Greek text, from which he worked, having *τοσαῦτα* instead of *τοιαῦτα.* Or the original may have stood, *ὅσα ἀλλά.*

[3] *nullo modo ... nequaquam, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ... οὐδαμῶς.* Cf. PLAT. *Parm.* p. 166. *τἆλλα τῶν μὴ ὄντων οὐδενὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς οὐδεμίαν κοινωνίαν ἔχει.*

[4] *quæ ... qui.* The CLERMONT reading is inverted; the second relative

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LIB. II. vi. 3. GR. II. vi. MASS. II. vii. 7.

scriptione, imagines illorum esse, qui sunt sine figuratione et [1]incomprehensibiles? Si autem [2][nec] secundum figurationem, nec secundum formationem, sed secundum numerum et ordinem emis- M. 125. sionis imagines ea dicent esse: primo quidem [3]non essent imagines dicenda hæc et similitudines eorum, [4]qui sursum sunt Æonum. Quæ enim nec habitum nec figura millorum habent, quemadmodum imagines sunt ipsorum? Post deinde et numeros et emissiones superiorum Æonum eosdem et similes ad eos qui sunt conditionis adaptent. Nunc autem triginta ostendentes Æones, et tantam multitudinem eorum quæ sunt in conditione imagines eorum qui sunt triginta dicentes, juste ut insensati arguentur a nobis.

CAP. VII.

Quam falsa umbra et vacua eorum ostenditur.

1. Si autem hæc illorum umbram dicent esse, quemadmodum quidam ipsorum audent dicere, [5]ut secundum hoc imagines esse, necesse erit et corpora ipsos ea quæ sunt sursum confiteri. Ea enim quæ sursum sunt corpora umbram faciunt, non autem jam spiritalia, quandoquidem [6]nulli obscurare possunt. Si autem et demus illis hoc, quod quidem est impossibile, eorum quæ sunt spiritalia et lucida umbram esse, in quam Matrem suam descendisse dicunt, tamen cum illa sint æterna, et ea quæ ex ipsis efficitur umbra sempiterna perseverat, et non jam transeunt hæc, sed perseverant cum his, quæ se adumbrant. Si autem hæc transeunt, et illa necesse est, quorum hæc sunt umbra, transire: illis autem perseverantibus, perseverat et umbra ipsorum. Si autem non secundum id quod obumbretur, dicent eam umbram esse, sed secundum id quod multo ab illis separata sint, paterni luminis ipsorum pusillitatem et infirmitatem accusabunt, quasi non attingat usque ad hæc, sed deficiat adimplere id quod est vacuum, et dissolvere umbram, et hoc quando nemo sit impedimento. In

applies to the Æons of the pleroma, the first to the multitudinous counterpart of them in creation. GRABE in both places prints *quæ*.

[1] *incomprehensibiles*, so the MSS.

[2] *nec* is omitted in all the MSS.

[3] *non*, omitted in the CL. and AR. MSS. though MASS. asserts the contrary. GRABE also is wrong. AR. reads *sunt*, not *essent*.

[4] CL. *quæ*, relative to *Æonum*.

[5] The translation, as GRABE imagines, of the Greek words, ὥστε κατὰ τοῦτο εἰκόνας εἶναι.

[6] *Nulli obscurare possunt. Græca locutio, pro nulli caliginem offundere,* τὰ πνευματικὰ μηδενὶ ἐπισκοτεῖν δύναται. FEUARD.

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caliginem enim convertetur secundum eos et obcæcabitur paternum lumen eorum, et deficiet in his quæ sunt vacuitatis locis, cum minime possit adimplere omnia. LIB. II. vii. 1. GR. II. vii. viii. MASS. II. viii. 2.

2. Non igitur jam dicant Pleroma esse omnium Bythum ipsorum; siquidem id quod est vacuum et umbra neque adimplevit neque illuminavit: aut iterum umbram et vacuum prætermittant, siquidem adimplet omnia paternum ipsorum lumen. Neque igitur extra primum Patrem, id est qui super omnia est Deus, aut Pleroma aliquid esse potest, in quod Enthymesin passi Æonis descendisse dicunt, ut non definiatur et circumscribatur ab eo qui est extra, et contineatur ipsum Pleroma, vel primus Deus: [1] neque vacuum esse, aut umbram capiet, cum jam ante sit Pater, uti ne deficiat lumen ejus, et definiatur in vacuum. Irrationale est autem et impium adinvenire locum, in quo cessat et finem habet qui est secundum eos Propator et Proarche, et
G. 128. omnium Pater et hujus Pleromatis. Nec rursus in Patris sinu alterum quendam dicere tantam fabricasse conditionem fas est, vel consentiente, vel non consentiente eo, propter prædictas causas. Impium est enim similiter et demens dicere, tantam conditionem ab angelis, aut ab emissione quadam ignorante verum Deum, in his quæ sunt ipsius, [2] fabricasse: neque intra Pleroma ipsorum, cum sit universum spiritale, ea quæ sunt terrena et choica possibile facta esse: sed ne quidem secundum illorum imaginem, cum dicuntur pauci et similis formationis et unum esse, possibile est et quæ sunt [3] multæ conditionis et contraria invicem facta esse. Cf. p. 261, n. 2.

3. Falsus autem apparuit, et qui est de umbra cenomatis, id est vacui, ipsorum sermo secundum omnia. Itaque vacuum ostensum est figmentum eorum, et inconstans doctrina: vacui autem et hi qui attendunt eis, vere [4] in profundum perditionis descendentes.
M. 126. Quoniam quidem est mundi fabricator Deus, constat et ipsis, qui multis modis contradicunt ei, et confitentur eum, fabricatorem eum vocantes et angelum dicentes: ut non dicamus, quoniam omnes clamant Scripturæ, et Dominus hunc Patrem qui est in cœlis docet, et non alium: quemadmodum ostendemus procedente sermone. Matt. v. 16, 45. Matt. vi. 9.

[1] *Græce* οὐδὲ τὸ κενὸν εἶναι, ἢ σκιὰν ἐνδέξεται, *id est, neque fieri poterit, ut vacuum, aut umbra sit. Sic c.* 16, *Et hæc quidem in hominibus capit dici.* BILL.

[2] *fabricasse*, i. e. *Bythum.*

[3] *multa* is not an unlikely reading as represented in καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς κτίσεως καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλων. *sunt* is omitted in the AR. MS.

[4] εἰς τὸν βυθὸν τῆς ἀπωλείας, p. 264.

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MASS. II. ix.
1.

CAP. VIII.

Ostensio quoniam est et substitit mundi fabricator Deus, non constat autem esse qui super hunc adinvenitur Pater.

1. Nunc autem sufficit id quod est ab eis, qui contraria nobis dicunt testimonium, omnibus hominibus ad hoc demum consentientibus, veteribus quidem, [1]et in primis a primoplasti traditione hanc suadelam custodientibus et unum Deum fabricatorem cœli et terræ hymnizantibus: reliquis autem post eos a prophetis Dei hujus rei commemorationem accipientibus; ethnicis vero ab
Rom. i. 20. ipsa conditione discentibus. Ipsa enim conditio ostendit eum qui G. 129.
condidit eam; et ipsa factura suggerit eum qui fecit; et mundus manifestat eum qui se disposuit. Ecclesia autem omnis per universum orbem hanc accepit ab apostolis traditionem.

2. Constante igitur hoc Deo, quemadmodum diximus, et testimonium ab omnibus accipiente quoniam est: ille sine dubio, qui secundum eos adinvenitur pater, inconstans et sine teste est, Simone mago primo dicente semetipsum esse super omnia Deum, et mundum ab angelis ejus factum; post deinde his, qui successerunt ei secundum quod ostendimus in primo libro, variis sententiis impias et irreligiosas adversus fabricatorem circumducentibus doctrinas: quorum discipuli cum sint hi, ethnicis pejores efficiunt
Rom. i. 25. eos qui assentiunt eis. Illi enim *creaturæ potius quam Creatori*
Gal. iv. 8. *servientes*, et *his qui non sunt dii;* verumtamen primum deitatis locum attribuunt fabricatori hujus universitatis Deo. Hi autem, hunc quidem labis fructum dicentes, et animalem eum vocantes, et non cognoscentem eam quæ super eum est virtutem, dicentem
Esai. xlvi. 9. quoque, *Ego sum Deus, et præter me non est alius Deus*, mentiri eum dicentes, ipsi mentientes, omnem malitiam copulantes ei; eum qui non est super hunc, quod sit, fingentes secundum sententiam suam, deteguntur eum quidem qui est Deus blasphemantes, eum autem qui non est Deum fingentes in suam ipsorum condemnationem. Et qui dicunt semetipsos perfectos et universorum habere agnitionem ethnicis pejores, et magis blasphemi sensu etiam adversum suum factorem inveniuntur.

[1] Τῶν ἀρχαίων μὲν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα κ τῆς τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου παραδόσεως ταυτὴν τὴν πίστιν φυλαττομένων κ.τ.λ. (*præcipua sane*).

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GR. II. x.
MASS. II. x.
1.

CAP. IX.

De quæstionibus et parabolis, quomodo oporteat solvere ea quæ quæruntur.

1. PERQUAM itaque irrationale est, prætermittentes eum qui vere est Deus et qui ab omnibus habet testimonium, quærere si est super eum is qui non est, et qui a nemine unquam annuntiatus est. Quoniam enim manifeste nihil dictum est de eo et ipsi testimonium perhibent: quia autem parabolas, quæ quæruntur et ipsæ quomodo dictæ sint, male ad eum qui adinventus est ab ipsis transfigurantes, alium nunc qui ante nunquam quæsitus est generant, manifestum est. Per hoc enim quod velint [1] ambiguas exsolvere Scripturas (ambiguas autem non quasi ad alterum Deum, sed quasi ad dispositiones Dei,) alterum Deum [2] fabricave-
G. 130. runt; quemadmodum prædiximus, de arena resticulas nectentes, et quæstioni minori quæstionem majorem adgenerantes. Omnis autem quæstio non per aliud quod quæritur habebit resolutionem, nec ambiguitas per aliam ambiguitatem solvetur apud eos qui sensum habent, aut ænigmata per aliud majus ænigma; sed ea quæ sunt talia ex manifestis et consonantibus et claris accipiunt absolutiones.

2. Hi autem quærentes exsolvere Scripturas et parabolas, alteram majorem et impiam quæstionem introducunt, siquidem super mundi fabricatorem Deum alius sit Deus, non exsolventes quæstiones, (unde enim?) sed minori quæstioni magnam quæstionem annectentes, et nodum insolubilem inserentes. [3] Ut enim sciant hoc ipsum scire, quod utique triginta annorum Dominus venit ad baptismum veritatis, hoc non discentes, ipsum Deum
M. 127. fabricatorem, qui misit eum ad salutem hominum, impie contemnunt: et ut putentur posse enarrare unde substantia materiæ,

[1] *αἱ γραφαὶ αὐτοῦ μεγάλαι μὲν καὶ πεπληρωμέναι νοημάτων εἰσὶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ μυστικῶν καὶ δυσθεωρήτων· σφόδρα δὲ καὶ δυσδιήγητοί εἰσι, καὶ αἰτίαι δοκοῦσι τοῦ τὰς ἀπαιδεύτους πλανᾶσθαι τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ψυχὰς, ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ μετὰ προπετείας κατηγορούντων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξ ὧν οὐ νοοῦσι γραφῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκπιπτόντων ἐπὶ ἀναπλασμὸν ἄλλου Θεοῦ.* ORIG. *in Ps.* xl. as quoted by GRABE.

[2] AR. *prædicaverunt.*

[3] GRABE proposes *sciantur;* MASSUET objects, *Sed frustra; sensus est,* ut enim sciant se hoc ipsum scire; but this scarcely mends matters. The Greek again extricates us; *ἵνα γὰρ γνῶσι αὐτὴν τὴν γνῶσιν, (ὅτι μὲν Λ' ἐτῶν... τοῦτο οὐ μαθόντες) αὐτοῦ τοῦ κτίσαντος Θεοῦ... ἀσεβῶς καταφρονοῦσι.*

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LIB. II. x. 1. GR. II. xi. MASS. II. x. 2.

non credentes quoniam Deus ex his quæ non erant, quemadmodum voluit, ea quæ facta sunt ut essent omnia fecit, sua voluntate et virtute [1]substantia usus, sermones vanos collegerunt, vere ostendentes suam [2]infidelitatem: quoniam quidem his quæ sunt non credunt, in id quod non est deciderunt.

CAP. X.

Quoniam substantiam materiæ labi adjungere non constat; voluntate autem et virtute Dei constat, et fidem habet.

1. Quod enim dicunt ex lacrymis Achamoth, humectam prodisse substantiam, a risu autem lucidam, a tristitia autem solidam, et a timore mobilem, et in his altum sapere et inflatum esse, quomodo hæc non digna irrisione et vere ridicula? qui non credunt quidem, quoniam ipsam materiam, cum sit potens et dives in omnibus, Deus creavit, nescientes quantum potest spiritalis et divina substantia; credentes autem quoniam Mater ipsorum, quam fœminam a fœmina vocant, a prædictis passionibus emisit tantam conditionis materiam: et quærentes quidem unde [3]suppeditavit fabricatori conditionis [4]substantia, non quærentes autem unde Matri ipsorum, quam Enthymesin et impetum Æonis errantis dicunt, [3]lacrymas tantas aut sudores, aut tristitias, aut reliqua materiæ emissio.

2. Attribuere enim substantiam eorum quæ facta sunt virtuti et voluntati ejus qui est omnium Deus, et credibile et acceptabile et constans et in hoc bene [5]diceretur: quoniam *quæ impossibilia sunt apud homines, possibilia sunt apud Deum;* quoniam homines quidem de nihilo non possunt aliquid facere, sed de materia subjacenti: Deus autem quam homines hoc primo melior, eo quod materiam fabricationis suæ cum ante non esset ipse adinvenit. Dicere autem de Enthymesi Æonis errantis prolatam

Luc. xviii. 27.

G. 131.

[1] *i. e. tamquam substantia,* οὐσιώσει χρησάμενος, is given by Grabe from Feuardent. as the explanation of Billius, and repeated by Massuet and Stieren. But Billius must have written or meant, οὐσίᾳ ὡσεὶ χρησάμενος, and in the Latin, *sola sua voluntate ac potentia pro creatis* (not *procreatis*) *rebus omnibus, usus,* &c.

[2] The Clerm. reading; Grabe follows the Ar. MS. *infirmitatem.*

[3] The translator seems to have read ἐπήρκει *suppeditavit,* the sense requiring ὑπῆρχεν *exstitit;* and the same confusion will account for the solecisms *lacrymas ... tristitias.*

[4] *substantiâ, i. e. substantiam.*

[5] Clerm. *dicetur.*

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materiam, et longe quidem Æonem ab Enthymesi ejus separatam, et hujus rursus passionem et affectionem extra ipsam quidem ejus esse materiam, et incredibile et fatuum et impossibile et inconstans. LIB. II. xi. 1. GR. II. xii. MASS. II. xi. 1.

CAP. XI.

Contradictiones his qui sunt a Valentino.

1. Et non credentes quidem quoniam hic qui est super omnia Deus, in his quæ sunt ejus varia et dissimilia Verbo fabricavit quemadmodum ipse voluit, cum sit omnium fabricator, ut sapiens architectus et maximus rex; [1] credentes autem quoniam angeli, aut virtus aliqua separata a Deo et ignorans eum fecit hanc universitatem, sic igitur veritati non credentes, in mendacio autem volutantes, perdiderunt panem vitæ veræ, in vacuum et in profundum umbræ incidentes; similes Æsopi cani ei qui panem quidem reliquit, in umbram autem ejus impetum fecit, et perdidit escam. Et ex ipsis autem Domini verbis facile est ostendere, confitentis unum Patrem et factorem mundi et plasmatorem hominis, qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus sit, et alterum nescientis, et hunc esse super omnia Deum: docentis autem, et per se eam quæ est ad Patrem adoptio filiorum, quæ est æterna vita, omnibus justis attribuentis.

2. Sed quoniam amant incusare, et ea quæ sunt sine calumnia, ut calumniosi concutiunt, multitudinem parabolarum et quæstionum inferentes nobis, bene hæc arbitrati sumus primo interrogare eos e contrario de suis dogmatibus, et quod non est verisimile ipsorum ostendere, et temeritatem ipsorum excidere: post deinde Domini sermones inferre, ut non sint tantum ad proponendum vacantes; sed propter hoc quod non possint ad ea quæ interrogantur ratione respondere, dissolutam suam videntes argumentationem, aut revertentes ad veritatem, et semetipsos humiliantes, et cessantes a multifaria sua phantasia, placantes Deum de his quæ adversus eum blasphemaverunt, salventur: aut si perseverarint in ea quæ præoccupavit animum ipsorum vana gloria, argumentationem suam [2] immutent.

[1] That the world was created by angels (κοσμοποιοὶ ἄγγελοι) as the immediate agents of the Creator, was a favourite assumption of Gnosticism. *e.g.* Simon Magus, p. 193; Menander, p. 195; Saturninus, p. 196; Basilides, p. 199, 200; Carpocrates, p. 204, 206.

[2] Ar. *innotent.*

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LIB. II. xii. GR. II. xiii. xiv. MASS. II. xii. 1.

CAP. XII.

Quomodo is sermo qui est de triacontade illorum concidit in utroque, et secundum id quod plus est, et secundum id quod minus.

Primo quidem de triacontade ipsorum sic dicemus, universam eam utrinque mire decidere, et secundum id quod minus habet et secundum id quod plus, propter quam dicunt triginta annorum Dominum ad baptismum venisse. Hæc autem dicente, manifesta erit universæ argumentationis ipsorum eversio. Et secundum deminorationem quidem sic: Primo quidem, quoniam annumerant reliquis Æonibus Propatorem. Pater enim omnium enumerari non debet cum reliqua emissione: qui non est emissus cum ea quæ emissa est: et innatus cum ea quæ nata est: et quem nemo capit cum ea quæ ab eo capitur, et propter hoc incapabilis: qui infiguratus est cum ea quæ figurata est. Secundum enim id quod melior quam reliqui non debet cum eis annumerari; et hoc cum Æone passibili, et in errore constituto, qui est impassibilis et non errans. Quoniam enim a Bytho inchoantes triacontada enumerant usque ad Sophiam, quam Æonem errantem dicunt, ostendimus in eo libro qui est ante hunc librum, et quæ dicunt nomina ipsorum posuimus: hoc autem non annumerato, jam non sunt xxx secundum eos emissiones Æonum, sed xx et novem fiunt.

G. 132. M. 128.

Cf. iv. 30, n. 1; p. 99, n. 2.

CAP. XIII.

Quoniam impossibile est separatas esse ab invicem eas quæ infra plenitudinem dicuntur conjugationes: adunitis autem iis, impossibile est Sophiam sine conjuge assumpsisse labem, aut etiam generasse aliquid.

1. Post deinde primam emissionem Ennoiam, quam Sigen [1] vocantes, ex qua rursum [2] [Nun] et Alethiam emissos dicunt:

[1] *vocant* seems to be required instead of *vocantes, ex qua* may represent ἐξῆς, for the second pair is never said to have proceeded from *Sige* alone. The original may have run as follows: Μετέπειτα τὴν πρώτην προβολὴν τὴν Ἔννοιαν, ἣν Σιγὴν καλοῦσιν, ἐξῆς πάλιν Νοῦν καὶ Ἀλήθειαν προβληθῆναι λέγουσι. See note 1, p. 98, and compare the note by Voss. in Ign. *ad Magn.* Cotel.

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in utrisque exorbitant. Impossibile est enim ennœan alicujus, aut silentium separatim intelligi, et extra eum emissum propriam habere figurationem. Si autem non dicent esse emissam illam extra, sed adunatam Propatori, ut quid cum reliquis Æonibus annumerant eam, his qui non sunt adunati, et propter hoc ignorant magnitudinem ejus? Si autem et unita est, (consideremus et hoc,) necessitas est omnis ab unita conjugatione et inseparabili et unum exsistente indiscretam, et unitam eam quæ ex ea est, emissionem fieri, ut non dissimilis sit ab eo qui emisit. Hoc autem sic se habente, unum et idem fiet, quemadmodum Bythus et Sige, sic et Nus et Alethia, semper adhærentes invicem: et quod non possit alterum sine altero intelligi, quemadmodum neque aqua sine humectatione, neque ignis sine calore, neque lapis sine duritia, unita sunt enim invicem hæc, et alterum ab altero separari non potest, sed semper coexsistere ei. Sic et Bythum cum Ennœa adunitum esse oportet, et Nun cum G. 133. Alethia eodem modo. Rursus et Logos et Zoe ab unitis emissi, unitos esse, et unum esse debent. Secundum hæc autem, et Homo et Ecclesia, et universa reliquorum Æonum conjugationis emissio, unita esse debet, et semper coexsistere alterum [1]altero. Fœminam enim Æonum pariter esse oportet cum masculo secundum eos, cum sit velut affectio ejus.

LIB. II. xiii. 1. GR. II. xiv. MASS. II. xii. 2.

2. Et hæc cum ita se habeant, et cum hæc dicantur ab ipsis, rursus impudorate audent docere, juniorem duodecadis Æonem, quem et Sophiam appellant, sine permixtione conjugis, quem Theletum vocant, passam esse passionem, et separatim sine eo fructum generasse, quem et fœminam a fœmina nominant, in tantum dementiæ progressi ita ut manifestissime duas contrarias de eodem sententias censeant. Si enim Bythus adunitus est cum Sige, et Nus cum Alethia, et Logos cum Zoe, et reliqui deinceps, quemadmodum poterat Sophia sine conjugis perplexione pati aliquid, vel generare? Si autem hæc [2]sine illo passa est, necesse est et reliquas conjugationes abscessionem et separationem a semetipsis accipere: quod est impossibile, sicut prædiximus. Impossibile est ergo et Sophiam passam esse sine Theleto: et soluta est ipsorum rursus omnis argumentatio.

[2] *Nun* is included within brackets, as having been supplied arbitrarily, though of necessity, by FEUARDENTIUS.

[1] The CLERM. MS. inserts *ab*. Possibly the translator may have written it, having read ἕτερον παρ' ἑτέρου, instead of the accusative.

[2] CL. *sine ullo* perhaps ἄνευ τινος.

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LIB. II. xiii. 2. GR. II. xv. MASS. II. xii. 3.

3. De passione enim, quam sine complexione conjugis passam eam dicunt, iterum reliquam universam velut tragœdiæ compositionem affinxerunt. Si autem impudorate et reliquas conjugationes disjunctas ab invicem dixerint esse separatas propter novissimam conjugationem, uti non solvatur illorum vaniloquium; primo quidem impossibili insistunt rei. Quemadmodum enim separabunt Propatorem ab Ennœa ejus, aut Nun ab Alethia, aut Logon a Zoe, et reliquos similiter? Quemadmodum autem et ipsi ad unitatem recurrere dicunt, et omnes unum esse, si quidem hæ, quæ sunt intra Pleroma conjugationes unitatem non custodiunt, sed distantes sunt ab invicem, in tantum uti et patiantur, et generent sine alterius complexu, quemadmodum gallinæ sine caponibus?

CAP. XIV.

Quoniam in eodem Pleromate non poterat Verbum et Silentium esse.

1. Post demum et sic solvetur illorum rursum prima et M. 129.
archegonos ogdoas. Erunt enim specialiter in eodem Pleromate Bythus et Sige, Nus et Alethia, Logos et Zoe, Anthropos et Ecclesia. Impossibile est autem Logo præsente Sigen esse, aut iterum Sige præsente Logon ostendi. Hæc enim consumptibilia sunt invicem, quemadmodum lumen et tenebræ in eodem nequaquam erunt; sed si quidem lumen sit, non sunt tenebræ: ubi autem tenebræ sunt, non erit lumen: veniente enim lumine, solutæ sunt tenebræ. Sic ubi est Sige, non erit Logos; et ubi Logos, non utique est Sige. [1]Si autem endiatheton Logon dixerint, endiathetos erit et Sige; et nihilominus solvetur ab endiatheto Logo. Quoniam autem [2]non est endiathetos, ipsa hæc ordinatio ipsorum emissionis significat. Jam igitur non dicant primam et G. 134.

[1] Ἐνδιαθέτῳ λόγῳ *Græci opponunt* προφορικὸν, *hoc est, ut c.* XV. 2, *vertit interpres, emissibile Verbum: vel ut capite* 49, *emissionis Verbum: vel denique, ut capite* XVI. 4, *prolativum, &c.* BILL.

[2] *Non est endiathetos. Hæretici igitur fictitium suum* λόγον *statuerunt* προφορικὸν, *sed Catholici de vero* λόγῳ *Filio Dei certa ratione negarunt. Sic Clemens Alexandrinus lib.* V. *Stromat. p.* 547, ὁ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων λόγος οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ προφορικὸς, σοφία δὲ καὶ χρηστότης φανερωτάτη τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Et Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus Catech.* IV. *Illuminatorum: πίστευε ὅτι ἑνὸς Θεοῦ μονογενὴς εἷς ἐστιν υἱὸς πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων Θεὸς λόγος, οὐ προφορητικὸς εἰς ἀέρα διαχεόμενος, οὐδὲ λόγοις ἀνυποστάτοις ἐξομοιούμενος.* GR. The *Logos Endiathetos* exactly expresses the Platonism of PHILO, see note 2, p. 266, but this is the earliest patristical use of the term.

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principalem ogdoaden ex Logo et Sige constare, [1][sed] aut Sigen, aut Logon refutent: et soluta est illorum prima et principalis ogdoas. Si enim unitas conjugationes dixerint, soluta est eorum universa argumentatio. Quomodo enim unitis eis, Sophia sine conjuge labem generavit? Si autem sicut in emissione unumquemque ex Æonibus propriam substantiam habere dicent, quemadmodum in eodem ostendi potest Sige et Logos? Et hæc quidem secundum diminutionem. LIB. II. xiv. 1. GR. II. xv. MASS. II. xii. 6.

2. Secundum autem id quod plus est, rursus solvitur triacontas ipsorum sic: Emissum enim a Monogene dicunt, sicut et reliquos Æonas, Horon, quem plurimis nominibus vocant, sicut prædiximus in eo, qui ante hunc est liber. Hunc autem Horon quidam quidem a Monogene emissum dicunt, alii vero ab ipso Propatore in similitudine sua. Adhuc etiam emissionem dicunt factam a Monogene Christo, et Spiritu Sancto, [Christum et Spiritum Sanctum,] et hos non annumerant ad numerum Pleromatis: sed neque Salvatorem, quem etiam [2]*Totum* esse dicunt. Hoc enim manifestum est et cæco, quoniam non solum triginta emissiones secundum illos emissæ sunt, sed et quatuor cum istis xxx. Ipsum enim Propatorem annumerant in Pleroma, et eos qui ex successione ab invicem emissi sunt. Quid quod isti non annumerabuntur illis in eodem Pleromate exsistentes, qui adepti sunt eandem emissionem? Quam enim edicere possunt justam causam, ob quam non annumerant cum reliquis Æonibus, neque Christum, quem volente Patre a Monogene dicunt esse emissum, neque Spiritum Sanctum, neque Horon, quem et [3]Sotera dicunt; sed neque ipsum Salvatorem, qui venit ad auxilium et formationem matris ipsorum? Utrum quasi sint isti [4]infirmiores illorum, et ideo indignos esse Æonum appellatione et numero: aut quasi meliores sint et [5]differentes? Sed infimi quidem quomodo fient, qui etiam in

[1] The Cod. CL. omits *sed*. Cf. p. 1, n. 3.

[2] Cf. n. 3. The author perhaps wrote Ὅρον, which was read by the translator Ὅλον.

[3] The name Soter does not occur among the other synonyms of Horus at pp. 18, 24, and therefore GRABE conjectures that the abbreviate form ΣΤΡΝ, meaning Σταυρὸν, was read by the translator as Σωτῆρα. But Horus was a *power* of Soter, p. 28, l. 2. MASSUET considers that Λυτρωτὴν stood in the text, but it is scarcely probable that it should have been rendered by another Greek term, occurring immediately after.

[4] ἀσθενέστεροι τούτων. The ARUND. and VOSS. reading is adopted; there can be no Greek equivalent for the CLERM. *infimiores*. Double comparatives and superlatives occur, *e. g.* ἐσχατώτατα, πρώτιστα, but a comparative is never grafted on a superlative. Besides, *infirmi* makes a better sense in the next sentence than *infimi*.

[5] The word διαφορωτέρους occurs in the sense of *more excellent*, p. 205.

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LIB. II. xiv. 2 GR. II. xv. MASS. II. xii. 7.

fixionem et emendationem reliquorum emissi sunt? Meliores autem rursus prima et principali tetrade esse non possunt, a qua et emissi sunt: et illa enim enumeratur in prædictum numerum. Oportuerat autem et istos annumerari in Pleromate Æonum: aut et [1]illorum Æonum honorem hujusmodi appellationis auferri.

3. Cum ergo sit soluta illorum triacontas, sicut ostendimus, et secundum id quod minus est, et secundum id quod plus est: (in tali enim numero si plus fuerit, aut minus, reprobabilem faciet numerum, quanto magis [2]tanta?) instabilis igitur ea quæ est de Ogdoade ipsorum, et de duodecade fabula. Instabilis autem et universa illorum regula, ipso firmamento ipsorum dissipato et in Bythum, hoc est in id quod non est, dissoluto. Quærant igitur jam a modo alias causas ostendere, quare xxx annorum Dominus ad baptismum venerit; et duodecadis Apostolorum; et ejus quæ sanguinis profluvium passa est; et reliquorum quæcunque vane laborantes delirant.

CAP. XV.

Quomodo nullius momenti ostenditur primus ordo emissionis ipsorum.

1. Et ipsum quidem primum ordinem emissionis ipsorum G. 135. reprobabilem esse sic ostendimus. Emissum enim dicunt de Bytho et hujus Ennœa Nun et Alethian, quod quidem contrarium ostenditur. Nus enim est ipsum quod est principale, et summum, et velut principium, et fons universi sensus. Ennoia autem quæ [3]ab hoc est qualislibet et de quolibet facta motio. Non [4]capit igitur ex Bytho et Ennoia emissum esse Nun: verisimilius enim erat dicere eos, de Propatore et de hoc Nu emissam esse filiam Ennoiam. Non enim Ennoia mater est Noos, sicut dicunt; sed M. 130.

[1] *illorum Æonum, ἢ καὶ τούτων τῶν αἰώνων, ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τὴν τιμὴν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. i. e. or that the Pleroma should be deprived of the honour of the Æons of this denomination, viz. of the Tetrad.*

[2] *Tanta, τοσάδε,* so many and great variations.

[3] Cod. Clerm. *ad,* as also Arund. and Voss., but Grabe has *ab hoc.* The translator may have read *παρὰ τοῦτον,* as *παρὰ τούτου.*

[4] *Non capit igitur. Græca phrasis, qua non raro utitur, ut paulo post:* Et hæc quidem in hominibus capit dici. *Crebro quoque, qui extra controversiam Latine scripsit, Tertullianus verbum ἐνδέχεται sic imitatur, ut lib. de Resurrectione carnis; lib.* 1, 3, *et* 5, *contra Marcionem:* Corpus animale capit dici, *id est, recipit hanc nomenclaturam, dignum est hoc nomine.* Feuard.

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LIB. II. xv. 1. GR. II. xvi. MASS. II. xiii. 1.

Nus pater fit Ennoiæ. Quemadmodum autem et emissus est Nus a Propatore, qui principalem et primum ejus quæ est intus absconditæ et invisibilis affectionis locum continet? a qua sensus generatur, et Ennoia, et Enthymesis, et alia, quæ non alia sunt præter Nun; sed illius ipsius, quemadmodum prædiximus, de aliquo incogitatu dispositæ qualeslibet motiones; secundum [1]perseverationem et augmentum, non secundum immutationem vocabula accipientes, et in cognitionem conterminatæ, et in verbum coemissæ, sensu manente intus et condente, et administrante, et gubernante libere et ex sua potestate, quemadmodum et vult, quæ prædicta sunt.

2. Prima enim motio ejus de aliquo, [2]ennoia appellatur; perseverans autem et aucta, et universam apprehendens animam, enthymesis vocatur. Hæc autem enthymesis multum temporis faciens in eodem, et velut probata, sensatio nominatur. Hæc autem sensatio in multum dilatata, consilium facta est; augmentum autem et motus in multum dilatatus consilii, cogitationis examinatio: quæ etiam in mente perseverans, verbum rectissime appellabitur; ex quo [3]emissibilis emittitur verbum. Unum autem et idem est omnia quæ prædicta sunt, a No initium accipientia, et secundum augmentum assumentia appellationes. Quemadmodum et corpus hominis, aliquando quidem novellum, aliquando quidem virile, aliquando autem senile, secundum augmentum et perseverantiam accepit appellationes, sed non secundum substantiæ demutationem, neque secundum corporis amissionem: sic et illa. De quo enim quis [4]contemplatur, de eo et cogitat: et de quo cogitat, de hoc et sapit: de quo autem et sapit, de hoc et consiliatur: et quod consiliatur, hoc et animo tractat: et quod animo tractat, hoc et loquitur. Hæc autem omnia, quemadmodum diximus, Nus gubernat, cum sit ipse invisibilis, et a semetipso per

[1] κατὰ διαμονὴν καὶ αὔξησιν.

[2] The following may be considered to be consecutive steps in the evolution of λόγος as a psychological entity. Ennoia, *conception;* Enthymesis, *intention;* Sensatio, *thought;* Consilium, *reasoning;* Cogitationis Examinatio, *judgment;* in Mente Perseverans, Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος; Emissibile Verbum, Λόγος προφορικός. Right reason is spoken of by JUSTIN as inspired by the divine Logos, the light of Heathen wise men before the advent of Christ. Τὸν Χριστὸν... λόγον ὄντα, οὗ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων μέτεσχε, καὶ οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης, κ.τ.λ. *Apol.* I. 46.

[3] *emissibilis.* The authority of MSS. is entirely in favour of this false concord, the translator as usual following the Greek, viz. λόγος προφορικός.

[4] Codd. CLERM. and VOSS. have *contemplatus est.* MERC. I. II. and ERASM. *contemplatus.*

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LIB. II. xv. 3. GR. II. xvi. MASS. II. xiii 2.

ea quæ prædicta sunt, sicut per radium, emittens verbum, sed G. 136
non ipse ab alio emittitur.

3. Et hæc quidem in hominibus capit dici, cum sint compositi natura, et ex corpore et anima subsistentes: qui autem dicunt ex Deo emissam esse Ennœam, et ex Ennœa Nun, deinceps ex iis Logon, primo quidem arguendi sunt improprie emissionibus usi; post deinde hominum affectiones, et passiones, et intentiones mentis describentes, Deum autem ignorantes: qui quidem ea quæ obveniunt hominibus [1] ad loquendum eos, applicant omnium Patri, quem etiam ignotum omnibus dicunt; negantes quidem ipsum mundum fecisse, ut ne quidem pusillus putetur, hominum autem affectiones et passiones donantes. Si autem Scripturas cognovissent, et a veritate docti essent, scirent utique quoniam non sic Deus, quemadmodum homines; et non sic cogitationes ejus, quomodo cogitationes hominum. Multum enim distat omnium Pater ab his quæ proveniunt hominibus affectionibus et passionibus: et simplex, et non compositus, et [2] similimembrius, et totus ipse sibimetipsi similis, et æqualis est, totus cum sit [3] sensus, et totus spiritus, et totus [4] sensuabilitas, et totus ennœa, et totus ratio, et totus auditus, et totus oculus, et totus lumen, et totus fons omnium bonorum; quemadmodum adest religiosis ac piis dicere de Deo.

4. Est autem et super hæc, et propter hæc inenarrabilis. Sensus enim capax omnium bene et recte dicetur, sed non similis hominum sensui: et lumen rectissime dicetur, sed nihil simile ei,

[1] *ad loquendum eos*, Græce *πρὸς τὸ λαλεῖν αὐτούς*.

[2] *similimembrius*, the translation, according to FEUARD. of *ὁμοιόκωλος*, which is an *unknown* compound, or of *ὁμοιομερὴς* according to GRABE, which is used by ARISTOTLE, *de Part. An.* and *De Cœlo*; *Cyrillus Catech.* VI. *hunc Irenæi locum imitatus dixit, ὅμοιον ἀεὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄντα, μονοειδῆ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὐκ ἐν μέρει ἐλαττούμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσιν ὅμοιον ὄντα αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ*. MASS. His words confirm GRABE'S view; for *ὁμοιομερὴς* was the term coined by ANAXAGORAS to express the identity of the molecules, of which any substance was formed, with the substance itself, as stated at the conclusion of note 2, p. 290. The translator was less at loss than LUCRETIUS who found himself unable to express the Greek by any single Latin term; *e.g.*

Nunc et Anaxagoræ scrutemur homœomeriam,
Quam Græci memorant, nec nostra dicere lingua
Concedit nobis patrii sermonis egestas;
Sed tamen ipsam rem facile est exponere verbis,
Principium rerum quam dicit homœomeriam.
Ossa videlicet e pauxillis atque minutis
Ossibu', sic et de pauxillis atque minutis
Visceribus viscus gigni, &c. I. 830.

[3] *Sensus. Noῦς fuit in Græco, hic et postea sæpe uti colligitur ex cap.* 18, *p.* 138, *col.* 1, *l.* 26, *aliisque locis, præsertim ex lib.* 1, *cap.* 6, *ubi in hac ipsa sententia ὅλος νοῦς ab Interprete redditur, totus sensus.* GRABE. The Greek original has already occurred, p. 111.

[4] *νόησις*, EDD. *sensuhabilitas, νοννέχεια*.

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quod est secundum nos lumini. Sic autem et in reliquis omnibus [1]nulli similis erit omnium Pater hominum pusillitati: et dicitur
M. 131. quidem secundum hæc propter dilectionem, sentitur autem super hæc secundum magnitudinem.

LUB. II. xvi. 1. GR. II. xvi. MASS. II. xiii. 4.

CAP. XVI.

Quoniam sensus non potuisset emitti quia ipse emittebat reliqua: et quid est emissio.

1. Si igitur et in hominibus ipse quidem sensus non emittitur, neque separatur a vivo [2]is qui emittit reliqua, motiones autem ejus et affectus perveniunt ad manifestum; multo magis Dei qui totus sensus est, ipse a semetipso nequaquam separabitur, neque quasi ab alio aliud emittitur. Si enim sensum emisit, ipse qui emisit sensum, secundum eos compositus et corporalis intelligitur, ut sit separatim
G. 137. quidem qui emisit, Deus, separatim autem qui emissus est, sensus. Si autem de sensu sensum dicant emissum, præcidunt sensum Dei et partiuntur. Quo autem, et unde emissus est? Quod enim ab aliquo emittitur, in aliquod subjectum emittitur. Quid autem subjacebat antiquius quam sensus Dei, in quod emissum dicunt eum? Quantus autem et erat locus, ut susciperet et caperet Dei sensum? Si autem, quemadmodum a sole radium dicant, sicut subjacet aër hic [3]susceptior, et antiquior erit quam ipse radius, et illic ostendant subjacens aliquid, in quod emissus est sensus Dei, capabile ejus et antiquius. Post oportebit, quemadmodum solem minorem esse quam omnia videmus, longe a semetipso emittentem radios, sic et Propatorem dicere extra et longe a semetipso emisisse radium. Quidnam autem extra aut longe sentiri a Deo potest, in quod radium emisit?

2. Si autem non emissum extra Patrem illum dicant, sed in ipso Patre; primo quidem superfluum erit etiam dicere emissum esse eum; quemadmodum enim emissus est, si intra Patrem erat? Emissio enim est ejus, quod emittitur, extra emittentem manifestatio. Post deinde hoc emisso, et is qui est ab eo Logos erit intra Patrem: similiter autem et reliquæ Logi emissiones. Jam

[1] The translator seems to have read *οὐδενί*, for *ἐν οὐδενί*.

[2] *is*, i. e. sensus, *νοῦς*.

[3] *Susceptior*, GRABE'S reading, is only preferable to MASSUET'S *susceptor*, as following the authority of the CLERM. ARUND. VOSS. and MERC. II. MSS. *ὑποδοχεύς* was probably the original.

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LIB. II. xvi. 2. GR. II. xvii. MASS. II. xiii. 6.

igitur non ignorabunt Patrem, cum intra eum sint; nec secundum descensionem emissionum minus aliquis cognoscet eum, undique omnes a Patre æqualiter circumdati: sed et impassibiles omnes similiter perseverabunt, cum sint in paternis visceribus, et in deminoratione nemo ipsorum erit. Non enim est deminoratio Pater, nisi forte, velut in circulo magno minor continetur circulus, et intra hunc rursus alter minor; aut velut sphæræ similitudine, aut tetragoni, Patrem dicant intra se undique continere sphæræ similitudinem, vel quadratam reliquam Æonum emissionem, unoquoque illorum circumdato ab eo qui est super eum major; et circumdante eum, qui post se est, minorem; et propter hoc minorem et ultimum omnium in medio constitutum, et multum a Patre separatum, ignorasse Propatorem. Si autem hæc dixerint, in figura et circumscriptione concludent Bythum ipsorum, et circumdantem, et circumdatum: cogentur enim et extra illum confiteri esse aliquid, quod circumdet eum. Et nihilominus in immensum de his qui continent et continentur incidet sermo: et corpora inclusa esse [1] omnes manifeste apparebunt.

3. Adhuc etiam aut vacuum esse eum confitebuntur, aut [1] omne quod est intra eum; omnes similiter participabunt de Patre. Quemadmodum in aqua circulos si quis faciat, vel rotundas vel G. 138. quadratas figuras, omnia hæc similiter participabunt de aqua: quemadmodum et quæ in aëre fabricantur, necesse est participare de aëre; et quæ in lumine, [2] de lumine: sic et qui sunt intra eum, omnes similiter participabunt de Patre, ignorantia apud eos locum non habente. Ubi enim participatio Patris adimplentis? Si autem adimplevit, illic et ignorantia non erit. Solvetur igitur ipsorum deminorationis opera, et materiæ emissio, et reliqua mundi fabricatio, quæ ex passione et ignorantia volunt substantiam habuisse. Si autem vacuum illum confitebuntur, in maximam incidentes blasphemiam, denegabunt id quod est spiritale ejus. Quemadmodum enim [3] est spiritalis is, qui ne quidem ea quæ intra eum sunt, adimplere potest?

4. Hæc autem, quæ dicta sunt de sensus emissione, similiter et adversus eos, qui a Basilide sunt, aptata sunt: et adversus reliquos Gnosticos, a quibus et hi [4] initia emissionum accipientes, con-

[1] ἢ τὸ πᾶν ἔσω αὐτοῦ.

[2] The CLERM. MS. inserts *est*, and it is not an improbable reading, the Greek being, τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι πεποιημένα, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μετέχειν τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ ἃ ἐν φῶτί ἐστι, φῶτος.

[3] The CLERM. MS. has *quemadmodum enim spiritalis*. VOSS. *spiritale*.

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victi sunt in primo [1]libro. Sed quoniam quidem reprobabilis et impossibilis prima Noos, id est sensus, ipsorum emissio est, manifeste ostendimus. Videamus autem et de reliquis. Ab hoc enim Logon et Zoën fabricatores hujus Pleromatis dicunt emissos, et Logi, id est Verbi, quidem emissionem ab hominum affectione accipientes, et [2]addivinantes adversus Deum, quasi aliquid magnum adinvenientes in eo quod dicunt, a Nu esse emissum Logon: quod quidem omnes videlicet sciunt, quoniam in hominibus quidem consequenter dicatur; in eo autem qui sit super omnes Deus, totus Nus et totus Logos cum sit, quemadmodum prædiximus, et nec aliud antiquius, M. 132. nec posterius, aut aliud [3]alterius habente in se, sed toto æquali et simili et uno perseverante, jam non talis hujus ordinationis sequetur emissio. Quemadmodum qui dicit eum totum visionem, et totum auditum, (in quo autem videt, in ipso et audit, et in quo audit, in ipso et videt), non peccat: sic et qui ait, totum illum Sensum et totum Verbum, et in quo Sensus est in hoc et Verbum esse, et Verbum esse ejus hunc Nun, [4]minus quidem adhuc de Patre omnium sentiet; decentiora autem magis quam hi, qui [5]generationem prolativi hominum verbi [6]transferunt in Dei æternum Verbum, et prolationis initium donantes et genesin, quemadmodum et suo verbo. Et in quo distabit Dei Verbum, imo magis ipse Deus cum sit Verbum, a verbo hominum, si eandem habuerit ordinationem et emissionem generationis?

LIB. II. xvi. 4. GR. II. xviii. MASS. II. xiii. 8.

5. Peccaverunt autem et circa Zoën, dicentes eam sexto loco emissam, quam oportebat omnibus præponere, quoniam Deus vita est, et incorruptela, et veritas. Et non secundum descensionem et quæ sunt talia acceperunt emissiones; sed earum virtutum quæ semper sunt cum Deo appellationes sunt, quemadmodum possibile G. 139. est et dignum hominibus audire et dicere de Deo. Appellationi enim Dei [7]coobaudientur sensus, et verbum, et vita, et incorruptela,

[4] *initia* em. ἀρχὰς τῶν προβολῶν.

[1] *libro*, omitted in the AR. MS.

[2] καταμαντευόμενοι, as GRABE imagines, cf. I. xxiii. μαντεύονται. Παραμαντευόμενοι would be more analogical. *Temere de Deo conjicientes.* MASS.

[3] GRABE first restored *alterius* in the place of *anterius*, and the emendation is confirmed by the CLERM. MS. The Greek may have been, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἑτέρου.

[4] *minus quidem ... decentiora autem;* ἧττον μὲν ... εὐπρεπέστερον δέ.

[5] *Ad hos hæreticos quadrat, quod de aliis ait Origenes Tom.* I. *Comment. in Johannem, pa.* 24. οἰόμενοι προφορὰν πατρικὴν, οἱονεὶ ἐν συλλαβαῖς κειμένην εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. GRABE.

[6] *Bene notanda Irenæi sententia de æternitate Filii Dei, nullum habentis initium, e diametro Arianorum hæresi adversa.* GRABE.

[7] *coobaudientur*, συμφωνήσουσι was probably in the original, if so, *consentient* would have been better.

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LIB. II. xvi. 5. GR. II. xviii. MASS. II. xiii. 9.

et veritas, et sapientia, et bonitas, et omnia talia. Et neque sensum vita antiquiorem aliquis potest dicere, ipse enim sensus vita est; nec vitam posteriorem a sensu, uti non fiat aliquando sine vita is qui est omnium sensus, id est Deus. Si autem dixerint, in Patre quidem fuisse vitam, sexto autem loco prolatam, ut vivat Verbum; multo ante eam quidem oportebat quarto loco emitti, ut vivat Nus, et adhuc etiam ante hunc cum Bytho, ut vivat Bythus ipsorum: cum Propatore enim ipsorum annumerare quidem Sigen, et hanc conjugem ei donare, non connumerare autem Zoën, quomodo non super omnem est insipientiam?

CAP. XVII.

Quoniam hæ, quæ ab iis dicuntur emissiones, hominibus congruunt magis quam Deo.

De ea autem quæ est [1]ex his secunda emissione [2]Hominis et Ecclesiæ, ipsi patres eorum falso cognominati Gnostici, pugnant adversus invicem, sua propria vindicantes, et malos fures semetipsos convincentes, aptabile esse magis emissioni dicentes, uti verisimile, ex Homine Verbum, sed non ex Verbo Hominem emissum: et esse Hominem Verbo anteriorem, et hunc esse qui est [3]super omnia Deus. Et usque hoc quidem, quemadmodum prædiximus, omnes hominum affectiones, et motiones mentis, et generationes intentionum, et emissiones verborum conjicientes verisimiliter, non verisimiliter mentiti sunt adversus Deum. Ea enim quæ accidunt hominibus, et quæcunque patientes ipsi recognoscunt, ad divinam rationem adducentes, apta dicere videntur apud eos qui ignorant Deum, et per humanas has passiones transducentes eorum sensum, genesin et probolen quinto loco Verbo Dei enarrantes, mirabilia mysteria et inenarrabilia et alta, a nullo alio cognita dicunt se docere, de quibus et dixerit Dominus: *Quærite et invenietis*, ut quærant scilicet, qui de Bytho, et Sige, [4]et Nu, et Alethia processerunt: si sunt ex eis rursus Logos et Zoe; dehinc ex Logo et Zoe, Anthropos et Ecclesia.

Matt. vii. 7.

[1] *Ex his*, from Logos and Zoe, but second in succession from Nus and Aletheia.

[2] *Hominis et Ecclesiæ*. These words are omitted in the CLERM. MS. Possibly they may have come in from the margin.

[3] *Super omnia Deus;* cf. p. 149, n. 2.

[4] GRABE reads *et Nu*, but authority preponderates in favour of *Nus*. MASSUET renders *qui* adverbially, and the sense then would run: *That they may enquire how Nus and Aletheia proceeded from Bythus and Sige; and also whether Logos and Zoe emanated from these*, &c.

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LIB. II. xviii. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 1.

CAP. XVIII.

Quomodo et hinc ethnici verisimilius de universorum generatione responderunt et gratius: et quomodo ab ipsis qui sunt a Valentino initia sumpserunt, ejusque sunt secundum eos regulæ.

M. 133. 1. MULTO verisimilius et gratius de universorum genesi dixit unus de veteribus Comicis [1] Antiphanes in Theogonia. Ille enim de nocte et silentio Chaos emissum dicit, dehinc de Chao et nocte [2] Cupidinem, et ex hoc lumen, dehinc reliquam secundum eum

[1] *Sine dubio est Antiphanes iste, cujus* Ἀφροδίτης γοναὶ *citantur ab Athenæo, pag.* 487 *et* 666 *seq.* ARISTOPHANES in the Aves describes the most ancient heathen cosmogony in terms that bear a close likeness to these statements of IRENÆUS. The Gnostic theories have so much in common with the ancient philosophy of Greece that the reader can hardly dispense with an illustration from their sources:

Χάος ἦν καὶ νὺξ, ἔρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον,
καὶ Τάρταρος εὐρύς,
Γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀὴρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν· ἐρέβους δ'
ἐν ἀπείροσι κόλποις
Τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον νὺξ ἠμελανόπτερος ᾠόν,
Ἐξ οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλαστεν
Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινὸς,
Στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν, εἰκὼς
ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις.
Οὗτος δὲ χάει πτερόεντι μιγεὶς νυχίῳ,
κατὰ Τάρταρον εὐρύν,
Ἐνεόττευσεν γένος ἡμέτερον, καὶ πρῶτον
ἀνήγαγεν ἐς φῶς,
Πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν
Ἔρως συνέμιξεν ἅπαντα. [*Aves*, 694.]

[2] Compare p. 14, note 3. ARISTOTLE quotes the authority of Hesiod and Parmenides as saying that Love is the eternal intellect, reducing Chaos into order:

Ὑποπτεύσειε δ' ἄν τις, Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον ζητῆσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος, Ἔρωτα ἢ Ἐπιθυμίαν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἔθηκεν ὡς ἀρχήν, οἷον καὶ Παρμενίδης. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος κατασκευάζων τὴν τοῦ πάντος γένεσιν, Πρώτιστον μέν, φησιν, ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων· Ἡσίοδος δὲ [Θεογον. 116, 120]

Πάντων μὲν πρώτιστα χάος γένετ' . . .
Ἠδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν

Λυσιμελὴς, (*f. l.* Αὐτοτελὴς)

ὡς δέον ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπάρχειν τινὰ αἰτίαν, ἥτις κινήσει καὶ συνέξει τὰ πράγματα. Τούτους μὲν οὖν πῶς χρὴ διανεῖμαι περὶ τοῦ τις πρῶτος, ἐξέστω κρίνειν ὕστερον. *Metaph.* I. 4, see also 6. Whether Love therefore was prior or subsequent to Chaos according to ARISTOTLE was a matter for discussion. The reading Αὐτοτελὴς is perhaps too philosophic, but it harmonises with the following Orphic fragment, which also deduces all life from Love, and shews that the Evangelist's Christian axiom, *God is Love*, was not unknown to the heathen as a tradition of Paradise: the Hours pour forth,

Πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαίου Χάεος μελιήφατον ὕμνον, ...
Πρεσβύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτελῆ πολύμητιν Ἔρωτα
Ὅσσα τ' ἔφυκεν ἅπαντα, διέκρινε δ' ἄλλον ἀπ' ἄλλου. *Argon. ed. Steph.* p. 17.

PYTHAGORAS gave a practical application to the tradition:

Πυθαγόρας ἔλεγε, δύο ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δεδόσθαι κάλλιστα, τό τε ἀληθεύειν, καὶ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. Καὶ προσετίθη ὅτι καὶ ἔοικε τοῖς θεῶν ἔργοις ἑκάτερον. ÆL. *Var. Hist.* XII. 59.

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LIB. II. xviii. 1. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 1.

primam deorum genesin. Post quos rursus [1]secundam deorum generationem inducit, et mundi fabricationem; dehinc de secundis diis narrat [2]hominum plasmationem. Unde ipsi assumentes sibi fabulam, quasi naturali disputatione commenti sunt, solummodo demutantes eorum nomina, idipsum autem universorum generationis initium et emissionem ostendentes; pro nocte et silentio, Bythum et Sigen nominantes; pro Chao autem, Nun; et pro Cupidine, (*per quem*, ait Comicus, *reliqua omnia disposita*) hi Verbum attraxerunt; et pro primis ac maximis diis, Æonas for- G. 140.

[1] *Secundam deorum genesin.* The primary generation of gods had its parallel in the *ἰδέαι* of PLATO, subsisting as a system of Divine Intelligence in the mind of the Deity, the Pleroma of the Gnostic. The secondary generation of gods is recognised no less clearly in those *δαιμόνια* that had their origin with the mundane soul, and gave a divine life and movement to the sun, earth, planets, &c. Where PLATO speaks of the Supreme Deity addressing these subordinate *δαιμόνια* as *θεοὶ θεῶν*, gods the offspring of gods, he scarcely means the *Dii majorum ac minorum gentium*, but the Divine Principle of the Mundane Soul of which Himself was the source, not the mythological gods that according to popular credence were generated and born of others. The imitative principle of the Valentinian theory was a close copy of PLATO, whose Supreme Deity delegates a creative energy to these *θεοὶ θεῶν*, and says, *τρέπεσθε κατὰ φύσιν ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ζώων δημιουργίαν, μιμούμενοι τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν περὶ τὴν ὑμῶν γένεσιν. Tim.* p. 41. With the subordinate *δαιμόνια* of the Platonic system, the Demiurge and seven angelic heavens may be identified. Possibly this derivative *theogonia* was superadded by PLATO from prudential motives, as a disciple of Socrates, his own settled conviction being that there was only one Supreme Being; and in the same way the Gnostic, in framing his system on the Platonic theory, would define the Being of God as one Infinite Pleroma, though involving a multiplicity of emanative excellencies.

[2] Philo Judæus was mainly instrumental in causing the rise of Gnosticism, by bringing about that union of Jewish interpretations of Biblical Truth with Platonism, that more than any thing else directed the attention of the schools to the Theosophy of the East. So, as regards the creation of man, "Let us make man," suggests to him the co-operation of personified attributes in forming the creature of sense; while the true or intellectual man was the creation of the One Indivisible Divine Intellect. Just as in the Platonic theory, man's material nature is the work of the *θεοὶ θεῶν*, his intellectual soul is an efflux of the Deity. *Καὶ καθ' ὅσον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀθανάτοις ὁμώνυμον εἶναι προσήκει θεῖον λεγόμενον, ἡγεμονοῦν τ' ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀεὶ δίκη καὶ ὑμῖν ἐθελόντων ἕπεσθαι, σπείρας καὶ ὑπαρξάμενος ἐγὼ παραδώσω· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑμεῖς ἀθανάτῳ θνητὸν προσυφαίνοντες, κ.τ.λ. Tim.* p. 41. This refinement of a twofold creation was unknown at an earlier date; it was adopted by the Gnostic, pp. 172, 196, 232, from the Cabbala of the Jews, 134, n. 2; 224, n. 1. The Pythagorean quoted by CLEM. AL. *Strom.* v. 5, seems to have borrowed from Moses; *τὸν Δημιουργὸν, φήσας, αὐτῷ χρώμενον παραδείγματι ποιῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπήγαγεν· τὸ δὲ σκᾶνος τοῖς λοιποῖς ὅμοιον, οἷα γεγονὸς ἐκ τᾶς αὐτᾶς ὕλας, ὑπὸ δὲ τεχνίτᾳ δὲ εἰργασμένον λῴστῳ, ὃς ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὸν ἀρχετύπῳ χρησάμενος ἑαυτῷ.*

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maverunt; et pro secundis diis, eam, quæ est extra Pleroma, matris ipsorum enarrant dispositionem, secundam Ogdoaden vocantes eam; ex qua mundi fabricationem, et plasmationem hominum similiter atque ille [1]annunciant, inenarrabilia et incognita mysteria solos se dicentes scire: quæ ubique in theatris ab hypocritis splendidissimis vocibus comœdisantur, transferentes in suum argumentum, imo vero eisdem argumentis docentes, tantum immutantes nomina. LIB. II. xviii. 1. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 1.

2. Et non solum quæ apud Comicos posita sunt arguuntur quasi propria proferentes; sed etiam quæ apud omnes, qui Deum ignorant, et qui dicuntur Philosophi, sunt dicta, hæc congregant et quasi centonem ex multis et pessimis panniculis consarcientes, [2]finctum superficium subtili eloquio sibiipsis præparaverunt: novam quidem introducentes doctrinam, propterea quod nunc nova arte substituta sit: veterem autem et inutilem, quoniam quidem de veteribus dogmatibus ignorantiam et irreligiositatem olentibus, hæc eadem [3]subsuta sunt. [4]Thales quidem Milesius universorum generationem et initium aquam dixit esse. Idem autem est dicere [5]aquam et Bythum. [6]Homerus autem poëta Oceanum deorum

[1] *annunciant.* Codd. CLAROM. VOSS. and MERC. II. have *annunciantes.*

[2] *finctum superficium.* Editors give to *superficium* the sense of an upper garment, on the strength of the doubtful use of *superficies* in two passages of TERTULLIAN'S treatise *de Cultu Fœminarum*, II, 13. It is probable that the translator read *ἐπιπολὴν* instead of the author's word *ἐπιβολὴν*, and that the Latin word was coined *pro re nata*, see note 2, p. 4. *πλαστὸν ἐπιβολὴν* may express the original.

[3] *subsuta.* *ὑπερράφη*, as in EURIPIDES, *τί δράσων τόνδε ὑπορράπτεις λόγον. Alc.* 537. For *olentibus* the AR. MS. reads *inolentibus*, which became *nolentibus* in VOSS. and MERC. II.

[4] *Thales.* *Λέγεται Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν πρῶτον ἐπικεχειρηκέναι φιλοσοφίαν φυσικήν. Οὗτος ἔφη ἀρχὴν τοῦ πάντος εἶναι καὶ τέλος τὸ ὕδωρ . . . . Θεὸν δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ μήτ' ἀρχὴν μήτε τελευτὴν ἔχον. Οὗτος περὶ τὸν τῶν ἄστρων λόγον καὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ἀσχοληθείς, Ἕλλησι ταύτης τῆς μαθήσεως αἴτιος πρῶτος γέγνεται· . . . ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ Κροῖσον.* HIPPOL. *Ph.* I. 1. He derived much of his system from Assyria. GROTE'S *Hist. of Greece*, Pt. II. c. 19. Osiris in the Egyptian system was the aqueous principle: *τὸν γὰρ Ὠκεανὸν Ὄσιριν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Τηθὺν Ἶσιν.* PLUT. *de Is. et Os.* 34, for which reason Hellanicus spelled the name Τσιρις. *ibid.* The god Helios also was represented not in a chariot but in a ship.

[5] Thales, perhaps, still held that there was a Supreme Mind who created all things from a first aqueous principle; at least CICERO says, *Aquam dixit Thales esse initium rerum, Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret. de N. Deor.* I. 10, although others charge him with atheism. The reader is referred to ARISTOT. *Met.* I. 3, CIC. *de Div.* I. 10, PLUTARCH *de Plac. Phil.* III., LACTANT. *de Fals. Rel.* I., LAERT. I. 24—27.

[6] *Homerus.* *ἐκ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἀριθμητῶν δυοῖν μέν, γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος, τὰ*

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LIB. II. xviii. 2 GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 1.

genesin, et matrem Thetin dogmatizavit: quæ quidem hi in Bythum et Sigen transtulerunt. [1]Anaximander autem hoc quod immensum est omnium initium subjecit, seminaliter habens in semetipso omnium genesin, ex quo immensos mundos constare ait: et hoc autem in Bythum et in Æonas ipsorum transfiguraverunt. [2]Anaxagoras autem, qui et Atheus cognominatus est,

ὅλα συνεστηκέναι φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος, ὅτε μὲν λέγων,

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθὺν,—Il. ξ', 201. ποτὲ δὲ,

Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε.—Il. η', 99.

HIPPOLYT. *Philos.* x. 7.

Elsewhere the following verse is quoted to the same purpose:

Ὠκεανὸς γένεσίς τε θεῶν, γένεσίς τ' ἀνθρώπων.—Il. ξ', 246. Ph. VIII. 12.

In the Timæus, Oceanus and Tethys are the offspring of Γῆ καὶ Οὐρανὸς, similarly Simon Magus, p. 229, n. 4.

[1] *Anaximander.* *Ἀναξίμανδρος . . . . ἀρχὴν ἔφη τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τινα τοῦ ἀπείρου, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμον. Ταύτην δ' ἀΐδιον εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρω, ἣν καὶ πάντας περιέχειν τοὺς κόσμους . . . . Οὗτος μὲν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον εἴρηκε τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον, πρῶτος τοὔνομα καλέσας τῆς ἀρχῆς. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ κίνησιν ἀΐδιον εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς . . . . οὗτος ἐγένετο κατὰ ἔτος τρίτον τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος.* HIPPOLYT. *Philos.* I. This infinite first principle was in his system senseless matter, and not intelligent mind. Hence, as Pythagoras believed fire to be the source of all, and Thales water, and Xenagoras earth, so Anaximenes, following Anaximander, believed that the atmosphere, a boundless expanse, as the ancients supposed it to be, was the first principle. HIPPOLYTUS however charges Anaximander with this idea; *Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ ἐξ ἀέρος . . . . ἀπεφήνατο τὴν γένεσιν. Philos.* x. 6. And CICERO, *de Nat. Deor.* I., ascribes the same notion to Anaximenes. Anaximander, however, is declared to be a mere material atheist by PLUTARCH, *de Plac. Philos.* I. iii. *Ἀναξίμανδρός φησιν τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον, ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γενέσθαι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι· λέγει οὖν διά τι ἄπειρόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλλείπῃ ἡ γένεσις ἡ ὑφισταμένη· ἁμαρτάνει δὲ οὗτος, τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἀποφαινόμενος, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν αἴτιον ἀναιρῶν, τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ ὕλη ἐστίν.* It is also observable that as Anaxagoras incurred the charge of atheism, by denying that any divine *ἐνεργεία* was inherent in the planetary worlds, &c., so this teacher, really and essentially an atheist, passed for a theist, as believing the worlds, on the hylopathic principle, to be gods, so CICERO says of him, *Anaximandri opinio est nativos esse deos, longis intervallis orientes occidentesque eosque innumerabiles esse mundos. de N. D.* I. 10. A generative principle was also inherent in matter; EUSEBIUS says that he taught *γόνιμον τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τούτου τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι. Præp. Ev.* I. 8. In two particulars, Anaximander indicated certain theories of geology: in the successive composition and dissolution of an *ἀπειρία* of worlds, and in the statement that the first animals upon our globe were strange aquatic animals, slimy and full of spines. *Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα, φλοιοῖς περιεχόμενα ἀκανθώδεσι, προβαινούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἀποβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον, κ.τ.λ.* The reader may consult ARISTOT. *Phys. ausc.* III. 4, LAERT. II. 1, PLUT. *de Plac. Phil.* I. 3, JUST. M. *Coh.* 4, CICERO, *Acad. Qu.* IV. 37.

[2] *Anaxagoras, qui et Atheus,* see HIPPOLYT. *Ph.* I. The philosopher scarcely deserved so hard a name. He

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dogmatizavit facta animalia [1]decidentibus e cœlo in terram seminibus: quod et hi ipsi in Matris suæ transtulerunt semina, et esse hoc semen seipsos: statim confitentes apud eos, qui sensum habent, et ipsos esse quæ sunt Anaxagoræ irreligiosi semina. LIB. II. xviii. 2. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 2.

3. Umbram autem et vacuum ipsorum a Democrito et [2]Epi-
G. 141. curo sumentes sibimetipsis aptaverunt, cum illi primum multum sermonem confecerint de vacuo et de atomis, [3]quorum alterum

was, in fact, the first of the Ionic philosophers who stemmed the tide of atheism, by the introduction of mind as the first principle. PLATO, in the *Cratylus* and in the *Phædo*, ascribes to him belief in one Supreme Intellect. Νοῦς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος, which intellect was μόνον τῶν ὄντων ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀμιγῆ καὶ καθαρὸν, the only simple unmixed substance in existence, and as ARISTOTLE adds, it was also a principle of moral good: Ἀναξαγόρας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ καλῶς καὶ ὀρθῶς νοῦν λέγει, and it was ἅμα τοῦ καλῶς αἰτία καὶ τοιαύτη ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ὑπάρχει. *de An.* I. 2. Again, Ἀναξαγόρας ὡς κινοῦν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀρχήν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς κινεῖ, ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἕνεκά τινος, ὥστε ἕτερον, *Met.* 14, i. e. it was not only a principle of power but also of Divine Intelligence. CICERO also says of Anaxagoras that, *primus omnium rerum descriptionem et modum mentis infinitæ vi ac ratione designari et confici voluit. de Nat. Deor.* I. Still Anaxagoras was generally ranked by his successors as among the ἄθεοι from the simple fact that he denied that any Divine Numen existed in the several planetary worlds, but that the sun, for instance, was a mere μύδρον διάπυρον or fiery globe. The principal peculiarity of the Anaxagorean theory was that the Atoms of which all composite bodies are formed, are ὁμοιομερεῖς, that bone is composed of bony atoms, flesh of fleshy, horn of horny, red, blue, green, &c. of like coloured atoms, and therefore πᾶν ἐν πάντι μεμίχθαι, διότι πᾶν ἐκ παντὸς γίνεται, φαίνεσθαι δὲ τὰ διαφέροντα, καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι ἕτερα ἀλλήλων, ἐκ τοῦ μάλιστα ὑπερέχοντος διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐν τῇ μίξει τῶν ἀπείρων. ARISTOT. *Phys.* I. 5; i. e. things were denominated according to the quality of the predominant elements. This then will be the meaning of HIPPOLYTUS when he says respecting Anaxagoras that he affirmed all things to be engendered, ἐξ ὁμοίων τοῖς γεννωμένοις, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δημόκριτον καὶ Ἐπίκουρον, ἐξ ἀνομοίων. *Ph.* X. 7, see p. 282, n. 2.

[1] i. e. from pre-existent homœomeric particles.

[2] *Epicuro.* So HIPPOLYTUS, Ἀρχὰς μὲν τῶν ὅλων ὑπέθετο ἀτόμους καὶ κενόν. Κενὸν μὲν οἷον τόπον τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀτόμους δὲ τὴν ὕλην, ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα .... Τὰς δὲ ἀτόμους, τὸ λεπτομερέστατον, καὶ μεθ' οὗ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο κέντρον οὐδὲ σημεῖον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ διαίρεσις οὐδεμία ἔφη εἶναι, διὸ καὶ ἀτόμους αὐτὰς ὠνόμασε. He draws also the true distinction of the term ἡδονὴ, as used by Epicurus, which honourably distinguishes the teacher from his followers. ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλως τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐξέλαβον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἔθνη τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ ἡδονήν. *Philosoph.* I. *de Epic.* The ARUND. reading *confecerint* is adopted. The compound verb was probably written by the author.

[3] *quorum alterum — appellaverunt.* These words may be illustrated by what HIPPOLYTUS says concerning Democritus; λέγει δὲ ὁμοίως Λευκίππῳ περὶ στοιχείων, πλήρους καὶ κενοῦ, τὸ μὲν πλῆρες λέγων ὄν, τὸ δὲ κενὸν οὐκ ὄν. The *inane* of Epicurus was the τόπος of Plato, i. e. space circumclusive of matter. So LUCR. *Quapropter locus est intactus, inane, vacansque.* I. 335, &c. .... *Locus et spatium quod inane vocamus.* 427.

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quidem quid esse vocaverunt, alterum vero, [1]hoc quod non est, appellaverunt: quemadmodum et hi esse quidem illa, quæ sunt intra Pleroma, vocant, quemadmodum illi atomos; non esse autem hæc, quæ sunt extra Pleroma, quemadmodum illi vacuum. Semetipsos ergo in hoc mundo, cum sint extra Pleroma, in locum qui non est deputaverunt. Quod autem dicunt [2]imagines esse hæc eorum quæ sunt, rursus manifestissime Democriti et Platonis sententiam edisserunt. [3]Democritus enim primus ait, multas et varias ab universitate [4]figuras expressas descendisse in hunc mun-

[1] MASSUET cancels *hoc*, but it is retained as found in the CLERM. and ARUND. MSS. So PLATO defined matter as *τὸ γιγνόμενον μὲν ἀεί, ὂν δὲ οὐδέποτε*. *Tim.* p. 27.

[2] According to PLATO the prototypal ideas eternally subsisting in the nature of the Deity, were the origin of form and order. PLATO taught the Gnostics to believe that matter was eternal; for with him also chaos was still antecedent to order, and devoid of God's presence: *ὅτε δ' ἐπεχειρεῖτο κοσμεῖσθαι τὸ πᾶν, πῦρ πρῶτον καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ, ἴχνη μὲν ἔχοντα αὑτῶν ἅττα παντάπασιν μὴν διακείμενα, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν ἅπαν ὅταν ἀπῇ τινος Θεός, κ.τ.λ. Tim.* p. 53; and so PLUTARCH says, *ὕλην.... οὐ γενομένην ἀλλ' ὑποκειμένην ἀεὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐς διάθεσιν καὶ τάξιν αὐτῆς παρασχεῖν*. PLUT. *de gen. Ani.*

[3] DEMOCRITUS was another teacher of flat atheism, making senseless atoms to be the first principle of all existing substance; that one body acted upon another by a kind of eternal necessity, there being no prime mover, no *πρῶτον κινοῦν* (see ARISTOT. *Phys.* VIII. I, § 3 and 27, and VII. 2). As LUCRETIUS has expressed it,

Sed quia multimodis, multis, mutata per omne
Ex infinito vexantur percita plagis,
Omne genus motus et cœtus experiundo,
Tandem deveniunt in tales disposituros,
Qualibus hæc rebus consistit summa creata.
I. 1025.

DEMOCRITUS also first broached the idea that has been revived in more modern times, that all objects of sense are unreal and imaginary, and that we know nothing but that which is of the intellect. His words, *ἐν τοῖς κανόσι*, are quoted by SEXTUS EMPIRICUS, *λέγει δὲ κατὰ λέξιν, Γνώμης δὲ δύο εἰσὶν ἰδέαι· ἡ μὲν γνησίη, ἡ δὲ σκοτίη· καὶ σκοτίης μὲν τάδε σύμπαντα, ὄψις, ἀκοὴ, ὀδμὴ, γεῦσις, ψαῦσις· ἡ δὲ γνησίη ἀποκεκρυμμένη δὲ ταύτης. adv. Mathem.* VII. § 138. Again, in § 135, other words of DEMOCRITUS are cited, saying that the sensible objects of this *γνώμη σκοτίη* are mere *idola specus*, to use the Baconian term, and creations of the fancy. *Νόμῳ γλυκὺ, καὶ νόμῳ πικρόν· νόμῳ θερμὸν, νόμῳ ψυχρόν· νόμῳ χροιή· ἀτίη δὲ ἄτομον καὶ κενόν· ὅπερ νομίζεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ δοξάζεται τὰ αἰσθητὰ, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ταῦτα*. The difference therefore between the *ἰδέαι* of DEMOCRITUS and PLATO is very wide and marked; the former imagined an ideal world in which nothing was real, the latter believed in an ideal world, the archetype of the realities amidst which we live. It is in allusion to these notions of DEMOCRITUS that CICERO says, *Primum igitur aut negandum est deos esse, quod Democritus simulacra et Epicurus imagines inducens, quodam pacto negat. N. D.* II. 30.

[4] It is to be observed that as PLATO considered the prototypal *ἰδέαι* to have a divine nature, from their eternal subsistence in the divine mind, so DEMOCRITUS taught that forms of a divine character existed in space, which were

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dum. [1]Plato vero rursus materiam dicit, et exemplum, et Deum. Quos isti [2]sequentes, figuras illius et exemplum imagines [3]eorum quæ sunt sursum, vocaverunt, per demutationem nominis semet- M. 134. ipsos inventores et factores hujusmodi imaginariæ fictionis gloriantes.

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visible to certain favoured individuals of the human race (a purely Indian idea, cf. COLEBROOKE, *Trans. of R. As. Soc.* I. 37). Hence SEXTUS EMPIR. says of him, τὸ δὲ εἴδωλα εἶναι ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι ὑπερφυῆ καὶ ἀνθρωποειδεῖς ἔχοντα μορφὰς, καὶ καθόλου τοιαῦτα ὁποῖα βούλεται αὐτῷ ἀναπλάττειν Δημόκριτος, παντελῶς ἐστι δυσπαράδεκτον. *adv. Phys.* IX. 42. And in an earlier section of the same book he says that Democritus affirmed these εἴδωλα to be the Deity. Δημόκριτος δὲ εἰδωλά τίνα φησιν ἐμπελάζειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθοποιὰ, τὰ δὲ κακοποιά· ἔνθεν καὶ εὔχεται εὐλόγων τυχεῖν εἰδώλων· εἶναι δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ δύσφθαρτα μὲν, οὐκ ἄφθαρτα δὲ, προσημαίνειν τε τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, θεωρούμενα καὶ φωνὰς ἀφιέντα. Ὅθεν τούτων αὐτῶν φαντασίαν λαβόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ ὑπενόησαν εἶναι θεὸν, μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρὰ ταῦτα ὄντος θεοῦ τοῦ ἄφθαρτον φύσιν ἔχοντος. *ib.* 19. Democritus is said to have derived much of his system from Eastern Magi left at Abdera by Xerxes, DIOG. LAERT. IX. § 34. PLATO also, in the *Phædo* and elsewhere, indicates the foreign origin of portions of his system, and in the *Timæus* puts into the mouth of the barbarian instructor of Socrates the words, Ἕλληνες ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ παιδές ἐστε· γέρων δὲ Ἕλλην οὐδείς, οὐ γὰρ ἔχετε μάθημα χρόνῳ πολιόν, implying the exotic nature of the Greek philosophy. What therefore is more probable than that the *forms* of DEMOCRITUS, and the *ideas* of PLATO, should have descended from the same source as the Cabbalistic Sephiroth, that is, from the traditions of the earliest Eastern theosophy? The arithmetical mysticism of Pythagoras was also derived from the East. See RITTER, *Hist. de la Phil.* XII. vii. cf. PHILOSTR. *vit. Apoll.* III. xix. GROTE, *H. Gr.* Pt. II. c. 19.

[1] *Plato vero rursus materiam dicit etc.*] *Apuleius lib.* I. *de doctrina Platonis:* Initia rerum tria arbitrabatur Plato, Deum, et materiam, rerumque formas, quas *ἰδέας* idem vocat. *Cyrillus lib.* II. *contra Julianum ante medium,* Καὶ πάλιν ὁ μὲν δὴ δεινὸς καὶ διαβόητος Πλάτων τρεῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τοῦ παντὸς διορίζεται, Θεὸν, καὶ ὕλην, καὶ εἶδος· καὶ Θεὸν μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸν ποιητήν· ὕλην δὲ τὸ ὑποκείμενον· εἶδος δὲ τὸ ἑκάστου τῶν γινομένων παράδειγμα. GR. Πλάτωνος τρεῖς ἀρχὰς τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι λέγοντος, Θεὸν καὶ ὕλην καὶ εἶδος. JUST. M. *Coh. ad Gr.* 6. Cf. also MENAG. n. 69 in DIOG. LAERT. Lib. III. who says, 41, that it was dualistic. Δύο δὲ τῶν πάντων ἀπέφηνεν ἀρχὰς, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην. The *fundamental* principles with PLATO as with ARISTOTLE were two, viz. Mind and Matter. The Platonic *ἰδέαι* were rather the modal subsistence of the Divine Mind, and therefore of a more subordinate character. HIPPOLYTUS follows IRENÆUS in his account, οἱ δὲ περὶ Πλάτωνα ἐκ τριῶν εἶναι ταῦτα λέγουσι, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην καὶ παράδειγμα, *Philos.* X. 7. PLUTARCH likewise says in the same way that PLATO'S system involved τρεῖς ἀρχὰς, τὸν θεὸν, τὴν ὕλην, τὴν ἰδέαν. *de Plac. Phil.* I. 10.

[2] HIPPOLYTUS traces the notions of Valentinus to the Timæus as his text book; ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑποθέσεώς ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ τοῦ Πλάτωνος σοφία Αἰγυπτίων. VI. 22.

[3] The CLERM. MS. omits *eorum*, but it is certainly required. The Greek was scarcely τὰς ἄνω εἰκόνας, but τὰς τῶν ἄνω εἰκόνας. The same MS. for *hujusmodi* has the corrupt reading *hujus mundi*.

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4. Et hoc autem quod ex subjecta materia dicunt fabricatorem fecisse mundum, et [1]Anaxagoras, et [2]Empedocles, et [3]Plato primi ante hos dixerunt; ut videlicet datur intelligi, et ipsi a Matre sua inspirati. Quod autem ex [3]necessitate unumquodque in illa secedit, ex quibus et factum esse dicunt; et hujus necessitatis [4]servum esse Deum, ita ut non possit mortali immortalitatem

[1] Anaxagoras, as might be imagined, held firmly the tenet of all physical philosophers, *ex nihilo nil fit; ἔοικε Ἀναξαγόρας οὕτως ἄπειρα οἰηθῆναι τὰ στοιχεῖα, διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν, τὴν κοινὴν δοξὴν τῶν φυσικῶν εἶναι ἀληθῆ, ὡς οὐ γινομένου οὐδενὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος.* ARIST. *Phys.* I. 5.

[2] Empedocles seems to have borrowed a portion of his opinions at second-hand through Pythagoras from the Persian Magi. According to his instructor, the good principle, or *φιλία*, was eternally opposed by the evil principle, or *νεῖκος*, the four elements also were co-eternal with these principles. HIPPOLYTUS quotes verses of EMPEDOCLES, some of which are met with in SEXTUS EMPIR. and other writers, and have been collected by KARSTEN, while others are recovered for the first time in the *Philosophumena*. The four material principles are described as

Τέσσαρα τῶν πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε·
Ζεὺς ἀργὴς, Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος, ἠδ' Ἀϊδωνεὺς
Νῆστις θ' ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βροτεῖον.

Where HIPPOLYTUS says, Ζεύς ἐστι τὸ πῦρ· Ἥρη δὲ φερέσβιος, ἡ γῆ ἡ φέρουσα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν βίον καρπούς· Ἀϊδωνεὺς δὲ, ὁ ἀὴρ, ὅτι πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ βλέποντες, μόνον αὐτὸν οὐ καθορῶμεν· νῆστις δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ, μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο ὄχημα τροφῆς αἴτιον γινόμενον πᾶσι τοῖς τρεφομένοις, αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τρέφειν οὐ δυνάμενον τὰ τρεφόμενα. *Philos.* VII. 29. Afterwards the verses are repeated with the addition of two that describe the antagonising moral principles of good and evil, similarly named by PYTHAGORAS, *Phil.* VI. 25.

Νεῖκος τ' οὐλόμενον δίχα τῶν, ἀτάλαντον ἁπάντη,
Καὶ φιλίη μετὰ τοῖσιν, ἴση μῆκός τε πλάτος τε,

and it is added, ἐξ καὶ παραδίδωσι τὰς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὰς, ὁ' μὲν ὑλικὰς, γῆν, ὕδωρ, πῦρ, ἀέρα· δύο δὲ τὰς δραστηρίους, φιλίαν καὶ νεῖκος. X. c. 7. Compare VII. 29.

[3] Empedocles also shewed himself a complete fatalist, as IRENÆUS states;

Ἔστιν ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιὸν,
Ἀΐδιον, πλατέεσσι κατεσφρηγισμένον ὅρκοις.

But in this again he only followed his instructor Pythagoras, who held the same; *εἱμαρμένην τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ κατὰ μέρος αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς διοικήσεως.* But this fate resolves itself into a Divine harmony, when it is added in the sequel, *τήν τ' ἀρετὴν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑγίειαν, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἅπαν, καὶ τὸν θεόν. Διὸ καὶ καθ' ἁρμονίαν συνεστάναι τὰ ὅλα. Φιλίαν τ' εἶναι ἐναρμόνιον ἰσότητα.* PLUT. *v. Pyth.* VIII. 19. A pure fatalism was held by the Gnostic Peratæ; *καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὺς Περάτας μηδὲν δύνασθαι νομίζοντες τῶν ἐν γενέσει καθεστηκότων διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως τοῖς γεγενημένοις ὡρισμένην μοῖραν.* HIPP. *Philos.* V. 16.

[3] *Ex subjecta materia, ὕλην δὲ τὴν πᾶσαν ὑποκειμένην λέγει (ὁ Πλάτων sc.) ἣν καὶ δεξαμένην καὶ τιθήνην καλεῖ..... Τὴν μὲν οὖν ὕλην ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ σύγχρονον τῷ θεῷ ταύτην, καὶ ἀγέννητον τὸν κόσμον. Ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συνεστᾶναί φησιν αὐτόν.... Τὸ δὲ παράδειγμα τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι, ὁ καὶ ἰδέας καλεῖ, οἷον εἰκονίσματι προσέχων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐδημιούργει.* HIPP. *Philosoph.* I. See note 1, p. 293.

[4] *servum esse Deum.* Jupiter him-

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addere, vel corruptibili incorruptelam donare, sed secedere unumquemque in similem naturæ suæ substantiam, et hi qui ex porticu [1] Stoici appellantur, et universi quotquot Deum ignorant, poëtæ et conscriptores affirmant. Qui eandem habentes infidelitatem, spiritalibus quidem suam [2] regionem attribuerunt, eam quæ est intra Pleroma: animalibus autem medietatis: corporalibus autem, LIB. II. xviii. 4. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 4.

self, according to HOMER, was the subject of fate. Nor was this only a poetical myth; it was the unvarying tenet of one main branch of the ancient philosophy. Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῷ was the response given to Crœsus by the Delphic oracle. HEROD. *Clio*, 91. *Si nihil fit extra fatum*, CICERO says in expressing this ancient view, *nihil levari re divina potest.... Hoc idem significat Græcus ille in eam sententiam versus; "Quod fore paratum est, id summum exsuperat Jovem." de Div.* II. 10. But he argues against this position, so far as it still formed an element of philosophy, in the person of Balbus. *Non est natura Dei præpotens et excellens, si quidem ea subjecta est ei vel necessitati vel naturæ, qua cœlum, maria, terræ reguntur; nihil autem est præstantius Deo; ab eo igitur necesse est mundum regi; nulli igitur est naturæ obediens, aut subjectus Deus. de N. Deor.* II. 30. LIPSIUS has endeavoured to redeem the Stoic dogma from the charge of impiety, and certainly, if by *necessity* we are to understand the wisdom and goodness, the justice and truth that are the necessary attributes of the Supreme Being, the course of the world is ordered upon principles of necessity. The Stoic's opinion was scarcely this, for in the first place, his deity was wholly controlled by external necessity, as SENECA has said: *Eadem necessitas et deos alligat, ac irrevocabilis divina pariter atque humana cursus vehit. Ille ipse omnium conditor ac rector scripsit quidem fata sed sequitur, semper paret, semel jussit. de Prov.* V. Also the Pantheism of Spinoza was but the reproduction of the Stoical notion, that God and the universe are one. So EUSEBIUS says, in the lately discovered work upon the *Theophania: This is the strange error of the Stoics, who say of this sensible world, that it is God.... that the operative Cause, and the passiveness of matter, are of one and the same essence; and that the Maker and the made are both bodies; and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire.* II. 21.

ܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ
ܕܐܣܛܘܐܝܩܐ ܗܘܝ ܕܥܠ ܗܢܐ
ܥܠܡܐ ܡܬܪܓܫܢܐ ܕܗܘܝܘ
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪܘ . ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ
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ܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܪܓܫܢܝܬܐ ܡܕܡ
ܠܐ ܦܪܝܫ .

[1] So SENECA. *Fata nos ducunt, et quantumcuique restet, primum nascentium hora disposuit. Causa pendet ex causa, privata ac publica longus ordo rerum trahit; non incidunt cuncta sed veniunt. de Prov.* V.

[2] The CLERM. and its copy the VOSS. MS. have *religio*, but manifestly in error. χώραν, as GRABE remarks, is required by the sense.

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LIB. II. xviii. 4. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 4.

quod choicum: et præter hæc nihil posse Deum, sed unumquemque prædictorum ad ea, quæ sunt ejusdem substantiæ, secedere affirmant. Quod autem Salvatorem ex omnibus factum esse Æonibus dicant, omnibus in eum deponentibus velut florem suum, non extra Hesiodi Pandoram novum aliquid afferunt. Quæ enim ille ait de illa, hæc hi de Salvatore insinuant, [1]Pandoron introducentes eum, quasi unusquisque Æonum, quod haberet optimum, donaverit ei. Ipsam autem eduliorum et reliquarum operationum indifferentem sententiam, et quod putent [2]a nemine in totum posse coinquinari [3]propter generositatem, licet quodcunque manducent G. 142. vel operentur, a Cynicis possederunt, cum sint cum eis ejusdem [4]testamenti. Et minutiloquium[5], et subtilitatem circa quæstiones, cum sit Aristotelicum, inferre fidei conantur.

5. [6]Quod autem velint in numeros transferre [7]universum hoc,

[1] AR. *Pandoram;* and see page 23.

[2] *a nemine, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς καθ' ὅλον, i. e. a nulla omnino re.* See p. 55.

[3] *propter generositatem. Se spirituales a matre Achamoth natos, et semina electionis esse gloriabantur insani isti homunciones. Atque hæc erat ipsorum generositas, Græce εὐγένεια, ut ex veteribus glossis colligo. Eadem vox usurpatur a Tertulliano lib.* IV. *contra Marcionem cap.* 5, *ubi Ecclesias ab Apostolis fundatas per successionem Episcoporum probari docet:* Sic, *inquit,* et cæterarum (*Ecclesiarum*) generositas recognoscitur. *Et lib. de Carne Christi cap.* 9. Quomodo, inquam, contemni et pati posset, sicut dixi, si quid in illa carne de generositate cœlesti radiasset. GRABE.

[4] *testamenti. Græce* διαθήκης, *id est* συνωμοσίας. *Ita enim Hesychius in Lexico:* Διαθήκη, συνωμοσία. ἑνικῶς, οὐ πληθυντικῶς τὰς διαθήκας ἔλεγον. GRABE. Hence *sodalitii* would have been the better translation. For *quodcunque,* in the preceding line, GRABE (as in the AR.) prints *quodque.*

[5] The CLERM. and ARUND. MSS. have *autem,* and very possibly the Greek construction was καὶ.... δέ. According to HIPPOLYTUS the Basilidians are here meant.

[6] IRENÆUS here refers to the Gallican branch of Valentinians headed by Marcus, and described I. x. &c.

[7] PLUTARCH indicates also another Pythagorean calculus, whereby the exact number of the Æons within and without the Pleroma is summed. There were thirty of the former, as we have seen, and six of the latter, *i. e.* Enthymesis, Horus, Christus, Spiritus, Soter, Demiurgus. The number corresponds with the sum of the first tetractys of odd numbers, and the first of even numbers; *i. e.* the numbers from 1 to 8 inclusive. The words of PLUTARCH are: ἡ δὲ καλουμένη τετρακτὺς, τὰ ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα, μέγιστος ἦν ὅρκος, ὡς τεθρύλληται καὶ κόσμος ὠνόμασται, τεσσάρων μὲν ἀρτίων τῶν πρώτων, τεσσάρων δὲ τῶν περισσῶν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συντιθεμένων ἀποτελούμενος. *de Is. et Os.* 76. The Valentinian Æons represent the idea of the universe, and, although IRENÆUS does not mention it, there can be little doubt but that the heretical was based upon this philosophical computation. HIPPOLYTUS, however, indicates it, when he refers the Valentinian notions to the Pythagorean school, and says, ἀριθμητικὴν ποιούμενοι τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῶν διδασκαλίαν, ὡς προεῖπον ἐντὸς πληρώματος αἰῶνας τριάκοντα, πάλιν ἐπιπροβεβηκέναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ ἀναλογίαν αἰῶνας ἄλλους, ὧν

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a Pythagoricis acceperunt. Primum enim hi initium omnium numeros substituerunt, et initium ipsorum [1]parem et imparem, [2]ex quibus et ea quæ sensibilia et insensata sunt, [3]subjecerunt.

LIB. II. xviii. 5. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 6.

ἢ τὸ πλήρωμα ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ συνηθροισμένον. *Philos.* VI. 34. The number thirty, the same writer refers to the days of the month, into which the sun, according to PYTHAGORAS, ἀριθμητικός τις ὢν καὶ γεωμέτρης, divided each of the twelve zodiacal μοῖραι. *Phil.* VI. 28. The reader will remember the Basilidian Abraxas, which sums 365, the days of the solar year. See p. 203, n. 6.

[1] *parem et imparem*, or according to the Pythagorean view, male and female. See the extract from HIPPOLYTUS, p. 80, n. 4. The philosopher wishing to lead men back to abstract notions of the Deity, identified the Divine principle with arithmetical power, that is of all things the most abstract, and alone capable of infinite evolution; it being impossible to imagine a number so large as to be incapable of further development. Cf. p. 9, n. 3. Φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν νομίζοντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι —τοῦ δὲ ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα τὸ ἄρτιον καὶ τὸ περιττόν· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πεπερασμένον, τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον. ARIST. *Metaph.* I. 5. It was doubtless not of the Prime Monad, but of the atomic monads, of which material plurality is composed, that STOBÆUS is speaking when he says τὰς Πυθαγορικὰς μονάδας οὗτος πρῶτος, (i. e. ὁ Ἔκφαντος) ἀπεφήνατο σωματικάς. *Ecl. Ph.* I. 13.

[2] *ex quibus*, i. e. *ex pari et impari*. αἰσθητὰ καὶ ἀναίσθητα must be the original of *sensibilia et insensata*, although for the latter we might have expected νοητά, the former referring to material objects of sense, the latter to the immaterial world of intellect. The definition of τὸ νοητὸν being that it was no object of sense. Οὐδέν, φησι, τῶν νοητῶν γνωστὸν ἡμῖν δύναται γενέσθαι δι' αἰσθήσεως. Ἐκεῖνο γὰρ οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, κ.τ.λ. HIPP. *Philos.* VI. 24. τὰ νοητὰ, then, is the correlative of τὰ αἰσθητά. Now according to the Pythagorean theory, unity as the so-called male or uneven number was the one definite (πεπερασμένον) initiative cause of duality, and represented the Supreme Intellect; while duality, as being susceptible of indefinite development, represented the infinite (ἄπειρον) series of things generated and created. So HIPPOLYTUS says, Πυθαγόρας τοίνυν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀγέννητον ἀπεφήνατο τὴν μονάδα, γεννητὴν δὲ τὴν δυάδα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριθμούς. Καὶ τῆς μὲν δυάδος πατέρα φησὶν εἶναι τὴν μονάδα, πάντων δὲ τῶν γεννωμένων μητέρα δυάδα, γεννητὴν γεννητῶν. HIPP. *Philos.* VI. 23. SIMPLICIUS also on the first book of ARISTOTLE'S *Physics* says, εἰ δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἕν, τὴν δὲ ὕλην δύο, κατὰ τὸ Πυθαγόρειον ἔθος διὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν σημαίνων πράγματα, εἰκότως ἓν μὲν τὸ εἶδος ἔλεγεν, ὡς ὅριζον ὅπερ ἂν καταλάβῃ καὶ περατοῦν· δύο δὲ τὴν ὕλην ὡς ἀόριστον, καὶ ὄγκου διαιρέσεως αἰτίαν. The passage is quoted by MASSUET, but his translation sadly perverts the meaning of the last sentence. He has *et quæ tumoris causa sit et divisionis*; whereas ὄγκος means what we now call a *molecule* of matter; e. g. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ἐκ μικροτέρων ὄγκων τὰ στοιχεῖα συγκρίνει, ἅπερ ἐστὶν ἐλάχιστα, καὶ οἱονεὶ στοιχεῖα στοιχείων. STOB. *Ecl. Ph.* I. xx.; and the meaning of SIMPLICIUS is this: *He justly calls the ideal type unity, as defining and determining that which it embraces, but matter duality, as being indefinite, and causative of molecular division, i. e.* the number two on the one hand is capable of indefinite evolution, by development of the successive powers of square, cube, &c., and on the other hand, it is the first number that admits of separation into integral units.

[3] *subjecerunt*, ὑπετίθεντο, *i. e. imagined, supposed.*

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LIB. II. xviii. 5. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 6.

[1]Et altera quidem substitutionis initia esse: altera autem sensationis et substantiæ: [2]ex quibus primis omnia perfecta dicunt, quemadmodum statuam de æramento et de formatione. Hoc autem ii his qui sunt extra Pleroma aptaverunt. [3]Sensationis autem initia

[1] *Et altera*, Græce, καὶ ἄλλας μὲν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἀρχὰς εἶναι, ἄλλας δὲ τῆς αἰσθήσεως καὶ τῆς οὐσίας. The reader will observe that the word ὑπόστασις here means *intellectual substance*, οὐσία *material*; as in v. *c. ult.* The meaning, therefore, of the sentence will be, *And they affirmed that the first principles of intellectual substance, and of sensible and material existence, were diverse*, viz. unity was the exponent of the first, duality of the second; and then the author adds the apt illustration *of which first principles all things are made, as a statue of its metal, and of its typal form.* This latter, as a creation of the intellect, is an indivisible unity; the former was infinitely subdivisible according to the ancient view of the properties of matter. The words of HIPPOLYTUS, in speaking of the Pythagorean monad, indicates ὑπόστασις in this place. He says, Τῶν δὲ ἀριθμῶν ἀρχὴ γέγονε καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡ πρώτη μονὰς, ἥτις ἐστὶ μονὰς ἄρσην, &c. *Philos.* I. again, IV. 51.

[2] The material world was a reflex of the Deity in every system of ancient physical philosophy; and the idea of the material world was also deduced geometrically from numbers by Pythagoras, as PLUTARCH has recorded: ἀρχὴν μὲν ἁπάντων μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος ἀόριστον δυάδα ὡς ἂν ὕλην τῇ μονάδι αἰτίῳ ὄντι ὑποστῆναι· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου δυάδος τοὺς ἀριθμούς· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τὰ σημεῖα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰς γραμμάς, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἐπίπεδα σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπέδων τὰ στερεὰ σχήματα· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ αἰσθητὰ σώματα, ὧν καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα.... καὶ γενέσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν κόσμον ἔμψυχον, νοερόν, κ.τ.λ. *in Vit. Pythag.* VIII. i. 19, *i. e.* numbers are as digits or points, and these produced are lines, which combined form a superficies; superficies again form solids, and solids every material substance. HIPPOLYTUS also gives the same account of the Pythagorean deduction of form from the unity of a point. Τῶν τε γὰρ σωμάτων καὶ ἀσωμάτων ὁμοῦ σημεῖον εἶναί φησι καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸ σημεῖον ὃ ἐστιν ἀμερὲς, γίνεται δέ φησιν ἐκ σημείου γραμμὴ καὶ [*suppl.* ἐκ γραμμῆς ἐπιφάνεια (*id. qu.* ἐπίπεδον)], ἐπιφάνεια δὲ ῥυεῖσα εἰς βάθος, στερεὸν ὑφέστηκέ φησι σῶμα. *Philos.* VI. 23.

[3] This passage, as it stands, is certainly obscure. The MSS. afford no various readings as a clue, and conjecture is partly the resource. Neither GRABE, MASSUET nor STIEREN have anything satisfactory to offer; one more guess at the truth, therefore, may still be permitted. *Sensationis*, as I imagine, represents Νοήσεως, as at pp. 135, 431. G. *ed.* The physical attribute of *sensation* had already been referred to the Valentinian fictions that were *extra Pleroma*; the *intellectual* is now under consideration, the Pythagorean correlative of things within the Pleroma. The words *ejus quod primum assumptum est* represent τοῦ πρώτου καταληπτοῦ, *i. e.* Νῦς. Cf. pp. 21, 22. The words *intelligens est* may have been δεκτική ἐστι, cf. *the natural man*, οὐ δέχεται, *receiveth*, i. e. *understandeth not*, τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος Θεοῦ. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Then, the Latin text may easily admit the correction of *in quantum enim*, abbreviated as *in q̄m ēm*, for *in quem*, the representative of GRABE'S suggestion, ἐφ' ὅσον. Hence the Greek may be restored as follows: Νοήσεως δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔλεγον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ διάνοια δεκτική ἐστι τοῦ πρώτου καταληπτοῦ, ζητεῖ ἕως ἂν κοπιωμένη εἰς τὸ ἓν καὶ ἀχώριστον συντρέχῃ. The meaning being, *The principle of Intellect is proportionate to the energy, wherewith mind, as a recipient of the Comprehensible, pursues its in-*

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dixerunt, in quem sensus intelligens est ejus quod primum assumptum est, quærit quoadusque defatigata ad unum et indivisibile concurrat. Et esse omnium initium, et substantiam universæ generationis Hen, id est Unum: ex hoc autem Dyadem, et Tetra- LIB. II. xviii. 5. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 6.

M. 135. dem, et [1]Pentadem, et reliquorum multifariam generationem. Hæc hi ad verbum de Plenitudine suorum et Bytho dicunt: unde etiam et eas quæ sunt de uno, conjugationes annituntur introducere, quæ Marcus velut sua jactans, velut novius aliquid visus est præ-

G. 143. ter reliquos adinvenisse, Pythagoræ quaternationem, velut genesin et matrem omnium enarrans.

6. Dicemus autem adversus eos: utrumne hi omnes qui prædicti sunt, cum quibus eadem dicentes arguimini, cognoverunt veritatem, aut non cognoverunt? Et si quidem cognoverunt, superflua est Salvatoris in hunc mundum descensio. Ut quid enim descendebat? [2]An nunquid ut eam quæ cognoscebatur veritas, in agnitionem adduceret his, qui cognoscunt eam hominibus? Si autem non cognoverunt; quemadmodum eadem cum his, qui veritatem non cognoscebant, dicentes, solos vosmetipsos eam quæ est super omnia cognitio habere gloriamini, quam etiam, qui ignorant Deum, habent? Secundum antiphrasin ergo, veritatis ignorantiam, agnitionem vocant: et bene Paulus ait, [3]*vocum novitates* 1 Tim. vi. 20.

quiries, until worn out it is resolved at length in the Indivisible and One. This expresses at the same time the Pythagorean notion, and represents closely the Valentinian theory. GRABE'S note is as follows, but he makes no very intelligible sense. *Sensationis autem initia dixerunt, in quantum,* Græce ἐφ' ὅσον (pro *in quem;* nam utraque vox eodem fere modo abbreviata in quibusdam MSS. occurrit) *sensus intelligens* (omisso *est;* Græce διάνοια συνιεῖσα) *ejus quod primum assumptum est, quærit quoadusque defatigatus* (pro *defatigata*), *ad unum et indivisibile concurrat. Defatigata* autem ex Græco καταπεπονημένη vel κεκοπιωμένη posuit interpres, velut oblitus, quod præcedentem Græcam vocem διάνοια Latine masculini generis verterit. MASSUET still leaves the ground open to his successors, and concludes his note with the words, *Loci hujus ambages resolvat melius qui possit.* Cf. also pp. 21, 22.

[1] The term *Hen* representing Bythus and Sige, Dyas may be taken as the first two pair of Æons, Tetras for the Ogdoad, and Pentas for the Decad evolved by Logos and Zoe. In the Pythagorean system a mystical notion was attached to the Pentad, as well as to the Tetrad, for it is the sum of the Dyad squared, (*i. e.* its first development,) increased by unity. The Egyptians numbering by *fives* termed the process πεμπάζειν. PLUT. *Os. et Is.* 56, and to the present day *Five* is the mystic number of the East. Cf. RITTER, *Ind. Ph.*

[2] *An* is restored, it being found in both the CLERM. and AR. MSS. μήτιγε.

[3] *vocum novitates. An Interpres ex Irenæi Græco* καινοφωνίας, *vel pro more ex veteri Latina Bibliorum versione* vocum novitates *posuerit, ambiguus hæreo. De hoc fidem abunde faciunt post Tertullianum de Præscript. adversus hæreticos cap.* 16, *Ambrosiaster in Comment. ad*

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LIB. II. xviii. 6. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 7.

[1] *falsæ agnitionis.* Vere enim falsa agnitio ipsorum inventa est. Si autem impudenter agentes super hæc dicent, homines quidem non cognovisse veritatem, Matrem autem ipsorum, [2] semen paternale, per tales homines, quemadmodum et per Prophetas, enunciasse mysteria veritatis, ignorante Demiurgo: primo quidem non talia enarrant, quæ sunt prædicta, ut non et a quolibet intelligantur: etenim ipsi homines sciebant quæ dicebant, et discipuli ipsorum, et horum successores; post deinde, vel Mater vel semen si cognoscebant et enarrabant ea quæ erant veritatis, veritas autem pater, Salvator ergo secundum eos erit mentitus, dicens: *Nemo cognovit Patrem, nisi Filius.* Si enim cognitus est vel a matre, vel a semine ejus, solutum est illud, quod *Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius;* nisi si semen ipsorum, vel matrem *neminem* esse dicunt.

Matt. xi. 27.

1 *Timoth.* vi. *Augustinus Tract.* 97, *in Joannem, aliique Latini. De Græco autem tam S. Pauli quam Irenæi textu dubium videri posset. Fuere enim Græci Patres, qui* καινοφωνίας *legerunt, interque hos Chrysostomus, de quo Œcumenius et Theophylactus ambo ad hunc locum Pauli scribunt:* ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης τὰς νεωτέρας παραινέσεις καινοφωνίας εἶπε, διὰ τῆς αι διφθόγγου τὸ και γράφων, ὡς ἔοικε, *Beatus autem Joannes recentiores admonitiones dixit* vocum novitates, *legens, ut videtur,* καινοφωνίας *per* αι *diphthongum in prima. Ac licet apud Chrysostomum loco citato in editis nostris exemplaribus legamus* κενοφωνίας, *ipsum tamen scripsisse vel legisse* καινοφωνίας, *præter citatos auctores id plane confirmat, quod in loco parallelo* 2 *ad Timoth. cap.* 2, *v.* 16, *tam in textu quam in commentario* καινοφωνίας *expresserit. Fieri igitur potuit, ut et S. Irenæus ita legerit scripseritque. Quicquid vero de Irenæo statuatur, in epistola B. Apostoli genuinam esse lectionem* κενοφωνίας, *quam post Clementem Alexandrinum, loco mox citando, post Œcumenium et Theophylactum in vulgatis exemplaribus Græcis nos agnoscimus, omnes largientur puto, qui hunc locum contulerint cum altero Coloss.* ii. 8. Βλέπετε μήτις ὑμᾶς ἔσται ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης. *Ubi licet in Alexandrino Codice iterum* καινῆς *legatur, per errorem tamen librarii id factum patet; ex quo et supra citato in loco variam lectionem ortam esse, mihi nullum est dubium.* GRABE. The Syriac agrees with the received text, ܟܝܢܘܣ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܩܠܐ ܗܪܨܠ The CLERM. errs widely with *nativitatis.*

1 *Notatu digna est Clementis Alexandrini observatio lib.* 1. *Stromatum pag.* 383, *ubi citatis Apostoli verbis hæc subdit:* ὑπὸ ταύτης ἐλεγχόμενοι τῆς φωνῆς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, τὰς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἀθετοῦσιν ἐπιστολάς. *Cum ab hac voce redarguantur hæretici, Epistolas ad Timotheum abrogant. Id quod de Marcione constat ex Tertulliani lib.* v. *adversus hunc hæresiarcham in fine, et Epiphanii Hæres.* XLII. *Neque mirum: quippe cum aperte feriebat prophetia Apostoli* 1 *Timoth.* iv. 1, *seqq.* GRABE.

2 *semen paternale.* GRABE suggests the insertion of *vel* before these words, and MASSUET adopts the suggestion in silence. But the MSS. omit it, and it is hardly required, for Sophia conveyed to man, through Demiurge, the spiritual principle derived from Bythus, p. 51. The term, therefore, is best taken in apposition with *Matrem,* see p. 50, n. 2, and p. 39, n. 1.

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LIB. II. xviii. 7. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 8.

7. Et usque hoc quidem per humanas affectiones, et per id quod similia dicant multis ignorantibus Deum, verisimiliter visi sunt abstrahere quosdam, attrahentes per ea [1]quæ assueti sunt in eum qui est de omnibus sermonem, Verbi Dei genesin exponentes, et [2][Veritatis et] Vitæ, adhuc etiam Sensus, et Dei emissiones I. vi. 2. obstetricantes. Quæ autem ex his non verisimiliter et sine ostensione, omnia ex omnibus mentiti sunt. Quemadmodum qui assuetas escas, et ut illiciant, præmittunt, uti capiant aliquod animal, sensim blandientes eis per assueta pabula, quousque accipiant; sumentes autem ea captiva, alligant amarissime, et ducunt per vim abstrahentes quocunque ipsi voluerint: sic autem et hi paulatim mansueti [3]dissuadentes per pithanologiam assumere prædictam emissionem, inferunt neque congruentia, neque [4]opinatas reliquarum emissionum species, ex Logo quidem et Zoe [[5]decem] dicentes [6]Æonas emissos, de Anthropo autem et Ecclesia, duodecim: et horum nec ostensionem, nec testimonia, nec verisimilitudinem, nec in totum aliquid talium habentes, frustra autem et prout evenit, credi volunt, ex Logo et Zoe

[1] *Quæ* should have been rendered *quibus; Græce,* διὰ τῶν εἰωθότων, ἐπὶ τὸν περὶ τὰ πάντα λόγον.

[2] STIEREN inserts the bracketted words, being found in the earlier editions as well as in the MERC. MSS. I. II. and VOSS. They are omitted in the CLERM. MS., and they scarcely seem to be in their proper place. The next sentence I retranslate as, ἃ δὲ τούτων ἀπεικότως καὶ ἀναποδείκτως παντάπασιν ψεύδουσι.

[3] *dissuadentes.* The first part of MASSUET'S conjectural emendation *paulatim assuetis his suadentes,* is not required, for *mansueti* harmonises well with the words, *et ut illiciant,* that had preceded. The Greek was, in all probability κατ' ὀλίγον πραεῖς παραπείθοντες, which last term having been rendered by *dissuadentes,* seemingly gives the exact contrary sense in the translation to that required by the context; but in V. xxi. *dissuadere* evidently represents παραπείθειν. *Quoniam in principio per escam non esurientem hominem seduxit transgredi præceptum Dei, in fine esurientem non potuit dissuadere, eam quæ a Deo esset, sustinere escam.* πιθανολογία. Cf. p. 2, n. 4.

[4] *Græce,* οὐδὲ προσδοκήτους, *uti conjicio.* GRABE.

[5] *Decem* is bracketted, for though GRABE professes to have added the word on the faith of Dodwell from the VOSS. MS., STIEREN denies that it is found in it. The CLERM. MS. has *Zoea,* the final vowel in all probability representing the numeral X. MASSUET silently retains the word.

[6] The anonymous biographer of Plato shews that the philosopher may have suggested the use of the term Αἰὼν to the Gnostic sects, where he says, εὗρε δὲ καὶ τί ἐστιν αἰών· οἱ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ αἰῶνα ἔλεγον τὴν ἀπειρίαν τοῦ χρόνου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔδειξεν ὡς ἄλλη ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπειρία τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ αἰών. The term αἰὼν being perhaps to immaterial substance what τόπος was to matter. Its Syriac equivalent in EPHR. SYR. ܐܠܐ, meaning *eternal substance.*

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LIB. II. xviii. 7. GR. II. xix. MASS. II. xiv. 8.

Æonis exsistentibus emissum esse Bythum [Bythium] et Mixin, Insenescibilem et Unitionem, [1] Naturalem et Delectamentum, Immobilem et Contemperamentum, Monogenem et Macariam. De Anthropo autem et Ecclesia similiter Æonis exsistentibus emissum esse Paracletum et Pistin, Patricon et Elpida, Metricon et Agapen, [2] Ainon et Synesin, Ecclesiasticum et Macarioteta, G. 144. Theleton et Sophiam. Hujus autem Sophiæ [3] passiones et errorem, et quemadmodum [4] periclitata est perire propter inquisitionem Patris, quemadmodum dicunt, et extra Pleroma [5] operositatem, et ex quali [6] labe mundi fabricatorem emissum docent, in eo qui est ante hunc libro sententias hæreticorum enarrantes, cum omni diligentia exposuimus: Christum autem, quem [7] postgenitum his omnibus emissum esse dicunt, et Sotera autem ex his qui [8] in labe facti sunt Æonibus habuisse substantiam. Necessarie M. 136. autem nunc nominum istorum meminimus, ut ex istis sit manifestum absurdum eorum mendacium, et confusio fictæ nominationis. Ipsi autem detrahunt [9] Æonibus suis hujusmodi appellationibus multis, ethnicis verisimilia et credibilia apponentibus nomina his qui vocantur duodecim dii ipsorum, quos et ipsos imagines duodecim Æonibus esse volunt; imaginibus multo decentiora, et magis potentia, per etymologiam ad intentionem divinitatis adducere nomina [10] habentibus.

[1] *Naturalem.* αὐτοφυῆ.

[2] STIEREN says with justice that the strange names of these Æons were very likely to be incorrectly written by unlearned scribes; he proposes *Aeinun*, that reading being supported, as he imagines, by preponderating evidence. It has already been shewn that *Æonion* is no improbable reading, p. 11, n. 2. The CLERM. MS. exhibits *ænæs*, and the AR. *enos*.

[3] So CLERM. and AR. *i. e.* πάθη. VOSS. and MERC. I. II. *passionis*.

[4] See p. 15.

[5] *Græce, τὴν ἔξω τοῦ πληρώματος πραγματείαν.* GRABE.

[6] See p. 163, n. 1, and p. 272.

[7] *Græce, ὃν ἐπίγονον τούτοις πᾶσι προβεβλῆσθαι λέγουσι.* GRABE. For ἐπίγονον read ἀπόγονον, and compare p. 113, where this word is rendered *postgenitum*.

[8] The sense requires πληρώματι instead of ἐκτρώματι in the original. GRABE'S supposition certainly does not satisfy the judgment, viz. that owing to the aboriginal germ of disorder descending through the Pleroma from Nus to Sophia, the whole body of Æons were said to be *in Labe facti*. Cf. I. i. 2 and p. 14, n. 2; 16, n. 5. HIPPOLYTUS says that, in consequence of his multitudinous origin, Soter was called κοινὸς τοῦ πληρώματος καρπὸς, or, as IRENÆUS terms it, ἀπάνθισμα, *florilegium*. Cf. 296.

[9] *Æonibus*, the CLERM. MS. has *Æonis* here and occasionally elsewhere as the ablative plural, compare the top of this page.

[10] *habentibus.* τῶν [i. e. τούτων τῶν] εἰκόνων . . . παράγειν [f. l. παρέχειν] ὀνόματα ἐχούσων.

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CAP. XIX.

Quæstio de omni specie emissionis, et de Pleromatis inconsequentia.

1. Revertamur autem nos ad prædictam emissionum quæstionem. Et primo quidem dicant nobis causam hujusmodi emissionis Æonum, ut nihil tangant eorum quæ sunt conditionis. Non enim illa propter conditionem dicunt facta, sed conditionem propter illa: et non illa horum imagines, sed hæc illorum esse dicunt. Quemadmodum igitur imaginum causam reddunt dicentes, mensem quidem triginta habere dies propter triginta Æonas, et diem duodecim horas, et annum duodecim menses, propter duodecim Æonas quæ sunt intra Pleroma, et quæcunque [1] alia delirant; nunc dicant nobis causam istam Æonum emissionis, quid quia facta est talis: propter quid autem prima et archegonos omnium octonatio emissa est, et non quinio, vel trinitas, aut septenatio, aut aliquid eorum, quæ in alterum numerum confiniuntur? Et quid quia ex Logo et Zoe decem emissi sunt Æones, et non plures aut minus: et rursus ex Anthropo et Ecclesia duodecim, cum possent et hæc, aut plus aut minus fieri? Universum quoque Pleroma, quid utique tripartitum est in octonationem, et decadem, et duodecadem: et non alterum quendam præter hos numerum? Et divisio autem ipsa quid utique in tres, et non in quatuor, vel quinque, vel sex, vel in alterum quendam facta est numerum nihil [2] tangentes eorum numerorum, qui sunt conditionis? antiquiora enim [3] illa his dicunt, et oportet ea propriam habere

[1] I follow the reading of the Clerm. and its satellite the Voss. MS. Grabe adopts the Arund. reading *talia*. But ὅσα ἄλλα sounds most like the Greek.

[2] *tangentes*, referring to the numbers previously implied in the sentence, 4, 5, 6, can sum no number that symbolises any principal work or part of creation, as seven for instance sums the days of the week and the planets, &c. &c. Compare the opening of this section, *nihil tangant eorum quæ sunt conditionis*.

[3] *Illa*, referring to the Æons of the Pleroma, *his* to things create, and the former, as being antecedent, should be independent of the latter in their numerical peculiarities. The Æons of the Pleroma are expressed by a neuter plural in the beginning of this paragraph. The brackets introduced by Grabe, and adopted by Massuet and Stieren, which served to carry on the sense from *conditionis* to *consentientes*, are cancelled as worse than useless; one and all ignore the difficulty contained in the connexion of the last three words with the context, but the sense will best be attained through the Greek, *οὐδὲν καθαπτομένους τῶν τῆς κτίσεως ἀριθμῶν, ἀρχαιότερα γὰρ*

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rationem; eam quæ est ante constitutionem, sed non eam quæ est secundum constitutionem consentientes ad consonationem. Quam G. 145. quidem nos de conditione enuntiantes, aptabilia dicimus; apta est enim hæc rhythmizatio [1] his quæ facta sunt huic rhythmizationi: illos autem propriam causam de his quæ anteriora sunt, et a semetipsis perfecta, non habentes enuntiare, in summam aporiam incidere necesse est.

2. Quæ enim nos de constitutione velut ignorantes interrogant, ipsi de Pleromate e contrario interrogati, vel humanas affectiones enarrabunt, vel in eum descendent sermonem, qui est erga consonantiam quæ est in creatura, improprie respondentes de secundis, et non secundum eos de primis. Non enim de ea quæ est secundum creaturam consonantia, nec de humanis affectionibus interrogamus eos; sed quia utique Pleroma ipsorum, cujus imaginem creaturam esse dicunt, octiforme, et deciforme, et duodeciforme est, vane et improvide Pleroma ejusmodi figuræ effecisse Patrem ipsorum fatebuntur, et deformitatem circumdabunt Patri, si irrationabiliter aliquid fecit. Aut rursus si secundum providentiam Patris dicent sic emissum Pleroma propter creaturam, [2] uti bene rhythmizati ipsam essentiam, jam non propter se factum erit Pleroma, sed propter eam quæ secundum similitudinem ipsius futura esset imago: (quemadmodum quæ de luto est, non propter semetipsam figuratur statua; sed propter eam quæ ex æramento, vel auro, vel argento habet fieri) et honoratior creatura erit quam Pleroma, si propter illam illa emissa sunt.

CAP. XX.

Quoniam si quis transmotus fuerit a Demiurgo, in multos Deos et infinitos mundos excidere eum necesse est.

1. Si autem nulli eorum assentire voluerint, quoniam convin- M. 137. centur a nobis, non habentes reddere causam talis emissionis Pleromatis ipsorum, cogentur concludi, uti confiteantur supra Pleroma alteram quandam esse dispositionem magis spiritalem, et magis dominantem, secundum quam deformatum est Pleroma

τάδε τούτων φασιν, χρὴ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν ἴδιον ἔχειν λόγον, τὸν πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν, ὁμοδοξοῦντα εἰς συμφωνίαν, i. e. *consentientia.*

[1] *his*, i. e. *in his.*

[2] Rhythmizati *in activa significatione pro* disponentis *vel* ordinantis *accipe, et ad* Patris *refer.* MASS.

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ipsorum. Si enim Demiurgus non a semetipso figurationem creaturæ fabricavit talem, sed secundum illorum quæ sursum erant figuram; Bythus ipsorum, qui utique hujusmodi figurationis perfecit esse Pleroma, vel a quo figuram eorum quæ ante ipsum facta sunt, accepit? Oportet enim vel in eo Deo qui fecerit mundum perseverare sententiam, quoniam sua potestate et a semetipso accepit exemplum mundi fabricationis: vel si motus quis ab hoc fuerit, semper quærendi necessitas erit, unde ei qui super eum est, figuratio eorum quæ facta sunt, quis et numerus emissionum, et substantia ipsius exempli? LIB. II. xx. 1. GR. II. xxi. MASS. II. xvi. 1.

2. Si autem licuit Bytho a semetipso talem figurationem Pleromatis perficere; quid utique Demiurgo non licuit a semetipso mundum talem fecisse? Rursum igitur si illorum imago conditio est, quid prohibet illa eorum quæ super ea sunt imagines esse dicere, et quæ super ea sunt, rursus aliorum; et in immensas imagines imaginum excidere? Sicut [1] passus est Basilides, cum minime attigisset veritatem, et putans per immensam successionem
G. 146. eorum, quæ ex invicem facta sunt, effugere talem aporiam; quando CCCLXV cœlos per successionem et similitudinem ab invicem factos enuntiavit, et horum ostensionem esse numerum anni dierum, quemadmodum prædiximus: et [2] super hos virtutem, quam et innominabilem vocant, et hujus dispositionem: et nec sic quidem effugit talem aporiam. Interrogatus enim unde cœlo ei qui est super omnes, ex quo reliquos per successionem factos vult, figurationis imago? Ab ea dispositione, dicet, quæ est secundum innominabilem. Et aut innominabilem a semetipso fecisse [3] dicet eam; vel alteram quandam super hunc potestatem esse consentire necesse habebit, ex qua accepit innominabilis ejus tantam eorum quæ sunt secundum eum figurationem. Quanto igitur tutius et diligentius, quod est verum statim initio confiteri, quoniam fabricator Deus hic, qui mundum [4] talem fecit, solus est Deus, et non est alius Deus præter eum; ipse a semetipso exemplum et figurationem eorum quæ facta sunt, accipiens: quam post tantam irreligiositatem et circuitum defessos, cogi aliquando in

[1] *Quod Græci dicunt, ὅπερ ἔπαθεν ὁ Βασιλείδης, Latino modo dicendum fuerat:* Quod Basilidi accidit. BILL.

[2] *Super* is omitted in the AR.* MS. but is read in the CLERM. and VOSS. MSS. The other editions have *horum*.

[3] *Dicit* in STIEREN'S ed. is an error of the press.

[4] *Talem*, which is read in the CLERM. and ARUND. MSS. and printed by GRABE, is silently dropped by MASSUET. The translator seems to have read τοῖον (τὸν κόσμον, &c.) instead of οἷος, *solus*.

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LIB. II. xx. 2. GR. II. xxii. MASS. II. xvi. 3.

aliquo uno [1]statuere sensum, et ex eo figurationem [2]factorem confiteri?

CAP. XXI.

Quoniam quæ nobis qui sumus ab Ecclesia, imputant ii qui sunt a Valentino, illis rursus imputant hi qui sunt a Basilide, et illis item alii.

1. Etenim hoc quod imputant nobis qui sunt a Valentino, in ea quæ est deorsum hebdomade dicentes nos remanere, quasi non attollentes in altum mentem, neque quæ sursum sunt sentientes, quoniam portentiloquium ipsorum non recipimus, hoc idem ipsum qui a Basilide sunt his imputant, quasi his adhuc circa ea quæ deorsum sunt volutantibus usque ad primam et secundam octonationem, et post triginta Æonas indocte putare eos statim invenisse eum qui supra omnia est Patrem, [3]non investigantes sensu in id quod est super CCCLXV cœlos Pleroma, [4]quæ est supra quadraginta quinque ogdoadas. Et illis iterum juste quis imputabit, fingens quatuor millia et CCC et LXXX cœlos vel Æonas: quoniam hi dies anni tantas horas habent. Si autem quis et noctium apponat, duplicans prædictas horas, magnam multitudinem octonationum, et innumerabilem quandam Æonum operositatem putans adinvenisse, adversus eum qui est super omnia Pater [5]omnium semetipsum perfectiorem suspicans, eadem omnibus imputabit; quoniam non sufficiant in altitudinem ejus quæ ab ipso dicebatur multitudo cœlorum vel Æonum; sed deficientes vel in ea quæ sunt deorsum, vel in medietate perseverant.

2. Ejus igitur quæ est secundum pleroma ipsorum dispositionis, et maxime ejus quæ est secundum primam ogdoadem, tantas contradictiones et aporias [6]habentes, inspiciamus et reliqua; propter illorum insensationem, et nos de his quæ non sunt quærentes; necessarie autem et hoc facientes, quoniam hujus rei credita est nobis procuratio, et qui velimus omnes homines ad M. 138.

[1] *Statuere*, ἐρείδειν, Billius; but ἱστάναι τὸν νοῦν is more obvious.

[2] *Factorum* legendum conjicio; sicut *figurationem eorum quæ facta sunt*. Gr.

[3] οὐχ ἑπομένους τῷ νῷ ἐπὶ τὸ ...

[4] l. *qui*, i. e. *numerus*.

[5] πάντων ἑαυτὸν τελειότερον.

[6] *Habentes*] *Legendum, nisi me animus fallit*, habentis. *Duos enim genitivos Græcos ταύτης ἐχούσης in Latino retinere Interpreti pro more placuisse videtur, cum per duos ablativos*, Ea—habente, *reddendi essent. Sed et vulgata lectio retineri potest.*

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G. 147. agnitionem veritatis venire: et quoniam tu ipse postulaveris accipere a nobis multas et universas eversionis eorum occasiones. Quæritur igitur, quemadmodum emissi sunt reliqui Æones? Utrum uniti ei qui emiserit, quemadmodum a sole radii, an [1] efficabiliter et partiliter, uti sit unusquisque eorum separatim, et suam figurationem habens, quemadmodum ab homine homo, et a pecude pecus? Aut secundum germinationem, quemadmodum ab arbore rami? Et utrum [2] ejusdem substantiæ exsistebant his qui se emiserunt, an ex altera quadam substantia substantiam habentes? Et utrum in eodem emissi sunt, ut ejusdem temporis essent sibi; an secundum ordinem quendam, ita ut antiquiores quidam ipsorum, alii vero [3] juveniores essent? Et utrum simplices quidam et uniformes, et undique sibi æquales et similes, quemadmodum spiritus et lumina emissa sunt; an compositi et differentes, dissimiles membris suis?

3. Sed si quidem efficabiliter et secundum suam genesin unusquisque illorum emissus est secundum hominum similitudinem; vel generationes Patris erunt ejusdem substantiæ ei et similes generatori, vel [4] [si] dissimiles parebunt, ex altera quadam substantia confiteri eos [esse] necesse est. Et si quidem patris generationes similes emissori, impassibilia perseverabunt ea quæ emissa sunt, quemadmodum et is qui emisit illa; si autem ex altera quadam substantia, quæ est capax passionum, unde hæc dissimilis substantia intra illud quod est incorruptelæ Pleroma? Adhuc etiam secundum hanc rationem unusquisque eorum separatim divisus ab altero intelligetur, quemadmodum homines, non admixtus, nec unitus alter altero, sed in figuratione discreta et circumscriptione definita, et magnitudinis quantitate unusquisque ipsorum deformatus; quæ propria corporis sunt, et non spiritus. Jam igitur non spiritale Pleroma esse dicant, nec semetipsos

[1] According to GRABE and MASS. ποιητικῶς καὶ μεριστῶς, but ἐνεργῶς καὶ χωριστῶς might be preferable; i. e. *actually*, ἐνεργῶς being to δυνατῶς as *esse* is to *posse*.

[2] *ejusdem—his.* The Greek being ὁμοούσιοι . . . τοῖς, pp. 49, 50. BILLIUS is clearly wrong in rendering these words τῆς αὐτῆς οὐσίας τοῖς.

[3] Νεώτερον, *recentius, posterius. Comparativis istiusmodi non raro utitur, ut supra cap.* 19. *Novius aliquid. Et proximo capite, Juvenior aliquis. Et cap.* 33. *Qui est decorior. Homini Græco Latine scribenti hæc facile condonantur: quanquam etiam apud Columellam lib.* 9, *cap.* 11. *legatur, Juvenius examen.* FEUARD.

[4] *si* is omitted in the CLERM. and AR. MSS., and it is not wanted, as it destroys the alternative marked by *vel . . . vel.* If cancelled, *et* must be supplied before *ex altera.* AR. omits *esse.*

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LIB. II. xxi. 3. GR. II. xxiii. MASS. II. xvii. 3.

spiritales; siquidem velut homines, Æones ipsorum epulantes sedent apud Patrem, et ipsum tali figuratione exsistentem, quemadmodum detegunt eum qui ab eo emissi sunt.

4. Si autem velut a lumine lumina accensa sunt, Æones a Logo, Logos autem a Nu, et Nus a Bytho; velut verbi gratia, a facula faculæ; generatione quidem et magnitudine fortasse distabunt ab invicem: ejusdem autem substantiæ cum sint cum principe emissionis ipsorum, aut omnes impassibiles perseverant, aut et pater ipsorum participabit passiones. Neque enim quæ postea accensa est facula, alterum lumen habebit quam illud quod ante eam fuit. Quapropter et lumina ipsorum composita [1] in unum in principalem unitionem recurrunt, cum fiat unum lumen quod fuit et a principio. Quod autem juvenius est et antiquius, neque in ipso lumine intelligi potest (unum enim lumen est totum) nec in ipsis quæ perceperunt lumen faculis: (etenim ipsæ secundum substantiam materiæ id tempus habent; una enim et eadem est facularum materia) sed tantum secundum accensionem, quoniam altera quidem ante [2] pusillum tempus, altera autem nunc accensa est.

CAP. XXII.

Ostensio quoniam Logos in diminutione non est prolatus: et Quomodo secundum hæreticos voluntas Patris invenitur fecisse ignorantiam et labem.

1. Labes igitur ejus quæ est secundum ignorantiam passionis, G. 148. aut universo similiter Pleromati ipsorum proveniet, cum sint ejusdem substantiæ, et erit in ignorantiæ labe, id est, semetipsum ignorans Propator: aut similiter omnia impassibilia perseverabunt ea quæ sunt intra Pleroma lumina. Unde igitur circa juniorem Æonem passio, si paternum lumen est ex quo omnia M. 139. constituta sunt lumina, quod naturaliter impassibile est? Quomodo autem et juvenior aliquis aut senior in ipsis Æon dici potest, cum sit unum lumen totius Pleromatis? Et si quis stellas dicat eos, nihilominus eadem universi apparebunt natura partici-
1 Cor. xv. 41. pantes. Etenim si *stella a stella in claritate differt*, sed non

[1] For *in* Stieren carelessly prints *et*.

[2] These words were first transposed, and then the transition from *tempus pusillum* to *tempus illum*, as found in the Arund. MS. was easy.

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secundum qualitatem, nec secundum substantiam, secundum quam passibile aliquid vel impassibile est; sed aut universos, ex lumine cum sint paterno, naturaliter impassibiles et immutabiles esse oportet: aut universi cum paterno lumine et passibiles, et commutationum corruptionis capaces sunt. Hæc autem eadem ratio sequetur, etsi, velut ab arbore ramos, dicant a Logo natam esse emissionem Æonum, cum Logos a Patre ipsorum generationem habeat: ejusdem enim substantiæ omnes inveniuntur cum Patre, tantum secundum magnitudinem, sed non secundum naturam differentes ab invicem, et magnitudinem complentes Patris, quemadmodum digiti complent manum. Si igitur Pater in passione et ignorantia, et ii utique qui ex eo generati sunt, Æones. Si autem impium est Patri omnium ignorantiam et passionem affingere, quomodo ab eo emissum dicunt Æonem passibilem, [1] et hoc ipsi Sophiæ Dei eandem impietatem affingentes, semetipsos religiosos esse dicent?

LIB. II. xxii. 1. GR. II. xxiv. MASS. II. xvii. 5.

2. Si autem [2] quomodo a sole radios, Æonas ipsorum emissiones habuisse dicent, ejusdem substantiæ et de eodem omnes cum sint, aut omnes capaces passionis erunt cum eo qui ipsos emisit, aut omnes impassibiles perseverabunt. Non enim jam quosdam impassibiles, quosdam autem passibiles possunt ex tali emissione confiteri. Si igitur omnes impassibiles dicunt, ipsi suum argumentum dissolvunt. Quomodo enim passus est minor Æon, si omnes erant impassibiles? Si autem omnes dicunt participasse passionis hujus, quemadmodum [3] quidam audent dicere, quia a Logo quidem cœpit, derivatio autem in Sophiam, in Logum hujus [4] Nun Propatoris passionem revocantes arguentur, et Nun Propatoris et ipsum Patrem in passione fuisse confitentes. Non enim ut compositum animal quiddam est omnium Pater, præter Nun, quemadmodum præostendimus; [5] sed Nus Pater, et

[1] Et quidem, *Græcum καὶ τοῦτο, reddere debuisset Interpres.* GRABE.

[2] *Eodem inter alia simili ad declarandam Filii a Deo Patre generationem usus est Tertullianus lib. contra Praxean cap.* 8. GRABE. But such illustrations are all of them more or less objectionable; for one and all, they involve a separation either in time or space of the derived substance from the original. See *Hist. and Theol. of Creeds*, p. 140.

[3] See p. 16, n. 5; 17, n. 2.

[4] *Hujus, ταύτης, τὸ πάθος sc.* The particle *et* seems to be required before *Nun*, unless indeed *Nun Propatoris* be eliminated as an insertion from the following line. The Æonic disorder commenced *ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νοῦν καὶ τὴν Ἀλήθειαν*, p. 14.

[5] *Nec Deus qui intelligitur a nobis, alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam, et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens.* CIC. *de N. Deor.* 4. The philosophy of the ancients very generally exhibits a belief in one Supreme Incorporeal Divine Being,

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LIB. II. xxii. 2. GR. II. xxiv. MASS. II. xvii. 7.

Pater Nus. Necesse est itaque et eum qui ex eo est Logos, immo magis autem ipsum Nun, cum sit Logos, perfectum et impassibilem esse; et eas quæ ex eo sunt emissiones, ejusdem substantiæ cum sint cujus et ipse, perfectas, et impassibiles, et semper similes cum eo perseverare, qui eas emisit. Non igitur jam Logos quasi tertium ordinem generationis habens [1]ignoravit Patrem, quemadmodum docent hi: hoc enim in hominum quidem generatione fortasse putabitur verisimile esse, eo quod sæpe ignorant suos parentes; in Logo autem Patris omnimodo impossibile est. Si enim exsistens in Patre cognoscit hunc in quo est, hoc est semetipsum non ignorat: et quæ ab hoc sunt emissiones, virtutes ejus exsistentes, et semper ei assistentes, non ignorabunt eum qui se emisit, quemadmodum nec radii solem. [2]Non capit igitur Dei Sophiam, eam quæ intra Pleroma est, cum sit a tali emissione, sub passione cecidisse, et talem ignorantiam concepisse. Possibile est autem, eam quæ est a Valentino Sapientiam, cum sit de diaboli emissione, in omni passione [3]fieri, et profundum ignorantiæ fructificare. Ubi enim ipsi testimonium perhibent de matre sua, dicentes eam Æonis errantis generationem esse, jam non quærere oportet causam, propter quam filii hujusmodi matris ignorantiæ semper natent in profundo. G. 119.

3. Præter has autem emissiones ego quidem jam non intelligo alteram posse eos dicere; sed ne ipsi quidem alteram quandam proprietatem emissam reddentes aliquando, cogniti sunt nobis, licet valde multam de hujusmodi speciebus quæstionem habuerimus cum eis: hoc autem solum dicunt, quoniam emissi sunt unusquisque illorum, et illum tantum [4]cognovisse qui se emisit, ignorans autem eum qui ante illum est. Jam non autem cum ostensione progrediuntur, quemadmodum emissi sunt, aut quomodo capit tale

e. g. Empedocles says of the Deity,

οὐ μὲν γὰρ βροτέῃ κεφαλῇ κατὰ γυῖα κέκασται.—*Ammon.* in ARIST. π. ἑρμ.

οὐκ ἔστιν πελάσασθ' οὐδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτὸν
ἡμετέροις, ἢ χερσὶ λαβεῖν.—CL. AL. *S.* v.

ἀλλὰ φρὴν ἱερὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος ἔπλετο μοῦνον
φρόντισι κόσμον ἅπαντα καταΐσσουσα θοῇσι.—*Ammon.* in AR. π. ἑρμ.

Anaxagoras taught that the Deity was Νοῦς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πάντων αἴτιος. PL. *Phæd.* μόνον τῶν ὄντων ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀμιγῆ καὶ καθαρόν. ARIST. *de An.* I. 2.

[1] Nus alone comprehended the essence of the Father, p. 9; he wished to impart this knowledge to the other Æons, but was restrained by Sige, 13. The Æons that emanated from Logos, were κατ' οὐσίαν, not κατὰ γνῶσιν.

[2] *Non capit* as elsewhere for οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, sub. τὸ λέγειν.

[3] *fieri*, γενέσθαι.

[4] The context requires *cognoverit*.

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quid in spiritalibus fieri. Quacunque enim progressi fuerint, obligabuntur, et a recta ratione [1]cæcutientes circa veritatem in tantum, uti eum qui est a Nu Propatoris ipsorum emissus Sermo, in [2]deminorationem eum emissum dicant. Nun enim perfectum a perfecto Bytho progeneratum jam non potuisse eam quæ ex eo est emissionem facere perfectam, sed obcæcatam circa agnitionem et magnitudinem Patris: et Salvatorem symbolum mysterii hujus ostendisse in eo qui a nativitate cæcus fuit, quoniam sic cæcus emissus est a Monogene Æon, id est ignorantia: ignorantiam et M. 140. cæcitatem commentientes Verbo Dei, secundam secundum eos a Propatore emissionem habenti. Admirabiles sophistæ, et altitudines investigantes incogniti Patris, et supercœlestia sacramenta enarrantes, *in quæ cupiunt angeli prospicere*, uti discant quoniam a 1 Pet. i. 12. Nu ejus Patris, qui super omnia est, emissum Verbum cæcum emissum, id est ignorans Patrem qui se emisit!

LIB. II. xxii. 3. GR. II. xxiv. MASS. II. xvii. 9.

4. Et quemadmodum, o vanissimi sophistæ, Nus Patris, immo etiam [3]et ipse Pater, cum sit Nus et perfectus in omnibus, imperfectum et cæcum Æonem emisit suum Logon, cum possit statim et agnitionem Patris cum eo emittere? Quemadmodum Christum [4]postgenitum quidem reliquis, perfectum autem dicitis emissum; multo magis igitur qui est eo ætate provectior Logos, ab eodem Nu perfectus utique emitteretur, et non cæcus: nec ille rursus plus cæcos, quam se, Æonas emitteret, quoadusque Sophia vestra semper excæcata, tantam malorum enixa est substantiam. Et hujus malitiæ causa est pater vester: magnitudinem enim et virtutem patris causas ignorantiæ esse dicitis, Bytho assimilantes eum, et nomen hoc ei apponentes innominabili Patri. Si autem ignorantia malum, omnia autem mala ex ea floruisse definitis, hujus autem causam magnitudinem et virtutem Patris dicentes, malorum factorem eum ostenditis. Id enim quod non potuerit contemplari magnitudinem ejus, causam dicitis mali. Sed si quidem impossibile erat Patri, notum semetipsum ab initio his, quæ

[1] AR. *cæcutientes.* MASS. follows the CL. and VOSS. reading *circumeuntes.*

[2] *Deminorationem eum. Græcum ὑστέρημα alias Labem vertere solet.* GR. MASSUET and STIEREN copy him; still there is no mention made here of the Valentinian Labes, but of a degenerating Pleroma. The Greek term is more likely to have been κατ' ἐλάττωσιν. Cf. *deminoratio*, p. 321. *Eum*, may have grown out of the context.

[3] *et* is added from the AR. MS.

[4] *Postgenitum quidem reliquis*] Ἀπόγονον μὲν λοιποῖς. GR. τῶν λοιπῶν would have been better; and in the Latin, *progenitum*. AR. omits *quidem*.

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LIB. II. xxii. 4. GR II xxiv. MASS II. xvii. 10.

ab eo facta sunt, facere, inincusabilis erat, [1]qui non poterat ignorantiam auferre eorum qui post se sunt. Si autem postea volens G. 150 eam quæ secundum progressionem emissionum aucta fuerat ignorantiam, et inseminatam Æonibus, auferre potuit, multo magis prius eam quæ nondum erat, ignorantiam volens non permitteret fieri.

5. Quoniam igitur quando voluit agnitus est, non tantum Æonibus, sed et his qui in novissimis temporibus erant hominibus; non volens autem ab initio agnosci, ignoratus est: causa ignorantiæ secundum vos est voluntas Patris. Si enim præsciebat hæc sic futura, quare utique, priusquam fieret, non abscidit ignorantiam ipsorum, quam postea, velut ex pœnitentia, curat per emissionem Christi? Quam enim per Christum agnitionem omnibus fecit, multo ante poterat facere per Logon, qui et [2]primogenitus erat Monogenûs. Vel si præsciens voluit fieri hæc, semper perseverant ignorantiæ opera, et nunquam prætereunt. Quæ enim ex voluntate Propatoris vestri facta sunt, perseverare oportet cum voluntate ejus qui voluit: vel si prætereunt hæc, cum his præteriet et voluntas ejus, qui substantiam ea habere voluit. Quid enim et discentes requieverunt Æones, et perfectam agnitionem perceperunt, [3]quoniam incapabilis est et incomprehensibilis Pater? Hanc autem agnitionem habere potuerunt priusquam in passionibus fierent: non enim deminorabatur magnitudo Patris ab initio scientibus his quia incapabilis et incomprehensibilis est Pater. Si enim propter immensam magnitudinem ignorabatur, et propter immensam dilectionem impassibiles debebat conservare eos qui ex se nati erant, quoniam nihil prohibebat, sed magis utile erat, ab initio cognovisse eos, quoniam incapabilis et incomprehensibilis est Pater.

CAP. XXIII.

Quoniam Sophia nunquam in ignorantia et in deminoratione est.

Quomodo autem non vanum est, quod etiam Sophiam ejus dicunt in ignorantia, et in deminoratione, et in passione fuisse? Hæc enim aliena sunt a Sophia et contraria, sed nec affectiones ejus sunt. Ubi enim est improvidentia et ignorantia utilitatis, ibi

[1] Ar. *quum*.

[2] i. e. Nus. I. i. 2. cf. III. § 6, and correct thereby the statement p. 82, n. 3.

[3] ἀχώρητος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος. I. i. 4.

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Sophia non est. Non jam igitur Sophiam passum Æonem vocent; sed aut vocabulum ejus, aut passiones prætermittant. Et plenitudinem autem universam non dicant spiritalem, si intra ipsam Æon hic, cum esset in passionibus tantis, conversatus est. Hæc enim ne anima quidem fortis, non dicam spiritalis substantia, percipiet. Quomodo autem rursus Enthymesis ejus cum passione procedens separatim poterat fieri? Enthymesis enim esse intelligitur [1]erga aliquem, ipsa autem seorsum nunquam fiet. Exterminatur enim et absorbetur mala a bona Enthymesi, quemadmodum ægrimonium ab incolumitate. Quæ enim erat [2]prior Enthymesis
M. 141. passionis? Exquirere Patrem, et magnitudinem ejus considerare. Quid autem suasa est postea, et convaluit? Quoniam incomprehensibilis, et qui inveniri non possit, est Pater. Non igitur bonum erat, quod vellet cognoscere Patrem, et propter hoc esset passibile; sed quando suasa est quoniam [3]investigabilis esset Pater, et convalescens. Sed ille ipse Nus qui quærebat Patrem, cessavit secundum eos adhuc quærere, discens quoniam incomprehensibilis est Pater.

LIB. II. xxiii. 1. GR. II. xxv. MASS. II. xviii. 1.

p. 21, n. 3.

CAP. XXIV.

Ostensio quomodo neque Enthymesis sine Æone propriam habuerit substantiam, neque passio sine Enthymesi est.

G. 151. QUEMADMODUM igitur Enthymesis poterat separata concipere passiones, quæ et ipsæ affectiones ejus erant? Affectio enim [1]erga aliquem fit, ipsa autem seorsum non potest esse, nec constare. Non solum autem instabile hoc est, sed etiam contrarium ei, quod est a Domino nostro dictum: *Quærite, et invenietis.* Dominus enim Matt. vii. 7.
quærendo et inveniendo Patrem, perfectos consummat discipulos. Is autem qui sursum est Christus ipsorum, per id quod præcepit Æonibus non quærere Patrem, suadens quoniam etsi multum laboraverint non eum invenient, perfectos eos consummavit. Et si quidem [4][se quidem] perfectos aiunt in eo quod dicant invenisse

[1] *Erga, περί*, p. 14, n. 4; 317, n. 1.

[2] *Prior—passionis*, the Greek construction.

[3] *Investigabilis*] *Pro* ininvestigabili *accipiendum est, quod Græci* ἀνεξιχνίαστον *vocant, quemadmodum etiam Rom.* xi. 33. BILL. *sup.* 15. τὸ ἀνεξιχνίαστον τοῦ πατρὸς *reddidit* investigabile Patris. GR.

[4] GRABE proposes *se quidem* which seems requisite. Authority is in favour of *si quidem*, but the AR. MS. omits *et siquidem . . . . Æonas autem.*

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LIB. II. xxiv. GR. II. xxvi. MASS. II. xviii. 3.

Bythum ipsorum: Æonas autem in eo, quod suasi sint quoniam investigabilis est qui ab eis inquirebatur. Cum igitur ipsa Enthymesis non posset sine Æone separatim consistere, adhuc majus inferunt mendacium de passione ejus, separatim rursus dividentes eam, et hanc esse substantiam dicentes materiæ. Quasi non esset lumen Deus, nec adesset Sermo qui posset eos arguere, et evertere nequitiam ipsorum. Utique enim quodcunque sentiebat Æon, hoc et patiebatur; et quod patiebatur, hoc et sentiebat: et non aliud erat apud eos Enthymesis ejus, nisi passio incomprehensibilem comprehendere excogitantis, et passio Enthymesis: impossibilia enim sentiebat. Quemadmodum itaque poterat affectio et passio ab Enthymesi seorsum separari, et substantia tantæ materiæ fieri, quando [1][et] ipsa Enthymesis passio erat, et passio Enthymesis? Nec igitur Enthymesis sine Æone, nec affectiones sine Enthymesi separatim habere possunt substantiam; et soluta est et hic rursus regula ipsorum.

pp. 35, n. 2. 39, n. 5. 40, n. 3, 4.

pp. 20, 21.

CAP. XXV.

Quoniam neque dissolvi, neque pati Æon poterat, cum esset spiritalis, et in his quæ similia erant conversans.

Quemadmodum autem et solvebatur et patiebatur Æon? Siquidem ejusdem substantiæ cujus et Pleroma erat; Pleroma autem universum ex Patre. Quod enim simile est, in simili non dissolvetur in nihilum nec perire periclitabitur, sed magis perseverabit et augescet; quemadmodum ignis in igne, et spiritus in spiritu, et aqua in aqua: quæ autem sunt contraria, a contrariis patiuntur, et vertuntur, et exterminantur. Et sic si fuisset luminis emissio, non pateretur nec periclitaretur in simili lumine, sed magis effulgesceret et augesceret, quemadmodum dies a sole: etenim Bythum imaginem [2]patris sui esse dicunt. Quæcunque sunt peregrina et sibi extranea animalia atque contraria [3]natura periclitantur et corrumpuntur: quæ autem sibi assueta sunt et cognata, nullum patiuntur periculum in eo conversantia, sed et salutem et vitam ex eo acquirunt. Si igitur [4][et] ejusdem substantiæ cujus

[1] *et* is omitted in the Clerm., Arund., Merc. 1. and Voss. MSS.

[2] *Patris sui.* Sophia, though a feminine Æon, was said to be the sire of Enthymesis, c. xxvii. the *Mater* of Valentinians. See p. 33, n. 3; 43, n. 1.

[3] ἐναντία τῇ φύσει. The Arund. and Voss. MSS. have *naturæ*.

[4] *et* is added from the Arund. MS. εἰ οὖν καὶ ὁμοούσιος.

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et universum Pleroma, ex eo emissus fuisset hic Æon, nunquam demutationem perciperet, cum esset in similibus et assuetis conversans, spiritalis in spiritalibus. Timor enim et expavescentia, et passio, et dissolutio, et talia, in his quidem quæ sunt secundum nos et corporalibus fortassis fiant a contrariis: in spiritalibus autem et diffusum habentibus lumen, jam non tales consequuntur calamitates. G. 152. Sed mihi videntur ejus passionem, qui est apud Comicum [1]Menandrum valde amans et odibilis, Æoni suo circumdedisse. Magis enim infeliciter amantis cujusdam hominis apprehensionem, et mentis conceptionem habuerunt, qui hæc finxerunt, quam spiritalis et divinæ substantiæ.

LIB. II. XXV. GR. II. XXVII MASS. II. XVIII. 5.

CAP. XXVI.

Quoniam Patris exquisitio et investigatio magnitudinis ejus, neque passionem neque labem, sed statum perfectionis faciebat in Æone.

Super hæc quoque excogitare de quærendo perfectum Patrem, et velle intra eum fieri, et habere ejus comprehensionem, non ignorantiam nec passionem poterat inficere, et hoc Æoni spiritali; sed magis perfectionem et impassibilitatem et veritatem. Nec enim ipsi, cum sint homines, excogitantes de eo qui ante ipsos est, et velut jam comprehendentes perfectum, et intra ejus constituti agnitionem, dicunt semetipsos [2][non] in passione consternationis esse, sed magis in agnitione et apprehensione veritatis. Etenim Salvatorem, *Quærite, et invenietis*, discipulis propter hoc dixisse dicunt, ut eum, qui ab ipsis per excogitationem fictus est super fabricatorem omnium, inenarrabilem Bythum quærant: et semetipsos perfectos esse volunt, quoniam inquirentes invenerunt perfectum, cum adhuc sint in terra: eum autem qui intra Pleroma sit Æonem, totum spiritalem, quærentem Propatorem, et intra magnitudinem ejus

[1] *Menandrum.* Grabius *et* Mass. *aliquid ad hunc locum observare nobisque prodere supersederunt, ad quam Menandri fabulam Irenæus alluserit. Constat, Menandrum scripsisse fabulam* Μισούμενος *inscriptam, cujus argumentum hoc fuisse videtur: Thrasonides miles ardentissime amabat puellam, cujus acerrimum odium in se eo excitabat, quod inepta ac stolida jactantia facinora sua augebat.* Cf. *Men. et Philem. Reliquiæ.* Edidit A. Meineke, p. 116. Stieren.

[2] The Cl., Ar., Voss. and Merc. II. MSS. insert *non*, as also the earlier editions; it marks a not unusual construction in the Greek; *οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ... φασιν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐν πάθει ἀπορίας εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.* *μὴ* only serving to mark a connexion with the preceding negative proposition.

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LIB. II. xxvi. GR. II. xxviii. MASS. II. xviii. 6.

conantem fieri, et comprehensionem paternæ veritatis concupiscentem habere, in passionem dicunt recidisse: et passionem talem, ut [1]nisi ei occurrisset virtuti, quæ omnia firmat, dissolutus fuisset in universam substantiam, et exterminatus.

CAP. XXVII.

Quoniam non capit Æonem infra Pleroma desiderium passionis percepisse.

VESANA est hæc præsumptio, et vere destitutorum a veritate M. 142. sensus hominum. Quoniam enim Æon hic melior est quam ipsi, et vetustior, ipsi quoque confitentur secundum suam regulam, dicentes se esse conceptum Enthymeseos ejus Æonis qui passus est, ita ut sit hic Æon Matris ipsorum pater, id est avus ipsorum. Et posterioribus quidem nepotibus exquisitio Patris veritatem, et perfectionem, et confirmationem, [2]et eliquationem a fluxibili materia facit, sicut dicunt, et reconciliationem ad Patrem: avo autem ipsorum hæc eadem inquisitio ignorantiam, et passionem, et expavescentiam, et timorem, et consternationem [3]infecit, ex quibus et substantiam materiæ factam dicunt. Exquirere ergo et investigare perfectum Patrem, et concupiscentiam communicationis cum eo et unitatis, sibi quidem salutare fieri; Æoni autem, a quo et genus habent, dissolutionis et perditionis causam fuisse dicentes, quomodo non per omnia incongruum, et fatuum, et irrationabile? Et qui assentiunt his, vere cæci, cæcis [4]ducatoribus utentes, juste et corruunt in subjacentem ignorantiæ profundum.

CAP. XXVIII.

Quomodo de semine ipsorum sermo universus instabilis ostenditur: et quoniam non ignoravit Demiurgus in eum seminis depositionem.

QUALIS est autem et de semine ipsorum sermo, conceptum G. 153. quidem illum secundum figurationem eorum qui sunt erga Salvatorem angelorum a Matre informe, et sine specie, et imperfectum; depositum autem in Demiurgum, nesciente eo, ut per eum in eam animam quæ erat ab eo [5]seminatam, perfectionem et formationem

[1] Cf. p. 15.
[2] καὶ διύλισμον τῆς ὑγρᾶς ὕλης.
[3] ἐνεποίησε. Cf. c. xxvi. l. 3.
[4] *Grece* ὁδηγοῖς. Cf. p. 149.
[5] i. e. τὸ σπαρέν. The CLERM. MS. has *seminatam*.

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percipiat? Primum quidem est dicere, quoniam imperfecti, et infigurati, et informes hi sunt angeli, qui sunt [1]erga Salvatorem ipsorum: siquidem secundum illorum speciem conceptum tale quid generatum est. Post deinde, quod dicant ignorasse Fabricatorem eam quæ fuit seminis in eum demissio, et iterum eam quæ facta est per eum in hominem seminatio, futile verbum et vanum, [2]quod nullo modo ostendi possit. Quemadmodum enim ignoravit illud, si substantiam aliquam et qualitatem propriam habuisset ipsum semen? Si autem sine substantia, et sine qualitate, et nihil erat, consequenter ignoravit illud. Quæ enim propriam quandam [3]motionem, et qualitatem, vel caliditatis, vel velocitatis, vel dulcedinis habent, vel claritatis cujusdam differentiam, nec homines quidem lateant, cum sint cum hominibus; [4]in tantum abest ut fabricatorem hujus universitatis Deum: apud quem juste non est agnitum semen ipsorum, cum sit sine qualitate universæ utilitatis, et sine substantia omnis actionis, et in totum nihil exsistens. Et propter hoc mihi videtur etiam Dominus dixisse: *Omnis sermo otiosus, quem locuti fuerint homines, reddent pro eo rationem in die judicii.* Omnes enim quicunque tales sunt otiosos sermones in aures hominum immittentes, assistent in judicio, rationem reddituri de his, quæ vane conjecerunt, et mentiti sunt adversus Deum, in tantum ut semetipsos dicant propter seminis substantiam agnoscere spiritale Pleroma, eo homine, qui est intus, demonstrante eis verum Patrem: [5]opus enim esse animali sensibilibus erudimentis: Demiurgum autem universum semen hoc, Matre deponente, suscipientem in semetipsum, omnia omnino ignorasse, et nullum sensum eorum quæ [1]erga Pleroma sunt, habuisse.

LIB. II. xxviii. GR. II. xxx. MASS. II. xix. 1.

Matt. xii. 36.

CAP. XXIX.

Quoniam si in eum depositum fuisset semen, non potuisset ignorare ea quæ sunt super eum.

Et se quidem spiritales esse, quoniam particula quædam universitatis Patris in anima ipsorum deposita est, cum ex eadem

[1] *erga, περί.*

[2] *Græce ἀναπόδεικτον. Nam Græcorum more ostendere sæpe pro probare dicit Interpres.* Bill.

[3] Grabe has *notionem.* But the MSS. have either the above reading or *monitionem.* We might quite expect also the philosophical term *κίνησιν.*

[4] *παρὰ τοσοῦτον λείπει ὅτι τὸν Δημιουργὸν ... (οὐ λάθοιεν).*

[5] *Græce,* supr. p. 52, *ἔδει γὰρ τῷ ψυχικῷ καὶ αἰσθητῶν παιδευμάτων.*

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LIB. II. XXIX. GR II. XXXI. MASS II. XIX. 3.

substantia habeant animas, ex qua et Demiurgus, sicut dicunt, hunc autem semel universum suscipientem semen a Matre, et habentem in se, animalem perseverasse, et nihil in totum sensisse G. 154. eorum quæ sunt superiora, quæ hi semetipsos intelligere, dum adhuc sunt in terra, gloriantur, quomodo hoc non super omnem irrationabilitatem est? Etenim idipsum semen horum quidem animabus agnitionem attribuisse et perfectionem; ei autem qui eos fecit Deo ignorantiam attribuisse putare, vere vesanorum est, et in totum mente destitutorum. Adhuc etiam vanissimum est quod dicunt, in hac depositione figurari illud et augescere, et paratum fieri ad susceptionem perfectæ rationis. Erit enim ei materiæ M. 143. admixtio, quam [1]ex ignorantia et labe volunt habuisse substantiam, aptior et utilior, quam fuit paternum lumen ipsorum: si quidem secundum illius inspectionem natum, informe et infiguratum fuit: ex hac autem formationem, et speciem, et augmentum, et perfectionem assumpsit.

CAP. XXX.

Quomodo contraria de Matre et Labe ejus consilia decreverunt.

Si enim quod est a Pleromate lumen, causa fuit spiritali, ut neque formam, [2]neque speciem, neque magnitudinem haberet propriam; quæ autem huc est descensio, hæc universa addidit ei, et ad perfectionem deduxit, multo [3]operabilior et utilior videbitur quæ est hic conversatio quam et tenebras dicunt, quam fuit paternum lumen ipsorum. Quomodo autem non [4][est] ridiculum, Matrem quidem ipsorum in materiam periclitatam dicere, uti pene suffocaretur, et [5]paulo minus corrumperetur, nisi vix tunc superextendisset se et [6]exsilisset ex semetipsa, adjumentum percipiens a Patre: semen autem ejus in hac eadem materia augescere, et formari, et aptum ad susceptionem perfecti [7]sermonis expediri: et hoc in dissimilibus,

[1] The ARUND. MS. has *ex ignorantiæ labe;* but if the ἓν διὰ δυοῖν be resolved, *ex ignorantia labis* would be the more consistent regimen. See pp. 17, 186.

[2] *neque speciem.* These words, omitted by GRABE and MASSUET, are added from the ARUND. MS.

[3] GR. and early EDD. *optabilior.*

[4] *est* is omitted both by the CLERM. and ARUND. MSS., and the Greek would suppress it; πῶς δὲ οὐ γελοῖον.

[5] καὶ μικρὸν ἀποδεούσαν τοῦ φθαρῆναι.

[6] Cf. p. 225, n. 1.

[7] *Sermonis.* Rationem *autem puto potius quam* sermonem *vertendum fuisse* λόγον, *prout aliquoties hic et lib.* I. *bene reddidit.* GRABE.

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et in insuetis ebulliens, sicut ipsi dicunt, contrarium esse terrenum spiritali, et spiritale terreno? Quomodo igitur in contrariis et in insuetis parvum emissum, quemadmodum dicunt, et augescere, et formari, et ad perfectionem pervenire potuit? LIB. II. xxx. GR. II. xxxii. MASS. II. xix. 4.

CAP. XXXI.

Quod neque conceptio neque generatio seminis fuerit.

1. ADHUC etiam et ad hæc quæ dicta sunt requiretur, Utrumne semel enixa sit Mater illorum semen, ut vidit angelos, an particulatim? Sed si quidem simul et semel, quod exinde conceptum, nunc jam non erit infantile: superflua est igitur in eos qui nunc sunt, homines descensio ejus. Si autem particulatim, jam non secundum figuram eorum, quos vidit angelos, fecit conceptionem: simul enim eos et semel videns et concipiens, semel enixionem debebat fecisse, quorum [1]de semel conceperat figuras. Quid autem, quod angelos cum Salvatore simul videns, illorum quidem imagines concepit, Salvatoris autem non, qui est decorior super illos? Annumquid non placuit ei hic, et propter hoc non concepit [2]in eum? Quomodo autem Demiurgus quem psychicum vocant, G. 155. propriam secundum eos magnitudinem et figuram habens, emissus est secundum suam substantiam perfectus; quod autem spiritale est, quod etiam operosius oportet esse quam animale, imperfectum emissum est, et opus ei fuit ut in animam descenderet, ut in ea formaretur, et ita perfectum exsistens, paratum fiat ad suscipiendum perfectum [3]verbum. Si igitur in terrenis hominibus et in animalibus formatur, jam non secundum angelorum similitudinem est, quos dicunt lumina, sed secundum eorum qui sunt hic homines. Non enim angelorum habebit similitudinem et speciem, sed animarum, in quibus et formatur: quomodo aqua in vas missa, ipsius vasis habebit formam, [4]et jam si gelaverit in eo, speciem habebit vasculi, in quo gelavit, quando ipsæ animæ corporis habeant figuram; ipsi enim adaptati sunt vasi, quemadmodum prædiximus. Si igitur et illud semen hic coagulatur et formatur, hominis figura erit, sed non angelorum formam habens. Quomodo igitur ad imagines angelorum illud semen est, quod secundum similitudinem hominum

[1] Both the CL. and AR. MSS. have *de semel; ἐφαπάξ.* GR. and MASS. adopt *inde semel,* from the Voss.

[2] In, *ex* MS. Voss. *addidi. Subintelligendum autem* intuita *vel simile verbum.* GR. Or *Græce, κατ' αὐτόν.*

[3] *λόγον, rationem.*

[4] *καὶ εἰ ποτε.* AR. *etiam si.*

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LIB. II. xxxi. 1. GR. II. xxxiii. MASS. II. xix. 6.

figuratur? Quid autem, cum spiritale esset, opus ei fuit ut in carnem descenderet? [1]Caro enim eget spiritali, si tamen incipiet salvari, ut in eo sanctificetur, et clarificetur, et absorbeatur mortale [2]ab immortalitate: spiritali autem in totum non est opus eorum, quæ sunt hic. Non enim nos illud, sed illud nos meliores facit.

1 Cor. xv 54. 2 Cor. v. 4.

2. Adhuc autem manifestius qui est de semine ipsorum sermo, arguitur falsus, et a quolibet perspici potest, in eo quod dicant eas animas quæ habuerint a Matre semen, meliores reliquis fieri: quapropter et honoratas a Demiurgo, et principes, et reges, et sacerdotes ordinatas esse. Si enim erat hoc verum, primus utique Caiphas summus sacerdos, et Annas, et reliqui summi sacerdotes [3]et legis doctores, et principes populi credidissent Domino, in eam cognationem concurrentes; et [4]ante hoc etiam Herodes rex. Quoniam autem nec hic, nec summi sacerdotes, nec qui præerant, neque clari de populo accurrerunt ei; sed e contrario qui erant in viis mendici sedentes, surdi, et cæci, et a M. 144. reliquis conculcabantur et contemnebantur, quemadmodum et Paulus ait: *Videte enim vocationem vestram, fratres, quoniam non multi sapientes* [5]*apud vos, nec nobiles, neque fortes; sed quæ fuerunt contemptibilia mundi, elegit Deus.* Non itaque erant meliores tales animæ propter seminis depositionem neque propter hoc honorificabantur a Demiurgo.

1 Cor. i. 26 et 28.

3. Et de eo quidem, quod sit regula ipsorum infirma et instabilis, adhuc etiam et vana, sufficiunt quæ dicta sunt. Nec enim oportet, quod solet dici, universum ebibere mare [6]eum qui velit discere quoniam aqua ejus salsa est. Sed quemadmodum statua G. 156. de luto facta, colorata autem superficie, ut putetur aurea esse quæ sit lutea, quicunque accipiet ex ea particulam qualemcumque, et [7]exaperiens ostenderit lutum, liberabit eos qui veritatem quærunt

[1] *Obscurior est Græcismus in his verbis. Græce,* ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ δεῖται, εἴγε μέλλοι σώζεσθαι, *id est, siquidem futurum sit, ut salutem consequatur. Et c.* 55. Si eorum quæ super demiurgum dicuntur mysteriorum speculator et auditor inciperet fieri. *Existimo autem Interpretem, dum in his ac similibus verbis* μέλλειν Incipere *vertit, eum sequi voluisse, qui Joh.* iv. 47. ἤμελλε γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν, *transtulit:* Incipiebat enim mori. BILL.

[2] AR. *ab immortali.*

[3] *et legis doctores,* omitted in the CLERM. and Voss. MSS.

[4] *ante hoc.* CL. and Voss. cæt. *hos.*

[5] Scripture is loosely quoted; and *apud vos* corresponds with nothing in the Greek text, though the Syriac has ﻋﻨﺪ.

[6] ὁ θέλων μαθεῖν. GRABE cites in illustration, ATHENAG. *Leg.* Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, μικρὰ ἀπὸ μεγάλων, καὶ ὀλίγα ἀπὸ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμῖν ἐνοχλοίημεν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ μέλι καὶ οἶνον δοκιμάζοντες, μικρῷ μέρει τοῦ παντὸς τὸ πᾶν, εἰ καλὸν, δοκιμάζουσιν.

[7] The ARUND. MS. reads *exhauriens.*

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a falsa opinione: eodem modo et nos non modicam partem, sed ea quæ sunt [1]maxima continentia regulæ ipsorum resolventes capitula, omnibus quotquot non seduci scientes volunt, quod est nequam, et dolosum, et seductorium, et perniciosum, de schola eorum qui sunt a Valentino, et a reliquis hæreticorum, quotquot Demiurgum, id est, fabricatorem et factorem hujus universitatis, solum exsistentem Deum male tractant, ostendimus, dissolubilem eorum viam manifestantes.

LIB. II. xxxi. 3. GR. II. xxxv. MASS. II. xix. 8.

4. Quis enim sensum habens, et veritatis vel modicum attingens, sustinebit dicentes, super Demiurgum Deum esse alterum Patrem: et alterum quidem esse Monogenem, alterum autem Verbum Dei, quem et in deminoratione emissum dicunt: alterum autem Christum, quem et posteriorem reliquis Æonibus cum Spiritu sancto factum esse dicunt: et alterum Salvatorem, quem ne a Patre quidem universorum, sed ab his qui in deminoratione facti sunt Æonibus collatum et congestum dicunt, et necessarie propter deminorationem emissum? ut nisi in ignorantia et deminutione fuissent Æones, secundum eos nec Christus emissus fuisset, nec Spiritus sanctus, nec Horos, nec Soter, nec Angeli, nec Mater ipsorum, nec semen ejus, nec reliqua mundi fabricatio; sed fuissent omnia deserta ac destituta tot bonis. Non solum itaque in fabricatorem tantum irreligiosi sunt, labis eum dicentes fructum; sed et in Christum, et in Spiritum sanctum, propter labem dicentes eos emissos; et Salvatorem autem similiter post labem. Quis enim sustinebit reliquum eorum vaniloquium, quod astute parabolis adaptare conantes, et se, et eos qui sibi credunt, in maximam converterunt impietatem?

CAP. XXXII.

Quoniam exsolutionem Parabolarum impropriam et inconvenientem fictionis suæ faciunt.

1. Quoniam et parabolas, et actus Domini improprie et inconsequenter inferunt figmento suo, ita ostendimus: Illam enim, quam erga duodecimum Æonem dicunt accidisse passionem, conantur ostendere, quod Salvatoris passio a duodecimo Apostolorum

[1] *Maxima*] *Mihi dubium non est, quin pro* maxima, *substituendum sit,* maxime. *Nam quod in Græco erat* συνεκτικώτατα, *id verborum tenacissimus Interpres reddidit,* maxime continentia: *ego,* præcipua ac maximi ponderis. *Sic enim clarior est sensus.* Bill.

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LIB. II. xxxii. 1. GR. II. xxxvi. MASS. II. xx. 1.

facta sit, et in duodecimo mense. [1]Uno enim anno volunt eum post baptismum prædicasse. Sed [2]et in illa quæ profluvium sanguinis patiebatur, manifeste dicunt ostensum: duodecim enim annis passa est mulier, et tangens fimbriam Salvatoris, consecuta est sanitatem ab illa virtute, quæ egressa est a Salvatore, quam G. 157. præesse dicunt. [3]Illa enim quæ passa est virtus extensa et in immensum effluens, ita ut periclitaretur [4]per omnem substantiam dissolvi, cum tetigisset primam quaternationem, quæ per fimbriam significatur, stetit, et a passione cessavit. Hoc ergo quod dicunt duodecimi Æonis passionem per Judam demonstrari, quomodo potest in similitudinem comparari Judas, qui ejectus est de numero duodecimo, nec restitutus est in locum suum? Æon enim, cujus typum Judam dicunt esse, separata ejus Enthymesi, restituta est sive revocata: Judas autem abdicatus est, et ejectus, et in locum ejus Matthias ordinatus est, secundum quod scriptum est: *Et episcopatum ejus accipiat alius.* Debuerunt itaque dicere, duodecimum Æonem ejectum esse de Pleromate, et in locum ejus alium prolatum sive emissum; si tamen in Juda ostenditur. Adhuc autem ipse quidem Æon quod sit passus dicunt, Judas autem quod sit proditor. Patiens autem Christus venit ad passionem, et non Judas, et ipsi confitentur. Quomodo igitur Judas traditor ejus, qui pro nostra salute pati habuit, typus et imago M. 145. esse [5]poterat passi Æonis?

Act. i. 20, ex Ps. cviii. 8.

2. Sed neque Christi passio similis est passioni Æonis, neque in similibus facta. Æon enim passus est passionem dissolutionis et perditionis, ita ut periclitaretur ipse qui patiebatur et corrumpi: Dominus autem noster Christus passus est passionem

[1] These words are read in Greek at p. 27. *In hac quoque videtur fuisse sententia Tertullianus lib. advers. Judæos, cap.* 8 *et lib.* 1. *advers. Marcionem, cap.* 15, *quod etiam notat Eusebius in Chron. Eandem opinionem amplexantur Lactantius, lib.* 4, *cap.* 10. *Julius Africanus lib. de tempor. apud Hieronymum. Comment. in Danielem, Clemens Alexand. lib.* 1. *Strom. Paulus Orosius lib.* 7, *capite decimo, quibus accedere videtur Augustinus lib.* 18, *de Civ. D. cap.* 54, *et lib.* 22, *cap.* 15, *tametsi contrarium tueatur lib.* 2, *de doctrina Christiana, capite vigesimo octavo. At vero hunc Gnosticorum errorem tam acriter cap.* 35 *et* 39, *hujus libri refellit Irenæus, ut in alium inclinare videatur.* FEUARD.

[2] *et* is restored from the ARUND. MS.

[3] Illa enim. *Hæc ab Irenæo Græce sequentem in modum prolata fuisse ex* I. i. 2, 5, *liquet:* ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ παθοῦσα δύναμις ἐκτεινομένη καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ῥέουσα, ὥστε κινδυνεύειν αὐτὴν εἰς ὅλην οὐσίαν ἀναλελύσθαι, ἁψαμένη τῆς πρώτης τετράδος, τῆς διὰ τοῦ κρασπέδου σημαινομένης, ἔστη, καὶ ἐπαύσατο τοῦ πάθους. GRABE.

[4] *per,* AR. *et.* Cf. p. 16, n. 1.

[5] *poterat passi Æonis. Sed neque... neque.* The AR. readings are unintelligible, *poterat Æonis... quæ... et quæ.*

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validam, et quæ non [1]accederet; non solum ipse non periclitatus corrumpi, sed et corruptum hominem firmavit robore suo, et in incorruptionem revocavit. Et Æon quidem passus est passionem ipse requirens Patrem, et non prævalens invenire: Dominus autem passus est, ut eos qui erraverunt a Patre, ad agnitionem, et juxta eum adduceret. Et illi quidem inquisitio magnitudinis Patris fiebat passio perditionis: nobis autem Dominus passus, agnitionem Patris conferens, salutem donavit. Et illius quidem passio fructificavit fructum fœmineum, sicut dicunt, invalidum, et infirmum, et informem, et inefficacem: istius autem passio fructificavit fortitudinem et virtutem. *Ascendens enim in altitudinem* Dominus per passionem, *captivam duxit captivitatem, dedit dona hominibus*, et contulit credentibus in se *super serpentes et scorpiones calcare, et super omnem virtutem inimici*, id est, principis apostasiæ. Et Dominus quidem per passionem mortem destruxit; et solvit errorem, corruptionemque exterminavit, et ignorantiam destruxit; vitam autem manifestavit, et ostendit veritatem, et incorruptionem donavit. Illorum autem Æon cum fuisset perpessus, ignorantiam [2]substituit, substantiam informem peperit, ex qua omnia materialia opera prolata sunt secundum eos, mors, corruptio, error, et his similia.

LIB. II. xxxii. 2. GR. II. xxxvi. MASS. II. xx. 3.

Ps. lxvii. 19. et Eph. iv. 8.

Luc. x. 19.

3. Non ergo Judas duodecimus discipulus typus erat passi Æonis; sed neque Domini nostri passio: per omnia enim dissimile et inconveniens [3]invicem sibi ostensum est, non solum in his quæ prædiximus, sed secundum ipsum numerum. Proditor enim Judas, quod sit duodecimus apud omnes consonat duodecim [4]denominatis Apostolis in Evangelio; hic autem Æon non duodecimus, sed
G. 158. tricesimus est: non enim duodecim tantum Æones voluntate Patris prolati sunt secundum hæc, neque duodecimus ordine emissus est, in tricesimo loco annumerantes eum emissum. Quomodo ergo duodecimus ordine Judas, ejus qui in tricesimo ordine est Æon, potest esse typus et imago? Si autem Judam pereuntem imaginem Enthymeseos ejus esse dicunt; nec sic imago similis erit ejus quæ secundum eum est veritatis. Enthymesis enim separata ab Æone ipsa postea formata a Christo, dehinc prudens facta a Salvatore, et omnia quæ sunt extra Pleroma operata secundum imaginem eorum qui sunt in Pleromate, in novissimo in Pleroma recepta dicitur

[1] AR., VOSS., EDD. *cederet*; CLERM. *acce leret*, indicating *accideret*; the Greek would be πάθος ἔπαθεν.... καὶ οὐ τυχόν.

[2] *substituit*, ὑπέστησε, for ἀπέστησε, see p. 39, n. 5.

[3] STIEREN carelessly omits *invicem*.

[4] δωδέκατος τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων.

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LIB. II. xxxii. 3. GR. II. xxxvii. MASS. II. xx. 5.

ab his, et secundum conjugationes unita Salvatori ei qui ex omnibus factus est. Judas autem semel ejectus nunquam revertitur in discipulorum numerum: alioquin nunquam alius in locum ejus annumeraretur. Et Dominus autem dixit de eo: *Væ homini per quem Filius hominis tradetur.* Et, *Melius erat ei si non natus fuisset: et filius perditionis* dictus est ab eo. Si autem non separatæ ab Æone Enthymeseos dicunt Judam esse typum, sed perplexæ ei passionis, nec sic numerus duodecim numero trium possunt esse typus. Hic enim Judas ejectus est, et Matthias pro eo ordinatus: illic autem Æon periclitatus dissolvi et perisse dicitur, et Enthymesis et passio; separatim enim Enthymesin quoque a passione secernunt: et faciunt Æonem quidem restitui, Enthymesin autem formari, passionem vero ab his separatam esse materiam. Tribus itaque exsistentibus his, Æone, et Enthymesi, et passione, Judas et Matthias duo exsistentes, non possunt typus esse.

Matt. xxvi. 24. Marc. xiv. 21. Joh. xvii. 12.

4. Si autem duodecim Apostolos dicunt typum esse illius solius duodecim Æonum prolationis, quam Homo cum Ecclesia protulit; et reliquorum decem Æonum, qui, ut dicunt, a Verbo et Vita prolati sunt, dent typum alios decem Apostolos. Irrationabile est enim juniores quidem Æones, et propter hoc minores, ostendi a Salvatore per electionem Apostolorum; seniores autem horum, et ob hoc meliores, non jam præostendi: cum possit Salvator (si tamen Apostolos ideo elegit, ut per eos ostendat Æonas, qui sunt in Pleromate) et alios decem Apostolos eligere, et ante hos quoque alios octo, ut illam principalem et primam ostendat Ogdoadem, per Apostolorum numerum typum factum [1]possit ostendere, M. 146. neque secunda decade: post enim duodecim Apostolos LXX alios

Luc x. 1.

[1] This passage is given up by GRABE as hopelessly corrupt. It is altered by MASSUET to *possit ostendere quoque secundam decadem,* and he thus explains his view of the passage: *cum possit Salvator—et alios decem Apostolos eligere—ut possit ostendere quoque secundam decadem;* his reviewer in the *Bibl. choisie,* quoted by STIEREN, justly observes, *Mais ces paroles ne sont pas assez liées avec les précedentes,* and then proposes a correction; *J'aimerois mieux lire* Quos possit ostendere neque secunda decade; *qu'il ne pourroit pas marquer, même par une seconde dizaine ajoutée au nombre de douze, parce que cela ne feroit que vingt-deux,* &c. The meaning is no clearer than before. I propose, therefore, to stop after *factum,* and to take *secunda decade* as representing β' δεκάδι, i. e. δωδεκάδι. If this be conceded the meaning would be clear and good; *e. g. He could not even shew a type of the Apostolate in the Dodecad of Æons,* Ἐδύνατο ἀποδεῖξαι οὐδὲ τῇ β' δεκάδι, *because there were seventy others whom Jesus* ἀπέστειλεν, and who were, therefore, ἀπόστολοι, not in an exact and literal sense, but with sufficient truth to invalidate the Valentinian analogy. If the twelve were numerically typified, why not the Hebdomecontad?

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Dominus noster ante se misisse invenitur; septuaginta autem nec octonario numero, neque denario, nec tricenario typus esse possunt. Quæ igitur causa est, minores quidem, sicut prædixi, Æones per Apostolos ostendi; meliores autem, ex quibus et hi facti sunt, non jam præfigurari? Et duodecim autem Apostoli, [1]propter hoc electi sunt, ut per eos numerus duodecim Æonum significetur; et septuaginta in typum Æonum septuaginta electi esse debuerunt: non jam triginta numero Æonas, sed octoginta et duos factos dicant. Qui enim secundum typum eorum qui in Pleromate sunt Æonum electionem facit Apostolorum, nunquam aliorum quidem faceret, aliorum vero non faceret; sed per omnes Apostolos tentasset servare imaginem, et ostendere typum eorum qui sunt in Pleromate Æonum.

LIB. II. xxxii. 4. GR. II. xxxvii. MASS. II. xxi. 1.

5. Sed neque de Paulo quidem tacendum est, sed exigendum ab his, in cujus Æonis typum Apostolus nobis traditus est: nisi forte in Salvatoris compositi eorum, qui et ex omnium collatione subsistit, quem et *Omnia* nuncupant, eo quod sit ex omnibus: de quo et Hesiodus poëta splendide significavit, Pandoram, id est *Omnium munus*, nominans eum, ob hoc quod ex omnibus optimum munus in eo sit collocatum. In quibus ratio hæc est: Hermes
G. 159. [2](sicut Græco sermone exprimitur) [3]Αἰμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος ἐς αὐτοὺς Κάτθετο, [2](ut hoc ipsum Latino sermone dicamus): *Fraudulentiæ, sive seductionis verba, et subinvolantes mores indidit eorum sensibus*, ad seducendum stultos hominum, ut credant figmentis eorum. Mater enim, hoc est Leto, [4]occulte commovit eos, (unde et Leto nuncupata est secundum Græci sermonis significantiam, eo quod occulte homines commoveret,) nesciente

[1] The particle *si* is here cancelled, it is not found in any MS. or in the editions of 1526-28; neither is it wanted, the sense being this: *Allowing for the moment that the twelve Apostles were chosen as the correlatives of twelve Æons, then the seventy disciples must have been selected to correspond with seventy Æons, and 82 will be the complement of the Pleroma.*

[2] *sicut Græco—Latino sermone dicamus;* evident interpolations of the translator.

[3] Αἰμυλίους. The verses of Hesiod are not exactly cited, it being very evidently a practice of the writer to quote from memory. The other Deities having conferred their several gifts upon Pandora, Mercury in his turn makes his offering:

Ἐν δ' ἄρα οἱ στήθεσσι διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης
Ψεύδεά θ' αἰμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος
Τεύξε.—Ἔργ. καὶ ἡμ. 77.

[4] *occulte*, λεληθότως, *vid.* p. 50. A play upon Λητὼ and ληθεῖν is all for which the author is responsible; the parenthetic words are a very manifest interpolation.

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LIB. II. xxxii. 5. GR. II xxxvii. MASS. II. xxi. 2.

Demiurgo, enuntiare profunda et inenarrabilia mysteria[1] prurientibus aures. Et non solum per Hesiodum hoc operata est Mater eorum mysterium dici, sed et [2]Pindari Lyrici sapienter valde, ut [3]cælet Demiurgo [*leg.* celet Demiurgum] in Pelope, cujus caro in partes a Patre divisa est, et ab omnibus diis collecta, et allata, et compacta, Pandoram hoc modo significavit: ex qua et isti [4]compuncti eadem secundum eos dicentes, ejusdem generis et spiritus sunt cum illis.

6. Quia autem et tricenarius numerus eorum omnis excidit secundum eos, aliquando quidem paucis, aliquando autem plurimis Æonibus [5]statim in Pleromate inventis, ostendimus. Non ergo triginta Æones sunt, nec ob hoc Salvator triginta annorum existens venit ad baptismum, ut ostenderet [6]tacitos Æones eorum triginta: alioquin ipsum primum erunt [7]discernentes et ejicientes de Pleromate omnium. [8]Duodecimo autem mense dicunt eum passum, ut sit anno uno post baptismum prædicans, et ex pro-
Esai. lxi. 2. pheta tentant hoc ipsum confirmare (scriptum est enim: *Vocare annum Domini acceptum, et diem retributionis*) vere cæcutientes, qui profunda Bythi adinvenisse se dicunt, et non intelligentes ab

[1] A close translation of the Apostle's words κνηθομένοις τὴν ἀκοήν. 2 Tim. iv. 3.

[2] *Pindari.* Græce διὰ τοῦ Πινδάρου, in the translator's copy διὰ may have been absorbed in the preceding *καί*.

[3] The word is so printed by preceding editors, and without comment, as though it involved no difficulty. The MSS. also agree in this reading, but it makes no sense: *ut celet Demiurgum*, meaning, *as a blind to Demiurge*, exactly suits the sense. The allusion is to the first Olympian Ode of PINDAR, where the Scholiast says, v. 38: Τάνταλος τιμώμενος πάνυ παρὰ θεοῖς, καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀνταμείψασθαι, σφάττει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Πέλοπα, καὶ δεῖπνον παρατίθησι τοῖς θεοῖς. Τῶν ἄλλων οὖν θεῶν (μὴ) ἀποδεξαμένων αὐτὸν τῆς γνώμης καὶ μὴ φαγόντων, Δημήτηρ ἐλθοῦσα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς ζητήσεως, καὶ ἀγνοοῦσα, τὸν ὦμον κατέβρωξεν. Ἐμβαλόντες οὖν αὐτὸν οἱ θεοὶ εἰς λέβητα, καὶ ὁλόκληρον αὖθις συμπήξαντες, ἐπεὶ ὁ ὦμος ἀπῆν, ἐλεφάντινον ἀντέθηκαν.

[4] *compuncti*, κεκαυτηριασμένοι, referring according to the common idea to the words of S. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 2, but very probably to the cauterised Gnostics mentioned I. xx. 4.

[5] *αὖθις*, *rursus*, read as *εὐθύς*.

[6] *tacitos.* I am not aware that *tacitus* is found in any MS., but it would be a good reading, as referring to *Salvator*. In the opening section of the first book it was said of Christ, τριάκοντα ἔτεσι κατὰ τὸ φανερὸν μηδὲν πεποιηκέναι, ἐπιδεικνύντα τὸ μυστήριον τούτων τῶν Αἰώνων, and again in § 5 a statement to the like effect occurs. We may well imagine, therefore, that the Valentinian might account for these thirty years of our Lord's retired life, *ut ostenderet tacitus Æones eorum triginta*. MASSUET's explanation of the received reading *tacitos* is far-fetched and fanciful. He says Tacitos Æones *vocat Irenæus, quia ex* Sige *seu* Silentio *nati*.

[7] διακρίνοντες, i. e. *separantes*.

[8] See p. 26, note 3.

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Esaia dictum annum Domini acceptabilem, nec diem retributionis. LIB. II. xxxii. 6. GR. II. xxxviii. MASS. II. xxii. 1.
M. 147. Neque enim de die, quæ duodecim horarum habet spatium, dictum est in propheta; nec de anno duodecim mensium habente mensuram. Quia enim prophetæ in parabolis et allegoriis, et non secundum sonum ipsarum dictionum plurima dixerunt, et ipsi confitentur.

7. Dies ergo retributionis dictus est, in quo retribuet Dominus unicuique secundum opera sua, hoc est, Judicium. Annus autem Domini acceptabilis, tempus hoc, in quo vocantur ab eo hi qui credunt ei, et acceptabiles fiunt Deo: hoc est, omne ab adventu ejus tempus usque ad consummationem, in quo, [1] ut fructus, eos qui salvantur acquirit. Sequitur enim secundum dictionem prophetæ annum dies retributionis, et erit mentitus propheta, si anno tantummodo Dominus prædicavit, et de eo dicit. Ubi est enim dies retributionis? transivit enim annus, et nondum dies retributionis est; sed adhuc *solem suum oriri facit super* [2] *bonos et malos, et pluit* Matt. v. 45.
G. 160. *super justos et injustos.* Et persecutionem quidem patiuntur justi, et affliguntur, et occiduntur; in abundantia autem sunt peccatores, et *cum cithara et psalterio bibunt, opera autem Domini non intendunt.* Esai. v. 12. Debent autem secundum dictionem copulari, et sequens esse anno dies retributionis. Dictum est enim, *vocare annum Domini acceptum, et diem retributionis.* Bene itaque intelligitur tempus hoc in quo vocantur et salvantur a Domino, annus Domini acceptus: quem subsequitur dies retributionis, id est, judicium. Et non solum autem annus tempus hoc dicitur; sed et dies nominatur, et a propheta, et a Paulo: in quibus et Apostolus memor scripturæ, in epistola quæ est ad Romanos ait: *Sicut scriptum* Rom. viii. 36. *est, Propter te morte afficimur tota die, æstimati sumus ut oves occisionis.* Nunc autem *tota die* pro omni hoc tempore dictum est, in quo persecutionem patimur, et ut oves occidimur. Sicut ergo dies hæc non illam quæ in XII horis substitit, significat, sed omne tempus in quo patiuntur et interficiuntur propter Christum credentes ei; ita et illic annus, non qui est ex duodecim mensibus dicitur, sed omne fidei tempus, in quo audientes prædicationem credunt homines, et acceptabiles Domino fiunt, qui se ei copulant.

[1] See p. 18, notes 3, 4. The author adopts, and gives a Catholic application to the favourite figure of heresy.

[2] Irenæus follows the order of the words in the Syriac version ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܨܒܥ

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LIB. II. xxxiii. 1. GR. II. xxxix. MASS. II. xxii. 3.

CAP. XXXIII.

Ostensio quod uno anno non præconaverit Dominus post baptismum; sed omnem habuisse ætatem.

1. Est autem valde admirari, quonam modo profunda Dei adinvenisse se dicentes, non scrutati sunt in Evangeliis, quoties secundum tempus Paschæ Dominus post baptisma ascenderit in Hierusalem, secundum quod moris erat Judæis ex omni regione, omni anno, tempore hoc convenire in Hierusalem, et illic diem festum Paschæ celebrare. Et primum quidem ut fecit vinum ex aqua in Cana Galilææ, ascendit in diem festum Paschæ; quando
Joh. ii. 23. et scriptum est: *Quia multi crediderunt in eum, videntes signa quæ faciebat*, sicut Johannes Domini discipulus meminit. Dehinc iterum subtrahens se invenitur in Samaria, quando et cum Samaritana disputabat; et filium centurionis absens verbo curavit,
Joh. iv. 50. dicens: *Vade, filius tuus vivit.* Et post hæc iterum secunda
Joh. v. 1 et seq. vice ascendit in diem festum [1]Paschæ in Hierusalem, quando

[1] *Paschæ.* GRABE says that IRENÆUS is in error in referring the ἑορτὴ mentioned in Joh. v. 1 to the Pascha, a subject that has given rise to much discussion. MASSUET says, *Sed nullum affert vir eruditus [Grabius] argumentum, quo falsitatem hujusce assertionis demonstret; quam satis probabilem facit tum evangelicæ historiæ series, tum Theodoreti in cap.* IX. *Danielis, et Hieronymi consensus.* The best modern authorities agree with the Benedictine editor and IRENÆUS, e. g. Lampe, Kuinoel in Germany, and Burton, &c. in England. According to this view our Lord was present at four passovers after his baptism by John: (1) Joh. ii. 13, (2) Joh. v. 1, (3) Joh. vi. 4, (4) Joh. xiii. 1, at which he suffered. With regard to the feast mentioned Joh. v. 1, it may be observed that the event at Bethesda was very possibly connected with the purification of the temple by water after the sacrificing of the Paschal lamb for each household in Jerusalem. When the miracle of healing the palsied man was wrought, *on the same day* we read was *a sabbath*, ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, v. 9, and most probably the evening of the Sabbatical day that commenced the Paschal week; the Saviour was uttering therefore the truth that ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ, v. 21, at the very season when, after a lapse of two years, "many bodies of the saints that slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." Matt. xxvii. 53. The Paschal custom that may be connected with the circumstances attending the miracle at Bethesda was this. Of the blood of the Paschal lamb only a small bowl was handed along by a row of priests to be poured on the foundation of the altar, the rest remained on the spot where the sacrifice was slain. שחט ישראל וקבל הכהן נותנו לחבירו וחבירו לחבירו מקבל את המלא ומחזיר את הריקן כהן הקרוב אצל המזבח זורקו זריקה אחת כנגד היסוד *Mishna Pesach.* v. 6. *Mactat Israelita, et excipit sanguinem sacerdos, et tradit*

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paralyticum, qui juxta natatoriam jacebat XXXVIII annos, curavit, jubens ut surgeret et auferret grabbatum suum, et iret: et iterum inde secedens trans mare Tiberiadis, ubi et cum multa turba eum fuisset secuta, de quinque panibus satiavit omnem illam multitudinem, et superaverunt duodecim cophini fragmentorum. Deinde cum Lazarum suscitasset ex mortuis, et insidiæ fierent a Pharisæis, secedit in Ephrem civitatem: et inde *ante sex dies Paschæ veniens in Bethaniam* scribitur, et de Bethania ascendens in Hierosolymam, et manducans pascha, et sequenti die passus. Quoniam autem tria hæc Paschæ tempora non sunt unus annus, omnis quilibet confitebitur. Et ipsum autem mensem in quo Pascha celebratur, in quo et passus est Dominus, non duodecimum sed primum esse, qui omnia se scire jactant, si nesciunt, a Moyse possunt discere. Falsa ergo ostensa est et anni et duodecimi mensis [1]absolutio eorum, et debent aut absolutionem suam, aut Evangelium reprobare: alioquin quomodo uno anno tantum Dominus prædicavit?

LIB. II. xxxiii. 1. GR. II. xxxix. MASS. II. xxii. 3.

Joh. vi. 1 et seq.

Joh. xi. 54. Joh. xii. 1.

alteri et ille protinus tertio; acerram plenam excipit, reddit autem vacuam. Sacerdos altari proxime sistens una effusione libat juxta fundamentum. The flow of blood therefore in the outer court was profuse והיו כהנים מפקיעין בדם עד רכובותיהן *Tosaphta* IV. 7 *in Pesach. Circumagebantur sacerdotes in sanguine genu tenus.* At the close of the day, the Sabbath notwithstanding, the stream that supplied the ordinary purposes of purification was staunched back, and the outer court was flushed with a body of water to remove all impurities. במעשהו בחול כך מעשה בשבת אלא שיהיו הכהנים מדיחין את [l. אלמא] העזרה שלא ברצון הכחמים כיצר מדיחין את העזרה היו פוקקין אותן ומרגילין לה אמת המים עד שועשיה נקייה כחלב Mishn. in Pesach. Tosaphta, IV. 7. *Quale opus in die profesto tale opus in Sabbatho; quocirca abstergebant atrium sacerdotes contra voluntatem sapientum. Quomodo abstergebant atrium? obstruebant canalem aquarum, quas in illud divertebant donec fieret mundum sicut lac.* There is nothing improbable in the supposition that a portion of the same head of water should have been led into a κολυμβήθρα or bath, being turned off into it by an official ἄγγελος or מלאך. This bath was only large enough for one, whatever the capacity of the five porches; certainly one only looked for a benefit from it, and as TERTULLIAN says, only once in the year; *Proficiente itaque in hominibus gratia Dei, plus aquis et angelo accessit; ....qui unum semel anno liberabant, nunc quotidie,* &c. *de Bapt.* 5. Apart from the miracle performed by our Lord, the words of the Evangelist do not involve any supernatural agency; and he only expressed the popular conviction when he said that he that descended first was healed; otherwise there is great difficulty in the supposition that this miracle should have recurred annually at one of the principal feasts, and that Josephus should have passed it over in silence. Of course ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ is understood as referring to πύλῃ, the *sheep-gate* of the Temple. See Neh. iii. 1. κολυμβήθρα is in the Syriac ܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ *locus baptisterii.*

[1] *absolutio*, id est interpretatio, ἐπίλυσις. GRABE. See p. 329, n. 1.

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LIB. II. xxxiii. 2 GR. II. xxxix. MASS. II. xxii. 4

2. Triginta quidem annorum exsistens cum veniret ad baptismum, deinde magistri ætatem perfectam habens, venit Hierusalem, ita ut ab omnibus juste [1]audiretur magister: non enim aliud videbatur et aliud erat, sicut inquiunt qui putativum introducunt; sed quod erat, hoc et videbatur. Magister ergo exsistens magistri quoque habebat ætatem, non reprobans nec supergrediens hominem, neque solvens [2]suam legem in se humani generis, sed omnem ætatem sanctificans per illam quæ ad ipsum erat similitudinem. Omnes enim venit per semetipsum salvare: omnes G. 161. inquam, [3]qui per eum renascuntur in Deum, infantes, et parvulos, et pueros, et juvenes, et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes: in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem, simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus, et justitiæ, et subjectionis: in juvenibus juvenis, exemplum juvenibus fiens, et sanctificans Domino. Sic et senior in senioribus, ut sit perfectus magister in omnibus, non solum secundum expositionem veritatis, sed et secundum ætatem, sanctificans simul et seniores, exemplum ipsis

Col. i. 18. quoque fiens: deinde et usque ad mortem pervenit, ut sit *primogenitus ex mortuis, ipse primatum tenens in omnibus,* [4]princeps vitæ, prior omnium, et præcedens omnes. M. 148

3. Illi autem, ut figmentum suum de eo quod est scriptum *vocare annum Domini acceptum* affirment, dicunt uno anno eum prædicasse, et duodecimo mense passum, contra semetipsos obliti sunt, solventes ejus omne negotium, et magis necessariam, et magis honorabilem ætatem ejus auferentes, illam inquam provectiorem, in qua et docens præerat universis. Quomodo enim habuit discipulos, si non docebat? Quomodo autem docebat, magistri ætatem non habens? Ad baptismum enim venit nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tanquam triginta annorum: (ita enim, qui ejus annos significavit

Luc. iii. 23. Lucas, posuit: *Jesus autem erat quasi incipiens triginta annorum*, cum veniret ad baptismum,) et a baptismate uno tantum

[1] The CL. reading, *audiret*, followed by MASS. makes no sense. I am inclined to think that at an early date *audiretur* was substituted for *ordiretur*, *q. d.* ἵνα διὰ πάντων ἐννόμως ἄρχηται ὁ διδάσκαλος.

[2] MASS. omits *suam*, following the CL. MS.; but it has a peculiar significance, *nor abrogating his own law.*

[3] *qui per eum renascuntur*, i. e. in baptism, for so the author says, *potestatem regenerationis in Deum demandans discipulis, dicebat eis, Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos*, &c. III. xix. As WALL observes, this testimony is a valuable record of fact, as regards the primitive baptism of infants.

[4] ἀρχηγὸν ζωῆς, Acts iii. 15.

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anno prædicavit; complens tricesimum annum passus est, adhuc juvenis exsistens, et qui necdum provectiorem haberet ætatem. Quia autem triginta annorum ætas prima [1]indolis est juvenis, et extenditur usque ad quadragesimum annum, omnis quilibet confitebitur; a quadragesimo autem et quinquagesimo anno declinat jam in ætatem seniorem, quam habens Dominus noster docebat, LIB. II. xxxiii. 3. GR. II. xxxix. MASS. II. xxii. 5.

καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Euseb. H. E. iii. 25. Ἰωάννῃ τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ [2]συμβεβληκότες, [3]παραδεδωκέναι [4]ταῦτα τὸν Ἰωάννην. Παρέμεινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν [5]Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων.

sicut Evangelium et omnes seniores testantur, qui in Asia apud Johannem discipulum Domini convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse eis Johannem. Permansit autem cum eis usque ad Trajani tempora. Quidam autem eorum non solum Johannem, sed et alios Apostolos viderunt, et hæc eadem ab ipsis audierunt, et testantur de
G. 162. hujusmodi relatione. Quibus magis oportet credi? Utrumne his talibus, an Ptolemæo, qui Apostolos nunquam vidit, vestigium autem Apostoli ne in somniis quidem assecutus est?

4. Sed et ipsi qui tunc disputabant cum Domino Jesu Christo Judæi, apertissime hoc ipsum significaverunt. Quando enim eis dixit Dominus: *Abraham pater vester exultavit ut videret diem meum, et vidit, et gavisus est*, responderunt ei: *Quinquaginta annos nondum habes, et Abraham vidisti?* Hoc autem Joh. viii. 56, 57.

[1] *indolis est.* ὅτι δὲ ἡ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἡλικία ἡ πρώτη τῆς διαθέσεώς ἐστινέας.

[2] *lect. var.* συμβεβηκότες and συμβεβιωκότες, this last however marginal.

[3] The reader may here perceive the unsatisfactory character of tradition where a mere fact is concerned. From reasonings founded upon the Evangelical history, as well as from a preponderance of external testimony, it is most certain that our Lord's ministry extended but little over three years; yet here IRENÆUS states that it included more than ten years, and appeals to a tradition derived, as he says, from those who had conversed with an Apostle. Not so, however, where doctrines are concerned; the Rule of Faith, comprising the articles of the Christian belief, was also received by tradition, but in this case the genuineness of the tradition is proved by the fact, that in every nation where the Gospel was preached, the Rule of Faith still taught the same thing. The case is, the one kind of tradition was of vital import, and was jealously kept by the Church Catholic; the other, of a more trivial character, only floated loosely in the minds of individuals.

[4] ταῦτα. *Hanc vocem in Euseb. et Syncello omissam, ex Nicephoro addidi, quia Latina Irenæi versio habet.* GR.

[5] Trajan began to reign A.D. 98, and S. John is said to have lived to the age of one hundred years. IRENÆUS repeats this statement III. iii. end.

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LIB. II. xxxiii. 4. GR. II. xl. MASS. II. xxii. 6.

consequenter dicitur ei, qui jam XL annos excessit, quinquagesimum autem annum nondum attigit, non tamen multum a quinquagesimo anno absistit. Ei autem qui sit XXX annorum, diceretur utique: Quadraginta annorum nondum es. Qui enim volebant eum mendacem ostendere, non utique in multum extenderent annos ultra ætatem, quam eam habere conspiciebant: sed proxima ætatis dicebant, sive vere scientes ex conscriptione census, sive conjicientes secundum ætatem, quam videbant habere eum super quadraginta; sed ut non quæ esset triginta annorum. Irrationabile est enim omnino viginti annos mentiri eos, volentes eum juniorem ostendere temporibus Abrahæ. Quod autem videbant, hoc et loquebantur: qui autem videbatur, non erat putativus, sed veritas. Non ergo multum aberat a quinquaginta annis: et ideo dicebant ei, *Quinquaginta annorum nondum es, et Abraham vidisti?* Non ergo anno uno prædicavit, nec duodecimo mense anni passus est. Tempus enim a trigesimo anno usque ad quinquagesimum nunquam erit unus annus, nisi si apud Æones eorum tam magni anni sunt deputati his, qui apud Bythum in Pleromate ex ordine resident, de quibus et Homerus Poeta dixit, et ipse inspiratus a Matre eorum erroris: Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορόωντο Χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ. (Quod Latine ita interpretabimur: *Dii autem apud Jovem considentes tractabant in aureo loco.*)

CAP. XXXIV.

Quomodo destruitur qui est de numeris ipsorum et nominibus sermo.

Matt. ix. 20.

1. Sed et de illa muliere, quæ profluvio sanguinis laborans, tetigit fimbriam vestimenti Domini, et sanata est, aperta est eorum ignorantia: (dicunt enim per eam ostendi passam illam duodecimam virtutem, et in infinitum defluxam, id est, duodecimum Æonem) primum quidem, quia secundum sectam eorum duodecimus non est iste Æon, sicut ostendimus. Ut autem ex M. 149. superfluo eis et hoc detur, duodecim Æonibus exsistentibus, undecim quidem impassibiles perseverasse dicuntur, duodecimus autem passus: mulier autem e contrario duodecimo anno sanata, manifestum est quoniam undecim quidem annis habuit perseverantem passionem, duodecimo autem sanata est. Siquidem undecim Æones in passione insanabili fuisse dicerentur, sanatus autem duodecimus, suasorium erat dicere typum eorum esse mulierem.

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LIB. II. xxxiv. 1. GR. II. xl. MASS. II. xxiii. 1.

Quia autem hæc undecim quidem annis passa est, et non est sanata, duodecimo autem anno sanata est, quonam modo potest esse typus duodecimi Æonis, ex quibus undecim omnino nihil passi sunt, solus autem duodecimus participatus est passionem? Typus enim et imago secundum materiam, et secundum substantiam aliquoties a veritate diversus est: secundum autem habitum et lineamentum debet servare similitudinem, et similiter ostendere per præsentia illa quæ non sunt præsentia.

2. Et non solum in hac muliere anni infirmitatis descripti sunt, quos coaptari dicunt figmento suo, sed ecce et alia mulier similiter XVIII annis infirmata, sanata est, de qua Dominus ait: *Hanc autem filiam Abrahæ, quam alligavit Satanas decem et octo annis, non oportebat solvi in die sabbati?* Si ergo illa typus erat duodecimi Æonis passi, et hæc typus esse decimi octavi Æonis passi debet. Sed non habent ostendere: alioquin prima et principalis eorum Ogdoas connumerabitur compassis Æonibus. Sed et alius autem quidam sanatur a Domino XXXVIII annos habens in sua passione: et trigesimum et octavum passum Æonem dicant. Si enim quæ a Domino facta sunt, typos esse dicunt eorum quæ sunt in Pleromate, typus in omnibus debet servari. Sed neque eam quæ post XVIII annos curata est, nec eum qui post XXXVIII annos curatus est, possunt adaptare suo figmento. Insulsum autem et inconveniens est omnimodo dicere in quibusdam quidem servasse typum Salvatorem, in quibusdam autem non servasse. Dissimilis ergo et mulieris typus negotio [1] eorum ostenditur.

Luc. xiii. 16.

G. 163.

Joh. v. 5.

3. Adhuc autem et falsum demonstrat commentum eorum et instabile figmentum eorum etiam hoc ipsum, quod per numeros aliquando quidem et per syllabas nominum, aliquando autem et per syllabarum literas, aliquando vero et per numeros, qui secundum Græcos in literis continentur, tentant inferre probationes; apertissime consternationem, sive confusionem, et instabilitatem scientiæ eorum et extortum [2] demonstrat. Jesus enim nomen

[1] The CL. followed by MASS. has *Æonum*. The earlier Edd. *negatio Æonum*. May not *negatio eorum* have been written for *ἡ τούτων ἀπόφασις ἀποδείκνυται*?

[2] *demonstrat;* various methods of filling out the construction have been proposed. GALLAS., FEUARD. and MASSUET read *demonstrant*. SEMLER (in *Act. Soc. Lat. Jen.*) also supplies *hæc* after *apertissime;* STIEREN says *post*, extortum, *excidisse vocem aliquam*, mysterium, *aut simile quid, observaveris*. But like every other obscure passage it should be read in the Greek, *ex Oriente lux*, *αὐτὸ τοῦτο ...φανερώτατα τὴν ἀνατροπὴν, καὶ τὸ ἀσύστατον τῆς γνώσεως αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξεστραμμένον ἀποδείκνυσι. Sive confusionem* has the appearance of a marginal gloss.

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alterius linguæ exsistens ad Græcorum numerum transferentes, aliquando quidem [1]episemon esse dicunt, sex habens literas: aliquando autem plenitudinem ogdoadum DCCCLXXXVIII numerum habens. Græcum autem nomen ejus, quod est *Soter*, id est Salvator, quia non convenit figmento eorum, nec secundum numerum, nec secundum literas, tacuerunt. Et quidem si ex providentia Patris dominica nomina accepissent per numerum et per literas significantia numerum in Pleromate, *Soter* nomen Græcum exsistens, secundum Græcitatem et per literas et per numeros Pleromatis debuit ostendere mysterium. Sed non ita habet, quia quinque quidem est literarum, numerus autem [2]MCCCCVIII. Hæc autem in nullo communicant Pleromati eorum: non ergo vera est illa quæ ab eis in Pleromate dicitur [3]negotiatio.

4. Jesus autem nomen secundum propriam Hebræorum linguam, [4]literarum est duarum et dimidiæ, sicut periti eorum dicunt, significans Dominum eum qui continet cœlum et terram, quia Jesus G 164. M. 150. secundum antiquam Hebraicam linguam cœlum est, terra autem iterum [5]*sura usser* dicitur. Verbum ergo quod cœlum et terra

[1] Ἰησοῦς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσημον ὄνομα, ἓξ ἔχον γράμματα. GRABE. See p. 136, note 1.

[2] *Nam in voce* Σωτὴρ σ *denotat* 200, ω 800, τ 300, η 8, ρ *denique* 100, *qui numeri juncti summam* MCCCCVIII. *producunt.* GRABE.

[3] *negotiatio.* πραγματεία *ut et alias.*

[4] ישו. BUXTORF says that the name יְהוֹשׁוּעַ was thus abbreviated before the day of Christ; he might have added, before the date of the LXX. translation, Ἰησοῦς being manifestly the same abbreviated form. The letter ע, representing a very faint articulate sound, was easily lost as a final letter. Thus *Hosea* הושע also became *Hose*. The letters that form the name ישו taken separately, seem to be considered as the initials of the three several words יְהוָה Jehovah, שָׁמַיִם *cœli*, וָאָרֶץ *et terra*. But how is the Hebrew name, even in its abbreviated form, expressed by two and a half letters? Two solutions may be proposed; that the *κέραια*, ׳, an integral portion of many other letters, ranks as the *dimidiata litera*; but it is a perfect letter; I add therefore another solution; that each consonant serving as the *vehiculum* of a vowel, is reckoned with its vowel sound as one perfect letter, but that the final consonant, having no vowel, is only an *hemigram*, *e. g.* יֵשׁ = 2 letters, ו = ½ letter. Some such solution is evidently indicated in the comparison of the full Greek form, with the Hebrew simple syllabification.

[5] *sura usser*, τριβάρβαρα *sane!* But we have to thank the ignorance of scribes for these words, rather than the father's want of Hebrew learning. Thus in *sura* we may trace the elements of s'ma سمء, or שָׁמַיִם *cœlum*, and *user* may be a corruption of *uers* ואריץ *et terra*. Certainly it is not probable that IRENÆUS should have expressed *terra* by two words, without assigning any Hebrew term at all for *cœlum*. Conjectural criticism, though never wholly satisfactory, may here be permitted, and the following restoration of the passage is offered for consideration: *quia Jesus secundum antiquam Hebraicam linguam*

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habet, ipse est Jesus. Falsa est ergo et episemi eorum redditio, et numerus autem eorum eversus est manifeste. Secundum enim propriam eorum linguam quinque literarum est Græco vocabulo Soter; Jesus autem iterum secundum Hebraicam linguam duas et dimidiam habet literas[1]. Corruit ergo numerus calculi, qui est [2][in] DCCCLXXXVIII. Et per omnia autem Hebræorum literæ non conveniunt numero Græcorum, quæ maxime deberent [3]antiquiores et firmiores exsistentes, salvare supputationem nominum. Ipsæ enim antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ et [4]sacerdotales

LIB. II. xxxiv. 4. GR. II. xli. MASS. II. xxiv. 2.

cælum est (*et terra, cælum est*) sma, *terra autem iterum* (*καὶ ἡ γῆ δὲ*) uers *dicitur;* the Latin words within brackets are added, and *sma* restored to its proper place in the sentence. SEMLER proposes a similar, though more violent alteration, and reads thus: *quia* Ia *Dominus secundum antiquam Hebraicam linguam; cælum* samaim, *terra autem* haarets *dicitur*. SEMLER in *Act. Soc. Lat. Jen.* I. p. 83, as quoted by STIEREN.

[1] At the close of the sentence, the word *Sion* occurs in the older editions, which may have arisen from the marginal note of some reader, in which the letters ישו were summed according to their numerical powers, as ש, י, ו, SIO, in Hebrew notation 216.

[2] *in*, omitted by GRABE, is found in the CLERM. MS.: it originated, perhaps, in the old corrupt reading of earlier editions, (*judaice* LXXXVIII) = (*in* DCCCLXXXVIII); for *εἰς* conveys the indefinite idea of a round number, which is not suitable here.

[3] *antiquiores*, Græce *ἃ μάλιστα χρὴ, ἀρχαιότερα καὶ στερεώτερα ὑπάρχοντα, διασώζειν τὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων λόγον.*

[4] *sacerdotales*, the representative either as GRABE says of *ἱερουργικὰ*, or as SEMLER supposes of *ἱερατικά*. The passage is very obscure, and GRABE gives it up in despair. *Hæc quid sibi velint, diu multumque cogitavi, sed excogitare haud potui.* Now without asking the reader to wade through the long notes of MASSUET and SEMLER (*Act. Soc. Lat. Jen.*), which fail to satisfy the judgment, we will endeavour at once to arrive at something positive.

In the outset, then, it may be observed that the author is not speaking of the letters of the alphabet generally, but simply of the first ten letters used in arithmetical notation or the first decad. I imagine *sacerdotales* may represent λειτουργικὰ (שמושין), meaning letters as popularly used in common computation. He takes then the first ten, beginning with א, and ending with י; but these two letters, the first and last of the primary series, are also the principal *Matres lectionis*, serving to mark the pronunciation of ambiguous words, before the system of vowel points had been introduced, indicating the vowels *a, e, i;* for *o* and *u* could never be mistaken, being represented by ו; hence if א, or י, were inserted for the sake of perspicuity in any word, whatever computation might have been founded upon the arithmetical value of the letters, it was effectually disturbed, and there could be no true analogy between the arithmetical powers of any word written in Greek characters, and the same word written Hebraice, by reason of the arbitrary insertion of these *Matres lectionis*. Premising thus much I offer, as I imagine, a probable restoration of the Greek text. *Τὰ γὰρ ἀρχῆθεν καὶ πρῶτα τῶν Ἑβραίων γράμματα, καὶ λειτουργικὰ ὀνομαζόμενα, ι΄ μέν ἐστι τῷ ἀριθμῷ· γράφεται δὲ ὅσα, δι' ιε, συσταλέντος τοῦ πρώτου γράμματος τῷ ὑστέρῳ.* This ιε I take to represent 'א' as written by the

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LIB. II. xxxiv. 4. GR. II. xli. MASS. II. xxiv. 2.

nuncupatæ, [1] decem quidem sunt numero; scribuntur autem quæque per quindecim, novissima litera copulata primæ. Et ideo [2] quæ quidem secundum subsequentiam scribunt, sicuti et nos: quædam autem retrorsum a dextra parte in sinistram partem retorquentes literas. Et Christus autem supputationem nominis convenientem Æonis Pleromatis eorum habere debuit, qui ad stabilitatem et correctionem Pleromatis eorum prolatus est, secundum quod dicunt. Et Pater autem similiter et per literas, et per numerum, continere debuit numerum eorum, qui ab eo prolati sunt Æonum; sed et Bythus similiter: nihilominus autem et [3] unigenitus, et maxime autem super omnia nomen quod dicitur Deus, quod et ipsum Hebraice Baruch dicitur, et duas et dimidiam habet literas. Ex hoc ergo quod [4] firmiora nomina secundum Hebraicam et Græcitatis linguam, nec secundum numerum literarum, nec secundum supputationem [5] conveniunt figmento eorum, manifesta est de reliquis impudenter extorta supputatio.

author, and rendered by the translator according to the arithmetical value of the Greek letters, *quindecim*. That which is next stated with respect to writing from the left and from the right, I think applies solely to the numerical letters, which may follow in any order, and the sum will still be the same, יש׳ or וש׳ are equally 216. The same is potentially true of Greek numerals, but not with Roman numerals, where it makes a wide difference whether we write IX. or XI., XIX. or XXI. &c. We may bear in mind, that although IRENÆUS wrote in Greek, those to whom he wrote were more familiar with the Roman notation in the common affairs of life than with the Greek. *Ideo* again represents διὰ τοῦτο, a false reading perhaps for διὰ τούτων (τῶν γραμμάτων λειτουργικῶν), the Greek text continuing, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἃ μὲν κατ' ἀκολουθίαν γράφουσι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς. κ.τ.λ.

[1] Grabe has an ingenious note, but he does not solve the difficulty contained in the sentence, *scribuntur ... primæ;* neither is there any apparent necessity for specifying the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet; he gives as the reading of the Voss. MS. *decem quæ quidem*, and offers the following conjecture; *scriptum namque olim fuisse*, XX *duæ, indeque perperam*, X *quæ, factum puto.*

[2] The CLERM. reading. al. *quædam.*

[3] *unigenitus*, in allusion to the Hebrew term יחיד. The solution offered, p. 334, n. 4, agrees also with the syllabification of this word. According to its pronunciation it contains two consonants *vocalised*, and one *unvocalised*, i.e. *ia, ḣi, d.* Similarly in the case of ברוך, *Baruch*, I would consider ב to be an entire letter as *ba;* ר a second letter as *ru;* and ך as having no vowel sound accompanying it to be only a half letter. There is a reference to Phil. ii. 9, Rom. ix. 5, and cf. John iii. 31. The Apostle's words in 2 Thess. ii. 4 would also seem to have crossed the writer's mind. The word *nomen* is omitted by GRABE.

[4] *firmiora, κυριώτερα.*

[5] *conveniunt* seems to have been adopted by editors from the margin of the Erasmian editions of 1526 and 1528; but it would be quite consistent with the translator's usual want of discrimination, that *nomina .... convenit* should have been written down for *ὀνόματα .... ἀκολουθεῖ.*

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LIB. II. xxxv. GR. II. xli. MASS. II. xxiv. 3.

CAP. XXXV.

Quoniam secundum Legem neque imagines, neque figuræ exsistunt Plenitudinis ipsorum, sed nec figuræ esse possunt.

G. 165. ETENIM ex lege, eligentes quæcunque concurrunt sectæ eorum numero, tentant violenter probationes facere. Si autem erat propositum Matri eorum, sive Salvatori, per Demiurgum typos eorum quæ sunt in Pleromate ostendere, in verioribus et sanctioribus
M. 151. fieri typos fuissent operati: et maxime autem in ipsa arca testamenti, [1]per quam et omne tabernaculum testimonii compositum est. Facta est autem hæc, longitudo quidem ejus cubitis duobus Exod. xxv. 10. et dimidio, latitudo autem ejus uno cubito et dimidio, et altitudo cubito uno et dimidio: numerus autem iste cubitorum in nullo convenit figmento eorum, per quem maxime typus ostendi debuit. Et propitiatorium autem similiter in nullo convenit expositionibus Exod. xxv. 17. eorum. Adhuc autem et mensa propositionis duobus cubitis Exod. xxv. 23. longitudo, et unius cubiti latitudo, altitudo autem ejus unius cubiti et dimidii. Hæc ante sancta sanctorum, per quæ ne una quidem quantitas numeri significantiam quaternationis, sive octonationis, aut reliqui Pleromatis eorum continet. Quid autem candelabrum Exod. xxv. 31 et seq. [2]septem quidem habens calamiscos, lucernas autem septem? etsi quidem secundum typum facta fuissent, calamiscos octo totidemque lucernas habere debuit, ad typum primæ octonationis, quæ præfulget in Æonibus, et illuminat omnem plenitudinem. [3]Atria Exod. xxvi. 1. autem decem exsistentia diligenter numeraverunt, typum ea dicentes decem Æonum; pelles autem jam non numeraverunt secundum Exod. xxvi. 7. numerum undecim factas. Sed neque ipsorum atriorum magnitudinem mensi sunt, viginti et octo cubitorum longitudinem unum- Exod. xxvi. 2. quodque atrium habens. Et columnarum longitudinem factam decem cubitorum exponunt propter decadem Æonum. *Latitudo* Exod. xxvi. 16. *autem unius et dimidii cubiti erat uniuscujusque columnæ*, non

[1] Δι' ἣν propter quam *reddere debuisset Interpres*. GRABE.

[2] *septem*. *Non septem sed sex* calamiscos *refert Moses Exod.* XXV. 32 *et* 33, *totidemque Irenæum scripsisse, adversativa* autem *indicat*. GRABE. MASSUET reckons the central light as the seventh, but the question at present is not of the lights, but of the *calamisci*.

[3] *atria*. *Græcam vocem αὐλαλας hic et paulo post vertere debuisset Interpres cum Vulgata* cortinas *sive* vela. MASSUET. The CLERMONT and VOSS. MSS. are clearly in error, having *altaria*.

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LIB. II. xxxv. GR. II. xli. MASS. II. xxiv. 3.

jam exponunt, neque numerum omnium columnarum, neque serarum earum, quoniam non communicat argumento eorum. Quid autem oleum unctionis, quod omne tabernaculum sanctificavit? Fortasse latuit Salvatorem, aut dormiente Matre eorum Demiurgus a semetipso de pondere præcepit: unde et dissonat ad Pleroma eorum, [1]smyrnæ quidem habens siclos quingentos: ireos D, cinamomi CCL, calamisci CCL, et super hæc oleum, ita ut ex quinque [2]commixtionibus subsistat. Et incensum autem similiter de stacte, et ungula, et galbano, et hedyosmo, et thure, quæ in nullo communicare possunt neque commixtionibus, neque pondere, argumento eorum.

Exod. xxvi. 26.

Exod. xxx. 23 et seq.

Exod. xxx. 34 et seq.

CAP. XXXVI.

Quomodo omnis numerus constare potest ex Scripturis, et typus dici omnis argumenti: de diebus, et horis, et mensibus, et vocabulis, et syllabis; de Amen, et nonaginta novem ovibus, ex quibus una periit et inventa est; et quoniam non possit constare per numeros veritas.

1. IRRATIONABILE est ergo et omnino rusticanum, in sublimibus quidem et elegantioribus legis non servatos esse typos: in cæteris autem, sicubi aliquis numerus concurrit cum his quæ ipsi dicunt, typus esse asseverare eorum quæ sunt in Pleromate, cum omnis numerus multifarie in scripturis sit positus: ita ut possit qui velit, non solum octonationem et decadem et duodecada, sed quemlibet ex scripturis constituere numerum, et hunc typum esse [3]commentati a se erroris. G. 166.

2. Quia autem hoc verum est, numerus iste qui quinque dicitur, in nullo communicans argumento eorum, nec concurrens figmento eorum, nec conveniens eis ad typicam eorum quæ sunt in Pleromate demonstrationem, ex scripturis sic suscipiet probationem. Soter nomen quinque literarum, et Pater autem habet quinque literas; sed et [4]Agape sunt literæ quinque, et Dominus noster panes quinque benedicens, satiavit hominum quinque millia:

Matt. xiv. 19, 21. Marc. vi. 41, 44. Luc. ix. 13, 14. Joh. vi. 9, 10, 11.

[1] *smyrnæ* &c. For these various ἀρώματα, see FEUARDENT. in GRABE.

[2] *commixtionibus*. Instead of the next word, the writer of the CLERM. MS., losing his place, concludes with, *neque pondere argumento eorum*.

[3] τῆς πραγματευομένης δι' αὐτῶν πλάνης.

[4] The ARUND. and MERC. II. MSS. have *nomen*, the CLERM. *non*. Perhaps the Greek had, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα Ἀγαπὴ γράμματά ἐστι πέντε.

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sapientes virgines a Domino sunt quinque dictæ; et stultæ similiter quinque. Iterum quinque viri cum Domino fuisse dicuntur, quando testimonio Patris occurrit, scilicet Petrus, et Jacobus, et Johannes, et Moyses, et Helias; quintus autem ingressus Dominus ad mortuam puellam, suscitavit eam: *Nullum enim*, inquit, *permisit intrare, nisi Petrum, et Jacobum*[1], *et patrem et matrem puellæ.* Ille dives apud inferos habere se quinque fratres dixit, ad quos unum ire rogat ex mortuis resurgentem. Natatoria piscina quinque habebat porticus, unde Dominus paralyticum sanum in suam domum ire præcepit. Et [2]ipse habitus crucis, fines et summitates
M. 152. habet quinque, duos in longitudine, et duos in latitudine, et unum in medio, in quo requiescit qui clavis affigitur. Unaquæque manus nostra digitos quinque habet; sed et sensus habemus quinque: et quæ in nostris sunt visceribus, in quinque possunt numerari, cor, et hepar, pulmones, splen, et renes. Adhuc etiam totus homo in hunc numerum potest dividi, caput, pectus, venter, femora, pedes. Quinque ætates transit humanum genus: primum infans, deinde puer, deinde parvulus, et posthæc juvenis, sic deinde senior. In
G. 167 quinque libris legem populo Moyses tradidit. Unaquæque tabula quam accepit a Deo, [3]præcepta habebat quinque. Velamen

LIB. II. xxxvi. 2. GR. II. xlii. MASS. II. xxiv. 4.

Matt. xxv. 2. Matt. xvii. 1, 3. Marc. ix. 2, 4. Luc. ix. 28, 30. Luc. viii. 51. Luc. xvi. 28.

Joh. v. 2.

[1] *S. John* is overlooked.

[2] *A Justino Martyre hæc sane accepisse videtur Irenæus, utpote qui in Dial. cum Tryphone pag.* 318, *crucem his descripsit verbis:* ὀρθιον γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἔν ξύλον (*arrectarius stipes*) ἀφ' οὗ ἐστι τὸ ἀνώτατον μέρος εἰς κέρας ὑπερηρμένον (*vertex cui impingitur titulus aut causa mortis*) ὅταν τὸ ἄλλο ξύλον προσαρμοσθῇ, καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ὡς κέρατα τῷ ἑνὶ κέρατι παρεζευγμένα τὰ ἄκρα φαίνηται (*transversum tignum, quod quasi brachia crucis facit*) καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πηγνύμενον, ὡς κέρας καὶ αὐτὸ ἔξεχον ἐστὶν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχοῦνται οἱ σταυρούμενοι. *Quæ ultima verba Scaliger in Animadversionibus ad Euseb. p.* 118, *ita Latine transtulit: et quod in medio stipite impactum est, ipsum quoque instar cornu eminet, cui insidunt et vectantur ii qui cruci affiguntur. Unde plura de crucis structura et partibus commentatur.* GRABE.

[3] IRENÆUS here follows the ancient Jewish division of the commandments into two tables each containing five; so JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* III. 6; and רשי in his commentary on Exod. xxxi. 18, says, שהיו שתיהן שוות, *They were both equal.* PHILO in the same way places the fifth commandment at the foot of the first table, but he considers it as a link of connexion between the two tables; his words are, Μετὰ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης παραγγέλλειν πέμπτον παράγγελμα, τὸ περὶ τῶν γονέων τιμῆς, τάξιν αὐτῷ δοὺς τὸ μεθόριον δυοῖν πεντάδων. Τελευταῖον γὰρ ὂν τῆς προτέρας, ἑνοῖ τὰ ἱερώτατα πρὸς τὰ πέντε, καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ συνάπτει περιεχούσῃ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια. αἴτιον δ', ὡς οἶμαι, τόδε· τῶν γονέων ἡ φύσις ἀθανάτου καὶ θνητῆς οὐσίας ἔοικεν εἶναι μεθόριον· θνητῆς μὲν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα συγγένειαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐπίκυρον· ἀθανάτου δὲ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ γεννᾶν πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν γεννητὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐξομοίωσιν. π. τῶν δεκαλογίων. The Church of Christ has always followed the

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sanctum sanctorum cooperiens [1]columnas habebat quinque. Et holocausti altare, altitudo [latitudo] ejus erat quinque cubitorum. Sacerdotes in eremo electi sunt quinque, scilicet Aaron, Nadab, Abiud, Eleazar, et Ithamar. Talaris, et logium, et reliqua sacerdotalis compositio de quinque contexta sunt: habebant enim aurum, et hyacinthum, et purpuram, et coccinum, et byssum. Et quinque reges Amorrhæorum in speluncis concludens Jesus Nave, capita eorum inculcari dedit populo. Et alia quoque multa millia hujusmodi, et in hoc numero, et in quo quis voluerit, sive ex Scripturis, sive ex subjacentibus naturæ operibus colligere potest: et non jam ob hoc quinque Æonas esse dicimus super Demiurgum, nec quinionem quasi ut divinam rem aliquam consecramus, nec instabilia, nec deliramenta per vanum istum laborem confirmare tentamus, neque creaturam bene aptatam a Deo cogimus male in typos non exsistentium transferri, et impia et nefaria dogmata introducere, cum detectio et eversio ab omnibus sensum habentibus possit exsistere.

Exod xxvi. 37. Exod. xxvii. 1, et xxxviii. 1. Exod. xxviii. 1. Exod. xxviii. 5. Jos. x. 17 et seq.

3. Quis enim concedat eis CCCLXV tantum dies habere annum, ut sint duodecim menses e triginta diebus in typum duodecim Æonum, dissimili et typo exsistente? Illic enim unusquisque Æonum tricesima pars est universi Pleromatis, mensis autem duodecima pars anni ab ipsis esse dicitur. Si quidem annus in triginta divideretur, et mensis in duodecim, conveniens putaretur typus esse mendacio eorum. Nunc autem in contrarium Pleroma quidem eorum in triginta dividitur, pars autem ejus aliqua in duodecim: hic autem omnis quidem annus [2]in duas [duodecim] dividitur partes, pars autem ejus aliqua in triginta. Insulse itaque Salvator mensem quidem universi Pleromatis typum fecit fieri, annum autem ejus quæ in Pleromate est duodecadis: magis enim conve- G. 168. niebat annum quidem in triginta dividere, sicut et totum Pleroma; mensem autem in duodecim, sicut et sunt in Pleromate eorum Æones. Et illi quidem omne Pleroma in tres dividunt, id est, in octonationem, et decadem, et duodecadem. Hic autem annus in quatuor dividitur, id est, vernum, æstatem, autumnum, et

obvious division of placing four commandments in the first table, and six in the second. The reader may consult the long note of GALLASIUS in GRABE'S edition.

[1] IRENÆUS by mistake describes the number of columns before the door of the tabernacle, Exod. xxvi. 37, instead of the columns that separated off the Holy of Holies, v. 32.

[2] *in duas*, the translator's XII. by mutilation having appeared as II.

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hyemem. Sed neque menses, quos dicunt typum esse tricenarii, præfinitive triginta habent dies, sed alii quidem plures, alii autem minus, [1]eo quod quinque dies superponantur eis. Et dies autem non semper præfinitas [2]duodecim habet horas, sed a novem usque ad quindecimam ascendit, et iterum a quindecima in novem descendit. Non jam propter triginta Æonas facti sunt menses triginta dierum; alioquin haberent præfinitas tricenarias dies: neque iterum dies horum, ut duodecim Æonas per duodecim horas figurarent: haberent enim et ipsi præfiguratas semper duodecim horas.

LIB. II. xxxvi. 3. GR. II. xlii. MASS. II. xxiv. 5.

4. Adhuc autem materialia [3]sinistram vocantes, et ex necessitate quæ sunt sinistræ in corruptionem cedere dicentes, et Salvatorem venisse ad ovem perditam, ut eam transferat ad

[1] The difference of five units between the solar year of 365 days and the astronomical period of 360 degrees, was accounted for by the Egyptians in one of those highly poetical myths that betray, more surely than anything else, the Egyptian origin of much of the Greek mythology. PLUTARCH records the following story; that Rhea being *enceinte* from her intercourse with Kronos, aroused the jealousy of Helios, who laid her under a ban, and he denied her the use of any month or year for her *accouchement*. Whereupon Hermes befriended her, and having won of Selene at dice the seventieth part (for τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν we ought, perhaps, to read τὸ οβ′) of every day, he formed from these winnings five entire days and intercalated them at the end of the 360. These five days were celebrated by the Egyptians as the γενέθλια of their principal gods. Osiris was born upon the first, the Lord of all. On the second Arueris, the Egyptian Apollo. The third was dedicated to Typhon, the fourth to Isis, and the last to Nephthys, the Aphrodite or Nike of Egyptian mythology. PLUT. *Is. et Os.* 12.

[2] See p. 167, notes 1 and 3. The hours of light are calculated for the latitude of Lyons.

[3] See pp. 42, 51. The idea that the spiritual principle was *dextral*, and the material *sinistral*, was derived from Plato, by whom the former was called ταὐτὸ, the latter θάτερον; and he says in the *Timæus*, p. 36, in speaking of the formation of the mundane soul, τὴν μὲν δὴ ταυτοῦ, κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ περιήγαγε, τὴν δὲ θατέρου, κατὰ διάμετρον ἐπ' ἀριστερά. The same notion was imported into the Cabbala of Rabbinical theology. See p. 162, *n*. PLATO'S theory of the mundane soul has something in common with the Chaldaic astrology; and in the Gnostic system, the Good Principle was, in a moral sense, as diametrically opposed to the Principle of evil, as Nadir is, in an astronomical sense, to Zenith, or as the right is to the left. Hence HIPPOLYTUS explains these right and left powers of the Gnostic systems in the following manner: ἀλληγοροῦντες τὴν διαταγὴν τῶν ἀστρολόγων, τὸ μὲν κέντρον οἱονεὶ θεὸν καὶ μονάδα καὶ κύριον τῆς πάσης γενέσεως ὑποτυποῦντες, τὸ δὲ ἀπόκλιμα ἀριστερὸν, τὴν δὲ ἐπαναφορὰν δεξιόν. Ὅταν οὖν τοῖς γράμμασιν αὐτῶν ἐντυχών τις δύναμιν εὑρίσκῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστερὰν, ἀνατρεχέτω ἐπὶ τὸ κέντρον καὶ τὸ ἀπόκλιμα καὶ τὴν ἀναφορὰν, κατόψεται [l. καὶ ὄψεται] σαφῶς πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν πραγματείαν ἀστρολογικὴν διδασκαλίαν καθεστῶσαν. *Phil.* v. 15. Cf. EPIPHAN. *Hær.* XXXII. 2.

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dextram, id est ad illas quæ sunt salutis nonaginta et novem oves, quæ non perierunt, sed in ovili permanserunt, sinistræ manus exsistentes, [1]levamen non esse salutis consentire eos necesse M. 153. est. Et hoc quod non similiter eundem numerum habet, cogentur sinistræ, id est corruptionis confiteri: et hoc nomen quod Græce dicitur *Agape*, secundum Græcorum literas, per quas apud eos supputatio signatur, nonaginta et tres numerum habens, similiter sinistræ manus levamen est: et *Alethia* quoque similiter secundum supradictam rationem sexaginta quatuor numerum habens, in parte materialium subsistit: et omnia omnino quæcunque sanctorum nomina non adimplent numerum centum, sed sinistræ tantum habent numeros, corruptibilia et materialia esse confiteri cogentur.

CAP. XXXVII.

Ostensio quod nec secundum formam Pleromatis eorum facta sint quæ facta, neque rursus vane et prout evenit.

1. Si quis autem ad hæc dixerit, Quid ergo? [2]an vanum est, et ut provenit et nominum positiones sunt, et Apostolorum electio, et Domini operatio, et eorum quæ facta sunt compositio? Dicemus eis, Non quidem; sed magna cum sapientia et diligentia ad liquidum apta et ornata omnia a Deo facta sunt, et antiqua et quæcunque in novissimis temporibus Verbum ejus operatum est, et debent ea, non numero [3]xx sed subjacenti copulare argumento, sive rationi: G. 169.

[1] *levamen, ἀνάπαυσιν. Sinistræ manus* alluding to a custom among the ancients of summing the numbers below 100 by various positions of the left hand and its fingers; 100 and upwards being reckoned by corresponding gestures of the right hand. See p. 161, note 3. The ninety and nine sheep, therefore, that remained quietly in the fold, were summed upon the left hand, and Gnostics professed that they were typical of the true spiritual seed; but Scripture always places the workers of iniquity on the left hand, and in the Gnostic theory the evil principle of matter was *sinistral*, therefore, *necesse est eos, sinistræ manus exsistentes, consentire levamen* (*ἀνάπαυσιν*) *non esse salutis.* MASSUET takes *levamen* with the preceding words, and says, *nihil aliud est quam sinistræ manus levatio.* But the Valentinian *ἀνάπαυσις* was *in parte materialium.* Cf. p. 59.

[2] *an vanum est,* Gr. *μὴ κένον καὶ ὡς τυχὸν, καὶ ὀνομάτων θέσεις εἰσίν*; the same form recurs, p. 346. 3. Perhaps *est* had its origin from *et* following.

[3] The numeral XX creates a difficulty, or, as MASSUET prints it, XXX. Possibly this may be the more correct reading, as representing the initial Λ of *Λόγος*; the Greek original having been, *καὶ ὀφείλουσιν αὐτὰ, οὐ τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν Λ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑποκειμένῃ συναρμόττειν ὑποθέσει, ἤτοι λόγῳ.* The MSS. have XX.

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LIB. II. xxxvii. 1. GR. II. xliii. MASS. II. xxv. 1.

neque de Deo inquisitionem ex numeris, et syllabis, et literis accipere. Infirmum est enim hoc [1]propter multifarium et varium eorum, et quod possit omne argumentum hodie æque commentatum ab aliquo, contraria veritati ex ipsis sumere testimonia, eo quod in multa transferri possint; sed ipsos numeros, et ea quæ facta sunt aptare debent subjacenti veritatis argumento. Non enim regula ex numeris, sed numeri ex regula: nec Deus ex factis, sed ea quæ facta sunt, ex Deo. Omnia enim ex uno et eodem Deo.

2. Quia autem varia et multa sunt quæ facta sunt, et ad omnem quidem facturam [2]bene aptata, et consonantia: quantum autem spectat ad unumquodque eorum, sunt sibi invicem contraria et non convenientia: sicut citharæ sonus per uniuscujusque [3]distantiam consonantem unam melodiam operatur, ex multis et contrariis sonis [4]subsistens. Debet ergo amator veri non traduci distantia uniuscujusque soni, nec alium quidem hujus, alium autem illius artificem suspicari et factorem: neque alium quidem [5]acutiores, alium autem vastiores, alium vero medietates aptasse: sed unum et ipsum, ad totius operis et sapientiæ demonstrationem, et justitiæ, et bonitatis, et muneris. Hi vero qui audiunt melodiam, debent laudare et glorificare artificem, et aliorum quidem extensionem mirari, aliorum autem laxamentum intendere, aliorum vero inter utrumque temperamentum exaudire, aliorum autem typum considerare, et ad quid unumquodque referat, et eorum causam inquirere, [6]nusquam transferentes regulam, neque errantes ab artifice, neque abjicientes fidem quæ est in unum Deum qui fecit omnia, neque blasphemantes nostrum Conditorem.

[1] *propter multifarium...ab aliquo*, Gr. *διὰ τὸ ποικίλον καὶ ἀλλοῖον αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔχον πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν, σήμερον αὕτως συνεψευσμένην ὑπό τινος.* For *commentatum* I would propose *commentitum*.

[2] *εὐάρμοστα καὶ σύμφωνα*, MASSUET'S reading from the CL. MS. *et bene consonantia*, could scarcely be expressed in the Greek with any degree of facility.

[3] The CLERM. MS. effectually mars the sense in reading *substantiam*.

[4] The Edd. agree in this reading, referring the word *subsistens* to the word *sonus*. But it seems little likely that in ancient music the simple sound of the lute should be said to consist *ex multis et contrariis sonis*. The CLERM. MS. reads *subsistentes*, this may have arisen from *subsistentem*, applying to *melodiam*. The following seems the natural run of the Greek: *ὡς ὁ τῆς λύρας ἦχος, διὰ τοῦ ἑκάστου διαστήματος ἓν σύμφωνον μέλος ἀπεργάζεται, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἐναντίων φωνῶν ὕπαρχον.*

[5] *ἄλλον μὲν ὀξυτέρους, ἄλλον δὲ βάσσονας, ἄλλον δὲ τὰς μεσότητας ἁρμόσαι.*

[6] The CLERM. MS. has *nostram*; the Greek may have had *τὴν ἡμετέραν παραφέροντες κανόνα*, *applying*, the verb *transferre* also having this signification.

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LIB. II. xxxvii. 3. GR. II. xliii. MASS. II. xxv. 3.

3. Si autem et aliquis non invenerit causam omnium quæ requiruntur, cogitet quia homo est in infinitum minor Deo, et qui ex parte acceperit gratiam, et qui nondum æqualis vel similis sit factori, et qui omnium experientiam et cogitationem habere non possit, ut Deus: sed in quantum minor est ab eo qui factus non est, et qui semper idem est, ille qui hodie factus est et initium facturæ accepit, in tantum secundum scientiam, et ad investigandum causas omnium, minorem esse eo qui fecit. Non enim infectus es, o homo, neque semper [1]coexsistebas Deo, sicut proprium ejus Verbum: sed propter eminentem bonitatem ejus, nunc initium facturæ accipiens, sensim discis a Verbo dispositiones Dei, qui te fecit.

CAP. XXXVIII.

Ostensio quoniam Demiurgus non sit supergressibilis mente, neque super eum alteram divinitatem esse.

Ordinem ergo serva tuæ scientiæ, et ne ut bonorum ignarus super transcendas ipsum Deum, non enim transibilis est: neque super Demiurgum requiras quid sit, non enim invenies. Indeterminabilis est enim artifex tuus: neque tanquam hunc totum mensus sis, et tanquam qui per omnem ejus fabricam veneris, et omne quod est in eo profundum, et altitudinem, et longitudinem consideraveris, super ipsum alium excogites patrem. Non enim excogitabis, sed contra naturam sentiens, eris insipiens: et si in hoc perseveraveris, incides in insaniam, sublimiorem teipsum melioremque factore tuo exsistimans, et [2]quod pertranseas regna ejus.

[1] In allusion to the Æon, Ἄνθρωπος, the Adam Cadmon of the Cabbala, p. 134, n. 2. So Hippolytus says of the Naassenes or Ophites: Ναασσηνοὶ ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσι τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων ἀρχήν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. *Phil.* x. 9. Philo also drew from the same source, as Neander has not failed to observe. *Der Mensch ist also das Bild und der Abdruck eines himmlischen und ewigen Offenbarers der verborgenen Gottheit, das Menschliche soll vergöttlicht werden, Offenbarung göttlichen Lebens in menschlicher Form, wie das Leben des verborgenen Gottes dem Menschen nur nahe gebracht werden konnte in menschlicher Form.... Der Λόγος wurde daher angesehen als das Urbild der Menschheit, der Mittelpunct aller Offenbarung des göttlichen Lebens, das weiter entwickelt und individualisirt erscheint in der Menschheit, der Λόγος also der Urmensch, himmlische Mensch, Zech.* vi. 12 *ist beim Philo Hauptstelle für diese Idee. Gen. Ent.* 15. Eve also is Ζωή. Gen. iii. 20, LXX.

[2] καὶ ὑπερβαίνοντα.

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LIB. II. xxxix. 1. GR. II. xlv. MASS. II. xxvi. 1.

Κεφ. λθ'.

Quid sit quod a Paulo dictum est, Scientia inflat, dilectio autem ædificat.

M. 154. G. 170.

Joh. Damasc. Parall. ed. Lequien. ii. 572.

1. Ἄμεινον καὶ συμφορώτερον, ἰδιώτας καὶ ὀλιγομαθεῖς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης πλησίον γενέσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ πολυμαθεῖς καὶ ἐμπείρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι, βλασφήμους εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὑρίσκεσθαι δεσπότην.

CAP. XXXIX.

1. Melius est ergo et utilius, idiotas et parum scientes exsistere, et per caritatem proximum fieri Deo, quam putare multum scire, et multa expertos in suum Deum [*l.* Dominum] blasphemos inveniri, alterum Deum Patrem fabricantes: et ideo Paulus clamavit: *Scientia inflat, caritas autem ædificat:* Non quia veram scientiam de Deo culparet, alioquin seipsum primum accusaret; sed quia sciebat quosdam sub [1]occasione scientiæ elatos excidere a dilectione Dei, et ob hoc opinari seipsos esse perfectos, imperfectum autem Demiurgum introducentes, [2]abscidens eorum ob hujusmodi scientiam supercilium, ait: *Scientia inflat, caritas autem ædificat.* Major autem hac non est alia inflatio, quam ut opinetur quis se meliorem et perfectiorem esse eo qui fecerit, et plasmaverit, et spiramen vitæ dederit, et hoc ipsum *esse* præstiterit. Melius itaque est, sicuti prædixi, nihil omnino scientem quempiam, ne quidem unam causam cujuslibet eorum quæ facta sunt cur factum sit, credere Deo, et perseverare eos in dilectione, [3]aut per hujusmodi scientiam inflatos excidere a dilectione, quæ hominem vivificat: nec aliud inquirere ad scientiam, nisi Jesum Christum Filium Dei, qui pro nobis crucifixus est, [4]aut per quæstionum subtilitates et minutiloquium in impietatem cadere.

1 Cor. viii. 1.

[1] *Prætextu, ex Græco* προφάσει. GR.

[2] περικόπτων αὐτῶν.... τὸν τύφον.

[3] *Octo has voces in omnibus editt. omissas ex Codd. Arundel. et Voss. restitui. Debuisset autem Interpres hoc loco* ἢ *non* aut, *sed* quam, *vertere.* Grabe. The words are read in the Clerm. MS. which also agrees with the Voss. MS. in the reading *vivificanti.* It is not improbable that *vivificante* was written *a prima manu*, in agreement with *dilectione;* and that the relative *quæ* arose from the *quam* found in the latter MS., the text having received it from the margin, where it referred to *aut.*

[4] ἤ, still dependent on *melius est.*

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LIB. II. xxxix. 2. GR. II. xlv. MASS. II. xxvi. 2.

2. Quid enim si per hos conatus paululum quis elatus, eo quod Dominus dixerit, quia *et capilli capitis vestri omnes numerati sunt*, curiose inquirere voluerit, et numerum uniuscujusque capitis

Matt. x. 30.

capillorum, et causam exquirere, per quam hic quidem tantos, ille autem tantos capillos habeat, non omnibus ex æquo habentibus, sed multis millibus super millia aliis atque aliis numeris inventis, eo quod alii quidem majora, alii autem minora habeant capita; et alii quidem spissos capillos semper, alii autem raros, alii vero et omnino paucos capillos habeant: et hi, qui putant se numerum invenisse capillorum, tentent referre ad testimonium suæ sectæ, quam excogitaverunt? Aut iterum si quis ob hoc quod dictum

Matt. x. 29.

sit in Evangelio: *Nonne duo passeres asse veneunt? et unus ex his non cadet super terram* [1] *sine Patris vestri voluntate:* enumerare G. 171. voluerit captos ubique quotidie passeres sive in unaquaque regione, et causam requirere ob quam heri quidem tantos, ac [2]pridie tantos, hodie autem iterum tanti sint qui capti sunt: et annectat passerum numerum ad suam argumentum; nonne seipsum seducit omnino, et eos qui ei acquiescunt in magnam insaniam cogit, semper promptis hominibus, ut in talibus amplius quid quam magistri eorum putentur invenisse?

3. Quid autem si quis interroget nos, si omnis numerus omnium quæ sunt facta, et quæ fiant, scitur a Deo, et si secundum illius providentiam unusquisque eorum eam, quæ secundum se est, accepit quantitatem: nobisque consentientibus et confitentibus, quia nihil omnino horum quæ facta sunt, et quæ fiunt et fient, scientiam Dei fugit, sed per illius providentiam unumquodque eorum et habitum, et ordinem, et numerum, et quantitatem accipere et accepisse propriam, et nihil omnino neque [3]vane, nec ut provenit factum aut fieri, sed cum magna aptatione et conscientia sublimi, et esse admirabilem rationem, et vere divinam quæ possit hujusmodi et discernere, et causas proprias enuntiare: accipiens a nobis hujusmodi testimonium et consensum, pergat ad hoc, ut et arenam enumeret et calculos terræ, sed et fluctus maris, et

[1] *Sine Patris vestri voluntate*] Voluntate *in Novi Testamenti Codd. haud legimus; legit autem in suo exemplari Irenæus, ut et ex his, lib. 5, cap. 22, verbis colligitur:* Nolente Patre nostro, qui est in cœlis, neque passer cadet in terram. *Ante Arabicam quoque et Persicam versionem hoc glossema habuisse Latinam Italicam, dubitare nos non sinunt* TERTULLIANUS *id aliquoties ita allegans,* NOVAT. *de Trin. cap.* 8, CYPR. *Ep.* 59, *Ox. ante medium, aliique.* GRABE.

[2] MASS. supplies, *ceperit aliquis.*

[3] CL. has the older form, *vano.*

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M. 155. stellas cœli, et causas excogitare numeri qui putatur inventus: nonne in vanum laborans, et delirus hic talis, et irrationabilis ab omnibus qui sensum habent, juste dicetur? Et quo magis præter cæteros in hujusmodi quæstionibus occupatur, et quo plus aliis adinvenire se existimat, reliquos imperitos, et idiotas, et animales vocans, eo quod non suscipiant ejus tam vanum laborem; hoc magis est insanus et stupidus, tanquam [1]fulmine percussus, in nullo cedens Deo; sed per scientiam, quam invenisse [2]se putat, [3]ipsum mutat Deum, et jaculatur sententiam suam super magnitudinem factoris.

LIB. II. xxxix. 3. GR. II. xlv. MASS. II. xxvi. 3.

Κεφ. μ'.

Quomodo oportet Parabolas exsolvi.

1. Ὁ ὑγιὴς νοῦς, καὶ ἀκίνδυνος, καὶ εὐλαβὴς, καὶ φιλαληθὴς, ὅσα [μὲν] ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξουσίᾳ δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ὑποτέταχε τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γνώσει, ταῦτα προθύμως ἐκμελετήσει, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς προκόψει, διὰ τῆς καθημερινῆς ἀσκήσεως ῥᾳδίαν τὴν μάθησιν ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, τά τε ὑπ' ὄψιν πίπτοντα τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ ὅσα φανερῶς καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως αὐτολεξεὶ ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς λέλεκται.

Joh. Damasc. Parall. Halloix. vi. Iren.

CAP. XL.

1. Sensus autem sanus, et qui sine periculo est, et religiosus, et amans verum, quæ quidem dedit in hominum potestatem Deus, et subdidit nostræ scientiæ, hæc prompte meditabitur, et in ipsis proficiet, diuturno studio facilem scientiam [4]eorum efficiens. Sunt autem hæc, quæ ante oculos nostros occurrunt, et quæcunque aperte, et sine ambiguo ipsis dictionibus posita sunt [5]in Scripturis: et ideo parabolæ debent non ambiguis adaptari. Sic enim et qui [6]absolvit, sine periculo absolvit, et parabolæ ab omnibus
G. 172. similiter absolutionem accipient; et a veritate corpus integrum, et simili aptatione membrorum, et sine [7]concussione perseverat. Sed quæ non aperte dicta sunt, neque ante oculos posita,

[1] *Fulmine percussus*] *Videtur exprimere Græcum verbum ἐμβρόντητος, simili quoque proverbiali voce postea utitur cap.* 53. Feuard.

[2] *se* is omitted in the Clerm., Voss. and Merc. I. MSS., *ἣν εὑρηκέναι δοκεῖ.*

[3] *αὐτὸν μεταβάλλει τὸν θεόν.*

[4] *Eorum*] *Αὐτῶν pro ἑαυτῷ.* Grabe.

[5] leg. *in Sacris Scripturis.*

[6] *ὃς ἐπιλύει.* See the Greek text, p. 352, and p. 329, n. 1.

[7] *καὶ ἀπταίστως.*

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LIB. II. xl. 1. GR. II. xlvi. MASS II. xxvii. 1.

copulare absolutionibus parabolarum, quas unusquisque prout vult adinvenit[1]; sic enim apud nullum erit regula veritatis; sed quanti fuerint qui absolvent parabolas, tantæ videbuntur veritates pugnantes semet invicem, et contraria sibimet dogmata statuentes, sicut et gentilium philosophorum quæstiones. Itaque secundum hanc rationem, homo quidem semper inquiret nunquam autem inveniet, eo quod ipsam inventionis abjecerit disciplinam. Et cum venerit Sponsus, is qui imparatam habet lampadem, nulla manifesti luminis claritate fulgentem, recurrit ad eos qui absolutiones parabolarum in tenebris distrahunt, relinquens eum qui per manifestam prædicationem gratis donat ad eum ingressum, et excluditur a thalamo ejus.

Matt. xxv. 5 et seq

2. Cum itaque universæ Scripturæ, et prophetiæ, et Evangelia, in aperto, et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint etsi non omnes credunt, unum et solum Deum, ad excludendos alios, prædicent omnia fecisse per Verbum suum, sive visibilia, sive invisibilia, sive cœlestia, sive terrena, sive aquatilia, sive subterranea, sicut demonstravimus ex ipsis Scripturarum dictionibus; et ipsa autem creatura in qua sumus, per ea quæ in aspectum veniunt, hoc ipsum testante, unum esse qui eam fecerit et regat, valde hebetes apparebunt, qui ad tam lucidam adapertionem cæcutiunt oculos, et nolunt videre lumen prædicationis, sed constringunt semetipsos, et per tenebrosas parabolarum absolutiones unusquisque eorum proprium putat invenisse Deum.

3. Quia enim de excogitato eorum qui contraria opinantur Patre, nihil aperte, [2]neque ipsa dictione, neque sine controversia, in nulla omnino dictum sit Scriptura, et ipsi testantur dicentes, in absconso hæc eadem Salvatorem docuisse non omnes, sed [3]aliquos discipulorum, qui possunt capere, et per argumenta, et ænigmata, et parabolas ab eo significata intelligentibus. Veniunt autem ad hoc, ut dicant, alium quidem esse qui prædicatur Deus, et alium Patrem, qui per parabolas et ænigmata significatur

[1] Something condemnatory must be supplied, as *stultum est;* or, perhaps, the sense was carried on beyond the present period; *e. g.* οὕτως ἄρα [Int. γὰρ] μετ' οὐδενὸς κ. τ. ἀ., which then forms the ἀπόδοσις.

[2] *neque ipsa dictione,* omitted by CLERM., VOSS., MASS. and STIER. but preserved by GRABE, as found in the ARUND. and MERC. II. MSS. It is no marginal Gloss as the foreign editors imagine, but the literal translation of αὐτολεξεί. See p. 347, Gr. fragm.

[3] *aliquos,* the CLERM. MS. reads *quosdam.* The Greek may have had πλὴν ἄλλους τινας, and the Latin originally, *sed alios quosdam.*

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Pater. Quia autem parabolæ possunt multas recipere absolutiones, ex ipsis de inquisitione Dei affirmare, relinquentes quod certum, et indubitatum, et verum est, valde præcipitantium se in periculum et irrationabilium esse, quis non amantium veritatem confitebitur? Et numquid hoc est non in petra firma, et valida, et in aperto posita ædificare suam domum, sed in incertum effusæ arenæ? Unde et facilis est eversio hujusmodi ædificationis.

LIB. II. xl. 3. GR. II. xlvi. MASS. II. xxvii. 3.

Matt. vii. 25 et seq.

CAP. XLI.

Quoniam omnem agnitionem non possumus habere in hac vita: et, quæ sunt quæ a nobis possunt exsolvi, et quæ sunt quæ remittuntur Deo fabricatori.

M. 156. G. 173. 1. Habentes itaque regulam ipsam veritatem, et in aperto positum de Deo testimonium, non debemus per quæstionum declinantes in alias atque alias absolutiones ejicere firmam et veram de Deo scientiam: magis autem, absolutionem quæstionum in hunc characterem dirigentes, exerceri quidem convenit per inquisitionem mysterii et dispositionis exsistentis Dei, augeri autem in caritate ejus, qui tanta propter nos fecit et facit, nunquam autem excidere ab ea suasione qua manifestissime prædicatur, quia hic solus vere sit Deus et Pater, qui et hunc mundum fecit, et hominem plasmavit, et in sua creatura donavit incrementum: et de minoribus suis ad majora, quæ apud ipsum sunt, vocans, sicut infantem quidem in vulva conceptum educit in lumen solis, et triticum, posteaquam in stipula corroboraverit, condit in horreum. Unus autem et idem Demiurgus, qui et vulvam plasmavit, et solem creavit: et unus et idem Dominus, qui et stipulam eduxit, et triticum augens multiplicavit, et horreum præparavit. Si autem omnium quæ in Scripturis requiruntur absolutiones non possumus invenire, alterum tamen Deum, præter eum qui est, non requiramus. Impietas enim hæc maxima est. Cedere autem hæc talia debemus Deo, qui et nos fecit, rectissime scientes, quia Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe [1]a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ;

[1] *A Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus.* Faith in the doctrine of the Trinity is expressed in these words, and in the unity of the Godhead in others almost immediately preceding, *alterum tamen Deum, præter eum qui est, non requiramus.* This faith is evidently expressed as unquestioned and unquestionable, the very essence of Catholic doctrine; and it is the casual, and so to speak, unguarded way in which

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LIB. II. xli. 1. GR. II. xlvii. MASS. II. xxviii. 2.

nos autem secundum quod minores sumus et novissimi a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus, secundum hoc et scientia mysteriorum ejus indigemus.

2. Et non est mirum, si in spiritalibus, et cœlestibus, et [1]in his quæ habent revelari, hoc patimur nos: quandoquidem etiam eorum quæ ante pedes sunt (dico autem quæ sunt in hac creatura, quæ et contrectantur a nobis, et videntur, et sunt nobiscum) multa fugerunt nostram scientiam, et Deo hæc ipsa committimus. Oportet enim eum præ omnibus præcellere. Quid enim si tentemus exponere causam ascensionis Nili? Multa quidem dicimus, et fortassis suasoria, fortassis autem non suasoria: quod autem verum est, et certum, et firmum, adjacet Deo. Sed et volatilium animalium habitatio, eorum quæ veris tempore adveniunt ad nos, autumni autem tempore statim recedunt, cum in hoc mundo hoc ipsum fiat, fugit nostram scientiam. Quid autem possumus exponere G. 174. de Oceani accessu et recessu, cum constet esse certam causam? [2]Quidve de his quæ ultra eum sunt enuntiare, qualia sint? Vel quid dicere possumus, quomodo pluviæ et coruscationes, et tonitrua, et collectiones nubium, et nebulæ, et ventorum [3]emissiones, et similia his, efficiuntur; annuntiare quoque et thesauros nivium, [4]et grandinis, et eorum quæ his proxima sunt: quæ hæc autem

it is advanced, more than any thing else, that persuades the judgment that the Catholic Faith is, and always has been this, "That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." FEUARDENT. aptly remarks, *Quando Spiritum sanctum simul cum Filio Dei, sacrarum Scripturarum auctorem asserit, plane cum esse natura Deum omniscium et omnipotentem agnoscit.*

[1] *Duplex est Græcismus. Nam et* habent revelari, *pro* revelatione opus habent, *Græco ritu dictum est: et illud,* hoc patimur nos, *pro,* hoc nobis usu venit. BILL.

[2] *Quidve de his, quæ ultra eum sunt, enuntiare? Sic Hilarius in finem Psalm. 68, ait, quod mare profunda infinitaque sui obice mentem humanæ opinionis excedat, ut neque quid extra se, neque quid intra sit, sensu persequente capiamus. Intellexit vero Irenæus per ea, quæ ultra Oceanum sunt eos qui post ipsum sunt mundos, quos memorat Clemens Romanus in Epist. ad Corinth.* § 20. *In quem locum plura notavit Cotelerius, inter alios Irenæum nostrum allegans.* GRABE. In the same way AUGUSTIN treats it as a matter of impossibility that men should be able to pass across the ocean from the *antipodes. Nimis absurdum est, ut dicatur, aliquos homines ex hac in illam partem, Oceani immensitate trajecta, navigare ac pervenire potuisse. De Civ. D.* XVI. 9.

[3] *emissiones* seems a preferable reading to *immissiones* of the ARUND. MS., but either would accord with the Greek term, ἐπιῤῥοίαι, which was probably written by IRENÆUS.

[4] Here the CLERM. MS. reads, *et grandinis et eorum quæ his proxima, quæ autem hæc nivium,* but the *thesauros nivium* had already been mentioned, and the ARUND. reading in the text is preferable.

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nubium præparatio, aut qui status nebulæ, quæ autem causa est per quam crescit luna, et decrescit, aut quæ causa aquarum [1] distantiæ, et metallorum, et lapidum, et his similium? In his omnibus nos quidem loquaces erimus, requirentes causas eorum: qui autem ea facit solus Deus veridicus est.

LIB. II. xli. 2. GR. II. xlvii. MASS. II. xxviii. 2.

3. Εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κτίσεως ἔνια μὲν ἀνάκειται τῷ Θεῷ, ἔνια δὲ καὶ εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλήλυθε τὴν ἡμετέραν, τί χαλεπὸν, εἰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ζητουμένων, ὅλων τῶν γραφῶν πνευματικῶν οὐσῶν, ἔνια μὲν ἐπιλύομεν κατὰ χάριν Θεοῦ, ἔνια δὲ [2] ἀνακείσεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐ μόνον αἰῶνι ἐν τῷ νυνὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι· ἵνα ἀεὶ μὲν ὁ Θεὸς διδάσκῃ, ἄνθρωπος δὲ διὰ παντὸς μανθάνῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ;

Joh. Damasc. Parall. Halloix. l.c.

3. [3] Si ergo et in rebus creaturæ quædam quidem eorum adjacent Deo, quædam autem et in nostram venerunt scientiam, quid mali est, si et eorum quæ in Scripturis requiruntur, universis Scripturis spiritalibus exsistentibus, quædam quidem absolvimus secundum gratiam Dei, quædam autem commendamus Deo; et non solum in hoc sæculo, sed et in futuro: ut semper quidem Deus doceat, homo autem semper discat quæ sunt a Deo? Sicut et M. 187. Apostolus dixit, reliquis partibus destructis, hæc tunc perseverare, quæ sunt, fides, spes, et caritas. [4] Semper enim fides, quæ est

1 Cor. xiii. 13.

[1] *Distantiæ*, διαφορᾶς, *difference*, as of salt and fresh.

[2] Ἀνακείσεται] *interpres videtur legisse* ἀναθήσομεν; *quod verbum et paulo post sequitur.* GR. or, ἀνατιθέμεθα.

[3] εἰ ἄρα.

[4] The author seems to misapprehend the Apostle's meaning. Faith, Hope and Charity are said to be gifts that shall abide in the visible Church to the end, in contradistinction from such ephemeral χαρίσματα as the gift of tongues, with their interpretation, inspired prophecyings, &c.; and of these three cardinal graces Love is said to be the greatest, because it shall be the very substance of the soul's existence in heaven. But there will be no longer room for hope, when the substance of things hoped for shall have become a matter of fruition; neither will there be any room for faith, when the soul shall be admitted to see God as He is. The author's statement takes its colouring from the Syriac version; for whereas the Greek has νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπὶς, ἀγάπη, the particle νυνὶ, *for the present*, marks the transitory nature of the two first, as S. J. Chrysostom says, Hope becomes lost in sight, and Faith in the fruition of things hoped for, ὥστε αὗται μὲν παύονται φανέντων ἐκείνων, but Love abideth for ever; it is God; which is true of neither Faith nor Hope. Now this is lost sight of in the Syriac, which ignores the νυνὶ. It simply says, ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ, *For these are the three that abide;* and IRENÆUS follows the statement.

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LIB. II. xli. 3. GR. II. xlvii. MASS. II. xxviii. 3.

ad magistrum nostrum, permanet firma, asseverans nobis quoniam solus vere Deus; et ut diligamus Deum [1]vere semper, quoniam ipse solus Pater; et speremus subinde plus aliquid accipere, et discere a Deo, quia bonus est, et divitias habens indeterminabiles, et regnum sine fine, et disciplinam immensam.

4. Εἰ οὖν καθ' ὃν εἰρήκαμεν τρόπον, ἔνια τῶν ζητημάτων ἀναθήσωμεν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἡμῶν διαφυλάξομεν, καὶ ἀκίνδυνοι διαμενοῦμεν, καὶ πᾶσα γραφὴ δεδομένη ἡμῖν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ σύμφωνος ἡμῖν εὑρεθήσεται, καὶ αἱ παραβολαὶ τοῖς διαῤῥήδην εἰρημένοις συμφωνήσουσι, καὶ τὰ φανερῶς εἰρημένα ἐπιλύσει τὰς παραβολὰς, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν λέξεων πολυφωνίας ἓν σύμφωνον μέλος ἐν ἡμῖν αἰσθήσεται.....

4. Si ergo secundum hunc modum quem diximus, quædam quidem quæstionum Deo commiserimus: et fidem nostram servabimus, et sine periculo perseverabimus, et omnis Scriptura a Deo nobis data consonans nobis invenietur, et parabolæ his quæ manifeste dicta sunt, consonabunt, et manifeste dicta absolvent parabolas; et per dictionum [2]multas voces [3]unam consonantem melodiam in nobis sentiet, laudantem hymnis Deum, qui fecit omnia. G. 175. Ut puta, si quis interrogat, Antequam mundum faceret Deus, quid agebat? dicimus quoniam ista responsio subjacet Deo. Quoniam autem mundus hic factus est [4]apotelesticos a Deo, tempo-

[1] The CL. and AR. MSS. omit *vere*.

[2] *Multas* again is omitted by the CLERM. MS., but carelessness is the evident cause.

[3] GRABE proposes to correct the Latin by the Greek, and to read, *una consonans melodia in nobis sentietur*. But αἰσθάνομαι does not admit of this passive signification. STIEREN'S solution, therefore, is more satisfactory, and the word should have been rendered as ᾄσθήσεται, the letters of which are the same.

[4] ἀποτελεστικῶς, CL. and Voss., but ARUND. and EDD. *apotelestos*. Ἀποτελεσθεὶς occurs at p. 191 G. in the sense of *completed*, which would give a sufficient meaning here. God having pronounced the world from the creation to be very good. The word may also refer to the vital energy of nature, whereby its effects are for ever reproduced in unceasing succession. So HIPPOLYTUS, comparing the Basilidian theory of the Divine Filiation with the Aristotelian *entelechy* or *vis viva* of the natural world, says, ὃν λόγον οὖν Ἀριστοτέλης ἀποδέδωκε περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος πρότερος, Βασιλείδης περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν υἱοῦ διασαφεῖ. Τόν τε γὰρ υἱὸν ὁ ἄρχων κατὰ Βασιλείδην γεγέννηκε, τήν τε ψυχὴν ἔργον καὶ ἀποτέλεσμα, ὥς φησιν εἶναι ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, φυσικοῦ σώματος ὀργανικοῦ ἐντελέχειαν. Ὡς οὖν ἡ ἐντελέχεια διοικεῖ τὸ σῶμα, οὕτως ὁ υἱὸς διοικεῖ κατὰ Βασιλείδην τὸν ἀῤῥήτων ἀῤῥητότερον Θεόν. *Phil.* VII. 24. Again, Simon Magus affirmed of his ἑστὼς στὰς στησόμενος (the Philonic Λόγος), that ἐὰν μὲν ἐξει-

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rale initium accipiens, Scripturæ nos docent: quid autem ante hoc Deus sit operatus, nulla Scriptura manifestat. [1] Subjacet ergo hæc responsio Deo: et non ita stultas, et sine disciplina blasphemas adinvenire [2] velle prolationes, [3] et per hoc quod putas te invenisse materiæ prolationem, ipsum Deum qui fecit omnia reprobare. LIB. II. xli. 4. GR. II. xlvii. MASS. II. xxviii. 3.

CAP. XLII.

Ostensio quoniam Nus Logos, et Logos Nus, et Nus ipse est Pater omnium: quomodo de emissionibus eorum sermo ostendit Patrem compositum, et non simplicem, nec uniformem: et, quoniam non est verisimile, Verbum Dei tertiam habere a Patre emissionem.

1. Cogitate enim, o omnes qui talia adinvenitis, cum ipse solus Pater Deus dicatur, qui et vere est, quem vos Demiurgum dicitis; sed et cum Scripturæ hunc solum sciunt Deum; sed et cum Dominus hunc solum confitetur proprium Patrem, et alterum nesciat, sicut ex ipsis ejus verbis ostendemus: quando hunc ipsum labis dicitis fructum, et ignorantiæ prolationem, et nescientem [4] quæ sint super eum, et quæcunque alia dicitis de eo, considerate magnitudinem blasphemiæ in eum, qui vere est Deus. Graviter quidem et honeste videmini dicere, vos in Deum credere; dehinc alterum Deum cum minime possitis ostendere, hunc ipsum, [5] in quem credere vos dicitis, [6] labis fructum, et ignorantiæ prolationem pronuntiatis.

2. Hæc autem cæcitas, et stultiloquium inde provenit vobis, quod nihil Deo reservetis; sed et ipsius Dei, et Ennææ ejus, et

κονισθῇ ἐν ταῖς ἓξ δυνάμεσιν, ἔσται οὐσίᾳ, δυνάμει, μεγέθει, ἀποτελέσματι, μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ ἀγεννήτῳ καὶ ἀπεράντῳ δυνάμει. *Phil.* VI. 12, where ἀποτέλεσμα similarly conveys the idea of active energy.

[1] *subjacet*, ὑποκεῖται.

[2] Grabe in this sentence understands *decet*. I would prefer to consider *velle* as representing τὸ θέλειν, i. e. *This answer is in subordination to due reverence for God, not so the desire to invent*, &c.

[3] καὶ διὰ τοῦ δοκεῖν σε εὑρηκέναι.... αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν... ἐλέγχειν.

[4] *quæ sint*, Grabe has *qui sit*, but the reading followed is that adopted by Massuet on the faith of the Clerm. MS. and it is certainly supported by the words found at p. 63, τὸν δὲ Δημιουργὸν, ἅτε ἀγνοοῦντα τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτόν.

[5] *in quem*, the Clerm. and Voss. MSS. omit the preposition.

[6] *Grace*, ὑστερήματος καρπὸν καὶ ἀγνοίας προβολὴν ἀποφαίνεσθε. Bill.

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LIB. II. xiii. 2. GR. II. xlvii. MASS. II. xxviii. 4.

Verbi, et Vitæ, et Christi nativitates et prolationes annuntiare vultis: et has non aliunde accipientes, sed ex affectione hominum: et non intelligitis, quia in homine quidem qui est compositum animal, capit hujusmodi dicere, sicut prædiximus, sensum hominis, et ennœam hominis; et quia ex sensu ennœa, de ennœa autem enthymesis, de enthymesi autem logos: (quem autem logon? [1]aliud enim est secundum Græcos logos, quod est principale quod excogitat; aliud organum, per quod emittitur logos:) et aliquando quidem quiescere et tacere hominem, aliquando autem loqui et operari. [2]Deus autem cum sit totus mens, totus ratio, et totus spiritus operans, et totus lux, et semper idem et similiter exsistens, sicut et utile est nobis sapere de Deo, et sicut ex Scripturis discimus, non jam hujusmodi affectus et divisiones decenter erga eum subsequentur. [3]Velocitati enim sensus hominum propter spiritale ejus non sufficit lingua deservire, quippe carnalis exsistens: unde et intus [4]suffugatur verbum nostrum, et profertur non [5]de semel, sicut conceptum est a sensu; sed per partes, secundum quod lingua subministrare prævalet. Deus autem totus exsistens G. 176. Mens, et totus exsistens Logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur; et

[1] *Aliud enim est &c. Existimo eum velle, quoddam esse verbum internum, quod solo animo concipitur et retinetur: aliud externum quod ore profertur ac emittitur. Hinc enim Lactantius scribit lib. 4, cap. 9.* Melius Græci λόγον dicunt, quam nos verbum. λόγος enim et sermonem significat, et rationem. *Et Hieronymus ait,* λόγον *Græcis significare verbum, orationem, sermonem, rationem, modum, supputationem, nonnunquam et pro libro usurpari a verbo* λέγω, *quod est, dico, sive colligo.* FEUARD. TERTULLIAN commences his treatise *de Oratione* with the following reference to the complex idea contained in the Greek term λόγος, a product, of which *Sermo* and *Ratio* are, so to speak, the factors. *Dei Spiritus, et Dei Sermo, et Dei Ratio, Sermo Rationis, et Ratio Sermonis, et Spiritus, utrumque Jesus Christus Dominus noster,* &c., where *utrumque* refers to *Spiritus,* and to Λόγος as the combination of *Sermo* and *Ratio.* The entire parenthesis reads like an interpolation.

[2] See p. 111, note 2.

[3] GRABE quotes the following parallel passage from the sixth of the *Catecheses* of CYR. HIER.: ἡ μὲν διάνοια ὀξύτατα νοεῖ· ἡ δὲ γλῶσσα ῥημάτων δεῖται καὶ διηγήσεως πολλῆς τῶν μεταξὺ λόγων· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸς χορὸν ἄστρων παραλαμβάνει πολύν· ἀλλ' ὅταν τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον διηγήσασθαι βουληθῇ τις, τί μέν ἐστι φωσφόρος, τί δὲ ἕσπερος, τί δὲ τὸ καθ' ἕν, πολλῶν ἐπιδεῖται τῶν ῥημάτων.

[4] *Suffugatur,* as printed by GRABE, appears in the two excellent MSS. Voss. and CLERM. The meaning evidently is this, that the idea formed in man's intellect as an instantaneous act, can only be enounced in a successional manner by word of mouth; the internal λόγος can only be disclosed piecemeal. Perhaps *suffragatur* is the true reading, ψηφίζεται, or some such word being in the Greek, meaning *decides. Suffugium,* δύσπνοια, GR. The AR. and MERC. II. MSS. have *suffocatur.*

[5] *de semel,* ἐφάπαξ.

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quod loquitur, hoc et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus Logos, et Logos Mens, et omnia concludens Mens, ipse est Pater. LIB. II. xlii. 3. GR. II. xlviii. MASS. II. xxviii. 5.

3. Qui ergo dicit mentem Dei, et prolationem propriam menti donat, compositum eum pronuntiat, tanquam aliud quiddam sit Deus, aliud autem principalis Mens exsistens. Similiter autem rursus et de Logo, tertiam [1]prolationem ei a Patre donans: unde et ignorat magnitudinem ejus; porro et longe Logon a Deo separavit. Et propheta quidem ait de eo: *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit?* Esai. liii. 8. Vos autem generationem ejus ex Patre divinantes, et verbi hominum per linguam factam prolationem transferentes in Verbum Dei, juste detegimini a vobis ipsis, quod neque humana, M. 158. nec divina noveritis. Irrationabiliter autem inflati, audaciter inenarrabilia Dei mysteria scire vos dicitis; quandoquidem et Dominus, ipse Filius Dei, ipsum judicii diem et horam concessit scire solum Patrem, manifeste dicens: [2]*De die autem illa, et hora nemo scit, neque Filius, nisi Pater solus.* Marc. xiii. 32. Si igitur scientiam diei illius Filius non erubuit referre ad Patrem, sed dixit quod verum est, neque nos erubescamus, quæ sunt in quæstionibus majora secundum nos, reservare Deo. Nemo enim super magistrum est.

4. Si quis itaque nobis dixerit: Quomodo ergo Filius prolatus a Patre est? dicimus ei, quia prolationem istam, sive generationem, [3]sive nuncupationem, sive adapertionem, aut quolibet quis nomine vocaverit generationem ejus inenarrabilem exsistentem, nemo novit; non Valentinus, non Marcion, neque Saturninus, neque Basilides, neque angeli, neque archangeli, neque [4]principatus, neque potestates, nisi solus qui generavit Pater, et qui natus est Filius. Inenarrabilis itaque generatio ejus cum sit, quicunque nituntur generationes et prolationes enarrare, non sunt compotes sui, ea quæ inenarrabilia sunt enarrare promittentes. Quoniam enim ex cogitatione et sensu verbum emittitur, hoc utique omnes sciunt G. 177. homines. Non ergo magnum quid invenerunt, qui emissiones excogitaverunt, neque absconditum mysterium, si id quod ab omnibus intelligitur, transtulerunt in unigenitum [5]Dei Verbum: et quem inenarrabilem et innominabilem vocant, hunc, quasi ipsi obstetricaverint, primæ generationis ejus prolationem et generationem

[1] i.e. *a Patre;* Bythus, Nous, Logos.

[2] Again we read a defective text, owing to the writer's custom of quoting from memory; the words *neque angeli in calo*, represented in every known text and version, are omitted.

[3] ἢ κλῆσιν ἢ ἀνακάλυψιν.

[4] The CLERM. MS. confirms GRABE'S reading, *principatus*, which STIEREN is mistaken in referring to the sole authority of the ARUND. MS.

[5] The CLERM. MS. has *Deum*.

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LIB. II. xlii. 4. GR. II. xlviii. MASS. II. xxviii. 7.

enuntiant, assimilantes eum hominum verbo emissionis. Hoc autem idem et de substantia materiæ dicentes, non peccabimus, quoniam Deus eam protulit. Didicimus enim ex Scripturis, principatum tenere super omnia Deum. Unde autem, vel quemadmodum emisit eam, neque Scriptura aliqua exposuit, neque nos [1] phantasmari oportet, ex opinionibus propriis infinita conjicientes de Deo; sed agnitionem hanc concedendam esse Deo.

CAP. XLIII.

Quomodo Dominus quædam concedit Patri, et quæ causa est propter quam diem et horam a nemine altero cognosci ait, nisi a solo Patre.

1. Similiter autem et causam propter quam, cum omnia a Deo facta sint, quædam quidem transgressa sunt, et abscesserunt a Dei subjectione; quædam autem, imo plurima, perseveraverunt et perseverant in subjectione ejus qui fecit: et cujus naturæ sunt quæ transgressa sunt, cujus autem naturæ quæ perseverant, [2]cedere oportet Deo et Verbo ejus, cui et soli dixit: *Sede a dextris meis, quoadusque ponam inimicos tuos suppedaneum pedum tuorum.* Nos autem adhuc in terra conversantes, nondum assidentes throno ejus. Etsi enim *Spiritus* Salvatoris, qui in eo est, *scrutatur omnia, et altitudines Dei*, sed quantum ad nos, *divisiones gratiarum sunt, et divisiones ministeriorum, et divisiones operationum*, et nos super terram, quemadmodum et Paulus ait, *ex parte quidem cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus.* Sicut igitur ex parte cognoscimus, sic et de universis quæstionibus concedere oportet ei, qui ex parte præstat nobis gratiam.

Ps. cix. 2. 1 Cor. ii. 10. 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. xiii. 9.

2. Quoniam quidem transgressoribus ignis æternus præparatus est, et Dominus manifeste dixit, et reliquæ demonstrant Scripturæ. Et quoniam præsciit Deus hoc futurum, similiter demonstrant Scripturæ, quemadmodum et ignem æternum his qui

[1] *Phantasmari.* The translator in despair of expressing exactly the force of φαντάζεσθαι, invented the barbarous term in the text, the genuineness of which scarcely admits of any doubt; unless indeed the translator wrote *phantasiari!* the analogy of which is not so harsh; but cf. *plasmare.*

[2] So the Clerm. MS. Cedere *ex Feuard. margine et MS. Voss. reposui pro* credere, *quia mox sequitur:* Sic et de universis quæstionibus concedere oportet ei. *Et iterum:* Dimittere itaque oportet agnitionem hanc Deo. *Denique sequenti p.* Tales quæstiones concedamus Deo. Grabe.

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transgressuri sunt, præparavit ab initio: ipsam autem causam naturæ transgredientium, neque Scriptura aliqua retulit, nec Apostolus dixit, nec Dominus docuit. Dimittere itaque oportet agnitionem hanc Deo, quemadmodum et Dominus horæ et diei; nec in tantum periclitari, uti Deo quidem concedamus nihil, [1] et hæc ex parte accipientes gratiam. In eo autem cum quærimus quæ G. 178. sunt super nos, et in quæ attingere nobis non est, nec in tantam audaciam venire uti pandamus Deum et quæ nondum inventa sunt, quasi jam invenerimus per emissionum vaniloquium ipsum omnium factorem Deum, et de defectione et ignorantia [2] asserere substantiam habuisse, et sic impium adversus Deum fingere argumentum. Post deinde nullum habent testimonium ejus figmenti, quod recens ab eis adinventum est, aliquando quidem per numeros quoslibet, aliquando autem per syllabas, nonnunquam autem et per nomina: est autem quando et per eas quæ in literis sunt literas, aliquando autem et per parabolas non recte exsolutas, vel per suspiciones quasdam [3] consistere conari eam fabulosam enarrationem, quæ sit ab eis effictitia.

LIB. II. xliii. 2. GR. II. xlix. MASS. II. xxviii. 7.

3. Etenim si quis exquirat causam, propter quam in omnibus Pater communicans Filio, solus scire horam et diem a Domino manifestatus est, neque aptabilem magis, neque decentiorem, nec sine periculo alteram quam hanc inveniat in præsenti, [4] quoniam enim solus verax magister est Dominus, ut discamus per ipsum super omnia esse Patrem. Etenim [5] *Pater*, ait, *major me est.* Joh. xiv. 28.
M. 159. Et secundum agnitionem itaque præpositus esse Pater annuntiatus est a Domino nostro ad hoc, ut et nos, in quantum in [6] figura hujus mundi sumus, perfectam scientiam et tales quæstiones concedamus Deo: et ne forte quærentes altitudinem Patris investigare, in tantum periculum incidamus, uti quæramus, an super Deum alter sit Deus.

4. Si autem quis amans contentionem, contradictor fuerit his quæ a nobis dicta sunt, et his quæ ab Apostolo relata sunt,

[1] καὶ ταῦτα, *et quidem.*

[2] *Asserere—fingere. Mallem legere asserentes, et fingentes; alioqui enim constructio est valde anomala: adeo ut suspicio subeat, unum alterumve verbum intercidisse.* GRABE. MASSUET supplies some such words as *absurdum est.* The following restoration is offered in lieu of comment; ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ζητοῦντες τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, καὶ εἰς ἃ φθάνειν ἡμῶν οὐκ ἔνεστι, οὐδὲ εἰς τόσην καταντῆσαι τόλμην, ὥστε ἀνακαλύπτειν τὸν θεόν... καὶ βεβαιοῦσθαι ... καὶ δυσσεβῆ οὕτω ... ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. 192.

[3] *consistere,* συστῆσαι.

[4] *quoniam,* ὅτι γάρ. GRABE.

[5] The CLERM. MS. omits *Pater.*

[6] ἐν σχέσει.

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LIB. II. xliii. 4. GR. II. xlix. MASS. II. xxviii. 9.

quoniam ex parte cognoscimus, et ex parte prophetamus, [1]putet se non ex parte, sed universaliter universam cepisse eorum quæ sunt agnitionem, Valentinus aliquis exsistens, aut Ptolemæus, aut Basilides, vel aliquis eorum qui altitudines Dei exquisisse se dicunt; non in ea quæ invisibilia sunt, vel quæ ostendi non possunt, cum inani jactantia decorans semetipsum, plus quam reliquos se agnovisse glorietur: sed causas eorum quæ in hoc sunt mundo, quas nos non scimus, ut puta numerum capillorum capitis sui, et de his qui quotidie capiuntur passeres, et de reliquis non provisis a nobis, diligenter exquirens, et a Patre discens annuntiet nobis, ut [2]ei de majoribus quoque credamus. Si autem ea quæ in manibus sunt, et ante pedes, et in oculis, et terrenis, et præcipue dispositionem capillorum capitis sui, nondum sciunt ii qui sunt perfecti, quemadmodum eis de spiritalibus, et supercœlestibus, et de his [3]quæ super Deum vana persuasione [4]confirmant, credemus? Et tanta quidem de numeris et de nominibus, et de syllabis, et quæstionibus eorum quæ sunt super nos, et de eo quod improprie exponant parabolas, a nobis [5]sit dictum, quandoquidem [6]a te plura dici possint.

1 Cor. xiii. 9.

CAP. XLIV.

De natura animæ.

Quoniam secundum illorum sermonem, cum animæ serventur, necesse est et corpora participare salutem.

1. Revertamur autem nos ad reliqua quæ sunt eorum argumentationis. In consummatione enim dicentes ipsorum Matrem intra Pleroma regredi, et recipere sponsum suum Salvatorem; se autem quoniam spiritales esse dicunt, [7]exspoliatos animas, et spiritus intellectuales factos, sponsas futuros spiritalium angelorum: Demiur-

[1] Suppl. *et*.

[2] The Clerm. MS. has *eidem*, but Grabe's text is retained as being more easily restored in Greek.

[3] *Quæ super Deum. In omnibus editt. legitur:* quæ sunt ad Deum. *Sed in veteri Cod. Feuardentii et MS. Voss. recte* super *loco* ad *legitur, suffragante quodammodo MS. Arundel. in quo* sr *cum signo abbreviationis exstat, et* sunt *merito deest.* Grabe. The text agrees with the Clerm. MS.

[4] *confirmant, βεβαιοῦνται.*

[5] The Greek construction of the singular verb after a neuter plural.

[6] The Clerm. copy reads *ante.*

[7] *exspoliatos*, so Massuet corrects Grabe's *exspoliatas;* the Greek having *ἀποδυσαμένους τὰς ψυχάς*, p. 59, where many of these terms are found.

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G. 179. gum autem, [1]quoniam animalem dicunt, in Matris locum cessurum: justorum autem animas requiescere in medietatis loco psychice: dicentes similia ad similia congregari, spiritalia ad spiritalia, materialia autem in materialibus perseverare, contraria sibi [2]diffiniunt, animas jam non propter substantiam in medietatem ad similia dicentes succedere, sed propter operationem, justorum quidem dicentes illuc succedere, impiorum autem remanere in igne. Si enim propter substantiam omnes succedunt animæ in refrigerium, et medietatis sunt omnes secundum quod sunt animæ, cum sint ejusdem substantiæ, et superfluum est credere, superflua autem et [3]discessio Salvatoris. Si autem propter justitiam, jam non propter id quod sint animæ, sed quoniam sunt justæ. [4]Si autem animæ quæ perituræ essent inciperent nisi justæ fuissent, justitia potens est salvare et corpora; quid utique non salvabit, quæ et ipsa participaverunt justitiæ? Si enim natura et substantia salvat, omnes salvabuntur animæ; si autem justitia et fides, quare non salvet ea quæ [5]similiter

LIB. II. xliv. 1. GR. II. 1. MASS. II. xxix. 1.

[1] These three words are not represented in the Greek text, p. 59.

[2] διορίζουσι.

[3] *Discessio. Hoc loco excuti mihi non potest, quin pro* discessio, *reponendum sit,* descensio, κάθοδος. BILL. Perhaps the author may have written κενὴ δὲ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καταλλαγή, when διὰ being omitted, the change from καταλλαγὴ to ἀπαλλαγὴ would follow easily.

[4] There is a manifest corruption of the text, though it is not easy to say exactly where. GRABE'S notion (adopted without acknowledgment by MASSUET) is given in his own words. He says, *Nullum nostrorum MSS. exemplarium huic loco medelam affert. Afferat itaque conjectura. Puto nempe, Interpretem more suo scripsisse: "Si autem animæ perire inciperent, nisi justæ fuissent &c." (quomodo si legatur omnia bene se habent) alium vero Græcum phrasin,* perire inciperent, *explicaturum in margine apposuisse:* quæ perituræ essent; *quæ inde in textum irrepserunt.* The emendation is ingenious, but it is well to look at the words through the Greek, which might run as follows: εἰ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀπολεῖσθαι ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ δίκαιαι ἂν ἦσαν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη δυνατῶς ἔχει σώζειν τά τε σώματα, of which the translation would be, *Si autem animæ perituræ esse inciperent, nisi justæ fuissent,* &c. The relative *quæ* may have been introduced as *aï* after the final syllable of ψυχαι, and *esse* may easily have been written by a careless writer with the terminal sound of *inciperent.* Instead of *quid utique,* the reading of the CLERMONT MS. restored by MASSUET, every other text has *quæ utique,* but both *quid* and *quæ* may have originated in *quî,* the Greek text having continued, πῶς γε οὐ σώσει καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετεσχηκότα.

[5] The argument is this, that if souls are saved *qua* intellectual substance, then all are saved alike; but if by reason of any moral qualities, then the bodies that have executed the moral purposes of the soul, must also be considered to be heirs of salvation. Hence *in incorruptelam* is required in this sentence, which would thus read in Greek, τὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁμοίως εἰς τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν χωρεῖν μέλλοντα σώματα. Perhaps εἰς was omitted, and χωρεῖν used as *capere.* This would account for *in corruptelam.*

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LIB. II. xliv. 1. GR. II. I. MASS. II. xxix. 1.

cum animabus in corruptelam [*l.* incorruptelam] cedere incipiunt corpora? Aut enim impotens, aut injusta apparebit [1]in hujusmodi justitia, si quædam quidem salvat propter suam partici- M. 160
pationem, quædam autem non.

2. Quia enim in corporibus perficiuntur ea quæ sunt justitiæ, manifestum est. Aut universæ itaque animæ necessarie succedent in medietatis locum, et Judicium nusquam; aut et corpora, quæ participaverunt justitiæ, cum animabus quæ similiter participaverunt, obtinebunt refrigerii locum, siquidem potens est justitia illuc transducere ea quæ participaverunt ei; et verus, et firmus emerget de resurrectione corporum sermo, quem quidem credimus nos: quoniam et mortalia corpora nostra custodientia justitiam resuscitans Deus, incorrupta et immortalia faciet. Deus enim

Joh. Damasc. Parall. Lequien. ii. 422. Halloix. v. Iren.

Φύσεως κρείττων ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τὸ θέλειν, ὅτι ἀγαθός ἐστι· καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅτι δυνατός· καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελέσαι, ὅτι εὔπορος . . .

melior est quam natura, habens apud semetipsum velle, quoniam bonus est: et posse, quoniam potens est: et perficere, quoniam dives et perfectus est.

CAP. XLV.

Ostensio quod animæ eorum secundum suas regulas, sive argumentum, non possint participare salutem.

Hi autem secundum omnia contraria sibi dicunt, non omnes G. 180.
animas in medietatem succedere definientes, sed solas quæ sint justorum. Naturaliter enim et secundum substantiam emissa esse tria genera dicunt a Matre: primum quod quidem sit de aporia, et tædio, et timore, quod est materia: [2]alterum autem de impetu, quod est animale: quod autem enixa est secundum visionem eorum qui circa Christum sunt angeli, quod est spiritale. [3]Si igitur illa quod enixa est, omni modo intra Pleroma ingredi-

[1] Suppl. *rebus, ἐν τοιούτοις*, STIEREN.

[2] *Alterum autem de impetu, quod est animale. Superius p.* 41. Τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς, ὃ ἦν ψυχικόν. *Alterum vero de conversione, quod erat animale. Ex quibus liquet, per impetum hic intelligendum esse motum, quo mater Achamoth se convertebat ad lumen, vel ad eum, qui vitam ipsi dederat.* GRABE. But ἐξ ὀρμῆς is preferable; see p. 33.

[3] *Si igitur illa.* There is a manifest corruption in the text, referrible partly to an erroneous reading followed by the translator, and partly to the negligence

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untur, quoniam spiritale est, quod autem est materiale, residet deorsum, quoniam est materiale, [1] et exardescente eo qui inest ei igne, consumetur in totum: animale quare non totum in medietatis locum cedet, in quem et Demiurgum mittunt? Quid autem est illud quod cedet eorum intra Pleroma? Animas enim in medietatem perseverare dicunt: corpora autem, quoniam materialem habent substantiam, in materiam resoluta ardere ab eo qui in ea est ignis; corpore autem ipsorum corrupto, et anima remanente in medietate, nihil jam relinquetur ex homine quod intra Pleroma cedat. Sensus enim hominis, [2] mens, et cogitatio, et intentio mentis, et ea quæ sunt hujusmodi, non aliud quid præter animam sunt; sed ipsius animæ motus, et operationes, nullam sine anima habentes substantiam. Quid ergo adhuc erit eorum quod succedit in Pleroma? Et ipsi enim, in quantum quidem animæ sunt, remanent in medietate; in quantum autem corpus, cum reliqua [3] materia ardebunt.

LIB. II. xlv. GR. II. lii. MASS. II. xxix. 3.

CAP. XLVI.

Quoniam in nullo potest interior illorum homo supergredi Demiurgum: et quoniam non est verisimile, hos quidem spiritales esse, Demiurgum autem animalem.

1. Et his sic se habentibus, super Demiurgum se ascendere dicunt insensati: et secundum hoc quod se meliores pronuntiant illo Deo qui cœlos, et terram, et maria, et omnia quæ in eis sunt fecit et ornavit, et semet quidem spiritales esse volunt, inhonorate cum sint [4] carnales propter tantam suam impietatem;

of later scribes. The ἀπόδοσις in the sequel *quod autem est materiale,* indicates *quod quidem* in the πρότασις, or rather ὁ μὲν in the original; but the translator seems to have read ἃ μὲν followed by ὁ δέ, and having rendered the former particles *illa quidem*, some transcriber afterwards brought the version more into conformity with the general construction by changing *quidem* into *quod*. The false concord *enixionem quod* may be compared, pp. 365, 1; 367, 1. But this arises out of κίνημα ὅ. Cf. I. i. 12, 13.

[1] *et*, the copula is carelessly omitted in the CLERM. MS. Cf. 366, n. 3.

[2] *mens* is omitted in the CLERM. MS. and *sensus* is the translation of νοῦς.

[3] *materia* is not found in the CLERM. MS., and the VOSS. copy has accordingly substituted *reliquo;* but it would be difficult to give any more probable Greek equivalent than μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ὕλης. See p. 48, and p. 59, n. 4.

[4] The MSS. all read *carnes*. I propose therefore, ἀτίμητοι ὄντες σαρκός, *inhonoratæ cum sint carnis.*

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LIB. II. xlvi. 1. GR. II. liii. MASS. II. xxx. 1.

qui autem fecit angelos suos spiritus, et induitur lumine quemadmodum pallium, et velut in manu tenet gyrum terræ, ad quem inhabitantes eam velut locustæ sunt deputati, et universæ spiritalis substantiæ Demiurgum et Dominum animalem esse dicentes: indubitate et vere suam ostendunt insaniam, et velut vere de tonitruo percussi super eos qui fabulis referuntur Gigantes, extollentes sententias adversus Deum, præsumtione vana et instabili gloria G. 181. tumidi, quibus universæ terræ [1] elleborum non sufficit ad expurgationem, uti evomant tantam suam stultitiam. [2] Meliorem enim ex operibus oportet ostendi. Unde igitur semetipsos ostendunt Demiurgo meliores, (uti et nos ad impietatem propter necessitatem sermonis devergamus, Dei et insanorum hominum comparationem facientes, et in argumentationem eorum descendentes, sæpe per propria ipsorum dogmata arguentes eos: sed nobis quidem propitius sit Deus; non enim illis eum comparantes, sed arguentes, et evertentes illorum insaniam, dicimus hæc), [3] ad quos stupescunt multi insensatorum, quasi plus aliquid [4] ipsa veritate ab eis possent discere?

Ps. ciii. 2, 4. Esai. xl. 12, 22.

Matt. vii. 7.

2. Et illud quod scriptum est, *Quærite, et invenietis*, ad hoc M. 161. dictum esse interpretantur, uti super Demiurgum semetipsos adinveniant, majores et meliores vocantes semetipsos quam Deum, et semetipsos spiritales, Demiurgum autem animalem: et propter hoc, superascendere eos super Deum: et se quidem intra Pleroma cedere, Deum autem in medietatis loco. Ab operibus itaque ostendant semetipsos Demiurgo meliores; non enim in eo quod dicitur, sed in eo quod est, melior ostendi debet.

Münter. Fragm. Patr. Gr. Fasc. I. p. 54.

[5] Οὐκ ἐν τῷ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ εἶναι ὁ κρείττων δείκνυσθαι ὀφείλει [*f. l.* φιλεῖ].

3. Quod igitur opus monstrabunt per semetipsos a Salvatore, sive a Matre ipsorum factum, aut majus, aut splendidius, aut rationabilius his quæ facta sunt [6] ab hoc, qui hæc omnia disposuit?

[1] IRENÆUS was evidently a reader of HORACE, and had in his mind the Horatian, *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile.* (*A. P.* 300.)

[2] κρείττων. The CLERM., AR. and MERC. II. MSS. *Melior.* The Edd. have *Meliorem.* Compare the Greek fragment below, and its translation.

[3] *Græce,* πρὸς οὓς κεχήνασι πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνοήτων. BILL.

[4] Cf. p. 3.

[5] *Hoc fragmentum Fridericus Münterus e Codice Vaticano* MDLIII, *quo continentur Catenæ, exscripsit et fragmentis Patrum Græc.* (*Fasc.* I. p. 54) *publici juris fecit. In Codice citatum est fragmentum his verbis:* τοῦ ἁγίου Εἰρηναίου ἐκ τοῦ β' ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως. STIER.

[6] The Hebrew comparative.

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Quos cœlos firmaverunt? quam terram solidaverunt? quas emiserunt stellas? vel quæ luminaria elucidaverunt? quibus autem circulis infrænaverunt ea? vel quas pluvias, vel frigora, vel [1]nives, secundum tempus, et secundum unamquamque regionem aptabilia, adduxerunt terræ? Quem autem calorem et siccitatem e contrario apposuerunt eis? aut quæ flumina abundare fecerunt? quos autem eduxerunt fontes? [2]quibus autem floribus et arboribus adornaverunt eam quæ est sub cœlo? vel quam multitudinem animalium formaverunt, partim quidem rationabilium, partim autem irrationabilium, universorum forma ornatorum? Et reliqua omnia quæ per virtutem Dei sunt constituta, et sapientia ejus gubernantur, quis poterit per singula enumerare, vel investigare magnitudinem sapientiæ ejus, qui fecit, Dei? Quid autem illa quæ super cœlum, et quæ non prætereunt, [3]quanta sunt, Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes, Potestates innumerabiles? Adversus quod igitur unum opus ex his semetipsos e contrario constituunt? Quid tale ostendere habent per semetipsos, vel a semetipsis factum, quando et ipsi hujus factura et plasmatio sint? Sive enim Salvator, sive Mater ipsorum (ut propria ipsorum dicamus, per sua ipsorum propria mendaces eos arguentes) usa est hoc, ut dicunt, ad faciendam imaginem [4]eorum quæ intra Pleroma sunt, et [7]contemplationis universæ quam vidit circa Salvatorem; tanquam meliore hoc, et aptabiliore ad faciendam voluntatem suam per eum, usa est: tantorum enim imagines nequaquam per inferiorem, sed per meliorem [5]deformavit.

LIB. II. xlv. 3. GR. II. li ii. MASS. II. xxx. 3.

G. 182. 4. Erant enim et ipsi tunc, [6]sicut ipsi dicunt, exsistentes conceptio spiritalis secundum [7]contemplationem eorum qui [8]erga Pandoram sunt satellites dispositi. Et hi quidem [9]vacui perseverabant, nihil per eos perficiente Matre; [10]vel per Salvatorem

[1] *nives.* MASSUET and STIEREN have *universa*, but IRENÆUS plainly has in his mind the sublime words of Job ch. xxxviii, without directly quoting them, with which GRABE'S reading *nives* entirely harmonises.

[2] Τίσι ἄνθεσιν ἐκόσμησαν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ, *id est*, τὴν γῆν, *terram*. BILL.

[3] *quanta.* Qualia *ponere debuisset Interpres*. GRABE.

[4] *Æones* is so often expressed as a feminine noun, that *earum* in the CLERM. copy is by no means an improbable reading.

[5] *deformavit*, as elsewhere, is the translation of ἐξεμόρφωσε.

[6] *sicut ipsi.* The CLERM. MS. has simply *sicuti*, the VOSS. copy has *ipsi*.

[7] θεωρίας, cf. pp. 41, 50.

[8] *erga*, περί.

[9] The punctuation is altered by placing a semicolon after *Matre*, instead of a comma, as in GRABE'S edition. MASSUET rejects even this, and puts in a parenthesis (*nihil ... Salvatorem*). See next note.

[10] *vel* is cancelled by MASSUET, and

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LIB II.xlvi 4. GR. II. liv. MASS. II. xxx. 4.

inutilis conceptio, et ad nihilum apta, nihil enim per eos apparet factum. Qui autem emissus est secundum eos Deus, inferior ipsis exsistens secundum argumentationem eorum, animalem enim eum esse volunt, in omnia operator, et efficax, et aptabilis fuit, uti per eum omnium imagines fierent: et non tantum quæ videntur hæc, sed et invisibilia, Angeli, Archangeli, Dominationes, Potestates, et Virtutes, per hunc omnia facta sunt, videlicet velut per meliorem, et qui possit voluntati deservire. Nihil autem per hos Matrem apparet fecisse, quemadmodum et ipsi confitentur; uti juste quis æstimet eos abortum fuisse male parientis Matris ipsorum. Non enim obstetrices eam obstetricaverunt, et propterea velut abortum projecti sunt, in nihilum utiles, ad nullum opus facti Matri. Et semet meliores vocant eo per quem tanta et talia facta sunt et disposita, quando et per suam argumentationem [1]perquam inferiores multum inveniuntur. Ac velut duo ferramenta operaria, vel organa duo cum sint, ex quibus alterum quidem semper in manibus et in usu artifex habeat, et per illud faciat quanta velit, et ostendat artem et sapientiam suam; alterum autem vacuum atque otiosum perseveret, et sine operatione, per quod nihil omnino apparet faciens artifex, et in nullam actionem eo utens: deinde dicat quis inutile hoc et vacuum atque otiosum melius esse et pluris illo quo utitur in opere, per quod et glorificatur ipse artifex: hic igitur [2]hebes esse juste arbitrabitur qui sit talis, et mentis suæ non compos. Sic autem et hi, semet spiritales et meliores dicentes, et Demiurgum animalem, et propter hoc superascendere, et intra Pleroma penetrare ad viros suos, sunt enim fœminæ quemadmodum ipsi confitentur, Deum autem inferiorem et propter hoc manere in medietate, et hujus nullam ostensionem afferentes: qui enim melior est, ex operibus ostenditur: omnia enim opera a Demiurgo facta sunt; per semetipsos autem nihil dignum ratione factum ostendere habentes, insani sunt summa et insanabili insania.

5. Si autem contenderint dicere, quoniam quæcunque sunt quidem materialia, ut puta cœlum, et universus qui infra [3]eum continetur mundus, a Demiurgo facta sunt; quotquot autem spiritaliora his, illa quæ sunt super cœlum, ut puta Principia,

STIEREN copies him; and it is not found in the CLERM. copy; still the other MSS. have it, and it is therefore retained; the Greek may have been, καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος [θεωρίας sc.] σύλληψις κενὴ, καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν χρησίμη.

[1] μάλα σφόδρα ἐλάττους.

[2] The MSS. agree in the false reading *habens*.

[3] *eum, οὐρανόν, sc.*

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Potestates, Angeli, Archangeli, Dominationes, Virtutes, per spiritalem enixionem, [1]quod semetipsos esse dicunt, facta sunt: primo quidem ex [2]dominicis Scripturis ostendimus, omnia quæ prædicta sunt, visibilia et invisibilia, ab uno Deo facta. Non enim sunt magis idonei hi quam Scripturæ: nec relinquentes nos eloquia Domini, et Moysem, et reliquos prophetas, qui veritatem præconaverunt, his credere oportet, sanum quidem nihil dicentibus, instabilia autem delirantibus. Deinde etiam si per ipsos ea quæ sunt super cœlos, facta sunt; dicant nobis, quæ sit invisibilium natura, enarrent numerum Angelorum, et ordinem Archangelorum, demonstrent Thronorum sacramenta, et doceant diversitates Dominationum, Principatuum, et Potestatum atque Virtutum. Sed non habent dicere: non ergo per eos facta sunt. Si autem a Demiurgo facta sunt hæc, sicut et facta sunt, et sunt spiritalia et sancta; non est ergo animalis hic qui spiritalia perfecit, et soluta est illorum magna blasphemia.

M 162. G. 183.

LIB. II. xlvi. 5. GR. II. liv. MASS. II. xxx. 6.

CAP. XLVII.

De assumtione Apostoli usque ad tertium cœlum; et cur dixit, sive in corpore, sive extra corpus: necnon, ostensio quod non sit animalis Demiurgus.

1. Quoniam enim sunt in cœlis spiritales conditiones, universæ clamant Scripturæ, et Paulus autem testimonium perhibet, quoniam sunt spiritalia, usque ad tertium cœlum raptum se esse significans [3]et rursum, delatum esse in paradisum et audisse verba inenarrabilia, quæ non licet homini loqui. Et quid illi prodest, aut in paradisum introitus, aut usque in tertium cœlum assumtio, cum sint omnia illa sub potestate Demiurgi, si eorum quæ super Demiurgum dicuntur mysteriorum speculator et auditor inciperet fieri, quemadmodum audent quidam dicere? Si enim uti eam quæ est super Demiurgum disceret dispositionem, nequaquam in his quæ sunt Demiurgi remansisset, ne ipsa quidem universa perspeculatus, (restabat enim ei adhuc secundum illorum sermonem [4]quartum cœlum, uti appropinquaret Demiurgo, et subjectam

2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4.

[1] Compare p. 360, 3.

[2] i.e. κυρίων γραφῶν.

[3] *et rursum, and again, in other words,* not, *on another occasion.*

[4] *quartum cœlum,* i. e. reckoning from the third heaven to which S. Paul was admitted, and which in the entire series would make the seventh. *Restabat* indicates this interpretation, by way of *balance* of the entire hebdomad.

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septenationem videret), sed reciperetur fortasse vel usque ad medietatem, id est ad Matrem, uti ab ea disceret quæ sunt intra Pleroma. Poterat enim qui est intus homo ejus, qui et loquebatur in eo, invisibilis exsistens, quemadmodum dicunt, non tantum usque ad tertium cœlum, sed [1]et usque ad Matrem illorum pervenire. Si enim se, hoc est ipsorum hominem, statim supergredi dicunt Demiurgum, et abire ad Matrem, multo magis utique [2]Apostoli homini hoc evenisset: nec enim prohibuisset illum Demiurgus, jam et ipse subjectus Salvatori, ut dicunt. Si autem et prohibuisset, nihil profecisset; non enim possibile est eum Patris providentia fortiorem esse, [3]et hæc cum interior homo invisibilis etiam a Demiurgo esse dicatur. Quoniam autem ille velut magnum aliquid et præclarum, eam quæ fuit usque ad tertium cœlum assumtionem enarravit, non utique isti super septimum cœlum ascendunt: non enim sunt meliores Apostolo. [4]Si seipsos dicant differentiores, ex operibus arguentur: nihil enim ab illis tale jactitatum est. Et G. 164. propter hoc adjecit: *Sive in corpore, sive extra corpus,* [5]*Deus scit:* [6]uti neque corpus non particeps putaretur esse visionis ejus, quippe quasi et ipsum participaturum eorum quæ vidisset, et audisset: nec rursus propter pondus corporis dicat quis eum amplius non esse assumtum, sed ideo usque illuc permittatur etiam sine corpore [7]sacramenta perspicere spiritalia, quæ sunt Dei operationes, qui fecit cœlos et terram, et plasmavit hominem, et posuit in paradiso,

[1] *et* is added from the CLERM. MS. as giving force to the Greek idiom, e.g. *οὐ μόνον.... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕως τῆς μ.*

[2] *Apostoli homini.* In lieu of supplying *interiori*, as GRABE, MASSUET and STIEREN propose, we might read *Apostolico;* but a good sense is to be extracted from the words as they stand, viewing them in apposition with *ipsorum hominem, their own human nature,* having as its correlative *an Apostle's human nature;* cf. sup. *qui est intus homo ejus.*

[3] Et hæc *Græco ritu dixit Interpres pro,* idque. BILL. A distinction is drawn in the *Didasc. Or.* between the material fire that will consume the world of matter, and the more subtle and immaterial instrument of wrath, that constitutes the punishment of evil spirits. *Τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ μὲν σωματικὸν σωμάτων ἅπτεται πάντων, τὸ δὲ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀσώματον ἀσωμάτων φασὶν ἅπτεσθαι, οἷον δαιμόνων, ἀγγέλων τῆς πονηρίας, αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαβόλου.* § 81. (Refers to p. 361.)

[4] The CLERM. MS. has *Licet semetipsos. Differentiores* Græce *διαφορωτέρους.* p. 279, n. 5.

[5] The text is quoted defectively. The *Gr.* has *οὐκ οἶδα* twice, the *Syr.* once. *Non* is retained before *particeps,* as inserted by GRABE on the faith of ARUND. and VOSS. and CLERM. MSS. MASSUET rejects the negative; but upon critical principles, the three excellent MSS. in which it is found should be conclusive for its retention.

[6] *Uti neque... amplius, οὐδὲ ἵνα τὸ σῶμα οὐ κοινωνόν... οὐδὲ πάλιν... μᾶλλον.*

[7] *Sacramenta, μυστήρια.*

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speculatores fieri eos, qui similiter ut Apostolus valde sunt perfecti in dilectione Dei. LIB. II. xlvii. 2. GR. II. lv. MASS. II. xxx. 8.

M. 163. 2. Et spiritalia itaque hic fecit, quorum usque ad tertium cœlum speculator factus est Apostolus: et inenarrabiles sermones, quos non licet homini loqui, quoniam sint spiritales, et ipse hic præstat dignis, quemadmodum vult, hujus enim est paradisus: et vere est spiritus Dei, sed non animalis Demiurgus, alioquin nunquam spiritalia perfecisset. Si autem animalis hic, per quem facta sunt spiritalia, referant nobis. Sed neque [1][per] enixionem Matris suæ, quod semetipsos esse dicunt, factum esse quid ostendere habent. Hi enim non tantum aliquid de spiritalibus, sed ne quidem muscam, aut culicem, aut tale aliquid ex his quæ sunt contemtibilia animalia pusilla perficere possunt, præter eam rationem, quæ ab initio a Deo per seminum demissionem in his quæ sunt ejusdem generis, naturaliter facta sunt, atque fiunt animalia. Sed ne quidem a sola Matre factum aliquid; [2]dicunt emissum hunc Demiurgum, et Dominum universæ operationis. Et eum quidem, qui sit universæ operationis Demiurgus [3]et Dominus, animalem esse dicunt, se autem spiritales, qui nullius operationis fabricatores sunt aut domini, non solum eorum quæ sunt extra eos, sed ne quidem corporum suorum. Multa denique sæpe secundum corpus patiuntur nolentes, vocantes se spiritales et meliores Demiurgo. Juste igitur a nobis arguentur porro et longe [4]divertisse a veritate. Sive enim per hunc, quæ facta sunt, fecit [5]Salvator; non inferior ipsis, sed melior esse ostenditur, quando et horum ipsorum invenitur factor: nam et ipsi sunt ex his quæ facta sunt. Quomodo itaque consequens est, hos quidem spiritales esse, hunc autem ipsum per quem et facti sunt, animalem? Sive, (quod et solum est verum, quod et per plurima ostendimus, velut liquidissimis ostensionibus), ipse a semetipso fecit libere et ex sua potestate, et disposuit, et perfecit omnia, et

[1] [*per*] first introduced by FEUARDENT, has no place in any MS.

[2] προβεβλημένον τόνδε, φασι, τὸν Δημιουργὸν, καὶ Κύριον (*sub.* ὑπηρχέναι) πάσης τῆς πραγματείας.

[3] *et* seems to represent ἀλλὰ καὶ in the Greek, the CLERM. MS. having *sed et*.

[4] *divertisse*, the passive ἀποστρέφεσθαι being rendered as middle.

[5] According to the Valentinian hypothesis the Saviour, acting by the Demiurge, unconscious that himself was the agent of a superior power, created the world. See the passage and the note to which GRABE refers, in which the words of Heracleon, an immediate follower of Valentinus, are quoted. *Spicileg. Hær. Sæc.* 2. Tom. II. pp. 87, 234. Compare p. 266, note 2.

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LIB. II. xlvii. 2. GR. II. lv. MASS. II. xxx. 9.

est [1]substantia omnium voluntas ejus; solus hic Deus invenitur, qui omnia fecit, solus omnipotens, et solus Pater condens et faciens omnia, et visibilia, et invisibilia, et sensibilia, et insensata, et cœlestia, et terrena, *Verbo virtutis suæ;* et omnia aptavit et disposuit sapientia sua, et omnia capiens, solus autem a nemine capi potest: ipse fabricator, ipse conditor, ipse inventor, ipse factor, ipse Dominus omnium: et neque præter ipsum, neque super ipsum, neque Mater, quam illi admentiuntur; nec Deus alter, quem Marcion affinxit; nec Pleroma xxx Æonum, quod vanum ostensum est; neque Bythus, nec Proarche; [2]neque cœli; [3]nec lumen virginale, nec Æon innominabilis, nec in totum quid- G. 185. quam eorum, quæ ab his, et ab omnibus hæreticis delirantur. Sed solus unus Deus fabricator, hic qui est super omnem principalitatem, et potestatem, et dominationem, et virtutem: hic Pater, hic Deus, hic conditor, hic factor, hic fabricator, qui fecit ea per semetipsum, hoc est per [4]Verbum et per Sapientiam suam, cœlum et terram, et maria, et omnia quæ in eis sunt: hic justus, hic bonus: hic est qui formavit hominem, qui plantavit paradisum, qui fabricavit mundum, qui diluvium induxit, qui Noë salvavit:

Heb. i. 3.

Matt. xxii. 32. hic Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, Deus vivorum, quem et lex annuntiat, quem Prophetæ præconant, quem Christus revelat, quem Apostoli tradunt, quem Ecclesia credit. Hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per Verbum suum, qui est Filius ejus, per eum revelatur et manifestatur omnibus, quibus revelatur: cognoscunt enim eum hi, quibus revelaverit Filius. Semper autem coëxsistens Filius Patri, olim et ab initio semper revelat Patrem, et Angelis, et Archangelis, et Potestatibus, et Virtutibus, et omnibus, quibus vult revelare [*f. l.* revelari] Deus.

[1] The translator perhaps had *οὐσία* by mistake for *αἰτία*, and wrote *substantia* instead of *causa;* certainly such an emendation would add force to the passage; for whereas Demiurge *made* without being the *cause* of all things, here *causation* as well as *creation* would be ascribed to the Deity; and there would be a regular rise in the subject, from *ποιεῖν, κοσμεῖν, τελεῖν,* to the source of all *causation*.

[2] In the system of Simon Magus the first pair of his principal *Hectad* of æons were Νοῦς and Ἐπίνοια, otherwise Οὐρανὸς and Γῆ. HIPP. *Ph.* VI. 13. He borrowed the notion apparently from PLATO, e. g. the closing words of the *Timæus* are, *εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ θεὸς αἰσθητὸς, μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεώτατος γέγονεν εἷς οὐρανὸς ὅδε, μονογενὴς ὤν.*

[3] i. e. Barbelo, p. 221.

[4] *Verbum et Sapientiam,* the synonyms in IV. XXXVII. of *Filius et Spiritus. Sunt* is omitted by the CLERM. MS., i. e. *καὶ πάντα ἐν αὐτοῖς.*

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LIB. II. xlviii. 1. GR. II lvi. MASS. II. xxxi. 1.

CAP. XLVIII.

Quomodo ea quæ adversus Valentinum dicuntur, omnem evertunt hæresin.

1. Destructis itaque his qui a Valentino sunt, omnis hæreticorum eversa est multitudo. Quæ enim et quantum adversus Pleroma ipsorum et ad ea quæ extra sunt diximus, ostendentes quoniam concludetur et circumscribetur Pater universorum ab eo quod extra eum est, (si tamen extra eum aliquid sit); et quoniam necesse est multos quidem Patres, multa autem Pleromata, et multas mundorum fabricationes, [1]ab aliis quidem cœptas ad alteras autem deficientes, esse secundum omnem partem; et universos perseverantes in suis propriis, non curiose agere de aliis, in quibus neque participatio, neque communio aliqua est eis; et nullum alium omnium esse Deum, sed solam esse omnipotentis appellationem:
M. 164. et adversus eos qui sunt a Marcione, et Simone, et Menandro, vel quicunque alii sunt, qui similiter dividunt eam quæ secundum nos est conditionem a Patre, similiter erit [2]ad eos aptatum. Quanta autem rursus diximus adversus eos, qui dicunt omnia quidem comprehendere Patrem universorum; eam autem quæ sit secundum nos conditionem non ab eo esse factam, sed a Virtute quadam altera; vel ab Angelis ignorantibus Propatorem, in immensa magnitudine universitatis circumscriptum centri vice, velut maculam in pallio; ostendentes quoniam non est verisimile alium quemdam eam quæ secundum nos est conditionem fecisse quam Patrem universorum; et adversus eos qui sunt a Saturnino, et a Basilide, et Carpocrate, et reliquos Gnosticorum, qui eadem similiter dicunt, idem dicetur. Quæ autem de prolationibus dicta sunt, et Æonibus, et deminoratione, et quemadmodum instabilis Mater ipsorum, similiter [3]evertit Basilidem, et omnes qui falso cognominantur [4]agnitores, aliis nominibus eadem similiter dicentes; magis autem quam hi [5]qui ea quæ sunt extra veritatem transferentes ad
G. 186. characterem suæ doctrinæ. Et quæcunque sunt quæ de numeris diximus, adversus omnes, qui in hujusmodi speciem deducunt quæ

[1] ἐξ ἄλλων μὲν ἀρχομένας, εἰς ἄλλας δὲ ἀποληγούσας. Cf. II. 1.

[2] *ad eos*, applying to *quicunque alii*.

[3] ἀ—ἀνατρέπει.

[4] *Agnitores*, γνωστικοί.

[5] *qui* is found in all MSS. May not τῶν have stood for τούτων (see p. 2, n. 5) in the following passage, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν, τὰ ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας μεταφέροντας? τὰ ἔξω, *Gentile philosophy*.

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sunt veritatis, et dicentur. Et quæcunque dicta sunt de Demiurgo, ostendentia quod hic solus est Deus et Pater universorum; et quæcunque adhuc dicentur in sequentibus libris, adversus omnes dico hæreticos; eos quidem qui sunt mitiores eorum et humaniores [1]avertes et confundes, ut non blasphement suum conditorem, et factorem, et nutritorem, et Dominum, neque de labe et ignorantia genesin ejus affingere: feroces autem, et horribiles, et irrationabiles effugabis a te longe, ne amplius sustineas verbositates eorum.

2. Super hæc arguentur qui sunt a Simone, et Carpocrate, et si qui alii virtutes operari dicuntur: non in virtute Dei, neque in veritate, neque [2]in beneficiis hominibus facientes ea quæ faciunt; sed in perniciem et errorem, per magicas elusiones et universa fraude, plus lædentes quam utilitatem præstantes his, qui credunt eis, in eo quod seducant. Nec enim cæcis possunt donare visum, neque surdis auditum, neque omnes dæmones effugare, præter eos qui ab ipsis immittuntur, si tamen et hoc faciunt; neque debiles, aut claudos, aut paralyticos curare, vel alia quadam parte corporis vexatos, quemadmodum sæpe evenit fieri secundum corporalem infirmitatem; vel earum quæ a foris accidunt infirmitatum bonas valetudines restaurare; tantum autem absunt ab eo ut mortuum

Euseb. H. E. v. 7. Niceph. H. E. iv. 13.

Τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέουσι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐγεῖραι, καθὼς ὁ Κύριος ἤγειρε, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διὰ προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι πολλάκις διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, τῆς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας πάσης αἰτησαμένης μετὰ νηστείας πολλῆς καὶ λιτανείας, ἐπέστρεψε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετελελευτηκότος, καὶ ἐχαρίσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων.....

excitent, quemadmodum Dominus excitavit, et Apostoli per orationem, et in fraternitate sæpissime propter aliquid necessarium, ea quæ est in quoquo loco Ecclesia universa postulante per jejunium et supplicationem multam, reversus est spiritus mortui, et donatus est homo orationibus sanctorum, ut ne quidem credant hoc in totum posse fieri: [3]esse autem resurrectionem a mortuis, agnitionem ejus quæ ab eis dicitur, veritatis.

[1] *Avertens et confundens* in apposition with *dico*, can scarcely be accepted, as GRABE suggests, for even a possible reading; the protasis, *eos quidem.... avertes et confundes*, has too marked a counterpart in the apodosis, *feroces autem .... effugabis a te longe.*

[2] i. e. *in beneficia, ἐπ' εὐεργεσίαις.*

[3] Explicatius TERTULLIANUS *Libr. de Resurrect.* (*cap.* 19). *Resurrectionem*

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LIB. II. xlviii. 3. GR. II. lvi. MASS. II. xxxi. 3.

3. Quando igitur apud eos quidem error, et seductio, et magica phantasia in speculatu hominum impie fiat; in Ecclesia autem miseratio, et misericordia, et firmitas, et veritas ad opitulationem hominum, non solum sine mercede et gratis perficiatur, sed et nobis ipsis quæ sunt nostra erogantibus pro salute hominum, et ea, quibus hi qui curantur indigent, sæpissime non habentes, a nobis accipiunt: vere et per hanc speciem arguuntur a divina substantia, et benignitate Dei, et virtute spiritali in totum extranei; fraude autem universa, et [1]adinspiratione apostatica, et operatione dæmoniaca, et phantasmate idololatriæ per omnia repleti, præcursores vero sunt [2]draconis ejus, qui per hujusmodi phantasiam [3]abscedere faciet in cauda tertiam partem stellarum, et [4]dejiciet eas in terram: quos similiter atque illum devitare oportet, et quanto majore phantasmate operari dicuntur, tanto magis observare eos, quasi majorem nequitiæ spiritum perceperint. [5]Quam prophetiam si observaverit quis, [*adj.* et] eorum diurnam conversationis operationem, inveniet unam et eandem esse eis cum dæmoniis conversationem. Rev. xii. 4.

G. 167. M. 165.

4. Et hæc autem quæ est erga operationes impia ipsorum sententia, quæ dicit oportere eos in omnibus operibus etiam quibuslibet malis fieri, ex Domini doctrina dissolvetur: apud quem Matt. v. 21 et seq.

mortuorum manifeste annunciatam, in imaginariam significationem distorquent, asseverantes mortem etiam ipsam spiritaliter intelligendam. Non enim hanc esse—discidium corporis et animi, sed ignorantiam Dei, per quam homo mortuus Deo, non minus in errore jacuerit, quam in sepulchro. Itaque et resurrectionem eam vindicandam, qua quis audita veritate redanimatus et revivificatus Deo, ignorantiæ morte discussa, velut de sepulchro veteris hominis eruperit.—Hoc denique ingenio etiam in colloquiis sæpe nostros decipere consueverunt, quasi et ipsi resurrectionem admittant. Væ, inquiunt, qui in hac carne non resurrexerit—Tacite autem sentiunt, Væ qui non, dum in hac carne est, cognoverit arcana hæretica: hoc est enim apud illos resurrectio. FEUARD.

[1] *adinspiratione* is printed by MASSUET and STIEREN, instead of GRABE'S *ab inspiratione*, but they assign no force to the additional particle. It is the translation, I imagine, of παρεμπνεύσει, *false inspiration*, as παραπρεσβεία is *falsa legatio*.

[2] *Draconis. Anti-Christum venturum in dicto Apocalypseos loco intellexit Irenæus, quem et alii postea Patres sunt secuti.* GRABE. *vero*, i. e. *vere*.

[3] The CLERM. and VOSS. MSS. have *abscidere*, but if this verb had been used, it must have been in the passive.

[4] *Dejiciet. Omnia MSS. nostra habent dejicere.* GRABE. This may give another instance of corruption in the Greek text prior to the translation; and the consent of MSS. may be accounted for on the supposition that the translation expresses καταβάλλειν instead of καταβαλεῖ.

[5] This reading, adopted by MASSUET from the CLERM. MS., is far preferable to the ordinary text as given by GRABE, *Quapropter etiam*, only the copula is required, as inserted above between brackets.

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non solum qui mœchatur, expellitur, sed et qui mœchari vult: et non solum qui occidit, reus erit occisionis ad damnationem, sed et qui irascitur sine causa fratri suo: qui et non solum non odire homines, sed et inimicos diligere jussit: et non solum non pejerare, sed nec jurare præcepit; et non solum [non] male loqui de proximis, sed ne quidem *racha* et fatuum dicere aliquem; si quo minus, reos esse hujusmodi in ignem gehennæ: et non tantum non percutere, sed et ipsos percussos etiam alteram præstare maxillam: et non solum non abnegare quæ sunt aliena, sed etiam si sua auferantur, illis non expostulare: et non solum non lædere proximos, neque facere quid eis malum, sed et eos qui male tractantur magnanimes esse, et benignitatem exercere erga eos, et orare pro eis, uti pœnitentiam agentes salvari possint; in nullo imitantes nos reliquorum contumeliam, et libidinem, et superbiam. Quando igitur ille, quem isti magistrum gloriantur, et eum multo meliorem et fortiorem reliquis animam habuisse dicunt, cum magna diligentia quædam quidem jussit fieri quasi bona et egregia, quibusdam autem abstinere non solum operibus, sed etiam his cogitationibus quæ ad opera ducunt, quasi malis et nocivis et nequam: quemadmodum magistrum dicentes talem fortiorem et meliorem reliquis, deinde quæ sunt contraria ejus doctrinæ manifeste præcipientes, non confundantur? Et si quidem nihil esset mali aut rursus boni, opinione autem sola humana, quædam quidem injusta quædam autem justa putarentur, non utique dixisset dogmatizans, [id est docens:] *Justi autem fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris eorum:* injustos autem et qui non faciunt opera justitiæ, mittet *in ignem æternum, ubi vermis ipsorum non morietur, et ignis non exstinguetur.*

Matt. xiii. 43.

Matt. xxv. 41. Marc. ix. 44, 46, 48.

CAP. XLIX.

Eversio Hæreticorum omnium in iis, quibus non communicant cum Valentino.

1. Adhuc etiam dicentes, oportere eos in omni opere et in omni conversatione fieri, ut, si fieri possit, in una vitæ adventatione omnia perficientes ad perfectum transgrediantur; eorum quidem quæ sunt ad virtutem pertinentia, et laboriosa et gloriosa et artificialia, quæ etiam ab omnibus bona approbantur, nequaquam inveniuntur conati facere. Si enim oportet per omne opus, et per universam ire operationem; primo quidem oportebat

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omnes [1] se ediscere artes, quæcunque illæ sive in sermonum [2] rationibus, sive in operibus [2] consumantur, sive per continentiam edocentur, et per laborem, et meditationem, et perseverantiam percipiuntur; ut puta omnem speciem Musicæ, et Computationis, et Geometriæ, et Astronomiæ, et universa quæ in sermonum rationibus occupantur: adhuc etiam Medicinam universam, et herbarum scientiam, et eas quæ ad salutem humanam sunt elaboratæ; et picturam, et statuarum fabricationem, et æreariam artem, et marmorariam, et similes his: [3] ab his autem omnem speciem rusticationis, et veterinariæ, et pastoralis, et opificum artes, quæ dicuntur pertransire [4] universas artes, et eas quæ [5] erga mare vacant, et [6] corpori student, et venatorias, et militares, et regales, et quot- LIB. II. xlix. 1. GR. II. lvii. MASS. II. xxxii. 2.

G. 188. quot sunt, quarum nec decimam, nec millesimam partem in tota vita sua elaborantes ediscere possunt. Et horum quidem nihil conantur addiscere, qui in omni dicunt semetipsos oportere fieri opere, ad voluptates autem et libidinem, et turpia facta devergentes, [7] a semetipsis judicati cum sint secundum doctrinam suam; quoniam enim desunt eis quæ prædicta sunt omnia, ad correptionem ignis adibunt. Qui quidem Epicuri philosophiam, et Cynicorum indifferentiam æmulantes, Jesum magistrum glorificantur, qui non solum a malis operibus avertit suos discipulos, sed etiam a sermonibus et cogitationibus, quemadmodum ostendimus.

2. Dicentes autem, se [8] ex eadem circumlatione cum Jesu habere animas, et similes ei esse, aliquando autem et meliores, ad opera [9] producti quæ ille ad utilitatem hominum et firmitatem

[1] *se* as elsewhere for *eos*. But the ARUNDEL MS. has *edicere*. The CLERM. copy shews a considerable *lacuna* from *primo quidem* to *statuarum fabricationem* inclusive.

[2] According to the popular distinction of the arts, &c. into *intellectual* and *practical* science. Authority is wholly in favour of *consumantur*, but the sense and context alike require *consummantur*, τελειοῦνται.

[3] *ab his*. The translator's copy may have had ἀπὸ τούτων, arising out of ἐπὶ τούτοις, *hæc insuper*.

[4] τὴν ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν διαπερᾶν.

[5] *erga mare vacant*, καὶ τὰς περὶ θάλασσαν σπουδαζούσας, i. e. *the arts of maritime life*, which are many, as fishing, ship-building, navigation, &c. HEUMANN, so often quoted by STIEREN, is here more than unusually unfortunate, *erga mare* being, in his opinion, ἔργα μωρά! STIEREN allows him to speak for himself in a longer note than usual; which alone makes the notice necessary. Compare p. 383, n. 3.

[6] *corpori student*, γυμναστικάς.

[7] αὐτοκατάκριτοι ὄντες.

[8] *ex eadem circumlatione*, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς περιφορᾶς, see pp. 165, 204, 206.

[9] *Ast* compulsos *potius Interpres reddere debuisset* προηγμένους. GRABE. But the translation indicates a nominative participle, in apposition with *dicentes* and the subject of *inveniuntur*: such a word we may have in παρηγμένοι.

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LIB. II. xlix. 2. GR. II. lvii. MASS. II. xxxii. 3.

fecit, [1]et nihil tale nec simile, neque secundum aliquid in comparationem quod venire possit, perficere inveniuntur. Sed et si aliquid faciunt, per magicam, quemadmodum diximus, operati, fraudulenter seducere nituntur insensatos: fructum quidem et utilitatem nullam præstantes, in quos virtutes perficere se dicunt; adducentes autem [2]pueros investes, et oculos deludentes, et phantasmata ostendentes statim cessantia, et ne quidem [3]stillicidio temporis perseverantia, non Jesu Domino nostro, sed Simoni M. 166. mago similes ostenduntur. Et ex hoc autem quod Dominus surrexit a mortuis in tertia die, [4]firmum esse, et discipulis se manifestavit, et videntibus eis receptus est in cœlum, quod ipsi morientes, [5]et non resurgentes, neque manifestati quibusdam, arguuntur in nullo similes habentes Jesu animas.

Euseb. H. E. v. 7. Niceph. H. E. iv. 13.

3. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸν κύριον φαντασιωδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκέναι φήσουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ προφητικὰ ἀνάγοντες αὐτοὺς, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξομεν, πάντα οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προειρῆσθαι, καὶ γεγονέναι βεβαίως, καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ, παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν, ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ' ἐνεργεσίᾳ

3. Si autem et Dominum per phantasmata hujusmodi fecisse dicunt, ad prophetica reducentes eos, ex ipsis demonstrabimus, omnia sic de eo et prædicta esse, et facta firmissime, et ipsum solum esse Filium Dei. Quapropter et in illius nomine, qui vere illius sunt discipuli ab ipso accipientes gratiam, perficiunt ad

[1] *et* is inserted on the faith of the CLERM. MS., which, however, omits *nihil*.

[2] *pueros investes*, i. e. *Necdum pubertate vestitos*. *Investis* is the male correlative of *virgo*. TERTULL. *de Vel. Virg.* 8. *Si virgo mulier non est, nec vir investis est.* The reader is referred to the curious particulars recorded by HIPPOLYTUS with reference to the trained children of impostors and jugglers. *Philosoph.* IV. 28.

[3] Σταγμῇ χρόνου *ad clepsydras allusit Irenæus; nisi librarius vitiose pro* στιγμῇ *scripserit, quæ vox proprie momentum significat.* GRABE.

[4] *Firmum esse. Duæ istæ voces hic prorsus superabundant.* GRABE; but the words may be maintained, if not in their position, at least in the context, the constructional sequence of the passage being this: Καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὲ, ὅτι ὁ Κύριος ἀνέστη, καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐφανέρωσε.... βέβαιον εἶναι, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀποθανόντες... ἐλέγχονται ἐν οὐδενὶ ἔχοντες. κ.τ.λ., the words *firmum esse* having their proper place, as immediately introducing the apodosis that they precede, *quod ipsi morientes*, &c.

[5] An allusion, I think, may be traced here to the circumstances that attended the death of Simon Magus as recorded by HIPPOLYTUS. See p. 195, n. 1.

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τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἷς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὴν δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρ' αὐτοῦ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσι βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Οἱ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσι τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ ὀπτασίας, καὶ ῥήσεις προφητικάς. Ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται, καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστᾶσιν. Ἤδη δὲ, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν, [1]καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι. Καὶ τί γάρ; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ Θεοῦ λαβοῦσα, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἐξαπατῶσα τινὰς, μήτε ἐξαργυριζομένη. Ὡς γὰρ δωρεὰν εἴληφε παρὰ Θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ.

LIB. II. xlix. 3. GR. II. lvii. MASS. II. xxxii. 4.

G. 189.

Cf. Act. viii. 9, 18.

beneficia reliquorum hominum, quemadmodum unusquisque accepit donum ab eo. Alii enim dæmones excludunt firmissime et vere, ut etiam sæpissime credant ipsi qui emundati sunt a nequissimis spiritibus, et sint in Ecclesia: alii autem et præscientiam habent futurorum, et visiones, et dictiones propheticas. Alii autem laborantes aliqua infirmitate, per manus impositionem curant, et sanos restituunt. Jam etiam, quemadmodum diximus, et mortui resurrexerunt, et perseveraverunt nobiscum annis multis. Et quid autem? Non est numerum dicere gratiarum, quas per universum mundum Ecclesia a Deo accipiens, in nomine Christi Jesu, crucifixi sub Pontio Pilato, per singulos dies in opitulationem gentium perficit, neque seducens aliquem, nec pecuniam ei auferens. Quemadmodum enim gratis accepit a Deo, gratis et ministrat. [2]Nec invocationibus angelicis facit aliquid, nec

[1] The reader will not fail to remark this highly interesting testimony, that the divine χαρίσματα bestowed upon the infant Church were not wholly extinct in the days of IRENÆUS. Possibly the venerable Father is speaking from his own personal recollection of some who had been raised from the dead, and had continued for a time living witnesses of the efficacy of Christian faith.

[2] *Nec invocationibus angelicis. Malignos tantum spiritus hoc loco intelligendos notat Feuardentius, quos scilicet Simoniani, Marcosii, Carpocratiani, aliique malefici ad suas præstigias exercendas in opem evocabant. Ast nec bonos Angelos ab Ecclesia ad virtutem miraculorum edendam in auxilium vocatos uspiam legimus; imo id non factum esse ex hoc ipso Irenæi loco haud inepte colligitur.*

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LIB. II. xlix. 3. GR. II. lvii. MASS. II. xxxii. 5.

incantationibus, nec reliqua prava curiositate; sed munde et pure et manifeste orationes [1]dirigentes [dirigens] ad Dominum, qui omnia fecit, et nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi invocans, virtutes [2]secundum utilitates hominum, sed non ad seductionem perfecit. Si itaque et nunc nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi beneficia præstat, et curat firmissime et vere omnes ubique credentes in eum, sed non Simonis, neque Menandri, neque Carpocratis, nec alterius cujuscunque, manifestum est, quoniam homo factus, conversatus est cum suo plasmate, [3]vere omnia fecit ex virtute Dei, secundum placitum Patris universorum, quomodo prophetæ prædixerunt. Quæ autem erant hæc, in his quæ sunt ex propheticis ostensionibus narrabuntur.

CAP. L.

Ostensio quod non transeant animæ in alia corpora.

De corpore autem in corpus transmigrationem ipsorum sub- M. 167.
vertamus ex eo, quod nihil omnino eorum [4]quæ ante fuerint, meminerint animæ. Si enim ob hoc emittebantur, uti in omni fierent operatione, oportebat eas meminisse eorum quæ ante facta sunt, uti ea quæ deerant adimplerent, et non circa eadem semper volutantes continuatim, miserabiliter laborarent. [5]Non enim poterat corporis admixtio in totum universam ipsorum, quæ ante habita erant, extinguere memoriam et contemplationem; et maxime ad hoc venientes. Quomodo enim nunc [6]soporati et requiescente corpore, quæcunque anima ipsa apud se videt, et in

Quippe invocationibus Angelicis opponit orationes ad Dominum qui omnia fecit, et invocationem nominis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, nulla sanctorum spirituum Dei mentione facta. Grabe.

[1] *dirigentes ad,* the true reading cannot possibly be otherwise than *dirigens ad;* though *εὐθύνουσα εἰς* might be read as *εὐθυνούσας.*

[2] Clerm. and Voss. *secundum utilitates ad utilitates,* of which terms Grabe adopts the first, Mass. the second.

[3] Grabe proposes to add *et* before *vere,* or to expunge *est* after *conversatus;* but perhaps *et conversatus* may express the original.

[4] Ἐχρῆν γὰρ καὶ εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς ὅπου ἦμεν, εἰ προῆμεν. Clem. Al. *Ecl. Pr.* 17.

[5] *Non enim—contemplationem.* This passage is apparently out of its proper place, and should follow the conclusion of the opening period, *meminerint animæ.* The next words, *et maxime ad hoc venientes,* might then have this connexion: *If the souls of men re-appeared to fill up the measure of their deeds undone, they must have a memory of all previous actions, that they might discharge their arrearage; et maxime ad hoc venientes.*

[6] ὑπνωθέντος καὶ κοιμωμένου τοῦ σώματος. *Soporato* is required, though no MS. so reads it.

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phantasmate agit, et horum plura reminiscens communicat cum corpore; et est quando et post plurimum temporis, quæcunque per somnium quis vidit, vigilans annuntiat: sic utique reminisceretur et illorum, quæ, antequam in hoc corpus veniret, egit. Si enim hoc, quod in brevissimo tempore visum est, vel in phantasmate conceptum est, et ab ea sola per somnium, postquam commixta sit corpori, et in universum membrum dispersa, commemoratur, multo magis illorum reminisceretur, in quibus, temporibus tantis et universo præteritæ vitæ sæculo immorata est.

CAP. LI.

Ostensio quod non bibant, secundum Platonem, oblivionis poculum.

G. 190. Ad hæc Plato vetus ille Atheniensis, qui et [1]primus sententiam hanc introduxit, cum excusare non posset, oblivionis induxit

[1] The statement that PLATO invented the notion of a *μετενσωμάτωσις* of souls is certainly not correct. PINDAR says that three trials upon earth are necessary before the soul can be admitted to the islands of the blessed.

"Οσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἐς τρὶς
'Εκατέρωθι μείναντες
'Απὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν
ψυχὰν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς
'Οδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρ-
σιν· ἔνθα μακάρων
Νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες
Αὖραι περιπνέουσιν· κ.τ.λ.
Ol. II. 123.

The doctrine was first introduced by PYTHAGORAS, who learned it from his Egyptian preceptor Sonchis, CLEM. AL. *Strom.* I. 15, or Ænuphis, PLUT. *Os. et Is.* 10. For from an early date it had been believed in Egypt. HEROD. II. 123, DIOG. LAERT. I. and DIOD SIC. I. sub fin. EMPEDOCLES, perhaps, was the first Greek philosopher who referred the transmigration of souls to the decrees of divine justice. *Fragm.* in ESTIENNE, *Po. Philos.* p. 24, in the edition of STURZ. So also PLATO allots the future condition and existence of the soul according to its merits or demerits: ὁ μὲν εὖ τὸν προσήκοντα βιοὺς χρόνον, πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συννόμου πορευθεὶς οἴκησιν ἄστρου, βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ συνήθη ἔξοι· σφαλεὶς δὲ τούτων εἰς γυναικὸς φύσιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ γενέσει μεταβαλοῖ· μὴ παυόμενος δὲ ἐν τούτοις ἔτι κακίας, τρόπον ὃν κακύνοιτο, κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς τοῦ τρόπου γενέσεως εἴς τινα τοιαύτην ἀεὶ μεταβαλοῖ θηρίου φύσιν, κ.τ.λ. *Timæus*, p. 42. EMPEDOCLES also extended the notion of a metensomatosis, like the Brahmins, to every phase of life, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων συγκατατίθεται τῇ μετενσωματώσει, οὕτως εἰπών·

"Ητοι μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε,
θαμνός τ' οἰωνός τε, καὶ ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔμπορος ἰχθύς.

Οὗτος πάσας εἰς πάντα τὰ ζῶα μεταλλάττειν εἶπε τὰς ψυχάς. κ.τ.λ. HIPPOL. *Ph.* I. p. 9.

And as regards the human soul, PLUTARCH says that he taught εἶναι τοὺς μηδέπω γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς ἤδη τεθνηκότας. *De exilio.* Wherever the future immortality of the soul was believed in ancient philosophy (and the belief was

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LIB. II. li. GR. II. lix. MASS. II. xxxiii. 2.

poculum, putans se per hoc aporiam hujusmodi effugere : ostensionem quidem nullam faciens, dogmatice autem respondens, quoniam introeuntes animæ in hanc vitam, ab eo qui est super introitum dæmone, priusquam in corpora intrent, [1] potantur oblivione. [2] Et latuit semetipsum in alteram majorem incidens aporiam. Si enim oblivionis poculum potest, posteaquam ebibitum est, omnium factorum obliterare memoriam, hoc ipsum unde scis o Plato, cum sit nunc in corpore anima tua, quoniam, priusquam in corpus introeat, a dæmone potata est oblivionis medicamentum? Si enim dæmonem, et poculum, et introitum reminisceris, et reliqua oportet cognoscas: si autem illa ignoras, neque dæmon verus, neque artificiose compositum oblivionis poculum[3].

CAP. LII.

Ostensio quoniam corpus non est oblivio.

Adversus autem eos, qui dicunt ipsum corpus esse oblivionis medicamentum, occurret hoc: Quomodo igitur quodcunque per semetipsam anima videt, et in somniis et secundum cogitationem, mentis intentionem, corpore quiescente, ipsa reminiscitur, et renuntiat proximis? Sed ne quidem ea quæ olim agnita sunt, aut per oculos, aut per auditum, meminisset anima in corpore exsistens, si esset corpus oblivio; sed simul atque ab inspectis abesset

more general than is usually imagined), its antecedent immortality also was a co-ordinate tenet, it having been a settled principle that as nothing can pass into nothing, so nothing can spring from non-entity; so Aristotle declares, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι διετέλησαν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἐκ μηδενὸς γίνεσθαί τι προϋπάρχοντος· and it is in accordance with this that Plato says of the pre-existence of the soul, ἦν ποῦ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ εἶδει γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθάνατόν τι ἔοικεν ἡ ψυχὴ εἶναι. *Phædo.* The notion was Pythagorean; but Pythagoras had it from his instructor Pherecydes Syrus, who (Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* I. 16) *Primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos*, meaning an antecedent as well as a prospective eternity.

[1] *Potantur oblivione. Platonicum hoc somnium acerrime post Irenæum impugnant Tertull. libr. de anima, capit. adversus Platonis μαθήσεις καὶ ἀναμνήσεις. Augustinus lib.* XII. *de Trinitate cap.* 15, *et lib.* I. *Retractation. cap.* 4. *et libro* VII. *de Genesi ad lit. cap.* 9, 10, 11, *et lib.* X. *cap.* 4. *denique et Lactantius libro* VII. *cap.* 22. *Letheum porro fluvium vocant, quod ἡ λήθη oblivionem significet. Est enim, ut idem Plato censuit, τῆς μνήμης ἔξοδος. De eodem flumine canit Virgilius in* VI. *Æneid. explicat vero ejusdem mythologiam Macrobius lib.* I. *de Somnio Scipionis.* Feuard.

[2] Ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἑτέραν μείζονα περιπεσὼν ἀπορίαν. Bill.

[3] οὐδὲ ὁ δαίμων ἀληθὴς, οὐδ' ὁ τετεχνωμένος τῆς λήθης κρατήρ.

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oculus, auferretur utique et ea quæ esset de his memoria. In ipsa enim oblivione exsistens anima nihil aliud cognoscere poterat, nisi solum illud quod in præsenti videbat. Quomodo autem et divina [1]disceret, et meminisset ipsorum exsistens in corpore, quando sit, ut aiunt, ipsum corpus oblivio? Sed et prophetæ ipsi cum essent in terra, quæcunque spiritaliter secundum visiones cœlestium vident vel audiunt, ipsi quoque meminerunt [2]in hominem conversi, et reliquis annuntiant: et non corpus oblivionem efficit animæ eorum quæ spiritaliter visa sunt; sed anima docet corpus, et participat de spiritali ei facta visione.

LIB. II. lii. liii. GR. II. lx. lxi. MASS. II. xxxiii. 3.

CAP. LIII.

Quoniam in corporis communione non amittit suas virtutes anima.

G. 191. Non enim est fortius corpus quam anima, quod quidem ab illa spiratur, et vivificatur, et augetur, et articulatur; sed anima [3]possidet et principatur corpori. Tantum autem impeditur a sua velocitate, quantum corpus participat de ejus motione; sed non M. 168. amittit suam scientiam. Corpus enim organo simile est; anima autem artificis rationem obtinet. Quemadmodum itaque artifex velociter quidem operationem secundum se adinvenit, in organo autem tardius illam perficit, propter rei subjectæ immobilitatem, et illius mentis velocitas admixta tarditati organi temperatam perficit operationem: sic et anima participans suo corpori, modicum quidem impeditur, admixta velocitate ejus in corporis tarditate; non amittit autem in totum suas virtutes; sed quasi vitam participans corpori, ipsa vivere non cessat. Sic et de reliquis ei communicans, neque scientiam ipsorum perdit, neque memoriam inspectorum.

[1] disceret, *Sic scripsit.* MASS. *neque dicit qua auctoritate motus sit.* STIEREN. GRABE has *sciret;* although he allows that it is found in no MS. The Benedictine follows the CLERM., AR. and VOSS. reading, here adopted.

[2] *Ad seipsos ex ecstasi reversi.* MASS.

[3] According to MASSUET κυριεύει, and to STIEREN κρατύνει, but κρατεῖ καὶ κυριεύει τοῦ σώματος sounds more like the original.

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LIB. II. liv. GR. II. lxii. MASS. II. xxxiii. 5.

CAP. LIV.

Ostensio quod unusquisque nostrum suam habet animam, sicut et suum corpus.

Si itaque nullius præteritorum meminit, sed exsistentium scientiam hic percipit, non igitur in aliis corporibus fuit aliquando, neque egit quæ ne quidem agnoscit, neque novit quæ quidem neque videt.

Joh. Damasc. Parall. Halloix. in vit. Iren.

Ἀλλ' ὡς εἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἴδιον σῶμα . . . λαμβάνει, οὕτως καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχει ψυχήν. Οὐ γὰρ . . . πτωχὸς, οὐδὲ ἄπορος ὁ Θεὸς, ὥστε μὴ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ σώματι ἰδίαν κεχαρίσθαι ψυχὴν, καθάπερ καὶ ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πληρωθέντος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, οὗ αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῷ προώρισε, πάντες οἱ ἐγγραφέντες εἰς ζωὴν ἀναστήσονται, ἴδια ἔχοντες σώματα, καὶ ἰδίας ἔχοντες ψυχὰς, καὶ ἴδια πνεύματα, ἐν οἷς εὐηρέστησαν τῷ Θεῷ. Οἱ δὲ τῆς κολάσεως ἄξιοι ἀπελεύσονται εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰδίας ἔχοντες ψυχὰς, καὶ ἴδια σώματα, ἐν οἷς ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος. Καὶ παύσονται ἑκάτεροι τοῦ γεννᾶν ἔτι, καὶ γεννᾶσθαι, καὶ γαμεῖν καὶ γαμεῖσθαι· ἵνα τὸ σύμμετρον φῦλον τῆς προορίσεως ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπότητος [1]ἀποτελεσθεὶς, τὴν ἁρμονίαν τηρήσῃ τοῦ Πατρός.

Sed quemadmodum unusquisque nostrum suum corpus per artem Dei sumit, sic et suam habet animam. Neque enim sic pauper, neque indigens Deus, ut non unicuique corpori propriam donaret animam, quemadmodum et proprium characterem. Et ideo adimpleto numero, quem ipse apud se ante definiit, omnes quicunque sunt scripti in vitam, resurgent, sua corpora et suas habentes animas, et suos spiritus, in quibus placuerunt Deo. Qui autem pœna sunt digni, abibunt in eam, et ipsi suas habentes animas, et sua corpora, in quibus abstiterunt a Dei bonitate. Et cessabunt utrique jam generare, et generari, et ducere uxorem, et nubere; [1]ut commensurata multitudo ante præfinita a Deo generis humani perfectorum compago sive aptatio conservet Patris.

[1] *Ut commensurata—Patris. Mala sane versio, inde præcipue nata, quod Interpres pro,* ἀποτελεσθὲν τὴν, *vitiose legerit* ἀποτελεσθέντων. *Melius autem*

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LIB. II. lv. GR. II. lxiii. MASS. II. xxxiv. 1.

CAP. LV.

Quomodo perseverant animæ, corporis habentes figuram.

G. 192. PLENISSIME autem Dominus docuit, non solum perseverare, non de corpore in corpus transgredientes animas, sed et characterem corporis, in quo etiam adaptantur, custodire eundem: et meminisse eas operum quæ egerunt hic, et a quibus cessaverunt, in ea relatione quæ scribitur [1] de Divite et de Lazaro eo, qui [2] refrigerabat in sinu Abrahæ: in qua ait, Divitem cognoscere Lazarum post mortem, et Abraham autem similiter, et manere in suo ordine unumquemque ipsorum, et postulare mitti ei ad opem ferendam Lazarum, cui ne quidem de mensæ suæ micis communicabat: et de Abrahæ responso, qui non tantum ea quæ secundum se, sed et quæ secundum Divitem essent, sciebat; et præcipiebat Moysi assentire et Prophetis eos, qui non mallent pervenire in illum locum pœnæ, [3] et recipientes præconium ejus qui [4] resurrexerit a mortuis. Per hæc enim manifestissime declaratum est, et perseverare animas, et non de corpore in corpus transire, et habere hominis figuram, ut etiam cognoscantur, et meminerint eorum quæ sint hic; et [5] propheticum quoque adesse Abrahæ, et dignam habitationem unamquamque gentem percipere, etiam ante judicium. Luc. xvi. 19 seqq.

reddidit Halloixius: "Ut hominum multitudo divinæ correspondens prædefinitioni jam consummata, Patris conservet harmoniam;" quam Vetus interpres duplici voce compaginis, et aptationis vertit. GRABE. But may not the author have written, *τῆς προορισμένως.... ἀποτελεσθείσης*?

[1] *De Divite et Lazaro. Similiter Clemens Al. Did. Or. p. 792.* Ἀντικρυς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λάζαρου καὶ τοῦ πλουσίου διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν μελῶν σῶμα εἶναι δείκνυται ἡ ψυχή. *Eodem argumento utitur quoque Tertullianus de An. c. 7.* GR.

[2] *Refrigerabat. Ita ex* ABUND., VOSS. *et* MERC. I. *excudi feci pro refrigeratur, quia et alibi refrigerare in passiva significatione usurpavit Interpres.* GRABE.

[3] *Et recipientes. Hic unum alterumque verbum deesse videtur.* GRABE. Accordingly MASSUET and STIEREN supply *esse*. By substituting in the Greek δὲ for τε, the sense would flow as follows: καὶ ἐνετείλατο.... τοῖς μὴ θέλουσιν καταντῆσαι εἰς τόνδε τὸν τῆς τιμωρίας τόπον, δεχομένοις δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ ἀναστ. κ.τ.λ.

[4] CLERM. and VOSS., but GRABE with AR. *resurgeret.*

[5] *Propheticum. Fallor an spiritus, vel donum, vel simile verbum hic exciderit.* GRABE. But καὶ τὸ προφητικόν τε would require no addition.

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LIB. II. lvi. 1. GR. II. lxiv. MASS. II. xxxiv. 2.

CAP. LVI.

Quomodo animæ, cum sint generabiles, in futurum incorruptibiles perseverant.

1. Si qui autem hoc in loco dicant, non posse animas eas, M. 169. quæ paulo ante esse cœperint, in multum temporis perseverare, sed oportere eas aut innascibiles esse, ut sint immortales; vel si generationis initium acceperint, cum ipso corpore mori: discant, quoniam sine initio et sine fine, vere et semper idem et eodem modo se habens, solus est Deus, qui est omnium Dominus. Quæ G. 193. autem sunt ab illo omnia, quæcunque facta sunt, et fiunt, initium quidem suum accipiunt generationis, et per hoc [1]inferiora sunt ab eo qui ea fecit, quoniam non sunt ingenita; perseverant autem et extenduntur in longitudinem sæculorum, secundum voluntatem factoris Dei: ita ut sic initio fierent, et postea, ut sint, eis donat. Quemadmodum enim cœlum quod est super nos, firmamentum, et sol, et luna, et reliquæ stellæ, et omnia ornamenta ipsorum, cum ante non essent, facta sunt, et multo tempore perseverant secundum voluntatem Dei; sic et de animabus, et de spiritibus, et omnino de omnibus his quæ facta sunt cogitans quis, minime peccabit: quando omnia quæ facta sunt, initium quidem facturæ suæ habeant, perseverant autem quoadusque ea Deus et esse, et perseverare voluerit. Testatur pro his sententiis etiam propheticus spiritus, dicens: *Quoniam ipse dixit, et facta sunt; ipse mandavit, et creata sunt. Statuit ea in sæculum, et in sæculum sæculi.* Et iterum de salvando homine sic ait: *Vitam petiit a te, et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in sæculum sæculi:* tanquam Patre omnium donante, et in sæculum sæculi [2]perseverantiam his qui salvi fiunt. Non enim ex nobis, neque ex nostra natura vita est; sed secundum gratiam Dei datur. Et ideo qui servaverit datum vitæ, et gratias egerit ei qui præstitit, accipiet et in sæculum sæculi longitudinem dierum. Qui autem abjecerit eam, et ingratus exstiterit factori, ob hoc quod factus est et non cognoverit eum qui præstat, ipse se privat in sæculum sæculi perseverantia. Et ideo Dominus

Ps. cxlviii. 5, 6.

Ps. xx. 4.

[1] *inferiora ab eo.* See p. 211, note 3. An emendation of HEUMANN is adduced by STIEREN, but it is as usual inadmissible; he would read *Deo* for *ab eo;* but the construction is manifestly Hebrew.

[2] διαμονήν.

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dicebat ingratis exsistentibus in eum: [1]*Si in modico fideles non fuistis, quod magnum est quis dabit vobis?* significans, quoniam qui in modica temporali vita ingrati exstiterunt ei qui eam præstitit, juste non percipient ab eo in sæculum sæculi longitudinem dierum. LIB. II. lvi. 1. GR. II. lxiv. MASS. II. xxxiv, 3. Luc. xvi. 11.

2. Sicut autem corpus animale ipsum quidem non est anima, participatur autem animam, quoadusque Deus vult: sic et anima ipsa quidem [2]non est vita, participatur autem a Deo sibi præstitam vitam. Unde et propheticus sermo de protoplasto ait: *factus est in animam vivam;* docens nos, quoniam secundum participationem vitæ vivens facta est anima; ita ut separatim quidem anima intelligatur, separatim autem quæ [3]erga eam est vita. Deo itaque vitam et perpetuam perseverantiam donante, capit et animas primum non exsistentes dehinc perseverare, cum eas Deus et esse et subsistere voluerit. Principari enim debet in omnibus et dominari voluntas Dei; reliqua autem omnia huic cedere, et subdita esse, et in servitium dedita. Et de factura quidem et perseverantia animæ hucusque dictum sit. Gen. ii. 7.

CAP. LVII.

Eversio Basilidis cœlorum fabricationis.

Basilides autem et ipse super hæc quæ dicta sunt cogetur dicere secundum suam regulam, non solum CCCLXV secundum successionem alios ab aliis factos, sed immensam quandam et innumerabilem multitudinem cœlorum semper factam, et fieri, et futurum ut fiant, et nunquam deficere hujusmodi fabricam cœlo-
M. 170. rum. Si enim [4]ex defluxu prioris secundum factum est cœlum ad

[1] *Si in modico.* *Hæc verba, tanquam ipsius Servatoris, ab Irenæo prolata, in nostris Evangeliis ita non leguntur; referuntur tamen eodem fere modo ab Auctore Epist. 2. S. Clementi Romano vulgo adscriptæ, ubi Græce ita sonant:* λέγει γὰρ Κύριος ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ· εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστός ἐστιν. *Ex Evangelio autem secundum Ægyptios ea deprompta conjicio, quia alia quoque inde allegavit illius Epistolæ vel Homiliæ Clementinæ Auctor, de quibus vide Spicilegium Patrum Seculi* I. *p.* 35. Grabe.

[2] *Non est vita, &c.* *Hæc descripsisse videtur e Justini M. Dial. cum Tryph. p.* 224, *ubi de anima ait:* οὐ ζωὴ οὖσα ζῇ, ἀλλὰ μεταλαμβάνουσα τῆς ζωῆς, ἕτερον δέ τι τὸ μετέχον τινὸς, ἐκείνου οὗ μετέχει· ζωῆς δὲ ψυχὴ μετέχει, ἐπεὶ ζῇν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς βούλεται. Grabe.

[3] Heumann proposes ἔργον *ejus*, consistently with his ἔργα μωρά, p. 373, n. 5. *Erga eam* is simply for περὶ αὐτήν.

[4] *Græce* ἐξ ἀποῤῥοίας *Irenæum scripsisse, ex superiori p.* 97, *n.* 7, *colligitur.* Grabe.

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LIB. II. lvii. GR. II. lxv. MASS. II. xxxv. I.

illius speciem, et ad secundi tertium, et similiter omnes reliqui subsequentes: et [1][de] hujus quod secundum nos est, quod et novissimum vocat, necesse est [1]ex defluxu aliud factum simile sibi, et ex illo iterum aliud: et nunquam deficere, neque defluxus eorum qui jam facti sunt, neque facturas cœlorum; sed in immensum, et non in præfinitum numerum cœlorum incidere. G. 194.

CAP. LVIII.

Ostensio quoniam prophetæ non a variis diis fecerint prophetationes, sed ab uno et eodem: et expositio Hebraicorum nominum eorum quæ in prophetis posita sunt.

1. Et reliqui autem qui falso nomine Gnostici dicuntur, qui prophetas ex diversis diis prophetias fecisse dicunt, facile destruentur ex hoc, quod omnes prophetæ unum Deum et Dominum prædicaverint, et ipsum factorem cœli et terræ et omnium quæ in eis sunt, et quod adventum Filii ejus significaverint, secundum quod ex ipsis demonstrabimus Scripturis in libris consequentibus. Si autem quidam secundum [2]Hebræam linguam diverse dictiones positas in Scripturis opponant, quale est Sabaoth, et Eloe, et Adonai, et alia quæcunque sunt talia, ex his ostendere elaborantes diversas virtutes atque deos: discant quoniam unius et ipsius significationes et nuncupationes sunt omnia hujusmodi. Quod enim dicitur [3]Eloe, secundum Judaicam vocem Deum significat, [4]et Eloæ verum et

[1] *Ex defluxu. Hoc* ex, *vel præcedens* de *delendum videtur.* GRABE. MASSUET and STIEREN follow in the same opinion, and they are partly right, though they do not trace the error to its proper source, the presence of both particles in the Greek; e. g. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου, τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὃν καὶ ὕστατον καλεῖ, ἀνάγκη ἐξ ἀπορρύλας ἕτερον γεγονέναι, κ.τ.λ.: for this reason, the former of the two particles rather than the latter has been placed between brackets. *Heumannus legi suadet* dehinc. STIEREN.

[2] i. e. in Biblical Hebrew, not the Syriac, as in the commencement of Lib. II. it is said that S. Matthew wrote ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, i.e. in the vernacular language of Palestine.

[3] אֱלוֹהַּ. The root of which word is the Arabic ألٰه *to worship.*

[4] *Et Eloæ verum et Eloeuth.* I venture to suggest the following Greek words, Ἐλωείμ τε, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλωεῦθ. But the term Ἐλωείμ seems here to be referred to the root אל *fortis;* for the explanation renders it as *Almighty,* τὸ παντοκρατὲς, translated as *Hoc quod continet omnia.*

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[1]Eloeuth secundum Hebraicam linguam, hoc *Quod continet omnia*, significat. Quod autem ait [2]Adonai, aliquando quidem [2]nominabile et admirabile significat, aliquando autem duplicata litera delta cum aspiratione, ut puta [3]Addonai, *Præfinientem et*

LIB. II. lviii. 1. GR. II. lxvi. MASS. II. xxxv. 3.

G. 195.

Job. xxxviii. 6—11.

[1] *Eloeuth.* This is the Rabbinical abstract term, אֱלָהוּת *Godhead.* See the Targum on Cant. viii. 1, 6.

[2] *Adonai.* אֲדֹנָי, the term substituted by the Jews from a principle of reverence for the *nomen innominatum* Jehovah, wherever it occurs in reading the sacred text. For this reason IRENÆUS may term it ῥητὸν, *nominabile*, as that which might be uttered, in lieu of the ἀῤῥητὸν, and more venerable name. But the conjunction of this term with *admirabile*, θαυμαστὸν, induces the belief that *innominabile*, ἀῤῥητὸν, may have been written *a prima manu*. That this reverential usage was of very ancient date is evident from the fact that in the later books of the Bible אֲדֹנָי is not unfrequently substituted for יְהוָֹה, e.g. Dan. ix. 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 19. AR. here as before *Adone*.

[3] I imagine here a transition from the root דון, of which אדון is a derivative, to אדן the foundation of a building, compared by Gesenius with the Arabic عدن *fixus mansit in aliquo loco*. But the absence of vowel points, when Irenæus wrote, made it a matter of arbitrary usage how certain words of rarer use were to be pronounced. The word אדן, in the above sense as at present pointed, only has a single *Daleth*, but ד is a letter that admits of a harder and a softer pronunciation, the former causing it to be enounced, as we should say, *double;* this reacts upon the preceding vowel, giving it a strongly accented character, and further where its *vehiculum*, the consonant, is one of the gutturals it brings out this character more roughly. In the present instance, then, the effect of hardening the middle letter of אדן would be to give to it a double, and to the scarcely articulate א a more decidedly guttural character, as Irenæus here says *duplicata litera delta cum aspiratione*. It is most probable that this is the solution of his *aspiration*, he meant simply a well defined initial guttural sound. (On the *normal* articulation of *Aleph*, see *Hist. and Theol. of Creeds*, 684, n. 1, and cf. *aspirationis, a pause in reading*, Vol. II. 26.) Then GRABE'S and MASSUET'S *Addhonai*, Ἀδθωναὶ, involves a change of character, but for this there is not a shadow of authority in the MSS. GRABE'S allegation of the Voss. MS., the only one to which he appeals, is effectually disposed of by STIEREN'S subsequent collation, who says, *in* Voss. *scriptum est* Adonay (GRAB. *scriptionem*, Voss. *falso allegat*). Next, the meaning to be attached to the word may be educed from Job xxxviii. 6, if only allowance be made for variation of sense in unpointed Hebrew. Irenæus, or rather the heretics with whom he was engaged, may be supposed to have read the words עַל־מָה אֲדָנֶיהָ הָטְבָּעוּ *whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened*, as, עַל־מָה אֲדָנֶיהָ הִטְבִּיעָהּ *whereupon hath her Lord founded her;* but in practice the pronunciation of the word אדני was known to differ from that of אֲדֹנָי *Dominus*, therefore a meaning is extracted from this passage to suit the varied pronunciation; and the interpretation given by Irenæus is evidently derived from the words, 7—11; *Quis conclusit ostiis mare, quando erumpebat quasi de vulva procedens? Circumdedi illud terminis meis, et posui vectem et ostia, et dixi huc usque venies, et non procedes amplius, et hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos?* It should be borne

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LIB. II. lviii. 1. GR. II. lxvi. MASS. II. xxxv. 3.

separantem terram ab aqua, [1]nec posteaquam insurgere in eam. Similiter autem et [2]Sabaωth per ω quidem Græcam in syllaba novissima scribitur, *Voluntarium* significat: per *o* autem Græcam, ut puta [3]Sabaoth, primum cœlum manifestat. Eodem modo et [4]Jaωth, extensa cum aspiratione novissima syllaba, mensuram præfinitam manifestat; cum autem per *o* Græcam corripitur, M. 171. ut puta [5]Jaoth, eum qui dat fugam malorum significat. Et cætera

Gen. ii. 1.

Ps. lxviii. 4—6.

in mind that heresy perhaps is answerable for this mistaken etymology, and not the venerable Father.

[1] οὐδ' ἔπειτα ἐπαναβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτήν. This would seem to have been in GRABE'S mind. *Feuardentius ex propria conjectura excudi fecit:* ne possit aqua insurgere in eam. *Latinus Latinius paulo aliter vult reponi,* ne posset unquam insurgere in eam. *Omnium optime Crojus loco supra citato:* ne postea aqua insurgeret in eam. *Sed forsitan ipse Interpres Græcorum more Infinitivum pro Conjunctivo usurpavit, et* posteaquam *loco* postea *posuit.* FEUARDENT'S reading is found in VOSS. the other MSS. agree as above. LXX. οὐχ ὑπερβήσῃ.

[2] *Sabaωth.* Derived from the Chaldaic root צבא or צבה, the last letter of which root is converted into ו on inflexion. It means *velle,* and צְבָאוֹת is *voluntas, votum,* &c. as in the Targum on Job xxxi. 16, אִין אִתְמְנַע מִלְּשַׁלְמָא צְבָאוֹת מְסָבְּיְנָא of which word I think IRENÆUS is speaking. It is also the Syriac root corresponding with εὐδοκεῖν, e. g. *This is my beloved Son,* ܕܢ ܒܪܝ ܚܒܝܒ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܨܒܝܬ ܠܝ. The construction requires *cum* or *quando* to be supplied.

[3] *Sabaoth primum cœlum manifestat,* in allusion apparently to the words in Gen. ii. 1. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished וְכָל־צְבָאָם, the first heaven being that of the starry firmament, or heavenly host of planets, &c. See also Deut. iv. 29. This of course is the sole root of the term *Sabaoth,* as used in *regimine* with the Divine name.

[4] *Jaωth.* MASSUET, I think, has rightly interpreted this term as being identical with יהוה. But it may be doubted whether his notion be correct, that the final ה is expressed by θ, of which I know no other instance. But I consider the Greek text to have had Ἰαώ, and the translator or some later scribe, observing that the Latin language did admit of a final aspirate being written, which the Greek did not, set down Iaωh, and this appears in the corrupt reading of the VATICAN and MERC. II. MSS. *Jacob;* the ω having been converted into *co,* and the final *h* into *b.* Further, by a natural transition *Iaωh* became *Jaωth,* as having altogether a Hebrew sound, harmonising with Sabaoth, Eloeuth, Jaldabaoth, and other words that had already passed under the writer's notice. This, then, may serve to account for the conversion of Ἰαώ into *Jaωth.* The interpretation involves a more intimate knowledge of Rabbinical terms than has hitherto been allowed to the venerable Father. He says that this term, *mensuram præfinitam manifestat; Græce, μέτρον προωρισμένον ἀναφαίνει.* Now what is this but the Cabbalistic מִדַּת־הַגְּזֵרָה *Mensura prædestinationis,* the attribute of *predestinating will,* which Rabbinical theology has always considered to be veiled under the name *Jehovah?* This explanation, at least, seems borne out by the sense, and is far more worthy of the venerable Father, than the unsatisfactory conjectures that have generally been brought to bear upon such passages.

[5] *Jaoth.* Is this word intended to

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LIB. II. lviii. 1. GR. II. lxvi. MASS. II. xxxv. 3.

omnia unius ejusdemque nuncupationis sunt: sicut [1](secundum Latinitatem) Dominus virtutum, et Pater omnium, et Deus omnipotens, et Altissimus, et Dominus cœlorum, et Creator, et Fabricator, et similia his, non alterius atque alterius hæc sunt, sed unius ejusdemque nuncupationes et pronomina, per quæ unus Deus et Pater ostenditur, qui continet omnia, et omnibus ut sint præstans.

2. Quoniam autem dictis nostris consonat prædicatio Apostolorum, et Domini magisterium, et Prophetarum annuntiatio, et Apostolorum dictatio, et [2]legislationis ministratio, unum eundemque omnium Deum Patrem laudantium; et non alium atque alium, neque ex diversis diis aut virtutibus substantiam habentem; sed ex uno et eodem Patre omnia, (qui tamen aptat secundum [3]subjacentium naturas et dispositionem) et neque ab Angelis, neque ab alia quadam virtute, sed a solo Deo Patre visibilia atque invisibilia, et omnia omnino quæcunque facta sunt, arbitror quidem sufficienter ostensa, et per hæc tanta uno ostenso Deo Patre factore omnium. Sed ne putemur fugere illam quæ ex Scripturis Dominicis

be written like the preceding? I think not, but as the Greek characters of the former expressed Ἰαώ, so the latter was written Ἰαό. And when the first came to be written in Latin as *Jaωth*, the other assumed the form *Jaoth*. But we have seen reason to identify Ἰαώ with *Jehovah;* may we not expect the term now under consideration to have been *Jah?* If we strip off the final *th*, and it will disappear with the corresponding termination of Jaωth, there remains only the letter *o* to be accounted for. Now the name Jah is written in Hebrew יָהּ, the ה with the Mappik point being roughly aspirate; in order to express this, the vowel nearest in sound to this full final aspirate was added, which could only be either *o* or *υ*. Ἰαὸ then stood for יָהּ. With regard to the interpretation, *qui dat fugam malorum*, we must seek for it, not in any inherent idea in the root, but contextually in the Scriptural application of the term. Before, in *Jaωth* the theological application of the name Jehovah was expressed: in the present instance the allusion is Scriptural. In Ps. lxviii. 4, we read "*Praise him in his name Jah,*" and immediately afterwards the Divine Being is described as vouchsafing, *fugam malorum; A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows is God in his holy habitation, &c. &c.* The LXX. indeed has simply, Κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, but SYMMACHUS renders the words διὰ τοῦ Ἰα ἡ ὀνομασία αὐτοῦ, and a second version in the Hexapla of ORIGEN, ἐν τῷ Ἰα τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. For these reasons then it is proposed that *Jao* should be the reading of the term now under consideration, and that יָהּ should be accepted as its Hebrew equivalent.

[1] *secundum Latinitatem.* The translator thinks it necessary to make excuse for altering the Greek appellatives for the Deity given by the author, by exhibiting their Latin synonyms; I therefore inclose these words within brackets.

[2] *Intelligitur hic lex Mosaica, ministerio Angelorum data.* GRABE.

[3] τῶν ὑποκειμένων φύσεις καὶ διάθεσιν (*l.* διαθέσεις).

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LIB. II. lviii. 2. GR. II. lxvi. MASS. II. xxxv. 3.

est probationem, ipsis Scripturis multo manifestius et clarius hoc ipsum prædicantibus, his tamen qui non prave intendunt, eis [1]proprium librum, qui sequitur has Scripturas, reddentes, ex Scripturis divinis probationes apponemus in medio omnibus amantibus veritatem.

[1] ἴδιον τόμον ταῖσδε ταῖς γραφαῖς ἀκολούθως ἀναδιδόντες.

TOMUS PRIOR EXPLICIT.

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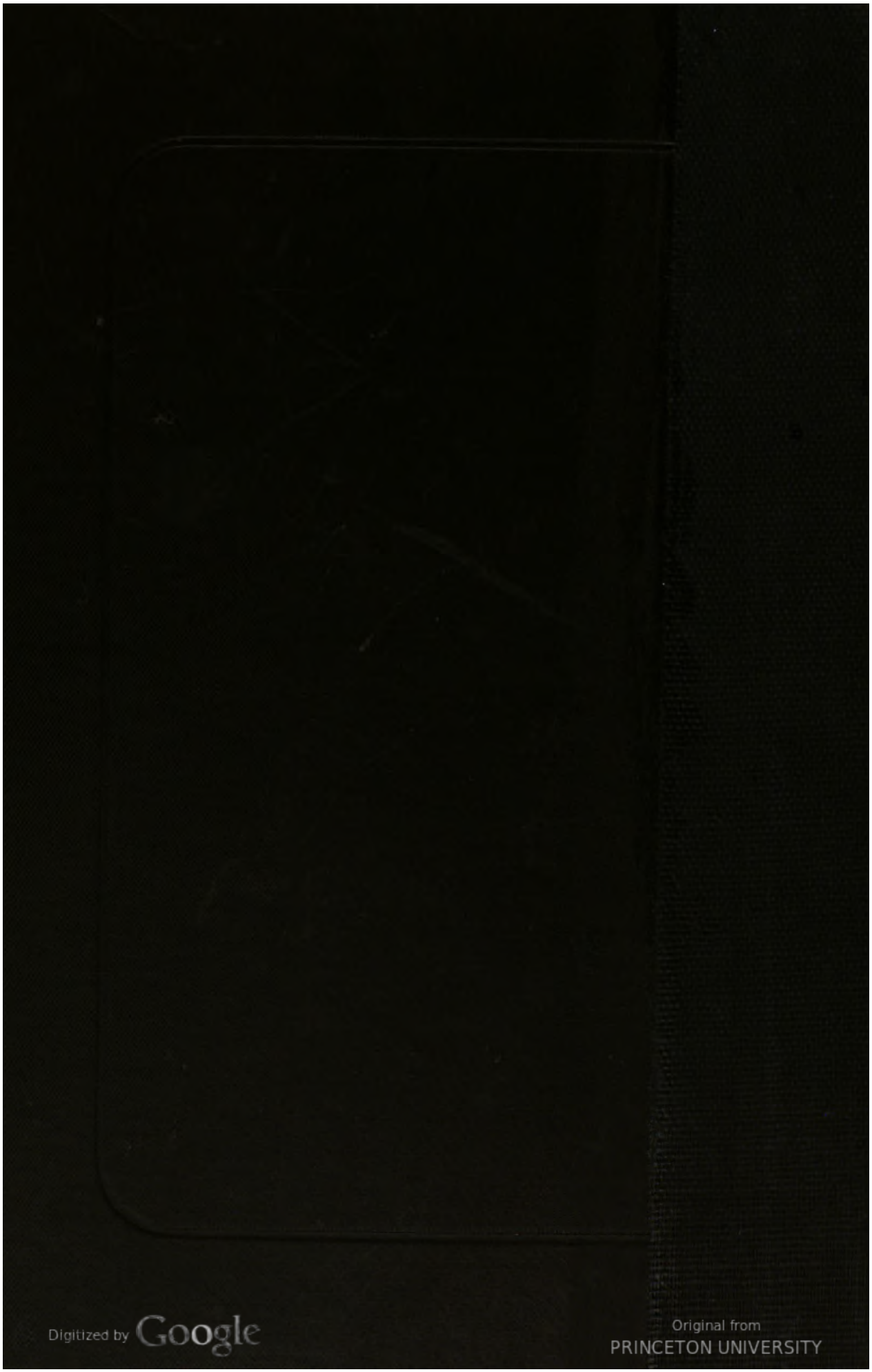
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