

# PHILOSOPHUMENA

OR THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES

FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO ORIGEN, BUT  
NOW TO HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP AND  
MARTYR, WHO FLOURISHED  
ABOUT 220 A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TEXT OF CRUICE

BY

F. LEGGE, F.S.A.

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**TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE**

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**SERIES I  
GREEK TEXTS**

**PHILOSOPHUMENA  
OR THE  
REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES**

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	I-30
1. THE TEXT, ITS DISCOVERY, PUBLICATION AND EDITIONS . . . . .	I
2. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORK . . . . .	5
3. THE CREDIBILITY OF HIPPOLYTUS . . . . .	8
4. THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORK . . . . .	11
5. THE STYLE OF THE WORK . . . . .	23
6. THE VALUE OF THE WORK . . . . .	28
BOOK I: THE PHILOSOPHERS . . . . .	31-64
PROÆMIUM . . . . .	32
THALES . . . . .	35
PYTHAGORAS . . . . .	36
EMPEDOCLES . . . . .	40
HERACLITUS . . . . .	41
ANAXIMANDER . . . . .	42
ANAXIMENES . . . . .	43
ANAXAGORAS . . . . .	44
ARCHELAUS . . . . .	46
PARMENIDES . . . . .	47
LEUCIPPUS . . . . .	48
DEMOCRITUS . . . . .	48
XENOPHANES . . . . .	49
ECPHANTUS . . . . .	50
HIPPO . . . . .	50
SOCRATES . . . . .	51

v

	PAGE
<b>BOOK I (continued):</b>	
<b>PLATO</b> . . . . .	51
<b>ARISTOTLE</b> . . . . .	55
<b>THE STOICS</b> . . . . .	57
<b>EPICURUS</b> . . . . .	58
<b>THE ACADEMICS</b> . . . . .	59
<b>THE BRACHMANS AMONG THE INDIANS</b> . . . . .	60
<b>THE DRUIDS AMONG THE CELTS</b> . . . . .	61
<b>HESIOD</b> . . . . .	62
<b>BOOK II ?</b> . . . . .	65
<b>BOOK III ?</b> . . . . .	65
<b>BOOK IV: THE DIVINERS AND MAGICIANS</b> . . . . .	67-117
<b>1. OF ASTROLOGERS</b> . . . . .	67
<b>2. OF MATHEMATICIANS</b> . . . . .	83
<b>3. OF DIVINATION BY METOPOSCOPY</b> . . . . .	87
<b>4. THE MAGICIANS</b> . . . . .	92
<b>5. RECAPITULATION</b> . . . . .	103
<b>6. OF DIVINATION BY ASTRONOMY</b> . . . . .	107
<b>7. OF THE ARITHMETICAL ART</b> . . . . .	114
<b>BOOK V: THE OPHITE HERESIES</b> . . . . .	118-180
<b>1. NAASSENES</b> . . . . .	118
<b>2. PERATÆ</b> . . . . .	146
<b>3. THE SETHIANI</b> . . . . .	160
<b>4. JUSTINUS</b> . . . . .	169



# PHILOSOPHUMENA

## INTRODUCTION

### I. THE TEXT, ITS DISCOVERY, PUBLICATION AND EDITIONS

THE story of the discovery of the book here translated so resembles a romance as to appear like a flower in the dry and dusty field of patristic lore. A short treatise called *Philosophumena*, or "Philosophizings," had long been known, four early copies of it being in existence in the Papal and other libraries of Rome, Florence and Turin. The superscriptions of these texts and a note in the margin of one of them caused the treatise to be attributed to Origen, and its *Editio princeps* is that published in 1701 at Leipzig by Fabricius with notes by the learned Gronovius. As will be seen later, it is by itself of no great importance to modern scholars, as it throws no new light on the history or nature of Greek philosophy, while it is mainly compiled from some of those epitomes of philosophic opinion current in the early centuries of our era, of which the works of Diogenes Laertius and Aetius are the best known. In the year 1840, however, Mynoïdes Mynas, a learned Greek, was sent by Abel Villemain, then Minister of Public Instruction in the Government of Louis Philippe, on a voyage of discovery to the monasteries of Mt. Athos, whence he returned with, among other things, the MS. of the last seven books contained in these volumes. This proved on investigation to be Books IV to X inclusive of the original work of which the text published by Fabricius was Book I, and therefore left only Books II and III to be accounted for. The pagination of the MS. shows that the two missing books never formed part of it; but the author's

remarks at the end of Books I and IX, and the beginning of Books V and X<sup>1</sup> lead one to conclude that if they ever existed they must have dealt with the Mysteries and secret rites of the Egyptians, or rather of the Alexandrian Greeks,<sup>2</sup> — with the theologies and cosmogonies of the Persians and Chaldeans, and with the magical practices and incantations of the Babylonians. Deeply interesting as these would have been from the archaeological and anthropological standpoint, we perhaps need not deplore their loss overmuch. The few references made to them in the remainder of the work go to show that here too the author had no very profound acquaintance with, or first-hand knowledge of, his subject, and that the scanty information that he had succeeded in collecting regarding it was only thrown in by him as an additional support for his main thesis. This last, which is steadily kept in view throughout the book, is that the peculiar tenets and practices of the Gnostics and other heretics of his time were not derived from any misinterpretation of the Scriptures, but were a sort of amalgam of those current among the heathen with the opinions held by the philosophers<sup>3</sup> as to the origin of all things.

The same reproach of scanty information cannot be brought against the books discovered by Mynas. Book IV, four pages at the beginning of which have perished, deals with the arts of divination as practised by the arithmancers, astrologers, magicians and other charlatans who infested Rome in the first three centuries of our era; and the author's account, which the corruption of the text makes rather difficult to follow, yet gives us a new and unexpected insight into the impostures and juggleries by which they managed to bewilder their dupes. Books V to IX deal in detail with the opinions of the heretics themselves, and differ from the accounts of earlier heresiologists by quoting at some length from the once extensive Gnostic

<sup>1</sup> pp. 63, 117, 119; Vol. II, 148, 150 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus, like all Greek writers of his age, must have been entirely ignorant of the Egyptian religion of Pharaonic times, which was then extinct. The only "Egyptian" Mysteries of which he could have known anything were those of the Alexandrian Triad, Osiris, Isis, and Horus, for which see the translator's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Cambridge, 1915, I, c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The pre-Christian origins of Gnosticism and its relations with Christianity are fully dealt with in the work quoted in the last note.

literature, of which well-nigh the whole has been lost to us.<sup>1</sup> Thus, our author gives us excerpts from a work called the *Great Announcement*, attributed by him to Simon Magus, from another called *Proastii* used by the sect of the Peratæ, from the *Paraphrase of Seth* in favour with the Sethiani, from the *Baruch* of one Justinus, a heresiarch hitherto unknown to us, and from a work by an anonymous writer belonging to the Naassenes or Ophites, which is mainly a Gnostic explanation of the hymns used in the worship of Cybele.<sup>2</sup> Besides these, there are long extracts from Basilidian and Valentinian works which may be by the founders of those sects, and which certainly give us a more extended insight into their doctrines than we before possessed; while Book X contains what purports to be a summary of the whole work.

This, however, does not exhaust the new information put at our disposal by Mynas' discovery. In the course of an account of the heresy of Noetus, who refused to admit any difference between the First and Second Persons of the Trinity, our author suddenly develops a violent attack on one Callistus, a high officer of the Church, whom he describes as a runaway slave who had made away with his master's money, had stolen that deposited with him by widows and others belonging to the Church, and had been condemned to the mines by the Prefect of the City, to be released only by the grace of Commodus' concubine, Marcia.<sup>3</sup> He further accuses Callistus of leaning towards the heresy of Noetus, and of encouraging laxity of manners in the Church by permitting the marriage and re-marriage of bishops and priests, and concubinage among the unmarried women. The heaviness of this charge lies in the fact that this Callistus can hardly be any other than the Saint and Martyr of that name, who succeeded Zephyrinus

<sup>1</sup> Save for a few sentences quoted in patristic writings, the only extant Gnostic works are the Coptic collection in the British Museum and the Bodleian at Oxford, known as the *Pistis Sophia* and the Bruce Papyrus respectively. There are said to be some other fragments of Coptic MSS. of Gnostic origin in Berlin which have not yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> An account by the present writer of this worship in Roman times is given in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for October 1917, pp. 695 ff.

<sup>3</sup> II, pp. 125 ff. *infra*.

in the Chair of St. Peter about the year 218, and whose name is familiar to all visitors to modern Rome from the cemetery which still bears it, and over which the work before us says he had been set by his predecessor.<sup>1</sup> The explanation of these charges will be discussed when we consider the authorship of the book, but for the present it may be noticed that they throw an entirely unexpected light upon the inner history of the Primitive Church.

These facts, however, were not immediately patent. The MS., written as appears from the colophon by one Michael in an extremely crabbed hand of the fourteenth century, is full of erasures and interlineations, and has several serious lacunæ.<sup>2</sup> Hence it would probably have remained unnoticed in the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris to which it was consigned, had it not there met the eye of Bénigne Emmanuel Miller, a French scholar and archæologist who had devoted his life to the study and decipherment of ancient Greek MSS. By his care and the generosity of the University Press, the MS. was transcribed and published in 1851 at Oxford, but without either Introduction or explanatory notes, although the suggested emendations in the text were all carefully noted at the foot of every page.<sup>3</sup> These omissions were repaired by the German scholars F. G. Schneidewin and Ludwig Duncker, who in 1856-1859 published at Göttingen an amended text with full critical and explanatory notes, and a Latin version.<sup>4</sup> The completion of this publication was delayed by the death of Schneidewin, which occurred before he had time to go further than Book VII, and was followed by the appearance at Paris in 1860 of a similar text and translation by the Abbé Cruice, then Rector of a college at Rome, who had given, as he tells us in his *Prolegomena*, many years to the study of the work.<sup>5</sup> As his edition embodies all the best features of that of Duncker and Schneidewin, together with the fruits of much good and

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 123 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> The facsimile of a page of the MS. is given in Bishop Wordsworth's *Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, London, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> B. E. Miller, *Origenis Philosophumena sive Omnium Haresium Refutatio*, Oxford, 1851.

<sup>4</sup> L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin, *Philosophumena*, etc. Göttingen, 1856-1859.

<sup>5</sup> P. M. Cruice, *Philosophumena*, etc. Paris, 1860.

careful work of his own, and a Latin version incomparably superior in clearness and terseness to the German editors', it is the one mainly used in the following pages. An English translation by the Rev. J. H. Macmahon, the translator for Bohn's series of a great part of the works of Aristotle, also appeared in 1868 in Messrs. Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*. Little fault can be found with it on the score of verbal accuracy; but fifty years ago the relics of Gnosticism had not received the attention that has since been bestowed upon them, and the translator, perhaps in consequence, did little to help the general reader to an understanding of the author's meaning.

## 2. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORK

Even before Mynas' discovery, doubts had been cast on the attribution of the *Philosophumena* to Origen. The fact that the author in his *Proemium* speaks of himself as a successor of the Apostles, a sharer in the grace of high priesthood, and a guardian of the Church,<sup>1</sup> had already led several learned writers in the eighteenth century to point out that Origen, who was never even a bishop, could not possibly be the author, and Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, and Actius were among the names to which it was assigned. Immediately upon the publication of Miller's text, this controversy was revived, and naturally became coloured by the religious and political opinions of its protagonists. Jacobi in a German theological journal was the first to declare that it must have been written by Hippolytus, a contemporary of Callistus,<sup>2</sup> and this proved to be like the letting out of waters. The dogma of Papal Infallibility was already in the air, and the opportunity was at once seized by the Baron von Bunsen, then Prussian Ambassador at the Court of St. James', to do what he could to defeat its promulgation. In his *Hippolytus and his Age* (1852), he asserted his belief in Jacobi's theory, and drew from the abuse of Callistus in Book IX of the newly discovered text, the conclusion that even in the third century the Primacy of the Bishops of Rome was effectively denied.

<sup>1</sup> p. 34 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben*, 1852.

The celebrated Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, followed with a scholarly study in which, while rejecting von Bunsen's conclusion, he admitted his main premises; and Dr. Döllinger, who was later to prove the chief opponent of Papal claims, appeared a little later with a work on the same side. Against these were to be found none who ventured to defend the supposed authorship of Origen, but many who did not believe that the work was rightly attributed to Hippolytus. Among the Germans, Fessler and Baur pronounced for Caius, a presbyter to whom Photius in the ninth century gave the curious title of "Bishop of Gentiles," as author; of the Italians, de Rossi assigned it to Tertullian and Armellini to Novatian; of the French, the Abbé Jallabert in a doctoral thesis voted for Tertullian; while Cruice, who was afterwards to translate the work, thought its author must be either Caius or Tertullian.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately there is now no reason to re-open the controversy, which one may conclude has come to an end by the death of Lipsius, the last serious opponent of the Hippolytan authorship. Mgr. Duchesne, who may in such a matter be supposed to speak with the voice of the majority of the learned of his own communion, in his *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*<sup>2</sup> accepts the view that Hippolytus was the author of the *Philosophumena*, and thinks that he became reconciled to the Church under the persecution of Maximin.<sup>3</sup> We may, therefore, take it that Hippolytus' authorship is now admitted on all sides.

A few words must be said as to what is known of this Hippolytus. A Saint and Martyr of that name appears in the Roman Calendar, and a seated statue of him was discovered in Rome in the sixteenth century inscribed on the back of the chair with a list of works, one of which

<sup>1</sup> References to nearly all the contributions to this controversy are correctly given in the Prolegomena to Cruice's edition, pp. x ff. An English translation of Dr. Döllinger's *Hippolytus und Kallistus* was published by Plummer, Edinburgh, 1876, and brings the controversy up to date. Cf. also the Bibliography in Salmon's article "Hippolytus Romanus" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (hereafter quoted as *D.C.B.*).

<sup>2</sup> See the English translation: *Early History of the Christian Church*, London, 1909, I, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is confirmed by Dom. Chapman in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. vv. "Hippolytus," "Callistus."

is claimed in our text as written by its author.<sup>1</sup> He is first mentioned by Eusebius, who describes him as the "Bishop of another Church" than that of Bostra, of which he has been speaking;<sup>2</sup> then by Theodoret, who calls him the "holy Hippolytus, bishop and martyr";<sup>3</sup> and finally by Prudentius, who says that he became a Novatianist, but on his way to martyrdom returned to the bosom of the Church and entreated his followers to do the same.<sup>4</sup> We have many writings, mostly fragmentary, attributed to him, including among others one on the Paschal cycle which is referred to on the statue just mentioned, a tract against Noetus used later by Epiphanius, and others on Antichrist, Daniel, and the Apocalypse, all of which show a markedly chiliastic tendency. In the MSS. in which some of these occur, he is spoken of as "Bishop of Rome," and this seems to have been his usual title among Greek writers, although he is in other places called "Archbishop," and by other titles. From these and other facts, Döllinger comes to the conclusion that he was really an anti-pope or schismatic bishop who set himself up against the authority of Callistus, and this, too, is accepted by Mgr. Duchesne, who agrees with Döllinger that the schism created by him lasted through the primacies of Callistus' successors, Urbanus and Pontianus, and only ceased when this last was exiled together with Hippolytus to the mines of Sardinia.<sup>5</sup> Though the evidence on which this is based is not very strong, it is a very reasonable account of the whole matter; and it becomes more probable if we choose to believe—for which, however, there is no distinct evidence—that Hippolytus was the head of the Greek-speaking community of Christians at Rome, while his enemy Callistus presided over the more numerous Latins. In that case, the schism would be more likely to be forgotten in time of persecution, and would have less chance of survival than the more serious ones of a later age; while it would satisfactorily account for the conduct of the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> The statue and its inscription are also reproduced by Bishop Wordsworth in the work above quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Haer. Fab.*, III, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Peristeph II.* For the chronological difficulty that this involves see Salmon, *D.C.B.*, s.v. "Hippolytus Romanus."

<sup>5</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

authorities in sending the heads of both communities into penal servitude at the same time. By doing so, Maximin or his pagan advisers doubtless considered they were dealing the yet adolescent Church a double blow.

### 3. THE CREDIBILITY OF HIPPOLYTUS

Assuming, then, that our author was Hippolytus, schismatic Bishop of Rome from about 218 to 235, we must next see what faith is to be attached to his statements. This question was first raised by the late Dr. George Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, who was throughout his life a zealous student of Gnosticism and of the history of the Church during the early centuries. While working through our text he was so struck by the repetition in the account of four different sects of the simile about the magnet drawing iron to itself and the amber the straws, as to excogitate a theory that Hippolytus must have been imposed upon by a forger who had sold him a number of documents purporting to be the secret books of the heretics, but in reality written by the forger himself.<sup>1</sup> This theory was afterwards adopted by the late Heinrich Stähelin, who published a treatise in which he attempted to show in the laborious German way, by a comparison of nearly all the different passages in it which present any similarity of diction, that the whole document was suspect.<sup>2</sup> The different passages on which he relies will be dealt with in the notes as they occur, and it may be sufficient to mention here the opinion of M. Eugène de Faye, the latest writer on the point, that the theory of Salmon and Stähelin goes a long way beyond the facts.<sup>3</sup> As M. de Faye points out, the different documents quoted in the work differ so greatly from one another both in style and contents, that to have invented or concocted them would have required a forger of almost superhuman skill and learning. To which it may be added that the mere repetition of the phrases that Stähelin has collated with such diligence would be the very

<sup>1</sup> "The Cross-references in the *Philosophumena*," *Hermathena*, Dublin, No. XI, 1885, pp. 389 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Gnostischen Quellen Hippolyts" in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VI, (1890).

<sup>3</sup> *Introduction à l'Étude du Gnosticisme*, Paris, 1903, p. 68; *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, Paris, 1913, p. 167.



thing that the least skilful forger would most studiously avoid, and that it could hardly fail to put the most credulous purchaser on his guard. It is also the case that some at least of the phrases of whose repetition Salmon and Stähelin complain can be shown to have come, not from the Gnostic author quoted, but from Hippolytus himself, and that others are to be found in the Gnostic works which have come down to us in Coptic dress.<sup>1</sup> These Coptic documents, as the present writer has shown elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> are so intimately linked together that all must be taken to have issued from the same school. They could not have been known to Hippolytus or he would certainly have quoted them in the work before us; nor to the supposed forger, or he would have made greater use of them. We must, therefore, suppose that, in the passages which they and our text have in common, both they and it are drawing from a common source which can hardly be anything else than the genuine writings of earlier heretics. We must, therefore, agree with M. de Faye that the Salmon-Stähelin theory of forgery must be rejected.

If, however, we turn from this to such statements of Hippolytus as we can check from other sources, we find many reasons for doubting not indeed the good faith of him or his informants, but the accuracy of one or other of them. Thus, in his account of the tenets of the philosophers, he repeatedly alters or misunderstands his authorities, as when he says that Thales supposed water to be the end as it had been the beginning of the Universe,<sup>3</sup> or that — "Zaratas," as he calls Zoroaster, said that light was the father and darkness the mother of beings,<sup>4</sup> which statements are directly at variance with what we know otherwise of the opinions of these teachers. So, too, in Book I, he makes Empedocles say that all things consist of fire, and will be resolved into fire, while in Book VII, he says that Empedocles declared the elements of the cosmos to be six in

<sup>1</sup> The theory that all existing things come from an "indivisible point" which our text gives as that of Simon Magus and of Basilides reappears in the Bruce Papyrus. Basilides' remark about only 1 in 1000 and 2 in 10,000 being fit for the higher mysteries is repeated *verbatim* in the *Pistis Sophia*, p. 354, Copt. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, 172, 292, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Scottish Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 43 (July 1893).

<sup>3</sup> p. 35 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> p. 39 *infra*.

number, whereof fire, one of the two instruments which alter and arrange it, is only one.<sup>1</sup> Again, in Book IX, he says that he has already expounded the opinions of Heraclitus, and then sets to work to describe as his a perfectly different set of tenets from that which he has assigned to him in Book I; while in Book X he ascribes to Heraclitus yet another opinion.<sup>2</sup> Or we may take as an example the system of arithmomancy or divination by the "Pythagorean number" whereby, he says, its professors claim to predict the winner of a contest by juggling with the numerical values of the letters in the competitors' names, and then gives instances, some of which do and others do not work out according to the rule he lays down. So, too, in his unacknowledged quotations from Sextus Empiricus, he so garbles his text as to make it unintelligible to us were we not able to restore it from Sextus' own words. So, again, in his account of the sleight-of-hand and other stage tricks, whereby he says, no doubt with truth, the magicians used to deceive those who consulted them, his account is so carelessly written or copied that it is only by means of much reading between the lines that it can be understood, and even then it recounts many more marvels than it explains.<sup>3</sup> Some of this inaccuracy may possibly be due to mistakes in copying and re-copying by scribes who did not understand what they were writing; but when all is said there is left a sum of blunders which can only be attributed to great carelessness on the part of the author. Yet, as if to show that he could take pains if he liked, the quotations from Scripture are on the whole correctly transcribed and show very few variations from the received versions. Consequently when such variations do occur (they are noted later whenever met with), we must suppose them to be not the work of Hippolytus, but of the heretics from whom he quotes, who must, therefore, have taken liberties with the New Testament similar to those of Marcion.

<sup>1</sup> p. 41; II, p. 83 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> II, pp. 119, 151 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> For the arithmomancy see p. 83 *ff. infra*; the borrowings from Sextus begin on p. 70, the tricks of the magicians on p. 92. For other mistakes, see the quotation about the Furies in II, p. 23, which he ascribes to Pythagoras, but which is certainly from Heraclitus (as Plutarch tells us), and the Categories of Aristotle which a few pages earlier are also assigned to Pythagoras. His treatment of Josephus will be dealt with in its place.

Where, also, he copies Irenæus with or without acknowledgment, his copy is extremely faithful, and agrees with the Latin version of the model more closely than the Greek of Epiphanius. It would seem, therefore, that our author's statements, although in no sense unworthy of belief, yet require in many cases strict examination before they can be unhesitatingly accepted.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORK

In these circumstances, and in view of the manifest discrepancies between statements in the earlier part of the text and what purports to be their repetition in the later, the question has naturally arisen as to whether the document before us was written for publication in its present form. It is never referred to or quoted by name by any later author, and although the argument from silence has generally proved a broken reed in such cases, there are here some circumstances which seem to give it unusual strength. It was certainly no reluctance to call in evidence the work of a schismatic or heretical writer which led to the work being ignored, for Epiphanius, a century and a half later, classes Hippolytus with Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria as one from whose writings he has obtained information,<sup>2</sup> and Theodoret, while making use still later of certain passages which coincide with great closeness with some in Book X of our text,<sup>3</sup> admits, as has been said, Hippolytus' claim to both episcopacy and martyrdom. But the passages in Theodoret which seem to show borrowing from Hippolytus, although possibly, are not necessarily from the work before us. The author of this tells us in Book I that he has "aforetime"<sup>4</sup> expounded the tenets of the heretics "within measure," and without revealing all their mysteries, and it might, therefore, be from some such earlier work that both Epiphanius and Theodoret have borrowed. Some writers, including Salmon,<sup>5</sup> have thought that this earlier work of our author is to be found in the anonymous tractate *Adversus Omnes Hæreses* usually appended to Tertullian's

<sup>1</sup> This is especially the case with the story of Callistus, as to which see II, pp. 124 ff. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hæret.* xxxi., p. 205, Oehler.

<sup>4</sup> πάλαι.

<sup>3</sup> *Hæret. fab.* I, 17-24.

<sup>5</sup> In *D.C.B.*, art. cit. *supra*.

works.<sup>1</sup> Yet this tractate, which is extremely short, contains nothing that can be twisted into the words common to our text and to Theodoret, and we might, therefore, assert with confidence that it was from our text that Theodoret copied them but for the fact that he nowhere indicates their origin. This might be only another case of the unacknowledged borrowing much in fashion in his time, were it not that Theodoret has already spoken of Hippolytus in the eulogistic terms quoted above, and would therefore, one would think, have been glad to give as his informant such respectable authority. As he did not do so, we may perhaps accept the conclusion drawn by Cruice with much skill in a study published shortly after the appearance of Miller's text,<sup>2</sup> and say with him that Theodoret did not know that the passages in question were to be found in any work of Hippolytus. In this case, as the statements in Book IX forbid us to suppose that our text was published anonymously or pseudonymously, the natural inference is that both Hippolytus and Theodoret drew from a common source.

What this source was likely to have been there can be little doubt. Our author speaks more than once of "the blessed elder Irenæus," who has, he says, refuted the heretic Marcus with much vigour, and he implies that the energy and power displayed by Irenæus in such matters have shortened his own work with regard to the Valentinian school generally.<sup>3</sup> Photius, also, writing as has been said in the ninth century, mentions a work of Hippolytus against heresies admittedly owing much to Irenæus' instruction. The passage runs thus:—

"A booklet of Hippolytus has been read. Now Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. But it (i.e. the booklet) was the compilation against 32 heresies making (the) Dositheans the beginning (of them) and comprising (those) up to Noetus and the Noetians. And he says that these heresies were subjected to

<sup>1</sup> See Oehler's edition of Tertullian's works, II, 751 ff. The parallel passages are set out in convenient form in Bishop Wordsworth's book before quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Études sur de nouveaux documents historiques empruntés à l'ouvrage récemment découvert des Philosophumena*, Paris, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> II, pp. 43, 47 *infra*.

refutations by Irenæus in conversation<sup>1</sup> (or in lectures). Of which refutations making also a synopsis, he says he compiled this book. The phrasing however is clear, reverent and unaffected, although he does not observe the Attic style. But he says some other things lacking in accuracy, and that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not by the Apostle Paul."

These words have been held by Salmon and others to describe the tractate *Adversus Omnes Hereses*. Yet this tractate contains not thirty-two heresies, but twenty-seven, and begins with Simon Magus to end with the Praxeas against whom Tertullian wrote. It also notices another heretic named Blastus, who, like Praxeas, is mentioned neither by Irenæus nor by our author, nor does it say anything about Noetus or the Apostle Paul. It does indeed mention at the outset "Dositheus the Samaritan," but only to say that the author proposes to keep silence concerning both him and the Jews, and "to turn to those who have wished to make heresy from the Gospel," the very first of whom, he says, is Simon Magus.<sup>2</sup> As for refutations, the tractate contains nothing resembling one, which has forced the supporters of the theory to assume that they were omitted for brevity's sake. Nor does it in the least agree with our text in its description of the tenets and practices of heresies which the two documents treat of in common, such as Simon, Basilides, the Sethiani and others, and the differences are too great to be accounted for by supposing that the author of the later text was merely incorporating in it newer information.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Photius' description agrees fairly well with our text, which contains thirty-one heresies all told, or thirty-two if we include, as the author asks us to do, that imputed by him to Callistus. Of these, that of Noetus is the

<sup>1</sup> ὁμιλοῦντος Εἰρηναίου. For the whole quotation, see Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 121 (Bekker's ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian (Oehler's ed.), II, 751. St. Jerome in quoting this passage says the heretics have mangled the Gospel.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the tractate makes Simon Magus call his Helena Sophia, and says that Basilides named his Supreme God Abraxas. It knows nothing of the God-who-is-not and the three Sonhoods of our text: and it gives an entirely different account of the Sethians, whom it calls Sethitæ, and says that they identified Christ with Seth. In this heresy, too, it introduces Sophia, and makes her the author of the Flood.

twenty-eighth, and is followed by those of the Ebionites, Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees only. These four last are all much earlier in date than any mentioned in the rest of the work, and three of them appeared to the author of the treatise last quoted as not heresies at all, while the fourth is not described by him, and there is no reason immediately apparent why in any case they should be put after and not before the post-Christian ones. The early part of the summary of Jewish beliefs in Book X is torn away, and may have contained a notice of Dositheus, whose name occurs in Eusebius and other writers,<sup>1</sup> as a predecessor of Simon Magus and one who did not believe in the inspiration of the Jewish Prophets. The natural place in chronological order for these Jewish and Samaritan sects would, therefore, be at the head rather than at the tail of the list, and if we may venture to put them there and to restore to the catalogue the name of Dositheus, we should have our thirty-two heresies, beginning with Dositheus and ending with Noetus. We will return later to the reason why Photius should call our text a *Bibliarion* or "booklet."

Are there now any reasons for thinking that our text is founded on such a synopsis of lectures as Photius says Hippolytus made? A fairly cogent one is the inconvenient and awkward division of the books, which often seem as if they had been arranged to occupy equal periods of time in delivery. Another is the unnecessary and tedious introductions and recapitulations with which the descriptions of particular philosophies, chariatic practices, and heresies begin and end, and which seem as if they were only put in for the sake of arresting or holding the attention of an audience addressed verbally. Thus, in the account of Simon Magus' heresy, our author begins with a long-winded story of a Libyan who taught parrots to proclaim his own divinity, the only bearing of which upon the story of Simon is that Hippolytus asserts, like Justin Martyr, that Simon wished his followers to take him for the Supreme Being.<sup>2</sup> So, too, he begins the succeeding book with the age-worn tale of Ulysses and the Sirens<sup>3</sup> by way of introduction to the tenets of Basilides, with which it has no connection

<sup>1</sup> Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* IV, c. 22. He is quoting Hezespian. See also Origen *contra Celsum*, VI, c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 3 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> II, p. 61 ff. *infra*.

thing that the least skilful forger would most studiously avoid, and that it could hardly fail to put the most credulous purchaser on his guard. It is also the case that some at least of the phrases of whose repetition Salmon and Stähelin complain can be shown to have come, not from the Gnostic author quoted, but from Hippolytus himself, and that others are to be found in the Gnostic works which have come down to us in Coptic dress.<sup>1</sup> These Coptic documents, as the present writer has shown elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> are so intimately linked together that all must be taken to have issued from the same school. They could not have been known to Hippolytus or he would certainly have quoted them in the work before us; nor to the supposed forger, or he would have made greater use of them. We must, therefore, suppose that, in the passages which they and our text have in common, both they and it are drawing from a common source which can hardly be anything else than the genuine writings of earlier heretics. We must, therefore, agree with M. de Faye that the Salmon-Stähelin theory of forgery must be rejected.

If, however, we turn from this to such statements of Hippolytus as we can check from other sources, we find many reasons for doubting not indeed the good faith of him or his informants, but the accuracy of one or other of them. Thus, in his account of the tenets of the philosophers, he repeatedly alters or misunderstands his authorities, as when he says that Thales supposed water to be the end as it had been the beginning of the Universe,<sup>3</sup> or that "Zaratas," as he calls Zoroaster, said that light was the father and darkness the mother of beings,<sup>4</sup> which statements are directly at variance with what we know otherwise of the opinions of these teachers. So, too, in Book I, he makes Empedocles say that all things consist of fire, and will be resolved into fire, while in Book VII, he says that Empedocles declared the elements of the cosmos to be six in

<sup>1</sup> The theory that all existing things come from an "indivisible point" which our text gives as that of Simon Magus and of Basilides reappears in the Bruce Papyrus. Basilides' remark about only 1 in 1000 and 2 in 10,000 being fit for the higher mysteries is repeated *verbatim* in the *Pistis Sophia*, p. 354, Copt. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, 172, 292, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Scottish Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 43 (July 1893).

<sup>3</sup> p. 35 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> p. 39 *infra*.

number, whereof fire, one of the two instruments which alter and arrange it, is only one.<sup>1</sup> Again, in Book IX, he says that he has already expounded the opinions of Heraclitus, and then sets to work to describe as his a perfectly different set of tenets from that which he has assigned to him in Book I; while in Book X he ascribes to Heraclitus yet another opinion.<sup>2</sup> Or we may take as an example the system of arithmomancy or divination by the "Pythagorean number" whereby, he says, its professors claim to predict the winner of a contest by juggling with the numerical values of the letters in the competitors' names, and then gives instances, some of which do and others do not work out according to the rule he lays down. So, too, in his unacknowledged quotations from Sextus Empiricus, he so garbles his text as to make it unintelligible to us were we not able to restore it from Sextus' own words. So, again, in his account of the sleight-of-hand and other stage tricks, whereby he says, no doubt with truth, the magicians used to deceive those who consulted them, his account is so carelessly written or copied that it is only by means of much reading between the lines that it can be understood, and even then it recounts many more marvels than it explains.<sup>3</sup> Some of this inaccuracy may possibly be due to mistakes in copying and re-copying by scribes who did not understand what they were writing; but when all is said there is left a sum of blunders which can only be attributed to great carelessness on the part of the author. Yet, as if to show that he could take pains if he liked, the quotations from Scripture are on the whole correctly transcribed and show very few variations from the received versions. Consequently when such variations do occur (they are noted later whenever met with), we must suppose them to be not the work of Hippolytus, but of the heretics from whom he quotes, who must, therefore, have taken liberties with the New Testament similar to those of Marcion.

<sup>1</sup> p. 41; II, p. 83 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> II, pp. 119, 151 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> For the arithmomancy see p. 83 *ff. infra*; the borrowings from Sextus begin on p. 70, the tricks of the magicians on p. 92. For other mistakes, see the quotation about the Furies in II, p. 23, which he ascribes to Pythagoras, but which is certainly from Heraclitus (as Plutarch tells us), and the Categories of Aristotle which a few pages earlier are also assigned to Pythagoras. His treatment of Josephus will be dealt with in its place.



literature, of which well-nigh the whole has been lost to us.<sup>1</sup> Thus, our author gives us excerpts from a work called the *Great Announcement*, attributed by him to Simon Magus, from another called *Proastii* used by the sect of the Peratræ, from the *Paraphrase of Seth* in favour with the Sethiani, from the *Baruch* of one Justinus, a heresiarch hitherto unknown to us, and from a work by an anonymous writer belonging to the Naassenes or Ophites, which is mainly a Gnostic explanation of the hymns used in the worship of Cybele.<sup>2</sup> Besides these, there are long extracts from Basilidian and Valentinian works which may be by the founders of those sects, and which certainly give us a more extended insight into their doctrines than we before possessed; while Book X contains what purports to be a summary of the whole work.

This, however, does not exhaust the new information put at our disposal by Mynas' discovery. In the course of an account of the heresy of Noetus, who refused to admit any difference between the First and Second Persons of the Trinity, our author suddenly develops a violent attack on one Callistus, a high officer of the Church, whom he describes as a runaway slave who had made away with his master's money, had stolen that deposited with him by widows and others belonging to the Church, and had been condemned to the mines by the Prefect of the City, to be released only by the grace of Commodus' concubine, Marcia.<sup>3</sup> He further accuses Callistus of leaning towards the heresy of Noetus, and of encouraging laxity of manners in the Church by permitting the marriage and re-marriage of bishops and priests, and concubinage among the unmarried women. The heaviness of this charge lies in the fact that this Callistus can hardly be any other than the Saint and Martyr of that name, who succeeded Zephyrinus

<sup>1</sup> Save for a few sentences quoted in patristic writings, the only extant Gnostic works are the Coptic collection in the British Museum and the Bodleian at Oxford, known as the *Pistis Sophia* and the Bruce Papyrus respectively. There are said to be some other fragments of Coptic MSS. of Gnostic origin in Berlin which have not yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> An account by the present writer of this worship in Roman times is given in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for October 1917, pp. 695 ff.

<sup>3</sup> II, pp. 125 ff. *infra*.

in the Chair of St. Peter about the year 218, and whose name is familiar to all visitors to modern Rome from the cemetery which still bears it, and over which the work before us says he had been set by his predecessor.<sup>1</sup> The explanation of these charges will be discussed when we consider the authorship of the book, but for the present it may be noticed that they throw an entirely unexpected light upon the inner history of the Primitive Church.

These facts, however, were not immediately patent. The MS., written as appears from the colophon by one Michael in an extremely crabbed hand of the fourteenth century, is full of erasures and interlineations, and has several serious lacunæ.<sup>2</sup> Hence it would probably have remained unnoticed in the Bibliothèque Royale of Paris to which it was consigned, had it not there met the eye of Bénigne Emmanuel Miller, a French scholar and archæologist who had devoted his life to the study and decipherment of ancient Greek MSS. By his care and the generosity of the University Press, the MS. was transcribed and published in 1851 at Oxford, but without either Introduction or explanatory notes, although the suggested emendations in the text were all carefully noted at the foot of every page.<sup>3</sup> These omissions were repaired by the German scholars F. G. Schneidewin and Ludwig Duncker, who in 1856-1859 published at Göttingen an amended text with full critical and explanatory notes, and a Latin version.<sup>4</sup> The completion of this publication was delayed by the death of Schneidewin, which occurred before he had time to go further than Book VII, and was followed by the appearance at Paris in 1860 of a similar text and translation by the Abbé Cruice, then Rector of a college at Rome, who had given, as he tells us in his *Prolegomena*, many years to the study of the work.<sup>5</sup> As his edition embodies all the best features of that of Duncker and Schneidewin, together with the fruits of much good and

<sup>1</sup> II, p. 124 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> The facsimile of a page of the MS. is given in Bishop Wordsworth's *Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, London, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> B. E. Miller, *Origenis Philosophumena sive Omnium Haresium Refutatio*, Oxford, 1851.

<sup>4</sup> L. Duncker and F. G. Schneidewin, *Philosophumena*, etc. Göttingen, 1856-1859.

<sup>5</sup> P. M. Cruice, *Philosophumena*, etc. Paris, 1860.

careful work of his own, and a Latin version incomparably superior in clearness and terseness to the German editors', it is the one mainly used in the following pages. An English translation by the Rev. J. H. Macmahon, the translator for Bohn's series of a great part of the works of Aristotle, also appeared in 1868 in Messrs. Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*. Little fault can be found with it on the score of verbal accuracy; but fifty years ago the relics of Gnosticism had not received the attention that has since been bestowed upon them, and the translator, perhaps in consequence, did little to help the general reader to an understanding of the author's meaning.

## 2. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORK

Even before Mynas' discovery, doubts had been cast on the attribution of the *Philosophumena* to Origen. The fact that the author in his *Prooemium* speaks of himself as a successor of the Apostles, a sharer in the grace of high priesthood, and a guardian of the Church,<sup>1</sup> had already led several learned writers in the eighteenth century to point out that Origen, who was never even a bishop, could not possibly be the author, and Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, and Aetius were among the names to which it was assigned. Immediately upon the publication of Miller's text, this controversy was revived, and naturally became coloured by the religious and political opinions of its protagonists. Jacobi in a German theological journal was the first to declare that it must have been written by Hippolytus, a contemporary of Callistus,<sup>2</sup> and this proved to be like the letting out of waters. The dogma of Papal Infallibility was already in the air, and the opportunity was at once seized by the Baron von Bunsen, then Prussian Ambassador at the Court of St. James', to do what he could to defeat its promulgation. In his *Hippolytus and his Age* (1852), he asserted his belief in Jacobi's theory, and drew from the abuse of Callistus in Book IX of the newly discovered text, the conclusion that even in the third century the Primacy of the Bishops of Rome was effectively denied.

<sup>1</sup> p. 34 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Christliche Wissenschaft und Christliches Leben*, 1852.

The celebrated Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, followed with a scholarly study in which, while rejecting von Bunsen's conclusion, he admitted his main premises; and Dr. Döllinger, who was later to prove the chief opponent of Papal claims, appeared a little later with a work on the same side. Against these were to be found none who ventured to defend the supposed authorship of Origen, but many who did not believe that the work was rightly attributed to Hippolytus. Among the Germans, Fessler and Baur pronounced for Caius, a presbyter to whom Photius in the ninth century gave the curious title of "Bishop of Gentiles," as author; of the Italians, de Rossi assigned it to Tertullian and Armellini to Novatian; of the French, the Abbé Jallabert in a doctoral thesis voted for Tertullian; while Cruice, who was afterwards to translate the work, thought its author must be either Caius or Tertullian.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately there is now no reason to re-open the controversy, which one may conclude has come to an end by the death of Lipsius, the last serious opponent of the Hippolytan authorship. Mgr. Duchesne, who may in such a matter be supposed to speak with the voice of the majority of the learned of his own communion, in his *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*<sup>2</sup> accepts the view that Hippolytus was the author of the *Philosophumena*, and thinks that he became reconciled to the Church under the persecution of Maximin.<sup>3</sup> We may, therefore, take it that Hippolytus' authorship is now admitted on all sides.

A few words must be said as to what is known of this Hippolytus. A Saint and Martyr of that name appears in the Roman Calendar, and a seated statue of him was discovered in Rome in the sixteenth century inscribed on the back of the chair with a list of works, one of which

<sup>1</sup> References to nearly all the contributions to this controversy are correctly given in the Prolegomena to Cruice's edition, pp. x ff. An English translation of Dr. Döllinger's *Hippolytus und Kallistus* was published by Plummer, Edinburgh, 1876, and brings the controversy up to date. Cf. also the Bibliography in Salmon's article "Hippolytus Romanus" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (hereafter quoted as *D.C.B.*).

<sup>2</sup> See the English translation: *Early History of the Christian Church*, London, 1909, I, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is confirmed by Dom. Chapman in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s. vv. "Hippolytus," "Callistus."

is claimed in our text as written by its author.<sup>1</sup> He is first mentioned by Eusebius, who describes him as the "Bishop of another Church" than that of Bostra, of which he has been speaking; <sup>2</sup> then by Theodoret, who calls him the "holy Hippolytus, bishop and martyr"; <sup>3</sup> and finally by Prudentius, who says that he became a Novatianist, but on his way to martyrdom returned to the bosom of the Church and entreated his followers to do the same.<sup>4</sup> We have many writings, mostly fragmentary, attributed to him, including among others one on the Paschal cycle which is referred to on the statue just mentioned, a tract against Noetus used later by Epiphanius, and others on Antichrist, Daniel, and the Apocalypse, all of which show a markedly chiliastic tendency. In the MSS. in which some of these occur, he is spoken of as "Bishop of Rome," and this seems to have been his usual title among Greek writers, although he is in other places called "Archbishop," and by other titles. From these and other facts, Döllinger comes to the conclusion that he was really an anti-pope or schismatic bishop who set himself up against the authority of Callistus, and this, too, is accepted by Mgr. Duchesne, who agrees with Döllinger that the schism created by him lasted through the primacies of Callistus' successors, Urbanus and Pontianus, and only ceased when this last was exiled together with Hippolytus to the mines of Sardinia.<sup>5</sup> Though the evidence on which this is based is not very strong, it is a very reasonable account of the whole matter; and it becomes more probable if we choose to believe—for which, however, there is no distinct evidence—that Hippolytus was the head of the Greek-speaking community of Christians at Rome, while his enemy Callistus presided over the more numerous Latins. In that case, the schism would be more likely to be forgotten in time of persecution, and would have less chance of survival than the more serious ones of a later age; while it would satisfactorily account for the conduct of the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> The statue and its inscription are also reproduced by Bishop Wordsworth in the work above quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, VI, c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Haer. Fab.*, III, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Peristeph II.* For the chronological difficulty that this involves see Salmon, *D. C. B.*, s.v. "Hippolytus Romanus."

<sup>5</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

authorities in sending the heads of both communities into penal servitude at the same time. By doing so, Maximin or his pagan advisers doubtless considered they were dealing the yet adolescent Church a double blow.

### 3. THE CREDIBILITY OF HIPPOLYTUS

Assuming, then, that our author was Hippolytus, schismatic Bishop of Rome from about 218 to 235, we must next see what faith is to be attached to his statements. This question was first raised by the late Dr. George Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, who was throughout his life a zealous student of Gnosticism and of the history of the Church during the early centuries. While working through our text he was so struck by the repetition in the account of four different sects of the simile about the magnet drawing iron to itself and the amber the straws, as to excogitate a theory that Hippolytus must have been imposed upon by a forger who had sold him a number of documents purporting to be the secret books of the heretics, but in reality written by the forger himself.<sup>1</sup> This theory was afterwards adopted by the late Heinrich Stähelin, who published a treatise in which he attempted to show in the laborious German way, by a comparison of nearly all the different passages in it which present any similarity of diction, that the whole document was suspect.<sup>2</sup> The different passages on which he relies will be dealt with in the notes as they occur, and it may be sufficient to mention here the opinion of M. Eugène de Faye, the latest writer on the point, that the theory of Salmon and Stähelin goes a long way beyond the facts.<sup>3</sup> As M. de Faye points out, the different documents quoted in the work differ so greatly from one another both in style and contents, that to have invented or concocted them would have required a forger of almost superhuman skill and learning. To which it may be added that the mere repetition of the phrases that Stähelin has collated with such diligence would be the very

<sup>1</sup> "The Cross-references in the *Philosophumena*," *Hermathena*, Dublin, No. XI, 1885, pp. 389 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Gnostischen Quellen Hippolyts" in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VI, (1890).

<sup>3</sup> *Introduction à l'Étude du Gnosticisme*, Paris, 1903, p. 68; *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, Paris, 1913, p. 167.

thing that the least skilful forger would most studiously avoid, and that it could hardly fail to put the most credulous purchaser on his guard. It is also the case that some at least of the phrases of whose repetition Salmon and Stähelin complain can be shown to have come, not from the Gnostic author quoted, but from Hippolytus himself, and that others are to be found in the Gnostic works which have come down to us in Coptic dress.<sup>1</sup> These Coptic documents, as the present writer has shown elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> are so intimately linked together that all must be taken to have issued from the same school. They could not have been known to Hippolytus or he would certainly have quoted them in the work before us; nor to the supposed forger, or he would have made greater use of them. We must, therefore, suppose that, in the passages which they and our text have in common, both they and it are drawing from a common source which can hardly be anything else than the genuine writings of earlier heretics. We must, therefore, agree with M. de Faye that the Salmon-Stähelin theory of forgery must be rejected.

If, however, we turn from this to such statements of Hippolytus as we can check from other sources, we find many reasons for doubting not indeed the good faith of him or his informants, but the accuracy of one or other of them. Thus, in his account of the tenets of the philosophers, he repeatedly alters or misunderstands his authorities, as when he says that Thales supposed water to be the end as it had been the beginning of the Universe,<sup>3</sup> or that "Zaratas," as he calls Zoroaster, said that light was the father and darkness the mother of beings,<sup>4</sup> which statements are directly at variance with what we know otherwise of the opinions of these teachers. So, too, in Book I, he makes Empedocles say that all things consist of fire, and will be resolved into fire, while in Book VII, he says that Empedocles declared the elements of the cosmos to be six in

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<sup>2</sup> *Scottish Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 43 (July 1893).

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number, whereof fire, one of the two instruments which alter and arrange it, is only one.<sup>1</sup> Again, in Book IX, he says that he has already expounded the opinions of Heraclitus, and then sets to work to describe as his a perfectly different set of tenets from that which he has assigned to him in Book I; while in Book X he ascribes to Heraclitus yet another opinion.<sup>2</sup> Or we may take as an example the system of arithmomancy or divination by the "Pythagorean number" whereby, he says, its professors claim to predict the winner of a contest by juggling with the numerical values of the letters in the competitors' names, and then gives instances, some of which do and others do not work out according to the rule he lays down. So, too, in his unacknowledged quotations from Sextus Empiricus, he so garbles his text as to make it unintelligible to us were we not able to restore it from Sextus' own words. So, again, in his account of the sleight-of-hand and other stage tricks, whereby he says, no doubt with truth, the magicians used to deceive those who consulted them, his account is so carelessly written or copied that it is only by means of much reading between the lines that it can be understood, and even then it recounts many more marvels than it explains.<sup>3</sup> Some of this inaccuracy may possibly be due to mistakes in copying and re-copying by scribes who did not understand what they were writing; but when all is said there is left a sum of blunders which can only be attributed to great carelessness on the part of the author. Yet, as if to show that he could take pains if he liked, the quotations from Scripture are on the whole correctly transcribed and show very few variations from the received versions. Consequently when such variations do occur (they are noted later whenever met with), we must suppose them to be not the work of Hippolytus, but of the heretics from whom he quotes, who must, therefore, have taken liberties with the New Testament similar to those of Marcion.

<sup>1</sup> p. 41; II, p. 83 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> II, pp. 119, 151 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> For the arithmomancy see p. 83 *ff. infra*; the borrowings from Sextus begin on p. 70, the tricks of the magicians on p. 92. For other mistakes, see the quotation about the Furies in II, p. 23, which he ascribes to Pythagoras, but which is certainly from Heraclitus (as Plutarch tells us), and the Categories of Aristotle which a few pages earlier are also assigned to Pythagoras. His treatment of Josephus will be dealt with in its place.



Where, also, he copies Irenæus with or without acknowledgment, his copy is extremely faithful, and agrees with the Latin version of the model more closely than the Greek of Epiphanius. It would seem, therefore, that our author's statements, although in no sense unworthy of belief, yet require in many cases strict examination before they can be unhesitatingly accepted.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. THE COMPOSITION OF THE WORK

In these circumstances, and in view of the manifest discrepancies between statements in the earlier part of the text and what purports to be their repetition in the later, the question has naturally arisen as to whether the document before us was written for publication in its present form. It is never referred to or quoted by name by any later author, and although the argument from silence has generally proved a broken reed in such cases, there are here some circumstances which seem to give it unusual strength. It was certainly no reluctance to call in evidence the work of a schismatic or heretical writer which led to the work being ignored, for Epiphanius, a century and a half later, classes Hippolytus with Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria as one from whose writings he has obtained information,<sup>2</sup> and Theodoret, while making use still later of certain passages which coincide with great closeness with some in Book X of our text,<sup>3</sup> admits, as has been said, Hippolytus' claim to both episcopacy and martyrdom. But the passages in Theodoret which seem to show borrowing from Hippolytus, although possibly, are not necessarily from the work before us. The author of this tells us in Book I that he has "aforetime"<sup>4</sup> expounded the tenets of the heretics "within measure," and without revealing all their mysteries, and it might, therefore, be from some such earlier work that both Epiphanius and Theodoret have borrowed. Some writers, including Salmon,<sup>5</sup> have thought that this earlier work of our author is to be found in the anonymous tractate *Adversus Omnes Hæreses* usually appended to Tertullian's

<sup>1</sup> This is especially the case with the story of Callistus, as to which see II, pp. 124 ff. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hæc.* xxxi., p. 205, Oehler.

<sup>3</sup> *Hæret. fab.* I, 17-24.

<sup>4</sup> πάλαι.

<sup>5</sup> In *D.C.B.*, art. *cit. supra*.

works.<sup>1</sup> Yet this tractate, which is extremely short, contains nothing that can be twisted into the words common to our text and to Theodoret, and we might, therefore, assert with confidence that it was from our text that Theodoret copied them but for the fact that he nowhere indicates their origin. This might be only another case of the unacknowledged borrowing much in fashion in his time, were it not that Theodoret has already spoken of Hippolytus in the eulogistic terms quoted above, and would therefore, one would think, have been glad to give as his informant such respectable authority. As he did not do so, we may perhaps accept the conclusion drawn by Cruice with much skill in a study published shortly after the appearance of Miller's text,<sup>2</sup> and say with him that Theodoret did not know that the passages in question were to be found in any work of Hippolytus. In this case, as the statements in Book IX forbid us to suppose that our text was published anonymously or pseudonymously, the natural inference is that both Hippolytus and Theodoret drew from a common source.

What this source was likely to have been there can be little doubt. Our author speaks more than once of "the blessed elder Irenæus," who has, he says, refuted the heretic Marcus with much vigour, and he implies that the energy and power displayed by Irenæus in such matters have shortened his own work with regard to the Valentinian school generally.<sup>3</sup> Photius, also, writing as has been said in the ninth century, mentions a work of Hippolytus against heresies admittedly owing much to Irenæus' instruction. The passage runs thus:—

"A booklet of Hippolytus has been read. Now Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. But it (i.e. the booklet) was the compilation against 32 heresies making (the) Dositheans the beginning (of them) and comprising (those) up to Noetus and the Noetians. And he says that these heresies were subjected to

<sup>1</sup> See Oehler's edition of Tertullian's works, II, 751 ff. The parallel passages are set out in convenient form in Bishop Wordsworth's book before quoted.

<sup>2</sup> *Études sur de nouveaux documents historiques empruntés à l'ouvrage récemment découvert des Philosophumena*, Paris, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> II, pp. 43, 47 *infra*.

refutations by Irenæus in conversation<sup>1</sup> (or in lectures). Of which refutations making also a synopsis, he says he compiled this book. The phrasing however is clear, reverent and unaffected, although he does not observe the Attic style. But he says some other things lacking in accuracy, and that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not by the Apostle Paul."

These words have been held by Salmon and others to describe the tractate *Adversus Omnes Hereses*. Yet this tractate contains not thirty-two heresies, but twenty-seven, and begins with Simon Magus to end with the Praxeas against whom Tertullian wrote. It also notices another heretic named Blastus, who, like Praxeas, is mentioned neither by Irenæus nor by our author, nor does it say anything about Noetus or the Apostle Paul. It does indeed mention at the outset "Dositheus the Samaritan," but only to say that the author proposes to keep silence concerning both him and the Jews, and "to turn to those who have wished to make heresy from the Gospel," the very first of whom, he says, is Simon Magus.<sup>2</sup> As for refutations, the tractate contains nothing resembling one, which has forced the supporters of the theory to assume that they were omitted for brevity's sake. Nor does it in the least agree with our text in its description of the tenets and practices of heresies which the two documents treat of in common, such as Simon, Basilides, the Sethiani and others, and the differences are too great to be accounted for by supposing that the author of the later text was merely incorporating in it newer information.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Photius' description agrees fairly well with our text, which contains thirty-one heresies all told, or thirty-two if we include, as the author asks us to do, that imputed by him to Callistus. Of these, that of Noetus is the

<sup>1</sup> δμιλοῦντος Εἰρηναίου. For the whole quotation, see Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 121 (Bekker's ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian (Oehler's ed.), II, 751. St. Jerome in quoting this passage says the heretics have mangled the Gospel.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the tractate makes Simon Magus call his Helena Sophia, and says that Basilides named his Supreme God Abraxas. It knows nothing of the God-who-is-not and the three Sonhoods of our text: and it gives an entirely different account of the Sethians, whom it calls Sethitæ, and says that they identified Christ with Seth. In this heresy, too, it introduces Sophia, and makes her the author of the Flood.

twenty-eighth, and is followed by those of the Elchesaites, Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees only. These four last are all much earlier in date than any mentioned in the rest of the work, and three of them appeared to the author of the tractate last quoted as not heresies at all, while the fourth is not described by him, and there is no reason immediately apparent why in any case they should be put after and not before the post-Christian ones. The early part of the summary of Jewish beliefs in Book X is torn away, and may have contained a notice of Dositheus, whose name occurs in Eusebius and other writers,<sup>1</sup> as a predecessor of Simon Magus and one who did not believe in the inspiration of the Jewish Prophets. The natural place in chronological order for these Jewish and Samaritan sects would, therefore, be at the head rather than at the tail of the list, and if we may venture to put them there and to restore to the catalogue the name of Dositheus, we should have our thirty-two heresies, beginning with Dositheus and ending with Noetus. We will return later to the reason why Photius should call our text a *Bibliarion* or "booklet."

Are there now any reasons for thinking that our text is founded on such a synopsis of lectures as Photius says Hippolytus made? A fairly cogent one is the inconvenient and awkward division of the books, which often seem as if they had been arranged to occupy equal periods of time in delivery. Another is the unnecessary and tedious introductions and recapitulations with which the descriptions of particular philosophies, charlatanic practices, and heresies begin and end, and which seem as if they were only put in for the sake of arresting or holding the attention of an audience addressed verbally. Thus, in the account of Simon Magus' heresy, our author begins with a long-winded story of a Libyan who taught parrots to proclaim his own divinity, the only bearing of which upon the story of Simon is that Hippolytus asserts, like Justin Martyr, that Simon wished his followers to take him for the Supreme Being.<sup>2</sup> So, too, he begins the succeeding book with the age-worn tale of Ulysses and the Sirens<sup>3</sup> by way of introduction to the tenets of Basilides, with which it has no connection

<sup>1</sup> Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* IV, c. 22. He is quoting Hegesippus. See also Origen *contra Celsum*, VI, c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 3 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> II, pp. 61 ff. *infra*.

whatever. This was evidently intended to attract the attention of an audience so as to induce them to give more heed to the somewhat intricate details which follow. In other cases, he puts at the beginning or end of a book a more or less detailed summary of those which preceded it, lest, as he states in one instance, his hearers should have forgotten what he has before said.<sup>1</sup> These are the usual artifices of a lecturer, but a more salient example is perhaps those ends of chapters giving indications of what is to follow immediately, which can hardly be anything else than announcements in advance of the subject of the next lecture. Thus, at the end of Book I, he promises to explain the mystic rites<sup>2</sup>—a promise which is for us unfulfilled in the absence of Books II and III; at the end of Book IV, he tells us that he will deal with the disciples of Simon and Valentinus<sup>3</sup>; at that of Book VII, that he will do the same with the Docetæ<sup>4</sup>; and at that of Book VIII that he will “pass on” to the heresy of Noetus.<sup>5</sup> In none of these cases does he more than mention the first of the heresies to be treated of in the succeeding book, which the reader could find out for himself by turning over the page, or rather by casting his eye a little further down the roll.

Again, there are repetitions in our text excusable in a lecturer who does not, if he is wise, expect his hearers to have at their fingers' ends all that he has said in former lectures, and who may even find that he can best root things in their memory by saying them over and over again; but quite unpardonable in a writer who can refer his readers more profitably to his former statements. Yet, we find our author in Book I giving us the supposed teaching of Pythagoras as to the monad being a male member, the dyad a female and so on up to the decad, which is supposed to be perfect.<sup>6</sup> This is gone through all over again in Book IV with reference to the art of arithmetic<sup>7</sup> and again in Book VI where it is made a sort of shoeing-horn to the Valentinian heresy.<sup>8</sup> The same may be

<sup>1</sup> pp. 103, 119; II, pp. 1, 57, 148, 149 *infra*.      <sup>2</sup> p. 66 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> p. 117 *infra*.      <sup>4</sup> II, p. 97 *infra*.      <sup>5</sup> II, p. 116 *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> p. 37 *infra*.      <sup>7</sup> p. 115 *infra*.

<sup>8</sup> II, p. 20. In II, p. 49, it is mentioned in connection with the heresy of Marcus, and on p. 104 the same theory is attributed to the “Egyptians.”

said of the "Categories" or accidents of substance which Hippolytus in one place attributes to Pythagoras, but which are identical with those set out by Aristotle in the *Organon*. He gives them rightly to Aristotle in Book I, but makes them the invention of the Pythagoreans in Book VI only to return them to Aristotle in Book VII.<sup>1</sup> Here again is a mistake such as a lecturer might make by a slip of the tongue, but not a writer with any pretensions to care or seriousness.

Beyond this, there is some little direct evidence of a lecture origin for our text. In his comments on the system of Justinus, which he connects with the Ophites, our author says: "Though I have met with many heresies, O beloved, I have met with none viler in evil than this." The word "beloved" is here in the plural, and would be the phrase used by a Greek-speaking person in a lecture to a class or group of disciples or catechumens.<sup>2</sup> I do not think there is any instance of its use in a *book*. In another place he says that his "discourse" has proved useful, not only for refuting heretics, but for combating the prevalent belief in astrology;<sup>3</sup> and although the word might be employed by other authors with regard to writings, yet it is not likely to have been used in that sense by Hippolytus, who everywhere possible refers to his former "books." There is, therefore, a good deal of reason for supposing that some part of this work first saw the light as spoken and not as written words.

What this part is may be difficult to define with great exactness; but there are abundant signs that the work as we have it was not written all at one time. In Book I, the author expresses his intention of assigning every heresy to the speculations of some particular philosopher or philosophic school.<sup>4</sup> So far from doing so, however, he only compares Valentinus with Pythagoras and Plato, Basilides with Aristotle, Cerdo and Marcion with Empedocles, Hermogenes with Socrates, and Noetus with Heraclitus, leaving all the Ophite teachers, Saturnilus,

<sup>1</sup> p. 66; II, pp. 21, 64 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> ἀγαπητοί, p. 113 and p. 180 *infra*. It also occurs on p. 125 of Vol. II in the same connection.

<sup>3</sup> λόγος, pp. 107 and 120 *infra*. He uses the word in the same sense on p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> p. 35 *infra*.

Carpocrates, Cerinthus and other founders of schools without a single philosopher attached to them. At the end of Book IV, moreover, he draws attention more than once to certain supposed resemblances in the views linked with the name of Pythagoras, to those underlying the nomenclature of the Simonian and Valentinian heresies, and concludes with the words that he must proceed to the doctrines of these last.<sup>1</sup> Before he does so, however, Book V is interposed and is entirely taken up with the Ophites, or worshippers of the Serpent, to whom he does not attempt to assign a philosophic origin. In Book VI he carries out his promise in Book IV by going at length into the doctrines of Simon, Valentinus and the followers of this last, and in Book VII he takes us in like manner through those of Basilides, Menander, Marcion and his successors, Carpocrates, Cerinthus and many others of the less-known heresiarchs. Book VIII deals in the same way with a sect that he calls the Docetæ, Monoimus the Arabian, Tatian, Hermogenes and some others. In the case of the Ophite teachers, Simon, and Basilides, he gives us, as has been said, extracts from documents which are entirely new to us, and were certainly not used by Irenæus, while he adds to the list of heresies described by his predecessor, the sects of the Docetæ, Monoimus and the Quartodecimans. In all the other heresies so far, he follows Irenæus' account almost word for word, and with such closeness as enables us to restore in great part the missing Greek text of that Father. With Book IX, however, there comes a change. Mindful of the intention expressed in Book I, he here begins with a summary of the teaching of Heraclitus the Obscure, which no one has yet professed to understand, and then sets to work to deduce from it the heresy of Noetus. This gives him the opportunity for the virulent attack on his rival Callistus, to whom he ascribes a modification of Noetus' heresy, and he next, as has been said, plunges into a description of the sect of the Elchesaites, then only lately come to Rome, and quotes from Josephus without acknowledgment and with some garbling the account by this last of the division of the Jews into the three sects of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Noetus' heresy was what was known as Patripassian, from its

<sup>1</sup> p. 117 *infra*.

involving the admission that the Father suffered upon the Cross, and although he manages to see Gnostic elements in that of the Elchēsaites, there can be little doubt that these last-named "heretics," whose main tenet was the prescription of frequent baptism for all sins and diseases, were connected with the pre-Christian sect of Hemerobaptists, Mogtasilah or "Washers" who are at once pre-Christian, and still to be found near the Tigris between Baghdad and Basra. Why he should have added to these the doctrines of the Jews is uncertain, as the obvious place for this would have been, as has been said, at the beginning of the volume:<sup>1</sup> but a possible explanation is that he was here resuming a course of instruction by lectures that he had before abandoned, and was therefore in some sort obliged to spin it out to a certain length.

Book X seems at first sight likely to solve many of the questions which every reader who has got so far is compelled to ask. It begins, in accordance with the habit just noted, with the statement that the author has now worked through "the Labyrinth of Heresies" and that the teachings of truth are to be found neither in the philosophies of the Greeks, the secret mysteries of the Egyptians, the formulas of the Chaldeans or astrologers, nor the ravings of Babylonian magic.<sup>2</sup> This links it with fair closeness to the reference in Book IV to the ideas of the Persians, Babylonians, Egyptians and Chaldeans, only the first-named nation being here omitted from the text. It then goes on to say that "having brought together the opinions<sup>3</sup> of all the wise men among the *Greeks* in four books and those of the heresiarchs in five," he will make a summary of them. It will be noted that this is in complete contradiction to the supposition that the missing Books II and III contained the doctrines of the Babylonians, as he now says that they comprised those of the Greeks only. The summary which

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Hieronymus, Isidorus Hispalensis, and Honorius Augustodunensis, like Epiphanius, begin their catalogues of heresies with the Jewish and Samaritan sects. Philastrius leads off with the Ophites and Sethians whom he declares to be pre-Christian, and then goes on to Dositheus, and the Jewish "heresies" before coming to Simon Magus. Pseudo-Augustine and Prædestinatus begin with Simon Magus and include no pre-Christian sects. See Oehler, *Corpus Hæresicologicus*, Berlin, 1866, *l. i.*

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 150 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> *ἀληθεα*, p. *cil.*



follows might have been expected to make this confusion clear, but unfortunately it does nothing of the kind. It does indeed give so good an abstract of what has been said in Books V to IX inclusive regarding the chief heresiarchs, that in one or two places it enables us to correct doubtful phrases and to fill in gaps left in earlier books. There is omitted from the summary, however, all mention of the heresies of Marcus, Saturnilus, Menander, Carpocrates, the Nicolaitans, Docetae, Quartodecimans, Encratites and the Jewish sects, and the list of omissions will probably be thought too long to be accounted for on the ground of mere carelessness. But when the summarizer deals with the earlier books, the discrepancy between the summary and the documents summarized is much more startling. Among the philosophers, he omits to summarize the opinions of Pythagoras, Empedocles, Ecphantus, Hippo, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Academics, Brachmans, or Druids, while he does mention those of Hippasus, Ocellus Lucanus, Heraclides of Pontus and Asclepiades, who were not named in any of the texts of Book I which have come down to us. As for the tenets and practices of the Persians, Egyptians and others, supposed on the strength of the statement at the beginning of Book V to have been narrated in Books II and III, nothing further is here said concerning them, and, by the little table of contents with which Book X like the others is prefaced, it will appear that nothing was intended to be said. For this last omission it might be possible to assign plausible reasons if it stood alone; but when it is coupled with the variations between summary and original as regards Book I, the only inference that meets all the facts is that the summarizer did not have the first four books under his eyes.

This has led some critics to conclude that the summary is by another hand. There is nothing in the literary manners of the age to compel us to reject this supposition, and similar cases have been quoted. The evidence of style is, however, against it, and it is unlikely that if the summarizer were any other person than Hippolytus, he would have taken up Hippolytus' personal quarrel against Callistus. Yet in the text of Book X before us the charge of heresy against Callistus is repeated, although perhaps with less

asperity than in Book IX, the accusations against his morals being omitted. Nor is it easy to dissociate from Hippolytus the really eloquent appeal to men of all nations to escape the terrors of Tartarus and gain an immortality of bliss by becoming converted to the Doctrine of Truth with which the Book ends, after an excursion into Hebrew Chronology, a subject which always had great fascination for Hippolytus. Although the matter is not beyond doubt, it would appear, therefore, that the summary, like the rest of the book, is by Hippolytus' own hand.

In these circumstances there is but one theory that in the opinion of the present writer will reconcile all the conflicting facts. This is that the foundation of our text is the synopsis that Hippolytus made, as Photius tells us, after receiving instruction from Irenæus; that those notes were, as Hippolytus himself says, "set forth" by him possibly in the form of lectures, equally possibly in writing, but in any case a long time before our text was compiled; and that when his rivalry with Callistus became acute, he thought of republishing these discourses and bringing them up to date by adding to them the Noetian and other non-Gnostic heresies which were then making headway among the Christian community, together with the facts about the divinatory and magical tricks which had come to his knowledge during his long stay in Rome. We may next conjecture that, after the greater part of his book was written, chance threw in his way the documents belonging to the Naassene and other Ophite sects, which went back to the earliest days of Christianity and were probably in Hippolytus' time on the verge of extinction.<sup>1</sup> He had before determined to omit these sects as of slight importance,<sup>2</sup> but now perceiving the interest of the new documents, he hastily incorporated them in his book immediately after his account of the magicians, so that they might appear as what he with some truth said they were, to wit, the fount and source of all later Gnosticism. To do this, he had to displace the account of the Jewish and Samaritan sects with which all the heresiologists of the time thought it necessary to begin their histories. He

<sup>1</sup> So Origen, *Cont. Cels.*, VI, 24, speaks of "the very insignificant sect called Ophites."

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 116 *infra*, where he says that he did not think them worth refuting.

probably felt the less reluctance in doing so, because the usual mention of these sects as "heresies" in some sort contradicted his pet theory, which was that the Gnostic tenets were not a mere perversion of Christian teaching, but were derived from philosophic theories of the creation of things, and from the mystic rites.

Next let us suppose that at the close of his life, when he was perhaps hiding from Maximin's inquisitors, or even when he was at the Sardinian mines, he thought of preserving his work for posterity by re-writing it—such copies as he had left behind him in Rome having been doubtless seized by the Imperial authorities.<sup>1</sup> Not having the material that he had before used then at his disposal, he had to make the best summary that he could from memory, and in the course of this found that the contents of the Books I, II, and III—the material for which he had drawn in the first instance from Irenæus—had more or less escaped him. He was probably able to recall some part of Book I by the help of heathen works like those of Diogenes Laertius, Aetius, or perhaps that Alcinous whose summary of Plato's doctrines seem to have been formerly used by him.<sup>2</sup> The Ophite and other Gnostic heresies he remembers sufficiently to make his summary of their doctrines more easy, although he omits from the list heresiarchs like Marcus, Saturnilus and Menander, about whom he had never had any exclusive information, and he now puts Justinus after instead of before Basilides. Finally, he remembered the Jewish sects which he had once intended to include, and being perhaps able to command, even in the mines, the work of a Romanized but unconverted Jew like Josephus, took from it such facts as seemed useful for his purpose as an introduction to the chronological speculation which had once formed his favourite study. With this summary as his guide he continued, it may be, to warn the companions in adversity to whom he tells us he had "become an adviser," against the perils of heresy, and to appeal to his unconverted listeners with what his former translator calls not unfitly "a noble specimen of patristic eloquence." That he died in the mines is most probable, not only from his advanced age

<sup>1</sup> For the search made both by pagan and Christian inquisitors for their opponents' books, see *Forerunners*, II, 12,

<sup>2</sup> See n. on p. 51 *infra*.

at the time of exile and the consequent unlikelihood that he would be able to withstand the pestilential climate, but also from the record of his body having been "deposited" in the Catacombs on the same day with that of his fellow-Pope and martyr Pontianus.<sup>1</sup> Yet the persecution of Maximin, though sharp, was short, and on the death of the tyrant after a reign of barely three years, there is no reason why the transcript of Book X should not have reached Rome, where there is some reason to think it was known from its opening words as "the Labyrinth." Later it was probably appended to Books IV to IX of Hippolytus' better known work, and the whole copied for the use of those officials who had to enquire into heresy. To them, Books II and III would be useless, and they probably thought it inexpedient to perpetuate any greater knowledge than was necessary for their better suppression, of the unclean mysteries of either pagan or Gnostic. As for Book I, besides being harmless, it had possibly by that time become too firmly connected with the name of Origen for its attribution to this other sufferer in the Maximinian persecution to be disturbed in later times.

It only remains to see how this theory fits in with the remarks of Photius given above. It is fairly evident that Photius is speaking from recollection only, and that the words do not suggest that he had Hippolytus' actual work before him when writing, while he throughout speaks of it in the past tense as one might speak of a document which has long since perished, although some memory of its contents have been preserved. If this were so, we might be prepared to take Photius' description as not necessarily accurate in every detail; yet, as we have it, it is almost a perfect description of our text. The 32 heresies, as we have shown above, appear in our text as in Photius' document. Our text contains not only the large excerpts from Irenæus which we might expect from Photius' account of its inception, but also the "refutations" which do not appear in the *Adversus Omnes Hæreses*. It extends "up to," as Photius says, Noetus and the Noetians, and although it does not contain any mention of Dositheus or the Dositheans, this may have been given in the part which has

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Salmon in *D. C. B.*, s.v. "Hippolytus Romanus."

been cut out of Book X.<sup>1</sup> If that were the case, or if Photius has made any mistake in the matter, as one might easily do when we consider that all the early heresiologies begin with Jewish and Samaritan sects, the only real discrepancy between our text and Photius' description of Hippolytus' work is in the matter of length. But it is by no means certain that Photius ever saw the whole work put together, and it is plain that he had never seen or had forgotten the first four books dealing with the philosophers, the mysteries and the charlatans. Without these, and without the summary, Books V to IX do not work out to more than 70,000 words in all, and this might well seem a mere "booklet" to a man then engaged in the compilation of his huge *Bibliotheca*. Whether, then, Hippolytus did or did not reduce to writing the exposition of heresies which he made in his youth, it seems probable that all certain trace of this exposition is lost. It is certainly not to be recognized in pseudo-Tertullian's *Adversus Omnes Hereses*, and the work of Hippolytus recorded by Photius was probably a copy of our text in a more or less complete form.

### 5. THE STYLE OF THE WORK

Photius' remark that Hippolytus did not keep to the Attic style is an understatement of the case with regard to our text. Jacobi, its first critic, was so struck by the number of "Latinisms" that he found in it as to conjecture that it is nothing but a Greek translation of a Latin original.<sup>2</sup> This is so unlikely as to be well-nigh impossible if Hippolytus were indeed the author; and no motive for such translation can be imagined unless it were made at a fairly late period. In that case, we should expect to find it full of words and expressions used only in Byzantine times when the Greek language had become debased by Slav and Oriental admixtures. This, however, is not the case with our text, and only one distinctly Byzantine phrase has

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus' denial of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews probably appeared in some work other than our text. Or it may have been cut out by the scribe as offensive to orthodoxy.

<sup>2</sup> A flagrant case is to be found in p. 81 Cr. where Π (P) has, according to Schneidewin, been written for R, a mistake that could only be made by one used to Roman letters. Cf. *Serpens* and *serviens*, p. 487 Cr.

rewarded a careful search.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand neologisms are not rare, especially in Book X,<sup>2</sup> and everything goes to show the truth of Cruice's remark that the author was evidently not a trained writer. This is by no means inconsistent with the theory that the whole work is by Hippolytus, and is the more probable if we conclude that it was originally spoken instead of written.

This is confirmed when we look into the construction of the author's sentences. They are drawn out by a succession of relative clauses to an extent very rare among even late Greek writers, more than one sentence covering 20 or 30 lines of the printed page without a full stop, while the usual rules as to the place and order of the words are often neglected. Another peculiarity of style is the constant piling up of several similes or tropes where only one would suffice, which is very distinctly marked in the passages whenever the author is speaking for long in his own person and without quoting the words of another. In all these we seem to be listening to the words of a fluent but rather laborious orator. Thus in Book I he compares the joy that he expects to find in his work to that of an athlete gaining the crown, of a merchant selling his goods after a long voyage, of a husbandman with his hardly won crops, and of a despised prophet seeing his predictions fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> So in Book V, after mentioning a book by Orpheus called *Bachica* otherwise unknown, he goes on to speak of "the mystic rite of Celeus and Triptolemus and Demeter and Core and Dionysus in Eleusis,"<sup>4</sup> when any practised writer would have said the Eleusinian mysteries simply. A similar piling up of imagery is found in Book VIII, where he speaks of the seed of the fig-tree as "a refuge for the terror-stricken, a shelter for the naked, a veil for modesty, and the sought-for produce to which the Lord came in search of fruit three times and found none."<sup>5</sup> But it is naturally in the phrases of the pastoral address with which Book X ends that the most salient examples occur. Thus,

<sup>1</sup> ἀρέτε for ἀφ' οὗ, p. 453 Cr.

<sup>2</sup> ε. γ. φυσιογονική (p. 9 Cr.) κοπιῶνται (p. 86), ἰχθυοκόλλα (p. 103), ἀρχανθρώπος (p. 153), ἀπροσῆτος (p. 176), κλεψιλόγος (p. 370), πρωτογενέστερα (p. 489), κατιβιωσιούμενος (p. 500), ἀδίστακτος (p. 511), ταρταρούχος (p. 523).

<sup>3</sup> p. 35 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> p. 166 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> II, p. 99 *infra*.

the unconverted are told that by being instructed in the knowledge of the true God, they will escape the imminent menace of the judgment fire, and the unilluminated vision of gloomy Tartarus, and the burning of the everlasting shore of the Gehenna of fire, and the eye of the Tartaruchian angels in eternal punishment, and the worm that ever coils as if for food round the body whence it was bred,<sup>1</sup>—or, as he might have said in one word, the horrors of hell.

Less distinctive than this, although equally noticeable, is the play of words which is here frequently employed. This is not unknown among other ecclesiastical writers of the time, and seems to have struck Charles Kingsley when, fresh from a perusal of St. Augustine, he describes him as "by a sheer mistranslation" twisting one of the Psalms to mean what it never meant in the writer's mind, and what it never could mean, and then punning on the Latin version.<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus when writing in his own person makes but moderate use of this figure. Sometimes he does so legitimately enough, as when he speaks of the Gnostics initiating a convert into their systems and delivering to him "the perfection of wickedness"—the word used for perfection having the mystic or technical meaning of initiation as well as the more ordinary one of completion<sup>3</sup>; or when he says that the measurements of stellar distances by Ptolemy have led to the construction of measureless "heresies."<sup>4</sup> At others he consciously puns on the double meaning of a word, as when he says that those who venture upon orgies are not far from the wrath (*ὀργή*) of God.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, again, he is led away by a merely accidental similarity of sounds as when he tries to connect the name of the Docetæ, which he knows is taken from *δοκεῖν*, "to seem," with "the *beam* (*δοκός*) in the eye" of the Sermon on the Mount.<sup>6</sup> He makes a second and more obvious pun on the same word later when he says that the Docetæ do more than *seem* to be mad; but he is most shameless when he derives "prophet" from *προφάινειν* instead of *πρόφημι*<sup>7</sup>—a perversion which one can hardly imagine entering into the head of any one with the most modest acquaintance with Greek grammar.

<sup>1</sup> II, pp. 177 ff.

<sup>2</sup> p. 33 *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> II, p. 99 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> See Augustine's sermon in *Hyppatia*.

<sup>5</sup> p. 83 *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> II, p. 2 *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> II, p. 175 *infra*.

But these puns, bad as they are, are venial compared with some of the authors from whom he quotes. None can equal in this respect the efforts of the Naassene author, whose plays upon words and audacious derivations might put to the blush those in the *Cratylus*. Adamas and Adam, Corybas and κορυφή (the head), Geryon and Γηρνώγην ("flowing from earth"), Mesopotamia and "a river from the middle," Παπας and παύε, παύε ("Cease! cease!"), Διπόλος ("goat herd") and ἀεὶ πολῶν ("ever turning") πασσ ("serpent") and ναός ("temple"), Euphrates and εὐφραίνει ("he rejoices") are but a few of the terrible puns he perpetrates.<sup>1</sup> The Peratic author is more sober in this respect, and yet he, or perhaps Hippolytus for him, derives the name of the sect from περᾶν ("to pass beyond"),<sup>2</sup> although Theodoret with more plausibility would take it from the nationality of its teacher Euphrates the Peratic or Mede; and the chapter on the Sethians does not contain a single pun. Yet that on Justinus makes up for this by deriving the name of the god Priapus from προπορεύω, a word made up for the occasion.<sup>3</sup> "The great Gnostics of Hadrian's time," viz. :—Basilides, Marcion and Valentinus, seem to have had souls above such puerilities; but the Docetic author resumes the habit with a specially daring parallel between Βύτος ("a bush") and βήτος (Hera's robe or "mist")<sup>4</sup> and Monoimus the Arab follows suit with a sort of jingle between the Decalogue and the δεκάπληγος or ten plagues of Egypt, which would hardly have occurred to any one without the Semitic taste for assonance.<sup>5</sup> Of the less-quoted writers there is no occasion to speak, because there are either no extracts from their works given in our text or they are too short for us to judge from them whether they, too, were given to punning.

Apart from such comparatively small matters, however, the difference in style between the several Gnostic writers here quoted is well marked. Nothing can be more singular at first sight than the way in which the Naassene author expresses himself. It seems to the reader on the first perusal of his lucubrations as if the writer had made up his mind to follow no train of thought beyond the limits of a single sentence. Beginning with the idea of the First Man,

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 122, 133, 134, 135, 137, 142, 143 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> p. 154 *infra*. <sup>3</sup> p. 178 *infra*. <sup>4</sup> II, p. 102. <sup>5</sup> II, p. 109.



which we find running like a thread through so many Eastern creeds, from that of the Cabalists among the Jews to the Manichæans who perhaps took it directly from its primitive source in Babylon,<sup>1</sup> he immediately turns from this to declare the tripartite division of the universe and everything it contains, including the souls and natures of men, and to inculcate the strictest asceticism. Yet all this is written round, so to speak, a hymn to Attis which he declares relates to the Mysteries of the Mother with several allusions to the most secret rites of the Eleusinian Demeter and, as it would appear, of those of the Greek Isis. The Peratic author, on the other hand, also teaches a tripartite division of things and souls, but draws his proofs not from the same mystic sources as the Naassene but from what Hippolytus declares to be the system of the astrologers. This system, which is not even hinted at in any avowedly astrological work, is that the stars are the cause of all that happens here below, and that we can only escape from their sway into one of the two worlds lying above ours by the help of Christ, here called the Perfect Serpent, existing as an intermediary between the Father of All and Matter. Yet this doctrine, which we can also read without much forcing of the text into the rhapsody of the Naassene, is stated with all the precision and sobriety of a scientific proposition, and is as entirely free from the fervour and breathlessness of the last-named writer as it is from his perpetual allusions to the Greek and especially to the Alexandrian and Anatolian mythology.<sup>2</sup> Both these again are perfectly different in style from the "Sethian" author from whom Hippolytus gives us long extracts, and who seems to have trusted mainly to an imagery which is entirely opposed to all Western conventions of modesty.<sup>3</sup> Yet all three aver the strongest belief in the Divinity and Divine Mission of Jesus, whom they identify with the Good Serpent, which was according to many modern authors the chief material object of adoration in every heathen temple in

<sup>1</sup> See *Forerunners*, I, lxi ff.

<sup>2</sup> This applies to the chief Peratic author quoted. The long catalogue connecting personages in the Greek mythology with particular stars is, as is said later, by another hand, and is introduced by a bombastic utterance like that attributed to Simon Magus.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus attributes it to the Orphics; but see de Faye for another explanation.

Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> They are, therefore, rightly numbered by Hippolytus among the Ophite heresies, and seem to be founded upon traditions current throughout Western Asia which even now are not perhaps quite extinct. Yet each of the three authors quoted in our text writes in a perfectly different style from his two fellow heresiarchs, and this alone is sufficient to remove all doubt as to the genuineness of the document.

These three Ophite chapters are taken first because in our text they begin the heresiology strictly so called.<sup>2</sup> As has been said, the present writer believes them to be an interpolation made at the last moment by the author, and by no means the most valuable, though they are perhaps the most curious part of the book. They resemble much, however, in thought the quotations in our text attributed to Simon Magus, and although the ideas apparent in them differ in material points, yet there seems to be between the two sets of documents a kind of family likeness in the occasional use of bombastic language and unclean imagery. But when we turn from these to the extracts from the works attributed to Valentinus and Basilides which Hippolytus gives us, a change is immediately apparent. Here we have dignity of language corresponding to dignity of thought, and in the case of Valentinus especially the diction is quite equal to the passages from the discourses of that most eloquent heretic quoted by Clement of Alexandria. We feel on reading them that we have indeed travelled from the Orontes to the Tiber, and the difference in style should by itself convince the most sceptical critic at once of the good faith of our careless author and of the authenticity of the sources from which he has collected his information.

## 6. THE VALUE OF THE WORK

What interest has a work such as this of Hippolytus for us at the present day? In the first place it preserves for us many precious relics of a literature which before its discovery seemed lost for ever. The pagan hymn to Attis

<sup>1</sup> *Forerunners*, II, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Justinus is left out of the account because he does not seem to have been an Ophite at all. The Serpent in his system is entirely evil, and therefore not an object of worship, and his sect is probably much later than the other three in the same book.

and the Gnostic one on the Divine Mission of Jesus, both appearing in Book V, are finds of the highest value for the study of the religious beliefs of the early centuries of our Era, and with these go many fragments of hardly less importance, including the Pindaric ode in the same book. Not less useful or less unexpected are the revelations in the same book of the true meaning of the syncretistic worship of Attis and Cybele, and the disclosure here made of the supreme mystery of the Eleusinian rites, which we now know for the first time culminated in the representation of a divine marriage and of the subsequent birth of an infant god, coupled with the symbolical display of an "ear of corn reaped in silence." For the study of classical antiquity as well as for the science of religions such facts are of the highest value.

But all this will for most of us yield in interest to the picture which our text gives us of the struggles of Christianity against its external and internal foes during the first three centuries. So far from this period having been one of quiet growth and development for the infant Church, we see her in Hippolytus' pages exposed not only to fierce if sporadic persecution from pagan emperors, but also to the steady and persistent rivalry of scores of competing schools led by some of the greatest minds of the age, and all combining some of the main tenets of Christianity with the relics of heathenism. We now know, too, that she was not always able to present an unbroken front to these violent or insidious assailants. In the highest seats of the Church, as we now learn for the first time, there were divisions on matters of faith which anticipated in some measure those which nearly rent her in twain after the promulgation of the Creed of Nicæa. Such a schism as that between the churches of Hippolytus and Callistus must have given many an opportunity to those foes who were in some sort of her own household; while round the contest, like the irregular auxiliaries of a regular army, swarmed a crowd of wonder-workers, diviners, and other exploiters of the public credulity, of whose doings we have before gained some insight from writers like Lucian and Apuleius, but whose methods and practices are for the first time fully described by Hippolytus.

The conversion of the whole Empire under Constantine

broke once for all the power of these enemies of the Church. Schisms were still to occur, but grievous as they were, they happily proved impotent to destroy the essential unity of Christendom. The heathen faiths and the Gnostic sects derived from them were soon to wither like plants that had no root, and both they and the charlatans whose doings our author details were relentlessly hunted down by the State which had once given them shelter: while if the means used for this purpose were not such as the purer Christian ethics would now approve, we must remember that these means would probably have proved ineffective had not Christian teaching already destroyed the hold of these older beliefs on the seething populations of the Empire. That the adolescent Church should thus have been enabled to triumph over all her enemies may seem to many a better proof of her divine guidance than the miraculous powers once attributed to her. We may not all of us be able to believe that a rainstorm put out the fire on which Thekla was to be burned alive, or that the crocodiles in the tank in the arena into which she was cast were struck by lightning and floated to the surface dead.<sup>1</sup> Still less can we credit that the portraits of St. Theodore and other military saints left their place in the palace of the Queen of Persia and walked about in human form.<sup>2</sup> Such stories are for the most of us either pious fables composed for edification or half-forgotten records of natural events seen through the mist of exaggeration and misrepresentation common in the Oriental mind. But that the Church which began like a grain of mustard seed should in so short a time come to overshadow the whole civilized world may well seem when we consider the difficulties in her way a greater miracle than any of those recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts; and the full extent of these difficulties we should not have known save for Mynas' discovery of our text.

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Paul and Thekla, passim.*

<sup>2</sup> E. A. T. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1915, pp. 579 ff.

# BOOK I<sup>1</sup>

## THE PHILOSOPHERS

THESE are the contents<sup>2</sup> of the First Part<sup>3</sup> of the Refutation of all Heresies; p. 1,  
Cruice.

What were the tenets of the natural philosophers and who these were; and what those of the ethicists and who these were; and what those of the dialecticians and who the dialecticians were.

<sup>1</sup> As has been said in the Introduction (p. 1 *supra*) four early codices of the First Book exist, the texts being known from the libraries where they are to be found as the Medicean, the Turin, the Ottobonian and the Barberine respectively. That published by Miller was a copy of the Medicean codex already put into print by Fabricius, but was carefully worked over by Roeper, Scott and others who like Gronovius, Wolf and Delarue, collated it with the other three codices. The different readings are, I think, all noted by Cruice in his edition of 1860, but are not of great importance, and I have only noticed them here when they make any serious change in the meaning of the passage. Hermann Diels has again revised the text in his *Doxographi Graeci*, Berlin, 1879, with a result that Salmon (*D.C.B.* s.v. "Hippolytus Romanus") declares to be "thoroughly satisfactory," and the reading of this part of our text may now, perhaps, be regarded as settled. Only the opening and concluding paragraphs are of much value for our present purpose, the account of philosophic opinions which lies between being, as has been already said, a compilation of compilations, and not distinguished by any special insight into the ideas of the authors summarized, with the works of most of whom Hippolytus had probably but slight acquaintance. An exception should perhaps be made in the case of Aristotle, as it is probable that Hippolytus, like other students of his time, was trained in Aristotle's dialectic and analytic system for the purpose of disputation. But this will be better discussed in connection with Book VII.

<sup>2</sup> τὰδε ἐνεστιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ κατὰ παρῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχου. This formula is repeated at the head of Books V-X with the alteration of the number only.

<sup>3</sup> The word missing after *πρώτῃ* was probably *μερῶν*, the only likely word which would agree with the feminine adjective. It would be appropriate enough if the theory of the division of the work into spoken lectures be correct. The French and German editors alike translate *in libro primo*.

Now the natural philosophers mentioned are Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Parmenides, Leucippus, Democritus, Xenophanes, Écphantus, and Hippo. The ethicists are Socrates, pupil of Archelaus the physicist and Plato, pupil of Socrates. These mingled together the three kinds of philosophy. The dialecticians are Aristotle, pupil of Plato and the founder of dialectics, and the Stoics Chrysippus and Zeno.

Epicurus, however, maintained an opinion almost exactly contrary to all these. So did Pyrrho the Academic<sup>1</sup> who asserts the incomprehensibility of all things. There are also the Brachmans<sup>2</sup> among the Indians, the Druids among the Celts, and Hesiod.

## (PROÆMIUM)

No fable made famous by the Grecks is to be neglected. For even those opinions of theirs which lack consistency are believed through the extravagant madness of the heretics, who, from hiding in silence their own unspeakable mysteries, are supposed by many to worship God. Whose opinions also we aforesaid set forth within measure, not displaying them in detail but refuting them in the rough,<sup>3</sup> as we did not hold it fit to bring their unspeakable deeds to light. This we did that, as we set forth their tenets by hints only, they, becoming ashamed lest by telling outright their secrets we should prove them to be godless, might abate somewhat from their unreasoned purpose and unlawful enterprise.<sup>4</sup> But since I see that they have not been put to shame by our clemency, and have not considered God's long-suffering under their blasphemies, I am

<sup>1</sup> There seems no reason for numbering Pyrrho of Elis among the members of the Academy, Old or New. Diogenes Laertius, from whose account of his doctrines Hippolytus seems to have derived the dogma of incomprehensibility which he here attributes to Pyrrho, makes him the founder of the Sceptics. He was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and probably died before Arcesilaus founded the New Academy in 280 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Macmahon here reads "Brahmins." Their habits appear more like those of Yogis or Sanyasis.

<sup>3</sup> ἀδρομερῶς: in contradistinction to κατὰ λεπτὸν just above.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλογίστου γνῶμης καὶ ἀθεμίτου ἐπιχειρήσεως. The Turin MS. transposes the adjectives.

forced, in order that they may either be shamed into repentance, or remaining as they are may be rightly judged, to proceed to show their ineffable mysteries which they impart to those candidates for initiation who are thoroughly trustworthy. Yet they do not previously avow them, unless they have enslaved such a one by keeping him long in suspense and preparing him by blasphemy against the true God,<sup>1</sup> and they see him longing for the jugglery of the disclosure. And then, when they have proved him to be bound fast by iniquity,<sup>2</sup> they initiate him and impart to him the perfection of evil things,<sup>3</sup> first binding him by oath neither to tell nor to impart them to any one unless he too has been enslaved in the same way. Yet from him to whom they have been only communicated, no oath is longer necessary. For whoso has submitted to learn and to receive their final mysteries will by the act itself and by his own conscience be bound not to utter them to others. For were he to declare to any man such an offence, he would neither be reckoned longer among men, nor thought worthy any more to behold the light. Which things also are such an offence that even the dumb animals do not attempt them, as we shall say in its place.<sup>4</sup> But since the argument compels us to enter into the case very deeply, we do not think fit to hold our peace, but setting forth in detail the opinions of all, we shall keep silence on none. And it seems good to us to spare no labour even if thereby the tale be lengthened. For we shall leave behind us no small help to the life of men against further error, when all see clearly the hidden and unspeakable orgies of which

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν ὄντως Θεόν. The phrase is used frequently hereafter, particularly in Book X.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the "bond of iniquity" in St. Peter's speech to Simon Magus, Acts viii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ τέλειον τῶν κακῶν. τέλειον being a mystic word for final or complete initiation.

<sup>4</sup> ἢ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα κ. τ. λ. Schneidewin and Cruice both read εἰ καὶ, Roeser εἰ simply, others εἰ ὅτι. The first seems the best reading; but none of the suggestions is quite satisfactory. The promise to say what it was that even the dumb animals would not have done is unfulfilled. It cannot have involved any theological question, but probably refers to the obscene sacrament of the *Pistis Sophia*, the Bruce Papyrus and Huysmans' *Là-Bas*. Yet Hippolytus does not again refer to it, and of all the heretics in our text, the Simonians are the only ones accused of celebrating it, even by Epiphanius.

the heretics are the stewards and which they impart only to the initiated. But none other will refute these things than the Holy Spirit handed down in the Church which the Apostles having first received did distribute to those who rightly believed. Whose successors we chance to be and partakers of the same grace of high priesthood<sup>1</sup> and of teaching and accounted guardians of the Church. Wherefore we close not our eyes nor abstain from straight speech ; but neither do we tire in working with our whole soul and body worthily to return worthy service to the beneficent God. Nor do we make full return save that we slacken not in that which is entrusted to us ; but we fill full the measures of our opportunity and without envy communicate to all whatsoever the Holy Spirit shall provide. Thus we not only bring into the open by refutation the affairs of the enemy ;<sup>2</sup> but also whatever the truth has received by the Father's grace and ministered to men. These things we preach<sup>3</sup> as one who is not ashamed, both interpreting them by discourse and making them to bear witness by writings.

In order then, as we have said by anticipation, that we may show these men to be godless alike in purpose, character and deed, and from what source their schemes have come—and because they have in their attempts taken nothing from the Holy Scriptures, nor is it from guarding the succession of any saint that they have been hurried into these things, but their theories<sup>4</sup> take their origin from the wisdom of the Greeks, from philosophizing opinions,<sup>5</sup> from would-be mysteries and from wandering astrologers—it seems then proper that we first set forth the tenets of the philosophers of the Greeks and point out to our readers<sup>6</sup> which of them are the oldest and most reverent towards

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρχιερατεία. A neologism. This is the passage relied upon to show that our author was a bishop.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλότρια = foreign. Cruice has *aliena*. But it is here evidently contrasted with the “things of the truth” in the next sentence.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπρόσσωμεν.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ δοξαζόμενα, lit., “matters of opinion.”

<sup>5</sup> ἐκ δογμάτων φιλοσοφουμένων. The context shows that here, and probably elsewhere in the book, the phrase is used contemptuously.

<sup>6</sup> τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. As in Polybius, the word can be translated in this sense throughout. Yet as meaning “those who fall in with this” it is as applicable to spoken as to written words.



the Divinity.<sup>1</sup> Then, that we should match<sup>2</sup> each heresy with a particular opinion so as to show how the protagonist of the heresy, meeting with these schemes, gained advantage by seizing their principles and being driven on from them to worse things constructed his own system.<sup>3</sup> Now the undertaking is full of toil and requires much research. But we shall not be found wanting. For at the last it will give us much joy, as with the athlete who has won the crown with much labour, or the merchant who has gained profit after great tossing of the sea, or the husbandman who gets the benefit of his crops from the sweat of his brow, or the prophet who after reproaches and insults sees his predictions come to pass.<sup>4</sup> We will therefore begin by declaring which of the Greeks first made demonstration of natural philosophy. For of them especially have the protagonists of the heretics become the plagiarists, as we shall afterwards show by setting them side by side. And p. 7. when we have restored to each of these pioneers his own, we shall put the heresiarchs beside them naked and unseemly.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. *Thales.*

It is said that Thales the Milesian, one of the seven sages, was the first to take in hand natural philosophy.<sup>6</sup> He said that the beginning and end of the universe was water;<sup>7</sup> for that from its solidification and redissolution all things have been constructed and that all are borne about by it. And that from it also come earthquakes and the turnings about

<sup>1</sup> τὸ θεῖον. Both here and in Book X our author shows a preference for this phrase instead of the more usual ὁ θεός.

<sup>2</sup> συμβάλλω.

<sup>3</sup> δόγμα.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ λαληθέντα ἀποβαίνοντα. Note the piling up of similes natural in a *spoken* peroration.

<sup>5</sup> γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀσχήμονας, *nudos et turpes*, Cr. Stripped of originality seems to be the threat intended.

<sup>6</sup> φιλοσοφίαν φυσικὴν. What we should now call Physics.

<sup>7</sup> τὸ πᾶν is the phrase here and elsewhere used for the universe or "whole" of Nature, and includes Chaos or unformed Matter. The κόσμος or ordered world is only part of the universe. Diog. Laert., I, *vit. Thales*, c. 6, says merely that Thales thought water to be the ἀρχή or beginning of all things. As this is confirmed by all other Greek writers who have quoted him, we may take the further statement here attributed to him as the mistake of Hippolytus or of the compiler he is copying.

of the stars and the motions of the winds.<sup>1</sup> And that all things are formed and flow in accordance with the nature of the first cause of generation; but that the Divinity is that which has neither beginning nor end.<sup>2</sup> Thales, having devoted himself to the system of the stars and to an enquiry into them, became for the Greeks the first who was responsible for this branch of learning. And he, gazing upon the heavens and saying that he was apprehending  
 p. 8. with care the things above, fell into a well; whereupon a certain servant maid of the name of Thratta<sup>3</sup> laughed at him and said: "While intent on beholding things in heaven, he does not see what is at his feet." And he lived about the time of Cræsus.

## 2. Pythagoras.

And not far from this time there flourished another philosophy founded by Pythagoras, who some say was a Samian. They call it the Italic because Pythagoras, fleeing from Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, took up his abode in a city of Italy and there spent his life. Whose successors in the school did not differ much from him in judgment. And he, after having enquired into physics, combined with it astronomy, geometry and music.<sup>4</sup> And thus he showed that unity is God,<sup>5</sup> and after curiously studying the nature of number, he said that the cosmos makes melody and was put together by harmony, and he first reduced the movement of the seven stars<sup>6</sup> to rhythm and melody. Wondering, however, at the arrangement of the universals,<sup>7</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> ἀίρων in text. Roeper suggests ἄστρον, "stars."

<sup>2</sup> So Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, V, c. 14, and Diog. Laert., I. *vit. cil.*, c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., I, *vit. cil.*, c. 8, makes his derider an old woman. Θάρρα is not a proper name, but means a Thracian woman, as Hippolytus should have known.

<sup>4</sup> Roeper adds καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν, apparently in view of the speculations about the monad.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle in his *Metaphysica*, Bk. I, c. 5, attributes the first use of this dogma to Xenophanes.

<sup>6</sup> By these are meant the planets, including therein the Sun and Moon. Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Astrologos*, p. 343 (Cod.) *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> τὰ ἄλλα = entities which must needs differ from one another in kind. The phrase is thus used by Plato, Aristotle and all the neo-Platonic writers.

expected his disciples to keep silence as to the first things p. 9<sup>1</sup> learned by them, as if they were mystæ of the universe coming into the cosmos. Thereafter when it seemed that they had partaken sufficiently of the schooling of the discourses, and could themselves philosophize about stars and Nature, he, having judged them purified, bade them speak. He divided the disciples into two classes, and called these Esoterics and those Exoterics. To the first-named he entrusted the more complete teaching, to the others the more restricted. He applied himself<sup>1</sup> to magic<sup>2</sup> also, as they say, and himself invented a philosophy of the origin of Nature,<sup>3</sup> based upon certain numbers and measures, saying that the origin of the arithmetical philosophy comprised this method by synthesis. The first number became a principle which is one, illimitable, incomprehensible, and contains within itself all the numbers that can come to infinity by multiplication.<sup>4</sup> But the first unit was by hypothesis the — origin of numbers, the which is a male monad begetting like a father all the other numbers. In the second place is the dyad, a female number, and the same is called even by the arithmeticians. In the third place is the triad, a male p. 10. number, and it has been called odd by the arithmeticians' decree. After all these is the tetrad, a female number, and this is also called even, because it is female. Therefore all the numbers derived from the genus<sup>5</sup> (now the illimitable genus is "number") are four, from which was constructed, according to them, the perfect number, the decad. For the 1, 2, 3, 4 become 10 if for each number its appropriate name be substantially kept.<sup>6</sup> This decad

<sup>1</sup> ἐφήσατο, *attigit*, Cr. Frequent in Pindar.

<sup>2</sup> So Timon in the *Silli*, as quoted by Diog. Laert., VIII, *vit. Pyth.*, c. 20.

<sup>3</sup> φυσιογονικήν. The Barberine MS. has φυσιογνωμονικήν, evidently inserted by some scribe who connected it with the absurd system of metempsychosis described in Book IV.

<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, *multitudine*, Cr.

<sup>5</sup> For definitions and examples of this term see Aristot., *Metaphys.*, IV. c. 28.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot trace Hippolytus' authority for attributing these neo-Pythagorean puerilities to Pythagoras himself. Diog. Laert., Aristotle and the rest represent him as saying only that the monad was the beginning of everything, and that from this and the undefined dyad numbers proceed. The general reader may be recommended to Mr. Alfred Williams Bem's statement in *The Philosophy of Greece* (Lond.,

Pythagoras said was a sacred Tetractys, a source of everlasting Nature containing roots within itself, and that from the same number all the numbers have their beginning. For the 11 and the 12 and the rest share the beginning of their being from the 10. The four divisions of the same decad, the perfect number, are called number, monad,<sup>1</sup> square<sup>2</sup> and cube. The conjunctions and minglings of

P. 11. which make for the birth of increase and complete naturally the fruitful number. For when the square is multiplied<sup>3</sup> by itself, it becomes a square squared; when into the cube, the square cubed; when the cube is multiplied by the cube, it becomes a cube cubed. So that all the numbers from which comes the birth of things which are, are seven; to wit: number, monad, square, cube, square of square, cube of square and cube of cube.

He declared also that the soul is immortal and that there is a change from one body to another.<sup>4</sup> Wherefore he said that he himself had been before Trojan times Aethalides,<sup>5</sup> and that in the Trojan era he was Euphorbus, and after that Hermodotus the Samian, after which Pyrrho of Delos, and fifthly Pythagoras. But Diodorus the Eretrian and Aristoxenus the writer on music<sup>6</sup> say that Pythagoras

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1898), pp. 78 ff. that "the Greeks did not think of numbers as pure abstractions, but in the most literal sense as figures, that is to say, limited portions of space."

<sup>1</sup> Macmahon thinks "number" and "monad" should here be transposed, as Pythagoras considered according to him the monad as "the highest generalization of number and a conception in abstraction." Yet the monad was not the highest abstraction of current (Greek) philosophy. See Edwin Hatch, *Influence of Greek Ideas upon the Christian Church* (Hibbert Lectures), Lond., 1890, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *δύναμις* is here used like our own mathematical expression "power." Why Hippolytus should associate it especially with the power of 2 does not appear. By Greek mathematicians it seems rather to be applied to the square root.

<sup>3</sup> *κυβισθῆναι*, *involvere*, Cr. It cannot here mean "cubed." Another mistake occurs in the same sentence, where it is said that the square multiplied by the cube is a cube. The sentence is fortunately repeated with the needful correction in Book IV, p. 116 *infra*. Macmahon gives the proper notation as  $(a^2)^2 = a^4$ ,  $(a^2)^3 = a^6$ ,  $(a^3)^3 = a^9$ .

<sup>4</sup> *μετεμψυχῶσις*. The phrase which is here correctly used throughout, but which has somehow slipped into English as metempsychosis.

<sup>5</sup> So Diog. Laert., VIII, *vit. Pyth.*, c. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Diodorus of Eretria is not otherwise known. Aristoxenus is mentioned by Cicero, *Quaest. Tusculan.*, I, 18, as a writer on music.

went to visit Zaratas<sup>1</sup> the Chaldæan; and Zaratas explained to him that there are from the beginning two causes of things that are, a father and mother: and that the father is light and the mother, darkness: and the divisions of the light are hot, dry, light (in weight) and swift; but those of the darkness cold, moist, heavy and slow. From these the whole cosmos was constructed, to wit: from a female and p. 12. a male: and that the nature of the cosmos<sup>2</sup> is according to musical harmony, wherefore the sun makes his journey rhythmically. And about the things which come into being from the earth and cosmos, they say Zaratas spoke thus: there are two demons,<sup>3</sup> a heavenly one and an earthly. Of these the earthly one sent on high a thing born from the earth which is water; but that the heavenly fire partook of the air, hot and cold. Wherefore, he says, none of these things destroys or pollutes the soul, for the same are the substance of all. And it is said that Pythagoras ordered that beans should not be eaten, because Zaratas said that at the beginning and formation of all things when the earth was still being constructed and put together, the bean was produced. And he says that a proof of this is, that if one chews a bean to pulp and puts it in the sun for some time (for this plays a direct part in the matter), it will give out the smell of human seed. And he says that another proof is even clearer. If when the bean is in flower, we take the bean and its blossom, put it into a jar, anoint this, bury it in earth, p. 13. and in a few days dig it up, we shall see it at first having the form of a woman's *pudenda* and afterwards on close examination a child's head growing with it.

Pythagoras perished at Crotona in Italy having been burned along with his disciples. And he had this custom that when any one came to him as a disciple, he had to sell

<sup>1</sup> That is, of course, Zoroaster. The account here given of his doctrines does not agree with what we know of them from other sources. The minimum date for his activity (700 B.C.) makes it impossible for him to have been a contemporary of Pythagoras. See the translator's *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, I, p. 126; II, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Røeper τὴν κόσμον φύσει καὶ. Cruice has τὸν κόσμον φύσει κατὰ, "that the cosmos is a nature according to," etc.

<sup>3</sup> δαίμονες, spirits or dæmons in the Greek sense, not necessarily evil. But Actius, *de Placit. Philosoph. ap. Diels Doxogr.* 306, makes Pythagoras use the word as equivalent to τὸ κακόν. Cf. pp. 52, 92 *infra*.

his possessions and deposit the money under seal with Pythagoras, and remain silent sometimes for three and sometimes for five years while he was learning. But on being again set free, he mixed with the others and remained a disciple and took his meals along with them. But if he did not, he took back what belonged to him and was cast out. Now the Esoterics were called Pythagoreans and the others Pythagorists. And of his disciples who escaped the burning were Lysis and Archippus and Zamolxis, Pythagoras' house-slave, who is said to have taught the Druids among the Celts to cultivate the Pythagorean philosophy. And they say that Pythagoras learned numbers and measures from the Egyptians, and being struck with the plausible, imposing and with difficulty disclosed wisdom of the priests, p. 14. he imitated them also in enjoining silence and, lodging his disciples in cells, made them lead a solitary life.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. About Empedocles.

But Empedocles, born after these men, also said many things about the nature of demons, and how they being very many go about managing things upon the earth. He said that the beginning of the universe was Strife and Friendship and that the intellectual fire of the monad is God, and that all things were constructed from fire and will be resolved into fire.<sup>2</sup> In which opinion the Stoics also nearly agree, since they expect an ecpyrosis. But most of all he accepted the change into different bodies, saying :

“For truly a boy I became, and a maiden,  
And bush, and bird of prey, and fish,  
A wanderer from the salt sea.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus like nearly every other writer of his time here confuses the Egyptians with the Alexandrian Greeks. It was these last and not the subjects of the Pharaohs who were given to mathematics and geometry, of which sciences they laid the foundations on which we have since built. Certain devotees of the Alexandrian god Serapis also shut themselves up in cells of the Serapeum, which they could hardly have done in any temple in Pharaonic times. See *Forerunners*, I, 79. Hippolytus gives a much more elaborate and detailed account of Pythagorean teaching in Book VI, II, pp. 20 ff. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laert., VIII, *vit. Heraclit.*, c. 6, attributes this opinion to Heraclitus.

<sup>3</sup> This verse appears in Diog. Laert., VIII, *vit. Empedocles*, c. 6.

He declared that all souls transmigrated into all living p. 15. things.<sup>1</sup> For Pythagoras the teacher of these men said he himself had been Euphorbus who fought at Ilion, and claimed to recognize the shield.<sup>2</sup> This of Empedocles.

#### 4. About Heraclitus.

But Heraclitus of Ephesus, a physicist, bewailed all things, accusing the ignorance of all life and of all men, and pitying the life of mortals. For he claimed that he knew all things and other men nothing.<sup>3</sup> And he also made statements nearly in accord with Empedocles, as he said that Discord and Friendship were the beginning of all things, and that the intellectual fire was God and that all things were borne in upon one another and did not stand still. And like Empedocles he said that every place of ours was filled with evil things, and that these come as far as the moon extending from the place surrounding the earth, but go no further, since the whole place above the moon is very pure.<sup>4</sup> Thus, too, it seemed to Heraclitus.

And after these came other physicists whose opinions we p. 16. do not think it needful to declare as they are in no way incongruous with those aforesaid. But since the school was by no means small, and many physicists afterwards sprang from these, all discoursing in different fashion on the nature of the universe, it seems also fit to us, now that we have set forth the philosophy derived from Pythagoras, to return in order of succession to the opinions of those who adhered to Thales, and after recounting the same to come to the ethical and logical philosophies, whereof Socrates founded the ethical and Aristotle the dialectic.

<sup>1</sup> So Diog. Laert., *ubi. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> This sentence seems to have got out of place. It should probably follow that on Lysis and Archippus, etc., on the last page. The story of the shield is told by Diog. Laert., VIII, *vit. Pyth.*, c. 4, and by Ovid, *Metamorph.*, XV, 162 ff. For more about Empedocles see Book VII, II, pp. 82 ff. *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., VIII, *vit. Heraclit.*, from whom Hippolytus is probably quoting, says that in his boyhood, Heraclitus used to say, he knew nothing, in his manhood everything. Has Hippolytus garbled this?

<sup>4</sup> There is nothing of this in what Hippolytus, Diogenes Laertius or any other author extant gives as Empedocles' opinions. *τὰ κατὰ* seems to be equivalent to *δαίμονες*, as suggested in n. on p. 39 *supra*. Hippolytus returns to Heraclitus' opinions in Book IX, II, pp. 119 ff; *infra*.

5. *About Anaximander.*

Now Anaximander was a hearer of Thales. He was Anaximander of Miletus, son of Praxiades.<sup>1</sup> He said that the beginning of the things that are was a certain nature of the Boundless from which came into being the heavens and the ordered worlds<sup>2</sup> within them. And that this principle is eternal and grows not old and encompasses all the ordered worlds. And he says time is limited by birth, p. 17. substance,<sup>3</sup> and death. He said that the Boundless is a principle and element of the things that are and was the first to call it by the name of principle. But that there is an eternal movement towards Him wherein it happens that the heavens are born. And that the earth is a heavenly body<sup>4</sup> supported by nothing, but remaining in its place by reason of its equal distance from everything. And that its form is a watery cylinder<sup>5</sup> like a stone pillar; and that we tread on one of its surfaces, but that there is another opposite to it. And that the stars are a circle of fire distinct from the fire in the cosmos, but surrounded by air. And that certain fiery exhalations exist in those places where the stars appear, and by the obstruction of these exhalations come the eclipses. And that the moon appears sometimes waxing and sometimes waning through the obstruction or closing of her paths. And that the circle of the sun is 27 times greater than that of the moon and that the sun is in the highest place in the heavens and the circles of the fixed p. 18. stars in the lowest. And that the animals came into being in moisture evaporated by the sun. And that mankind was at the beginning very like another animal, to wit, a fish. And that winds come from the separation and condensation of the subtler atoms of the air<sup>6</sup> and rain from the earth giving back under the sun's heat what it gets from the clouds,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Diog. Laert., II, *vit. Anaximander*, c. 1, *verbatim*.

<sup>2</sup> κόσμοι. He therefore believed in a plurality of worlds.

<sup>3</sup> οὐσία. It may here mean essence or being. A good discussion of the changes in the meaning of the word and its successors, *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον*, is to be found in Hatch, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-278.

<sup>4</sup> μετέωρον, a phenomenon in the heavens, but also something hung up or suspended.

<sup>5</sup> στρογγύλον, used by Theophrastus for logs of timber.

<sup>6</sup> Lit., "from the separation of the finest atoms of the air and from their movement when crowded together."

<sup>7</sup> So Roeper. Cruice agrees.



and lightnings from the severance of the clouds by the winds falling upon them. He was born in the 3rd year of the 42nd Olympiad.<sup>1</sup>

### 6. *About Anaximenes.*

Anaximenes, who was also a Milesian, the son of Eurystatus, said that the beginning was a boundless air from which what was, is, and shall be and gods and divine things came into being, while the rest came from their descendants. But that the condition of the air is such that when it is all over alike<sup>2</sup> it is invisible to the eye, but it is made perceptible by cold and heat, by damp and by motion. And that it is ever-moving, for whatever is changeable<sup>3</sup> changes not unless it be moved. For it appears different when condensed and rarefied. For when it diffuses into greater rarity fire is produced; but when again halfway condensed into air, a cloud is formed from the air's compression; and when still further condensed, water, and when condensed to the full, earth; and when to the very highest degree, stones. And that consequently the great rulers of formation are contraries, to wit, heat and cold. And that the earth is a flat surface borne up on the air in the same way as the sun and moon and the other stars.<sup>4</sup> For all fiery things are carried through the air laterally.<sup>5</sup> And that the stars are produced from the earth by reason of the mist which rises from it and which when rarefied becomes fire, and from this ascending fire<sup>6</sup> the stars are constructed. And that there are earth-like natures in the stars' place carried about with them. But he says that the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Benn, *op. cit.*, p. 51, gives a readable account of Anaximander's speculations in physics. Diels, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 133 shows in an excellently clear conspectus of parallel passages the different authors from whom Hippolytus took the statements in our text regarding the Ionians. The majority are to be found in Simplicius' commentaries on Aristotle, Simplicius' source being, according to Diels, the fragments of Theophrastus' book on physics. Next in order come Plutarch's *Stromata* and Aetius' *De Placitis Philosophorum*, many passages being common to both.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμαλώτατος, *acquabilis*, Cr., "homogeneous."

<sup>3</sup> Lit., "whatever changes."

<sup>4</sup> Planets. See n. on p. 36 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> διὰ πλάτος. Cruice translates *ob latitudinem*, Macmahon "through expanse of space."

<sup>6</sup> μεταωριζόμενον. See n. on p. 42 *supra*.

VOL. I.

D

stars do not move under the earth, as others assume, but round the earth<sup>1</sup> as a cap is turned on one's head, and that the sun is hidden, not because it is under the earth, but because it is hidden by the earth's higher parts, and by reason of its greater distance from us. And because of their great distance, the stars give out no heat. And that  
 p. 20. winds are produced when the air after condensation escapes rarefied; but that when it collects and is thus condensed<sup>2</sup> to the full, it becomes clouds and thus changes into water. Also that hail is produced when the water brought down from the clouds is frozen; and snow when the same clouds are wetter when freezing. And lightning come when the clouds are forced apart by the strength of the winds; for when thus driven apart, there is a brilliant and fiery flash. Also that a rainbow is produced by the solar rays falling upon solidified air, and an earthquake from the earth's increasing in size by heating and cooling. This then Anaximenes. He flourished about the 1st year of the 58th Olympiad.<sup>3</sup>

### 7. About Anaxagoras.

After him was Anaxagoras of Clazomene, son of Hegesibulus. He said that the beginning of the universe was mind and matter, mind being the creator and matter that which came unto being.<sup>4</sup> For that when all things were together, mind came and arranged them. He says, however, that the material principles are boundless, even the smallest of them. And that all things partake of movement, being  
 p. 21. moved by mind, and that like things come together. And that the things in heaven were set in order by their circular motion.<sup>5</sup> That therefore what was dense and moist and dark and cold and everything heavy came together in the middle,

<sup>1</sup> So Diog. Laert., II, *vit. Anaxim.*, c. 1. This is the feature of Anaximenes' teaching which seems to have most impressed the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> παχυθέρτα.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., *ubi cit.*, puts Anaximander in the 58th Olympiad (548 B.C.) and Anaximenes in the 63rd. This is more probable than the dates in our text. For Anaximenes' sources, mostly Aetius and Theophrastus, see Diels' *conspectus* mentioned in n. on p. 43 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν δὲ ἅλῃν γινωσκόντων, *scilicet materiam*, Cr.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς ἐγκυκλίου κινήσεως. Macmahon says "orbicular," but it means if anything centripetal and centrifugal, as appears in next sentence.

and from the compacting of this the earth was established ;<sup>1</sup> but that the opposites, to wit, the hot, the brilliant and the light were drawn off to the distant æther. Also that the earth is flat in shape and remains suspended<sup>2</sup> through its great size, and from there being no void and because the air which is strongest bears (up) the upheld earth. And that the sea exists from the moisture on the earth and the waters in it evaporating and then condensing in a hollow place ;<sup>3</sup> and that the sea is supposed to have come into being by this and from the rivers flowing into it. And the rivers, too, are established by the rains and the waters within the earth ; for the earth is hollow and holds water in its cavities. But that the Nile increases in summer when the snows from the northern parts are carried down into it. And that the sun and moon and all the stars are burning stones and are carried about by the rotation of the æther. And that below p. 22. the stars are the sun and moon and certain bodies not seen by us whirled round together. And that the heat of the stars is not felt by us because of their great distance from the earth ; but yet their heat is not like that of the sun from their occupying a colder region. Also that the moon is below the sun and nearer to us ; and that the size of the sun is greater than that of the Peloponnesus. And that the moon has no light of her own, but only one from the sun. And that the revolution of the stars takes place under the earth. Also that the moon is eclipsed when the earth stands in her way, and sometimes the stars which are below the moon,<sup>4</sup> and the sun when the moon stands in his way during new moons. And that both the sun and moon make turnings (solstices) when driven back by the air ; but that the moon turns often through not being able to master the cold. He was the first to determine the facts about eclipses and renewals of light.<sup>5</sup> And he said that the moon was like the

<sup>1</sup> ὑποστῆναι. Hippolytus seems most frequently to use the word in this sense.

<sup>2</sup> μετέωρον. See n. on p. 42 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ τε ἐν αὐτῇ ὕδατα ἐξατμισθέντα . . . ὑποστάντα οὕτως γεγονέναι. I propose to fill the lacuna with καὶ πυκνωθέντα ἐν κοίλῃ. For a description of this cavity see the *Phædo* of Plato, c. 138. I do not understand Roepfer's suggested emendation as given by Cruice.

<sup>4</sup> There must be some mistake here. He has just said that the sun and moon are below the stars.

<sup>5</sup> φωτισμοί, *illuminations*, Cr. So Macmahon. It clearly means here "shinings forth again," or "lightings up."

earth and had within it plains and ravines. And that the Milky Way was the reflection of the light of the stars which are not lighted up by the sun. And that the shooting stars  
 p. 23 are as it were sparks which glance off from the movement of the pole. And that winds are produced by the rarefaction of the air by the sun and by their drying up as they get towards the pole and are borne away from it. And that thunderstorms are produced by heat falling upon the clouds. And that earthquakes come from the upper air falling upon that under the earth; for when this last is moved, the earth upheld by it is shaken. And that animals at the beginning were produced from water, but thereafter from one another, and that males are born when the seed secreted from the right parts of the body adheres to the right parts of the womb and females when the opposite occurs. He flourished in the 1st year of the 88th Olympiad, about which time they say Plato was born.<sup>1</sup> They say also that Anaxagoras came to have a knowledge of the future.

### 8. *About Archelaus.*

Archelaus was of Athenian race and the son of Apollodorus. He like Anaxagoras asserted the mixed nature of matter and agreed with him as to the beginning of things. But he said that a certain mixture<sup>2</sup> was directly inherent in mind, and that the source of movement is the separation from one another of heat and cold and that the  
 p. 24 heat is moved and the cold remains undisturbed. Also that water when heated flows to the middle of the universe wherein heated air and earth are produced, of which one is borne aloft while the other remains below. And that the earth remains fixed and exists because of this and abides in the middle of the universe, of which, so to speak, it forms no part and which is delivered from the conflagration.<sup>3</sup> The first result of which burning is the nature of the stars, the

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. quotes from Apollodorus' *Chronica* that Anaxagoras died in the 1st year of the 78th Olympiad, or ten years before Plato's birth. For Hippolytus' sources for his teaching, mainly Diog. Laert., Aetius and Theophrastus, see Diels, *ubi cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *μίγμα*, not *μίξις*. But of what could the creative mind be compounded before anything else had come into being?

<sup>3</sup> *ἐκ τῆς θερμότητος*. Does he mean the heated air, and why should the earth form no part of the universe? Something is probably omitted here.

greatest whereof is the sun and the second the moon while of the others some are greater and some smaller. And he says that the heaven is arched over us<sup>1</sup> and has made the air transparent and the earth dry. For that at first it was a pool; since it was lofty at the horizon, but hollow in the middle. And he brings forward as a proof of this hollowness, that the sun does not rise and set at the same time for all parts as must happen if the earth were level. And as to animals, he says that the earth first became heated in the lower part when the hot and cold mingled and man<sup>2</sup> and the other animals appeared. And all things were unlike one another and had the same diet, being nourished on p. 25. mud. And this endured for a little, but at last generation from one another arose, and man became distinct from the other animals and set up chiefs, laws, arts, cities and the rest. And he says that mind is inborn in all animals alike. For that every body is supplied with<sup>3</sup> mind, some more slowly and some quicker than the others.

Natural philosophy lasted then from Thales up to Archelaus. Of this last Socrates was a hearer. But there are also many others putting forward different tenets concerning the Divine and the nature of the universe, whose opinions if we wished to set them all out would take a great mass of books. But it would be best, after having recalled by name those of them who are, so to speak, the chorus-leaders of all who philosophized in later times and who have furnished starting-points for systems, to hasten on to what follows.<sup>4</sup>

### 9. About Parmenides.

For truly Parmenides also supposed the universe to be eternal and ungenerated and spherical in form.<sup>5</sup> Nor did p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπικλιθῆναι, *de super incumbere*, Cr., "inclined at an angle," Macmahon. Evidently Archelaus imagined a concave heaven fitting over the earth like a dish cover or an upturned boat or coracle. This was the Babylonian theory. Cf. Maspero, *Hist. anc<sup>me</sup> de l'Orient classique*, Paris, 1895, I, p. 543, and illustration. Many of the Ionian ideas about physics doubtless come from the same source.

<sup>2</sup> Reading, as Cruice suggests, καὶ ἀνθρώπους for καὶ ἀνέμια. So Diog. Laert., II, *vii. Archel.*, c. 17.

<sup>3</sup> χρῆσασθαι, *uti*, Cr., "employed," Macmahon.

<sup>4</sup> A fair specimen of Hippolytus' verbose and inflated style.

<sup>5</sup> No other philosopher has yet been quoted as saying that the earth was spherical.

he avoid the common opinion making fire and earth the principles of the universe, the earth as matter, but the fire as cause and creator. [He said that the ordered world would be destroyed, but in what way, he did not say.]<sup>1</sup> But he said that the universe was eternal and ungenerated and spherical in form and all over alike, bearing no impress and immoveable and with definite limits.

#### 10. *About Leucippus.*

But Leucippus, a companion of Zeno, did not keep to the same opinion (as Parmenides), but says that all things are boundless and ever-moving and that birth and change are unceasing. And he says that fulness and the void are elements. And he says also that the ordered worlds came into being thus: when many bodies were crowded together  
 p. 27. and flowed from the ambient<sup>2</sup> into a great void, on coming into contact with one another, those of like fashion and similar form coalesced, and from their intertwining yet others were generated and increased and diminished by a certain necessity. But what that necessity may be he did not define.

#### 11. *About Democritus.*

But Democritus was an acquaintance of Leucippus. This was Democritus of Abdera, son of Damasippus,<sup>3</sup> who met with many Gymnosophists among the Indians and with priests and astrologers<sup>4</sup> in Egypt and with Magi in Babylon. But he speaks like Leucippus about elements, to wit, fulness and void, saying that the full is that which is but the void that which is not, and he said this because things are ever moving in the void. He said also that the ordered worlds are boundless and differ in size, and that in some there is neither sun nor moon, but that in others both are

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is said to have been interpolated.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τοῦ περιχώρου, "from the surrounding (æther)." An expression much used by writers on astrology and generally translated "ambient."

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., IX, *vit. Dem.*, c. 1, says either Damasippus or Hegesistratus or Athenocritus.

<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful whether astrology was known in Egypt before the Alexandrian age. Diog. Laert., *vit. cit.*, quotes from Antisthenes that Democritus studied mathematics there, and astrology was looked on by the Romans as a branch of mathematics. Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *ubi cit.*, *supra*.

greater than with us, and in yet others more in number. And that the intervals between the ordered worlds are p. 28. unequal, here more and there less, and that some increase, others flourish and others decay, and here they come into being and there they are eclipsed.<sup>1</sup> But that they are destroyed by colliding with one another. And that some ordered worlds are bare of animals and plants and of all water. And that in our cosmos the earth came into being first of the stars and that the moon is the lowest of the stars, and then comes the sun and then the fixed stars : but that the planets are not all at the same height. And he laughed at everything, as if all things among men deserved laughter. ]

### 12. *About Xenophanes.*

But Xenophanes of Colophon was the son of Orthomenes.<sup>2</sup> He survived until the time of Cyrus. He first declared the incomprehensibility of all things,<sup>3</sup> saying thus :

Although anyone should speak most definitely  
He nevertheless does not know, and it is a guess<sup>4</sup> which occurs  
about all things.

But he says that nothing is generated, or perishes or is p. 29. moved, and that the universe which is one is beyond change. But he says that God is eternal, and one and alike on every side, and finite and spherical in form, and conscious<sup>5</sup> in all His parts. And that the sun is born every day from the gathering together of small particles of fire and that the earth is boundless and surrounded neither by air nor by heaven. And that there are boundless (innumerable) suns and moons and that all things are from the earth. He said that the sea is salt because of the many compounds which

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῇ μὲν γίνεσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἐκλείπειν.

<sup>2</sup> So Apollodorus. Diog. Laert., IX, vii. *Xenophan.*, c. 1, says of Dexius.

<sup>3</sup> Diog. Laert., *ubi cit.*, says Sotion of Alexandria is the authority for this, but that he was mistaken. Hippolytus says later in Book I (p. 59 *infra*) that Pyrrho was the first to assert the incomprehensibility of everything. If, as Sotion asserted, Xenophanes was a contemporary of Anaximander, he must have died two centuries before Pyrrho was born.

<sup>4</sup> δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τίτυκται, *sed in omnibus opinio est*, Cr. Yet δόκος is surely a "guess."

<sup>5</sup> αἰσθητικός.

together flow into it. But Metrodorus said it was thanks to its trickling through the earth that the sea becomes salt. And Xenophanes opines that there was once a mixture of earth with the sea, and that in time it was freed from moisture, asserting in proof of this that shells are found in the centre of the land and on mountains, and that in the stone-quarries of Syracuse were found the impress of a fish and of seals, and in Paros the cast of an anchor below the surface of the rock <sup>1</sup> and in Malta layers of all sea-things. And he says that these came when all things were of old time buried in mud, and that the impress of them dried in the mud ; but

p. 30. that all men were destroyed when the earth being cast into the sea became mud, and that it again began to bring forth and that this catastrophe happened to all the ordered worlds.<sup>2</sup>

### 13. *About Ecphantus.*

A certain Ecphantus, a Syracusan, said that a true knowledge of the things that are could not be got. But he defines, as he thinks, that the first bodies are indivisible and that there are three differences<sup>3</sup> between them, to wit, size, shape and power. And the number of them is limited and not boundless ; but that these bodies are moved neither by weight nor by impact, but by a divine power which he calls

p. 31. Nous and Psyche. Now the pattern of this is the cosmos, wherefore it has become spherical in form by Divine power. And that the earth in the midst of the cosmos is moved round its own centre from west to east.<sup>4</sup>

### 14. *About Hippo.*

But Hippo of Rhegium<sup>5</sup> said that the principles were cold, like water, and heat, like fire. And that the fire came from the water, and, overcoming the power of its parent, constructed the cosmos. But he said that the soul was sometimes brain and sometimes water ; for the seed also

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ βάθει τοῦ λίθου, "deep down in the stone." Perhaps the earliest mention of fossils.

<sup>2</sup> Is this a survival of the Babylonian legends of the Flood?

<sup>3</sup> παραλλαγῆς, *differentias*, Cr. Perhaps "alternations."

<sup>4</sup> The whole of this section on Ecphantus is corrupt. He is not alluded to again in the book.

<sup>5</sup> Hippo is mentioned by Iamblichus in his life of Pythagoras.



seems to us to be from moisture and from it he says the soul is born.

These things, then, we seem to have sufficiently set forth. Wherefore, as we have now separately run through the opinions of the physicists, it seems fitting that we return to Socrates and Plato, who most especially preferred (the study of) ethics.

### 15. *About Socrates.*

Now Socrates became a hearer of Archelaus the physicist, and giving great honour to the maxim "Know thyself" and having established a large school, held Plato to be the most competent of all his disciples. He left no writings behind him; but Plato being impressed with all his wisdom<sup>1</sup> established the teaching combining physics, ethics p. 32. and dialectics. But what Plato laid down is this:—

### 16. *About Plato.*

Plato makes the principles of the universe to be God, matter and (the) model. He says that God is the maker and orderer of this universe and its Providence.<sup>2</sup> That matter is that which underlies all things, which matter he calls a recipient and a nurse.<sup>3</sup> From which, after it had been set in order, came the four elements of which the cosmos is constructed, to wit, fire, air, earth and water,<sup>4</sup> whence in turn all the other so-called compound things, viz., animals and plants have been constructed. But the model is the thought of God which Plato also calls *ideas*, to which giving heed as to an image in the soul,<sup>5</sup> God fashioned<sup>6</sup> all

<sup>1</sup> ἀπομαζόμενος, "been scaled with," or "copied." Cf. Diog. Laert., II, *vit. Socrates*, c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> προνοούμενον αὐτοῦ. The τὸδε τὸ πᾶν of the line above shows that Plato did not mean that the forethought extended to other worlds than this.

<sup>3</sup> This expression, like many others in this epitome of Plato's doctrines, is found in the *Eis τὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος Εἰσαγωγή* of Alcinous, who flourished in Roman times. The best edition still seems to be Bishop Fell's, Oxford, 1667. Alcinous' work was, as will appear, the main source from which Hippolytus drew his account of Plato's doctrines.

<sup>4</sup> Alcinous, *op. cit.*, c. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, cc. 9, 12.

<sup>6</sup> ἐδημιούργει. Not created *ex nihilo*, but made out of existing material as an architect makes a house.

P. 33- things. He said that God was without body or form and could only be comprehended by wise men ; but that matter is potentially body, but not yet actively. For that being itself without form or quality, it receives forms and qualities to become body.<sup>1</sup> That matter, therefore, is a principle and the same is coeval with God, and the cosmos is unbegotten. For, he says, it constructed itself out of itself.<sup>2</sup> And in all ways it is like the unbegotten and is imperishable. But in so far as body<sup>3</sup> is assumed to be composed of many qualities and ideas, it is so far begotten and perishable. But some Platonists mixed together the two opinions making up some such parable as this : to wit, that, as a wagon can remain undestroyed for ever if repaired part by part, as even though the parts perish every time, the wagon remains complete ; so, the cosmos, although it perish part by part, is yet reconstructed and compensated for the parts taken away, and remains eternal.

Some again say that Plato declared God to be one, unbegotten and imperishable, as he says in the *Laws* :—  
 P. 34- “God, therefore, as the old story goes, holds the beginning and end and middle of all things that are.”<sup>4</sup> Thus he shows Him to be one through His containing all things. But others say that Plato thought that there are many gods without limitation<sup>5</sup> when he said, “God of gods, of whom I am the fashioner and father.”<sup>6</sup> And yet others that he thinks them subject to limitation when he says : “Great Zeus, indeed, driving his winged chariot in heaven ;”<sup>7</sup> and when he gives the pedigree<sup>8</sup> of the children of Uranos and Gê. Others again that he maintained the gods to be originated and that because they were originated they ought to perish utterly, but that by the will of God they remain imperishable as he says in the passage before quoted, “God of gods, of whom I am the fashioner and father, and who are formed by my will indissoluble.” So that if He wished them to be dissolved, dissolved they would easily be. But he accepts the nature of demons, and says some are good and some bad.

<sup>1</sup> Alcinous, *op. cit.*, cc. 8, 10

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ αὐτοῦ συνεστάναι αὐτόν. So Cruice. Macmahon reads with *Κριεπτε αὐτῆς* for αὐτοῦ, “the world was made out of it” (*i. e.* matter).

<sup>3</sup> The body of the cosmos is evidently meant. Cf. Alcinous, c. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *de Legs*, IV, 7.

<sup>5</sup> ἀρίστους.

<sup>6</sup> *Timæus*, c. 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Phædrus*, c. 166.

<sup>8</sup> γενεαλογίᾳ.

And some say that he declared the soul to be unoriginated and imperishable<sup>1</sup> when he says: "All soul is immortal for that which is ever moving is immortal," and when he shows that it is self-moving and the beginning of movement. But others say that he makes it originated but imperishable<sup>2</sup> through God's will; and yet others composite and originated and perishable. For he also supposes that there is a mixing-bowl for it,<sup>3</sup> and that it has a splendid body, but that everything originated must of necessity perish. But those who say that the soul is immortal are partly corroborated by those words wherein he says that there are judgments after death, and courts of justice in the house of Hades, and that the good meet with a good reward and that the wicked are subjected to punishments.<sup>4</sup> Some therefore say that he also admits a change of bodies and the transfer of different pre-determined souls into other bodies according to the merit of each; and that after certain definite peregrinations they are again sent into this ordered world to give themselves another trial of their own choice. Others, however, say not, but that they obtain a place according to each one's deserts. And they call to witness that he says some souls are with Zeus, but that others of good men are going round with other gods, and that others abide in everlasting punishments, (that is), so many as in this life have wrought evil and unjust deeds.<sup>5</sup> p. 35.

And they say that he declared some conditions to be without intermediates, some with intermediates and some to be intermediates. Waking and sleep are without intermediates and so are all states like these. But there are those with intermediates like good and bad; and intermediates like grey which is between black and white or some other colour.<sup>6</sup> And they say that he declares the p. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Alcinous, c. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Phaedrus*, cc. 51, 52.

<sup>3</sup> For this see the *Timæus*, c. 17.

<sup>4</sup> This sentence is corrupt throughout, and there are at least three readings which can be given to it. I have taken that which makes the smallest alteration in Cruice's text.

<sup>5</sup> *Phædo*, c. 43.

<sup>6</sup> I do not think this can be found in any writings of Plato that have come down to us. Hippolytus probably took it from Aristotle, to whom he also attributes it; but I cannot find it in this writer either. A passage in Arist., *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book II, c. 6, is the nearest to it.

things concerning the soul to be alone supremely good, but those of the body or external to it to be no longer supremely good, but only said to be so. And that these last are very often named intermediates also; for they can be used both well and ill. He says therefore that the virtues are extremes as to honour, but means as to substance.<sup>1</sup> For there is nothing more honourable than virtue; but that which goes beyond or falls short of these virtues ends in vice. For instance, he says that these are the four virtues, to wit, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude, and that there follow on each of these two vices of excess and deficiency respectively. Thus on Prudence follow thoughtlessness by deficiency and cunning by excess; on Temperance, intemperance by deficiency and sluggishness by excess; on Justice, over-modesty by deficiency and greediness by excess; and on Fortitude, cowardice by deficiency and foolhardiness by excess.<sup>2</sup> And these virtues when inborn in a man operate for his perfection and give him happiness. But he says that happiness is likeness to God as far as possible. And that any one is like God when he becomes holy and just with intention. For this he supposes to be the aim of the highest wisdom and virtue.<sup>3</sup> But he says that the virtues follow one another in turn and are of one kind, and never oppose one another; but that the vices are many-shaped and sometimes follow and sometimes oppose one another.<sup>4</sup>

He says, again, that there is destiny, not indeed that all things are according to destiny, but that we have some choice, as he says in these words: "The blame is on the chooser: God is blameless," and again, "This is a law of *Adrasteia*." And if he thus affirms the part of destiny, he knew also that something was in our choice.<sup>5</sup> But he says that transgressions are involuntary. For to the most beautiful thing in us, which is the soul, none would admit

<sup>1</sup> So Alcinous, c. 29. The other statements in this sentence seem to be Aristotle's rather than Plato's. Cf. Diog. Laert., V, *vit. Arist.*, c. 13, where he describes the good things of the soul, the body and of external things respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Alcinous, cc. 28, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 26. The passage about the choice [of virtue] is in the *Republic*, X, 617 C. Hippolytus had evidently not read the original, which says that according as a man does or does not choose virtue, so he will have more or less of it.

something evil, that is, injustice ; but that by ignorance and mistaking the good, thinking to do something fine, they arrive at the evil.<sup>1</sup> And his explanation on this is most p. 38. clear in the *Republic*, where he says : " And again do you dare to say that vice is disgraceful and hateful to God? How then does any one choose such an evil? He does it, you would say, who is overcome by the pleasures (of sense). Therefore this also is an involuntary action, if to overcome be a voluntary one. So that from all reasoning, reason proves injustice to be involuntary." But some one objects to him about this : " Why then are men punished if they transgress involuntarily? " He answers : " So that they may be the more speedily freed from vice by undergoing correction." <sup>2</sup> For that to undergo correction is not bad but good, if thereby comes purification from vices, and that the rest of mankind hearing of it will not transgress, but will be on their guard against such error.<sup>3</sup> He says, however, that the nature of evil comes not by God nor has it any special nature of its own ; but it comes into being by contrariety and by following upon the good, either as excess or deficiency as we have before said about the virtues.<sup>4</sup> Now Plato, as we have said above, bringing together the three divisions p. 39. of general philosophy, thus philosophized.

### 17. About Aristotle.

Aristotle, who was a hearer of this last, turned philosophy into a science and reasoned more strictly, affirming that the elements of all things are substance and accident.<sup>5</sup> He said that there is one substance underlying all things, but

<sup>1</sup> Alcinous, c. 30.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is not in the *Republic*, but in the *Clitopho*, as to Plato's authorship of which there are doubts. Cruice quotes the Greek text from Roeper in a note on p. 38 of his text.

<sup>3</sup> Alcinous, c. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 29.

<sup>5</sup> " Substance " (*οὐσία*) and " accident " (*συμβεβηκός*) are defined by Aristotle in the *Metaphysica*, Bk. IV, cc. 8, 9 respectively. The definitions in no way bear the interpretation that Hippolytus here puts on them. In the *Categories*, which, whether by Aristotle or not, are not referred to by him in any of his extant works, it is said (c. 4) that " of things in complex enunciated, each signifies either Substance or Quantity, or Quality or Relation, or Where or When, or Position, or Possession, or Action, or Passion." It is from this that Hippolytus probably took the statement in our text. The illustrations are in part found in *Metaphysica*, c. 4.

nine accidents, which are Quantity, Quality, Relation, the Where, the When, Possession, Position, Action and Passion. And that therefore Substance was such as God, man and every one of the things which can fall under the like definition: but that as regards the accidents, Quality is seen in expressions like white or black; Quantity in "2 cubits or 3 cubits long or broad"; Relation in "father" or "son"; the Where in such as "Athens" or "Megara"; the When in such as "in the Xth Olympiad"; for Possession in such as "to have acquired wealth"; Action in such as "to write and generally to do anything"; and Passion in such as "to be struck." He also assumes that some things have means and that others have not, as we have said also about Plato.

P. 40. And he is in accord with Plato about most things save in the opinion about the soul. For Plato thinks it immortal; but Aristotle that it remains behind after this life and that it is lost in the fifth Body which is assumed to exist along with the other four, to wit, fire, earth, water and air, but is more subtle than they and like a spirit.<sup>1</sup> Again whereas Plato said that the only good things were those which concerned the soul and that these sufficed for happiness, Aristotle brings in a triad of benefits and says that the sage is not perfect unless there are at his command the good things of the body and those external to it. Which things are Beauty, Strength, Keeness of Sense and Completeness; while the externals are Wealth, High Birth, Glory, Power, Peace, and Friendship; but that the inner things about the soul are, as Plato thought: Prudence, Temperance, Justice and Fortitude.<sup>2</sup> Also Aristotle says that evil things exist, and come by contrariety to the good, and are below the place about the moon, but not above it.

Again, he says that the soul of the whole ordered world is eternal, but that the soul of man vanishes as we have said P. 41. above. Now, he philosophized while delivering discourses in the Lyceum; but Zeno in the Painted Porch. And Zeno's followers got their name from the place, *i. e.* they were called Stoics from the Stoa; but those of Aristotle from their mode of study. For their enquiries were con-

<sup>1</sup> The famous "Quintessence." So Aetius, *De Plac. Phil.*, Bk. I, c. 1, § 38. But see Diog. Laert. in next note.

<sup>2</sup> This is practically *verbatim* from Diog. Laert., V, *vit. Arist.*, c. 13.

ducted while walking about in the Lyceum, wherefore they were called Peripatetics. This then Aristotle.<sup>1</sup>

### 18. *About the Stoics.*

The Stoics themselves also added to philosophy by the increased use of syllogisms,<sup>2</sup> and included it nearly all in definitions, Chrysippus and Zeno being here agreed in opinion. Who also supposed that God was the beginning of all things, and was the purest body, and that His providence extends through all things.<sup>3</sup> They say positively, however, that existence is everywhere according to destiny using some such simile as this: viz. that, as a dog tied to a cart, if he wishes to follow it, is both drawn along by it and follows of his own accord, doing at the same time what he wills and what he must by a compulsion like that of destiny.<sup>4</sup> But if he does not wish to follow he is wholly compelled. And they say that it is the same indeed with men. For even if they do not wish to follow, they will be wholly compelled to come to what has been foredoomed. And they say that the soul remains after death, and that

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus gives as is usual with him a more detailed account of Aristotle's doctrines on these points later. (See Book VII, II, pp. 62 ff. *infra*.) He there admits that he cannot say exactly what was Aristotle's doctrine about the soul. He also refers to books of Aristotle on Providence and the like which, *teste* Cruice, no longer exist. Cf. Macmahon's note on same page (p. 272 of Clark's edition).

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ συλλογιστικώτερον τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἤβησαν. *Syllogisticae artis expolitione philosophiam locupletarunt.*

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Arnold in his lucid book on *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge, 1911, p. 219, n. 4) quotes this as a genuine Stoic doctrine. But Diog. Laert., VII, *vit. Zeno*, c. 68, represents Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Archedemus and Posidonius as agreeing that principles and elements differ from one another in being respectively indestructible and destroyed, and because elements are bodies while principles have none. For the Stoic idea of God, see *op. cit.*, c. 70. So Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, Bk. I, cc. 8, 18, makes Zeno say that the cosmos is God, but in the *Academics*, II, 41 that Aether is the Supreme God, with which doctrine, he says, nearly all Stoics agree. Perhaps Hippolytus is here quoting Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, VI, 71, who says that the Stoics dare to make the God of all things "a corporeal spirit." For the Stoic doctrine of Providence, see Diog. Laert., *vit. Zeno*, c. 70.

<sup>4</sup> κοῖων καὶ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης οἷον τῆς εἰμαμένης. Τὸ αὐτεξούσιον is the recognized expression for free will. Note the difference between ἀνάγκη, "compulsion," and εἰμαμένη, "destiny." For the Stoic doctrine of Fate, see Diog. Laert., *vit. cit.*, c. 74.

it is a body<sup>1</sup> and is born from the cooling of the air of the ambient, whence it is called Psyche.<sup>2</sup> But they admit that there is a change of bodies for souls which have been marked out for it.<sup>3</sup> And they expect that there will be a conflagration and purification of this cosmos, some saying that it will be total but others partial, and that it will be purified part by part. And they call this approximate destruction and the birth of another cosmos therefrom, *catharsis*.<sup>4</sup> And they suppose that all things are bodies, and that one body passes through another; but that there is a resurrection<sup>5</sup> and that all things are filled full and that there is no void. Thus also the Stoics.

### 19. *About Epicurus.*

P 43- But Epicurus held an opinion almost the opposite of all others. He supposed that the beginnings of the universals were atoms and a void; that the void was as it were the place of the things that will be; but that the atoms were matter, from which all things are. And that from the concurrence of the atoms both God and all the elements came into being and that in them were all animals and other things, so that nothing is produced or constructed unless it be from the atoms. And he said that the atoms were the most subtle of things, and that in them there could be no point, nor mark nor any division whatever; wherefore he called them atoms.<sup>6</sup> And although he admits God to be eternal and imperishable, he says that he cares for no one and that in short there is no providence nor destiny, but all things come into being automatically. For

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert., *ubi cit.*, c. 84.

<sup>2</sup> From ψύξις, "cooling"—a bad pun.

<sup>3</sup> It is extremely doubtful whether the metempsychosis ever formed part of Stoic doctrine.

<sup>4</sup> Zeno and Cleanthes both accepted the ecpyrosis. See Diog. Laert., *ubi cit.*, c. 70. The same author says that Panætius said that the cosmos was imperishable.

<sup>5</sup> σῶμα διὰ σώματος μὲν χωρεῖν, *corpusque per corpus migrare*, Cr. Macmahon inserts a "not" in the sentence, but without authority. The Stoic resurrection assumed that in the new world created out of the ashes of the old, individuals would take the same place as in this last. See Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 193 for authorities.

<sup>6</sup> ἀτόμοι, "that cannot be cut." The rest of this sentence is taken from Diog. Laert., X, *vit. Epicur.*, c. 24, and is quoted there from Epicurus' treatise on Nature.



God is seated in the metacosmic spaces, as he calls them. For he held that there was a certain dwelling-place of God outside the cosmos called the metacosmia, and that He took His pleasure and rested in supreme delight; and that p. 44 He neither had anything to do Himself nor provided for others. In consequence, of which Epicurus made a theory about wise men, saying that the end of all wisdom is pleasure. But different people take the name of pleasure differently. For some understood by it the desires, but others the pleasure that comes by virtue. But he held that the souls of men were destroyed with their bodies as they are born with them. For that these souls are blood, which having come forth or being changed, the whole man is destroyed. Whence it follows that there are no judgments nor courts of justice in the House of Hades, so that whatever any one may do in this life and escapes notice, he is in no way called to account for it.<sup>1</sup> Thus then Epicurus.

### 20. *About (the) Academics.*

But another sect of philosophers was called Academic, from their holding their discussions in the Academy, whose p. 45 founder was Pyrrho, after whom they were called Pyrrhonian philosophers. He first introduced the dogma of the incomprehensibility of all things, so that he might argue on either side of the question, but assert nothing dogmatically. For he said that there is nothing grasped by the mind or perceived by the senses which is true, but that it only appears to men to be so. And that all substance is flowing and changing and never remains in the same state. Now some of the Academics say that we ought not to make dogmatic assertions about the principle of anything, but simply argue about it and let it be; while others favoured more the "no preference"<sup>2</sup> adage, saying that fire was not fire rather than anything else. For they did not assert what it is, but only what sort of a thing it is.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the Deity's seat in the intercosmic spaces and the idea that the souls of men consist of blood, all the above opinions of Epicurus are to be found in Diog. Laert., X, *vit. Epic.*

<sup>2</sup> οὐ μᾶλλον, "not rather."

<sup>3</sup> See n. on p. 49 *supra*. The doctrines here given are those of the Sceptics, and are to be found in Diog. Laert., IX, *vit. Pyrrho*,

21. *About (the) Brachmans among the Indians.*

The Indians have also a sect of philosophizers in the Brachmans<sup>1</sup> who propose to themselves an independent life and abstain from all things which have had life and from  
 p. 46. meats prepared by fire. They are content with fruits<sup>2</sup> but do not gather even these, but live on those fallen on the earth and drink the water of the river Tagabena.<sup>3</sup> But they spend their lives naked, saying that the body has been made by God as a garment to the soul. They say that God is light; not such light as one sees, nor like the sun and fire, but that it is to them the Divine Word, not that which is articulated, but that which comes from knowledge, whereby the hidden mysteries of nature are seen by the wise. But this light which they say is (the) Word, the God, they declare that they themselves as Brachmans alone know, because they alone put away vain thinking which is the last tunic of the soul. They scorn death; but are ever naming God in their own tongue, as we have said above, and send up hymns to Him. But neither are there women among them, nor do they beget children.<sup>4</sup> Those, however, who have desired a life like theirs, after they  
 p. 47. have crossed over to the opposite bank of the river,<sup>5</sup> remain there always and never return; but they also are called Brachmans. Yet they do not pass their life in the same way; for there are women in the country, from whom those dwelling there are begotten and beget. But they say that this Word, which they style God, is corporeal, girt with the

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c. 79 ff. and in Sextus Empiricus. *Hyp. Pyrrho*, I, 209 ff. Diog. Laert. quotes from Ascanius of Abdera that Pyrrho introduced the dogma of incomprehensibility, and Hippolytus seems to have copied this without noticing that he has said the same thing about Xenophanes.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert., I, *Proem.*, c. 1, mentions both Gymnosophists and Druids, but if he ever gave any account of their teaching it must be in the part of the book which is lost. Clem. Alex., *Stromateis*, I, c. 15, describes the two classes of Gymnosophists as Sarmanæ and Brachmans. The Sarmanæ or Samanai (Shamans?) seem the nearer of the two to the Brachmans of our text.

<sup>2</sup> ἀροσφύαι, hard-shelled fruit such as acorns or chestnuts.

<sup>3</sup> Roeser suggests the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> Megasthenes, for whom see Strabo V, 712, differs from Hippolytus in making the abstinence of the Gymnosophists endure for thirty-seven years only.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing has yet been said about any bank.

body outside Himself, as if one should wear a garment of sheepskins; but that the body which is worn, when taken off, appears visible to the eye.<sup>1</sup> But the Brachmans declare that there is war in the body worn by them [and they consider their body full of warring elements] against which body as if arrayed against foes, they fight as we have before made plain. And they say that all men are captives to their own congenital enemies, to wit, the belly and genitals, greediness, wrath, joy, grief, desire and the like. But that he alone goes to God who has triumphed<sup>2</sup> over these. Wherefore the Brachmans make Dandamis, to whom Alexander of Macedon paid a visit, divine<sup>3</sup> as one who had won the war in the body. But they accuse Calanus of having impiously fallen away from their philosophy. But the Brachmans putting away the body, like fish who have leaped from the water into pure air, behold p. 48. the Sun.<sup>4</sup>

## 22. *About the Druids among the Celts.*

The Druids among the Celts enquired with the greatest minuteness into the Pythagorean philosophy, Zamolxis, Pythagoras' slave, a Thracian by race, being for them the author of this discipline. He after Pythagoras' death travelled into their country and became as far as they were concerned the founder of this philosophy.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this sentence is corrupt. Macmahon following Roeser would read: "This discourse whom they name God they affirm to be incorporeal, but enveloped in a body outside himself, just as if one carried a covering of sheepskin to have it seen; but having stripped off the body in which he is enveloped, he no longer appears visibly to the naked eye."

<sup>2</sup> *ἐγείρας τρόπαιον*, lit., "raised a trophy."

<sup>3</sup> *θεολογῶσι*. Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.*, uses the word in this sense. For the Dandamis and Calanus stories, see Arrian, *Anabasis*, Bk. VII, cc. 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> This is quite unintelligible as it stands. It probably means that the Brachmans worship the light of which the Sun is the garment, and that they think they are united with it when temporarily freed from the body. Is he confusing them on the one hand with the Yogis, whose burial trick is referred to later in connection with Simon Magus, and on the other with some Zoroastrian or fire-worshipping sect of Central Asia?

<sup>5</sup> *ὅς . . . ἐκεῖ χωρήσας αἰτίος τούτοις ταύτης τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐγένετο*. Does the *ἐκεῖ* mean Galatia, whose inhabitants were Celts by origin? Hippolytus has probably copied the sentence without understanding it.

Celts glorify the Druids as prophets and as knowing the future because they foretell to them some things by the ciphers and numbers of the Pythagoric art. On the principles of which same art we shall not be silent, since some men have ventured to introduce heresies constructed from them. Druids, however, also make use of magic arts.

p. 49.

23. *About Hesiod.*<sup>1</sup>

But Hesiod the poet says that he, too, heard thus from the Muses about Nature. The Muses, however, are the daughters of Zeus. For Zeus having from excess of desire companied with Mnemosyne for nine days and nights consecutively, she conceived these nine in her single womb, receiving one every night. Now Hesiod invokes the nine Muses from Pieria, that is from Olympus, and prays them to teach him:<sup>2</sup>

“How first the gods and earth became;  
The rivers and th’immeasurable sea  
High-raging in its foam: the glittering stars;  
The wide-impending heaven; . . .  
Say how their treasures,<sup>3</sup> how their honours each  
Allotted shared; how first they held abode  
On many-caved Olympus:—this declare  
Ye Muses! dwellers of the heavenly mount  
From the beginning; say who first arose?

F. 50.

“First Chaos was, next ample-bosomed Earth,  
The seat eternal and immoveable  
Of deathless gods, who still the Olympian height  
Snow-topt inhabit. Third in hollow depth  
Of the vast ground, expanded wide above  
The gloomy Tartarus. Love then arose  
Most beauteous of immortals: he at once  
Of every god and every mortal man  
Unnerves the limbs; dissolves the wiser breast  
By reason steel’d, and quells the very soul.

“From Chaos, Erebus and sable Night . . .

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod is treated by Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, Bk. II, c. 15, as one who philosophizes, which perhaps accounts for the introduction of his name here.

<sup>2</sup> *διδάχθηται, ut se edoceret*, Cr. So Macmahon. The context, however, plainly requires that it is Hesiod and not the Muse who is to be taught. The rendering of poetry into prose is seldom satisfactory, so I have ventured to give here the version of Elton, which is as close to the original as it is poetic in form.

<sup>3</sup> *ἡς στίβων βασάνοις*.

From Night arose the Sunshine and the Day<sup>1</sup>  
Whom she with dark embrace of Erebus  
Commingleing bore.

"Her first-born Earth produced  
Of like immensity,<sup>2</sup> the starry Heaven:  
That he might sheltering compass her around  
On every side, and be for evermore  
To the blest gods a mansion unremoved.

"Next the high hills arose, the pleasant haunts  
Of goddess-nymphs, who dwell among the glens  
Of mountains. With no aid of tender love  
Gave she to birth the sterile Sea, high-swol'n  
In raging foam; and Heaven-embraced, anon  
She teemed with Ocean, rolling in deep whirls  
His vast abyss of waters

P. 51.

"Cœus then,  
Cœus, Hyperion and Iapetus,  
Themis and Thea rose; Mnemosyne  
And Rhea; Phœbe diademed with gold,  
And love-inspiring Tethys; and of these,  
Youngest in birth, the wily Kronos came,  
The sternest of her sons; and he abhorred  
The sire that gave him life

"Then brought she forth  
The Cyclops haughty of spirit."

And he enumerates all the other Giants descended from Kronos. But last he tells how Zeus was born from Rhea.

All these men, then, declared, as we have set forth, their opinions about the nature and birth of the universe. But they all, departing from the Divine for lower things, busied themselves about the substance of the things that are. So that when struck with the grandeurs of creation and thinking that these were the Divine, each of them preferred before the rest a different part of what was created. But they discovered not the God and fashioner of them.

The opinions therefore of those among the Greeks who have undertaken to philosophize, I think I have suffi- p. 52.  
ently set forth. Starting from which opinions the heretics have made the attempts we shall shortly narrate. It seems fitting, however, that we, first making public the mystic rites,<sup>3</sup> should also declare whatever things certain men

<sup>1</sup> Λιθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη. One would prefer to keep the word "Aether," which is hardly "sunshine."

<sup>2</sup> ἴσον ἑαυτῇ.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ μυστικά. The expression generally used for Mysteries such as those of Eleusis. Either he employs it here to include the tricks

have superfluously fancied about stars or magnitudes ; for truly those who have taken their starting-points from these notions are deemed by the many to speak prodigies. Thereafter, we shall make plain consecutively the vain opinions<sup>1</sup> invented by them.<sup>2</sup>

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of the magicians described in Book IV, or he did not mean to describe these last when the sentence was written, but to go instead straight from the astrologers to the heresies. The last alternative seems the more probable.

<sup>1</sup> ἀδρανῆ, *infirmas*, Cr.

<sup>2</sup> The main question which arises on this First Book of our text is, What were the sources from which Hippolytus drew the opinions he here summarizes? Diels, who has taken much pains over the matter, thinks that his chief source was the epitome that Sotion of Alexandria made from Heraclides. As we have seen, however, Diogenes Laertius is responsible for a fair number of Hippolytus' statements, especially concerning the opinions of those to whom he gives little space. Certain phrases seem taken directly from Theophrastus or from whatever author it was that Simplicius used in his commentaries on Aristotle, and the likeness between Alcinous' summary of Plato's doctrines and those of our author is too close to be accidental. It therefore seems most probable that Hippolytus did not confine himself to any one source, but borrowed from several. This would, after all, be the natural course for a lecturer as distinguished from a writer to adopt, and goes some way therefore towards confirming the theory as to the origin of the book stated in the Introduction.

END OF BOOK I

## BOOKS II AND III

(THESE are entirely missing, no trace of them having been found attached to any of the four codices of Book I or to the present text of Books IV to X. We know that such books must have once existed, as at the end of Book IV (p. 117 *infra*) the author tells us that all the famous opinions of earthly philosophy have been included by him in the preceding *four* books, of which as has been said only Books I and IV have come down to us.

Our only ground for conjecture as to the contents of Books II and III is to be found in Hippolytus' statement at the end of Book I, that he will *first* make public the mystic rites<sup>1</sup> and then the fancies of certain philosophers as to stars and magnitudes. As the promise in the last words of the sentence seems to be fulfilled in Book IV, where he gives not only the method of the astrologers of his time, but also the calculations of the Greek astronomers as to the relative distances of the heavenly bodies, it may be presumed that this was preceded and not followed by a description of the Mysteries more elaborate and fuller than the casual allusions to them which appear in Book V. So, too, in Chap. 5 of the same Book IV, which he himself describes in the heading as a "Recapitulation" of what has gone before, he refers to certain dogmas of the Persians and the Babylonians as to the nature of God, which have certainly not been mentioned in any other part of the book which has come down to us. So, again, at the beginning of Book X, which purports to be a summary of the whole work, he tells us that having now gone through the "labyrinth of heresies," it will be shown that the Truth is not derived from "the wisdom (philosophy) of the Greeks, the secret mysteries of the Egyptians,"<sup>2</sup> the fallacies of the

<sup>1</sup> τὰ μυστικά.

<sup>2</sup> Αἰγυπτίων δόγματα . . . ὡς ἄρρητα διδασχθεῖς.

astrologers, or the demon-inspired ravings of the Babylonians." The Greek philosophy and astrological fallacies are dealt with at sufficient length in Books I and IV respectively, but nothing of importance is said in these or elsewhere in the work as to the mysteries of the "Egyptians," by whom he probably means the worshippers of the Alexandrian divinities, and nothing at all as to Babylonian demonolatry or magic. It is quite true that he follows this up immediately by the statement that he has included the tenets of all the wise men among the *Greeks* in four books, and the doctrines of the heretics in five; but it has been explained in the Introduction (pp. 18 ff. *supra*) that there are reasons why the summarizer's recollection of the earlier books may not be verbally accurate, nor does he say that the description of the philosophic and heretical teachings exhausted the contents of the first four books. On the whole, therefore, Cruice appears to be justified in his conclusion that the missing books contained an account of the "Egyptian" Mysteries and of "the sacred sciences of the Babylonians."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Adhémar d'Alès in his work *La Théologie de St. Hippolyte*, Paris, 1906, argues that the existing text of Book IV contains large fragments of the missing Books II and III. His argument is chiefly founded on the supposed excessive length of Book IV, although as a fact Book V is in Cruice's pagination some 20 pages longer than this and Book VI, 10. Apart from this, it seems very doubtful if any author would describe the arithmomantic and arithmetical nonsense in Book IV as either *μυστικά* or *δόγματα ἔρητα*, and it is certain that he cannot be alluding, when he speaks of the *βαβυλωνίων ἀλογίστη μανία δι' ἐν (εργί)α* *δαίμωνων καταπαλαγεί*s, to the jugglery in the same book, which he there attributes not to the agency of demons but to the tricks of charlatans.



## BOOK IV

### DIVINERS AND MAGICIANS

(THE first pages of this book have been torn away from the MS., and we are therefore deprived of the small Table of Contents which the author has prefixed to the other seven. From the headings of the various chapters it may be reproduced in substance thus:—

1. The "Chaldæans" or Astrologers, and the celestial measurements of the Greek astronomers.

2. The Mathematicians or those who profess to divine by the numerical equivalents of the letters in proper names.

3. The Metoposcopists or those who connect the form of the body and the disposition of the mind with the Zodiacal sign rising at birth.

4. The Magicians and the tricks by which they read scaled letters, perform divinations, produce apparitions of gods and demons, and work other wonders.

5. Recapitulation of the ideas of Greek and Barbarian on the nature of God, and the views of the "Egyptians" or neo-Pythagoreans as to the mysteries of number.

6. The star-diviners or those who find religious meaning in the grouping of the constellations as described by Aratus.

7. The Pythagorean doctrine of number and its relation to the heresies of Simon Magus and Valentinus.)

[1. *About Astrologers.*<sup>1</sup>]

p. 53

... (And they (*i.e.* the Chaldæans) declare there are

<sup>1</sup> This is the beginning of the Mt. Athos MS., the first pages having disappeared. With regard to the first chapter *περὶ ἀστρολόγων*, Cruice, following therein Miller, points out that nearly the whole of it has been taken from Book V with the same title of Sextus Empiricus' work, *Πρὸς Μαθηματικούς*, and also that the copying is so faulty that to

"terms"<sup>1</sup> of the stars in each zodiacal sign extending from one given part)<sup>2</sup> to [another given part in which some particular star has most power. About which there is no mere chance difference] among them [as appears from their

make sense it is necessary to restore the text in many places from that of Sextus. Sextus' book begins, as did doubtless that of Hippolytus, with a description of the divisions of the zodiac, the cardinal points (Ascendant, Mid-heaven, Descendant, and Anti-Meridian), the cadent and succedent houses, the use of the clepsydra or water-clock, the planets and their "dignities," "exaltations" and "falls," and finally, their "terms," with a description of which our text begins. It is, perhaps, a pity that Miller did not restore the whole of the missing part from Sextus Empiricus; but the last-named author is not very clear, and the reader who wishes to go further into the matter and to acquire some knowledge of astrological jargon is recommended to consult also James Wilson's *Complete Dictionary of Astrology*, reprinted at Boston, U.S.A., in 1885, or, if he prefers a more learned work, M. Bouché-Leclercq's *L'Astrologie Grecque*, Paris, 1899. But it may be said here that the astrologers of the early centuries made their predictions from a "theme," or geniture, which was in effect a map of the heavens at the moment of birth, and showed the ecliptic or sun's path through the zodiacal signs divided into twelve "houses," to each of which a certain significance was attached. The foundation of this was the horoscope or sign rising above the horizon at the birth, from which they were able to calculate the other three cardinal points given above, the cadent houses being those four which go just before the cardinal points and the four succedents those which follow after them. The places of the planets, including in that term the sun and moon, in the ecliptic were then calculated and their symbols placed in the houses indicated. From this figure the judgment or prediction was made, but a great mass of absurd and contradictory tradition existed as to the influence of the planets on the life, fortune, and disposition of the native, which was supposed to depend largely on their places in the theme both in relation to the earth and to each other.

<sup>1</sup> Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 206, rightly defines these terms as fractions of signs separated by internal boundaries and distributed in each sign among the five planets. Cf. J. Firmicus Maternus, *Matheseos*, II, 6, and Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 40. Wilson, *op. cit.*, s.h.v., says they are certain degrees in a sign, supposed to possess the power of altering the nature of a planet to that of the planet in the term of which it is posited. All the authors quoted say that the astrologers could not agree upon the extent or position of the various "terms," and that in particular the "Chaldeans" and the "Egyptians" were hopelessly at variance upon the point.

<sup>2</sup> In the translation I have distinguished Miller's additions to the text from Sextus Empiricus' by enclosing them in square brackets, reserving the round brackets for my own additions from the same source, which I have purposely made as few as possible. So with other alterations.

tables]. But they say that the stars are guarded<sup>1</sup> [when they are midway between two other stars] in zodiacal succession. For instance, if [a certain star should occupy the first part] of a zodiacal sign and another [the last parts, and a third those of the middle; the one in the middle is said to be guarded] by those occupying the parts at the extremities. [And they say that the stars behold one another and are in accord with one another] when they appear triangularly or quadrangularly. Now those form a triangular figure<sup>2</sup> and behold one another which have an interval of p. 54. three zodiacal signs between them and a square those which have one of two signs. . . .

(<sup>3</sup> Such then seems to be the character of the Chaldaean method. And in that which has been handed down it remains easy to understand and follow the contradictions noted. And some indeed try to teach a rougher way as if earthly things have no sympathy<sup>4</sup> at all with the heavenly ones. For thus they say, that the ambient<sup>5</sup> is not united as is the human body, so that according to the condition) of the head the lower parts [suffer with it and the head with the lower] parts, and earthly things should suffer along with those above the moon. But there is a certain difference and want of sympathy between them as they have not one and [the] same unity.

2. Making use of these statements, Euphrates the Peratic and Akembes the Carystian<sup>6</sup> and the rest of the band of these people, miscalling the word of Truth, declare that there is a war of æons and a falling-away of good powers to

<sup>1</sup> *δορυφορεῖσθαι*, *lit.*, "have spear-bearers." "Stars" in Sextus Empiricus nearly always means planets.

<sup>2</sup> This is the famous "trine" figure or aspect of modern astrologers. Its influence is supposed to be good; that of the square next described, the reverse.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus here omits a long disquisition by Sextus on the position of the planets and the Chaldaean system. Where the text resumes the quotation it is in such a way as to alter the sense completely; wherefore I have restored the sentence preceding from Sextus.

<sup>4</sup> *συνάσχει*, "suffer with."

<sup>5</sup> *τὸ περιέχον*. The term used by astrologers to denote the whole æther *surrounding* the stars or, in other words, the whole disposition of the heavens. "Ambient" is its equivalent in modern astrology.

<sup>6</sup> This is an anticipation of the Peratic heresy to which a chapter in Book V (pp. 146 ff. *infra*) is devoted. 'Ακεμβής is there spelt Καλβής, but 'Ακεμβής is restored in Book X and is copied by Theodoret. "Peratic" is thought by Salmon (*D.C.B.*, s. h. v.) to mean "Mede."

the bad, calling them Toparchs and Proastii<sup>1</sup> and many other names. All which heresy undertaken by them, I shall set forth and refute when we come to the discussion concerning them. But now, lest any one should deem trustworthy and unailing the rules laid down<sup>2</sup> by the Chaldæans

p. 55 for the astrological art, we shall not shrink from briefly setting forth their refutation and pointing out that their art is vain and rather deceives and destroys the soul which may hope for vain things than helps it. In which matters we do not hold out any expertness in the art, but only that drawn from knowledge of the practical words.<sup>3</sup> Those who, having been trained in this science, become pupils of the Chaldæans and who having changed the names only, have imparted mysteries as if they were strange and wonderful to men, have constructed a heresy out of this. But since they consider the astrologers' art a mighty one and making use of the witness of the Chaldæans wish to get their own systems believed because of them, we shall now prove that the astrological art as it appears to-day is unfounded, and then that the Peratic heresy is to be put aside as a branch growing from a root which does not hold.<sup>4</sup>

3.<sup>5</sup> Now the beginning and as it were the basis of the affair is the establishment of the horoscope. From this the rest of the cardinal points, and the cadents and succedents and the trines and the squares<sup>6</sup> and the configuration of the stars in them are known, from all which things the predictions are made. Wherefore if the horoscope be taken

p. 56 away, of necessity neither the midheaven nor the descendant nor the anti-meridian is known. But the whole Chaldaic system vanishes if these are not disclosed. [And how the zodiacal sign ascending is to be discovered is taught in divers ways. For in order that this may be apprehended,

<sup>1</sup> "Toparch" means simply "ruler of a place." Proastius (*προαστιος*) generally the dweller in a suburb. Here it probably means the powers in some part of the heavens which is near to a place or constellation without actually forming part of it.

<sup>2</sup> *νενομισμένα*. Cf. *νενομισμένος*, "in the established manner," Callistratus, *Ephr.*, 897.

<sup>3</sup> *τῶν πρακτικῶν λόγων*, or, perhaps, "of the systems used."

<sup>4</sup> *ἀσύντατον*, *lit.*, "not holding together," punningly used as epithet for both the art and the heresy.

<sup>5</sup> What follows to the concluding paragraph of Chap. 7 is taken nearly *verbatim* from Sextus Empiricus.

<sup>6</sup> For these terms see n. on p. 67 *supra*.

it is necessary first of all that the birth of the child falling under consideration be carefully taken, and secondly that the signalling of the time<sup>1</sup> be unerring, and thirdly that the rising in the heaven of the ascending sign be observed with the greatest care. For at the birth<sup>2</sup> the rising of the sign ascending in the heaven must be closely watched, since the Chaldæans determining that which ascends, on its rising make that disposition of the stars which they call the Theme,<sup>3</sup> from which they declare their predictions. But neither is it possible to take the birth of those falling under consideration, as I shall show, nor is the time established unerringly, nor is the ascending sign ascertained with care. p. 57.

How baseless the system of the Chaldæans is, we will now say. It is necessary before determining the birth of those falling under consideration, to inquire whether they take it from the deposition of the seed and its conception or from the bringing forth. And if we should attempt to take it from the conception, the accurate account of this is hard to grasp, the time being short and naturally so. For we cannot say whether conception takes place simultaneously with the transfer of the seed or not. For this may happen as quick as thought, as the tallow put into heated pots sticks fast at once, or it may take place after some time.<sup>4</sup> For there being a distance from the mouth of the womb to the other extremity, where conceptions are said by doctors to take place, it is natural that nature depositing the seed should take some time to accomplish this distance. Therefore the Chaldæans being ignorant of the exact length of time will never discover exactly the time of conception, the seed being sometimes shot straight forward and falling in those places of the p. 58.

womb fitted by nature for conception, and sometimes falling broadcast to be only brought into place by the power of the womb itself. And it cannot be known when the first of these things happens and when the second, nor how much

<sup>1</sup> ὥροσκόπιον seems here put for ὥροσκοπεῖον = *horologium*, or clock.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποτρέξις, "the bringing-forth" is the word used by Sextus throughout. As Sextus was a medical man it is probably the technical term corresponding to our "parturition." Miller reads ἀποτρέξις which does not seem appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> δίδωμεν. See n. on p. 67 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> I have here followed Sextus' division of the sentence. Cruice translates στέαρ, *farina aqua sabacta*, for which I can see no justification. Macmahon here follows him.

time is spent in one sort of conception and how much in the other. But if we are ignorant of these things, the accurate discovery of the nature of the conception vanishes.<sup>1</sup> Nor if, as some physiologists say, seed being first seethed and altered in the womb then goes forward to its gaping vessels as the seeds of the earth go to the earth; why then, those who do not know the length of time taken by this change will not know either the moment of conception. And again, as women differ from one another in energy and other causes of action in other parts of the body, so do they differ in the energy of the womb, some conceiving quicker and others slower. And this is not unexpected, since if we compare them, they are seen now to be good conceivers and now not at all so. This being so, it is impossible to say with exactness when the seed deposited is secured, so that from this time the Chaldeans may establish the horoscope<sup>2</sup> of the birth.

- p. 59. 4. For this reason it is impossible to establish the horoscope from the conception; nor can it be done from the bringing forth. For in the first place, it is very hard to say when the bringing forth is: whether it is when the child begins to incline towards the fresh air or when it projects a little, or when it is brought down altogether to the ground. But in none of these cases is it possible to define the time of birth accurately.<sup>3</sup> For from presence of mind and suitableness of body, and through preference of places and the expertness of the midwife and endless other causes, the time is not always the same when, the membranes being ruptured, the infant inclines forward, or when
- p. 60. it projects a little, or when it falls to the ground. But it is different with different women. Which, again, the Chaldeans being unable to measure definitely and accurately, they are prevented from determining as they should the hour of the bringing forth.

That the Chaldeans, therefore, while asserting that they know the sign ascending at the time of birth, do not know it, is plain from the facts. And that there is no means either of unerringly observing the time,<sup>4</sup> is easy to be

<sup>1</sup> Restoring from Sextus *οἴχεται* for *ἤρται*.

<sup>2</sup> *ὑποσκόπον*, "the ascending sign." So Sextus.

<sup>3</sup> Restoring from Sextus *ἐφ' ἑκάστου* for *ν' ἑκάστου*; *τὸν ἀκριβῆ* for *τὸ ἀκριβῆς* and omitting *καταλαβέσθαι*.

<sup>4</sup> See n. on p. 74 *infra*.

judged. For when they say that the person sitting by the woman in labour at the bringing forth signifies the same to the Chaldean who is looking upon the stars from a high place by means of the gong,<sup>1</sup> and that this last gazing upon the heaven notes down the sign then rising, we shall show that as the bringing forth happens at no defined time,<sup>2</sup> it is not possible either to signify the same by the gong. For even if it be granted that the actual bringing forth can be ascertained, yet the time cannot be signified accurately. For the sound of the gong, being capable of divisions by perception into much and more time,<sup>3</sup> it happens that it is carried (late) to the high place. And the proof of this is what is noticed when trees are felled a long way off.<sup>4</sup> For the sound of the stroke is heard a pretty long time after the fall of the axe, so as to reach the listener later. And from this cause it is impossible for the Chaldeans to obtain accurately the time of the rising sign and that which is in truth on the ascendant.<sup>5</sup> And indeed not only does more time pass after the birth before he who sits beside the woman in labour, strikes the gong, and again after the stroke before it is heard by him upon the high place, but also before he can look about and see in which sign is the moon and in which is each of the other stars. It seems inevitable then that there must be a great change in the disposition of the stars,<sup>6</sup> [from the movement of the Pole being whirled along with indescribable swiftness] before the hour of him who has been born as it is seen in heaven can be observed carefully.<sup>7</sup>

5. Thus the art according to the Chaldeans has been shown to be baseless. But if any one should fancy that by

<sup>1</sup> Sextus has described earlier (p. 342, Fabricius) the whole process of warning the astrologer of the moment of birth by striking a metal disc, which I have called "gong."

<sup>2</sup> ἀορίστου τυγχανούσης.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν συγχῶ πρὸς αἰσθησὶν δυνάμενον μερίζεσθαι, *majori et longiori temporis spatio ad aurium sensuum dividatur*, Cr.; "with proportionate delay," Macmahon. I do not understand how either his or Cruice's construction is arrived at.

<sup>4</sup> Sextus has "on the hills."

<sup>5</sup> ἄροσκοῦντος might mean "which marks the hour."

<sup>6</sup> φαίνεται . . . ἀλλοιότερον . . . διόθεμα.

<sup>7</sup> *quam diligenter observari possit in coelo nativitas*, Cr., (before) "the nativity can be carefully observed in the sky."

enquiries, the geniture<sup>1</sup> of the enquirer is to be learned, we may know that not in this way either can it be arrived at with certainty. For if such great care in the practice of the art is necessary, and yet as we have shown they do not arrive at accuracy, how can an unskilled person take accurately the time of birth, so that the Chaldean on learning it may set up the horoscope truthfully?<sup>2</sup> But neither by inspection of the horizon will the star ascending appear the same everywhere, but sometimes the cadent sign will be considered the ascendant and sometimes the succedent, according as the coming in view of the places is higher or lower. So that in this respect the prediction will not appear accurate, many people being born all over the world at the same hour, while every observer will see the stars differently.

p. 63. But vain also is the customary taking of the time by water-jars.<sup>3</sup> For the pierced jar will not give the same flow when full as when nearly empty, while according to the theory of these people the Pole itself is borne along in one impulse with equal speed. But if they answer to this that they do not take the time accurately but as it chances in common use,<sup>4</sup> they will be refuted merely by the starry influences themselves.<sup>5</sup> For those who have been born at the same time have not lived the same life; but some for example have reigned as kings while others have grown old in chains. None at any rate of the many throughout the inhabited world at the same time as Alexander of Macedon were like unto him, and none to Plato the philosopher. So that if the Chaldean observes carefully the time in common use, he will not be able to say<sup>6</sup> if he who is born at that time will be fortunate. For many at any rate born

<sup>1</sup> *γένεσις*. The word in Greek astrological works has the same meaning as "geniture" or "nativity" in modern astrological jargon. Identical with "theme."

<sup>2</sup> The whole of this sentence is corrupt, and the scribe was probably taking down something from Sextus which was read to him without his understanding it. I have given what seems to be the sense of the passage.

<sup>3</sup> *ὕδρια*, Sextus (p. 342, Fabr.), has described the clepsydra or water-clock and its defects as a measurer of time.

<sup>4</sup> *ἐν πλάτει*.

<sup>5</sup> *τὰ ἀποτελέσματα*. A technical expression for the results or influence on sublunary things of the position of the heavenly bodies. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 328, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Sextus adds *κατὰ λόγον*, "positively."



at that time, will be unfortunate, so that the likeness between the genitures is vain.

Having therefore refuted in so many different ways the vain speculation of the Chaldæans, we shall not omit this, that their prognostications lead to impossibility. For if he who is born under the point of Sagittarius' arrow must be slain, as the astrologers<sup>1</sup> say, how was it that so many barbarians who fought against the Greeks at Marathon or Salamis were killed at the same time? For there was not at any rate the same horoscope for all. And again, if he who is born under the urn of Aquarius will be shipwrecked, how was it that some of the Greeks returning from Troy were sunk together in the furrows of the Eubœan sea? For it is incredible that all these differing much from one another in age should all have been born under Aquarius' urn. For it cannot be said often that because of one who was destined to perish by sea, all those in the ship should be destroyed along with him. For why should the destiny of this one prevail over that of all, and yet that not all should be saved because of one who was destined to die on land? p. 64

6. But since also they make a theory about the influence of the zodiacal signs to which they say the things brought forth are likened, we shall not omit this. For example, they say that he who is born under Leo will be courageous,<sup>2</sup> and he who is born under Virgo straight-haired, pale-complexioned, childless and bashful. But these things and those like them deserve laughter rather than serious consideration.<sup>3</sup> For according to them an Ethiopian can be born under Virgo, and if so they allow he will be white, straight-haired and the rest. But I imagine that the ancients gave the names of the lower animals to the stars rather because of arbitrariness<sup>4</sup> than from natural likeness of shape. For what likeness to a bear have the seven stars which stand separate from one another? Or to the head of a dragon those five of which Aratus says:— p. 65

<sup>1</sup> *οἱ μαθηματικοί*. The only passage in our text where Hippolytus uses the word in this sense. He seems to have taken it from Sextus' title *κατὰ τὸν μαθηματικὸν λόγον*.

<sup>2</sup> A play of words upon *Λέω* and *ἀνδρείος*.

<sup>3</sup> *σπουδῆς*. Hippolytus inserts an unnecessary *ὀ* before the word. See Sextus, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> *οἰκειώσεως χάριν, gratia consuetudinis, Cr.*

Two hold the temples, two the eyes, and one beneath  
Marks the chin point of the monster dread.—

(Aratus, *Phainomena*, vv. 56, 57.)

7. That these things are not worthy of so much labour is thus proved to the right-thinkers aforesaid, and to those who give no heed to the inflated talk of the Chaldaeans, who with assurance of indemnity make kings to disappear  
p. 66. and incite private persons to dare great deeds.<sup>1</sup> But if he who has given way to evil fails, he who has been deceived does not become a teacher to all whose minds the Chaldaeans wish to lead endlessly astray by their failures. For they constrain the minds of their pupils when they say that the same configuration of the stars cannot occur otherwise than by the return of the Great Year in 7777 years.<sup>2</sup> How then can human observation agree<sup>3</sup> in so many ages upon one geniture? And this not once but many times, since the destruction of the cosmos as some say will interrupt the observation, or its gradual transformation will cause to disappear entirely the continuity of historical tradition.<sup>4</sup>] The Chaldaic art must be refuted by more arguments, although we have been recalling it to memory on account of other matters and not for its own sake. But since we have before said that we will omit none of the opinions current among the Gentiles,<sup>5</sup> by reason of the many-voiced craft of the heresies, let us see what they say also who have  
p. 67. dared to speculate about magnitudes. Who, recognizing the variety of the work of most of them, when another has been utterly deceived in a different manner and has been yet held in high esteem, have dared to say something yet more grandiose than he, so that they may be yet more glorified by those who have already glorified their petty frauds. These men postulate circles and triangular and square measures doubly and triply.<sup>6</sup> There is much

<sup>1</sup> Does this refer to Otho's encouragement by the astrologer Ptolemy to rebel against Galba? See Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 22. The sentence does not appear in Sextus.

<sup>2</sup> Sextus says 9977 years.

<sup>3</sup> φθασει συνδραμειν, "arrive at concurrence with." Sextus answers the question in the negative.

<sup>4</sup> Here the quotations from Sextus end.

<sup>5</sup> παρ' ἔθνεσι "among the nations." A curious expression in the mouth of a Greek, although natural to a Jew.

<sup>6</sup> Is this an allusion to trigonometry? The rest of the sentence, as

theory about this, but it is not necessary for what lies before us.

8. I reckon it enough therefore to declare the marvels described by them. Wherefore I shall employ their epitomes,<sup>1</sup> as they call them, and then turn to other things. They say this:<sup>2</sup> he who fashioned the universe, gave rule to the revolution of the Same and Like, for that alone he left undivided; but the inner motion he divided 6 times and made 7 unequal circles divided by intervals in ratios of 2 and 3, 3 of each, and bade the circles revolve in directions opposite to one another—3 of them to revolve at equal pace, and 4 with a velocity unlike that of the 3, but in due proportion.<sup>3</sup> And he says that rule was given to the orbit of the 7, not only because it embraces the orbit of the Other, *i. e.*, the Wanderers; but because it has so much rule, *i. e.*, so much power, that it carries along with it the Wanderers to the opposite positions, bearing them from West to East and from East to West by its own strength. And he says that the same orbit was allowed to be one and undivided, first because the orbits of all the fixed stars are equal in time and not divided into greater and lesser times.<sup>4</sup> And next because they all have the same appearance,<sup>5</sup> which is that of the outermost orbit, while the Wanderers are divided into more and different kinds of movements and into unequal distances from the Earth. And he says that the Other orbit has been cut in 6 places into 7 circles according to ratio.<sup>6</sup> For as many cuts as

p. 68.

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will presently be seen, refers to Plato's *Timæus*. Cf. also *Timæus the Locrian*, c. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Διδ τοῖς ἐπιτόμοις χρῆσάμενος. An indication that Hippolytus' knowledge of Plato was not first-hand.

<sup>2</sup> The passage which follows is from the *Timæus*, XII, where Plato describes how the World-maker set in motion two concentric circles revolving different ways, the external called the Same and Like, and the internal the Other, or Different.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be generally accepted as Plato's meaning. Jowett says the three are the orbits of the Sun, Venus and Mercury, the four those of the Moon, Saturn, Mars and Jupiter. The Wanderers are of course the planets.

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.*, swifter and slower.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπιφάνεια.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the following extract from the pseudo-*Timæus* the Locrian, now generally accepted as a summary of the second century, may make this clearer. After explaining that the cosmos and its parts are divided into "the Same" and "the Different," he says: "The first of these

there are of each, so many segments are there *plus* a monad. For example if one cut be made,<sup>1</sup> there are 2 segments; if 2 cuts, 3 segments; and so, if a thing be cut 6 times there  
 p. 69. will be 7 segments. And he says that the intervals between them are arranged alternately in ratios of 2 and 3, 3 of each, which he has proved with regard to the constitution of the soul also, as to the 7 numbers. For 3 among them, viz., 2, 4, 8, are doubles from the monad onwards and 3 of them, viz., 3, 9, 27 [triples]<sup>2</sup> . . . But the diameter of the Earth is 80,008 stadia and its perimeter 250,543.<sup>3</sup> And the distance from the Earth's surface to the circle of the Moon, Aristarchus of Samos writes as . . . <sup>4</sup> stadia but Apollonius as 5,000,000 and Archimedes as 5,544,130. And Archimedes says that from the Moon's circle to that of the Sun is 50,262,065 stadia; from this to the circle of Aphrodite 20,272,065; and from this to the circle of Hermes 50,817,165; and from the same to the circle of  
 p. 70. the Fiery One <sup>5</sup> 40,541,108; and from this to the circle of Zeus 20,275,065; but from this to the circle of Kronos, 40,372,065; and from this to the Zodiac and the last periphery 20,082,005 stadia.

9. The differences from one another of the circles and the spheres in height are also given by Archimedes. He takes the perimeter of the Zodiac at 447,310,000 stadia, so that a straight line from the centre of the Earth to its extreme surface is the sixth part of the said number, and from the surface of the Earth on which we walk to the Zodiac is exactly one-sixth of the said number less 40,000

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leads from without all that are within them, along the general movement from East to West. But the latter, belonging to the Different, lead from within the parts that are carried along from West to East, and are self-moved, and they are whirled round and along, as it may happen, by the movement of the Same which possesses in the Cosmos a superior power. Now the movement of the Different, being divided according to a harmonical proportion, takes the form of 7 circles," and he then goes on to describe the orbits of the planets.

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "if one section be severed."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plato, *Timæus*, c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A palpable mistake. As Cruice points out, if the Earth's diameter is as said in the text, its perimeter must be 251,768 stadia, which is not far from the 252,000 stadia assigned to it by Eratosthenes.

<sup>4</sup> Lacunæ in both these sentences.

<sup>5</sup> The common Greek name for the planet Ares or Mars ( $\delta$ ).

stadia which is the distance from the centre of the Earth to its surface. And from the circle of Kronos to the Earth, he says, the interval is 2,226,912,711 stadia; and from the circle of the Fiery One to the Earth, 132,418,581; and from the Sun to the Earth, 121,604,454; from the Shining One to the Earth, 526,882,259; and from Aphrodite to the Earth, 50,815,160.<sup>1</sup> p. 71.

10. And about the Moon we have before spoken. The distances and depths<sup>2</sup> of the spheres are thus given by Archimedes, but Hipparchus speaks differently about them, and Apollonius the mathematician differently again. But it is enough for us in following the Platonic theory to think of the intervals between the Wanderers as in ratios of 2 and 3. For thus is kept alive the theory of the harmonious construction of the universe in accordant ratios<sup>3</sup> by the same distances. But the numbers set out by Archimedes and the ratios quoted by the others concerning the distances, if they are not in accordant ratios, that is in those called by Plato twofold and threefold, but are found to be outside the chords,<sup>4</sup> would not keep alive the theory of the harmonious construction of the universe. For it is neither probable nor possible that their distances should have no ratio to one another, that is, should be outside the chords and enharmonic scales. Except perhaps the Moon alone, from her waning and the shadows of the Earth, as to which planet alone you may trust Archimedes, that is to say for the distance of the Moon from the Earth. And it will be easy for those who accept this calculation to ascertain the number and the other distances according to the Platonic method by doubling and tripling as Plato demands.<sup>5</sup> If p. 72.

<sup>1</sup> All these numbers are hopelessly corrupt in the text and the scribe varies the notation repeatedly. I have given the figures as finally settled by Cruice and his predecessors. The Shining One is the planet Hermes or Mercury (♿).

<sup>2</sup> βάθη, "depths"; rather height if we consider the orbits of the planets as concentric and fitting into one another like jugglers' caps or the skins of an onion.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν λόγοις συμφώνοις. Cruice would read τόνοις for λόγοις on the strength of what Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, II, 20, says about Pythagoras having taught that the intervals between the planets' orbits were musical tones. He seems to mean the gamut or chromatic scale as contrasted with the enharmonic.

<sup>4</sup> See last note.

<sup>5</sup> See note on p. 81 *infra* as to what this doubling and tripling means.

then, according to Archimedes, the Moon is distant from the Earth 5,544,130 stadia, it will be easy by increasing these numbers in ratios of 2 and 3 to find her distance from the rest by taking one fraction of the number of stadia by which the Moon is distant from the Earth.

**p. 73.** But since the rest of the numbers stated by Archimedes about the distance of the Wanderers are not in accordant ratios, it is easy to know how they stand in regard to one another and in what ratios they have been observed to be. But that the same are not in harmony and accord<sup>1</sup> when they are parts of the cosmos established by harmony is impossible. So then, as the first number (of stadia) by which the Moon is distant from the Earth is 5,544,130, the second number by which the Sun is distant from the Moon being 50,262,065, it is in ratio more than ninefold; and the number of the interval above this being 20,272,065 is in ratio less than one-half. And the number of the interval above this being 50,815,108 is in ratio more than twofold. And the number of the interval above this being 40,541,108 is in ratio more than one and a quarter.<sup>2</sup> And the number of the interval above this being 20,275,065 is in ratio more than half. And the number of the highest interval above this being 40,372,065 is in ratio less than twofold.<sup>3</sup>

**p. 74.** These same ratios indeed—the more than ninefold, less than half, more than twofold, less than one and a quarter, more than half, less than half and less than twofold are outside all harmonies and from them no enharmonic nor accordant system can come to pass. But the whole cosmos and its parts throughout are put together in an enharmonic and accordant manner. But the enharmonic and accordant

<sup>1</sup> *σμφωνία*.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐπιτεράριον, superquarta*, Cr.,  $1 + \frac{1}{4}$ ; see Liddell and Scott, quoting Nicomachus Gerasenus *Arithmeticus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to see from this confused statement whether it is the system of Plato or Archimedes at which Hippolytus is aiming. The one, however, that it most resembles is that of the neo-Pythagoreans, of which the following table is given in M. Bigourdan's excellent work on *L'Astronomie: Evolution des Idées et des Méthodes*, Paris 1911, p. 49:—

Interval	Planets . . .	♁	♂	♃	♄	♅	♆	♁	Fixed stars
	in tones . . .	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	
	in thousands of stadia	126	63	63	189	126	63	63	63
	Absolute distances in thousands of stadia	0	126	189	252	441	567	630	693

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ratios are kept alive as we have said before by the twofold and threefold intervals. If then we deem Archimedes worthy of faith on the distance given above, *i. e.*, that from the Moon to the Earth, it is easy to find the rest by increasing it in the ratios of 2 and 3. Let the distance from the Earth to the Moon be, according to Archimedes, 5,544,130 stadia. The double of this will be the number of stadia by which the Sun is distant from the Moon, viz., 11,088,260. But from the Earth the Sun is distant 16,632,390 and Aphrodite indeed from the Sun—16,632,390 stadia, but from the Earth 33,264,780. Ares indeed is distant from Aphrodite 22,176,520 stadia but from the Earth 105,338,470. But Zeus is distant from Ares 44,353,040 stadia, but from the Earth 149,691,510. Kronos is distant from Zeus p. 75 40,691,510 stadia, but from the Earth 293,383,020.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The object of all these figures is apparently to prove that those of Archimedes are wrong and that the Platonic theory—said, one does not know with what truth, to have been inherited from Pythagoras, viz., that the intervals between the orbits of the different bodies of the cosmos are arranged like the notes on a musical scale—is to be preferred. This was perhaps to be expected from a Churchman as favouring the doctrine of creation by design. It is difficult at first sight to see how the figures in the text bear out Hippolytus' contention, inasmuch as the distances here given of the seven planets (including therein the Sun and Moon) from the Earth proceed in an irregular kind of arithmetical progression ranging from one to fifty-four, the distance from the Earth to the Moon which Hippolytus accepts from Archimedes as correct being taken as unity. Thus, let us call this unit of distance *x*, and we have the table which follows:—

TABLE I (of distances)

Distance of Earth (δ) from	☽ =	5,544,130 stadia or	<i>x</i>
" "	☉ =	16,632,390	3 <i>x</i>
" "	♀ =	33,264,780	6 <i>x</i>
" "	♁ =	55,441,300	10 <i>x</i>
" "	♂ =	105,338,470	19 <i>x</i>
" "	♃ =	149,691,510	27 <i>x</i>
" "	♄ =	299,383,020	54 <i>x</i>

But let us take the figures given in the text for the intervals between the Earth and the seven "planets" arranged in the same order, and again taking the Earth to Moon distance as unity, we have:—

TABLE II (of intervals)

Interval between δ and	☽ =	5,544,130 stadia or	<i>x</i>
" "	☉ =	11,088,260	2 <i>x</i>
" "	♀ =	16,632,390	3 <i>x</i>
" "	♁ =	22,176,520	4 <i>x</i> (2 <sup>2</sup> )
" "	♂ =	49,897,170	9 <i>x</i> (3 <sup>2</sup> )
" "	♃ =	44,353,040	8 <i>x</i> (2 <sup>3</sup> )
" "	♄ =	149,691,510	27 <i>x</i> (3 <sup>3</sup> )

12. Who will not wonder at so much activity of mind produced by so great labour? It seems that this Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> who busies himself with these matters is not without his use to me. This only grieves me that as one but lately born he was not servicable to the sons of the giants,<sup>2</sup> who, being ignorant of these measurements, thought they were near high heaven and began to make a useless tower. Had he been at hand to explain these measurements to them they would not have ventured on the foolishness. But if any one thinks he can disbelieve this let him take the measurements and be convinced; for one cannot have for the unbelieving a more manifold proof than this. O puffing-up of vainly-toiling soul and unbelieving belief, when Ptolemy is considered wise in everything by those trained in the like wisdom!<sup>3</sup>

This agrees almost entirely with the theory which M. Bigourdan in the work mentioned in the last note has worked out as the Platonic theory of the distances of the different planets from the Earth, "the supposed centre of their movements" (p. 228). Thus:—

Planets	)	☉	♀	♃	♄	♅	♁
Distances		1	2	3	4	8	27

which distances are, in his own words, "les termes enchevêtrés de deux progressions géométriques ayant respectivement pour raison 2 et 3, savoir 1, 2, 4, 8—1, 3, 9, 27; on voit que l'unité est, comme chez Pythagore, la distance de la Terre à la Lune." This conclusion is amply borne out by Hippolytus' figures, which, as given in Table II above, show a regular progression from 2 and 3 to 2<sup>2</sup> and 3<sup>2</sup>, then to 2<sup>3</sup> and 3<sup>3</sup>, which explains what our author means by increasing the Earth to the Moon distance, *κατὰ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ τριπλάσιον*. The only discrepancy between this and M. Bigourdan's table is that he has transposed the distances between ♃—♄ and ♄—♁ respectively; but as I do not know the details of the calculation on which he bases his figures, I am unable to say whether the mistake is his or Hippolytus'.

<sup>1</sup> Are we to conclude from this that these last calculations are those of Claudius Ptolemy, the author of the *Almagest*? He has certainly not been mentioned before, but his fame was so great that Hippolytus may have been certain that the allusion would be understood by his audience. Ptolemy lived, perhaps, into the last quarter of the second century.

<sup>2</sup> Genesis vi. 4. The subject seems to have had irresistible fascination for Christian converts of Asiatic blood, whether orthodox or heretic. Manes also wrote a book upon the Giants, cf. Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus seems to have been entirely ignorant that the calculations he derides were anything but mere guess-work. They were not only singularly accurate considering the imperfection of the observations



13. Certain men in part intent on these things as judging them mighty and worthy of argument have constructed p. 76. measureless<sup>1</sup> and boundless heresies. Among whom is one Colarbasus,<sup>2</sup> who undertakes to set forth religion by measures and numbers. And there are others whom we shall likewise point out when we begin to speak of those who give heed to Pythagorean reckoning as if it were powerful and neglect the true philosophy for numbers and elements, thus making vain divinations. Collecting whose words, certain men have led astray the uneducated, pretending to know the future and when they chance to divine one thing aright are not ashamed of their many failures, but make a boast of their one success. Nor shall I pass over their unwise wisdom, but when I have set forth their attempts to establish a religion from these sources, I shall refute them as being disciples of a school inconsistent and full of trickery.

## 2. Of Mathematicians.<sup>3</sup>

Those then who fancy that they can divine by means of p. 77. ciphers<sup>4</sup> and numbers, elements<sup>5</sup> and names, make the foundation of their attempted system to be this. They pretend that every number has a root:—in the thousands as many units as there are thousands. For example, the

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at the disposal of their author, but have also been of the greatest use to science as laying the foundation of all future astronomy.

<sup>1</sup> ἀμέτρους. Another pun on their *measurements*.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing definite is known of this Colarbasus or his supposed astrological heresy. The accounts given of him by Irenæus and Epiphanius describe him as holding tenets identical with those of Marcus. Hort, following Baur, believes that he never existed, and that his name is simply a Greek corruption of *Qol arba*, "the Voice of the Four." See *D.C.B.*, s.h.v.

<sup>3</sup> περὶ μαθηματικῶν. The article is omitted; but he must mean the students and not the study. This is curious, because Mathematicus in the Rome of Hippolytus must have meant astrologer and nothing else, and what follows has nothing to do with astrology. Rather is it what was called in the Renaissance Arithmomancy. Cruice refers us to Athanasius Kircher's *Arithmologia* on the subject. Cornelius Agrippa, *De vanitate et incertitudine Scientiarum*, writes of it as "The Pythagorean lot," and it is described in Gaspar Peucer's *De præcipuis Divinationum generibus*, 1604.

<sup>4</sup> ψῆφοι, lit., pebbles, i.e. counters.

<sup>5</sup> στοιχεῖα: letters as the component parts or elements of words.

root of 6000 is 6 units, of 7000, 7 units, of 8000, 8 units, and with the rest in the same way. In the hundreds as many hundreds as there are, so the same number of units is the root of them. For example, in 700 there are 7 hundreds : 7 units is their root. In 600 there are 6 hundreds : 6 units is their root. In the same way in the decads : of 80 the root is 8 units, of 40, 4 units, of 10, 1 unit. In the units, the units themselves are the root ; for instance, the unit of the 9 is 9, of the 8, 8, of the 7, 7. Thus then must we do with the component parts [of names]. For each element is arranged according to some number. For example, the Nu consists of 50 units ; but of 50 units the root is 5, and of the letter

- p. 78. Nu the root is 5. Let it be granted that from the name we may take certain<sup>1</sup> of its roots. For example, from the name Agamemnon there comes from the Alpha one unit, from the Gamma 3 units, from the other Alpha 1 unit, from the Mu 4 units, from the Epsilon 5 units, from the Mu 4 units, from the Nu 5 units, from the Omega 8 units, from the Nu 5 units, which together in one row will be 1,3,1,4,5,4,5,8,5. These added together make 36 units. Again they take the roots of these and they become 3 for the 30, but 6 itself for the 6. Then the 3 and the 6 added together make 9, but the root of 9 is 9. Therefore the name Agamemnon ends in the root 9.

Let the same be done with another name, viz., Hector. The name Hector contains five elements, Epsilon, Kappa, Tau, Omega and Rho.<sup>2</sup> The roots of these are 5, 2, 3, 8, 1 ; these added together make 19 units. Again, the root of the 10 is 1, of the 9, 9, which added together make 10. The root of the 10 is one unit. Therefore the name of Hector when counted up<sup>3</sup> has made as its root one unit.

- p. 79. But it is easier to work this way. Divide by 9 the roots ascertained from the elements, as we have just found 19 units from the name Hector, and read the remaining root. For example, if I divide the 19 by 9, there remains a unit, for twice 9 is 18, and the remainder is a unit. For if I subtract 18 from the 19, the remainder is a unit. Again, of

<sup>1</sup> Reading with the text τινάς for Cruice's τινά.

<sup>2</sup> In the text the Kappa and Tau are written at full length, the other numbers in the usual Greek notation, a proof that the scribe was here writing from dictation and not copying MS.

<sup>3</sup> φησὶ τινά.

the name Patroclus<sup>1</sup> these numbers 8, 1, 3, 1, 7, 2, 3, 7, 2 are the roots; added together they make 34 units. The remainder of these units is 7, viz., 3 from the 30 and 4 from the 4. Therefore 7 units are the root of the name Patroclus. Those then who reckon by the rule of 9 take the 9th part of the number collected from the roots and describe the remainder as the sum of the roots; but those who reckon by the rule of 7 take the 7th part. For example, in the name Patroclus the aggregate of the roots is 34 units. This divided into sevens makes 4 sevens, which are 28; the remainder is 6 units. He says that by the rule of 7, 6 is p. 80. the root of the name Patroclus.<sup>2</sup> If, however, it be 43, the 7th part, he says, is 42, for 7 times 6 is 42, and the remainder is 1. Therefore the root from the 43 by the rule of 7 becomes a unit. But we must take notice of what happens if the given number when divided has no remainder,<sup>3</sup> as for example, if from one name, after adding together the roots, I find, e. g., 36 units. But 36 divided by 9 is exactly 4 enneads (for 9 times 4 is 36 and nothing over). Thus, he says the 9 itself is plainly the root. If again we divide the number 45 we find 9 and no remainder (for 9 times 5 is 45 and nothing over), in such cases we say the root is 9. And in the same way with the rule of 7: if, e. g., we divide 28 by 7 we shall have nothing over (for 7 times 4 is 28 and nothing left), [and] they say the root is 7. Yet when he reckons up the names and finds the same letter twice, he counts it only once. For example, the name Patroclus has the Alpha twice and the Omicron twice,<sup>4</sup> p. 81. therefore he counts the Alpha only once and the Omicron only once. According to this, then, the roots will be 8, 3, 1, 7, 2, 3, 2, and added together make 27,<sup>5</sup> and the root of the name by the rule of 9 will be the 9 itself and by that of 7, 6.

In the same way Sarpedon, when counted, makes by the

<sup>1</sup> The name is spelt Πάτροκλος.

<sup>2</sup> So that the "root" may be either 7 or 6 according as you use the "rule of 9" or of 7. A *reductio ad absurdum*.

<sup>3</sup> εἰν ἀπαρίσθ, "is even or complete."

<sup>4</sup> I omit the Rho, which in the Codex precedes the Alpha. Cruice suggests it is put for Π.

<sup>5</sup> They do not, but make 26. Cruice adds an Alpha between the 8 and the 3; but in any case the rule just enunciated is broken by the reckoning in of two 2's.

rule of 9, 2 units; but Patroclus makes 9: Patroclus conquers. For when one number is odd and the other even, the odd conquers if it be the greater. But again if there were an 8, which is even, and a 5, which is odd, the 8 conquers, for it is greater. But if there are two numbers, for example, both even or both odd, the lesser conquers. But how does Sarpedon by the rule of 9 make 2 units? The element Omega is omitted; for when there are in a name the elements Omega and Eta, they omit the Omega and use one element. For they say that they both have the same power, but are not to be counted twice, as has been said above. Again, Ajax (*Αἴας*)<sup>1</sup> makes 4 units, and Hector by the rule of 9 only one. But the 4 is even while the unit is odd. And since we have said that in such cases the greater conquers, Ajax is the victor. Take again Alexandros<sup>2</sup> and Menelaus. Alexandros has an individual<sup>3</sup> name [Paris]. The name Paris makes by the rule of 9, 4; Menelaus by the same rule 9, and the 9 conquers the 4. For it has been said that when one is odd and the other even, the greater conquers, but when both are even or both odd, the lesser. Take again Amycus and Polydeuces. Amycus makes by the rule of 9, 2 units, and Polydeuces 7: Polydeuces conquers. Ajax and Odysseus contended together in the funereal games. Ajax makes by the rule of 9, 4 units, and Odysseus by the same rule 8.<sup>4</sup> Is there not (here) then some epithet of Odysseus and not his individual name, for he conquered? According to the numbers Ajax conquers, but tradition says Odysseus. Or take again Achilles and Hector. Achilles by the rule of 9 makes 4; Hector 1; Achilles conquers. Take again Achilles and Asteropæus. Achilles makes 4, Asteropæus 3;<sup>5</sup> Achilles

**p. 82**

**p. 83**

<sup>1</sup> *Αἴας*.  $A = 1, i = 10 = 1, a = 1$  (omitted),  $s = 200 = 2$ .  $1 + 1 + 2 = 4$ .

<sup>2</sup> The Homeric name for Paris.

<sup>3</sup> *κύριον ὄνομα* as opposed to *μεταφορὸν ὄνομα*, a name transferred from one to another, or family name.

<sup>4</sup> Not 8 but 4.  $o = 70 = 7, 8 = 4, v = 400 = 4, \sigma = 200 = 2, \epsilon = 5$  (with duplicate omitted) = 22, which divided by 9 leaves 4, or by 7, only 1. The next sentence and a similar remark at the last sentence but one of the chapter are probably by a commentator or scribe and have slipped into the text by accident. Oddly enough, nothing is said as to what happens if the "roots" are equal, as they seem to be in this case.

<sup>5</sup> Another mistake.  $A = 1, \sigma = 200 = 2, \tau = 300 = 3, \epsilon = 5, \rho = 100 = 1, o = 70 = 7, \pi = 80 = 8, i = 10 = 1$  (with duplicates omitted) = 28, which divided by 9 leaves 1, or by 7, 0 = 7.

conquers. Take again Euphorbus and Menelaus. Menelaus has 9 units, Euphorbus 8 ; Menelaus conquers.

But some say that by the rule of 7, they use only the vowels, and others that they put the vowels, semi-vowels and consonants by themselves, and interpret each column separately. But yet others do not use the usual numbers, but different ones. Thus, for example, they will not have Pi to have as a root 8 units, but 5 and the element Xi as a root 4 units ; and turning about every way, they discover nothing sane. When, however, certain competitors contend a second time,<sup>1</sup> they take away the first element, and when a third, the two first elements of each, and counting up the rest, they interpret them.

2. I should think that the design of the arithmeticians p. 84 has been plainly set forth, who deem that by numbers and names they can judge life. And I notice that, as they have time to spare and have been trained in counting, they have wished by means of the art handed down to them by children to proclaim themselves well-approved diviners, and, measuring the letters topsy-turvy, have strayed into nonsense. For when they fail to hit the mark, they say in propounding the difficulty that the name in question is not a family name but an epithet ; as also they plead as a subterfuge in the case of Ajax and Odysseus. Who that founds his tenets on this wonderful philosophy and wishes to be called heresiarch, will not be glorified ?

### 3. Of Divination by Metoposcopy.<sup>2</sup>

1. But since there is another and more profound art among the all-wise investigators of the Greeks, whose disciples the heretics profess themselves because of the use they make of their opinions for their own designs, as we shall show before long, we shall not keep silence about this.

<sup>1</sup> ὅταν μὲντοι δευτέρου τις ἀγωνίζωνται. *Quum vero quidam iterum decertant de numeris*, Cr. But the allusion is almost certainly to two charioteers or combatants meeting in successive contests. Half the divination and magic of the early centuries refers to the affairs of the circus, and the text has nothing about *de numeris*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., inspection of the forehead (or face), or what Lavater called physiognomy. The word was known to Ben Jonson, who uses it in his *Alchymist*. "By a rule, Captain: In metoposcopy, which I do work by. A certain star in the forehead which you see not," etc.

- This is the divination or rather madness by metoposcopy.
- p. 85.** There are those who refer to the stars the forms of the types and patterns<sup>1</sup> and natures of men, summing them up by their births under certain stars. This is what they say: Those born under Aries will be like this, to wit, long-headed, red-haired, with eyebrows joined together, narrow forehead, sea-green eyes, hanging cheeks, long nose, expanded nostrils, thin lips, pointed chin, and wide mouth. They will partake, he says, of such a disposition as this: forethinking, versatile, cowardly, provident, easy-going, gentle, inquisitive, concealing their desires, equipped for everything, ruling more by judgment than by strength, laughing at the present, skilled writers, faithful, lovers of strife, provoking to controversy, given to desire, lovers of boys, understanding, turning from their own homes, displeased with everything, litigious, madmen in their cups, contemptuous, casting away somewhat every year, useful in friendship by their goodness. Most often they die in a foreign land.<sup>2</sup>
- p. 86.** 2. Those born under Taurus will be of this type: round-headed, coarse-haired, with broad forehead, oblong eyes and great eyebrows if dark; if fair, thin veins, sanguine complexion, large and heavy eyelids, great ears, round mouth, thick nose, widely-open nostrils, thick lips. They are strong in their upper limbs, but are sluggish from the hips downwards from their birth. The same are of a disposition pleasing, understanding, naturally clever, religious, just, rustical, agreeable, laborious<sup>3</sup> after twelve years old, easily irritated, leisurely. Their appetite is small, they are quickly satisfied, wishing for many things, provident, thrifty towards themselves, liberal towards others; as a class they are sorrowful, useless in friendship, useful because of their minds, enduring ill.
- p. 87.** 3. The type of these under Gemini: red-faced, not too

<sup>1</sup> *idēa*.

<sup>2</sup> I have not thought it worth while to set down the various readings suggested by the different editors and translators for these "forms and qualities." The whole of this chapter is taken from Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, and was corrupted by every copyist. The common type suggested with eyebrows meeting over the nose is plainly Alexandrian, as we know from the portraits on mummy-cases in Ptolemaic times.

<sup>3</sup> *κοπιμαί*. The dictionaries give "grave-digger," which makes no sense.

tall in stature, even-limbed, eyes black and beady,<sup>1</sup> checks drawn downwards, coarse mouth, eyebrows joined together. They rule all that they have, are rich at the last, niggardly, thrifty of their own, profuse in the affairs of Venus, reasonable, musical, cheats. The same are said (by other writers) to be of this disposition: learned, understanding, inquisitive, self-assertive, given to desire, thrifty with their own, liberal, gentle, prudent, crafty, wishing for many things, calculators, litigious, untimely, not lucky. They are beloved by women, are traders, but not very useful in friendship.

4. The type of those under Cancer: not great in stature, p. 88. blue-black hair, reddish complexion, small mouth, round head, narrow forehead, greenish eyes, sufficiently beautiful, limbs slightly irregular. Their disposition: evil, crafty, skilled in plots, insatiable, thrifty, ungraced, servile, unhelpful, forgetful. They neither give back what is another's nor demand back their own; useful in friendship.

5. The type of those under Leo: round head, reddish hair, large wrinkled forehead, thick ears, stiff-necked, partly bald, fiery complexion, green-gray eyes, large jaws, coarse mouth, heavy upper limbs, great breast, lower parts small. Their disposition is: self-assertive, immoderate, self-pleasers, wrathful, courageous, scornful, arrogant, never deliberating, no talkers, indolent, addicted to custom, given up to the things of Venus, fornicators, shameless, wanting in faith, importunate for favour, audacious, niggardly, rapacious, celebrated, helpful to the community, useless in friendship.

6. The type of those under Virgo: with fair countenance, p. 89. eyes not great but charming, with dark eyebrows close together, vivacious and swimming.<sup>2</sup> But they are slight in body, fair to see, with hair beautifully thick, large forehead, prominent nose. Their disposition is: quick at learning, moderate, thoughtful, playful, erudite, slow of speech, planning many things, importunate for favour, observing all things and naturally good disciples. They master what they learn, are moderate, contemptuous, lovers of boys, addicted to custom, of great soul, scornful, careless of affairs, giving heed to teaching, better in others' affairs than in their own; useful for friendship.

<sup>1</sup> ὀφθαλμοῖς μέλασιν ὡς ἠλειμμένοις, "eyes black as if oiled." Not a bad description of the eyes of a certain type of Levantine.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *κολυμβῶσιν*, which must refer to the eyes.

7. The type of those under Libra : with thin bristling hair, reddish and not very long, narrow wrinkled forehead, beautiful eyebrows close together, fair eyes with black pupils, broad but small ears, bent head, wide mouth. Their disposition is : understanding, honouring the gods, talkative to one another, traders, laborious, not keeping  
 p. 90. what they get, cheats, not loving to take pains in business,<sup>1</sup> truthful, free of tongue, doers of good, unlearned, cheats, addicted to custom, careless, unsafe to treat unjustly.<sup>2</sup> They are scornful, derisive, sharp, illustrious, cavedroppers, and nothing succeeds with them. Useful for friendship.

8. The type of those under Scorpio : with maidenly countenance, well shaped and pale,<sup>3</sup> dark hair, well-formed eyes, forehead not wide and pointed nose, ears small and close (to the head), wrinkled forehead, scanty eyebrows, drawn-in cheeks. Their disposition is : crafty, sedulous, cheats, imparting their own plans to none, double-souled, ill-doers, contemptuous, given to fornication, gentle, quick at learning. Useless for friendship.

9. The type of those under Sagittarius : great in stature, square forehead, medium eyebrows joined together, hair  
 P. 91. abundant, bristling and reddish. Their disposition is : gracious as those who have been well brought up, simple, doers of good, lovers of boys, addicted to custom, laborious, loving and beloved, cheerful in their cups, clean, passionate, careless, wicked, useless for friendship, scornful, great-souled, insolent, somewhat servile,<sup>4</sup> useful to the community.

10. The type of those under Capricorn : with reddish body, bristling, greyish hair,<sup>5</sup> round mouth, eyes like an eagle, eyebrows close together, smooth forehead, inclined to baldness, the lower parts of the body the stronger. Their disposition is : lovers of wisdom, scornful and laughing at the present, passionate, forgiving, beautiful, doers of good, lovers of musical practice, angry in their cups, jocose, addicted to custom, talkers, lovers of boys, cheerful, friendly, beloved, provokers of strife, useful to the community.

<sup>1</sup> Yet he twice calls them *ψεύσται*, or "cheats."

<sup>2</sup> Miller thinks this last characteristic interpolated.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *λευκῶ* for *ἀλυκῶ*, "salt," which seems impossible.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *ἀπαδούλαιοι* for *ἀπάδουλοι*.

<sup>5</sup> Is any one born with grey hair?



11. The type of those under Aquarius : square in stature, small mouth, narrow small, fierce eyes. (Their disposition) is : commanding, ungracious, sharp, seeking the easy path, useful for friendship and to the community. Yet they live on chance affairs and lose their means of gain. Their disposition is :<sup>1</sup> reserved, modest, addicted to custom, fornicators, niggards, painstaking in business, turbulent, clean, well-disposed, beautiful, with great eyebrows. Often they are in small circumstances and work at (several) different trades. If they do good to any, no one gives them thanks. p. 92.

12. The type of those under Pisces : medium stature, with narrow foreheads like fishes, thick hair. They often become grey quickly. Their disposition is : great-souled, simple, passionate, thrifty, talkative. They will be sleepy at an early age, they want to do business by themselves, illustrious, venturesome, envious, litigious, changing their place of abode, beloved, fond of dancing.<sup>2</sup> Useful for friendship.

13. Since we have set forth their wonderful wisdom, and have not concealed their much-laboured art of divination by intelligence,<sup>3</sup> neither shall we be silent on the folly into which their mistakes in these matters lead them. For how feeble are they in finding a parallel between the names of the stars and the forms and dispositions of men? For we know that those who at the outset chanced upon the stars, naming them according to their own fancy, called them by names for the purpose of easily and clearly recognizing them. For what likeness is there in these names to the appearance of the Zodiacal signs, or what similar nature of working and activity, so that any one born under Leo should be thought courageous,<sup>4</sup> or he who is born p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> *οἱ αὐτοὶ φύσους*. A similar phrase has just occurred under the same sign : a proof of the utter corruption of the text.

<sup>2</sup> *ὀρχησται* in codex. Probably a mistake for *εἰς κοινότητα εὐχρηστοί*, "useful to the community."

<sup>3</sup> *δι' ἐπιβολάς* ; probably a sarcasm.

<sup>4</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out the futility of this astrology, its base being the theory that the earth is the centre of the universe. Nearly all the characteristics given above have, however, less to do with the stars than with those supposed to distinguish the different animals named. This is really sympathetic magic, or what was later called "the signatures of things."

under Virgo moderate, or under Cancer bad, and those under<sup>1</sup>. . .

#### 4. *The Magicians.*<sup>2</sup>

(The gap here caused by the mutilation of the MS. was probably filled by a description of the mode of divination by enquiry of a spirit or dæmon which was generally made in writing, as Lucian describes in his account of the imposture of Alexander of Abonoteichos. The MS. proceeds.)

. . . And he (*i.e.*, the magician) taking some paper, orders the enquirer to write down what it is he wishes to enquire of the dæmons.<sup>3</sup> Then he having folded up the paper and given it to the boy,<sup>4</sup> sends it away to be burned so that the smoke carrying the letters may go hence to the dæmons. But while the boy is doing what he is commanded, he first tears off equal parts of the paper, and on some other parts  
 P. 94. of it, he pretends that the dæmons write in Hebrew letters. Then having offered up the Egyptian magicians' incense called Cyphi,<sup>5</sup> he scatters these pieces of paper over the offering. But what the enquirer may have chanced to write having been put on the coals is burned. Then, seeming to be inspired by a god, the magician rushes into the inner chamber<sup>6</sup> with a loud and discordant cry unintelligible to all. But he bids all present to enter and cry aloud, invoking Phrên<sup>7</sup> or some other dæmon. When the

<sup>1</sup> A lacuna in the text here extending to the opening words of the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Ganschinietz, in a study on *Hippolytus' Kapital gegen die Magier* appearing in Gebhardt's and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, dritte Reihe Bk. 9, Leipzig, 1913, says it is not doubtful that Hippolytus took this chapter from Celsus' book *κατὰ μάγων*, which he discovers in Origen's work against the last-named author. He assumes that Lucian of Samosata in his *Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ Ψευδομαντίας* borrowed from the same source.

<sup>3</sup> τῶν δαιμόνων, *a demonibus*, Cr. But the word δαίμων is hardly ever used in classic or N. T. Greek for a devil or evil spirit, generally called δαιμόνιον. Δαίμων here and elsewhere in this chapter plainly means a god of lesser rank or spirit. Cf. Plutarch *de Is. et Os.*, cc. 25-30.

<sup>4</sup> τῷ παιδί, the magician's assistant necessary in all operations requiring confederacy or hypnotism.

<sup>5</sup> For the composition of this see Plutarch, *op. cit.*, c. 81.

<sup>6</sup> ἴμυξός. Often used for the women's chamber or gynæceum.

<sup>7</sup> Clearly the Egyptian sun-god Ra or Rê, the Phi in front being the Coptic definite article. It is a curious instance of the undying nature of any superstition that in the magical ceremonies of the extant Parisian

spectators have entered and are standing by, he flings the boy on a couch and reads to him many things, sometimes in the Greek tongue, sometimes in the Hebrew, which are the incantations usual among magicians. And having made libation, he begins the sacrifice. And he having put copperas<sup>1</sup> in the libation bowl<sup>2</sup> and when the drug is dissolved sprinkling with it the paper which had forsooth been discharged of writing, he compels the hidden and concealed letters again to come to light, whereby he learns what the enquirer has written.

And if one writes with copperas and fumigates it with a powdered gall-nut, the hidden letters will become clear. Also if one writes (with milk) and the paper is burned and the ash sprinkled on the letters written with the milk, they will be manifest.<sup>3</sup> And urine and garum<sup>4</sup> also and juice of the spurge and of the fig will have the same effect.

But when he has thus learned the enquiry, he thinks beforehand in what fashion he need reply. Then he bids the spectators come inside bearing laurel-branches and shaking them<sup>5</sup> and crying aloud invocations to the daemon Phrën. For truly it is fitting that he should be invoked by them and worthy that they should demand from daemons what they do not wish to provide on their own account, seeing that they have lost their brains.<sup>6</sup> But the confusion of the noise and the riot prevents them following what the magician is thought to do in secret. What this is, it is time to say.

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sect of Vintrasists, Ammon-Ra, the Theban form of this god, is invoked apparently with some idea that he is a devil. See Jules Bois' *Le Satanisme et la Magie*, Paris, 1895.

<sup>1</sup> χαλκάνθου, sulphate of iron, which, mixed with tincture or decoction of nut-galls, makes writing ink. Our own word copperas is an exact translation.

<sup>2</sup> φιάλη. A broad flat pan used for sacrificial purposes.

<sup>3</sup> There is some muddle here, probably due to Hippolytus not having any practical acquaintance with the tricks described. The smoke of nut-galls would hardly make the writing visible. On the other hand, letters written in milk will turn brown if exposed to the fire without the application of any ash.

<sup>4</sup> A sauce made of brine and small fish.

<sup>5</sup> See the roughly-drawn vignettes usual in magic papyri, e.g. Parthey, *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri*, Berlin, 1866, p. 155; Karl Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyri von Paris und London*, Vienna, 1888, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> τὰς φρένας. One of Hippolytus' puns.

- Now it is very dark at this point. For he says that it is impossible for mortal nature to behold the things of the gods, for it is enough to talk with them. But having made the boy lie down on his face, with two of those little writing tablets on which are written in Hebrew letters
- p. 96. forsooth<sup>1</sup> such things as names of dæmons, on each side of him, he says (the god) will convey the rest into the boy's ears. But this is necessary to him, in order that he may apply to the boy's ears a certain implement whereby he can signify to him all that he wishes. And first he rings<sup>2</sup> (a gong) so that the boy may be frightened, and secondly he makes a humming noise, and then thirdly he speaks through the implement what he wishes the boy to say, and watches carefully the effect of the act. Therafter he makes the spectators keep silence, but bids the boy repeat what he has heard from the dæmons. But the implement which is applied to the ears is a natural one, to wit, the wind-pipe of the long-necked cranes or storks or swans. If none of these is at hand, the art has other means at its disposal.
- p. 97. For certain brass pipes, fitting one into the other and ending in a point are well suited to the purpose through which anything the magician wishes may be spoken into the ears. And these things the boy hearing utters when bidden in a fearful way, as if they were spoken by dæmons. And if one wraps a wet hide round a rod and having dried it and bringing the edges together fastens them closely, and then taking out the rod, makes the hide into the form of a pipe, it has the same effect. And if none of these things is at hand, he takes a book and, drawing out from the inside as much as he requires, pulls it out lengthways and acts in the same way.<sup>3</sup>

But if he knows beforehand that any one present will ask a question, he is better prepared for everything. And if he has learned the question beforehand he writes it out with the drug (aforesaid) and as being prepared is thought more adept for having skilfully written what was about to be

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew was used in these ceremonies, because they were largely in the hands of the Jews. See *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, II, pp. 33, 34, for references.

<sup>2</sup> ἤχη. Particularly appropriate to the striking of a metal disc.

<sup>3</sup> The book of course was a long roll of parchment, the inner coils of which could be drawn out as described.

asked. But if he does not know, he guesses at it, and exhibits some roundabout phrase of double and various meaning, so that the answer of the oracle being meaningless will do for many things at the beginning, but at the end of the events will be thought a prediction of what has happened. Then having filled a bowl with water, he puts at the bottom p. 98. of it the paper with apparently nothing written on it, but at the same time putting in the coppers. For thus there floats to the surface the paper bearing the answer which he has written. To the boy also there often come fearful fancies; for truly the magician strikes blows in abundance to terrify him. For, again casting incense into the fire, he acts in this fashion. Having covered a lump of the so-called quarried salts<sup>1</sup> with Tyrrhenian wax and cutting in halves the lump of incense, he puts between them a lump of the salt and again sticking them together throws them on the burning coals and so leaves them. But when the incense is burnt, the salts leaping up produce an illusion as if some strange and wonderful thing were happening. But indigo black<sup>2</sup> put in the incense produces a blood-red flame as we have before said.<sup>3</sup> And he makes a liquid like blood by mixing wax with rouge and as I have said, putting the wax in the incense. And he makes the coals to move by putting under them stypteria<sup>4</sup> cut in pieces, and when it melts and swells up like bubbles, the coals are moved.

2. And they exhibit eggs different (from natural ones) in p. 99. this way. Having bored a hole in the apex at each end and having extracted the white, and again plunged the egg in boiling water, put in either red earth from Sinope<sup>5</sup> or writing ink. But stop up the holes with pounded eggshell made into a paste with the juice of a fig.

3. This is the way they make sheep cut off their own

<sup>1</sup> ὀρυκτῶν ἀλῶν. Cruice translates fossil salts. Does he mean rock-salt?

<sup>2</sup> τὸ Ἰνδικὸν μέλαν. Either indigo dye or pepper. Cayenne pepper put in the flame might have a startling effect on the audience.

<sup>3</sup> Where?

<sup>4</sup> Said to be an astringent earth made from rock-alum, and containing both alum and vitriol. Known to Hippocrates.

<sup>5</sup> Red lead or vermilion? The idea seems to be to frighten the dupe by the supposed prodigy of a hen laying eggs which have red or black inside them instead of white.

heads. Secretly anointing the sheep's throat with a caustic drug, he fixes near the beast a sword and leaves it there. But the sheep, being anxious to scratch himself, leans (heavily) on the knife, rubs himself along it, kills himself and must needs almost cut off his head. And the drug is bryony and marsh salt and squills in equal parts mixed together. So that he may not be seen to have the drug with him, he carries a horn box made double, the visible part of which holds frankincense and the invisible the drug. And he also puts quicksilver into the ears of the animal that is to die. But this is a death-dealing drug.

4. But if one stops up the ears of goats with salve, they say they will shortly die because prevented from breathing.

p. 100. For they say that this is with them the way in which the intaken air is breathed forth. And they say that a ram dies if one should bend him backwards against the sun.<sup>1</sup> But they make a house catch fire by anointing it with the ichor of a certain animal called dactylus;<sup>2</sup> and this is very useful because of sea-water. And there is a sea-foam heated in an earthen jar with sweet substances, which if you apply to it a lighted lamp catches fire and is inflamed, but does not burn at all if poured on the head. But if you sprinkle it with melted gum, it catches fire much better; and it does better still if you also add sulphur to it.

5. Thunder is produced in very many ways. For very many large stones rolled from a height over wooden planks and falling upon sheets of brass make a noise very like thunder. And they coil a slender cord round the thin board on which the wool-carders press cloth, and then spin the board by whisking away the string when the whirring of it makes the sound of thunder. These tricks they play thus; but there are others which I shall set forth which those who play them also consider great. Putting a cauldron full of pitch upon burning coals, when it boils they plunge their hands in it and are not burned; and further they tread with naked feet upon coals of fire and are not burned. And also putting a pyramid of stone upon the altar, they make

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, c. 75, says the sheep is compelled when it feeds to turn away from the sun by reason of the weakness of its head. This is probably the story which Hippolytus or the author has exaggerated. Something is omitted from the text.

<sup>2</sup> Seal or porpoise oil?

it burn and from its mouth it pours forth much smoke and fire. Then laying a linen cloth upon a pan of water and casting upon it many burning coals, the linen remains unburnt. And having made darkness in the house, the magician claims to make gods or dæmons enter in, and if one somehow asks that Esculapius shall be displayed he makes invocation, saying thus:—

“ Apollo's son, once dead and again undying !  
 I call on thee to come as a helper to my libations.  
 Who erst the myriad tribes of fleeting dead  
 In the ever-mournful caves of wide Tartarus  
 Swimming the stream hard to cross and the rising tide,  
 Fatal to all mortal men alike,  
 Or wailing by the shore and bemoaning inexorable things  
 These thyself did rescue from gloomy Persephoneia.  
 Whether thou dost haunt the seat of holy Thrace  
 Or lovely Pergamum or beyond these Ionian Epidaurus  
 Hither, O blessed one, the prince of magicians calls thee to be present  
 here.”<sup>1</sup>

p. 102

6. But when he has made an end of this mockery a fiery Esculapius appears on the floor. Then having put in the midst a bowl of water,<sup>2</sup> he invokes all the gods and they are at hand. For if the spectator lean over and gaze into the bowl, he will see all the gods and Artemis leading on her baying hounds. But we shall not hesitate to tell the story of these things and how they undertake them. For the magician plunges his hands in the cauldron of pitch which appears to be boiling ; but he throws into it vinegar and soda<sup>3</sup> and moist pitch and heats the cauldron gently. And the vinegar having mingled with the soda, on getting a little hot, moves the pitch so as to bring bubbles to the surface and gives the appearance of boiling only. But the magician has washed his hands many times in sea-water, thanks to which it does not burn him much if it be really boiling. And if he has after washing them anointed his

p. 103

<sup>1</sup> Hymns like these are to be found in the two collections of magic papyri quoted in n. on p. 93 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> He tells us how this trick is performed on p. 100 *infra*. Lecanomancy or divination by the bowl was generally performed by means of a hypnotized boy, as described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. This, however, is a more elaborate process dependent on fraud.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *νάρρον* for *νίτρον*. It was common in Egypt, and saltpetre would not have the same effect, which seems to depend on the expulsion of carbonic acid.

hands with myrtle-juice and soda and myrrh<sup>1</sup> mixed with vinegar he is not burned (at all). But the feet are not burned if he anoints them with ichtyokolla and salamander.<sup>2</sup> And this is the true cause of the pyramid flaming like a torch, although it is of stone. A paste of Cretan earth<sup>3</sup> is moulded into the shape of a pyramid,—but the colour is like a milk-white stone,—in this fashion. He has soaked the piece of earth in much oil, has put it on the coals, and when heated, has again soaked it and heated it a second and third time and many a time afterwards, whereby he so prepares it that it will burn even if plunged in water; for it holds much oil within itself. But the altar catches fire when the magician is making libation, because it contains freshly-burned lime instead of ashes and finely-powdered frankincense and much . . . and of . . . of anointed torches and self-flowing and hollow nutshells having fire within them.<sup>4</sup> But he also sends forth smoke from his mouth after a brief delay by putting fire into a nutshell and wrapping it in tow and blowing it in his mouth.<sup>5</sup> The linen cloth laid on the bowl of water whereon he puts the coals is not burned, because of the sea-water underneath, and its being itself steeped in seawater and then anointed with white of egg and a solution of alum. And if also one mixes with this the juice of evergreens and vinegar and a long time beforehand anoint it copiously with these, after being dipped in the drug it remains altogether incombustible.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *μυρρίνη*. Cruice suggests *μάλθη*, a mixture of wax and pitch, which hardly seems indicated. Storax is the ointment recommended by eighteenth-century conjurers. Water is all that is needful.

<sup>2</sup> *ιχθυοκόλλα*. Presumably fish-glue. Macmahon suggests isinglass. The salamander, the use of which is to be sought in sympathetic magic, was no doubt calcined and used in powder. *σκολοπενδριον*, "millipede" and *σκολόπενδριον*, "hart's tongue fern" are the alternative readings suggested. Fern-oil is said to be good for burns.

<sup>3</sup> Probably chalk or gypsum.

<sup>4</sup> *ἀμορρύτων κηκίδων τε κενών*. *Κηκίς* here evidently means any sort of nut-shell. But how can it be "self-flowing"? Miller's suggested *φορρύνει* makes no better sense.

<sup>5</sup> The lion-headed figure of the Mithraic worship is shown thus setting light to an altar in Cumont's *Textes et Monuments de Mithra*, II, p. 196, fig. 22. A similar figure with an opening at the back of the head to admit the "wind-pipe" described in the text shows how this was effected. See the same author's *Les Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1913, p. 235, figs. 26, 27.

<sup>6</sup> The solution of alum would be effective without any other ingredients.



7. Since then we have briefly set forth what can be done with the teachings which they suppose to be secret, we have displayed their easy system according to Gnosis.<sup>1</sup> Nor do we wish to keep silence as to this necessary point, that is, how they unseal letters and again restore them with the same seals (apparently intact). Melting pitch, resin, sulphur and also bitumen in equal parts, and moulding it into the form of a seal impression, they keep it by them. But when the opportunity for unsealing a letter<sup>2</sup> arrives, they moisten the tongue with oil, lick the seal, and warming the drug before a slow fire press the seal upon it and leave it there until it is altogether set, when they use it after the manner of a signet. | But they say also that wax with pine resin has the same effect and so also 2 parts of mastic with 1 of bitumen. And sulphur alone does fairly well and powdered gypsum diluted with water and gum.<sup>3</sup> This certainly does most beautifully for sealing molten lead. And the effect of Tyrrhenian wax and shavings of resin and pitch, bitumen, mastic and powdered marble in equal parts all melted together, is better than that of the other (compounds) of which I have spoken, but that of the gypsum is no worse. Thus then they undertake to break the seals when seeking to learn what is written within them. These contrivances I shrank from setting out in the book,<sup>4</sup> seeing that some ill-doer taking hints from them<sup>5</sup> might attempt (to practise) them. But now the care of many young men capable of salvation has persuaded me to teach and declare them for the sake of protection (against them). For as one person will use them for the teaching of evil, so another by learning them will be protected (against them) and the very magicians, corruptors of life as they are, will be ashamed to practise the art. But learning that the same (tricks) have been taught beforehand, they will perhaps be hindered in their perverse foolishness. | In order, however, that the seal may not be broken in this way, let any one seal with swine's fat and mix hairs with the wax.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, not by guesswork. Another pun.

<sup>2</sup> The letter was of course in the form of a writing-tablet bound about with silk or cord, to which the seal was attached.

<sup>3</sup> This would make something like plaster of Paris.

<sup>4</sup> This book or the former one. Lucian describes the same process in his *Alexander*, which he dedicates to Celsus; v. n. on p. 92 *supra*.  
<sup>5</sup> ἀφορμὰς λαβών, "taking them as starting-points."

<sup>6</sup> Cruice suggests that this sentence has either got out of place

p. 107. 8. Nor shall I be silent about their lecanomancy<sup>1</sup> which is an imposture. For having prepared some closed chamber and having painted its ceiling with cyanus, they put into it for the purpose certain utensils of cyanus<sup>2</sup> and fix them upright. But in the midst a bowl filled with water is set on the earth, which with the reflection of the cyanus falling upon it shows like the sky. But there is a certain hidden opening in the floor over which is set the bowl, the bottom of which is glass, but is itself made of stone. But there is underneath a secret chamber in which those in the farce<sup>3</sup> assembling present the dressed-up forms of the gods and dæmons which the magician wishes to display. Beholding whom from above the deceived person is confounded by the magicians' trickery and for the rest believes everything which (the officiator) tells him. And (this last) makes (the figure of) the dæmon burn by drawing on the wall the figure he wishes, and then secretly anointing it with a drug compounded in this way . . . <sup>4</sup> with Laconian and Zacynthian bitumen. Then as if inspired by P'hoëbus, he brings the lamp near the wall, and the drug having caught light is on fire.

p. 108. But he manages that a fiery Hecate should appear to be flying through the air thus: Having hidden an accomplice in what place he wills, and taking the dupes on one side, he prevails on them by saying that he will show them the fiery dæmon riding through the air. To whom he announces that when they see the flame in the air, they must quickly save their eyes by falling down and hiding their faces until he shall call them. And having thus instructed them, on a moonless night, he declaims these verses:—

Infernal and earthly and heavenly Bombo,<sup>5</sup> come.  
Goddess of waysides, of cross-roads, lightbearer, nightwalker,

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or is an addition by an annotator. Probably an after-thought of Hippolytus'.

<sup>1</sup> See n. on p. 97 *subra*.

<sup>2</sup> *κύανος*. A dark-blue substance which some think steel, others lapis-lazuli.

<sup>3</sup> *συμπαικταί*, "playfellows." Here, as elsewhere in the text, accomplices or confederates.

<sup>4</sup> Several words missing here, perhaps by intention. It would be interesting to know if the "drug" was any preparation of phosphorus.

<sup>5</sup> Should be *Bauho*, a synonym of Hecate in the hymn to that goddess published by Miller, *Mélanges de Litt. Grecque*, Paris, 1868, pp. 442 ff.

Hater of the light, lover and companion of the night,  
 Who rejoicest in the baying of hounds and in purple blood ;  
 Who dost stalk among corpses and the tombs of the dead  
 Thirsty for blood, who bringest fear to mortals  
 Gorgo and Mormo and Mene and many-formed one.  
 Come thou propitious to our libations !<sup>1</sup>

9. While he speaks thus, fire is seen borne through the air, and the spectators terrified by the strangeness of the sight, cover their eyes and cast themselves in silence on the earth. But the greatness of the art contains this device. The accomplice, hidden as I have said, when he hears the p. 109. incantation drawing to a close, holding a hawk or kite wrapped about with tow, sets fire to it and lets it go. And the bird scared by the flame is carried into the height and makes very speedy flight. Seeing which, the fools hide themselves as if they had beheld something divine. But the winged one whirled about by the fire, is borne whither it may chance and burns down now houses and now farm-buildings. Such is the prescience of the magicians.

10. But they show the moon and stars appearing on the ceiling in this way. Having previously arranged in the centre part of the ceiling a mirror, and having placed a bowl filled with water in a corresponding position in the middle of the earthen floor, but a lamp showing dimly<sup>2</sup> has been placed between them and above the bowl, he thus produces the appearance of the moon from the reflection by means of the mirror. But often the magician hangs aloft<sup>3</sup> near the ceiling a drum on end, the same being kept covered by the accomplice by some cloth so that it may not show before its time ; and a lamp having been put behind it, when he makes the agreed signal to the accomplice, the last-named takes away so much of the covering as will give a counterfeit of the moon in her form p. 110. at that time.<sup>4</sup> But he anoints the transparent parts of the drum with cinnabar and gum . . .<sup>5</sup> And having cut

<sup>1</sup> Most of the epithets and names here used are to be found in the hymn quoted in the last note. The goddess is there identified not only with Artemis and Persephone, but with the Sumerian Eris-ki-gal, lady of hell.

<sup>2</sup> A sort of magic lantern? *κάτωπρον*, which I have translated mirror, *might* be a lens. One is said to have been found in Assyria.

<sup>3</sup> *πρόρραθεν*. Better, perhaps, *πρόρροθεν*.

<sup>4</sup> Full moon, or half, or quarter, as the case may be.

<sup>5</sup> Schneidewin seems to be right in suggesting a lacuna here.

off the neck and bottom of a glass flask, he puts a lamp within and places around it somewhat of the things necessary for the figures shining through, which one of the accomplices has concealed on high. After receiving the signal, this last lets fall the contrivances from the receptacle hung aloft, so that the moon appears to have been sent down from heaven. And the like effect is produced by means of jars in glass-like forms.<sup>1</sup> And it is by means of the jar that the trick is played within doors. For an altar having been set up, the jar containing a lighted lamp stands behind it; but there being many more lamps (about), this nowise appears. When therefore the enchanter invokes the moon, he orders all the lamps to be put out, but one is left dim and then the light from the jar is reflected on to the ceiling and gives the illusion of the moon to the spectators, the mouth of the jar being kept covered for the time which seems to be required that the image of the crescent moon may be shown on the ceiling.

p. 111.

11. But the scales of fishes or of the "hippurus"<sup>2</sup> make stars seem to be when they are moistened with water and gum and stuck upon the ceiling here and there.

12. And they create the illusion of an earthquake, so that everything appears to be moving, ichneumon's dung being burned upon coal with magnetic iron ore<sup>3</sup>. . .

13. But they display a liver appearing to bear an inscription. On his left hand (the magician) writes what he wishes, adapting it to the enquiry, and the letters are written with nut-galls and strong vinegar. Then taking up the liver, which rests in his left hand, he makes some delay, and it receives the impression and is thought to have been inscribed.

p. 112. 14. And having placed a skull on the earth, they make it speak in this fashion. It is made out of the omentum of an ox,<sup>4</sup> moulded with Tyrrhenian wax and gypsum and when it is made and covered with the membrane, it shows

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑαλῶσιν τύποις. Schneidewin suggests τύποις unreasonably. Many alabaster jars are nearly transparent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *De Hist. Animal*, V, 10, 2. Said to be *Coryphæna hippurus*.

<sup>3</sup> The hiatus leaves us in doubt how this operated. Perhaps it liberated free ammonia.

<sup>4</sup> Reading ἐπίπλωον βοείου instead of, with Cruice, ἐπίπλωον βόλου, "filled with clay."

the semblance of a skull. The which seems to speak by the use of the implement and in the way we have before explained in the case of the boys. Having prepared the windpipe of a crane or some such long-necked bird and putting it secretly into the skull, the accomplice speaks what (the magician) wishes. And when he wants it to vanish, he appears to offer incense and putting round it a quantity of coals the wax receiving the heat of which melts, and thus the skull is thought to have become invisible.<sup>1</sup>

15. These and ten thousand such are the works of the magicians, which, by the suitableness of the verses and of the belief-inspiring acts performed, beguile the fancy of the thoughtless. The heresiarchs struck with the arts of these (magicians) imitate them, handing down some of their doctrines in secrecy and darkness, but paraphrasing others as if they were their own. Thanks to this, as we wish to remind the public, we have been the more anxious to leave behind us no place for those who wish to go astray. But we have been led away not without reason into certain secrets of the magicians which were not altogether necessary for the subject,<sup>2</sup> but which were thought useful as a safeguard against the rascally and inconsistent art of the magicians. Since, now, as far as one can guess,<sup>3</sup> we have set forth the opinions of all, having bestowed much care on making it clear that the things which the heresiarchs have introduced into religion as new are vain and spurious, and probably are not even among themselves thought worthy of discussion, it seems proper to us to recall briefly and summarily what has been before said.

p. 113

### 5. Recapitulation.

1. Among all the philosophers and theologians<sup>4</sup> who are enquiring into the matter throughout the inhabited world,

<sup>1</sup> ἀφανές, "unapparent."

<sup>2</sup> ἀπηνέχθημεν. An admission that this chapter was an after-thought.

<sup>3</sup> ὡς εἰκόσαι, ἴσται, ut palel, Cr.

<sup>4</sup> θεολόγοι. It does not mean "theologians" in our sense, but narrator of stories about the gods. Orpheus is always considered a θεολόγος.

there is no agreement concerning God, as to what He is or whence (He came).<sup>1</sup> For some say that He is fire, some spirit, some water, others earth. But every one of these elements contains something inferior and some of them are defeated by the others. But this has happened to the world's sages, which indeed is plain to those who think, that in view of the greatness of creation, they are puzzled as to the substance of the things which are, deeming them too great for it to be possible for them to have received birth from another. Nor yet do they represent the universe itself taken collectively<sup>2</sup> to be God. But in speculation about God every one thought of something which he preferred among visible things as the Cause. And thus gazing upon the things produced by God and on those which are least in comparison with His exceeding greatness, but not being capable of extending their mind to the real God, they declared these things to be divine.

The Persians, however, deeming that they were further within the truth (than the rest) said that God was a shining light comprised in air. But the Babylonians said that darkness was God, which appears to be the sequence of the other opinion; for day follows night and night day.<sup>3</sup>

2. But the Egyptians, deeming themselves older than all, have subjected the power of God to ciphers,<sup>4</sup> and calculating the intervals of the fates by Divine inspiration<sup>5</sup> said that God was a monad both indivisible and itself begetting itself, and that from this (monad) all things were made. For it, they say, being unbegotten, begets the numbers after it; for example, the monad added to itself begets the dyad, and added in the like way the triad and tetrad up to the decad, which is the beginning and the end of the numbers. So

<sup>1</sup> *ποδαπός*. Not, as Cruice translates, *quale*, which would be better expressed by the *πολόν* of Aristotle.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ σύνπαν αὐτὸ.

<sup>3</sup> It is fairly certain that Hippolytus in this "Recapitulation" must here be summarizing the missing Books II and III. He has said nothing in any part of the work that has come down to us about the Persian theology, and in Book I he calls Zaratas or Zoroaster a Chaldean and not a Persian.

<sup>4</sup> ψήφοι ἐπέβαλον καὶ are supplied by Schneidewin in the place of three words rubbed out.

<sup>5</sup> Reading with Schneidewin *μοιρῶν* for *μυρῶν* and *ἐπιπνοίας* for *ἐπίνοιας*.

that the monad becomes the first and tenth through the decad being of equal power and being reckoned as a monad, and the same being decupled becomes a hecatontad and again is a monad, and the hecatontad when decupled will make a chiliad, and it again will be a monad. And thus also the chiliads if decupled will complete the myriad and likewise will be a monad. But the numbers akin to the monad by indivisible comparison are ascertained to be 3, 5, 7, 9.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, also a more natural affinity of another number with the monad which is that by the operation of the spiral of 6 circles<sup>2</sup> of the dyad according to the even placing and separation of the numbers. But the kindred number is of the 4 and 8. And these receiving added virtue from numbers of the monad, advanced up to the four elements, I mean spirit and fire, water and earth. And having created from these the masculo-feminine cosmos,<sup>3</sup> he prepared and arranged two elements in the upper hemisphere, (to wit) spirit and fire, and he called this the beneficent hemisphere of the monad and the ascending and the masculine. For the monad, being subtle, flies to the most subtle and purest part of the æther. The two other elements being denser, he assigns to the dyad (to wit) earth and water, and he calls this the descending hemisphere and feminine and maleficent. And again the two upper elements when compounded with themselves have in themselves the male and the female for the fruitfulness and increase of the universals. And the fire is masculine, but the spirit feminine: and again the water is masculine and the earth feminine.<sup>4</sup> And thus from the beginning the fire lived with

<sup>1</sup> By indivisible comparison (*ἀσύνγκριστος*) he seems to imply that these numbers cannot be divided except by 1. Hence Cruice would omit 9 as being divisible by 3. Perhaps he means "like indivisibility."

<sup>2</sup> Cruice suggests that this was an astronomical instrument and quotes Cl. Ptolemy, *Harmon*, I, 2, in support.

<sup>3</sup> Why should the cosmos be masculo-feminine? The Valentinians said the same thing about their Sophia, who was, as I have said elsewhere (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oct. 1917), a personification of the Earth. The idea seems to go back to Sumerian times. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, 45, n. 1, and Mr. S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 7, 43 and 115.

<sup>4</sup> The worshippers of the Greek Isis declared Isis to be the earth and Osiris water. See *Forerunners*, I, 73, for references. If Hippolytus is here recapitulating Books II and III, it is probable that the lacuna was occupied with some reference to the Alexandrian deities and their

the spirit and the water with the earth. For as the power of the spirit is the fire, so also (the power) of the earth is the water. . . .

p. 117. And the same elements counted and resolved by subtraction of the enneads,<sup>1</sup> properly end some in the male number, others in the female. But again the ennead is subtracted for this cause, because the 360 degrees of the whole circle consist of enneads, and hence the 4 quarters of the cosmos are (each) circumscribed by 90 complete degrees. But the light is associated with the monad and the darkness with the dyad, and naturally life with the light and death with the dyad, and justice with life and injustice with death. Whence everything engendered among the male numbers is benefic, and (everything engendered) among the female numbers is malefic. For example, they reckon that the monad—so that we may begin from this—becomes 361, which ends in a monad, the ennead(s) being subtracted. Reckon in the same way: the dyad becomes 605; subtract the enneads, it ends in a dyad and each is (thus) carried back to its own.<sup>2</sup>

3. With the monad, then, as it is benefic, there are p. 118. associated names which end in the uneven number,<sup>3</sup> and they say that they are ascending and male and benefic when observed; but that those which end in an even number are considered descending and female and malefic. For they say that nature consists of opposites, to wit, good and bad, as right and left, light and darkness, night and day, life and death. And they say this besides: that they have calculated the name of God and that it results in a pentad [or in an ennead],<sup>4</sup> which is uneven and which written down and wrapped about the sick works cures. And thus a certain plant (whose name) ends in this number when tied on in the same way is effective by the like reckoning of the

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connection with the arithmetical speculations of the Neo-Pythagoreans. Could this be substantiated, we should not need to look further for the origin of the Simonian and Valentinian heresies.

<sup>1</sup> ψηφισόμενα καὶ ἀναλυόμενα, *synputata et diversa*, Cr. The process seems to be that called earlier (p. 85 *supra*) the rule of 9.

<sup>2</sup>  $361 \div 9 = 40 + 1$ ;  $605 \div 9 = 67 + 2$ .

<sup>3</sup> ἀπερίγυρον, lit., "unyoked."

<sup>4</sup> εἰς ὀνάδα here appears in the text apparently as an alternative reading. Cruce suggests "with an ennead deducted."



number. But a doctor also cures the sick by a like calculation. But if the calculation be contrary, he does not make cures easily. Those who give heed to these numbers count all numbers like it which have the same meaning, some according to the vowels alone, others according to the total p. 117 of the numbers.<sup>1</sup> Such is the wisdom of the Egyptians, whereby, while glorifying the Divine, they think they understand it.

### 6. *Of the Divination by Astronomy.*<sup>2</sup>

We seem then to have set forth these things also sufficiently. But since I consider that not one tenet of this earthly and grovelling wisdom has been passed over, I perceive that our care with regard to the same things has not been useless. For we see that our discourse has been of great use not only for the refutation of heresies, but also against those who magnify these things.<sup>3</sup> Those who happen to notice the manifold care taken by us will both wonder at our zeal and will neither despise our painstaking nor denounce Christians as fools when they see what themselves have foolishly believed. And besides this, the discourse will timely instruct those lovers of learning who give heed to the truth, making them more wise to easily overthrow those who have dared to mislead them—for they will have learned not only the principles of the heresies, but also the so-called opinions of the sages. Not being unacquainted with which, they will not p. 123 be confused by them as are the unlearned, nor misled by some who exercise a certain power, but will keep a watch upon those who go astray.

2. Having therefore sufficiently set forth (our) opinions, it remains for us to proceed to the subject aforesaid, when,

<sup>1</sup> Meaning that some reckon the numerical value of all the letters in a name, others that of the vowels only.

<sup>2</sup> What follows has nothing to do with divination, but treats of the celestial map as a symbolical representation of the Christian scheme of salvation. Hippolytus condemns the notion as a "heresy," but if so, its place ought to be in Book V. It is doubtful from what author or teacher he derived his account of it; but all the quotations from Aratus' *Phenomena* which he gives are to be found in Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 41, where they make, as they do not here, a connected story.

<sup>3</sup> One of the passages favouring the conjecture that the book was originally in the form of lectures.

after we have proved what we arranged concerning the heresies, and have forced the heresiarchs to restore to everyone his own, we shall exhibit (these heresiarchs) stripped (of all originality) and by denouncing the folly of their dupes we shall persuade them to return again to the precious haven of the truth. But in order that what has been said may appear more clearly to the readers,<sup>1</sup> it seems to us well to state the conclusions of Aratus as to the disposition of the stars in the heaven. For there are some who by likening them to the words of the Scriptures turn them into allegories and seek to divert the minds of those who listen to them by leading them with persuasive words whither they wish, and pointing out to them strange marvels like those of the transfers to the stars<sup>2</sup> alleged by them. They who while gazing upon the outlandish wonder are caught by their admiration for trifles are like the bird called the owl,<sup>3</sup>

p 121. whose example it will be well to narrate in view of what follows. Now this animal presents no very different appearance from that of the eagle whether in size or shape; but it is caught in this way. The bird-catcher, when he sees a flock alighting anywhere, claps his hands, pretends to dance, and thus gradually draws near to the birds; but they, struck by the unwonted sight, become blind to everything else. Others of the party, however, who are ready on the ground coming behind the birds easily capture them while they are staring at the dancer. Wherefore I ask that no one who is struck by the wonders of those who interpret the heaven shall be taken in like the owl. For the dancing and nonsense of such (interpreters) is trickery and not truth. Now Aratus speaks thus:—

"Many and like are they, going hither and thither,  
Daily they wheel in heaven always and ever [that is, all the stars]  
Yet none changes his abode<sup>4</sup> ever so little: but with perfect exactness

<sup>1</sup> of ἐπιρυχθόντες, *legentibus*, Cr. It may just as easily mean "those who come across this."

<sup>2</sup> "Catasterisms" was the technical term for these transfers, of which the *Coma Berenices* is the best-known example. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> The long-eared owl (*strix otus*). According to Ælian it had a reputation for stupidity, and was therefore a type of the easy dupe, Athenæus, *Deipnosophiste*, IX, 44, 45, tells a similar story to that in the text about the bustard.

<sup>4</sup> Reading *παρὰθεσται* for *παρὰθεσται* or *παρὰθεσται*.

Ever the Pole is fixed, and holds the earth in the midst of all  
As equipoise of all, and around it leads Heaven itself."—

(Aratus, *Phæn.*, vv. 45, 46.)

3. He says that the stars in heaven are *πολέας*, that is, p. 122  
turning,<sup>1</sup> because of their going about ceaselessly from East  
to West and from West to East in a spherical figure. But  
he says there is coiled round the Bears themselves, like the  
stream of some river, a great marvel of a terrible dragon,  
and this it is, he says, that the Devil in the (Book of) Job  
says to God: "I have been walking to and fro under heaven  
and going round about,"<sup>2</sup> that is, turning hither and thither  
and inspecting what is happening. For they consider that  
the Dragon is set below the Arctic Pole, from this highest  
pole gazing upon all things and beholding all things, so that  
none of those that are done shall escape him. For though  
all the stars in the heaven can set, this Pole alone never  
sets, but rising high above the horizon inspects all things  
and beholds all things, and nothing of what is done, he says,  
can escape him.

"Where (most)  
Settings and risings mingle with one another."—

(Aratus, *Phæn.*, v. 61.)

he says, indeed, that his head is set. For over against the p. 123  
rising and setting of the two hemispheres lies the head of  
Draco, so that, he says, nothing escapes him immediately  
either of things in the West or of things in the East, but the  
Beast knows all things at once. And there over against  
the very head of Draco is the form of a man made visible by  
reason of the stars, which Aratus calls "a wearied image,"  
and like one in toil; but he names it the "Kneeler."<sup>3</sup>  
Now Aratus says that he does not know what this toil is  
and this marvel which turns in heaven. But the heretics,  
wishing to found their own tenets on the story of the stars,  
and giving their minds very carefully to these things, say

<sup>1</sup> *στρεπτούς, voluentes*, Cr. An attempt to pun on *πόλος*, the Pole.

<sup>2</sup> Job i. 7. The Book of Job according to some writers comes from  
an Essene school, which may give us some clue to the origin of these  
ideas. The Enochian literature to which the same tendency is assigned  
is full of speculations about the heavenly bodies. See *Forerunners*,  
I, p. 159, for references.

<sup>3</sup> *δ' ἐν γόνασιν*. Aratus calls this constellation *δ' ἐν γόνασι καθήμενος*,  
Cicero *Engonasis*, Ovid *Genusixus*, Vitruvius, Manilius and J. Firmicus  
Maternus, *Ingeniculus*.

that the Kneeler is Adam, as Moses said, according to the decree of God guarding the head of the Dragon and the Dragon (guarding) his heel.<sup>1</sup> For thus says Aratus :—

“ Holding the sole of the right foot of winding Draco.”—  
(*Phæn.*, vv. 63-65.)

4. But he says there are placed on either side of him (I mean the Kneeler) Lyra and Corona ; but that he bends the knee and stretches forth both hands as if making confession of sin.<sup>2</sup> And that the lyre is a musical instrument fashioned by the Logos in extreme infancy. But that Hermes is called among the Greeks Logos. And Aratus says about the fashioning of the lyre :—

“ which, while he was yet in his cradle  
Hermes bored and said it was to be called lyre.”—  
(*Phæn.*, v. 268.)

It is seven-stringed, and indicates by its seven strings the entire harmony and constitution with which the cosmos is suitably provided. For in six days the earth came into being and there was rest on the seventh. If, then, he says,<sup>3</sup> Adam making confession and guarding the head of the Beast according to God's decree, will imitate the lyre, that is, will follow the word of God, which is to obey the Law, he will attain the Crown lying beside it. But if he takes no heed, he will be carried downwards along with the Beast below him, and will have his lot, he says, with the Beast. But the Kneeler seems to stretch forth his hands on either side and here to grasp the Lyre and there the Crown [and this is to make confession],<sup>4</sup> as is to be seen from the very posture. But the

<sup>1</sup> A perversion of the “ it shall bruise thy head and thou shall bruise his heel,” of Genesis iii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> From his attitude the Kneeler resembles the figure of Atlas supporting the world, who as Omophorus plays a great part in Manichæan mythology. Cumont derives this from a Babylonian original, for which and his connection with Mithraic cosmogony see his *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, Brussels, 1908, I, p. 70, figs. 1 and 2. The constellation is now known as Hercules.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus here evidently quotes not from Aratus, but from some unnamed Gnostic or heretic writer, whom Cruice thinks must have been a Jew. Yet he was plainly a Christian, as appears from his remarks about the “ Second Creation.” An Ebionite writer might have preserved many Essene superstitions.

<sup>4</sup> Cruice, following Rœpcer, says these words have slipped in from an earlier page.

Crown is plotted against and at the same time drawn away by another Beast, Draco the Less, who is the offspring of the one which is guarded by the foot of the Kneeler. But (another) man stands firmly grasping with both hands the Serpent, and draws him backwards from the Crown, and does not permit the Beast to forcibly seize it. Him Aratus calls Serpent-holder,<sup>1</sup> because he restrains the rage of the Serpent striving to come at the Crown. But he, he says, who in the shape of man forbids the Beast to come at the Crown is Logos, who has mercy upon him who is plotted against by Draco and his offspring at once.

And these Bears, he says, are two hebdomads, being made up of seven stars each, and are images of the two creations. For the First Creation, he says, is that according to Adam in his labours who is seen as the Kneeler. But the Second Creation is that according to Christ whereby we are born again. He is the Serpent-holder fighting the Beast and preventing him from coming at the Crown prepared for man. But Helica<sup>2</sup> is the Great Bear, he says, the symbol of the great creation, whereby Greeks sail, that is by which they are taught, and borne onwards by the waves of life they follow it, such a creation being a certain revolution<sup>3</sup> or schooling or wisdom, leading back again those who follow such (to the point whence they started). For the name Helica seems to be a certain turning and circling back to the same position. But there is also another Lesser Bear, as it were an image of the Second Creation created by God. For few, he says, are they who travel by this narrow way. For they say that Cynosura is narrow, by which, Aratus says, the Sidonians navigate.<sup>4</sup> But Aratus in turn says the Sidonians are Phœnicians on account of the wisdom of the Phœnicians being wonderful. But they say that the Greeks are Phœnicians who removed from the Red Sea to the land

<sup>1</sup> ὀφιοῦχος. The "Ophiuchus huge" of Milton or Anguitenens.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλική. So Aratus and Apollonius Rhodius. Said to be so called from its perpetually revolving. Cruice remarks on this sentence that it does not seem to have been written by a Greek, and quotes Epiphanius as to the addition of the Pharisees to astrology. But see last note but one.

<sup>3</sup> ἑλική. A pun quite in Hippolytus' manner.

<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἣν . . . ναυτίλλονται. Cruice and Macmahon alike translate this "towards which," but Aratus clearly means "steer by" both here and earlier.

p. 127. where they now dwell. For thus it seemed to Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> But this Bear he says is Cynosura, the Second Creation, the small, the narrow way and not Helica. For she leads not backwards, but guides those who follow her forwards to the straight way, being the (tail) of the dog. For the Logos is the Dog (Cyon) who at the same time guards and protects the sheep against the plans of the wolves, and also chases the wild beasts from creation and slays them, and who begets all things. For Cyon, they say, indeed means the begetter.<sup>2</sup> Hence, they say, Aratus, speaking of the rising of Canis, says thus :—

“But when the Dog rises, no longer do the crops play false.”—  
(*Phœn.* v. 332.)

This is what he means : Plants that have been planted in the earth up to the rising of the Dog-star take no root, but yet grow leaves and appear to beholders as if they will bear fruit and are alive, but have no life from the root in them. But when the rising of the Dog-star occurs, the living plants are distinguished by Canis from the dead, for p. 128. he withers entirely those which have not taken root. This Cyon, he says then, being a certain Divine Logos has been established judge of quick and dead, and as Cyon is seen to be the star of the plants, so the Logos, he says, is for the heavenly plants, that is for men. For some such cause as this, then, the Second Creation Cynosura stands in heaven as the image of the rational<sup>3</sup> creature. But between the two creations Draco is extended below, hindering the things of the great creation from coming to the lesser, and watching those things which are fixed in the great creation like the Kneeler lest they see how and in what way every one is fixed in the little creation. But Draco is himself watched as to the head, he says, by Ophiuchus. The same, he says, is fixed as an image in heaven, being a certain philosophy for those who can see.

But if this is not clear, through another image, he says,

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus I, 1. He does not say, however, that the Greeks were Phœnicians.

<sup>2</sup> Rather the conceiver, from *κύνω*, to conceive. *γεννῶν* is used of the mother by Aristotle, *De Gen. Animal.*, 3, 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *λογικῆς*.

creation teaches us to philosophize, about which Aratus speaks thus:—

“Nor of Ionian<sup>1</sup> Cepheus are we the miserable race.”—  
(*Phæn.* v. 353.)

But near Draco, he says, are Cepheus and Cassiopeia and p. 129. Andromeda and Perseus, great letters of<sup>2</sup> the creation to those who can see. For he says that Cepheus is Adam, Cassiopeia Eve, Andromeda the soul of both, Perseus the winged offspring of Zeus and Cetus the plotting Beast. Not to any other of these comes Perseus the slayer of the Beast, but to Andromeda alone. From which Beast, he says, the Logos Perseus, taking her to himself, delivers Andromeda who had been given in chains to the Beast. But Perseus is the winged axis which extends to both poles through the middle of the earth and makes the cosmos revolve. But the spirit which is in the Cosmos is Cycnus,<sup>3</sup> the bird which is near the Bears, a musical animal, symbol of the Divine Spirit, because only when it is near the limits of life, its nature is to sing, and, as one escaping with good hope from this evil creation it sends up songs of praise to God. But crabs and bulls and lions and rams and goats and kids and all the other animals who are named in heaven on p. 130. account of the stars are, he says, images and paradigms whence the changeable nature receives the patterns<sup>4</sup> and becomes full of such animals.<sup>5</sup>

Making use of these discourses, they think to deceive as many as give heed to the astrologers, seeking therefrom to set up a religion which appears very different from their assumptions.<sup>6</sup> Wherefore, O beloved,<sup>7</sup> let us shun the trifle-admiring way of the owl. For these things and those

<sup>1</sup> Reading *Ἰδασος* for Cruice's *Ἰασίδας*. The text is said to have *εἰς αἶδας*.

<sup>2</sup> *γράμματα*, *elementa*, Cr. But I think the allusion is to the story they contain for those who can read them.

<sup>3</sup> The Swan. <sup>4</sup> *τὰς ἰδέας*

<sup>5</sup> If Hippolytus' words are here correctly transcribed, the "heretic" quoted seems to have two inconsistent ideas about the stars. One is that the constellations are types or allegories of what takes place in man's soul; the other, that they are the patterns after which the creatures of this world were made. This last is Mithraic rather than Christian.

<sup>6</sup> *τῆς τούτων ὑπολήψεως*, *ab horum cogitationibus*, Cr.

<sup>7</sup> *ἀγαπητοί*. The word generally used in a *sermon*.

like them are dancing and not truth. For the stars do not reveal these things; but men on their own account and for the better distinguishing of certain stars (from the rest) gave them names so that they might be a mark to them. For what likeness have the stars strewn about the heaven to a bear, or a lion, or kids, or a water-carrier, or Cepheus, or Andromeda, or to the Shades named in Hades—for many of these persons and the names of the stars alike came into existence long after the stars themselves—so that the heretics being struck with the wonder should thus labour by such discourses to establish their own doctrines?<sup>1</sup>

### 7. *Of the Arithmetical Art.*<sup>2</sup>

Seeing, however, that nearly all heresy has discovered by the art of arithmetic measures of hebdomads and certain projections of *Aeons*, each tearing the art to pieces in different ways and only changing the names,—but of these (men) Pythagoras came to be teacher who first transmitted to the Greeks such numbers from Egypt—it seems good not to pass over this, but after briefly pointing it out to proceed to the demonstration of the objects of our enquiries. These men were arithmeticians and geometers to whom especially it seems Pythagoras first supplied the principles (of their arts). And they took the first beginnings (of things), discovered apparently by reason alone, from the

<sup>1</sup> This also reads like a peroration.

<sup>2</sup> In this chapter Hippolytus for the first time sets himself seriously to prove the thesis which he has before asserted, *i. e.*, that all the Gnostic systems are derived from the teachings of the Greek philosophers. His mode of doing so is to compare the elaborate systems of *Aeons* or emanations of deity imagined by heresiarchs like Simon Magus and Valentinus to the views attributed by him to Pythagoras which make all nature to spring from one indivisible point. Whether Pythagoras ever held such views may be doubted and we have no means of checking Hippolytus' always loose statements on this point; but something like them appears in the *Theaetetus* of Plato where arithmetic and geometry seem to be connected by talk about oblong as well as square numbers and the construction of solids from them. If we imagine with the Greeks (see n. on p. 37 *supra*) that numbers are not abstract things, but actual portions of space, there is indeed a strong likeness between the ideas of the later Platonists as to the construction of the world by means of numbers and those attributed to the Gnostic teachers as to its emanation from God. Whether these last really held the views thus attributed to them is another matter. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, pp. 99, 100.



numbers which can always proceed to infinity by multiplication and the figures (produced by it). For the beginning of geometry, as may be seen, is an indivisible point; but from that point the generation of the infinite figures from the point<sup>1</sup> is discovered by the art. For the point when extended<sup>2</sup> in length becomes after extension a line having a point as its limit:<sup>3</sup> and a line when extended in breadth produces a superficies and the limits of the superficies are lines: and a superficies extended in depth becomes a (solid) body:<sup>4</sup> and when this solid is in existence, the nature of the great body is thus wholly founded from the smallest point. And this is what Simon says thus: "The little will be great, being as it were a point; but the great will be boundless,"<sup>5</sup> in imitation of that geometrical point. But the beginning of arithmetic, which includes by combination philosophy, is<sup>6</sup> a number which is boundless and incomprehensible, containing within itself all the numbers capable of coming to infinity by multitude. But the beginning of the numbers becomes by hypostasis the first monad, which is a male unit begetting as does a father all the other numbers. Second comes the dyad, a female number, and the same is called even by the arithmeticians. Third comes the triad, a male number; this also has been ordained to be called odd by the arithmeticians. After all these comes the tetrad, a female number, and this same is also called even, because it is female. Therefore all the numbers taken from the genus are four—but the boundless genus is number—whence from is constructed their perfect number, the decad. For

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου seems to be repeated needlessly.

<sup>2</sup> ῥυέν, "flowing out."

<sup>3</sup> πέρας ἔχουσα σημείον. Surely it has two limits—a point at each end.

<sup>4</sup> σώμα. In the next sentence he uses the proper word στερεόν.

<sup>5</sup> This is, I suppose, quoted from the Ἀποφάσις μεγάλη attributed to Simon, as he speaks afterwards (II, p. 9 *infra*) of the small becoming great, "as it is written in the *Aphorism*, if it . . . come into being from the indivisible point. But the great will be in the boundless αὐτόν," etc.

<sup>6</sup> What follows from this point down to the end of the paragraph is an almost verbatim transcript of the passage in Book I (pp. 37 ff. *supra*), where it is given as the teaching of Pythagoras. The only substantial differences are: that hypostasis is written for hypothesis in the second sentence of the passage; the Tetractys is no longer said to be the "source" of eternal nature; and the 11, 12, etc., are now said to take, and not "share" their beginning from the 10.

1, 2, 3, 4 become 10, as has before been shown, if the name which is proper to each of the numbers be substantially kept. This is the sacred Tetractys according to Pythagoras which contains within itself the roots of eternal nature, that is, all the other numbers. For the 11, 12 and the rest take the principle of birth from the 10. Of this decad, the perfect number, the four parts are called : number, monad, square and cube. The conjunctions and minglings of which are for the birth of increase, they completing naturally the fruitful number. For when this square is multiplied into itself, it becomes a square squared ; but when a square into a cube, it becomes a square cubed ; but when a cube into a cube, it becomes a cube cubed. So that all the numbers are seven, in order that the birth of the existing numbers

p. 134. may come from a hebdomad, which is number, monad, square, cube, square of a square, cube of a square, cube of a cube.

Of this hebdomad Simon and Valentinus, having altered the names, recount prodigies, hastening to base upon it their own systems.<sup>1</sup> For Simon calls (it) thus : Mind, Thought, Name, Voice, Reasoning, Desire and He who has Stood, Stands and will Stand ; and Valentinus : Mind, Truth, Word, Life, Man, Church and the Father who is counted with them. According to these (ideas) of those trained in the arithmetic philosophy, which they admired as something unknowable by the crowd, and in pursuance of them, they constructed the heresies excogitated by them.

Now there are some also who try to construct hebdomads from the healing art, being struck by the dissection of the brain, saying that the substance, power of paternity, and divinity of the universe can be learned from its constitution.

p. 135. For the brain, being the ruling part of the whole body rests calm and unmoved, containing within itself the breath.<sup>2</sup> Now such a story is not incredible, but a long way from their attempted theory. For the brain when dissected has within it what is called the chamber, on each side of which are the membranes which they call wings, gently moved by the

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθεῖσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτεθεῖν σχεδιάσματα, suis dogmatibus fundamentum posuerunt, Cr.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ πνεῦμα. Cruice translates this by *spiritum*, and is followed by Macmahon. I think, however, he means the breath, it being the idea of the ancients that the arteries were air-vessels.

breath, and again driving the breath into the cerebellum.<sup>1</sup> And the breath, passing through a certain reed-like vein, travels to the pineal gland.<sup>2</sup> Near this lies the mouth of the cerebellum which receives the breath passing through and gives it up to the so-called spinal marrow.<sup>3</sup> From this the whole body gets a share of pneumatic (force), all the arteries being dependent like branches on this vein, the extremity of which finishes in the genital veins. Whence also the seeds proceeding from the brain through the loins are secreted. But the shape of the cerebellum is like the head of a dragon; concerning which there is much talk among those of the Gnosis falsely so called, as we have shown. But there are other six pairs (of vessels) growing from the brain, which making their way round the head and finishing within it, connect the bodies together. But the seventh (goes) from the cerebellum to the lower parts of the p. 136. rest of the body, as we have said.

And about this there is much talk since Simon and Valentinus have found in it hints which they have taken, although they do not admit it, being first cheats and then heretics. Since then it seems that we have sufficiently set out these things, and that all the apparent dogmas of earthly philosophy have been included in (these) four books,<sup>4</sup> it seems fitting to proceed to their disciples or rather to their plagiarists.

#### THE FOURTH BOOK OF PHILOSOPHUMENA<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> παρεγκεφαλίσ.

<sup>2</sup> κενάριον.

<sup>3</sup> πνευματικόν μολδόν.

<sup>4</sup> It is at any rate plain from this that the missing Books II and III at one time existed.

<sup>5</sup> These words appear in the MS. at the foot of this Book.

## BOOK V

### THE OPHITE HERESIES

- p. 137. 1. THESE are the contents of the 5th (book) of the Refutation of all Heresies.
2. What the Naassenes say who call themselves Gnostics, and that they profess those opinions which the philosophers of the Greeks and the transmitters of the Mysteries first laid down, starting wherefrom they have constructed heresies.
3. And what things the Peratæ imagine, and that their doctrine is not framed from the Holy Scriptures but from the astrological (art).
4. What is the system according to the Sithians, and that they have patched together their doctrine by plagiarizing from those wise men according to the Greeks, (to wit) Musæus and Linus and Orpheus.
5. What Justinus imagined and that his doctrine is not framed from the Holy Scriptures, but from the marvellous tales of Herodotus the historiographer.

#### 1. *Naassenes.*<sup>1</sup>

- p. 138. 6. I consider that the tenets concerning the Divine and the fashioning of the cosmos (held by) all those who are

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, Hippolytus treats of what is probably a late form of the Ophite heresy, certainly one of the first to enter into rivalry with the Catholic Church. For its doctrines and practices, the reader must be referred to the chapter on the Ophites in the translator's *Fore-runners and Rivals of Christianity*, vol. II; but it may be said here that it seems to have sprung from a combination of the corrupt Judaism then practised in Asia Minor with the Pagan myths or legends prevalent all over Western Asia, which may some day be traced back to the Sumerians and the earliest civilization of which we have any record. Yet the Ophites admitted the truth of the Gospel narrative, and asserted the existence of a Supreme Being endowed with the attributes of both sexes and manifesting Himself to man by means of a Deity called His son, who was nevertheless identified with both the masculine and feminine aspects of his Father. This triad, which the Ophites called

deemed philosophers by Greeks and Barbarians have been very painfully set forth in the four books before this. Whose

the First Man, the Second Man, and the First Woman or Holy Spirit, they represented as creating the planetary worlds as well as the "world of form," by the intermediary of an inferior power called Sophia or Wisdom and her son Jaldabaoth, who is expressly stated to be the God of the Jews.

All this we knew before the discovery of our text from the statements of heresiologists like St. Irenæus and Epiphanius; but Hippolytus goes further than any other author by connecting these Ophite theories with the worship of the Mother of the Gods or Cybele, the form under which the triune deity of Western Asia was best known in Europe. The unnamed Naassene or Ophite author from whom he quotes without intermission throughout the chapter, seems to have got hold of a hymn to Attis used in the festivals of Cybele, in which Attis is, after the syncretistic fashion of post-Alexandrian paganism, identified with the Syrian Adonis, the Egyptian Osiris, the Greek Dionysos and Hermes, and the Samothracian or Cabiric gods Adamna and Corybas; and the chapter is in substance a commentary on this hymn, the order of the lines of which it follows closely. This commentary tries to explain or "interpret" the different myths there referred to by passages from the Old and New Testaments and from the Greek poets dragged in against their manifest sense and in the wildest fashion. Most of these supposed allusions, indeed, can only be justified by the most outrageous play upon words, and it may be truly said that not a single one of them when naturally construed bears the slightest reference to the matter in hand. Yet they serve not only to elucidate the Ophite beliefs, but give, as it were accidentally, much information as to the scenes enacted in the Eleusinian and other heathen mysteries which was before lacking. The author also quotes two hymns used apparently in the Ophite worship which are not only the sole relics of a once extensive literature, but are a great deal better evidence as to Gnostic tenets than his own loose and equivocal statements.

As the legend of Attis and Cybele may not be familiar to all, it may be well to give a brief abstract of it as found in Pausanias, Diodorus Siculus, Ovid, and the Christian writer Arnobius. Cybele, called also Agdistis, Rhea, Gê, or the Great Mother, was said to have been born from a rock accidentally fecundated by Zeus. On her first appearance she was hermaphrodite, but on the gods depriving her of her virility it passed into an almond-tree. The fruit of this was plucked by the virgin daughter of the river Sangarios, who, placing it in her bosom, became by it the mother of Attis, fairest of mankind. Attis at his birth was exposed on the river-bank, but was rescued, brought up as a goatherd, and was later chosen as a husband by the king's daughter. At the marriage feast, Cybele, fired by jealousy, broke into the palace and, according to one version of the story, emasculated Attis who died of the hurt. Then Cybele repented and prayed to Zeus to restore him to life, which prayer was granted by making him a god. The ceremonies of the Megalesia celebrating the Death and Resurrection of Attis as held in Rome during the late Republic and early Empire, and their likeness to the

curious arts I have not neglected, so that I have undertaken for the readers no chance labour, exhorting many to love of learning and certainty of knowledge about the truth. Now therefore there remains to hasten on to the refutation of the heresies, with which intent<sup>1</sup> also we have set forth the things aforesaid. From which philosophers the heresiarchs have taken hints in common<sup>2</sup> and patching like cobblers the mistakes of the ancients on to their own thoughts, have offered them as new to those they can deceive, as we shall prove in (the books) which follow. For the rest, it is time to approach the subjects laid down before, but to begin with those who have dared to sing the praises of the Serpent, who is in fact the cause of the error, through certain systems invented by his action. Therefore the priests and chiefs of the doctrine were the first who were called Naassenes, being thus named in the Hebrew tongue: for the Serpent is called Naas.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards they called themselves Gnostics alleging that they alone knew the depths.<sup>4</sup> Separating themselves from which persons, many men have made the heresy, which is really one, a much divided affair, describing the same things according to varying opinions, as this discourse will argue as it proceeds.

I. 139.

These men worship as the beginning of all things, according to their own statement, a Man and a Son of Man. But this Man is masculo-feminine<sup>5</sup> and is called by them Adamas;<sup>6</sup> and hymns to him are many and various. And the hymns, to cut it short, are repeated by them somehow like this:—

p. 140.

"From thee a father, and through thee a mother, the two deathless names, parents of Aeons, O thou citizen of heaven, Man of great name!"<sup>7</sup>

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Easter rites of the Christian Church are described in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for October 1917.

<sup>1</sup> (οὐ) χάριν, "thanks to which."

<sup>2</sup> μετέχω τὰς ἀφορμὰς, a phrase frequent in Plato.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐπί <sup>4</sup> Cf. Rev. ii. 24.

<sup>5</sup> ἀρσενόθλυς.

<sup>6</sup> Cruice thinks the name derived from the Adam Cadmon of the Jewish Cabala. But Adamas "the unsubdued" is an epithet of Hades who was equated with Dionysos, the analogue of Attis. Cf. Irenæus, I, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Salmon and Stähelein in maintaining their theory that Hippolytus' documents were contemporary forgeries make the point that something like this hymn is repeated later in the account of Monoimus the Arabian's heresy. The likeness is not very close. Cf. II, p. 107 *infra*.

But they divide him like Geryon into three parts. For there is of him, they say, the intellectual (part), the psychic and the earthly; and they consider that the knowledge of him is the beginning of the capacity to know God, speaking thus: "The beginning of perfection is the knowledge of man, but the knowledge of God is completed perfection." But all these things, he says, the intellectual, and the psychic and the earthly, proceeded and came down together into one man, Jesus who was born of Mary;<sup>1</sup> and there spoke together, he says, in the same way, these three men each of them from his own substance to his own. For there are three kinds of universals<sup>2</sup> according to them (to wit) the angelic,<sup>3</sup> the psychic and the earthly; and three churches, the angelic, the psychic and the earthly; but their names are: Chosen, Called, Captive.<sup>4</sup>

7. These are the heads of the very many discourses which they say James the brother of the Lord handed down to Mariamne.<sup>5</sup> So then, that the impious may no longer speak falsely either of Mariamne, or of James, or of his Saviour, we will come to the Mysteries, whence comes their fable, both the Barbarian and the Greek, and we shall see how these men collecting together the hidden and ineffable mysteries of the nations<sup>6</sup> and speaking falsely of Christ, lead astray those who have not seen the Gentiles' secret rites. For since the Man Adamas is their foundation, and they say there has been written of him "Who shall declare his generation?"<sup>7</sup> learn ye how, taking from the nations in turn the undiscoverable and distinguished<sup>8</sup> generation of the Man, they apply this to Christ. p. 141-142

<sup>1</sup> Origen (*cont. Celsum*, VI, 30) says the Ophites used to curse the name of Christ. Hence Origen cannot be the author of the *Philosophumena*.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ ὅλα. I am doubtful whether he is here using the word in its philosophic or Aristotelian sense as "entities necessarily differing from one another in kind," or as "things of the universe." On the whole the former construction seems here to be right.

<sup>3</sup> "That which has been sent"?

<sup>4</sup> Doubtless as being still confined in matter.

<sup>5</sup> Both Origen and Celsus knew of this Mariamne, after whom a sect is said to have been named. See Orig. *cont. Cels.*, VI, 30.

<sup>6</sup> τῶν ἔθνων. The usual expression for Gentiles or Goyim.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. liii. 8.

<sup>8</sup> ἀδιόφορον. Miller reads ἀδιάφορον: "undistinguished."

p. 143. "For earth, say the Greeks, was the first to give forth man, thus bearing a goodly gift. For she wished to be the mother not of plants without feeling and wild beasts without sense, but of a gentle and God-loving animal. But hard it is, he says, to discover whether Alalcomeneus of the Bocotians came forth upon the Cephisian shore as the first of men, or whether (the first men) were the Idæan Curetes, a divine race, or the Phrygian Corybantes whom the Sun saw first shooting up like trees, or whether Arcadia brought forth Pelasgus earlier than the Moon, or Eleusis Dialus dweller in the Rarian field, or Lemnos gave birth to Cabirus, fair child of ineffable orgies, or Pallenc to Alcyon, eldest of the Giants. But the Libyans say Iarbas the first-born crept forth from the parched field to pluck Zeus' sweet acorn. So also, he says that the Nile of the Egyptians, making fat the mud which unto this day begets life, gave forth living bodies made flesh with moist heat."<sup>1</sup>

But the Assyrians say that fish-eating<sup>2</sup>: Oannes (the first man) was born among them and the Chaldæans (say the same thing about) Adam; and they assert that he was the man whom the earth brought forth alone, and that he lay breathless, motionless (and) unmoved like unto a statue being the image of him on high who is praised in song as the man Adamas; but that he was produced by many powers about whom in turn there is much talk.<sup>3</sup>

p. 144. In order then that the Great Man<sup>4</sup> on high, from whom,

<sup>1</sup> This hymn is in metre and is said to be from a lost Pindaric ode. It has been restored by Bergk, the restoration being given in the notes to Cruice's text, p. 142, and it was translated into English verse by the late Professor Conington. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, p. 54, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> ἰχθυοφάγον. Doubtless a mistake for ἰχθυοφόρον. The Oannes of Herossus' story wore a fish on his back.

<sup>3</sup> Adam the protoplast according to the Ophites (*Ireneus*, I, xviii, p. 197, Harvey) and Epiphanius (*Her.* xxxvii, c. 4, p. 501, Oehler) was made by Jaldabaoth and his six sons. The same story was current among the followers of Saturninus (*Ireneus*, I, xviii, p. 197, Harvey) and other Gnostic sects, who agree with the text as to his helplessness when first created, and its cause.

<sup>4</sup> So in the Bruce Papyrus, "Jeû," which name I have suggested is an abbreviation of Jehovah, is called "the great Man, King of the great Aeon of light." See *Forerunners*, II, 193.



as they say, "every fatherhood<sup>1</sup> named on earth and in the heavens" is framed, might be completely held fast, there was given to him also a soul, so that through the soul he might suffer, and that the enslaved "image of the great and most beautiful and Perfect Man"—for thus they call him—might be punished.<sup>2</sup> Wherefore again they ask what is the soul and of what kind is its nature that coming to the man and moving<sup>3</sup> him it should enslave and punish the image of the Perfect Man. But they ask this, not from the Scriptures, but from the mystic rites. And they say that the soul is very hard to find and to comprehend, since it does not stay in the same shape or form, nor is it always in one and the same state, so that one might describe it by a type or comprehend it in substance.<sup>4</sup> But these various changes of the soul they hold to be set down in the Gospel inscribed to the Egyptians.

They doubt then, as do all other men of the nations, whether the soul is from the pre-existent, or from the self-begotten, or from the poured-forth Chaos.<sup>5</sup> And first p. 145  
they betake themselves to the mysteries of the Assyrians<sup>6</sup> to understand the triple division of the Man; for the Assyrians were the first to think the soul tripartite and yet one. For every nature, they say, longs for the soul, but each in a different way. For soul is the cause of all things that are, and all things which are nourished and increase, he says, require soul. For nothing like nurture or increase, he says, can occur unless soul be present. And even the

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iii. 15. Cf. the address of Jesus to His Father in the last document of the *Pistis Sophia*, *Forerunners*, II, p. 180, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Why is he to be punished? In the Manichaean story (for which see *Forerunners*, II, pp. 292 ff.) the First Man is taken prisoner by the powers of darkness. Both this and that in the text are doubtless survivals of some legend current throughout Western Asia at a very early date. Cf. Bousset's *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Leipzig, 1907, c. 4, *Der Urmensch*.

<sup>3</sup> So the cryptogram in the *Pistis Sophia* professes to give "the word by which the Perfect Man is moved." *Forerunners*, II, 188, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *ὄψα*: perhaps "essence" or "being." It is the word for which *hypostasis* was later substituted according to Hatch. See his *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 269 ff.

<sup>5</sup> So Miller, Cruice, and Schneidewin. I should be inclined to read *φῶς*, "light," as in the Naassene hymn at the end of this chapter. No Gnostic sect can have taught that the soul came from Chaos.

<sup>6</sup> This, as always at this period, means "Syrians." See Maury, *Rev. Archéol.*, lviii, p. 242.

stones, he says, are animated,<sup>1</sup> for they have the power of increase, and no increase can come without nourishment. For by addition increase the things which increase and the addition is the nourishment of that which is nourished.<sup>2</sup> Therefore every nature he says, of things in heaven, and on earth, and below the earth, longs for a soul. But the Assyrians call such a thing<sup>3</sup> Adonis or Endymion or (Attis); and when it is invoked as Adonis Aphrodite loves and longs after the soul of such name. And Aphrodite is generation<sup>4</sup> according to them. But when Persephone or Core loves Adonis<sup>5</sup> there is a certain mortal soul separated from Aphrodite (that is from generation).<sup>6</sup> And if Selene should come to desire of Endymion<sup>7</sup> and to love of his beauty, the nature of the sublime ones, he says, also requires soul. But if, he says, the Mother of the Gods castrate Attis,<sup>8</sup> and she holds this loved one, the blessed nature of the hypercosmic and eternal ones on high recalls to her, he says, the masculine power of the soul.<sup>9</sup> For, says he, the Man is masculo-feminine. According to this argument of theirs, then, the so-called<sup>10</sup> intercourse of woman with man is by (the teaching of) their school shown to be an utterly wicked and defiling thing. For Attis is castrated, he says, that is, he has changed over from the earthly parts of the lower creation to the eternal substance on high, where, he says, there is neither male nor female,<sup>11</sup> but a new creature,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἑμψυχοι. He is punning on the likeness between this and ψυχή, "soul."

<sup>2</sup> And between "nourished" and "reared."

<sup>3</sup> τὸ τοιοῦτον. Not φύσις or ψυχή. At this point the author begins his commentary on the Hymn of the Mysteries of Cybele, for which see p. 141 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> γένεσις, perhaps "birth."

<sup>5</sup> An allusion to the myth which makes Aphrodite and Persephone share the company of Adonis between them.

<sup>6</sup> These words are added in the margin.

<sup>7</sup> A prominent feature in the imposture of Alexander of Abonoteichus. See Lucian's *Pseudomantis, passim*.

<sup>8</sup> In the better-known story Attis castrates himself; but this version explains the allusion in the hymn on p. 141 *infra*.

<sup>9</sup> *i. e.* restores to her the virility of which they had deprived her when she was hermaphrodite. See n. on p. 119 *supra*.

<sup>10</sup> λελεγμένη. Miller and Schneidewin read δεδαυμένη, "open," or "displayed."

<sup>11</sup> Gal. iii. 28. So Clemens Romanus, *Ep.* ii. 12; Clem. Alex. *Strom.*, III, 13. Cf. *Pistis Sophia*, p. 378 (Copt).

<sup>12</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15.

a new Man, who is masculo-feminine. What they mean by "on high" I will show in its appropriate place when I come to it. But they say it bears witness to what they say that Rhea is not simply one (goddess) but, so to speak, the whole creature.<sup>1</sup> And this they say is made quite clear by the saying:—"For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made by Him, in truth, His eternal power and godhead, so that they are without excuse. Since when they knew Him as God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but foolishness deceived their hearts. For thinking themselves wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likenesses of an image of corruptible man and of birds and of fourfooted and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to passions of dishonour. For even their women changed their natural use to that which is against nature."<sup>2</sup> And what the natural use is according to them, we shall see later. "Likewise, also the males leaving the natural use of the female burned in their lust one toward another males among males working unseemliness."<sup>3</sup> But unseemliness is according to them the first and blessed and unformed substance which is the cause of all the forms of things which are formed. "And receiving in themselves the recompense of their error which is meet."<sup>4</sup> For in these words, which Paul has spoken, they say is comprised their whole secret and the ineffable mystery of the blessed pleasure. For the promise of baptism<sup>5</sup> is not anything else according to them than the leading to unfading pleasure him who is baptized according to them in living water and anointed with silent<sup>6</sup> ointment. p. 147. p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* masculo-feminine. That Rhea, Cybele and Ge are but different names of the earth-goddess, see Maury, *Rél de la Grèce Antique*, I, 78 ff. For their androgyne character, see *J. R. A. S.* for Oct. 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Rom i. 20 ff. The text omits several sentences to be found in the A. V.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 28.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπαγγελία τοῦ λουτροῦ, *pollicetur iis qui lavantur*, Cr. But "the font" is the regular patristic expression for the rite.

<sup>6</sup> The text has ἄλλω, "other," which makes no sense. Cruice, following Schneidewin, alters it to ἀλλω on the strength of p. 144 *infra*, and renders it *ineffabilis*; but ἄλλω cannot mean anything but "dumb" or "silent." That baptism in the early heretical sects was

And they say that not only do the mysteries of the Assyrians bear witness to their saying, but also those of the Phrygians concerning the blessed nature, hitherto hidden and yet at the same time displayed, of those who were and are and shall be, which, he says, is the kingdom of the heavens sought for within man.<sup>1</sup> Concerning which nature they have explicitly made tradition in the Gospel inscribed according to Thomas,<sup>2</sup> saying thus: "Whoso seeks me shall find me in children from seven years (upwards). For there in the fourteenth year I who am hidden am made manifest." This, however, is the saying not of Christ but of Hippocrates, who says: "At seven years old, a boy is half a father." Whence they who place the primordial nature of the universals in the primordial seed having heard the Hippocratic (adage) that a boy of seven years old is half a father, say that in fourteen years according to Thomas it will be manifest. This is their ineffable and mystical saying.<sup>3</sup>

p. 149.

They say then that the Egyptians, who are admitted to be the most ancient of all men after the Phrygians and the first at once to impart to all men the initiations and secret rites<sup>4</sup> of the gods, and to have proclaimed forms and activities, have the holy and august and for those who are not initiated unutterable mysteries of Isis. And these are nothing else than the *pudendum* of Osiris which was snatched away and sought for by her of the seven stoles and black garments.<sup>5</sup> But they say Osiris is water. And the seven-stoled nature which has about it and is equipped with seven ethereal stoles—for thus they allegorically call the wandering stars—is like mutable generation<sup>6</sup> and shows

p. 150.

followed by a "chrism" or anointing, see *Forerunners*, II, 129, n. 2; *ibid.*, 192.

<sup>1</sup> Luke xvii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> This does not appear in the severely expurgated fragments of the Gospel of Thomas which have come down to us. Epiphanius (*Her.* xxxvii.) includes this gospel in a list of works especially favoured by the Ophites.

<sup>3</sup> λόγος, Cr. *disciplina*, Macmahon, "Logos." But see Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> ἕρμης. In Hippolytus it always has this meaning.

<sup>5</sup> Isis. See *Forerunners*, I, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> ἡ μεταβλητὴ γένεσις. The expression is repeated in the account of Simon Magus' heresy (II, p. 13 *infra*) and refers to the transmigration of souls.

that the creation is transformed by the Ineffable and Unportrayable<sup>1</sup> and Incomprehensible and Formless One. And this is what is said in the Scripture: "The just shall fall seven times and rise again."<sup>2</sup> For these falls, he says, are the turnings about of the stars when moved by him who moves all things. They say, then, about the substance of the seed which is the cause of all things that are, that it belongs to none of these but begets and creates all things that are, speaking thus: "I become what I wish, and I am what I am; wherefore I say that it is the immoveable that moves all things. For it remains what it is, creating all things and nothing comes into being from begotten things."<sup>3</sup> He says that this alone is good and that it is of this that the Saviour spoke when he said: "Why callest thou me good? There is one good, my Father who is in the heavens, Who makes the sun to rise upon the just and the unjust, and rains upon the holy and the sinners."<sup>4</sup> And who are the p. 151  
holy upon whom He rains and who the sinful we shall see with other things later on. And this is the great secret and the unknowable mystery concealed and revealed by the Egyptians. For Osiris, he says, is in the temple in front of Isis, whose *puḏendum* stands exposed looking upwards from below, and wearing as a crown all its fruits of begotten things.<sup>5</sup> And they say not only does such a thing stand in the most holy temples, but is made known to all like a light not set under a bushel but placed on a candlestick making its announcement on the housetops in all the streets and p. 152  
highways and near all dwellings being set before them as some limit and term.<sup>6</sup> For they call this the bringer of luck, not knowing what they say.

And this mystery the Greeks who have taken it over from the Egyptians keep unto this day. For we see, he says, the (images) of Hermes in such a form honoured among

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεξεικονίστος, "He of whom no image can be made."

<sup>2</sup> Prov. xxiv. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Some qualification like "originally" or "at the beginning" seems wanting. Cf. Arnold, *op. cit.*, n. on p. 58 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. v. 45.

<sup>5</sup> He has apparently mistaken Min of Coptos or Nesi-Amsu for Osiris who is, I think, never represented thus. At Denderah, he is supine.

<sup>6</sup> The "terms" of Hermes which Alcibiades and his friends mutilated.

them. And they say that they especially honour Cyllenius the Eloquent. For Hermes is the Word who, being the interpreter and fashioner<sup>1</sup> of what has been, is, and will be, stands honoured among them carved into some such form which is the *prudendum* of a man straining from the things below to those on high. And that this—that is, such a Hermes—is, he says, a leader of souls and a sender forth of them, and a cause of souls, did not escape the poets of the nations who speak thus:—

“Cyllenian Hermes called forth the souls  
Of the suitors.”—

(Homer, *Odyssey*, XXIV, 1.)

**P. 153.** Not of the suitors of Penelope, he says, O unhappy ones, but of those awakened from sleep and recalled to consciousness

“From such honour and from such enduring bliss.”—

(Empedocles, 355, Stürz.)

that is, from the blessed Man on high or from the arch-man Adamas, as they think, they have been brought down here into the form of clay that they may be made slaves to the fashioner of this creation, Jaldabaoth, a fiery god, a fourth number.<sup>2</sup> For thus they call the demiurge and father of the world of form.

“But he holds in his hands the rod  
Fair and golden, wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of men,  
Whomso he will, while others he awakens from sleep.”—

(*Odyssey*, XXIV, 3 ff.)

**P. 154.** This, he says, is he who has authority over life and death of whom he says it is written: “Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron.”<sup>3</sup> But the poet wishing to adorn the incomprehensible (part)<sup>4</sup> of the blessed nature of the Word, makes his rod not iron but golden. And he charms to sleep the eyes of the dead, he says, and again awakens those

<sup>1</sup> *δημιουργός*. Here as always the “architect,” or he who creates not *ex nihilo*, but from existing material.

<sup>2</sup> For this name which is said by all the early heresiologists to mean “the God of the Jews,” see *Forerunners*, II, 46, n. 3. He is called a “fiery God” apparently from Deut. iv. 24, and a fourth number, either because in the Ophite theogony he comes next after the Supreme Triad of Father, Son, and Mother or, more probably, from his name covering the Tetragrammaton, or name of God in four letters. <sup>3</sup> Ps. ii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cr. supplies “*virtutem*”; but the adjective is in the neuter.

sleepers who are stirred out of sleep and become suitors. Of these, he says, the Scripture spoke: "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise and Christ shall shine upon thee."<sup>1</sup> This is the Christ, he says, who in all begotten things is the Son of Man, impressed (with the image) by the Logos of whom no image can be made.<sup>2</sup> This, he says, is the great and unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians "*Hye Cye*"<sup>3</sup> seeing that all things are set under him, and this is the saying: "Their sound went forth into all the earth,"<sup>4</sup> just as

"Hermes waved the rod and they followed gibbering."—  
(Homer, *Odyssey*, XXIV, 5-7.)

still meaning the souls as the poet shows, saying figuratively:—

"And even as bats flit gibbering in the secret recesses  
Of a wondrous cave when one has fallen down out of the rock  
From the cluster. . . ."

(*Ibid.*, XXIV, 9 *seq.*)

Out of the rock, he says, is said of Adamas. This, he says, p. 155  
is Adamas, "the corner-stone which has become the head of the corner."<sup>5</sup> For in the head is the impressed brain of the substance from which every fatherhood is impressed.<sup>6</sup> "Which Adamas," he says, "I place at the foundation of Zion."<sup>7</sup> Allegorically, he says, he means the image of the Man. But that Adamas is placed within the teeth, as Homer says, "the hedge of teeth,"<sup>8</sup> that is, the wall and stockade within which is the inner man, who has fallen from Adamas the arch-man<sup>9</sup> on high who is (the rock) "cut without cutting hands"<sup>10</sup> and brought down into the image

<sup>1</sup> Eph. v. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *κεχαρκτηρισμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀχαρκτηρίστου Λόγου*. These expressions repeated up to the end of the chapter are most difficult to render in English. The allusion is clearly to a coin stamped with the image of a king. Afterwards I translate *ἀχαρκτηρίστους* by "unportrayable," for brevity's sake.

<sup>3</sup> The famous words which tradition assigns to the Eleusinian Mysteries. One version is "Rain! conceive!" and probably refers to the fecundation or tillage of the earth. Cf. Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.*, c. xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Rom. x. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxviii. 22. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> See n. on p. 123 *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xxviii. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Something is here omitted before *ὀδόντες*. Cf. *Iliad*, IV, 350.

<sup>9</sup> *ἀρχανθρώπος*, a curious expression meaning evidently First Man. It appears nowhere but in this chapter of the *Philosophumena*.

<sup>10</sup> Dan. ii. 45, "cut from the mountain without hands."

of oblivion,<sup>1</sup> the earthly and clayey. And he says that the souls follow him, the Word, gibbering.

Even so the souls gibbered as they fared together,  
But he went before,

that is, he led them,

“Gracious Hermes led them adown the dark ways.”—  
(*Odyssey*, XXIV, 9 ff.)

p. 156. that is, he says, into eternal countries remote from all evil. For whence, says he, did they come?

“By Ocean’s flood they came and the Leucadian cliff  
And by the Sun’s gates and the land of dreams.”—  
(*Odyssey*, *ubi cit.*)

This he says is Ocean, “source of gods and source of men”<sup>2</sup> ever ebbing and flowing now forth and now back. But when he says Ocean flows forth there is birth of men, but when back to the wall and stockade and the Leucadian rock there is birth of gods. This he says is that which is written: “I have said ye are all gods and sons of the Highest; if you hasten to flee from Egypt and win across the Red Sea into the desert,” that is from the mixture below to the Jerusalem above who is the Mother of (all) living. “But if ye return again to Egypt,” that is to the mixture below,  
p. 157. “ye shall die as men.”<sup>3</sup> For deathly, says he, is all birth below, but deathless that which is born above; for it is born of water alone and the spirit, spiritual not fleshly. This, he says, is that which is written: “That which is born of the flesh is flesh and that which is born of the spirit is spirit.”<sup>4</sup> This is, according to them, the spiritual birth. This, he says, is the great Jordan which flowing forth prevented the sons of Israel from coming out of the land of Egypt—or rather, from the mixture below; for Egypt is the body according to them—until Joshua<sup>5</sup> turned it and made it flow back towards its source.

<sup>1</sup> The Power called Adonæus or Adon-ai by the Ophites is also addressed as  $\lambda\theta\theta\eta$ , “oblivion,” in the “defence” made to him by the ascending soul. See Origen, *cont Cels.* VI, c. 30 ff. or *Forerunners*, II, 72.

<sup>2</sup> A compound of *Iliad*, XIV, 201 and 246.

<sup>3</sup> *P.* lxxxii. 6; Luke vi. 35; John x. 34; Gal. iv. 26.

<sup>4</sup> John iii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Joshua iii. 16.



8. Following up these and such-like (words) the most wonderful Gnostics having invented a new art of grammar<sup>1</sup> imagine that their own prophet Homer unspeakably<sup>2</sup> fore-showed<sup>3</sup> these things and they mock at those who not being initiated in the Holy Scriptures are led together into such designs. But they say: whoso says all things were framed from one, errs; but whoso says from three speaks the truth and gives an exposition of (the things of) the universe. For one, he says, is the blessed nature of the Blessed Man above, Adamas, and one is the mortal (nature) below, and one is the kingless race begotten on high, where, p. 158. he says, is Mariam the sought-for one, and Jothor the great wise one, and Sephora the seer,<sup>4</sup> and Moses whose generation was not in Egypt—for there were children born to him in Midian—and this, he says, was not forgotten by the poets:—

“In three lots were all things divided and each drew a domain of his own.”—(*Iliad*, XV, 169.)

For sublime things, he says, must needs be spoken, but they are spoken everywhere; lest “hearing they should not hear and seeing they should see not.”<sup>5</sup> For if, he says, the sublime things were not spoken, the cosmos could not have been framed. These are the three ponderous words: Caulacau, Saulasau, Zeesar.<sup>6</sup> Caulacau the one on high, Adamas, Saulasau, the mortal nature below, Zeesar the p. 159. Jordan which flows back on its source. —This is, he says, the masculo-feminine Man who is in all things, whom the ignorant call the triple-bodied Geryon—as if Geryon were “flowing from Earth”<sup>7</sup>—and the Greeks usually “the

<sup>1</sup> So the Cabbalists call one of their word-juggling processes *gematria*, which is said to be a corruption of *γραμματεία*.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρήτως, i.e., “by implication,” or “not in words.”

<sup>3</sup> Play upon *προφαίνω* and *προφήτης*.

<sup>4</sup> Mariam was Moses' aunt, Sephora his wife, and Jothor Sephora's father, according to some fragments of Ezekiel quoted by Eusebius. So Cruice.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xiii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. xxviii. 10. In A.V., “Precept upon precept; line upon line; here a little, there a little.” Irenæus (I, xix, 3, 1, p. 201, Harvey) says, Caulacau is the name in which the Saviour descended according to Basilides, and the word seems to have been used in this sense by other Gnostic sects. See *Forerunners*, II, 94, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> ἐκ γῆς βέοντα !

heavenly horn of Mên" <sup>1</sup> because he has mingled and compounded all things with all. "For all things, he says, were made through him and apart from him not one thing was made. That which was in him is life."<sup>2</sup> This, he says is the life, the unspeakable family of perfect men which was not known to the former generation. But the "nothing" which came into being apart from him is the world of form; for it came without him by the 3rd and 4th.<sup>3</sup> This, he says, is the cup Condy in which the king drinking, divineth. This, he says, is that which was hidden among the fair grains of Benjamin. And the Greeks also say the same with raving lips:—

"Bring water, bring wine, O boy  
Intoxicate me, plunge me into sleep.  
The cup tells me  
What I must become."<sup>4</sup>—

p. 160.

(Anacreon, XXVI, 25, 26.)

It was enough, he says, that only this should be known to men that Anacreon's cup spoke mutely an unspeakable mystery. For mute, he says, was Anacreon's cup which says Anacreon, tells him with mute speech what he must become, that is spiritual not fleshly, if he hears the hidden mystery in silence. And this is the water in those fair nuptials which Jesus changed by making wine. This, he says, is the mighty and true beginning of the signs which Jesus did in Cana in Galilee and made known the kingdom of the heavens. This, he says, is the kingdom of the heavens within us, as a treasure as the leaven hidden within three measures of meal.<sup>5</sup>

p. 161. This is, he says, the great and unspeakable mystery of the Samothracians which is allowed to be known to us alone who are perfect. For the Samothracians explicitly hand down in the mysteries celebrated by them that Adam is the Arch-man. And in the temple of the Samothracians stand two statues of naked men having both hands stretched

<sup>1</sup> A direct quotation from the Hymn of the Great Mysteries given later, p. 141 *infra*. Also a pun between *κεραυρον* and *κίρας*.

<sup>2</sup> John i. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Sophia, the third person of the Ophite Triad and Jaldabaoth her son.

<sup>4</sup> Something omitted after "cup."

<sup>5</sup> *επλα οδρα*. A Jewish measure equivalent to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *modius*. Cf Matt. xiii. 33.

forth to heaven and their *puḍenda* turned upwards like that of Hermes on (Mt.) Cyllene. But the aforesaid statues are the images of the Arch-man and of the re-born spiritual one in all things of one substance<sup>1</sup> with that man. This, he says, is what was spoken by the Saviour: "Unless ye drink my blood and eat my flesh, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens; but even though, He says, ye drink the cup which I drink when I go forth you will not be able to enter there."<sup>2</sup> For He knew, he says, from which nature each of His disciples was, and that each of them was compelled to come to his own special nature. For from the twelve tribes, he says, He chose twelve disciples,<sup>3</sup> and by them He spake to every tribe. Whence, p. 162 he says, all could not have heard the preachings of the twelve disciples, nor, had they heard them could they have been received. For the things which are not according to<sup>4</sup> nature are with them natural.

This, he says, the Thracians who dwell about Mt. Hæmus and like them the Phrygians call Corybas,<sup>5</sup> because although he takes the beginning of his descent from the head on high and from the Unportrayable one and passes through all the sources of underlying things, we know not how and in what fashion he comes. This, he says, is the saying: "We have heard his voice, but we have not seen his shape."<sup>6</sup> For, he says, the voice of him who is set apart and has been impressed with the image<sup>7</sup> is heard, but no one has seen what is the shape which has come down from on high from the Unportrayable One. But it is in the earthly form and no one is aware of it. This, he says, is the God who dwells in the flood according to the P'salter and "who speaks aloud and cries from many waters."<sup>8</sup> "Many waters," he says, is the manifold generation of mortal men, wherefrom he shouts and cries aloud to the Unportrayable Man: "Deliver my only p. 163

<sup>1</sup> The famous *ὁμοούσιος*.

<sup>2</sup> A compound of John vi. 53 and Mk. x. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Μαθητὰς*, "disciples," not apostles.

<sup>4</sup> The *κατὰ* may mean either "against" or "according to" nature.

<sup>5</sup> For this Corybas and his murder by his two brothers see Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, II. A pun here follows between Corybas and *κορυφή*, "head."

<sup>6</sup> John v. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *κεχαρκτηρισμένος*.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. xxix. 3, 10.

begotten from the lions!"<sup>1</sup> In answer to this, he says, is the saying: "Thou art my son, O Israel. Fear not. If thou passest through the rivers they shall not overwhelm thee; if through the fire, it shall not burn thee."<sup>2</sup> By rivers is meant, he says, the moist essence of generation, and by fire the rage and desire for generation. "Thou art mine. Be not afraid." And again he speaks: "If a mother forget her children and pities them not nor gives them suck, yet will I not forget thee."<sup>3</sup> Adamas, he says, speaks to his own men: "But although a woman shall forget these things, yet will I not forget you. I have graven you on my hands."<sup>4</sup> But concerning his ascension, that is, the being born again, that he may be born spiritual, not fleshly, he says, the Scripture speaks: "Lift up the gates, ye rulers, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall enter in."<sup>5</sup> That is the wonder of wonders. "For who," he says, "is this King of Glory? A worm and not a man, a reproach of man and an object of contempt for the people. This is the King of Glory, he who is mighty in battle."<sup>6</sup> But he means the war which is in the body, because the (outward) form is made from warring elements, he says, as it is written: "Remember the war which is in the body."<sup>7</sup> The same entrance and the same gate, he says, Jacob saw when journeying to Mesopotamia—for Mesopotamia, he says, is the flow of the great Ocean flowing forth from the middle part<sup>8</sup> of the Perfect Man—and he wondered at the heavenly gate, saying: "How terrible is this place! It is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven."<sup>9</sup> Wherefore, he says, the saying of Jesus: "I am the true gate."<sup>10</sup> Now He who says this is, he says, the Perfect Man who has been impressed above (with the image) of the Unportrayable one. Therefore he says, the perfect

p. 164.

p. 165.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxii. 20, A. V., "My darling from the power of the dog."

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xci. 8; xliii. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xlix. 15; slightly altered.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xlix. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. xxiv. 7. A. V. omits "rulers" or archons.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. xxiv. 8; xxii. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Job xl. 2.

<sup>8</sup> A pun like that on Geryon or Corybas.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xxviii. 17.

<sup>10</sup> John x. 7, 9, "I am the door."

man will not be saved unless born again by entering in through this gate.

But this same one, he says, the Phrygians<sup>1</sup> call also Pappas, because he set at rest that which had been moved irregularly and discordantly before his coming. For the name of Papa, he says, is (taken from) all things in heaven, on earth, and below the earth, saying: "Make to cease! make to cease!"<sup>2</sup> the discord of the cosmos and make peace for those that are afar off,"<sup>3</sup> that is, for the material and earthly, and also "for those that are anigh," that is, for the spiritual and understanding perfect men. But the Phrygians say that the same one is also a "corpse," having been buried in the body as in a monument or tomb.<sup>4</sup> This, he says, is the saying: "Ye are whited sepulchres filled within with dead men's bones,"<sup>5</sup> that is, there is not within you the living Man. And again, he says, "the dead shall leap forth from their graves,"<sup>6</sup> that is, the spiritual man, not the fleshly, shall be born again from the bodies of the earthly. This, he says, is the resurrection which comes through the gate of the heavens, through which if they do not enter, all p. 166 remain dead. And the same Phrygians, he says again, say that this same one is by reason of the change a god. For he becomes God when he arises from the dead and enters into heaven through the same gate. This gate, he says, Paul the Apostle knew, having set it ajar in mystery and declaring that he "was caught up by an angel and came unto a second and third heaven into Paradise itself and beheld what he beheld, and heard ineffable words which it is not lawful for man to utter."<sup>7</sup> These are, he says, the mysteries called ineffable by all "which (we also speak) not in the words taught by human wisdom, but in those taught by the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual; but the natural<sup>8</sup> man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him";<sup>9</sup> and these, he

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* the worshippers of Cybele. For Attis' name of Pappas, see Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle*, p. 15. It seems to mean "Father."

<sup>2</sup> παύε, παύε!!!

<sup>3</sup> Eph. ii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> This was an Orphic doctrine. See *Forerunners*, I, 127, n. 1 for authorities.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxiii. 27.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 52.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 3, 4. A. V. omits "second heaven" and the sights seen.

<sup>8</sup> φυσικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος. The "natural man" of the A. V.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 13, 14.

says, are the ineffable mysteries of the Spirit which we alone behold. Concerning them, he says, the Saviour spake: "No man shall come unto me unless my heavenly Father draw some one (unto me)."<sup>1</sup> For very hard it is, he says, to receive and take this great and ineffable mystery. And

p. 167. again, he says, the Saviour spake: "Not every one who sayeth unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of the heavens, but he who doeth the will of my Father who is in the heavens."<sup>2</sup> Of which (will) he says, they must be doers and not hearers only to enter into the kingdom of the heavens. And again, says he, He spake: "The publicans and the harlots go before you into the kingdom of the heavens."<sup>3</sup> For the publicans, he says, are those who receive the taxes of market-wares, and we are the tax-gatherers "upon whom the ends of the æons have come down."<sup>4</sup> For the "ends," he says, are the seeds sown in the cosmos by the Unportrayable One,<sup>5</sup> whereby the whole cosmos is completed;<sup>6</sup> for by them also it began to be. And this, he says, is the saying: "The sower went forth to sow, and some (seed) fell on the wayside and was trodden under foot, and some upon stony (parts) and sprang up; and because it had no root, he says, it withered and died. But some fell, he says, upon the fair and goodly earth and brought forth some a hundredfold, and some sixty and some thirty.

p. 168. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."<sup>7</sup> This is, he says, that no one becomes a hearer of these mysteries save only the perfect Gnostics. This, he says, is the fair and goodly earth of which Moses spake: "I will bring you to a fair and goodly land, to a land flowing with milk and honey."<sup>8</sup> This, he says, is the honey and the milk, tasting which the perfect become kingless and partakers of the fulness.<sup>9</sup> The same, he says, is the Pleroma, whereby all things that are

<sup>1</sup> John vi. 44, "draw *him* unto me."

<sup>2</sup> Matt. vii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxi. 31, "Kingdom of God."

<sup>4</sup> I Cor. x. 11. A pun on τέλη, "taxes," and τέλη, "ends."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Stoic doctrine of λόγου σπερματικοί, Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> Lit., "brought to an end."

<sup>7</sup> A condensation of Matt. xiii. 3-9.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. xxxi. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *i. e.* become united with the Godhead. The newly-baptized were given milk and honey. Cf. Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, above quoted, p. 300.

begotten by the unbegotten have come into being and are filled.

But the same one is called by the Phrygians "unfruitful." For he is unfruitful when he is fleshly and performs the desire of the flesh. This, he says, is the saying: "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire."<sup>1</sup> For these fruits, he says, are only the rational, the living man who enter by the third gate.<sup>2</sup> They say, indeed: "Ye who eat dead things and make living ones, what will ye make if ye eat living things?"<sup>3</sup> For they say that words<sup>4</sup> and thoughts and men are living things cast down by that Unportrayable One into the form below. This, he says, is what he means: "Throw not p. 169. your holy things to the dogs nor pearls to the swine,"<sup>5</sup> saying that the intercourse of woman with man is the work of dogs and swine.

But this same one, he says, the Phrygians call goatherd, not because, he says, he feeds goats and he-goats, as the psychic man calls them, but because, he says, he is Aipolos, that is, he who is ever revolving<sup>6</sup> and turning about and driving the whole cosmos in its circumvolution. For to revolve is to turn about and to change the position of things, whence, he says, the two centres of the heaven men call Poles. And the poet says:—

"What unerring ancient of the sea turns hither  
The Immortal Egyptian Proteus."—  
(*Odyssey*, IV, 384.)

He<sup>7</sup> is not betrayed (by Eidothea), he says, but turns himself about, as it were, and goes to and fro. He says, too, that cities wherein we dwell are called πόλεις, because we turn and go about in them. Thus, he says, the p. 170. Phrygians call him Aipolos, who turns everything always in every direction and changes it into what it should be. But the Phrygians also call the same one "of many fruits," because (the Naassene writer) says, "the children of the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> This "third gate" is evidently baptism. For the reason see *Forerunners*, II, p. 73, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be a quotation from the Naassene author.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps an allusion to the λόγοι σπερματικοί.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. vii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> The derivation to be tolerable should be \*ἀειπώλος!

<sup>7</sup> i. e. Proteus.

desolate are more in number than those of her who has a husband";<sup>1</sup> that is, the deathless things which are born again and ever remain are many, if few are those which are born (once); but all the things of the flesh, he says, are corruptible, even if those which are born are many. Wherefore, he says, Rachel mourned for her children and would not be comforted when mourning over them, for she knew, he says, that they were not.<sup>2</sup> And Jeremiah wails for the Jerusalem below, not the city in Phœnicia,<sup>3</sup> but the mortal generation below. For Jeremiah, he says, also knew the Perfect Man who has been born again of water and the spirit and is not fleshly. The same Jeremiah indeed said: "He is a man, and who shall know him?"<sup>4</sup> Thus, he says, the knowledge of the Perfect Man is very deep and hard to comprehend. For the beginning of perfection, he says, is the knowledge of man; but the knowledge of God is completed perfection.

- P. 171.** The Phrygians also say, however, that he is a "green ear of corn reaped"; and following the Phrygians, the Athenians when initiating (any one) into the Eleusinian (Mysteries) also show to those who have been made epopt the mighty and wonderful and most perfect mystery for an epopt<sup>5</sup> there—a green ear of corn reaped in silence.<sup>6</sup> And this ear of corn is also for the Athenians the great and perfect spark of light from the Unportrayable One; just as the hierophant himself, not indeed castrated like Attis, but rendered a eunuch by hemlock, and cut off from all fleshly generation, celebrating by night at Eleusis the great and ineffable mysteries beside a huge fire, cries aloud and makes proclamation, saying: "August Brimo has brought forth a holy son, Brimos," that is, the strong (has given birth) to the strong.<sup>7</sup> For august is, he says, the generation which is spiritual or heavenly or sublime, and strong is that which is thus generated. For the mystery is called Eleusis or Anacterion: "Eleusis," he says, because we spiritual ones **P. 172.** came on high rushing from the Adamas below.<sup>8</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> Gal. iv. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Jerem. xxxi. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The mistake in geography shows that Hippolytus was not a Jew.

<sup>4</sup> Jerem. xviii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> ἑποπτικόν . . . μυστήριον.

<sup>6</sup> This is in effect the first real information we have as to the final secret of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

<sup>7</sup> Hesychius also translates Brimos by *ἰσχυρός*.

<sup>8</sup> Hades or Pluto.



*elcusesthai*, he says is to come, but *anactoreion* the return on high. This, he says, is what they who have been initiated into the mysteries of the Eleusinians say. But it is a regulation that those who have been initiated into the Lesser Mysteries should moreover be initiated into the Great. For greater destinies obtain greater portions.<sup>1</sup> But the Lesser Mysteries, he says, are those of Persephone below and of the way leading thither, which is wide and broad and bears the dead to Persephone, and the poet says:—

“But under her is a straight and rugged road  
Hollow and muddy, but the best to lead  
To the delightful grove of much-reverenced Aphrodite.”<sup>2</sup>

These, he says, are the Lesser Mysteries, those of fleshly generation, after being initiated into which men ought to cease (from the small) and be initiated into the great and p. 174 heavenly ones. For those who have obtained greater destinies, he says, receive greater portions. For this, he says, is the gate of heaven and this the house of God where the good God dwells alone,<sup>3</sup> into which will not enter, he says, any unpurified, any psychic or fleshly one; but it is kept for the spiritual only, where those who are must cast aside<sup>4</sup> their garments and all become bridegrooms, having come to maturity through the virgin spirit.<sup>5</sup> For this is the virgin who bears in her womb and conceives and gives birth to a son not psychic or corporeal, but the blessed Aeon of Aeons. Concerning these things, he says, the Saviour expressly spake: “Narrow and straitened is the way that leads to life and few are those who enter into it;

<sup>1</sup> Schleiermacher attributes this saying to Heraclitus.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke (*ap. Cr.*) attributes these lines to Parmenides.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justinus later, p. 175 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> Schneidewin and Cruice both read λαβεῖν, “receive” (their vestures) for βαλεῖν.

<sup>5</sup> Cr. translates ἀπρηνωμένους, *exuta virilitate*; but it seems to be a participle of ἀπαρρηδῶ = ἀπανδρῶ. The idea that the Gnostic *pneumatics* or spirituals would finally be united in marriage with the angels or λόγοι σπερματικοί was current in Gnosticism. See *Forerunners*, II, 110. The “virgin spirit” was probably that Barbelo whom Irenæus, I, 26, 1f. (pp. 221 ff., Harvey), describes under that name as revered by the “Barbelioteæ or Naassenes”; in any case, probably, some analogue of the earth-goddess, ever bringing forth and yet ever a virgin.

but wide and broad is the way leading to destruction and many are they who pass along it."<sup>1</sup>

9. But the Phrygians further say that the Father of the  
 P 174. universals is Amygdalus, not a tree, he says, but that pre-  
 existent almond<sup>2</sup> which containing within itself the perfect  
 fruit (and) as if pulsating and stirring in the depth, tore asunder  
 its breasts and gave birth to its own invisible and unnameable  
 and ineffable boy of whom we are speaking.<sup>3</sup> For "Amyxai"  
 is as if to burst and cut asunder,<sup>4</sup> as he says, in the case of  
 inflamed bodies having within them any gathering, the  
 surgeons who cut them open call them "amychas." Thus,  
 he says, the Phrygians call the almond from whom the  
 invisible one proceeded and was born, and through whom  
 all things came into being and apart from whom nothing  
 came into being.

But the Phrygians say that he who was thence born is a  
 piper, because that which was born is a melodious spirit. For  
 God, he says, is a Spirit, wherefore neither on this mountain  
 nor in Jerusalem shall the true worshippers prostrate them-  
 selves, but in spirit.<sup>5</sup> For spiritual, he says, is the prostration  
 of the perfect, not fleshly. But the Spirit, he says, (is)  
 there where both the Father and the Son are named, being  
 P 175. there born from this (Son and from) the Father.<sup>6</sup> This, he  
 says, is the many-named, myriad-eyed<sup>7</sup> incomprehensible  
 One for whom every nature yearns, but each in a different  
 way. This, he says, is the Word<sup>8</sup> of God, which is, he  
 says, the word of announcement of the great Power.  
 Wherefore it will be sealed and hidden and concealed,  
 lying in the habitation wherein the root of the universals<sup>9</sup>  
 is established, that is<sup>10</sup> (the root) of Aeons, Powers,

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vii. 13, 14. The A.V. has *εἰσέρχομαι* for *διέρχομαι*.

<sup>2</sup> See n. on p. 119 *supra*. <sup>3</sup> *i. e.* Attis.

<sup>4</sup> *ἀμύσσω* is rather to "scratch," or "scarify," than as in the text.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. John iv. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Cruice's restoration. Schneidewin's would read: "The Spirit is there where also the Father is named, and the Son is there born from the Father."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ezekiel x. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *ῥῆμα*, not *λόγος*.

<sup>9</sup> Here we see the interpretation put by Hippolytus on the Aristotelian *τὰ δλα*.

<sup>10</sup> *θεμελίω*. The whole of this sentence singularly resembles that in the *Great Announcement* ascribed to Simon Magus, for which see II, p. 12 *infra*.

'Thoughts, Gods, Angels, Emissary Spirits, things which are, things which are not, things begotten, things unbegotten, things incomprehensible, things comprehensible, years, months, days, hours (and) of an Indivisible Point,<sup>1</sup> from which what is least begins to increase successively. The Point, he says, being nothing and consisting of nothing (and) being indivisible will become of itself a certain magnitude incomprehensible by thought.<sup>2</sup> It, he says, is the kingdom of the heavens, the grain of mustard seed, the Indivisible Point inherent to the body which none knoweth, he says, save the spiritual alone. This, he says, is the saying: "There are no tongues nor speech where their voice is not heard."<sup>3</sup>

P. 176

Thus they hastily declare that the things which are said and are done by all men are to be understood in their way, imagining that all things become spiritual. Whence they also say that not even they who exhibit (in the) theatres say or do anything not comprehended in advance.<sup>4</sup> So for example, he says, when the populace have assembled in the theatres<sup>5</sup> some one makes entrance clad in a notable robe bearing a cithara and singing to it. Thus he speaks chanting the Great Mysteries<sup>6</sup> (but) not knowing what he is saying:—

"Whether thou art the offspring of Kronos, or of blessed Zeus,  
Or of mighty Rhea, Hail Attis, the sad mutilation of Rhea.<sup>7</sup>  
The Assyrians call thee the much-longed-for Adonis,  
Egypt names thee Osiris, heavenly horn of the Moon.<sup>8</sup>

P. 177.

<sup>1</sup> This idea of the Indivisible Point, which recurs in several Gnostic writings, including those of Simon and Basilides, seems founded on the mathematical axiom that the line and therefore all solid bodies spring from the point, which itself has "neither parts nor magnitude."

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπιολία. This also is used by Simon as the equivalent of Ἐνοια.

<sup>3</sup> 1's. xix. 3.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπρονοήτως, Cr., sine numine quidquam; Macmahon, "without premeditation."

<sup>5</sup> Performances in the theatres formed part of the Megalesia or Festival of the Great Mother.

<sup>6</sup> I should be inclined to read τῆς Μεγάλης μυστήρια, "Mysteries of the Great Mother."

<sup>7</sup> An allusion to the variant of the Cybele legend which makes her the emasculator of Attis.

<sup>8</sup> So Conington, who translated the hymns into English verse, and Schneidewin. Hippolytus, however, evidently gave this invocation to the Greeks. See p. 132 *supra*.

The Greeks Sôphia,<sup>1</sup> the Samothracians, the revered Adamna,  
 The Thessalians, Corybas, and the Phrygians  
 Sometimes Papas, now the dead, or a god,  
 Or the unfruitful one, or goatherd,  
 Or the green ear of corn reaped,  
 Or he to whom the flowering almond-tree gave birth  
 As a pipe-playing man."<sup>2</sup>

This, he says, is the many-formed Attis to whom they sing praises, saying :—

“ I will hymn Attis, son of Rhea, not making quiver with a buzzing sound, nor with the cadence of the Idæan Curetes' flutes, but I will mingle (with the hymn) the Phœbun music of the lyre. Evohe, Evan, for (thou art) Bacchus, (thou art) Pan, (thou art the) shepherd of white stars.”

For such and such-like words they frequent the so-called Mysteries of the great Mother, thinking especially that by means of what is enacted there, they perceive the whole mystery. For they get no advantage from what is acted there except that they are not castrated. They merely perfect the work of the castrated;<sup>3</sup> for they give most pointed and careful instructions to abstain as if castrated from intercourse with women. But the rest of the work as  
 r. 178. we have said many times, they perform like the castrated.

But they worship none other than the Naas, calling themselves Naassenes. But Naas is the serpent, from whom he says, all temples under heaven are called *naos* from the Naas; and that to that Naas alone is dedicated every holy place and every initiation and every mystery, and generally that no initiation can be found under heaven in which there is not a *naos* and the Naas within it, whence it has come to be called a *naos*. But they say that the serpent is the watery substance, as did Thales of Miletos<sup>4</sup> and that no being, in short, of immortals or mortals, of those with souls or of those without souls, can be made without him. And that all things are set under him, and that he is good and

<sup>1</sup> Ὀφίαρ, according to Schneidewin's restoration (for which see p. 176 Cr.), seems better sense, if we can suppose that the Sabazian serpent was so called.

<sup>2</sup> The whole hymn with the next fragment is given as restored to metrical form where quoted in last note.

<sup>3</sup> That is of the *Galli*, or eunuch-priests of Attis and Cybele.

<sup>4</sup> Thales only said, so far as we know, that water was the beginning of all things.

contains all things within him as in the horn of the one-horned bull<sup>1</sup> (so as) to contribute beauty and bloom to all things according to their own nature and kind, as if he had passed through all "as if he went forth from Edem and cut himself into four heads."<sup>2</sup>

But this Edem, they say, is the brain, as it were bound and enlaced in the surrounding coverings as in the heavens; p. 179 and they consider man as far as the head alone to be Paradise. Therefore "the river that came forth from Eden"—that is from the brain—they think "is separated into four heads and the name of the first river is called Phison; this it is which encompasses all the land of Havilat. There is gold and the gold of that land is good, and there is bdellium and the onyx stone."<sup>3</sup> This, he says, (is the) eye, bearing witness by its honour (among the other features) and its colours to the saying: "But the name of the second river is Gihon; this it is which encompasses all the land of Ethiopia." This, he says, is the hearing, being somewhat like a labyrinth. "And the name of the third is Tigris; this it is which goes about over against the Assyrians." This, he says, is the smell which makes use of the swiftest current of the flood. And it goes about over against the Assyrians because in inspiration the breath drawn in from the outer air is sharper and stronger than the respired breath. For this is the nature of respiration. "The fourth river is Euphrates." This they say, is the mouth, which is the seat of prayer and the entrance of food, which gladdens<sup>4</sup> and nourishes and characterizes<sup>5</sup> the p. 180 spiritual perfect man. This, he says, is the water above the firmament concerning which, he says, the Saviour spake: "If thou knewest who it is that asks thou would have asked of him, and he would have given thee to drink living rushing water."<sup>6</sup> To this water, he says, comes every

<sup>1</sup> The cornucopia: horn of the goat (not bull) Amalthea seems to have been intended. I see no likeness between this and the passage in Deut. xxxiii. 17, to which Macmahon refers it.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> This and the three following quotations are from Gen. ii. 10-14 and follow the Septuagint version.

<sup>4</sup> Play upon Euphrates and εὐφραίνει, "rejoices."

<sup>5</sup> χαρακτηρίζει. "Stamps" would be more correct, but singularly incongruous with water.

<sup>6</sup> John iv. 10. No substantial difference from A. V.

nature to choose its own substances,<sup>1</sup> and from this water goes forth to every nature that which is proper to it, he says, more (certainly) than iron to the magnet, gold to the spine of the sea-falcon and husks to amber.<sup>2</sup> But if anyone, he says, is blind from birth, and has not beheld the true light which lightens every man who cometh into the world,<sup>3</sup> let him recover his sight again through us, and behold how as it were through some Paradise full of all plants and seeds, the water flows among them. Let him see, too, that from one and the same water the olive-tree chooses and draws to itself oil, and the vine wine, and each of the other plants (that which is) according to its kind.

p. 181. But that Man, he says, is without honour in the world, and much honoured [in heaven, being betrayed] by those who know not to those who know him not, and accounted like a drop which falleth from a vessel.<sup>4</sup> But we are, he says, the spiritual who have chosen out of the living water, the Euphrates flowing through the midst of Babylon, that which is ours, entering in through the true gate which is Jesus the blessed. And we alone of all men are Christians, whom the mystery in the third gate has made perfect, and have been anointed<sup>5</sup> there with silent ointment from the horn like David and not from the earthen vessel, he says, like Saul,<sup>6</sup> who abode with the evil spirit of fleshly desire.

10. These things, then, we have set forth as a few out of many: for the undertakings of folly which are nonsensical and madlike are innumerable. But since we have expounded to the best of our ability their unknowable gnosis, we have thought it right to add this also. This psalm has been concocted by them, whereby they seem to hymn all the

p. 182. mysteries of their error thus:—<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *οὐσίαι*, but not in the theological sense.

<sup>2</sup> This simile, repeated often later, has been the chief support of Salmon and Stähelin's forgery theory. Yet Clement of Alexandria (Book VII, c. 2, *Stromateis*) also uses it, and the turning of swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks appears in Micah iv. 3, as well as in Isaiah ii. 4, without arguing a common origin.

<sup>3</sup> John i. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xl. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Play upon *χρίσμενοι*, "anointed," and *χριστιανοί*.

<sup>6</sup> I Sam. x. 1; xvi. 13, 14.

<sup>7</sup> The hymn which follows is so corrupt that Schneidewin declared it beyond hope of restoration. Miller shows that the original metre was anapestic, the number of feet diminishing regularly from 6 to 4. He

The generic law of the universe was the primordial mind ;  
 But the second was the poured-forth light<sup>1</sup> of the First-born :  
 And the third toiling soul received the Law as its portion.  
 Whence clothed in watery shape,  
 The loved one subject to toil (and) death,  
 Now having lordship, she beholds the light,  
 Now cast forth to piteous state, she weeps.  
 Now she weeps (and now) rejoices ;  
 Now laments (and now) is judged ;  
 Now is judged (and now) is dying.  
 Now no outlet is left or she wandering  
 The labyrinth of woes has entered.<sup>2</sup>  
 But Jesus said : Father, behold !  
 A strife of woes upon Earth  
 From thy breath has fallen,  
 But she seeks to flee malignant chaos.  
 And knows not how to win through it,  
 For this cause send me, O Father,  
 Holding seals I will go down,  
 Through entire aeons I will pass,  
 All mysteries I will disclose ;  
 The forms of the gods I will display ;  
 The secrets of the holy way  
 Called Gnosis, I will hand down.

p. 183

p. 184

These things the Naassenes attempt, calling themselves Gnostics.<sup>3</sup> But since the error is many-headed and truly

likens this to that of the hymns of Synesius and the *Tragopodagra* of Lucian.

<sup>1</sup> Reading *φῶς* for *χῶς*.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to correspond with the Ophite description of *Sophia* or the third Person of their Triad in Chaos. Cf. Irenaeus, I, 28.

<sup>3</sup> The source of this chapter on the Naassenes is so far undiscoverable. Contrary to his usual practice, Hippolytus here mentions the name of no heretical author as he does in the following chapters of this Book. It is probable, therefore, that he may have taken down his account of "Naassene" doctrines from the lips of some convert, which would account for the extreme wildness of the quotations and to the incoherence with which he jumps about from one subject to another. This would also account for the heresy here described being far more Christian in tone than the other forms of Ophitism which follow it in the text, and the quotations from Scripture, especially the N.T., being more numerous and on the whole more apposite than in the succeeding chapters. The style, such as it is, is maintained throughout and its continuity should perhaps forbid us to see in it a plurality of authors. Little prominence in it is given to the Serpent which gives its name to the sect, although it is here said that he is good, and this seems to point to the Naassene being more familiar with the Western than with the Eastern forms of Cybele-worship.

of diverse shape like the fabled Hydra, we, having struck off its heads at one blow by refutation, (and) using the rod of Truth, will utterly destroy the beast. For the remaining heresies differ little from this, they all being linked together by one spirit of error. But since they by changing the words and the names wish the heads of the serpent to be many, we shall not thus fail to refute them thoroughly as they will.

p. 185.

2. *Perata*.<sup>1</sup>

12. There is also indeed a certain other (heresy), the Peratic, the blasphemy of whose (followers) against Christ has for many years evaded (us). Whose secret mysteries it now seems fitting for us to bring into the open. They suppose the cosmos to be one, divided into three parts. But of this triple division, one part according to them is, as it were, a single principle like a great source<sup>2</sup> which may be

<sup>1</sup> No mention of this sect is made by Irenæus or Epiphanius, and Theodoret's statements concerning it correspond so closely with those of our text as to make it certain either that they were drawn from it or that both he and Hippolytus drew from a common source. Yet Clement of Alexandria knew of the Peratics (see *Stromateis* VII, 16), and Origen (*cont. Cels.* VI, 28) speaks of the Ophites generally as boasting Euphrates as their founder. The name given to them in our text is said by Clement (*ubi cit.*) to be a place-name, and the better opinion seems to be that it means "Mede" or one who lives on the further side of the Euphrates. The main point of their doctrine seems to be the great prominence given in it to the Serpent, whom they call the Son, and make an intermediate power between the Father of All and Matter. In this they are perhaps following the lead of some of the Græco-Oriental worships like that of Sabazius, one of the many forms of Attis, or that of Dionysos whose symbol was the serpent. The proof of their doctrines, however, they sought for not, like the Naassenes, in the mystic rites, but in a kind of astral theology which looked for religious truths in the grouping of the stars; and it was in pursuit of this that they identified the Saviour Serpent with the constellation Draco. Yet they were ostensibly Christians, being apparently perfectly willing to accept the historical Christ as their great intermediary. Their attitude to Judaism is more difficult to grasp because, while they quoted freely from the Old Testament, they apparently considered its God as an evil, or at all events, an unnecessarily harsh, power, in which they anticipated Manes and probably Marcion. Had we more of their writings we should probably find in them the embodiment of a good deal of early Babylonian tradition, to which most of these astrological heresies paid great attention.

<sup>2</sup> 1774.



cut by the mind into boundless sections. And the first and chiefest section according to them is the triad and (the one part of it)<sup>1</sup> is called Perfect Good and Fatherly Greatness.<sup>2</sup> But the second part of this triad of theirs is, as it were, a certain boundless multitude of powers which have come into being from themselves, while the third is (the world of) form. And the first is unbegotten and is good; and the second is good (and) self-begotten, while the third is begotten.<sup>3</sup> Whence they say expressly that there are three Gods, three *logoi*, three minds, and three men. For they assign to each part of the world of the divided divisibility, gods and *logoi* and minds and men and the rest. But they say that from on high, from the unbegottenness and the first section of the cosmos, when the cosmos had already been brought to completion, there came down through causes which we shall declare later<sup>4</sup> in the days of Herod a certain triple-bodied and triple-powered<sup>5</sup> man called Christ, containing within Himself all the compounds<sup>6</sup> and powers from the three parts of the cosmos. And this, he says is the saying: "The whole Pleroma was pleased to dwell within Him bodily and the whole godhead" of the Triad thus divided "is in Him."<sup>7</sup> For, he says that there were brought down from the two overlying worlds, (to wit) the unbegotten and the self-begotten, unto this world in which we are, seeds of all powers. But what is the manner of their descent we shall see later.<sup>8</sup> Then he says that Christ was brought down from on high from the unbegottenness so

<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν ἐν μέros. Cruice thinks these words should be added here instead of in the description of the "great source" just above. See Book X, II, p. 481 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably "Great Father."

<sup>3</sup> This is entirely contradictory of Hippolytus' own statement later of their doctrine that the universe consists of Father, Son, and Matter. *Αὐτογενής*, for which *αὐτογέννητος* is substituted a page later, is the last epithet to be applied to a *son*. Is it a mistake for *μενογέννητος*, "only begotten." For the three worlds, see the Naassene author also, p. 121 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> The cause assigned a little later is the salvation of the *three* worlds.

<sup>5</sup> *τριδύναμος* probably means with powers from all three worlds. The phrase is frequent in the *Pistis Sophia*.

<sup>6</sup> *συγκρίματα*, *concretions*, Cr. and Macmahon. It might mean "decrees" and is used in the Septuagint version of Daniel for "interpretations" of dreams.

<sup>7</sup> Coloss. i. 19, and ii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> From the starry influences?

that through His descent all the threefold divisions should be saved. For the things, he says, brought down below shall ascend through Him; but those which take counsel together against those brought down from above shall be banished and after they have been punished shall be rooted out. This, he says, is the saying: "The Son of Man came not into the world to destroy the world, but that the world through Him might be saved."<sup>1</sup> He calls "the world," he says, the two overlying portions, (to wit) the unbegotten and the self-begotten. When the Scripture says: "Lest ye be judged with the world,"<sup>2</sup> he says, "it means the third part of the cosmos (to wit) that of form. For the third part  
 p. 188. which he calls the world must be destroyed, but the two overlying ones preserved from destruction."<sup>3</sup>

13. Let us first learn, then, how they who have taken this teaching from the astrologers insult Christ, working destruction for those who follow them in such error. For the astrologers, having declared the cosmos to be one, divided it<sup>4</sup> into the twelve fixed parts of the Zodiacal signs, and call the cosmos of the fixed Zodiacal signs one unwandering world. But the other, they say, is the world of the planets alike in power and in position and in number which exists as far as the Moon.<sup>5</sup> And that one world receives from the other a certain power and communion, and that things below partake of things above. But so that what is said shall be made plain, I will use in part the very words of the astrologers,<sup>6</sup> recalling to the readers what was said before in the place where we set forth the whole art of astrology. Their doctrines then are these: From the emanation of the stars the geniturs of things

<sup>1</sup> John iii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> 1. Cor. xi. 32.

<sup>3</sup> But see n. 4 on last page and text three sentences earlier.

<sup>4</sup> It was not the world, but the Zodiac that the astrologers divided into dodcatemeries. See Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Gr., passim*.

<sup>5</sup> There must be some mistake here. The planetary world, according to the astronomy of the time, only began at the Moon.

<sup>6</sup> The words which follow, down to the end of this paragraph, with the exception of one sentence, are taken, not from the astrologers, but from their opponent Sextus Empiricus. They correspond to pp. 339 ff. of the Leipzig edition of Sextus and the restorations from this are shown by round brackets. The whole passage doubtless once formed the beginning of Book IV of our text, the opening words of which they repeat. For the probable cause of this needless repetition see the Introduction, p. 20 *supra*.

below are influenced. For the Chaldæans, scrutinizing the heavens with great care, said that (the seven stars) p. 189. account for the active causes of everything which happens to us; but that the degrees of the Zodiacal circle work with them. (Then they divide the Zodiacal circle into) 12 parts, and each Zodiacal sign into 30 degrees and each degree into 60 minutes; for these they call the least and the undivided. And they call some of the Zodiacal signs male and others female, some bicorporal and others not, some tropical and others firm. Then there are male or female according as they have a nature co-operating in the begetting of males (or females). Moved by which, I think<sup>1</sup> the Pythagoricians<sup>2</sup> call the monad male, the dyad female, and the triad again male and in like manner the rest of the odd and even numbers. And some dividing each sign into dodecatemories employ nearly the same plan. For example, in Aries they call the p. 190 first dodecatemory Aries and masculine, its second Taurus and feminine, and its third Gemini and masculine, and so on with the other parts. And they say that Gemini and Sagittarius which stands opposite to it and Virgo and Pisces are bicorporal signs, but the others not. And in like manner, those signs are tropical in which the Sun turns about and makes the turnings of the ambient, as, for example, the sign Aries and its opposite Libra, Capricorn and Cancer. For in Aries, the spring turning occurs, in Capricorn the winter, in Cancer the summer and in Libra the autumn. These things also and the system concerning them we have briefly set forth in the book before this, whence the lover of learning can learn how Euphrates the Peratic and Celbes the Carystian, the founders of the heresy, altering only the names, have really set down like things, having also paid immoderate attention to the art. For the astrologers also say that there are "terms" of the p. 191. stars in which they deem the ruling stars to have greater power. For example in some (they do evil), but in others good, of which they call these malefic and those benefic. And they say that (the Planets) behold one another and are in harmony with one another as they appear in trine (or

<sup>1</sup> Sextus' comment, not Hippolytus'.

<sup>2</sup> The personal followers of Pythagoras were called Pythagorics, those who later gave a general assent to his doctrines Pythagoreans.

square). Now the stars beholding one another are figured in trine when they have a space of three signs between them, but in square if they have two. And as in the man the lower parts suffer with the head and the head suffers with the lower parts, thus do the things on earth p. 192. with those above the Moon. But (yet) there is a certain difference and want of sympathy between them since they have not one and the same unity.

This alliance and difference of the stars, although a Chaldaean (doctrine), those of whom we have spoken before have taken as their own and have falsified the name of truth. (For they) announce as the utterance of Christ a strife of aeons and a falling-away of good powers to the bad, and proclaim reconciliations of good and wicked.<sup>1</sup> Then they invoke Toparchs and Proastii,<sup>2</sup> making for themselves also very many other names which are not obvious but systematize unsystematically the whole idea of the astrologers about the stars. As they have thus laid the foundation of an enormous error they shall be completely refuted by our appropriate arrangement. For I shall set side by side with the aforesaid Chaldaic art of the astrologers some of the doctrines of the Peratics, from which comparison it will be p. 193. understood how the words of the Peratics are avowedly those of the astrologers, but not of Christ.

14. It seems well then to use for comparison a certain one of the books<sup>3</sup> magnified by them wherein it is said: "I am a voice of awaking from sleep in the aeon of the

<sup>1</sup> An echo of a tradition which seems widespread in Asia. In the *Pistis Sophia* it is said that half the signs of the Zodiac rebelled against the order to give up "the purity of their light" and joined the wicked Adamas, while the other half remained faithful under the rule of Jabraoth. Cf. Rev. xii. 7, and the Babylonian legend of the assault of the seven evil spirits on the Moon.

<sup>2</sup> "Toparch" = ruler of a place. Proastius, "suburban," or a dweller in the environs of a town. It here probably means the ruler of a part of the heavens near or under the influence of a planet.

<sup>3</sup> The bombastic phrases which follow seem to have been much corrupted and to have been translated from some language other than Greek. *Νυκτόχρως* and *ὀδυστόχρως* are not, I think, met with elsewhere, and the genders are much confused throughout the whole quotation, Poseidon being made a female deity and Isis a male one. The more outlandish names have some likeness to the "Munichuaphor," "Chremaor," etc., of the *Pistis Sophia*. There seems some logical connection between the name of the powers and those born under them, the love being assigned to Eros, and so on,

night, (and) now I begin to lay bare the power from Chaos. The power is the mud of the abyss, which raises the mire of the imperishable watery void, the whole power of the convulsion, pale as water, ever-moving, bearing with it the stationary, holding back those that tremble, setting free those that approach, relieving those that sigh, bringing down those that increase, a faithful steward of the traces of the winds, taking advantage of the things thrown up by the twelve eyes of the Law,<sup>1</sup> showing a seal to the power which p. 194 arranges by itself the onrushing unsewn water which is called Thalassa.<sup>2</sup> Ignorance has called this power Kronos guarded with chains since he bound together the maze of the dense and cloudy and unknown and dark Tartarus. There are born after the image of this (power) Cepheus, Prometheus, Iapetus.<sup>3</sup> (The) power to whom Thalassa is entrusted is masculo-feminine, who traces back the hissing (water) from the twelve mouths of the twelve pipes and after preparing distributes it. (This power) is small and reduces the boisterous restraining rising (of the sea) and seals up the ways of her paths, so that nothing should declare war or suffer change. The Typhonic daughter of this (power) is the faithful guard of all sorts of waters. Her name is Chorzar. Ignorance calls her Poseidôn, after whose likeness came Glaucus, Melicertes, Iô,<sup>4</sup> Nebroë. He that is encircled with the 12-angled pyramid<sup>5</sup> and darkens the gate into the pyramid with divers colours and perfects the whole blackness<sup>6</sup>—this p. 195. one is called Core<sup>7</sup> whose 5 ministers are: first Ou, and

<sup>1</sup> Cruice points out that "eyes" are here probably written for "wells," the Hebrew for both being the same, and refers us to the twelve wells of Elim in Exod. xv. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Schneidewin here quotes from Berossos the well-known passage about the woman Omoroça, Thalath, or Thalassa, who presided over the chaos of waters and its monstrous inhabitants. See *Cory's Ancient Fragments*, p. 25. The name has been generally taken to cover that of Tiamat whom Bel-Merodach defeated. See Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> All Titans, like Kronos himself.

<sup>4</sup> Macmahon reads here Ino, but this name appears later.

<sup>5</sup> There is some confusion here. The Platonists, following Philolaos, attributed singular properties to the twelve-angled figure made out of pentagons and declared it to have been the model after which the Zodiac was made.

<sup>6</sup> νυκτόχρως. It seems to be a translation of the Latin *nocticolor*.

<sup>7</sup> So the Codex. Schneidewin and Cruice would read Κρόνος, but that name has already occurred.

Λοαι, 3rd Ουδ, 4th Ουδab, 5th . . . Other faithful stewards there are of his toparchy of day and night who rest in their authority. Ignorance has called them the wandering stars on which hangs perishable birth. Steward of the rising of the wind <sup>1</sup> is Carphasemocheir (and second) Eccabaccara, but ignorance calls these Curetes. (The) third ruler of the winds is Ariel <sup>2</sup> after whose image came Acolus (and) Briares. And ruler of the 12-houred night (is) Soclas <sup>3</sup> whom ignorance has called Osiris. After his likeness there were born Admetus, Medca, Hellen, Aethusa. Ruler of the 12-houred day-time is Euno. He is steward of the rising of the first-blessed <sup>4</sup> and ætherial (goddess) whom ignorance calls Isis. The sign of this (ruler) is the Dogstar <sup>5</sup> after whose image were born Ptolemy son of Arsinoë, Didyme, Cleopatra, Olympias. (The) right hand power of God is she whom p. 196. ignorance calls Rhca, after whose image were born Attis, Mygdon, <sup>6</sup> Oenone. The left-hand power has authority over nurture whom ignorance calls Demeter. Her name is Bena. After the likeness of this (god) were born Celeus, Triptolemus, Misyr, <sup>7</sup> Praxidice. (The) right-hand power has authority over seasons. Ignorance calls this (god) Mena after whose image were born, Bumegas, <sup>8</sup> Ostanes, Hermes Trismegistus, Curites, Zodarion, Petosiris, Berosos, Astrampsychos, Zoroaster. (The) left-hand power of fire. Ignorance calls him Hephæstus after whose image were born Erichthonius, Achilleus, Capaneus, Phæthon, Meleager,

<sup>1</sup> Here again Schneidewin would read ἀστέρως, "star"; but the next sentence makes it plain that it is the wind which is meant.

<sup>2</sup> Ariel is in one of the later documents of the *Pistis Sophia* made one of the torturers in hell.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Saqlan or Asaqlan whom the Manichæans made the Son of the King of Darkness and the husband of the Nebrod or Nebroe mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> πρωτοκαμάρον. Macmahon translates it the "star Protocamarus," for which I can see no authority. It seems to me to be an inversion of πρωτομακάρος, "first-blest," very likely to happen in turning a Semitic language into Greek and back again.

<sup>5</sup> The dogstar, Sothis, or Sirius, was identified with Isis.

<sup>6</sup> Μύγδων. In a magic spell, Pluto, who has many analogies with Attis, is saluted as "Iluesmigadon," perhaps "Hye, Cye, Mygdon." Has this Mygdon any analogy with *amygdalon* the almond?

<sup>7</sup> Qy. Misc, the hermaphrodite Dionysos?

<sup>8</sup> Βουμύγας, "great ox"? All the other names which follow are those of magicians or diviners.

Tydeus, Enceladus, Raphael, Suriel,<sup>1</sup> Omphale. Three middle powers suspended in air (are) causes of birth. Ignorance calls them Fates, after whose image were born (the) house of Priam, (the) house of Laius, Ino, Autonoc, Agave, Athamas, Procne (the) Danaids, the Peliades. A masculo-feminine power there is ever childlike, who grows not old, (the) cause of beauty, of pleasure, of prime, of yearning, of desire, whom ignorance calls Eros, after whose image were born Paris, Narcissus, Ganymede, Endymion, p. 197. Tithonus, Icarus, Leda, Amymoné, Thetis, (the) Hesperides, Jason, Leander, Hero." These are the Proastii up to Aether. For thus he inscribes the book.

15. The heresy of the Peratæ, it has been made easily apparent to all, has been adapted from the (art) of the astrologers with a change of names alone. And their other books include the same method, if any one cared to go through them. For, as I have said, they think the unbegotten and overlying things to be the causes of birth of the begotten, and that our world, which they call that of form, came into being by emanation, and that all those stars together which are beheld in the heaven become the causes of birth in this world, they changing their names as is to be seen from a comparison of the Proastii. And secondly after the same fashion indeed, as they say that the world came into being from the emanation of her<sup>2</sup> on high, thus they say that things here have their birth and death and are governed by the emanation from the stars. Since then the astrologers p. 198. know the Ascendant and Midheaven and the Descendant and the Anti-meridian, and as the stars sometimes move differently from the perpetual turning of the universe, and at other times there are other succeedents to the cardinal point and (other) cadents from the cardinal points, (the Peratæ) treating the ordinance of the astrologers as an allegory, picture the cardinal points as it were God and monad and lord of all generation, and the succeedent as the left hand and the cadent the right. When therefore any one reading their writings finds a power spoken of by them as right or left, let him refer to the centre, the succeedent

<sup>1</sup> Two of the seven "angels of the presence." Their appearance in a list mainly of Greek heroes is inexplicable.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἄνω. Perhaps we should insert δυνάμεις, "the Power on High."

and the cadent, and he will clearly perceive that their whole system of practice has been established on astrological teaching.

16. But they call themselves Peratæ, thinking that nothing which has its foundations in generation can escape the fate determined from birth for the begotten. For if anything, he says, is begotten it also perishes wholly, as it seemed also to the Sibyl.<sup>1</sup> But, he says, we alone who know the compulsion of birth and the paths whereby man enters into the world and have been carefully instructed—we alone can pass through<sup>2</sup> and escape destruction. But water, he says, is destruction, and never, he says, did the world perish quicker than by water. But the water which rolls around the Proastii is, they say, Kronos. For such a power, he says, is of the colour of water and this power, that is Kronos, none of those who have been founded in generation can escape. For Kronos is set as a cause over every birth so that it shall be subject to destruction<sup>3</sup> and no birth could occur in which Kronos is not an impediment. This, he says is what the poets say and the gods (themselves) also fear:—

Let earth be witness thereto and wide heaven above  
And the water of Styx that flows below.  
The greatest of oaths and most terrible to the blessed gods.—  
(Homer, *Odyssey*, vv. 184 ff.)

But not only do the poets say this, he says, but also the wisest of the Greeks, whereof Heraclitus is one, who says, p. 200. "For water becomes death to souls."<sup>4</sup>

This death (the Peratic) says seizes the Egyptians in the Red Sea with their chariots. And all the ignorant, he says, are Egyptians and this he says is the going out from Egypt (that is) from the body. For they think the body little Egypt (and) that it crosses over the Red Sea, that is, the water of destruction which is Kronos, and that it is beyond the Red Sea, that is birth, and comes into the desert, that is,

<sup>1</sup> See *Sibyll. Orac.*, III. But the Sibyl says the exact opposite. Cf. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, II, 377.

<sup>2</sup> *πεπαύται*. The derivation is too much even for Theodoret, who says that the name of the sect is taken from "Euphrates the Peratic" (or Mede).

<sup>3</sup> So modern astrologers make him the "greater malefic."

<sup>4</sup> A fragment from Heraclitus according to Schleiermacher.



outside generation where are together the gods of destruction and the god of salvation. But the gods of destruction, he says, are the stars which bring upon those coming into being the necessity of mutable generation. These, he said, Moses called the serpents of the desert which bite and cause to perish those who think they have crossed the Red Sea. Therefore, he says, to those sons of Israel who were bitten in the desert, Moses displayed the true and perfect serpent, those who believed on which were not bitten in the desert, that is, by the Powers. None then, he says, can save and set free those brought forth from the land of Egypt, that is, from the body and from this world, save only the perfect serpent, the full of the full.<sup>1</sup> He who hopes on this, he says, is not destroyed by the serpents of the desert, that is, by the gods of generation. It is written, he says, in a book of Moses.<sup>2</sup> This serpent, he says, is the Power which followed Moses, the rod which was turned into a serpent. And the serpents of the magicians who withstood the power of Moses in Egypt were the gods of destruction; but the rod of Moses overthrew them all and caused them to perish. p. 201.

This universal serpent, he says, is the wise word of Eve. This, he says, is the mystery of Edem, this the river flowing out of Edem, this the mark which was set on Cain so that all that found him should not kill him. This, he says, is (that) Cain whose sacrifice was not accepted by the god of this world; but he accepted the bloody sacrifice of Abel, for the lord of this world delights in blood.<sup>3</sup> He it is, he says, who in the last days appeared in man's shape in the time of Herod, born after the image of Joseph who was sold from the hand of his brethren and to whom alone belonged the coat of many colours. This, he says, is he after the image of Esau whose garment was blessed when he was not present, who did not receive, he says, the blind man's blessing, but became rich elsewhere taking nothing from the blind one, whose face Jacob saw as a man might p. 202.

<sup>1</sup> So the *Pistis Sophia* speaks repeatedly of "the Pleroma of all Pieromas."

<sup>2</sup> Many magical books bore the name of Moses. See *Forerunners*, II, 46, and n.

<sup>3</sup> Is this why one Ophite sect was called the Cainites? The hostility here shown to the God of the Jews is common to many other sects such as that of Saturninus, of Marcion and later of Manes. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, under these names.

see the face of God. Concerning whom he says, it is written that: "Nebrod was a giant hunting before the Lord."<sup>1</sup> There are, he says, as many counterparts of him as there were serpents seen in the desert biting the sons of Israel, from which that perfect one that Moses set up delivered those that were bitten. This, he says, is the saying: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up."<sup>2</sup> After his likeness was the brazen serpent in the desert which Moses set up. The similitude of this alone is always seen in the heaven in light. This he says is the mighty beginning about which it is written. About this he says is the saying: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him and without Him nothing was. That which was in Him was life."<sup>3</sup> And in Him, he says, Eve came into being (and) Eve is life. She, he says is Eve, mother of all living<sup>4</sup> (the) nature common (to all), that is, to gods, angels, immortals, mortals, irrational beings, and rational ones; for, he says, "to all" speaking collectively. And if the eyes of any are blessed, he says, he will see when he looks upward to heaven the fair image of the serpent in the great summit<sup>5</sup> of heaven turning about and becoming the source of all movement of all present things. And (the beholder) will know that without Him there is nothing framed of heavenly or of earthly things or of things below the earth—neither night, nor moon, nor fruits, nor generation, nor wealth, nor wayfaring, nor generally is there anything of things which are that He does not point out. In this, he says, is the great wonder beheld in the heavens by those who can see.

For against this summit (that is) the head which is the most difficult of all things to be believed by those who know it not,

p. 204. "The setting and rising mingle with one another."—  
(Aratus, *Phain.*, v. 62.)

<sup>1</sup> Gen. x. 9. Nimrod, who is sometimes identified with the hero Gilgames, plays a large part in all this Eastern tradition.

<sup>2</sup> John iii. 13, 14. <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> For this identification of Eve with the Mother of Life or Great Goddess of Asia, see *Forerunners*, II, 300, and n.

<sup>5</sup> *ἄρξ*. Cruice and Macmahon both read *ἀρχή*, "beginning," but see *ταύτην τῆν ἄρξ* later.

This it is concerning which ignorance speaks :—

“The Dragon winds, great wonder of dread portent.”—  
(*Ibid.*, v. 46.)

and on either side of him Corona and Lyra are ranged and above, by the very top of his head, a pitcous man, the Kneeler, is seen

“Holding the sole of the right foot of winding Draco.”—  
(*Ibid.*, v. 70.)

And in the rear of the Kneeler is the imperfect serpent grasped with both hands by Ophiuchus and prevented from touching the Crown lying by the Perfect Serpent.<sup>1</sup>

17. This is the variegated wisdom of the Peratic heresy, which is difficult to describe completely, it being so tangled through having been framed from the art of astrology. So far as it was possible, therefore, we have set forth all its force in few words. But in order to expound their whole mind in epitome we think it right to add this : According to them the universe is Father, Son and Matter.<sup>2</sup> Of these three every one contains within himself boundless powers. Now midway between Matter and the Father sits the Son, the Word, the Serpent, ever moving himself towards the immoveable Father and towards Matter (which itself) is moved. And sometimes he turns himself towards the Father and receives the powers in his own person,<sup>3</sup> and when he has thus received them he turns towards Matter ; and Matter being without quality and formless takes pattern from the forms<sup>4</sup> which the Son has taken as patterns from the Father. But the Son takes pattern from the Father unspeakably and silently and unchangeably, that is, as Moses says the colours of the (sheep) that longed,<sup>5</sup> flowed from the rods set up in the drinking-places. In such a way

<sup>1</sup> All this is, of course, quite different to the meaning assigned to these stars by the unnamed heretics of Book IV.

<sup>2</sup> If we could be sure that Hippolytus was here summarizing fairly Ophite doctrines, it would appear that the Ophites rejected the Platonic theory that matter was essentially evil. What is here said presents a curious likeness to Stoic doctrines of the universe, as of man's being. Hippolytus, however, never quotes a Stoic author and seems throughout to ignore Stoicism save in Book I.

<sup>3</sup> *πρόσωπον*. The word used to denote the “character” or part of a person on the stage.

<sup>4</sup> *ἰδέαι*. So throughout this passage.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxx. 37 ff.

also did the powers flow from the Son to Matter according to the yearning of the power which (flowed) from the rods upon the things conceived. But the difference and unlikeness of the colours which flowed from the rods through the waters into the sheep is, he says, the difference of corruptible and incorruptible birth. Or rather, as a painter while taking nothing from the animals (he paints), yet transfers with his pencil to the drawing-tablet all their forms, thus the Son by his own power transfers to Matter the types<sup>1</sup> of the Father. All things that are here are therefore the Father's types and nothing else. For if any one, he says has strength enough to comprehend from the things here that he is a type from the Father on high transferred hither and made into a body, as in the conception from the rod, he becomes white,<sup>2</sup> (and) wholly of one substance<sup>3</sup> with the Father who is in the heavens, and returns thither. But if he does not light upon this doctrine, nor discover the necessity of birth, like an abortion brought forth in a night he perishes in a night. Therefore, says he, when the Saviour speaks of "Your Father who is in heaven"<sup>4</sup> He means him from whom the Son takes the types and transfers them hither. And when He says "Your father is a manslayer from the beginning"<sup>5</sup> he means the Ruler and Fashioner of Matter who receiving the types distributed by the Son has produced children here. Who is a manslayer from the beginning because his work makes for corruption and death.<sup>6</sup> None therefore, he says, can be saved nor return (on high) save by the Son who is the Serpent. For as he brought from on high the Father's types, so he again carries up from here those of them who have been awakened and have become types of the Father, transferring them thither from here as hypostatized from the Unhypostatized<sup>7</sup> One. This, he says, is the saying "I am the Door." But he transfers them, he says (as the light of vision)<sup>8</sup> to those

<sup>1</sup> χαρακτῆρες. See n. on p. 143 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Not "ring-straked" like Jacob's sheep.

<sup>3</sup> ὁμοούσιος.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. vii. 11. Note the change of "Your" for "Our."

<sup>5</sup> John viii. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Here again he dwells upon the supposed evil nature of the Demiurge.

<sup>7</sup> Or as Macmahon translates, "the substantial from the Unsubstantial one."

<sup>8</sup> A lacuna in the text is thus filled by Cruice.

whose eyelids are closed, as the naphtha draws everywhere the fire to itself—or rather as the magnet the iron but nothing else, or as the sea-hawk's spine the gold but nothing else, or as again (as) the chaff is drawn by the amber.<sup>1</sup> Thus, he says, the perfect and consubstantial race which has been made the image<sup>2</sup> (of the Father) but nought else is again led from the world by the Serpent, just as it was sent down here by him.

For the proof of this they bring forward the anatomy of the brain, likening the cerebrum to the Father from its immobility, and the cerebellum to the Son from its being moved and existing in serpent form. Which (last) they imagine ineffably and without giving any sign to attract p. 208. through the pineal gland the spiritual and life-giving substance emanating from the Blessed One.<sup>3</sup> Receiving which the cerebellum, as the Son silently transfers the forms to Matter, spreads abroad the seeds and genera of things born after the flesh, to the spinal marrow. By the use of this simile, they seem to introduce cleverly their ineffable mysteries handed down in silence which it is not lawful for us to utter. Nevertheless they will easily be comprehended from what I have said.

18. But since I think I have set forth clearly the Peratic heresy and by many words have made plain what had escaped (notice), and since it has mixed up everything with everything concealing its own peculiar poison, it seems right to proceed no further with the charge, the opinions laid down by them being sufficient accusation against them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Again this simile is not necessarily by the Peratic author, but seems to be introduced by Hippolytus. For the supposed conduct of naphtha in the presence of fire, see Plutarch, *vit. Alex.*

<sup>2</sup> *ἔξεικονισμένον*. A different metaphor from the "type." We shall meet with this one frequently in the work attributed to Simon Magus.

<sup>3</sup> The text has *ἐκ καρπίου*. Here Schneidewin agrees that the proper reading is *μακαρίου*, there being no reason why any "life-giving substance" should exist in the brain-pan. He thus confirms the reading in n. on p. 152 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> This chapter on the Peratic is evidently drawn from more sources than one. The author's first statement of their doctrines, which occupies pp. 146-149 *supra*, represents probably his first impression of them and contains at least one glaring contradiction, duly noted in its place. Then comes a long extract from Sextus Empiricus which is to all appearance a repetition of the earliest part of Book IV, only pardonable

3. *The Sethiani.*

p. 209. 19. Let us see then what the Sethians say.<sup>1</sup> They are

if it be allowed that the present Book was delivered in lecture form. There follows a quotation longer and more sustained than any other in the whole work from a Peratic book which he says was called *Proastii*, with a bombastic prelude much resembling the language of Simon Magus' *Great Announcement* in Book VI, followed by a catalogue of starry "influences" which reads much as if it were taken from some astrological manual. There follows in its turn a dissertation on the Ophite Serpent showing how this object of their adoration, identified with the Brazen Serpent of Exodus, was made to prefigure or typify in the most incongruous manner many personages in the Old and New Testaments, including Christ Himself. After this he announces an "epitome" of the Peratic doctrine which turns out to be perfectly different from anything before said, divides the universe, which he has previously said the Peratics divided into unbegotten, self-begotten and begotten, into a new triad of Father, Son (*i.e.* Serpent), and Matter, and gives a fairly consistent statement of the Peratic scheme of salvation based on this hypothesis. One can only suppose here that this last is an afterthought added when revising the book and inspired by some fresh evidence of Peratic beliefs probably coloured by Stoic or Marcionite doctrine. In those parts of the chapter which appear to have been taken from genuinely Peratic sources, the reference to some Western Asiatic tradition concerning cosmogony and the protoplasts and differing considerably from the narrative of Genesis, is plainly apparent.

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is the most difficult of the whole book to account for, with the doubtful exception of the much later one on the Docetæ. A sect of Sethians is mentioned by Irenæus, who does not attempt to separate their doctrines from those of the Ophites. Pseudo-Tertullian in his tractate *Against All Heresies* also connects with the Ophites a sect called Sethites or Sethoites, the main dogma he attributes to them being an attempt to identify Christ with the Seth of Genesis. Epiphanius follows this last author in this identification and calls them Sethians, but does not expressly connect them with the Ophites, makes them an Egyptian sect, and does not attribute to them serpent-worship. The sectaries of this chapter are called in the rubric Sithiani, altered to Sèthiani in the Summary of Book X, and the name is not necessarily connected with that of the Patriarch. In the Bruce Papyrus, a Power, good but subordinate to the Supreme God, is mentioned, called "the Sitheus," which may possibly, by analogy with the late-Egyptian Si-Osiris and Si-Ammon, be construed "Son of God." Of their doctrines little can be made from Hippolytus' brief but confused description. Their division of the cosmos into three parts does not seem to differ much from that of the Peratæ, although they make a sharper distinction than this last between the world of light and that of darkness, which has led Salmon (*D.C.B.* s.v., Ophites) to conjecture for them a Zoroastrian origin. This is unlikely, and more attention is due to Hippolytus' own statement that they derived their doctrines from Musæus,

of opinion<sup>1</sup> that there are three definite principles of the universals, and that each of the principles contains boundless powers. But what they mean by powers let him judge who hears them speak thus: Everything which you understand by your mind or which you pass by unthought of, is formed by nature to become each of these principles, as in the soul of man every art which is taught. For example, he says, that a boy will become a piper if he spend some time with a piper, or a geometician if he does so with a geometician, or a grammarian with a grammarian, or a carpenter with a carpenter, and to one in close contact with other trades it will happen in the same way. But the substance of the principles, he says, are light and darkness; and between them there is uncontaminated spirit. But the spirit which is set between the darkness below and the light on high, is not breath like a gust of wind or some little breeze which can be perceived, but resembles some faint perfume of balsam or of incense artificially compounded, as a power penetrating by force of a fragrance inconceivable and better than can be said in speech. But since the light is above and the darkness below and the spirit as has been said between them, the light naturally shines like a ray of the sun on high on the underlying darkness, and again the

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Linus, and Orpheus. In *Forerunners* it is sought to show that the Orphic teaching was one of the foundations on which the fabric of Gnosticism was reared, and the image of the earth as a matrix was certainly familiar to the Greeks, who made Delphi its ὀμφαλός or navel. Hence the imagery of the text, offensive as it is to our ideas, would not have been so to them, and Epiphanius (*Hier.*, XXXVIII, p. 510, Oehl.) knew of several writings, κατὰ τῆς Ὑτέρας, or the Womb, which he says the sister sect of Cainites called the maker of heaven and earth. In this case, we need not take the story in the text about the generation by the bad or good serpent as necessarily referring to the Incarnation. One of the scenes in the Mysteries of Attis-Sabazius, and perhaps of those of Eleusis also, seems to have shown the seduction by Zeus in serpent-form of his virgin daughter Persephone and the birth therefrom of the Saviour Dionysos who was but his father re-born. This story of the fecundation of the earth-goddess by a higher power in serpent shape seems to have been present in all the religions of Western Asia, and was therefore extremely likely to be caught hold of by an early form of Gnosticism. In no other respect does this so-called "Sethian" heresy seem to have anything in common with Christianity, and it may therefore represent a pre-Christian form of Ophitism. The serpent in it is, perhaps, neither bad nor good.

<sup>1</sup> τούτοις δοκέει, "it seems to them,"

fragrance of the spirit having the middle place spreads abroad and is borne in all directions, as we observe the fragrance of the incense burnt in the fire carried everywhere. And such being the power of the triply divided, the power of the spirit and of the light together is in the darkness which is ranged below them. But the darkness is a fearful water, into which the light with the spirit is drawn down and transformed into such a nature (as the water).<sup>1</sup> And the darkness is not witless, but prudent completely, and knows that if the light be taken from the darkness, the darkness remains desolate, viewless, without light, powerless, idle, and strengthless. Wherefore with all its sense and wit it is forced to detain within itself the brilliance and spark of the light with the fragrance of the spirit. And an image of their nature is to be seen in the face of man, (to wit) the pupil of the eye dark from the underlying fluids, (and) lighted up by (the) spirit. As then the darkness seeks after the brilliance, that it may hold the spark as a slave and may see, so do the light and the spirit seek after their own power, and make haste to raise up and take back to themselves their powers which have been mingled with the underlying dark and fearful water.<sup>2</sup> But all the powers of the three principles being everywhere boundless in number are each of them wise and understanding as regards its own substance, and the countless multitude of them being wise and understanding, whenever they remain by themselves are all at rest. But if one power draws near to another, the unlikeness of (the things in) juxtaposition effects a certain movement and activity formed from the movement, by the coming together and juxtaposition of the meeting powers. For the coming together of the powers comes to pass like some impression of a seal struck by close conjunction for the sealing of the substances brought up (to it).<sup>3</sup> Since then the powers of the three principles are boundless in number and the conjunctions of the boundless powers (also) boundless, there must needs be produced

<sup>1</sup> Cruice and Macmahon both translate this "into the same nature with the spirit."

<sup>2</sup> This anxiety of the higher powers to redeem from matter darkness or chaos, the scintilla of their own being which has slipped into it, is the theme of all Gnosticism from the Ophites to the *Pistis Sophia* and the Manichean writings. See *Forerunners*, II, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Or "the substances brought up to the sealer."



images of boundless seals. Now these images are the forms<sup>1</sup> of the different animals.

From the first great conjunction then of the three principles came into being a certain great form of a seal, (to wit) heaven and earth. And heaven and earth are planned very like a matrix having the navel<sup>2</sup> in the midst. And if, he says, one wishes to have this design under his eyes, let him examine with skill the pregnant womb of any animal he pleases, and he will discover the type of heaven and earth and of all those things between which lie unchangeably below. And the appearance of heaven and earth became by the first conjunction such as to be like a womb. But again between heaven and earth boundless conjunctions of powers have occurred. And each conjunction wrought and stamped<sup>3</sup> nothing else than a seal of heaven and earth like a womb. But within this (the earth) p. 213 there grew from the boundless seals boundless multitudes of different animals. And into all this infinity which is under heaven there was scattered and distributed among the different animals, together with the light, the fragrance of the spirit from on high.

Then there came into being from the water the first-born<sup>4</sup> principle (to wit) a wind violent and turbulent and the cause of all generation. For making some agitation in the waters it raises waves in them. But the motion of the waves as if it were some impregnating impulse is a beginning of generation of man or beast when it is driven onward swollen by the impulse of the spirit. But when this wave has been raised from the water and made pregnant in the natural way, and has received within itself the feminine power of reproduction, it retains the light scattered from on high together with the fragrance of the spirit—which is mind given shape in the different species.<sup>5</sup> Which p. 214. (mind) is a perfect God, who is brought down from the unbegotten light on high and from the spirit into man's nature as into a temple, by the force of nature and the

<sup>1</sup> *ιδέαι*. And so throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Schneidewin, Cruice, and Macmahon would here and elsewhere read *ὁ φαλλός*. But see the next sentence about pregnancy.

<sup>3</sup> *ἐξετύπωσε*, "struck off."

<sup>4</sup> *πρωτόγονος*. The others were "unbegotten" like the highest world of the Peratae and Naassenes.

<sup>5</sup> *εἶδεναι*.

movement of the wind. It has been engendered from the water (and) commingled and mixed with the bodies as if it were (the) salt of the things which are and a light of the darkness struggling to be freed from the bodies and not able to find deliverance and its way out. For some smallest spark from the light (has been mingled) with the fragrance from above (*i. e.* from the spirit), like a ray (making composition of things dissolved and) solution of things compounded as, he says, is said in a psalm.<sup>1</sup> Therefore every thought and care of the light on high is how and in what way the mind may be set free from the death of the wicked and dark body (and) from the Father of that which is below, who is the wind which raised the waves in agitation and disorder

p. 215. and has begotten Nous his own perfect son, not being his own (son) as to substance.<sup>2</sup> For he was a ray from on high from that perfect light overpowered in the dark and fearful bitter and polluted water, which (ray) is the shining spirit borne above the water. When then the waves (raised from the) waters [have received within themselves the feminine power of reproduction, they detain in<sup>3</sup>] the different species, like some womb, (the light) scattered (from on high), (with the fragrance of the spirit) as is seen in all animals.

But the wind at once violent and turbulent is borne along like the hissing of a serpent. First then from the wind, that is from the serpent, came the principle of generation in the way aforesaid,<sup>4</sup> all things having received the principle of generation at the same time. When then the light and the spirit were received into the unpurified

p. 216. and much suffering disordered womb, the serpent, the wind of the darkness, the first-born of the waters entering in, begets man, and the unpurified womb neither loves nor recognizes any other form (but the serpent's).<sup>5</sup> Then the

<sup>1</sup> Is this Ps. xxix. 3, 10 already quoted by the Naassene author? Cf. p. 133 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> This idea of a divine son superior to his father is common to the whole Orphic cosmogony and leads to the dethroning of Uranus by Kronos, Kronos by Zeus and finally of Zeus by Dionysos. It is met with again in Basilides (see Book VII *infra*).

<sup>3</sup> A lacuna here which Cruice thus fills.

<sup>4</sup> This has not been previously described. Is the narrative of the Fall alluded to?

<sup>5</sup> Cruice and Macmahon would translate "any other than man's."

perfect Word of the light on high, having been made like the beast, the serpent, entered into the unpurified womb, beguiling it by its likeness to the beast, so that it might loose the bands which encircle the Perfect Mind which was begotten in the impurity of the womb by the first-born of the water, (to wit) the serpent, the beast. This, he says, is the form of the slave<sup>1</sup> and this the need for the descent of the Word of God into the womb of a Virgin. But it is not enough, he says, that the Perfect Man, the Word, has entered into the womb of a virgin and has loosed the pangs which were in that darkness. But in truth after entering into the foul mysteries of the womb, He was washed<sup>2</sup> and drank of the cup of living bubbling water, which he must needs drink who was about to do off the slave-like form and do on a heavenly garment.

20. This is what the champions of the Sethianian doctrines p. 217. say, to put it shortly. But their system is made up of sayings by physicists and of words spoken in respect of other matters, which they transfer to their own system and explain as we have said. And they say that Moses also supported their theory when he said "Darkness, gloom and whirlwind." These, he says, are the three words. Or when he says that there were three born in Paradise, Adam, Eve (and the) Serpent; or when he says three (others), Cain, Abel (and) Seth; and yet again three, Shem, Ham (and) Japhet; or when he speaks of three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, (and) Jacob; or when he says that there existed three days before the Sun and Moon; or when he says that there are three laws (the) prohibitive, (the) permissive and the punitive. And a prohibitive law is: "From every tree in Paradise thou mayest eat the fruit, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, eat not." But in this saying: "Go forth from thine own land, and from thy kindred and (thou shalt come) hither into a land which I shall show thee." This law he says is permissive for he who chooses may go forth and he who chooses may remain. But the law is punitive which says "Thou shalt not commit

<sup>1</sup> Phil. ii. 7. The only quotation from the N. T. other than that from Matt. used by the Sethians, if it be not, as I believe it is, the interpolation of Hippolytus.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπελούσαστο. Yet it may refer to baptism which preceded initiation in nearly all the secret rites of the Pagan gods. Cf. *Forerunners*, I, c. 2.

adultery, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not murder"—for to each of these sins there is a penalty.<sup>1</sup>

- p. 218. But the whole teaching of their system is taken from the ancient theologists Musaeus, Linus and he who most especially makes known the initiations and mysteries (to wit), Orpheus. For their discourse about the womb is also that of Orpheus; and the phallus, which is virility, is thus explicitly mentioned in the *Bacchica* of Orpheus.<sup>2</sup> And these things were made the subject of initiation and were handed down to men, before the initiatory rite of Celeus, Triptolemus, Demeter, Core and Dionysos in Eleusis, at Phlium in Attica. For earlier than the Eleusinian Mysteries are the secret rites of the so-called Great (Mother) in Phlium. For there is in that (town) a porch, and on the porch to this day is engraved the representation of all the words spoken (in them).
- p. 219. Many things are engraved on that porch concerning which Plutarch also makes discourse in his ten books against Empedocles. And on the doors is engraved a certain old man grey-haired, winged, having his *pudendum* stretched forth, pursuing a fleeing woman of a blue colour. And there is written over the old man "Phaos ruentes" and over the woman "Percēphicola." But "phaos ruentes" seems to be the light according to the theory of the Sethians and the "phicola" the dark water, while between them is at an interval the harmony of the spirit. And the name of "Phaos ruentes" denotes the rushing below of the light as they say from on high. So that we may reasonably say that the Sethians celebrate among themselves (rites) in some degree akin to the Phliasian Mysteries of the Great (Mother).<sup>3</sup> And to the triple division of things the poet seems to bear witness when he says:—

<sup>1</sup> The whole of this paragraph reads like an interpolation, or rather as something which had got out of its place. The statement about the physicists is directly at variance with the opening of the next which attributes the Sethian teaching to the Orphics. The triads he quotes are all of three "good" powers and therefore would belong much more appropriately to the system of the Peratae. The quotation from Deut. iv. 11, he attributes to several other heresiarchs.

<sup>2</sup> The codex has ὀμφαλός for ὀφθαλός which is Schneidewin's emendation. No book attributed to Orpheus called "Bacchica" has come down to us, but the Rape of Persephone was a favourite theme with Orphic poets. Cf. Abel's *Orphica*, pp. 209-219.

<sup>3</sup> This is not improbable; but Hippolytus gives us no evidence that this is the case, as Plutarch, from whom he quotes, certainly did not

"And in three lots were all things divided  
And each drew his own domain."—

(Homer, *Il.*, XV, 189.)<sup>1</sup>

that is each of the threefold divisions has taken power. And, as for the underlying dark water below, that the light has plunged into it and that the spark borne down (into it) ought to be restored and taken on high from it, the all-wise Sethians seem to have here borrowed from Homer when he says:—

"Let earth be witness and wide heaven above  
And the water of Styx that flows below  
The greatest oath and most terrible to the blessed gods."—  
(*Il.* XV, 36-38.)

That is, the gods, according to Homer, think water something ill-omened and frightful, wherefore the theory of the Sethians says it is frightful to the Nous.

21. This is what they say and other things like it in endless writings. And they persuade those who are their disciples to read the theory of Composition and Mixture<sup>2</sup> which is studied by many others and by Andronicus the Peripatetic. The Sethians then say that the theory about Composition and Mixture is to be framed after this fashion: The light ray from on high has been compounded and the very small spark has been lightly mingled<sup>4</sup> in the dark waters below, and (these two) have united and exist in one mass as one odour (results) from the many kinds of incense on the fire. And the expert who has as his test an acute sense of smell ought to delicately distinguish from the sole smell of the incense the different kinds of it set on the fire; as (for example) if it be storax and myrrh and frankincense or if anything else be mixed with it. And they make use of other comparisons, as when they say that if brass has been mixed with gold, a certain process<sup>5</sup> has been discovered which separates the gold from the brass. And in like

connect the frescoes of Phlium in the Peloponnesus (not Attica as he says) with the Sethians, nor does the light in their story *desire* the water.

<sup>1</sup> This too is a stock quotation which has already done duty for the Naassene author. Cf. p. 131 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> So has this with the "Peratic." Cf. p. 154 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> κρᾶσις . . . μίξις.

<sup>4</sup> καταμειχθῆαι λεπτῶς.

<sup>5</sup> τέχνη.

manner if tin or brass or anything of the same kind be found mixed with silver, these by some better process of alloy are also separated. But even now any one distinguishes water mixed with wine. Thus, he says, if all things are mingled together they are distinguished. And truly, he says, learn from the animals. For when the animal is dead each (of its parts) is separated (from the rest) and thus when dissolved, the animal disappears. This he says is the saying: "I come not to bring peace upon the earth but a sword"<sup>1</sup>—that is to cut in twain and separate the things

p. 222. which have been compounded together. For each of the compounds is cut in twain and separated when it lights on its proper place. For as there is one place of composition for all the animals, so there has been set up one place of dissolution, which no man knoweth, he says, save only we who are born again, spiritual not fleshly, whose citizenship is in the heavens above.

With these insinuations they corrupt their hearers, both when they misuse words, turning good sayings into bad as they wish, and when they conceal their own iniquity by what comparisons they choose. All things then, he says, which are compounds have their own peculiar place and run towards their own kindred things as the iron to the magnet, the straw to the amber, and the gold to the sea-hawk's spine.<sup>2</sup> And thus the (ray) of light which was mingled with the water having received from teaching and learning (the knowledge of) its own proper place hastens to the Word come from on high in slave-like form and becomes with the Word a Word where the Word is, more (quickly) than the iron (flies) to the magnet.

p. 223. And that these things are so, he says, and that all compounded things are separated at their proper places, learn (thus):—There is among the Persians in the city Ampa near the Tigris a well, and near this well and above it has been built a cistern having three outlets. From which well if one draws, and takes up in a jar what is drawn from the well whatever it is and pours it into the cistern hard by;

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 34.

<sup>2</sup> This again seems to be Hippolytus' own repetition of a simile which he met with in the Naassene author and which so pleased him that he made use of it in his account of the Peratic heresy as well as here. Cf. pp. 144 and 159 *supra*.

when it comes to the outlets and is received from each outlet in one vessel, it separates itself. And in the first outlet is exhibited an incrustation<sup>1</sup> of salt, and in the second bitumen, and in the third oil. But the oil is black, as he says Herodotus also recounts,<sup>2</sup> has a heavy odour and the Persians call it *rhadinace*. This simile of the well, say the Sethians, suffices for the truth of their proposition better than all that has been said above.

22. The opinion of the Sethians seems to us to have been made tolerably plain. But if any one wishes to learn the whole of their system let him read the book inscribed *Paraphrase (of) Seth*; for all their secrets he will find there enshrined.<sup>3</sup> But since we have set forth the things of the Sethians<sup>4</sup> let us see also what Justinus thinks.

p. 224.

#### 4. Justinus.<sup>5</sup>

23. Justinus, being utterly opposed to every teaching of

<sup>1</sup> ἕλας πηγνύμενον.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus VI, 20, mentions the City of Ampe, but says nothing there about the well which is described in c. 119 as at Ardericca in Cissia.

<sup>3</sup> The title of the book is given in the text as *Παράφρασις Σήθ*, which is a well-nigh impossible phrase.

<sup>4</sup> On the whole it may be said that this is the most suspect of all the chapters in the *Philosophumena*, and that, if ever Hippolytus was deceived into purchasing forged documents according to Salmon and Stähelin's theory, one of them appears here. Much of it is mere verbiage as when, after having identified Mind or Nous with the fragrance of the spirit, he again explains that it is a ray of light sent from the perfect light, or when he explains the difference between the three different kinds of law. The quotations too are seldom new, nearly all of them appearing in other chapters and are, if it were possible, more than usually inapposite, while almost the only new one is inaccurate. The sentence about the *Paraphrase (of) Seth*, if that is the actual title of the book, does not suggest that Hippolytus is quoting from that work, nor does the phrase, "he says," occur with anything like the frequency of its use in e.g., the Naassene chapter. On the whole, then, it seems probable that in this Hippolytus was not copying or extracting from any written document, but was writing down, to the best of his recollection the statements of some convert who professed to be able to reveal its teaching. It is significant in this respect that when the summary in Book X had to be made, the summarizer makes no attempt to abbreviate the statement of the supposed tenets of the Sethians, but merely copies out the part of the chapter in which they are described, entirely omitting the stories of the frescoed porch at Phium and the oil-well at Ampa.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing is known of this Justinus, whose name is not mentioned

the Holy Scriptures, and also to the writing or speech<sup>1</sup> of the blessed Evangelists, since the Word taught his disciples saying: "Go not into the way of the Gentiles"<sup>2</sup>—which is plainly: Give no heed to the vain teaching of the Gentiles—seeks to bring back his hearers to the marvel-mongering of the Greeks and what is taught by it. He sets out word for word and in detail the fabulous tales of the Greeks, but

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by any other patristic writer, and there is no sure means of fixing his date. Macmahon, relying apparently on the last sentence of the chapter, would make him a predecessor of Simon Magus, and therefore contemporary with the Apostles' first preaching. This is extremely unlikely, and Salmon on the other hand (*D.C.B.*, s.v., "Justinus the Gnostic") considers his heresy should be referred to "the latest stage of Gnosticism" which, if taken literally, would make it long posterior to Hippolytus. The source of his doctrine is equally obscure; for although Hippolytus classes him with the Ophites, the serpent in his system is certainly not good and plays as hostile a part towards man as the serpent of Genesis, while his supreme Triad of the Good Being, an intermediate power ignorant of the existence of his superior, and the Earth, differs in all essential respects from the Ophite Trinity of the First and Second Man and First Woman. Yet the names of the world-creating angels and devils here given, bear a singular likeness to those which Theodore bar Khōni in his *Book of Scholia* attributes to the Ophites and also to those mentioned by Origen as appearing on the Ophite Diagram. On the other hand, there are many likenesses not only of ideas but of language between the system of Justinus and that of Marcion, who also taught the existence of a Supreme and Benevolent God and of a lower one, harsh, but just, who was the unwitting author of the evil which is in the world. This, indeed, leaves out of the account the third or female power; but an Armenian account of Marcion's doctrines attributes to him belief in a female power also, called Hyle or Matter and the spouse of the Just God of the Law, with whom her relations are pretty much as described in the text. Justinus, however, was not like Marcion a believing Christian; for he makes his Saviour the son of Joseph and Mary and the mere mouthpiece of the subaltern angel Baruch, while his account of the Crucifixion differs materially from that of Marcion. The obscene stories he tells about the protoplasts also appear in much later Manichean documents and seem to be drawn from the Babylonian tradition of which the loves of the angels in the Book of Enoch are probably also a survival. It is therefore not improbable that Justinus, the Book of Enoch, the Ophites, and perhaps Marcion, alike derived their tenets on these points from heathen myths of the marriage of Heaven and Earth, which may possibly be traced back to early Babylonian theories of cosmogony. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, cc. 8 and 11, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus, like the Gnostic writers, seems to know of an oral as well as a written tradition from the Evangelists.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. x. 5. In the A. V. as here, *τὰ ἔθνη*, "the nations."



neither teaches first hand<sup>1</sup> nor hands down his own complete mystery unless he has bound the dupe by an oath. Thereafter he explains the myth for the purpose of winning souls,<sup>2</sup> so that those who read the numberless follies of the books shall have the fables as consolation<sup>3</sup>—as if one tramping along a road and coming across an inn should see fit to rest—and so that when they have again turned to the full study of the things read, they may not detest them p. 225. until, being led on by the rush of the crowd, they have plunged into the offence artfully contrived by him, having first bound them by fearful oaths neither to utter nor to abandon his teaching and compelling them to accept it. Thus he delivers to them the mysteries impiously sought out by him, using as aforesaid the Greek myths and partly corrupted books according to what they indicate of the aforesaid heresies. For they all, drawn by one spirit, are led into a deep pit (of error) but each narrates and mythologizes the same things differently. But they all call themselves especially Gnostics, as if they alone had drunk in the knowledge of the perfect and good.

24. But swear, says Justinus, if you wish to know the things "which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor have they entered into the heart of man,"<sup>4</sup> (that is) Him who is good above all things, the Highest, to keep the ineffable secrets of the teaching. For our Father also, when he saw the Good One and was perfected by him, kept silence as to the secrets<sup>5</sup> and swore as it is written: "The Lord sware p. 226. and will not repent."<sup>6</sup> Having then thus sealed up these (secrets), he turns their minds to many myths through a quantity (of books), and thus leads to the Good One, perfecting the mystæ by unspoken mysteries. But we shall not travel through more (of his works). We shall give as a sample the ineffable things from one book of his, it being one which he clearly thinks of high repute. It is inscribed *Baruch*.<sup>7</sup> We shall disclose one myth set forth in it by him

<sup>1</sup> πρότερον διδάξας or "at first teaches."

<sup>2</sup> ψυχαγωγίας χάριν. The reader must again be reminded that while the ψυχή of the Greeks was what we should call "mind," the πνεῦμα is spirit, answering more to our word "soul."

<sup>3</sup> παραμύθιον, a play upon μῦθος.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Lit., "guarded the secrets of silence."

<sup>6</sup> Ps. cx. 4.

<sup>7</sup> "The Blessed."

out of many, it being also in Herodotus. Having transformed<sup>1</sup> this, he tells it to his hearers as new, the whole system of his teaching being made up out of it.

p. 227. 25. Now Herodotus<sup>2</sup> says that Heracles when driving Geryon's oxen from Erytheia<sup>3</sup> came to Scythia and being wearied by the way lay down to sleep in some desert place for a short time. While he was asleep his horse disappeared, mounted on which he had made his long journey.<sup>4</sup> On waking he made search over most of the desert in the attempt to find his horse. He entirely misses the horse, but finding a certain semi-virgin girl<sup>5</sup> in the desert, he asks her if she had seen the horse anywhere. The girl said that she had seen it, but would not at first show it to him unless Heracles would go with her to have connection with her. But Herodotus says that the upper part of the girl as far as the groin was that of a virgin, but that the whole body below the groin had in some sort the frightful appearance of a viper. But Heracles, being in a hurry to find his horse yielded to the beast. For he knew her and made her pregnant, and foretold to her after connection that she had in her womb three sons by him who would be famous.<sup>6</sup> And he bade her when they were born to give them the names Agathyrus, Gelonus, and Scytha. And taking the horse from the beast-like girl as his reward, he went away with his oxen. But after this, there is a long story in Herodotus.<sup>7</sup> Let us dismiss it at present. But we will explain something of what Justinus teaches when he turns this myth into (one of) the generation of the things of the universe.

p. 228. 26. This he says: There were three unbegotten principles of the universals,<sup>8</sup> two male and one female. And of the male, one is called the Good One, he alone being thus called, and he has foreknowledge of the universals. And the second is the Father of all begotten things, not

<sup>1</sup> παραλάσει, "given it another form." As a fact, Justinus' quotation from Herodotus is singularly accurate, save as afterwards noted.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, IV, 8-10.

<sup>3</sup> An island near Cadiz. The codex has Ἐρυθρῆς, "the Red Sea."

<sup>4</sup> In Herodotus it is mares and a chariot.

<sup>5</sup> μιξοπάρθενος. A neologism.

<sup>6</sup> In Herodotus the prophecy is given by the girl.

<sup>7</sup> To explain the origin of the Scythian nation.

<sup>8</sup> Or perhaps, as above, "the things of the universe."

having foreknowledge and being (unknowable and)<sup>1</sup> invisible. But the female is without foreknowledge, passionate, two-minded, two-bodied, in all things resembling Herodotus' myth, a virgin to the groin and a viper below, as says Justinus. And this maiden is called Edem and Israel. These, he says, are the principles of the universals, their roots and sources, by which all things came into being, beside which nothing was. Then the Father without foreknowledge, beholding the semi-virgin, who was Edem, came to desire of her. This Father, he says, is called Elohim.<sup>2</sup> Not less did Edem desire Elohim, and desire brought them together into one favour of love. And the Father from such congress begot on Edem twelve angels of his own. And the names of these angels of the Father are: Michael, Amen, Baruch, Gabriel, Esaddæus.<sup>3</sup> . . . And the names of the angels of the Mother which Edem created are likewise set down. These are: Babel, Achamoth, Naas, Bel, Belias, Satan, Saël, Adonaios, Kavithan, Pharaoh, Karkamenos, Lathen.<sup>4</sup> Of these twenty-four angels the paternal ones join with the Father and do everything in accordance with his will, but the maternal angels (side) with the Mother, Edem. And he says that Paradise is the multitude of these angels taken

<sup>1</sup> Supplied from the summary in Book X. So the *Pistis Sophia* has a Power never otherwise described but not benevolent who is called "the great unseen Forefather," and seems to rule over material things.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing to show that Hippolytus or Justinus knew this to be a plural.

<sup>3</sup> Seven names are missing from the text. Of the five given, Michael, Amen and Gabriel are given in the chapter on the Ophites in Theodore bar Khôni's *Book of Scholia* as the first angels created by God, the name of Baruch being replaced by that of "the great Yah." "Esaddæus" is probably El Shaddai, who is said in the same book to be the angel sent to give the Law to the Jews and to have treacherously persuaded them to worship himself.

<sup>4</sup> Of these twelve names, Babel is written in bar Khôni as Babylon and said to be masculo-feminine, Achamoth is the Hebrew חכמה, Chochmah, Sophia, or Wisdom whom most Gnostics called the Mother of Life, Naas is the Serpent as is explained in the chapter on the Naassenes, Bel, Baal or the Chaldean Bel, for Belias we should probably read Beliar, the devil of works like the *Ascensio Isaiaë*, Kavithan should probably be Leviathan, Adonaios is the Hebrew Adonai, or the Lord, while Saël, Karkamenos and Lathen cannot be identified. Pharaoh and "Samiel," a homonym of Satan, appear in bar Khôni's list of angels who rule one or other of the ten heavens, and Adonaios and Leviathan in the Ophite Diagram described by Celsus. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, pp. 70 ff.

together ; concerning which Moses says : " God planted a Paradise in Edem towards the East,"<sup>1</sup> that is, towards the face of Edem that Edem might ever behold Paradise, that is, the angels. And the angels of this Paradise are allegorically called trees,<sup>2</sup> and Baruch, the third angel of the Father, is the Tree of Life, and Naas, the third angel of the Mother is the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.<sup>3</sup> For thus, he says, the (words) of Moses ought to be interpreted, saying : Moses declared them covertly, because all do not come to the truth.

But he says also when Paradise was produced from the mutual pleasure of Elohim and Edem, the angels of Elohim taking (dust) from the fairest earth, that is, not from the beast-like parts of Edem, but from the man-like and cultivated regions of the earth above the groin, create man. But from the beast-like parts, he says, the wild beasts and other animals are produced. Now they made man as a symbol of their<sup>4</sup> unity and good-will and placed in him the powers of each, Edem (supplying) the soul and Elohim the spirit.<sup>5</sup> And there thus came into being a certain seal, as it were and actual memorial of love and an everlasting sign of the marriage of Elohim and Edem, (to wit) a man who is Adam. And in like manner also, Eve came into being as Moses has written, an image and a sign and a seal to be for ever preserved of Edem. And there was likewise placed in Eve the image, a soul from Edem but a spirit from Elohim. And commands were given to them, " Increase and multiply and replenish the earth,"<sup>6</sup> that is Edem, for so he would have it written. For the whole of her own power Edem brought to Elohim as it were some dowry in marriage. Whence, he says, in imitation of that first marriage, women unto this day bring freely to their husbands in obedience to a certain divine and ancestral law (a dowry) which is that of Edem to Elohim.

But when heaven and earth and the things which were

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> So a Chinese Manichæan treatise lately discovered (see *Forerunners*, II, p. 352) speaks of demons inhabiting the soul as "trees."

<sup>3</sup> ἕλκον τοῦ εἰδέναι γνῶσιν κ.τ.λ., "the Tree of seeing Knowledge," etc.

<sup>4</sup> The context shows that it is the unity, etc., of Elohim and Edem that is referred to.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. n. on p. 177 *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. i. 28.

therein had been created as it is written by Moses, the twelve angels of the Mother were divided into four authorities, and each quarter, he says, is called a river, (to wit) Phison and Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates, as Moses says: These twelve angels visiting the four parts encompass and arrange the world, having a certain satrapial<sup>1</sup> power over the world by the authority of Edem. But they abide not always in their own places, but as it were in a circular dance, they go about exchanging place for place, and at certain times and intervals giving up the places assigned to them. When Phison has rule over the places, famine, distress and affliction come to pass in that part of the world, for miserly is the array of these angels. And in like manner in each of the quarters according to the nature and power of each, come evil times and troops of diseases. And evermore the flow of evil according to the rule of the quarters, as if they were rivers, by the will of Edem goes unceasingly about the world. p. 231.

But from some such cause as this did the necessity of evil come about.<sup>2</sup> When Elohim had built and fashioned the world from mutual pleasure, he wished to go up to the highest parts of heaven and to see whether any of the things of creation lacked aught. And he took his own angels with him, for he was (by nature) one who bears upward, and left below Edem, for she being earth did not wish to follow her spouse on high. Then Elohim coming to the upper limit of heaven and beholding a light better than that which himself had fashioned, said: "Open unto me the gates that I may enter in and acknowledge the Lord: For I thought that I was the Lord."<sup>3</sup> And a voice from the light answered him, saying: "This is the gate of the Lord (and) the just enter through it." And straightway the gate was opened, and the Father entered without his angels into the presence of the Good One and saw "what eye has not seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man." Then the Good One says to him, "Sit thou on my D. 232.

<sup>1</sup> Macmahon, "viceregal"; but the "satrap" shows from which country the story comes.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the Armenian version of Marcion's theology (for which see *Forerunners*, II, p. 217, n. 2) makes the "God of the Law's" withdrawal from Hyle or Matter, and his retirement to a higher heaven, the cause of all man's woes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. cxvii. 19, 20; but the likeness is not exact.

right hand."<sup>1</sup> But the Father says to the Good One: "Suffer me, O Lord, to overturn the world which I have made; for my spirit is bound in men and I wish to recover it." Then says the Good One to him: "While with me thou canst do no evil; for thou and Edem made the world from mutual pleasure. Let therefore Edem hold creation p. 233. while she will;<sup>2</sup> but do thou abide with me." Then Edem knowing that she had been abandoned by Elohim was grieved, and sat beside her own angels and adorned herself gloriously lest haply Elohim coming to desire of her should descend to her.

But since Elohim being ruled by the Good One did not come down to Edem, she gave command to Babel, who is Aphrodite, to bring about fornication and dissolutions of marriage among men, in order that as she was separated from Elohim, so also might the (spirit) of Elohim which is in men be tortured, (and) grieved by such separations and might suffer the same things as she did on being abandoned. And Edem gave great power to her third angel Naas,<sup>3</sup> that he might punish with all punishments the spirit of Elohim which is in men, so that through the spirit Elohim might be punished for having left his spouse contrary to their vows. The Father Elohim seeing this sent forth his third angel Baruch to the help of the spirit which is in men. p. 234. Then Baruch came again and stood in the midst of the angels—for the angels are Paradise in the midst of which he stood—and gave commandment to the man: "From every tree which is in Paradise freely eat, but from (the tree) of Knowledge of Good and Evil eat not,"<sup>4</sup> which tree is Naas. That is to say: Obey the eleven other angels of Edem for the eleven have passions, but have no transgression. But Naas had transgression, for he went in unto Eve and beguiled her and committed adultery with her, which is a breach of the Law. And he went in also unto Adam and used him as a boy which is also a breach of the Law.<sup>5</sup> Thence came adultery and sodomy.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cx. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., "until she wishes it not."

<sup>3</sup> "Serpent." See n. on p. 173 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. ii. 16, 17.

<sup>5</sup> That these stories about the protoplasts endured into Manichæan times, see M. Cumont's *La Cosmogonie Manichéenne*, Appendix I.

From that time vices bore sway over men, and the good things came from a single source, the Father. For he, having gone up to the presence of the Good One showed the way to those who wished to go on high; but his having withdrawn from Edem made a source of ills to the spirit of the Father which is in men. Therefore Baruch was sent to Moses, and through him spoke to the sons of Israel that he might turn them towards the Good One. But the third<sup>1</sup> (angel Naas) by means of the soul which came from Edem to Moses as also to all men, darkened the commandments of Baruch and made them listen to his own. Therefore the soul is arrayed against the spirit and the spirit against the soul.<sup>2</sup> For the soul is Edem and the spirit Elohim, each of them being in all mankind, both females and males. Again after this, Baruch was sent to the Prophets, so that by their means the spirit which dwells in man might hearken and flee from Edem and the device of wickedness<sup>3</sup> as the Father Elohim had fled. And in like manner and by the same contrivance, Naas by the soul which inhabits man along with the spirit of the Father seduced the Prophets, and they were all led astray and did not follow the words of Baruch which Elohim had commanded.

In the sequel, Elohim chose Heracles as a prophet out of the uncircumcision and sent him that he might fight against the twelve angels of the creation of the wicked ones. These are the twelve contests of Heracles which he fought in their order from the first to the last against the lion, the bear, the wild boar,<sup>4</sup> and the rest. For these are the names of the nations which have been changed, they say, by the action of the angels of the Mother. But when he seemed to have prevailed, Omphale, who is Babel or Aphrodite<sup>5</sup> becomes connected with him and leads astray Heracles, strips him of his power (which is) the commands of Baruch which Elohim commanded, and puts other clothes on him, her own robe, which is the power of Edem who is below.

<sup>1</sup> Here again a power is referred to by its number instead of its name, as with the Naassene author.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. v. 17.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν πλάνην τὴν πορνείαν, *malam fictionem*, Cr. Yet we have been told nothing of any deceit by Edem towards her partner.

<sup>4</sup> The Ophite Diagram, and bar Khôni's authority both figure the powers hostile to man as taking the shapes of these animals.

<sup>5</sup> So one of the latest documents of the *Pistis Sophia* calls the planet Aphrodite by a *place-name*, which in that case is Bubastis.

And thus the power of prophecy<sup>1</sup> of Heracles and his works become imperfect.

Last of all in the days of Herod the king, Baruch is again sent below by Elohim and coming to Nazareth finds Jesus, the son of Joseph and Mary,<sup>2</sup> a boy of twelve years old, feeding sheep, and teaches Him all things from the beginning which came about from Edem and Elohim and the things  
 p. 237. which shall be hereafter, and he said: "All the prophets before thee were led astray. Strive, therefore, O Jesus, Son of Man, that thou be not led astray, but preach this word unto men. And proclaim to them the things touching the Father and the Good One, and go on high to the Good One and sit there with Elohim the Father of us all." And Jesus hearkened to the angel, saying: "Lord, I will do all (these) things," and He preached. Then Naas wished to lead astray this one also (but Jesus did not wish to hearken to him)<sup>3</sup> for He remained faithful to Baruch. Then Naas, angered because he could not lead Him astray, made Him to be crucified. But He, leaving the body of Edem on the Cross, went on high to the Good One. But He said to Edem: "Woman, receive thy Son,"<sup>4</sup> that is the natural and earthly man, and commending<sup>5</sup> the spirit into the hands of the Father went on high to the presence of the Good One.

But the Good One is Priapus, who before anything was, was created. Whence he is called Priapus because he previously made<sup>6</sup> all things. Wherefore he says he is set up before every temple<sup>7</sup> being honoured by the whole creation and in the streets bears the blossoms of creation on his head, that is the fruits of creation of which he is the  
 p. 238. cause having first made the creation which before did not exist. When therefore you hear men say that a swan came

<sup>1</sup> προφητεία.

<sup>2</sup> If these words are to be taken literally, Justinus was the only heretic of early date who denied His divinity, and this would distinguish him finally from Marcion. But the words are not inconsistent with the Adoptionist view.

<sup>3</sup> These words are Miller's suggestion.

<sup>4</sup> John xix. 26.

<sup>5</sup> παραδίδωμι. So Luke xxiii. 46.

<sup>6</sup> ἐπιποιήσας. The derivation is absurd and the word if it had any meaning would be something like "made like a saw." προποιέω would make the pun at which he seems to have been striving.

<sup>7</sup> This was not the case, the statues of Priapus being placed in gardens. The whole passage seems to have been interpolated by some one ignorant of Greek and of Greek customs or mythology.



upon Leda and begot children from her, the swan is Elohim and Leda is Edem. And when men say that an eagle came upon Ganymede, the eagle is Naas and Ganymede is Adam. And when they say that the gold came upon Danae and begot children from her, the gold is Elohim and Danae is Edem. And likewise they making parallels in the same way teach all such words as bring in myths. When then the Prophets say: "Hear O Heaven and give ear O Earth, the Lord has spoken,"<sup>1</sup> Heaven means, he says, the spirit which is in man from Elohim and Earth the soul which is in man (together) with the spirit, and the Lord means Baruch, and Israel, Edem. For Edem is also called Israel the spouse of Elohim. "Israel," he says, "knew me not; for if she had known that I was with the Good One, she would not have punished the spirit which is in man through the Father's ignorancce."

27. Afterwards . . . is written also the oath in the first book which is inscribed Baruch which those swear who are about to hear these mysteries and to be perfected<sup>2</sup> by the Good One. Which oath, he says, our Father Elohim swore when in the presence of the Good One and having sworn did not repent, touching which, he says, it is written: "The Lord sware and did not repent." This is that oath: "I swear by Him who is above all, the Good One, to preserve these mysteries and to utter them to none, nor to turn away from the Good One to creation." And when he has sworn that oath he enters into the presence of the Good One and sees "what eye hath not seen nor ear heard and it has not entered into the heart of man," and he drinks from the living water, which is their font, as they think, the well of living, sparkling water. For there is a distinction, he says, between water and water; and there is the water below the firmament of the bad creation, wherein are baptized<sup>3</sup> the earthly and natural men, and there is the living water above the firmament of the Good One in which Elohim was baptized and having been baptized did not repent. And when the prophet declares, he says, to take unto himself a wife of whoredom because the earth whoring has committed

<sup>1</sup> Isa. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *τελεισθας* or "initiated." In any case a mystical word.

<sup>3</sup> Lit., "washed"; but the context shows that it is baptism which is in question. It played an important part not only in all these heretical sects but in heathen "mysteries" like those of Isis and Mithras.

whoredom from behind the Lord,<sup>1</sup> that is Edem from Elohim. In these words, he says, the prophet speaks clearly the whole mystery, but he was not hearkened to by the wickedness of Naas. In that same fashion also they hand down other prophetic sayings in many books. But pre-eminent among them is the book inscribed Baruch in which he who reads will know the whole management of their myth.

Now, though I have met with many heresies, beloved, I have met with none worse than this. But truly, as the saying is, we ought, imitating his Heracles, to cleanse the Augean dunghill or rather trench, having fallen into which his followers will never be washed clean nor indeed be able to come up out of it.

28. Since then we have set forth the designs of Justinus the Gnostic falsely so called, it seems fitting to set forth also in the succeeding books the tenets of the heresies which follow him<sup>2</sup> and to leave none of them unrefuted; the things said by them being quite sufficient when exposed to make an example of them, if and only their hidden and unspeakable (mysteries) would leap to light into which the senseless are hardly and with much toil initiated.<sup>3</sup> Let us see now what Simon says.

<sup>1</sup> Hosea i. 2. The A.V. has "*departing from the Lord.*" Here we have Edem clearly identified with the Earth goddess which is the key to the whole of Justinus' story.

<sup>2</sup> ταῖς ἑξῆς . . . τὰς τῶν ἀκουούθων αἰρέσεων. Macmahon, following Cruice, translates as above. It may well be, however, that the "heresies which follow" only mean which follow in the book.

<sup>3</sup> There is no reason to doubt Hippolytus' assertion that this chapter is compiled from a book called *Baruch* in which Justinus set forth his own doctrines. The narrative therein is, unlike that of the earlier chapters, perfectly coherent and plain, and the author's use of the historical present gives it a dramatic form which is lacking from the *oratio obliqua* formerly employed. Solecisms like the omission of the article are also rare, and the very long sentences in which Hippolytus seems to have delighted do not appear except in those passages where he is speaking in his own person. Whether from this or from some other cause, moreover, the transcription of it seems to have given less difficulty to the scribe Michael than some of the other chapters, and there is therefore far less need to constantly restore the text as in the case of the quotations from Sextus Empiricus. On the whole, therefore, we may assume that, as we have it, it is a genuine summary of Justinus' doctrines taken from a work by his own hand.

END OF VOL. I.





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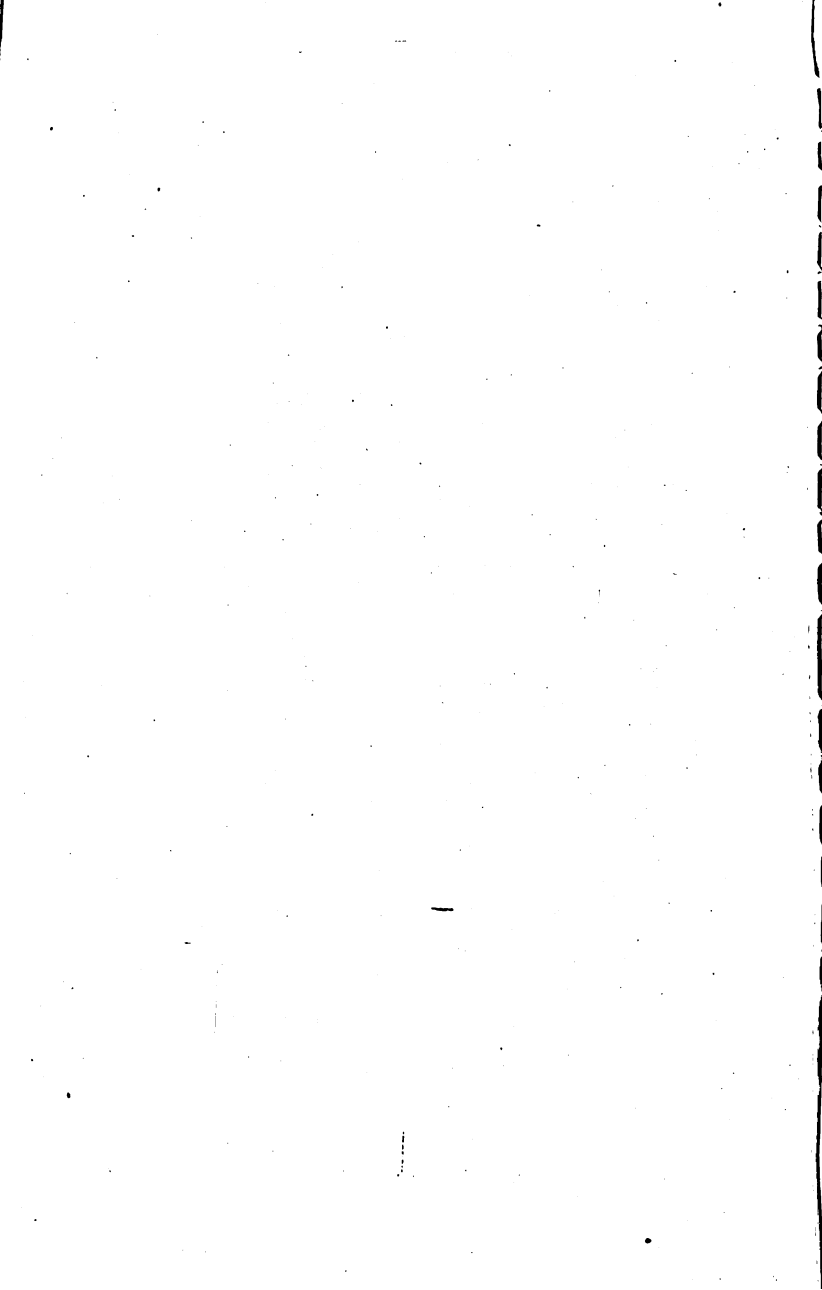
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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b>BOOK VI: SIMON MAGUS, VALENTINUS, AND THEIR FOLLOWERS . . . . .</b>	<b>1-57</b>
1. SIMON . . . . .	2
2. VALENTINUS . . . . .	17
3. SECUNDUS AND EPIPHANES. . . . .	38
4. PTOLEMY . . . . .	39
5. MARCUS . . . . .	40
 <b>BOOK VII: BASILIDES, SATURNILUS, AND OTHERS 58-97</b>	
1. BASILIDES . . . . .	59
2. SATURNILUS . . . . .	80
3. MARCION . . . . .	82
4. CARPOCRATES . . . . .	90
5. CERINTHUS . . . . .	92
6. EBIONAEI . . . . .	93
7. THEODOTUS THE BYZANTIAN . . . . .	93
8. ANOTHER THEODOTUS . . . . .	94
9. CERDO AND LUCIAN . . . . .	95
10. APELLES . . . . .	96
 <b>BOOK VIII: THE DOCETAE, MONOIMUS, AND OTHERS . . . . .</b>	<b>98-116</b>
1. THE DOCETAE . . . . .	99
2. MONOIMUS . . . . .	106
3. TATIAN . . . . .	111
4. HERMOGENES . . . . .	111
5. THE QUARTODECIMANS . . . . .	112
6. THE PHRYGIANS . . . . .	113
7. THE ENCRATITES . . . . .	114

	PAGE
<b>BOOK IX: NOETUS, CALLISTUS, AND OTHERS</b>	<b>117-148</b>
1. NOETUS . . . . .	118
2. CALLISTUS . . . . .	124
3. THE ELCHESAITES . . . . .	132
4. THE JEWS . . . . .	138
<b>BOOK X: SUMMARIES, AND THE WORD OF TRUTH</b>	<b>149-178</b>
1. THE SUMMARY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS . . . . .	150
2. THE SUMMARY OF THE HERESIES . . . . .	153
3. THE WORD OF TRUTH . . . . .	171
<b>INDEX . . . . .</b>	<b>179</b>

# PHILOSOPHUMENA

## BOOK VI

### SIMON MAGUS, VALENTINUS, AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

1. THESE are the contents of the 6th (book) of the *Refutation of all Heresies*. p. 242. Cruice.
2. What Simon has dared, and that his doctrine is confirmed (by quotations) from magicians and poets.
3. What Valentinus has laid down, and that his doctrine is not framed from the Scriptures, but from those of the Platonists and Pythagorists.
4. And what is thought by Secundus, Ptolemy and Heracleon, and how they have used as their own, but with different words, the thoughts of those whom the Greeks (think) wise.
5. What has been held by Marcus and Colarbasus [and their disciples] and that some of them gave heed to magic arts and Pythagorean numbers.
6. Now such opinions as belong to those who have taken their principles from the serpent<sup>1</sup> and, when the time arrived, of their own accord brought their doctrines into light, we have set forth in the Book before this, being the 5th of the *Refutation of all Heresies*. Here, however, I will not keep silence as to the opinions of those who come after (them),<sup>2</sup> but will leave not one unrefuted, if it be possible

<sup>1</sup> He of course refers to the Ophites, whence it is clear that he included Justinus among them. His language may imply that all these serpent-worshipping sects had been in existence some time before, but did not begin to write their doctrines until they had taken on a veneer of Christianity. This is very probable, but there is not as yet any convincing proof that this was the case.

<sup>2</sup> Here again it is very difficult to say whether τῶν ἀκολουθῶν means those who follow in point of time or in the pages of the book.

to keep them all in mind, together with their secret rites which are justly to be called orgies, inasmuch as those who dare such things are not far from God's wrath<sup>1</sup>—to use the word in its etymological sense.

### 1. *About Simon.*

7. It seems then right now to set forth also the (doings) of Simon,<sup>2</sup> the man of Gitto,<sup>3</sup> a village of Samaria, whereby we shall show that those also who followed (him) taking hints from other names have ventured upon like things.

<sup>1</sup> ἄργια, "secret rites" and ὀργή, "wrath," is the pun here.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Magus, the convert of Philip the Evangelist, is said by all patristic writers to be at once the first teacher and the founder of all (post-Christian) Gnosticism; but until the discovery of our text our knowledge of his doctrines hardly went further than the statements of St. Irenaeus and Epiphanius that he claimed to be the Supreme Being. The only other light on the subject came from Theodoret, who, writing in the fifth century, discloses in a few brief words the assertion by Simon of a system of aeons or inferior powers emanating from the Divinity by pairs. It is plain that in this, Theodoret must have either borrowed from, or used the same material as, our author, and it is now seen that Simon's aeons were said by him to be six in number, the sources of all subsequent being, and to be considered under a double aspect. On the one hand, they were names or attributes of God like the Amshaspands of Zoroastrianism or the Sephiroth of the Jewish Cabala; and on the other they were identified with natural objects such as Heaven and Earth, Sun and Moon, Earth and Water, thereby forming a link with the Orphic and other cosmogonies current in Greece and the East. We now learn, too, for the first time that Simon taught, like the Ophites, that the Supreme Being was of both sexes like his anti-types, that the universe consisted of three worlds reflecting one another, and that man must achieve his salvation by coming to resemble the Deity—a result which was apparently to be brought about by finding his twin soul and uniting himself to her. None of these ideas seem to have been Simon's own invention, and all are found among those of earlier or later Gnostics. Hence their appearance has here given rise to the theories, put forward in the first instance by German writers, but also adopted by some English ones, that the Simon of our text was not the magician of the *Acts* but an heresiarch of the same name who flourished in the second century, and that the opponent of St. Peter covers under the same name the personality of St. Paul. Neither theory seems to have any foundation.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Γεττῆρου. Hippolytus' usual practice is to use the place-name as an adjective. The Codex has Γεττῆρου, Justin Martyr, "of Gitto."

This Simon, being skilled in magic arts and having played upon many, sometimes by the Thrasymedeian<sup>1</sup> process in the way we have set forth above, but sometimes working iniquity by means of devils, designed to deify himself, (although only) a human sorcerer filled with desperation whom the Apostles refuted in the *Acts*.<sup>2</sup> Than whom Apsethus p. 244. the Libyan was much wiser and more modest when he ambitiously attempted to be considered a god in Libya. Whose story as it is not very different from the vain desire of Simon, it seems fitting to narrate as one worthy to have been attempted by Simon himself.

8. Apsethus the Libyan yearned to become a god. But since, after making himself very busy, he utterly failed (to accomplish) his desire, he wished at all events to appear to have become one, and seemed as if he might really effect this in course of time. For the foolish Libyans sacrificed to him as to some divine power, thinking that they must give faith to a voice from heaven above. For he collected and shut up in one and the same cage a great many of the birds called parrots; there being many parrots in Libya who imitate quite clearly the human voice. For some time he fed the birds and taught them to say 'Apsethus is a god': and when the birds had been trained for a long time, and repeated the saying which he p. 245. thought would make Apsethus be considered a god, he opened the cage and let the parrots out in all directions. The noise of the flying birds went forth into all Libya, and their words reached as far as the land of the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> And thus the Libyans being wonderstruck by the voices of the birds and not understanding the trick played by Apsethus, held him for a god. But a certain Greek having carefully studied the clever device of the so-called god, not only refuted him by the (mouth of the) same parrots but removed from the earth that human quack and rascal. The Greek shut up many of the parrots and taught them to say instead (of their former speech): "Apsethus shut us up and forced us to say: 'Apsethus is a god.'" And the

<sup>1</sup> Probably Paramedes or Agamedes is intended. Cf. Theocritus, *Idyll*, II, 14. The Paramedes or Perimedes there mentioned was said to have been a famous witch, child of the Sun, and mistress of Poseidôn.

<sup>2</sup> Acts viii. 9-14

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Cyrene.

Libyans hearing the parrots' recantation (and) all assembling with one mind burned Apsethus.<sup>1</sup>

9. This (sort of man) one must suppose Simon the magician (to be), so that we would far sooner liken him to the Libyan who was born a man than to (Him) who is really God.<sup>2</sup> But if the details of the likeness be held accurate and the magician had some such passion as Apsethus, we will undertake to teach Simon's parrots that Simon who stood, stands and will stand was not Christ, but  
 p. 246. a man (sprung) from seed, born of a woman<sup>3</sup> begotten from blood and fleshly desire like the rest, and that he knew this to be so, we shall easily show as the story goes on.<sup>4</sup> But Simon, stupidly and clumsily garbling the Law of Moses—for when Moses has said that God was "a burning and consuming fire,"<sup>5</sup>—he, not having received Moses' saying rightly, says that fire is the principle of the universals, and not having comprehended the saying that God is not Fire, but a burning and consuming fire, (thereby) not only rends in twain the Law of Moses, but steals from Heraclitus the Obscure.<sup>6</sup> But Simon proclaims that the principle of the universals is a boundless power, speaking thus:—"This is the writing of the Announcement<sup>7</sup> of Voice and Name from the Thought of the great power of the Boundless One. Wherefore it will be sealed up, hidden, concealed and will be in the dwelling-place where the root of the universals is founded."<sup>8</sup> But he says that the dwelling-place is the same

<sup>1</sup> This story in one form or another appears in Maximus Tyrius (*Diss.* xxxv). *Ælian* (*Hist.*, xiv. 30), Justin (xxi. 4), and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, viii. 16). The name seems to be Psapho.

<sup>2</sup> Cruice's emendation. Schneidewin, Miller, and Macmahon read τάχιον ἀνθρώπου γενομένου, ἕντως θεῶ, "sooner than to Him who though made man, was really God;" but there seems no question here of the Second Person of the Trinity.

<sup>3</sup> γέννημα γυναικός, "birth of a woman."

<sup>4</sup> This is the evident meaning of the sentence. Hippolytus ignores all rules as to the order of his words. Macmahon translates as if Christ were meant.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. iv. 24, "consuming" only in A.V.

<sup>6</sup> Empedocles also. See Vol. I. pp. 40-41 *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> τὸ γράμμα ἀποφάσεως, *liber revelationis*, Cr., "the treatise of a revelation," Macmahon; as if it were the title of a book. But the title of the book attributed to Simon is given later as Ἡ ἀποφάσις μεγάλη, and there seems no reason why the second syzygy of the series should be singled out in it for special mention.

<sup>8</sup> A phrase singularly like this occurs in the "Naassene" author. See Vol. I. pp. 140-141 *supra*, where the "universals" are enumerated.



man who has been begotten from blood and that the Boundless Power dwells in him, which (power) he says is the root of the universals. But the Boundless Power, the fire according to Simon, is not simple as the many say who think that the four elements are simple and that fire is simple; but there is a certain double nature of fire, and of this double nature he calls one part hidden and the other manifest. But the hidden (parts) have been hidden in the manifest parts of the fire, and the manifest have come into being by the hidden. This it is which Aristotle calls potentiality and action, and Plato the comprehensible and the perceptible.<sup>1</sup> p. 247.

And the manifest (part) of the fire contains within itself all which one can perceive<sup>2</sup> or which can escape one, but remains visible; but the hidden (part) contains everything which one can perceive as something intelligible but which evades the sense or which as not being thoroughly understood one passes over. But it must be said generally that of all things which are perceptible and intelligible, which Simon calls hidden and manifest,<sup>3</sup> the supercelestial fire is the Treasure-house,<sup>4</sup> like unto the great tree which was seen by Nebuchadnezzar in a dream, from which all flesh is fed.<sup>5</sup> And he considers the trunk, the boughs, the leaves, and the bark on the outside of it to be the manifest part of the fire. All these things which are attached to the great tree the flame of the all-devouring fire causes to vanish. But the fruit of the tree, if it be made a perfect likeness<sup>6</sup> and has received its own shape, is placed in a storehouse and not in the fire. For the fruit, he says, has been produced that it may be put in a storehouse, but the chaff that it may be cast into the fire, which (chaff) is the trunk which has p. 248.

<sup>1</sup> Or that which can only be perceived by the mind and that which can be perceived by the senses.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπινοήση. The sense of the passage seems to require "perceive"; but the Greek can only mean "have in one's mind." Probably some blunder of the copyist.

<sup>3</sup> Here, again, he has inverted the order. The hidden is the intelligible, the manifest, the perceptible.

<sup>4</sup> The simile of the Treasure-house finds frequent expression in the *Pistis Sophia*.

<sup>5</sup> Dan. iv. 12.

<sup>6</sup> ἐξεικονισθή. Macmahon translates "if it be fully grown" on the strength apparently of a passage in the LXX; but the word is used too frequently throughout this chapter to have that meaning here.

not been produced for its own sake, but for that of the fruit.

10. And this is, he says, what is written in the Scripture: "The vine of the Lord Sabaoth is the house of Israel, and a man of Judah his beloved plant."<sup>1</sup> But if a man of Judah is his beloved plant, it proves, he says, that a tree is nothing else than a man. But of its secretion and dissolution, he says, the Scripture has spoken sufficiently, and for the instruction of those who have been made completely after (its) likeness,<sup>2</sup> the saying is enough that: "All flesh is grass and all the glory of the flesh as the flower of grass. The grass withereth and the flower fadeth away: but the word of the Lord abideth for ever."<sup>3</sup> But the word, he says, is the word and speech of the Lord born in the mouth, save which there is no other place of generation.

p. 249.

11. But, to be brief, since the fire is such according to Simon, and all things are seen and unseen as they are heard and unheard, numbered and unnumbered, in the *Great Announcement* he calls a perfect intellectual<sup>4</sup> every one of those (beings) which can be boundlessly conceived by the mind in a boundless way<sup>5</sup> and can speak and think and act, as says Empedocles:—

For earth by earth we see, and water by water  
And (divine) ather by æther, yet destroying fire by fire,  
And (love) by love, and strife in gloomy strife.—

(Karsten, v. 321.)

12. For, he says, he considered all the parts of the fire which are invisible to have sense and a share of mind<sup>6</sup>  
p. 250. Therefore the cosmos, he says, came into being begotten by the unbegotten fire. But it began to be, he says, after this fashion:—He who was produced from the beginning from that fire took six roots, the first ones of the principle

<sup>1</sup> Isa. v. 7. The A.V. has "the men" for "a man" and "pleasant" for "beloved."

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς εἰκονισμένοις.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Pet. i. 24, 25. The A.V. has "glory of man" for "glory of flesh."

<sup>4</sup> τέλειον νοερόν. It is very difficult to find in English a word expressing the difference between this νοερός, "intellectual," and νοητός, "intelligible."

<sup>5</sup> Reading ἀπειράκις ἀπειρων (όντων) for the ἀπειράκις ἀπειρωσ of Cruice's text.

<sup>6</sup> Cruice's emendation. The Codex has γνώμην ἴσην, "equal opinion"? Schneidewin, νόματος ἴσην.

of generation.<sup>1</sup> And he says that the roots came from the fire in pairs, which roots he calls Mind and Thought, Voice and Name, Reasoning and Passion,<sup>2</sup> but that the whole of the Boundless Power together is in these six roots potentially, but not actively. The which Boundless Power he says is He who Stood, Stands, and will Stand. Who if he be made into a complete image (of the fire) will be in substance, power, greatness, and effect one and the same with that Unbegotten and Boundless Power, and lacking nothing possessed by that unbegotten and unchanging and infinite power. But if he remains potentially only in the six powers and is not made into a complete image (of the fire), he is done away with and is lost like as the capacity for grammar or geometry in man's soul. For power taking to itself skill becomes a light of the things which are: p. 251. but if it does not take unto itself (skill) it is unskilfulness and darkness and as if it were not, it perishes<sup>3</sup> with the man at his death.

<sup>1</sup> Here we have Simon's cosmogonical ideas set out for the first time in something like his own words. He seems to postulate the existence of a Logos who makes the Six Powers or Roots and who is himself present in them all. This does not appear to differ from the view of Philo, for which see *Forerunners*, I, 174, or Schürer's *Hist. of the Jewish People* there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Νούς και Ἐπίνοια, Φωνή και Ὄνομα, Λογισμὸς και Ἐνθόμησις. The last name is the only one that presents any difficulty, although every heresiologist but Hippolytus gives the female of the first syzygy as Ἐρνοια. Ἐνθόμησις is translated *Conceptio* by Cruice, "Reflection" by Macmahon. It seems as if it here meant "desire" in a mental, not a fleshly, sense; but as this word has a double meaning in English, I have substituted for it "Passion." Hereafter the Greek names will be used.

<sup>3</sup> This daring idea that the Logos, the chief intermediary between God and matter in whom all the lesser λόγοι and powers were contained, as Philo thought, must himself either return to and be united to God or else be lost in matter and perish, is met with in one form or another in nearly all later forms of Gnosticism. It is this which makes the redemption of Sophia after her "fall" so prominent in the mythology of Valentinus, while its converse is shown in the First Man of Manichæism conquered by Satan and groaning in chains and darkness until released by the heavenly powers and placed in some intermediate world to wait until the last spark of the light which he has lost is redeemed from matter. It seems to be the natural consequence of Philo's ideas, for which see Schürer's *Hist. of the Jewish People* (Eng. ed.) II, ii. pp. 370-376. Whether these did not in turn owe something to Greek stories of mortals like Heracles and Dionysos deified as a reward for their sufferings is open to question. Cf. *Forerunners*, vol. I.

13. But of these six powers and the seventh which is with the six, he calls the first pair, (to wit) Nous and Epinoia, Heaven and Earth. And (he says) that the masculine (partner) looks down from on high upon and takes thought for his spouse and that the Earth below receives the intellectual fruits proper to her brought down from Heaven to Earth. Wherefore, he says, the Logos beholding often the things born from Nous and Epinoia, that is from Heaven and Earth, says: "Hear, O Heaven, and give ear, O Earth, for the Lord has spoken. I have begotten and raised up sons, but they have disregarded me."<sup>1</sup> He who thus speaks, he says, is the Seventh Power who Stood, Stands and will Stand. For he is the cause of those fair things which Moses praised and said that  
 p. 252. they were very good. And Phone and Onoma are the Sun and Moon, and Logismos and Enthymesis Air and Water. But with all these is mingled and compounded, as I have said, the great and Boundless Power, He who has Stood.<sup>2</sup>

14. Since, therefore, Moses spake: "In six days God created Heaven and Earth and the seventh day he rested from all his works,"<sup>3</sup> Simon after re-arranging the passage, makes himself out a god. When then they say that three days passed before the Sun and Moon existed,<sup>4</sup> they shadow forth Nous and Epinoia and the Seventh Power, the Boundless One. For these three powers were born before all the others. When they say: "Before all the Aeons He has begotten me,"<sup>5</sup> (Simon) says that this was spoken of the Seventh Power. But the same Seventh Power, which

<sup>1</sup> Justinus also used this quotation from Isaiah i. 2, although in abbreviated form. See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 179. The A.V. has "nourished and brought up" for "begotten and raised up," and "rebelled against" for "disregarded."

<sup>2</sup> So Philo according to Zeller and Schürer, (*op. cit.*, p. 374) understands by the Logos "the power of God or the active Divine intelligence in general." He designates it as the "idea which comprises all other ideas, the power which comprises all powers in itself, as the entirety of the supersensuous world or of the Divine powers."

<sup>3</sup> Gen. ii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The Sethiani also quote this. See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 165.

So Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 9, makes Wisdom or Sophia say, "He created me from the beginning before all the world," and Proverbs viii. 23, "I was set up from everlasting," but neither passage is here directly quoted.

was a power existing in the Boundless Power which was begotten before all the Aeons, this is, he says, the Seventh Power of whom Moses said: "And the Spirit of God was borne above the water,"<sup>1</sup> that is, he says, the spirit containing all things within itself, an image of the Boundless Power, of whom Simon says "image of the imperishable form which alone orders all things." For that power which was borne above the water having come into being, he says, from the imperishable form, alone orders all things. Now when some such and like preparations of the cosmos had come to pass, God, he says, moulded<sup>2</sup> man, taking dust from the earth. But he fashioned him not simple but twofold<sup>3</sup> according to image and resemblance. But the spirit which was borne above the water is an image, which spirit if it is not made a complete likeness,<sup>4</sup> perishes with the world, as it abides only potentially and does not exist in activity. This, he says, is the saying, "Lest ye be judged with the world."<sup>5</sup> But if it be made a complete likeness and is born from an Indivisible Point as it is written in the Announcement, the small will become great. But it will be great in the Boundless and Unchanging Aeon, being born no more.

How then and in what manner, he says, did God form man in Paradise? For this is his opinion. Let, he says, Paradise be the womb, and that this is true the Scripture teaches when it says: "I am he who fashioned thee in thy mother's womb."<sup>6</sup> For this also he wishes to be thus written. Moses, he says, speaking in allegory, calls Paradise the womb if we are to believe the word. But if God fashions man in the womb of his mother, that is, in Paradise, as I have said, let Paradise be the womb and Edem the placenta: "And a river went forth from Edem and watered Paradise"<sup>7</sup> (this is) the navel-string. The

<sup>1</sup> Gen. i. 2, "moved upon the face of," A.V.

<sup>2</sup> *πλασσε*, "moulded."

<sup>3</sup> That is, masculo-feminine.

<sup>4</sup> *εξεικονισθῆ* again. Like the Boundless Power or the Logos?

<sup>5</sup> Quotation already used by the Peratæ. See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> For the Indivisible Point which follows, see the Naassene chapter, Vol. I. p. 141 *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> Jer. i. 5. "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee," A.V.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. ii. 10, "to water the garden," A.V. The four divisions of the river have been already referred to in different senses by Justinus and

navel-string, he says, separates into four heads. For on each side of the navel are set two arterics, conduits of breath, and two veins, conduits of blood. But when he says, the navel-string goes forth from the placenta it takes root in the infant by the epigastrium which all men commonly call the navel. And the two veins it is through which flows and is borne from Edem (the placenta) the blood to the so-called gates of the liver whence the child is fed. But the arteries as we have said, are the conduits of the breath<sup>1</sup> which pass behind on either side of the bladder round the pelvis and make connection with the great artery by the spine called the aorta, and thus through the ventricles the breath flows upon the heart and causes

p. 255. movement of the embryo. For the embryo in course of formation in Paradise neither takes food by the mouth, nor breathes through the nostrils. For, as it exists amid waters, death is at its feet if it should breathe. For it would then draw in the waters and die. But it is girt about almost wholly by the envelope called the amnion and is fed through the navel, and through the aorta which is by the spine, it receives, as I have said<sup>2</sup> the substance of the breath.

15. Therefore, he says, the river flowing forth from Edem separates into four heads (or) four conduits, that is, into the child's four senses, sight, smell, taste, and touch. For the infant while being formed in Paradise has these senses only. This, he says, is the Law which Moses laid down; and agreeably with that same Law each of the Books is written, as their titles clearly show. The first book (is) *Genesis* (and) the title of the book, he says, suffices for the knowledge of the universals. For, he says, this is genesis, that is sight into which one of the sections of the river separates;

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the Naassene author. So far from this repetition arguing forgery, as contended by Stähelin, it seems only to show that all these half-Jewish sects found in the traditions recorded in Genesis an obstacle that they were bound to explain away if possible.

<sup>1</sup> ἄνεροι πνεύματος. Cruice and Macmahon translate πνεύμα by "spirit," but it here evidently means "breath" from what is said later about the nostrils. Cruice mentions that the ancients finding the arteries empty at death concluded that they were filled by air during life.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the first person shows that this is Hippolytus' and not Simon's explanation.

the world is seen by sight. The title of the second p. 256. book is *Exodus*. For that which is born after crossing the Red Sea comes into the Desert—he calls the blood, he says, the Red Sea—and tastes bitter water. For bitter, he says, is the water which comes after the Red Sea, which (water) is the way of knowledge of life pursued through painful and bitter things. But when changed by Moses, that is by the Logos, that bitter (water) becomes sweet. And that this is so, can be known by all in common in the saying of the poets:—

Black was it at the root, but the flower was like milk  
The gods call it Moly, but hard it is to dig  
For mortal men, but to the gods all things are possible.—  
(HOMER, *Odyssey*, X, 304 ff.)

16. What has been said by the nations, he says, suffices for the thorough knowledge of the universals to those who have ears to hear. For not only he who has tasted this fruit is not turned into a beast by Circe; but those also who have been already brutified by use of the powers of p. 257. such fruit, he moulds again into their first and proper form and restores them to type and recalls their (original) impress. And the faithful man and he who is beloved by that witch is, he says, revealed through that milk-like and divine fruit. Likewise *Leviticus* the third book which is the smell or inspiration.<sup>1</sup> For this book is of sacrifices and oblations. For where there is a sacrifice there comes a certain savour of fragrance from it through the incense, of which fragrance the sense of smell (ought to be tested).<sup>2</sup> *Numbers*, the fourth book he calls taste . . .<sup>3</sup> where speech operates. But *Deuteronomy*, he says, is written with reference to the sense of touch of the child in course of formation. For as the touch, touching the things perceived by the other senses, sums up and confirms them, teaching us whether (anything) be hard or hot or cold,<sup>4</sup> so the fifth book of the Law is the summary of the four books

<sup>1</sup> ἀναπνοή, "inbreathing."

<sup>2</sup> Cruice's emendation.

<sup>3</sup> A hiatus to be filled evidently with some reference to the mouth. The whole of this passage seems corrupt. From what is said about the bitterness of the water *Exodus* should be taste, *Leviticus* smell and *Numbers* hearing.

<sup>4</sup> The simile as well as the phrase is to be found in Aristotle. Cf. *Organon*, c. viii.

written before it. All the unbegotten things, then, he says, are in potentiality not in activity, like the grammatical or geometrical art. If then one should chance upon the fitting word and doctrine, and the bitter should be changed into sweet, that is, the spears into reaping-hooks and the swords into ploughshares,<sup>1</sup> (the child) will not be chaff and sticks for producing fire, but a perfect fruit made in semblance (of), as I have said (and) equal and like to, the Unbegotten and Boundless Power. But should he remain only a tree and should not make a perfect fruit fashioned in complete resemblance, he will be removed. For the axe is near, he says, to the roots of the tree. Every tree, he says, which maketh not fair fruit is cut down and cast into the fire.<sup>2</sup>

17. There is then, according to Simon, that blessed and incorruptible thing hidden in everything, potentially not actively, which is He who Stood, Stands and will Stand. It stood above in the Unbegotten Power, it stands below amid the rush of the waters having been begotten in likeness, and it will stand on high beside the blessed Unbegotten Power if it be made in (his) perfect semblance. For there are, he says, three who have stood, and unless there are three Aeons who have stood, then the Unbegotten One who according to them is borne over the water, who by resemblance has been fashioned again perfect (and) heavenly, who in one thought alone<sup>3</sup> is more lacking than the Unbegotten Power, is not in its proper place.<sup>4</sup> This is what they say: "I and thou, thou one before me, I after thee, am I." This, he says, is one power, divided above, below, begetting itself, increasing itself, seeking itself, finding itself, being its own mother, its own father, its own sister, its own spouse, its own daughter, its own son, a mother-father,<sup>5</sup> being one root of the universals.

And that, he says, the beginning of the generation of things begotten is from fire, he understands in some such fashion as this: In all things whatever which have birth,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isa. ii. 4; Micah iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> So the *Bruce Papyrus* (ed. Amélineau, p. 231) says that God when he withdrew all things into Himself, did not so draw "a little Thought," and from this one Thought all the worlds were made.

<sup>4</sup> *ὅν κοσμεῖται, non ordinaretur*, Cr., "is not adorned," Macmahon.

<sup>5</sup> Reading *μητρὸς πατρὸς* for *μητρὸς πατρός*. Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v. 14 for this word. The other epithets seem to cover allusions to the Dionysiac, the Osirian and the Attis myths.



in Samaria by magic arts was refuted by the Apostles, and having been laid under a curse as it is written in the *Acts*, p. 267. afterwards in desperation designed these things<sup>1</sup> until having come to Rome, he withstood the Apostles. Whom Peter opposed when he was deceiving many by sorceries. He at length coming into t . . . . . te,<sup>2</sup> taught sitting under a plane-tree. And finally his refutation being very near<sup>3</sup> through effluxion of time, he said that if buried alive he would rise again the third day. And having given orders that a grave should be dug by his disciples, he bade them bury him. And they having done what he commanded, he remains there to this day; for he was not the Christ. This then is Simon's story, taking hints from which Valentinus calls (the same things) by other names. For Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia are Simon's six roots, Nous-Epinoia, Phone-Onoma, Logismos-Enthymesis. But since we have sufficiently set forth Simon's fable making, let us see what Valentinus says.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Concerning Valentinus.

21. The heresy of Valentinus,<sup>5</sup> then, exists, having a p. 268.

<sup>1</sup> That is, made up this doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. King in the *Gnostics and their Remains* (2nd ed.) thinks that the omitted word is Persia. There is evidently a *lacuna* here, and perhaps a considerable one.

<sup>3</sup> Because his age made his pretensions to divinity absurd. The story given after this directly contradicts all ecclesiastical tradition which makes Simon perish by the fall of his demon-borne car while flying in the presence of Nero and St. Peter in the Campus Martius.

<sup>4</sup> The sources of this chapter are fairly plain. There is little reason to doubt that Hippolytus had actually seen and read a book attributed to Simon Magus and called the *Great Announcement* from which he quotes, after his manner, inaccurately and carelessly, but still in good faith. Whether the work was by Simon himself is much more doubtful, but it was probably in use by the sect that he founded, and therefore represents with some fidelity his teaching. The style of it as appears from the extracts here given is a curious mixture of bombast and philosophical expressions, and bears a strong likeness to certain passages in the chapters in the fifth book on the Naassenes and the Peratae. The other traceable source of the chapter is the work *Against Heresies* of St. Irenæus, of which the quotations here given go to establish the Greek text. But intertwined with this, especially towards the end of the chapter, is a third thread of tradition, quite different from that used in the *Clementines* and other patristic accounts of Simon's career, which cannot at present be identified.

<sup>5</sup> With Valentinus, we leave at last the tangled genealogies and

Pythagorean and Platonic foundation. For Plato in the *Timæus* modelled himself entirely on Pythagoras, as is seen

unclean imagery, as it seems to us, of the early traditions of Western Asia, to approach a form of religion which although not without fantastic features is yet much more consonant with modern European thought. Valentinus was, indeed, with the doubtful exception of Marcion, the first of heretics in the present acceptation of the term, and many features of his teaching were reproduced later in the tenets of one or other of the Christian sects. At first sight, the main difference between his doctrine and that of the Catholic Church consists in the extraordinary series of personified attributes of the Deity which he thought fit to interpose between the Supreme Being and the Saviour. This he probably borrowed either from the later Zoroastrian idea of the Amshaspands or Archangels who surround Ahura Mazda, or, more probably, from the *patu neteru*, ("company of the gods") of the Egyptian religion of Pharaonic times; and it has been suggested elsewhere that he probably attached less importance to dogmatism on the matter than the Fathers would wish to make out. But Hippolytus' account of his other doctrines show other divergences from the Church's teaching both graver and wider than we should have gathered from the statements of Irenæus, Tertullian, or Epiphanius. His view of the ignorance and folly of the Demiurge seems to be taken over bodily from the Ophite teaching, and, as he identifies him by implication with the God of the Jews, must logically lead to the rejection of the whole of the Old Testament except perhaps the Psalms, Proverbs, and the historical portions. He is also as predestinarian as Calvin himself for he assigns complete beatitude to the Pneumatics or Spirituals only while relegating the Psychics to an inferior heaven and dooming the Hylics to complete destruction. Yet the class to which each of us is assigned has nothing to do with conduct, but is in the discretion of Sophia, the Mother of all Living.

The most marked novelty in Valentinus' teaching, however, is the cause, according to him, of the gift of this partial salvation to man. This is not, as in the Catholic, the fruit of God's love towards his creature, but the last stage of a great scheme for the reconstruction and purification of the whole universe. First, the Pleroma or Fulness of the Godhead is purified by the segregation from it of the Ectroma or abortion to which Sophia in her ignorance and ambition gave birth; then the Ectroma herself is freed from her passions by the action of Christ and the Holy Spirit, and made the Mother of Life and finally this material world, the creation of the God of the Jews is to be purged by the Divine Mission of Jesus from the gross and devilish elements introduced into it by the ignorant clumsiness of the same God of the Jews. But this theory was poles asunder from the geocentric ideas of the universe then current among Greeks, Jews, and Christians alike, and comes startlingly near the hypotheses of modern science on the very low place of the earth and humanity in the scheme of things. Whence Valentinus drew the materials from which he constructed his theory must be reserved for investigation at some future date; but it is fairly clear that some part of it was responsible for the

also by his "Pythagorean stranger" being Timæus himself. Wherefore it seems fitting that we should begin by recalling to mind a few (points) of the theory of Pythagoras and Plato, and should then describe the (teaching) of Valentinus. For if the opinions of Pythagoras and Plato are also included in the (books) painfully written by us earlier, yet I shall not be unreasonable in recalling<sup>1</sup> in epitome their most leading tenets<sup>2</sup> in order that by their closer comparison and likeness of composition, the doctrines of Valentinus may be more intelligible. For as (the Pythagoreans and Platonists) took their opinions of old from the Egyptians and taught them anew to the Greeks, so (Valentinus) while fraudulently attempting to establish his own teaching by them, carved their system into names and numbers, calling them [by names] and defining them by measures of his own. Whence he has constructed a heresy Greek indeed, but not referable to Christ. p. 269

22. The wisdom of the Egyptians is, then, the beginning of Plato's theory in the *Timæus*. For from this, Solon<sup>3</sup> taught the Greeks the whole position regarding the birth and destruction of the cosmos by means of a certain prophetic statement, as Plato says, the Greeks being then children and knowing no older theologic learning. In order then that we may follow closely the words which Valentinus let fall, I will now set out as preface what it was that Pythagoras of Samos taught as philosophy after that silence praised by the Greeks. And then [I will point out] those things which Valentinus takes from Pythagoras and Plato and with solemn words attributes to Christ, and before Christ to the Father of the universals and to that Sige who is given as a spouse to the Father. —

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a few of the tenets of the Manichæism which arose some hundred years later to maintain a strenuous opposition to the Catholic faith for at least nine centuries.

Finally, it may be said that Hippolytus also tells us for the first time of the divisions among Valentinus' followers and the different parts played therein by Ptolemy, Heracleon and others, including that Bardesanes or Bar Daisan whose name was great in the East as late as Al Birûni's day.

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐπομνησθήσομαι.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ κορυφαίωτατα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἀρεσκομένων.

<sup>3</sup> The Codex has Σολομών—evidently a copyist's mistake. Cf. Plato, *Timæus*, § 7.

23. Now Pythagoras declared that the unbegotten monad was the principle of the universals<sup>1</sup> and the parent of the dyad and of all the other numbers. And he says that the monad is the father of the dyad and the dyad the mother of all engendered things (and) a bearer of things begotten. And Zaratas,<sup>2</sup> also, the teacher of Pythagoras, calls the one father, but the two, mother. For the dyad has come into being from a monad according to Pythagoras, and the monad is masculine and first, but the dyad female and second. From the dyad, again, as Pythagoras says, (come) the triad and the other numbers one after the other up to 10. For Pythagoras knew that this 10 is the only perfect number.<sup>3</sup> For (he saw that) the 11 and 12 were an addition to and re-equipment of the decad, and not the generation of some other number. All solid bodies beget what is given to them from the bodiless.<sup>4</sup> For, he says, the Point which is indivisible is at once a point and a beginning of the bodies and the bodiless together. And, he says, from the point comes a line, and a superficies extended in depth makes, he says, a solid figure. Whence the Pythagoreans have a certain oath as to the harmony of the four elements. And they make oath thus:—

p. 271. "Yea by the Tetractys handed down to our head  
A source of eternal nature containing within itself roots."<sup>5</sup>

For the beginning of natural and solid bodies is the Tetractys as the monad is of the intelligible ones.<sup>6</sup> But that the Tetractys gives birth to the perfect number as among the intelligibles the (monad) does to the 10, they teach thus. If one beginning to count says 1, and adds 2,

<sup>1</sup> Not necessarily the Supreme Being. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, I, 8, says, "God is one, and beyond the One, and above the Monad itself."

<sup>2</sup> A fairly common form of Zoroaster. The quotation is probably from the "Chaldean Oracles" so-called.

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertius, Book VIII, c. 19 quotes from Alexander's *Successions of Philosophers* that Pythagoras in his Commentaries put first the monad, then the undefined dyad, and said that from these two numbers proceeded, from numbers signs, from signs lines, from lines plane figures, from planes solids, and from solids perceptible bodies consisting of the four elements, fire, water, earth and air.

<sup>4</sup> Miller would substitute *νομιστέον* for *προστιθέμενον*.

<sup>5</sup> These verses are said by Cruice to be in Sextus Empiricus, but I have not been able to find them in any known writings of that author.

<sup>6</sup> *νοητά*, as opposed to *αίσθητά*.

and then 3 in like manner, these will make 6. (Add) yet another (*i. e.*) 4 and there in the same way will be the total 10. For the 1, 2, 3 and 4 become 10, the perfect number. Thus, he says, the Tetractys will in all things imitate the intelligible monad having been thus able to bring forth a perfect number.

24. There are, therefore, according to Pythagoras, two worlds, one intelligible which has the monad as its beginning, but the other the perceptible. This last is the Tetractys containing Iota,<sup>1</sup> the one tittle, a perfect number. Thus the Iota, the one tittle, is received by the Pythagoreans as the first and chiefest, and as the substance of the Intelligible both intelligibly and perceptibly. Belonging to which are the nine bodiless accidents which cannot exist apart from substance, (*viz.*) Quantity, Quality, Wherefore, Where, and When, and also Being, Having, Doing and Suffering.<sup>2</sup> There are therefore nine accidents to substance reckoned in with which they comprise<sup>3</sup> the perfect number, the 10. Wherefore the universe being divided, as we have said, into an intelligible and a perceptible world, we have also reason from the intelligible in order that by it we may behold the substance of the intelligible, the bodiless and the divine. But we have, he says, five senses, smell, sight, hearing, taste and touch. By these we arrive at a knowledge of perceptible things, and so, he says, the perceptible world is separated from the intelligible; and that we have an organ of knowledge for each of them, we learn from this. None of the intelligibles, he says, can become known to us through sense: for, he says, eye has not seen that, nor ear heard, nor has it become known, he says, by any other of the senses whatever. Nor again by reason can one come to a knowledge of the perceptible; but one must see that a thing is white, and taste that it is sweet, and know by hearing that it is just or unjust; and if any smell is fragrant or nauseous, that is the work of the sense of smell and not of the reason. And it is the same with the things relating to touch. For that a thing is hard

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. v. 18.

<sup>2</sup> These "accidents" are enumerated by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*, book IV, and more briefly in his *Organon*. He does not there acknowledge any indebtedness to Pythagoras.

<sup>3</sup> *συνίξει*.

or soft or hot or cold cannot be known through the hearing but the test of these things is the touch. This being granted, the setting in order of the things that have been and are is seen to come about arithmetically. For, just as we, beginning by addition of monads (or dyads) or triads and of the other numbers strung together, make one very large compound number, and on the other hand work by subtracting from the total strung together and by analysing by a fresh calculation what has been brought together arithmetically;—so, he says, the cosmos is bound together by a certain arithmetical and musical bond, and by its tightening and slackening, its addition and subtraction, is ever and everywhere preserved uncorrupted.

25. For instance in some such fashion as this also do the Pythagoreans describe the duration of the world:—

p. 274-

“For it was before and will be. Never I ween  
Will the unquenchable acon be devoid of these two.”

What are these (two)? Strife and Love.<sup>1</sup> But their love makes the cosmos incorruptible and eternal, as they think. For substance and the cosmos are one. But strife rends asunder and diversifies, and tries by every means to make the world divide. Just as one cuts arithmetically the myriads into thousands and hundreds and tens and drachmas, and obols, and quarters by dividing it into small parts, so Strife cuts the substance of the cosmos into animals, plants, metals and such like things. And Strife is according to them, the Demiurge<sup>2</sup> of the generation of all things coming to pass, and Love governs and provides for the universe, so that it abides. And having collected into one the scattered and rent (things) of the universe and leading them forth from life, it joins and adds them to the universe so that it may abide and be one. Never therefore will Strife cease from dividing the cosmos, nor Love from attaching together

p. 275-

the separated things of the cosmos. Something like this it seems is the “distribution”<sup>3</sup> according to Pythagoras. But Pythagoras says that the stars are fragments<sup>4</sup> of the sun and

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<sup>2</sup> i. e. the “Fashioner” = one who makes things out of previously existing material, but does not create them *ex nihilo*.

<sup>3</sup> διαρῶμι; a word peculiar apparently to the Pythagoreans. Jowett translates it “regulation.”

<sup>4</sup> ἀστροπερὶδας, a word unknown in classical Greek, which should

that the souls of animals are borne (to us) from the stars. And that the same (souls) are mortal when they are in the body being buried as it were in a tomb; but that they will rise again and become immortal when we are separated from our bodies. Whence Plato being asked by some one what Philosophy is, said: "It is a separation of soul from body."

26. Pythagoras, then, becoming a learner of these opinions, declared some of them by means of enigmas and such like phrases, (such as:) "If you are away from home, turn not back. Otherwise, the Furies the helpers of justice will punish you."<sup>1</sup> (For) he calls your home the body and the passions the Furies. If then, he says, you are away p. 276 from home, that is: if you have come forth from the body, do not seek after it; but if you return to it, the passions will again shut you up in a body. For they think there is a change of bodies (*μετενσωμάτωσις*); as also Empedocles, when Pythagorizing, says. For the pleasure-loving souls, as Plato says,<sup>2</sup> if they do not philosophize when in man's estate, must pass through the bodies of all animals and plants and again return to a human body. But if (such a one) does philosophize,<sup>3</sup> he will in the same way go on high thrice to his kindred star; but if he does not philosophize will return again to the same things. Thus he tells us that the soul is at once mortal if it be ruled by the Furies, that is, by the Passions, and immortal if it flees from them.

27. But seeing that we have picked out for narration the things darkly uttered to his disciples under the veil of symbols, it seems fitting to recall other sayings (of his), because the heresiarchs attempt to deal in symbols in the same way; and these not their own, but using the words of Pythagoras. Now Pythagoras teaches his disciples saying "Bind up the p. 277. bed-sack," since they who are setting out on a journey make their clothing into a bundle, so as to be ready for the road. Thus he wishes his disciples to be ready, as if at any moment death might come upon them, so that they may

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by its etymology mean "chinks" or "rents." I have taken it as a mistake for *ἀνοπφήματα*, which is found in Plutarch.

<sup>1</sup> Not Pythagoras, but Plutarch, *de Exilio*, § 11. He attributes it to Heraclitus.

<sup>2</sup> The reference seems to be to the *Phaedrus*, t. 1, p. 89 (Bekker).

<sup>3</sup> Or "practise philosophy": but Hippolytus always uses the word with a contemptuous meaning.

not be caught lacking anything. Wherefore he is obliged to enjoin the Pythagorean every morning to bind up the bed-sack, that is to prepare for death. "Do not stir the fire with a sword," meaning do not provoke angry men; for he likens an angry man to a fire and speech to a sword. "Do not tread on sweepings," that is, do not look down upon trifles. "Do not grow a palm in a house," that is, do not make a cause of strife in it. For the palm is a symbol of fighting and strife. "Eat not from a stool" (that is), practise no ignoble art, that you may not be a slave to the corruptible body, but make your livelihood by lectures. For it is possible at once to nourish the body and to improve the soul. "From a whole loaf bite off nought," (that is) diminish not that which belongs to you, but live on the income and keep the capital like a whole loaf. "Eat not beans" (that is) Take not the rule of a city. For by beans the rulers<sup>1</sup> were then elected.<sup>2</sup>

p. 278. 28. These and such like things, then, the Pythagoreans say, imitating whom the heretics think they declare great things to certain men. The Pythagorean doctrine says that the Great Geometrician and Reckoner<sup>3</sup> the Sun is the Demiurge of all things that are, and is fixed in the whole cosmos like the soul in bodies, as says Plato. For the Sun like the soul is fire, but the earth a body. But if fire were absent, nothing could be seen, nor could there be any solid perceptible to the touch; for there is no solid without earth. Whence God having put air in the midst, fashioned the body of the universe from fire and earth.<sup>4</sup> But the Sun reckons and measures the cosmos in some such fashion as this. The cosmos is that perceptible one of which we are now speaking. But (the Sun) divides it as an arithmetician and geometrician into twelve parts. And the names of these parts are:—Ram, Bull, Twins, Crab, Lion, Virgin, Scales, p. 279. Scorpion, Archer, He-goat, Waterbearer and Fishes. Again, he divides each of the twelve parts into thirty which are the thirty days of the month. And again he divides each

<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἀρχάς. Evidently a mistake for τοὺς ἀρχοντας.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus in the interpretation of these sayings seems to have followed Diogenes Laertius.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀριθμητής.

<sup>4</sup> So Shu the Egyptian God of Air was figured *between* Earth (Seb) and Heaven (Nut).



found to be two, a masculo-feminine having the female within it. This is Mind in Thought for they being one when undivided from one another are yet found to be two."

19. Simon then having discovered (all) this, fraudulently interprets as he wishes not only the (words) of Moses, but also those of the poets. For he turns into allegory the Wooden Horse and Helen with the Torch and other things, entering which to the affairs of himself and his Epinoia, he leads astray many. And he says that she is that sheep which was lost, who ever dwelling in many women<sup>1</sup> troubles the powers in the cosmos by her transcendent beauty. Wherefore also the Trojan War occurred on account of her. For Epinoia herself dwelt in Helen at that time, and all the authorities suing for her (favours), faction and war arose among the nations in which she appeared. Wherefore indeed Stesichorus having railed at her in his verses had his eyes blinded, but having repented and written the Salinode, was restored to sight.<sup>2</sup> She, being changed from one body to another by the angels and authorities below who made the world, came at last to stand in a brothel<sup>3</sup> in p. 264. Tyre, a city of Phœnicia, coming to which (Simon) found her. For at her first enquiry, he said he had come to her aid, that he might free her from her bonds, and when he had redeemed her she went about with him pretending that he was the lost sheep, and he saying that he was the Power above all things. But the rogue having fallen in love with the hussy, the so-called Helen, and having bought her enjoyed her, and being ashamed (before) his disciples made up this story. But they who became (in time) the imitators of the error and of Simon Magus do like things, pretending that they ought to have (promiscuous) intercourse like beasts, saying: "All earth is earth and it matters not where one sows, so long as one sows." And they also bless this intercourse saying that the same is perfect love and the Holy of Holies" and that "ye shall sanctify one another." For they say that they are not overcome by what any one else would call evil, for that they have been redeemed. And that Simon having redeemed Helen has in like manner

<sup>1</sup> καταγομένη, "descending into" (women's forms)?

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is taken *verbatim* from Irenæus, I, 16, 2.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τέρους, literally, "on the roof."

- p. 265. brought salvation to men through his own discernment. For since the angels misgoverned the world through love of rule, he says that he came to set it straight, having changed his shape and making himself like the rulers<sup>2</sup> and authorities and angels, and that he appeared as a man though he was not a man and seemed to suffer in Judæa though he did not suffer.<sup>3</sup> But he appeared to the Jews as Son, in Samaria as Father, and among the other nations as Holy Spirit. And that he submitted to be called by whatever name men wished to call him. And that the Prophets were inspired by the world-making angels to utter their prophecies. Wherefore they who have believed on Simon and Helen do not heed them,<sup>4</sup> and to this day do what they will as being free. For they claim that they have been saved by his grace. For no one is liable to judgment if he does anything evil; for evil exists not by nature, but by
- p. 266. law. For he says it is the angels who made the world who made the Law whatever they wished, thinking to enslave those who hearkened to them. And again they say that (there will be) a dissolution of the world for the redemption of their own men.<sup>5</sup>

20. Therefore the disciples of this (man) practise magic arts and incantations, and send out love-philtres and charms and the demons called dream-bringers for the troubling of whom they will. But they also do reverence to the so-called Paredri.<sup>6</sup> And they have an image of Simon in the form of Zeus, and (another) of Helen in the form of Athena, and they bow down to them calling the one "Lord" and the other "Lady."<sup>7</sup> But if any one among them seeing these images should call them by the name of Simon or Helen, he is cast out as being ignorant of their mysteries. This Simon when he had led astray many

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιγνώσεως; per suam agnitionem, Cr.; "thro' his own intelligence," Macmahon.

<sup>2</sup> Reading ἀρχαί for the ἀρχαί of the Codex.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence also appears *verbatim* in Irenæus, I, 16, 1.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the prophets.

<sup>5</sup> The whole of this from the last quotation to the end of the section is also from Irenæus, I, 16, 2.

<sup>6</sup> What these πάρεδροι or λεγομένοι were is hard to say; but one of the later documents of the *Pistis Sophia* introduces a fiend in hell as the "Paredros Typhon." "Assessor" or "coadjutor," the meanings of the word in classical Greek, would here seem inappropriate.

<sup>7</sup> From the beginning of the section to here is from Irenæus, I, 16, 3.

in Samaria by magic arts was refuted by the Apostles, and having been laid under a curse as it is written in the *Acts*, p. 267. afterwards in desperation designed these things<sup>1</sup> until having come to Rome, he withstood the Apostles. Whom Peter opposed when he was deceiving many by sorceries. He at length coming into t . . . . . te,<sup>2</sup> taught sitting under a plane-tree. And finally his refutation being very near<sup>3</sup> through effluxion of time, he said that if buried alive he would rise again the third day. And having given orders that a grave should be dug by his disciples, he bade them bury him. And they having done what he commanded, he remains there to this day; for he was not the Christ. This then is Simon's story, taking hints from which Valentinus calls (the same things) by other names. For Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia are Simon's six roots, Nous-Epinoia, Phone-Onoma, Logismos-Enthymesis. But since we have sufficiently set forth Simon's fable making, let us see what Valentinus says.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Concerning Valentinus.

21. The heresy of Valentinus,<sup>5</sup> then, exists, having a p. 268.

<sup>1</sup> That is, made up this doctrine.

<sup>2</sup> C. W. King in the *Gnostics and their Remains* (2nd ed.) thinks that the omitted word is Persia. There is evidently a *lacuna* here, and perhaps a considerable one.

<sup>3</sup> Because his age made his pretensions to divinity absurd. The story given after this directly contradicts all ecclesiastical tradition which makes Simon perish by the fall of his demon-borne car while flying in the presence of Nero and St. Peter in the Campus Martius.

<sup>4</sup> The sources of this chapter are fairly plain. There is little reason to doubt that Hippolytus had actually seen and read a book attributed to Simon Magus and called the *Great Announcement* from which he quotes, after his manner, inaccurately and carelessly, but still in good faith. Whether the work was by Simon himself is much more doubtful, but it was probably in use by the sect that he founded, and therefore represents with some fidelity his teaching. The style of it as appears from the extracts here given is a curious mixture of bombast and philosophical expressions, and bears a strong likeness to certain passages in the chapters in the fifth book on the Naassenes and the Peratae. The other traceable source of the chapter is the work *Against Heresies* of St. Irenæus, of which the quotations here given go to establish the Greek text. But intertwined with this, especially towards the end of the chapter, is a third thread of tradition, quite different from that used in the *Clementines* and other patristic accounts of Simon's career, which cannot at present be identified.

<sup>5</sup> With Valentinus, we leave at last the tangled genealogies and

Pythagorean and Platonic foundation. For Plato in the *Timæus* modelled himself entirely on Pythagoras, as is seen

unclean imagery, as it seems to us, of the early traditions of Western Asia, to approach a form of religion which although not without fantastic features is yet much more consonant with modern European thought. Valentinus was, indeed, with the doubtful exception of Marcion, the first of heretics in the present acceptance of the term, and many features of his teaching were reproduced later in the tenets of one or other of the Christian sects. At first sight, the main difference between his doctrine and that of the Catholic Church consists in the extraordinary series of personified attributes of the Deity which he thought fit to interpose between the Supreme Being and the Saviour. This he probably borrowed either from the later Zoroastrian idea of the Amshaspands or Archangels who surround Ahura Mazda, or, more probably, from the *panu ueteru*, ("company of the gods") of the Egyptian religion of Pharaonic times; and it has been suggested elsewhere that he probably attached less importance to dogmatism on the matter than the Fathers would wish to make out. But Hippolytus' account of his other doctrines show other divergences from the Church teaching both graver and wider than we should have gathered from the statements of Irenæus, Tertullian, or Epiphanius. His view of the ignorance and folly of the Demiurge seems to be taken over bodily from the Ophite teaching, and, as he identifies him by implication with the God of the Jews, must logically lead to the rejection of the whole of the Old Testament except perhaps the Psalms, Proverbs, and the historical portions. He is also as predestinarian as Calvin himself for he assigns complete beatitude to the Pneumatics or Spirituals only, while relegating the Psychics to an inferior heaven and dooming the Hylics to complete destruction. Yet the class to which each of us assigned has nothing to do with conduct, but is in the discretion of Sophia, the Mother of all Living.

The most marked novelty in Valentinus' teaching, however, is the cause, according to him, of the gift of this partial salvation to man. This is not, as in the Catholic, the fruit of God's love towards his creature, but the last stage of a great scheme for the reconstruction and purification of the whole universe. First, the Pleroma or Fulness of the Godhead is purified by the segregation from it of the Ectroma or abortion to which Sophia in her ignorance and ambition gave birth; then the Ectroma herself is freed from her passions by the action of Christ and the Holy Spirit, and made the Mother of Life, and finally this material world, the creation of the God of the Jews, is to be purged by the Divine Mission of Jesus from the gross and devilish elements introduced into it by the ignorant clumsiness of the same God of the Jews. But this theory was poles asunder from the geocentric ideas of the universe then current among Greeks, Jews, and Christians alike, and comes startlingly near the hypotheses of modern science on the very low place of the earth and humanity in the scheme of things. Whence Valentinus drew the materials from which he constructed his theory must be reserved for investigation at some future date; but it is fairly clear that some part of it was responsible for n

also by his "Pythagorean stranger" being Timæus himself. Wherefore it seems fitting that we should begin by recalling to mind a few (points) of the theory of Pythagoras and Plato, and should then describe the (teaching) of Valentinus. For if the opinions of Pythagoras and Plato are also included in the (books) painfully written by us earlier, yet I shall not be unreasonable in recalling<sup>1</sup> in epitome their most leading tenets<sup>2</sup> in order that by their closer comparison and likeness of composition, the doctrines of Valentinus may be more intelligible. For as (the Pythagoreans and Platonists) took their opinions of old from the Egyptians and taught them anew to the Greeks, so (Valentinus) while fraudulently attempting to establish his own teaching by them, carved their system into names and numbers, calling them [by names] and defining them by measures of his own. Whence he has constructed a heresy Greek indeed, but not referable to Christ. p. 269

22. The wisdom of the Egyptians is, then, the beginning of Plato's theory in the *Timæus*. For from this, Solon<sup>3</sup> taught the Greeks the whole position regarding the birth and destruction of the cosmos by means of a certain prophetic statement, as Plato says, the Greeks being then children and knowing no older theologic learning. In order then that we may follow closely the words which Valentinus let fall, I will now set out as preface what it was that Pythagoras of Samos taught as philosophy after that silence praised by the Greeks. And then [I will point out] those things which Valentinus takes from Pythagoras and Plato and with solemn words attributes to Christ, and before Christ to the Father of the universals and to that Sige who is given as a spouse to the Father. —

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a few of the tenets of the Manichæism which arose some hundred years later to maintain a strenuous opposition to the Catholic faith for at least nine centuries.

Finally, it may be said that Hippolytus also tells us for the first time of the divisions among Valentinus' followers and the different parts played therein by Ptolemy, Heracleon and others, including that Bardesanes or Bar Daisan whose name was great in the East as late as Al Birûni's day.

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑπομνησθήσομαι.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ κορυφαίωτατα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἀρσκομένων.

<sup>3</sup> The Codex has Σολομῶν—evidently a copyist's mistake. Cf. Plato, *Timæus*, § 7.

23. Now Pythagoras declared that the unbegotten monad was the principle of the universals<sup>1</sup> and the parent of the dyad and of all the other numbers. And he says that the monad is the father of the dyad and the dyad the mother of all engendered things (and) a bearer of things begotten. And Zaratas,<sup>2</sup> also, the teacher of Pythagoras, calls the one father, but the two, mother. For the dyad has come into being from a monad according to Pythagoras, and the monad is masculine and first, but the dyad female and second. From the dyad, again, as Pythagoras says, (come) the triad and the other numbers one after the other up to 10. For Pythagoras knew that this 10 is the only perfect number.<sup>3</sup> For (he saw that) the 11 and 12 were an addition to and re-equipment of the decad, and not the generation of some other number. All solid bodies beget what is given to them from the bodiless.<sup>4</sup> For, he says, the Point which is indivisible is at once a point and a beginning of the bodies and the bodiless together. And, he says, from the point comes a line, and a superficies extended in depth makes, he says, a solid figure. Whence the Pythagoreans have a certain oath as to the harmony of the four elements. And they make oath thus:—

p. 271. "Yea by the Tetractys handed down to our head  
A source of eternal nature containing within itself roots."<sup>5</sup>

For the beginning of natural and solid bodies is the Tetractys as the monad is of the intelligible ones.<sup>6</sup> But that the Tetractys gives birth to the perfect number as among the intelligibles the (monad) does to the 10, they teach thus. If one beginning to count says 1, and adds 2,

<sup>1</sup> Not necessarily the Supreme Being. Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, I, 8, says, "God is one, and beyond the One, and above the Monad itself."

<sup>2</sup> A fairly common form of Zoroaster. The quotation is probably from the "Chaldivan Oracles" so-called.

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertius, Book VIII, c. 19 quotes from Alexander's *Successions of Philosophers* that Pythagoras in his Commentaries put first the monad, then the undefined dyad, and said that from these two numbers proceeded, from numbers signs, from signs lines, from lines plane figures, from planes solids, and from solids perceptible bodies consisting of the four elements, fire, water, earth and air.

<sup>4</sup> Miller would substitute *νομιστέον* for *προστιθέμενον*.

<sup>5</sup> These verses are said by Cruice to be in Sextus Empiricus, but I have not been able to find them in any known writings of that author.

<sup>6</sup> *νοητά*, as opposed to *αίσθητά*.

and then 3 in like manner, these will make 6. (Add) yet another (*i. e.*) 4 and there in the same way will be the total 10. For the 1, 2, 3 and 4 become 10, the perfect number. Thus, he says, the Tetractys will in all things imitate the intelligible monad having been thus able to bring forth a perfect number.

24. There are, therefore, according to Pythagoras, two worlds, one intelligible which has the monad as its beginning, but the other the perceptible. This last is the Tetractys containing Iota,<sup>1</sup> the one tittle, a perfect number. Thus the Iota, the one tittle, is received by the Pythagoreans as the first and chiefest, and as the substance of the Intelligible both intelligibly and perceptibly. Belonging to which are the nine bodiless accidents which cannot exist apart from substance, (*viz.*) Quantity, Quality, Wherefore, Where, and When, and also Being, Having, Doing and Suffering.<sup>2</sup> There are therefore nine accidents to substance reckoned in with which they comprise<sup>3</sup> the perfect number, the 10. Wherefore the universe being divided, as we have said, into an intelligible and a perceptible world, we have also reason from the intelligible in order that by it we may behold the substance of the intelligible, the bodiless and the divine. But we have, he says, five senses, smell, sight, hearing, taste and touch. By these we arrive at a knowledge of perceptible things, and so, he says, the perceptible world is separated from the intelligible; and that we have an organ of knowledge for each of them, we learn from this. None of the intelligibles, he says, can become known to us through sense: for, he says, eye has not seen that, nor ear heard, nor has it become known, he says, by any other of the senses whatever. Nor again by reason can one come to a knowledge of the perceptible; but one must see that a thing is white, and taste that it is sweet, and know by hearing that it is just or unjust; and if any smell is fragrant or nauseous, that is the work of the sense of smell and not of the reason. And it is the same with the things relating to touch. For that a thing is hard

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. v. 18.

<sup>2</sup> These "accidents" are enumerated by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*, book IV, and more briefly in his *Organon*. He does not there acknowledge any indebtedness to Pythagoras.

<sup>3</sup> συνίχει.

or soft or hot or cold cannot be known through the hearing, but the test of these things is the touch. This being granted, the setting in order of the things that have been and are is seen to come about arithmetically. For, just as we, beginning by addition of monads (or dyads) or triads and of the other numbers strung together, make one very large compound number, and on the other hand work by subtracting from the total strung together and by analysing by a fresh calculation what has been brought together arithmetically;—so, he says, the cosmos is bound together by a certain arithmetical and musical bond, and by its tightening and slackening, its addition and subtraction, is ever and everywhere preserved uncorrupted.

25. For instance in some such fashion as this also do the Pythagoreans describe the duration of the world:—

- p. 274. "For it was before and will be. Never I ween  
Will the unquenchable aeon be devoid of these two."

What are these (two)? Strife and Love.<sup>1</sup> But their love makes the cosmos incorruptible and eternal, as they think. For substance and the cosmos are one. But strife rends asunder and diversifies, and tries by every means to make the world divide. Just as one cuts arithmetically the myriad into thousands and hundreds and tens and drachmas, and obols, and quarters by dividing it into small parts, so Strife cuts the substance of the cosmos into animals, plants, metals and such like things. And Strife is according to them, the Demiurge<sup>2</sup> of the generation of all things coming to pass, and Love governs and provides for the universe, so that it abides. And having collected into one the scattered and rent (things) of the universe and leading them forth from life, it joins and adds them to the universe so that it may abide and be one. Never therefore will Strife cease from dividing the cosmos, nor Love from attaching together the separated things of the cosmos. Something like this it seems is the "distribution"<sup>3</sup> according to Pythagoras. But Pythagoras says that the stars are fragments<sup>4</sup> of the sun and

p. 275.

<sup>1</sup> φίλια, not ἀγάπη. Macmahon translates "friendship."

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* the "Fashioner" = one who makes things out of previously existing material, but does not create them *ex nihilo*.

<sup>3</sup> διανομή, a word peculiar apparently to the Pythagoreans. Jowett translates it "regulation."

<sup>4</sup> ἀστροπηγάδας, a word unknown in classical Greek, which should



that the souls of animals are borne (to us) from the stars. And that the same (souls) are mortal when they are in the body being buried as it were in a tomb; but that they will rise again and become immortal when we are separated from our bodies. Whence Plato being asked by some one what Philosophy is, said: "It is a separation of soul from body."

26. Pythagoras, then, becoming a learner of these opinions, declared some of them by means of enigmas and such like phrases, (such as:) "If you are away from home, turn not back. Otherwise, the Furies the helpers of justice will punish you."<sup>1</sup> (For) he calls your home the body and the passions the Furies. If then, he says, you are away p. 276 from home, that is: if you have come forth from the body, do not seek after it; but if you return to it, the passions will again shut you up in a body. For they think there is a change of bodies (*μετενομήτως*); as also Empedocles, when Pythagorizing, says. For the pleasure-loving souls, as Plato says,<sup>2</sup> if they do not philosophize when in man's estate, must pass through the bodies of all animals and plants and again return to a human body. But if (such a one) does philosophize,<sup>3</sup> he will in the same way go on high thrice to his kindred star; but if he does not philosophize will return again to the same things. Thus he tells us that the soul is at once mortal if it be ruled by the Furies, that is, by the Passions, and immortal if it flees from them.

27. But seeing that we have picked out for narration the things darkly uttered to his disciples under the veil of symbols, it seems fitting to recall other sayings (of his), because the heresiarchs attempt to deal in symbols in the same way; and these not their own, but using the words of Pythagoras. Now Pythagoras teaches his disciples saying "Bind up the p. 277 bed-sack," since they who are setting out on a journey make their clothing into a bundle, so as to be ready for the road. Thus he wishes his disciples to be ready, as if at any moment death might come upon them, so that they may

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by its etymology mean "chinks" or "rents." I have taken it as a mistake for *ἀπορήματα*, which is found in Plutarch.

<sup>1</sup> Not Pythagoras, but Plutarch, *de Exilio*, § 11. He attributes it to Heraclitus.

<sup>2</sup> The reference seems to be to the *Phaedrus*, t. 1, p. 89 (Bekker).

<sup>3</sup> Or "practise philosophy": but Hippolytus always uses the word with a contemptuous meaning.

not be caught lacking anything. Wherefore he is obliged to enjoin the Pythagorean every morning to bind up the bed-sack, that is to prepare for death. "Do not stir the fire with a sword," meaning do not provoke angry men; for he likens an angry man to a fire and speech to a sword. "Do not tread on sweepings," that is, do not look down upon trifles. "Do not grow a palm in a house," that is do not make a cause of strife in it. For the palm is symbol of fighting and strife. "Eat not from a stool (that is), practise no ignoble art, that you may not be slave to the corruptible body, but make your livelihood by lectures. For it is possible at once to nourish the body and to improve the soul. "From a whole loaf bite not a crumb," (that is) diminish not that which belongs to you but live on the income and keep the capital like a whole loaf. "Eat not beans" (that is) Take not the rule of a city. For by beans the rulers<sup>1</sup> were then elected.<sup>2</sup>

28. These and such like things, then, the Pythagoreans say imitating whom the heretics think they declare great things to certain men. The Pythagorean doctrine says that the Great Geometrician and Reckoner<sup>3</sup> the Sun is the Demiurge of all things that are, and is fixed in the whole cosmos like the soul in bodies, as says Plato. For the Sun like the soul is fire, but the earth a body. But if fire were absent, nothing could be seen, nor could there be any solid perceptible to the touch; for there is no solid without earth. Whence God having put air in the midst, fashioned the body of the universe from fire and earth.<sup>4</sup> But the Sun reckons and measures the cosmos in some such fashion as this. The cosmos is that perceptible one of which we are now speaking. But (the Sun) divides it as an arithmetician and geometrician into twelve parts. And the names of these parts are:—Ram, Bull, Twins, Crab, Lion, Virgin, Scales, Scorpio, Archer, He-goat, Waterbearer and Fishes. Again, he divides each of the twelve parts into thirty which are the thirty days of the month. And again he divides each

<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἀρχάς. Evidently a mistake for τοὺς ἀρχοντας.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus in the interpretation of these sayings seems to have followed Diogenes Laertius.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀριθμητής.

<sup>4</sup> So Shu the Egyptian God of Air was figured *between* Earth (Seb) and Heaven (Nut).

of the thirty parts into sixty minutes and (each) minute into yet smaller and smaller parts. And thus ever creating without ceasing, but gathering together from these divided parts and making a cycle, and again dissolving it and separating that which has been put together, he perfects the great deathless cosmos.<sup>1</sup>

29. Something like this, as I have just summarily said, is the teaching framed by Pythagoras and Plato. From which and not from the Gospels, Valentinus has drawn his own heresy, as we shall show, and should therefore be reckoned a Pythagorean and a Platonist, but not as a Christian. Accordingly he and Heracleon and Ptolemy and all their school, the disciples of Pythagoras and Plato copying their teachers, have framed an arithmetical doctrine of their own. For indeed an unbegotten, incorruptible, incomprehensible fruitful Monad is to them the beginning of all and the cause of the birth of all things that are. Yet a certain wide difference is found among them. For some of them, that they may keep wholly pure the Pythagorean teaching of Valentinus, consider the Father to be unfeminine,<sup>2</sup> spouseless, and alone: whereas the others, thinking it absolutely impossible that there could be a birth of all things that have been born from any single male, are compelled to reckon Sige<sup>3</sup> as a spouse to the Father of the universals in order that he may become a father. But as to whether Sige is a spouse or not, let them fight it out with each other.<sup>4</sup> We, keeping steadfast at present to the Pythagorean (doctrine of) the beginning and remembering what others teach, say that He is one, without spouse, without female, in need of nought. In a word (Valentinus) says at the beginning nothing was begotten, but the Father was alone, unbegotten, having neither place, nor time, nor counsellor, nor any other thing that by any figure of speech could be understood

<sup>1</sup> Roeper would read τὸν μέγαν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεργάζεσθαι κόσμου, "completes the Great Year of the world."

<sup>2</sup> ἄθηλος, "without female."

<sup>3</sup> Σιγή, "Silence." Cf. the Orphic cosmogony which makes Night the Mother of Heaven and Earth by Phanes the First-born, who contains within himself the seeds of all creatures (*Forerunners*, I, 123).

<sup>4</sup> The attribution of this monistic doctrine to Valentinus is found for the first time here. Irenæus and Tertullian both make him say that Sige is the spouse of the Supreme Being.

as essence.<sup>1</sup> But He was alone and solitary, as they say, and resting alone within Himself. And when He was filled with fruit, He saw fit to beget and bring forth the most beautiful and perfect thing He had within Himself. For He did not love to be alone.<sup>2</sup> For He, Valentinus says, was all Love and love is not love unless there be something to be loved. Then the Father himself projected and engendered, as He was alone, Mind and Truth,<sup>3</sup> that is a dyad, which became the lady and beginning and mother of all the aeons reckoned by them as being within the Pleroma. But Nous and Aletheia having been projected by the Father, a fruitful (projection) from the fruitful, imitating the Father projected also the Word and Life;<sup>4</sup> and Logos and Zoe projected Man and the Church.<sup>5</sup> But Nous and Aletheia when they saw that their own special progeny had become fruitful, gave thanks to the Father of the universals and offered to him a perfect number, ten Aeons. For than this, he says, Nous and Aletheia could offer to the Father no more perfect number. For the Father being perfect ought to be glorified with a perfect number. And the ten is perfect because as the first of things that came into being by addition, it is complete.<sup>6</sup> But the Father is more perfect because he alone is unbegotten, and by the first single syzygy of Nous and Aletheia supplied the projection of all the roots of the things that are.

p. 282.

30. Then when Logos and Zoe saw that Nous and Aletheia had glorified the Father of the universals in a perfect number, Logos himself with Zoe<sup>7</sup> also wished to glorify his own father and mother, Nous and Aletheia. But since Nous and Aletheia were begotten and did not possess

<sup>1</sup> οὐσία. Here as elsewhere in this chapter, save where an obvious pun is intended, to be translated as in text, and not "substance," which is generally the equivalent of *ὄντοστας*.

<sup>2</sup> φιλέρημος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν.

<sup>3</sup> Νουν καὶ ἀλήθειαν. Here as elsewhere with the names of Aeons, the English equivalent of the Greek name is first given, and, in later repetitions, the Greek name transliterated into English.

<sup>4</sup> Λόγον καὶ Ζωήν.

<sup>5</sup> Ἄνθρωπον καὶ Ἐκκλησίαν.

<sup>6</sup> τέλειος used in its double sense of "perfect" and "complete."

<sup>7</sup> ὁ Λόγος μετὰ τῆς Ζωῆς. The curious conception by which the two partners in a syzygy are regarded as only one being is very marked throughout this passage.

the complete paternal unbegotten nature,<sup>1</sup> Logos and Zoe did not glorify their father Nous with a perfect number, but with an imperfect one: for Logos and Zoe offer twelve Aeons to Nous and Aletheia. For the first roots of the Aeons according to Valentinus were Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia. But there are twelve Aeons two of which are the children of Nous and Aletheia and ten those of Logos and Zoe, in all twenty-eight. And these are the names by which they call (the ten): Profound and Mixture, Who-grows-not-old and Oneness, Self-grown and Pleasure, Unmoved and Blending, Unique and Blessedness.<sup>2</sup> p. 283.

Of these ten Aeons some say that they are by Nous and Aletheia and others by Logos and Zoe; and there are twelve others which some say are by Anthropos and Ecclesia and others by Logos and Zoe. To whom they give these names: Paraclete and Faith, Fatherly and Hope, Motherly and Love, Ever-thinking and Union, Of the Church and Blessed, Beloved and Wisdom.<sup>3</sup> Of the twelve the twelfth and youngest of all the twenty-four Aeons who was a female and called Sophia,<sup>4</sup> perceived the multitude and power of the Aeons who had been begotten and shot up into the Height of the Father. And she comprehended that all the other begotten Aeons existed and had been brought forth in pairs, but that the Father alone produced without a partner. She wished to imitate the Father and gave birth by herself and apart from her spouse, so that she might work no work

<sup>1</sup> ἀγεννησία; "unbegottenness" would be a closer translation, but is uncouth in this connection. Cf. I, p. 147 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Βυθός καὶ Μίξις, Ἀγήρατος καὶ Ἐνωσις, Ἀυτοφυής καὶ Ἥδυσή, Ἀκίνητος καὶ Σύγκοσμις, Μονογενής καὶ Μακαρία. For the first name (I, i, 1, p. 11, Harvey), has *Búthios*, thereby making the substantive into an adjective. So Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXXI (p. 328, Dehler). This is doubtless correct.

<sup>3</sup> Παράκλητος καὶ Πίστις, Πατρικός καὶ Ἐλπίς, Μητρικός καὶ Ἀγάπη, Αἰώνιος καὶ Ζώνεσις, Ἐκκλησιαστικός καὶ Μακαριστός, Θελητός καὶ Σοφία. The Codex is here very corrupt, and for *Αἰώνιος* we may, if we please, read *Αἰώνιος*, "Everlasting," and for *Μακαριστός*, *Μακαριότης*, "Blessedness." As the name of the male partner in each syzygy is an adjective and that of the female a substantive it is probable that the two are intended to be read together, as e. g. "Profound Admixture," and the like.

<sup>4</sup> Sophia, who plays a great part in the Jewish Apocrypha, is almost certainly a figure of the prototypal earth like Spenta Armaiti, her analogue in Mazdeism. Cf. the quotation from Genesis which follows immediately.

p. 284. lacking anything more than did the work of the Father, being ignorant that only the Unbegotten principle and root and height and depth of the universals can possibly bring forth alone. For in the Unbegotten, he says, all things exist together; but among the begotten the female is the projector of substance, but the male gives form to the substance<sup>1</sup> which the female projects. Therefore Sophia projected only that which she could, a substance shapeless and unformed.<sup>2</sup> And this, he says, is what Moses said: "Now the earth was invisible and unformed."<sup>3</sup> She, he says, is the good or heavenly Jerusalem into which God declared he would lead the children of Israel, saying: "I will lead you into a good land flowing with milk and honey."<sup>3</sup>

p. 285. 31. Ignorance, then, having come about within the Pleroma by Sophia, and formlessness by the offspring of Sophia, confusion came to pass within it. For the Aeons (feared) that what was born from them would be born shapeless and imperfect, and that corruption would before long destroy them. Then all the Aeons took refuge in prayers to the Father that he would give rest to the sorrowing Sophia. For she was weeping and mourning over the Abortion<sup>4</sup> brought forth by her—for so they call it. Then the Father took pity on the tears of Sophia, and hearkened to the prayers of the Aeons and commanded a projection to be made. For he himself did not project, but Nous and Aletheia projected Christ and the Holy Spirit for the giving form to and the separation of the Ectroma and the relief and intermission of the groans of Sophia. And thirty Aeons came into existence with Christ and the Holy Spirit. But some of them will have it that there is a triacontad of Aeons, but others that Sige co-exists with the Father, and wish the Aeons to be counted in with those (two). Then when Christ and the Holy Spirit had been projected<sup>5</sup> by Nous and Aletheia, he straightway separates from the complete Aeons Ectroma, the shapeless and unique<sup>6</sup> thing which had been brought forth by Sophia apart from her

<sup>1</sup> *οὐσία*. Here "substance" and "essence" would have the same meaning, and the first-named word is used only to avoid ambiguity.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. xxxiii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐκτρομα*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ἐπιπροβλήθεις οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*. Christ and the Holy Spirit are therefore treated as a *syzygy* and, as it were, a single person.

<sup>6</sup> *μονογενής*.

spouse, so that the perfect Aeons might not be troubled by the sight of her shapelessness. Then, that the shapelessness of Ectroma might no way be apparent to the perfect Aeons, the Father again projected one Aeon (to wit) the Cross, who having been born great from the great and perfect Father and projected as a guard and palisade to the Aeons, becomes the limit of the Pleroma containing within him all the thirty Aeons together: for they were projected before him. And he is called Horos because he separates from the Pleroma the Void<sup>1</sup> without; and Metocheus<sup>2</sup> because he partakes also in the Hysterema; and Stauros because he is fixed unbendingly and unchangeably, so that nothing from the Hysterema can abide near the Aeons who are within the Pleroma. And when Sophia Without had been transformed and it was not possible for Christ and the Holy Spirit, the projections of Nous and Aletheia, to remain outside the Pleroma, they returned from her who had been transformed, to Nous and Aletheia within Horos, so that he with the other Aeons might glorify the Father. p. 286.

32. Since then there was a certain single peace and harmony of all the Aeons within the Pleroma, it seemed good to them not only to have glorified the Father in pairs, but also to glorify him by the offering to him of fitting fruits. Therefore all the thirty Aeons were well pleased to project one Aeon, the Common Fruit of the Pleroma, so that he might be the (fruit) of their unity and likemindedness and peace. And as He alone was projected by all the Father's Aeons, He is called by them the Common Fruit of the Pleroma. Thus then were things within the Pleroma. And the Common Fruit of the Pleroma was projected, (to wit) Jesus—for that is His name—the Great High Priest. But Sophia without the Pleroma seeking after Christ, who had given her shape and the Holy Spirit, stood in great fear, lest she might perish when separated from Him who had given her shape and had established her. And she mourned and was in great perplexity considering who it was that had given her shape, who the Holy Spirit was, whence she had gone forth, who had hindered them from coming near her, (and) who had begrudged her that fair and blessed vision. p. 287.

<sup>1</sup> τὸ δατέρημα: "the Void," the converse and opposite of the Pleroma or "Fullness."

<sup>2</sup> For this Platonic theory of "partaking," see n. on I, p. 53 *supra*.

Brought low by these passions, she turns to beseeching supplication of Him who had left her. Then Christ who was within the Pleroma had compassion on her beseeching, as had all the Aeons of the Pleroma, and they send forth outside the Pleroma its Common Fruit to be a spouse to Sophia Without and the corrector of the passions which she suffered while seeking after Christ.<sup>1</sup> Then the Fruit being outside the Pleroma and finding her amid the first four passions (to wit) in fear and grief and perplexity and supplication, corrected her passions, but did not think it seemly in correcting them that they should be destroyed, since they were eternal and special to Sophia, nor yet that Sophia should be among such passions as fear and grief, supplication and perplexity. He, therefore, being so great an Aeon and the offspring of the whole Pleroma, made the passions stand away from her and He made them fundamental essences.<sup>2</sup> And He made the fear into the essence of the soul,<sup>3</sup> and the grief into that of matter, and the perplexity into (that) of demons, but the conversion and entreaty and supplication He made a path to repentance and (the) power of the soul's essence, which (essence) is called the Right Hand or Demiurge from fear. This, he says, is the Scripture saying: "The beginning of wisdom is fear of the Lord."<sup>4</sup> For it was the beginning of the passions of Sophia. For she feared, then she grieved, then she was perplexed, and then she took refuge in prayer and supplication. And the essence of the soul, he says, is fiery and is called a (super-celestial) Place and Hebdomad and Ancient of Days.<sup>5</sup> And whatever things they say of him, he says, the same belong to the psychic one whom they declare to be the Demiurge of the Cosmos; but he is fiery. And Moses also, he says, spake, "The Lord thy God is a burning and consuming fire."<sup>6</sup> And truly he wishes this (text) to be thus written.

<sup>1</sup> So that the first work of the Mission of Jesus was the freeing of the whole universe—not only our earth—from the evil which had entered into it.

<sup>2</sup> *ὑποστάτους οὐσίας*; "underlying beings." Here we have the two ideas of hypostasis, or "substance" in its etymological meaning, and "essence," or "being," side by side.

<sup>3</sup> *ψυχικὴν οὐσίαν*, i. e. the stuff of which the soul is made.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. cxl. 10; Prov. i. 7; ii. 10.

<sup>5</sup> That is Jehovah, the God of the Jews. Hebdomad as including the seven "planets."

<sup>6</sup> Deut. ix. 3.



But the power of the fire, he says, is in some sort double; for it is an all-devouring fire (and) cannot be quenched. And according to this, indeed, a part of the soul is mortal, being a certain middle state; for it is a Hebdomad and Laying to Rest. For below (the soul) is of the Ogdoad where is Sophia, a day which has been given shape, and the Common Fruit of the Pleroma; but above it is of Matter wherein is the Demiurge.<sup>1</sup> If it makes itself completely like those who are on high in the Ogdoad, it becomes immortal and comes to the Ogdoad, which is, he says, the heavenly Jerusalem; but if it makes itself completely like matter, that is to the material passions, it is corruptible and is destroyed.

33. As therefore the first and greatest power of the psychic essence becomes an image [of the only-begotten p. 291. Son, so the power of the material essence] is the devil, the ruler of this world, and (that) of the essence of demons, which is from perplexity, is Beelzebud.<sup>2</sup> But it is Sophia on high who works from the Ogdoad up to the Hebdomad. They say that the Demiurge knows absolutely nothing, but is according to them mindless and foolish and knows not what he does or works. And for him who knows not what he makes, Sophia creates all things and strengthens them. And when she had wrought it, he thought that he had by himself accomplished the creation of the cosmos; wherefore he began to say: "I am God, and beside me there is none other."

34. The Tetractys of Valentinus is then at once:—

"A certain source containing roots of eternal nature."

(Pyth., *Carm. Aur.*, l. 48.)

<sup>1</sup> The "below," *ἑνωτάτω*, and "above," *ὑπεράνω*, seem to have become inverted; but as I am not sure whether this is the scribe's mistake or not, I have left the text as it is. If we consider (as we must) that the heaven of Sophia is the highest and those of the seven worlds below it like steps of a ladder, we have the conception of Sophia, her son Jaldabaoth, and his six sons, current among the Ophites as shown in Book V above. The figure of Sophia as a "day" is at once an instance of the curious habit among the Gnostics of confusing time and space, and an allusion to the O.T. name of "Ancient of Days."

<sup>2</sup> I have sought to show elsewhere (*P.S.B.A.*, 1901, pp. 48, 49) in opposition to the current explanations that this name, properly written Beelzebuth, is at once a sort of parody of Jabezebuth or "Jehovah (Lord) of Hosts," and the name given to the "ruler of demons" by the parallelism which, as in Zoroastrianism, makes each good spirit have its evil counterpart of similar name.

- and Sophia by whom the psychic and material creation is now framed. And Sophia is called Spirit, but the
- p. 292. Demiurge Soul, and the Devil the ruler of the world, and Beelzebud that of the demons. This is what they say, and beside this, they make their whole teaching arithmetical: [and] as is said above, they (imagine) that (the) thirty Aeons within the Pleroma again projected other Aeons by analogy with themselves, so that the Pleroma may be summed up in a perfect number. For, as it has been made clear that the Pythagoreans divide (the circle) into 12 and 30 and 60 (parts) and that these have also minutes of minutes, thus also do (the Valentinians) subdivide the things within the Pleroma. But subdivided also are the things in the Ogdoad, and there rules <sup>1</sup> (there) Sophia who is according to them the Mother of All Living, and the Logos, the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma, (and) there are (there) supercelestial angels, citizens of the Jerusalem on high, which is in heaven. For this Jerusalem is Sophia
- p. 293. Without and her bridegroom the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma. (But) the Demiurge also projected souls; for he is the essence of souls. This is according to them Abraham and these are the children of Abraham. Then, from the material and devilish essence the Demiurge has made the bodies of the souls. This is the saying: "And God made man, taking dust from the earth, and breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul."<sup>2</sup> This is, according to them, the inward psychic man who dwells in the material body which is material, corruptible, and formed entirely of devilish essence. But this material man is (according to them) like unto an inn, or the dwelling-place, sometimes of the soul alone, sometimes of the soul and demons, and sometimes of the soul and logoi, who are logoi sown from above in this world by the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma, and by Sophia, and who dwell in the earthly body with the soul when there are no demons dwelling with it.
- p. 294. This, he says, is what was written in Scripture: "For this cause I bow my knees to the God and Father and Lord of our Lord Jesus Christ, that God would grant you that Christ

<sup>1</sup> *προβεβήκασιν*. So in Homer (*Iliad*, VI, 125). Cruice translates "provenerunt," Macmahon reading apparently *προβεβλήκασιν*, "there has been projected."

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ii. 7.

should dwell in the inner man, that is the psychical not the somatic, that you be strengthened to comprehend what is the depth" which is the Father of the universals "and what is the breadth,"<sup>1</sup> which is Stauros the Limit of the Pleroma, "or what the length," which is the Pleroma of the Aeons. Wherefore, he says, the psychic man does not receive the things of God's spirit; for they are foolishness unto him. But foolishness, he says, is the power of the Demiurge, for he was senseless and mindless and thought that he fashioned the cosmos, being ignorant that Sophia, the Mother, the Ogdoad, wrought all things with regard to the creation of the world for him who knew it not.

35. All the prophets and the Law, then, spake from the (inspiration of the) Demiurge, a foolish god,<sup>2</sup> he says, being themselves foolish and knowing nothing. Wherefore, he says, the Saviour declared: "All who came before me are thieves and robbers."<sup>3</sup> The Apostle also: "The mystery which was not known to the first generations."<sup>4</sup> For none of the prophets, he says, declared anything concerning the things of whereof we speak; for all (of them) were ignored in what was said by the Demiurge alone.<sup>5</sup> When, therefore, creation was brought to completion,<sup>6</sup> and the revelation of the sons of God, that is of the Demiurge, at length became necessary, which had before been concealed, he says, the psychic man was veiled and had a veil upon his heart. Then when it was time that the veil should be taken away, and that these mysteries should be seen, Jesus was born through Mary the Virgin<sup>7</sup> according to the saying: "(The) Holy Spirit shall come upon thee"—the Spirit is Sophia—"and a power of the Highest shall overshadow thee"—the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 14. In the preceding passage taken apparently from Eph. iii. 14 either the Gnostic author or Hippolytus has taken some strange liberties with the received Text, which see.

<sup>2</sup> It is plain, therefore, that the Valentinians rejected these parts of the O. T.

<sup>3</sup> John x. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν of Coloss. i. 26 seems to be what is aimed at.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ λελαλημένον; "inasmuch as they certainly had been uttered by the Demiurge alone," Maccahahon.

<sup>6</sup> τέλος λαβέν, "received the finishing touch."

<sup>7</sup> διὰ Μαρίας τῆς Παρθένου. A manifest allusion to the well-known Gnostic doctrine that Jesus took nothing from His Mother but came into being through her ὡς διὰ σωλήνος, "as through a pipe or conduit,"

Highest is the Demiurge. "Wherefore that which is born from thee shall be called holy."<sup>1</sup> For He was born not from the Highest alone, as those created after the fashion of Adam were created from the Highest, that is from the Demiurge. But Jesus was the new man (born) from the Holy Spirit (and the Highest),<sup>2</sup> that is from Sophia and the Demiurge, so that the Demiurge supplied the mould and constitution of His body, but the Holy Spirit supplied His substance,<sup>3</sup> and thus the Heavenly Logos came into being, having been begotten from the Ogdoad through Mary. Concerning this there is a great enquiry among them and a source of schisms and variance. And hence their school<sup>4</sup> has become divided and one part is called by them the Anatolic and the other the Italiote. Those from Italy, whereof are Heraclion and Ptolemy, say that the body of Jesus was born psychic, and therefore the Spirit descended as a dove at the Baptism, that is the Word which is of the mother Sophia on high and cried aloud to the psychic man<sup>5</sup> and raised him from the dead. This, he says, is the saying: "He who raised Christ from the dead, shall quicken your mortal bodies (and your psychic)."<sup>6</sup> For earth, he says, has come under a curse. "For Earth," he says, "thou art, and to earth thou shalt return."<sup>7</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Luke i. 35. Ἐπίστος, "the Highest," was according to M. Caumont (*Suppl. Rev. instr. publ. en Belgique, 1897*) the name by which the God of Israel was known throughout Asia Minor in pre-Christian times.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῦ Ἐπίστου. These words are not in the Codex.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν . . . ὑπόστασιν. Again "essence" would etymologically be the better word, but "substance" is used as more familiar to the English reader.

<sup>4</sup> διδασκαλία. It is significant of the position held by Valentinus' teaching in the Christian community that the Valentinians are often spoken of by the Fathers as a school of thought rather than a schismatic Church like that founded by Marcion.

<sup>5</sup> γέγωνε τῷ ψυχικῷ. So in Manichæism, the Living Spirit goes towards the Land of Darkness, where the First Man is entombed after his defeat by Satan, and "cries in a loud voice, and this voice was like a sharp sword and discovered the form of the First Man," who is thereupon drawn up out of the Darkness and raised to the upper spheres where dwells the Mother of Life. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, pp. 294, 300, n. 1, and 302, n. 1, and Theodore bar Khōni and other authors there quoted.

<sup>6</sup> Rom. viii. 11; the words in brackets are not in the received text.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. iii. 19.

those from the East, whereof are Axionicus and Bardesanes,<sup>1</sup> say that the body of the Saviour was spiritual. For (the) Holy Spirit came upon Mary, that is Sophia and the Power of the Highest is the demiurgic art,<sup>2</sup> so that that which was given by the Spirit to Mary might be moulded (into form). p. 297.

36. These things then let these men enquire after in their own way, and if they should happen to do so in any other, so let it be. But (Valentinus) also says that as the false steps among the Aeons had been put straight<sup>3</sup> and also those in the Ogdoad or Sophia Without, so also were those in the Hebdomad. For the Demiurge was taught by Sophia that he is not the only God as he thought, and that beside him there is none other; but he knew better after being taught by Sophia. For he was schooled by her and was initiated and taught the great mystery of the Father and the Aeons and told it to none. This, he says, is what he spake to Moses: "I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, and my name I have not announced to them,"<sup>4</sup> that is to say: "I have not told the mystery nor have I explained who is God, but I have kept to myself the mystery which I have heard from Sophia." It was necessary, then, that the things on high having been put straight, in the same sequence,<sup>5</sup> correction should come to those here. For this cause was Jesus the Saviour born through Mary, that He might put straight things here, as the Christ, who on high was projected by Nous and Aletheia, put straight the passions of Sophia Without, that is, of the Ectroma. And again the Saviour who was born through Mary came to set straight the passions of the soul. There are, then, according to them three Christs, the one projected by Nous and Aletheia along p. 298.

<sup>1</sup> So Cruice. Miller's text has *'Αρθησιάνης*.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη, "the process of fashioning."

<sup>3</sup> διώρθωτο. So that Valentinus was the first to advance the theory which we find later among the Manichæans that this earth of ours, instead of being the centre of the universe, was in fact the lowest and most insignificant of all the worlds, and that salvation only came to it after the greater universe had been reformed—an extraordinary conception on the part of one who must have held, like his contemporaries, geocentric views in astronomy.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. vi. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀκολουσίαν. Here as elsewhere in the text, ἀκολουσία has the meaning of imitation.

with the Holy Spirit; and the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma the equal yoke-fellow<sup>1</sup> of Sophia Without who is called and is herself a Holy Spirit (but) inferior to the first; and third, He who was born through Mary for the restoration<sup>2</sup> of this creation of ours.

37. I consider I have now by means of many (explanations) sufficiently sketched the heresy of Valentinus, it being a Pythagorean one; and it seems to me that the refutation of these doctrines by exposition should stop. Plato, moreover, when setting forth mysteries concerning the universe writes to Dionysius in some such way as this:<sup>3</sup>

p. 299 "I must speak to you in enigmas, so that if the tablet should suffer in any of its leaves on sea or land, whoso reads may not understand.<sup>4</sup> For things are thus. As regards the king of all, all things are his, and all are for his sake, and he is the cause of all that is fair. A second (cause exists) concerning secondary things and a third concerning those things which come third.<sup>5</sup> But respecting the king himself there is nothing of this kind of which I have spoken. But after this the soul seeks to learn of what quality these are, since it looks towards the things which are germane to itself, of which it has nought sufficiently. This is, O son of Dionysius and Doris, your question as to what is the cause of all evils. But it is rather that anxiety about this is inborn, and if one does not remove it, one will never hit upon the truth.<sup>6</sup> But what is wonderful about it, hear. For there are men who have heard these things, able to learn and able to remember,<sup>7</sup> and who have yet grown old while straining to form

<sup>1</sup> ἰσοκύρος.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπανόρθωσις, "re-rectification"!

<sup>3</sup> What follows is from Plato's Second Epistle, which is thought to have been written after Plato's return from his third voyage to Syracuse, and is perhaps rather less suspect than the other Platonic epistles. Yet the chances of interpolation are so great that no stress can be laid on the genuineness of any particular passage.

<sup>4</sup> This passage alone is sufficient to make one doubtful as to the Platonic authorship. If Plato really wanted to keep his doctrine secret, the last thing he would have done would be to call the attention of the chance reader to the fact.

<sup>5</sup> Burges translates: "But about a second are the secondary things and about a third the third."

<sup>6</sup> Nearly two pages are here omitted from the Epistle.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly an allusion to the Platonic theory that all learning is remembrance.

a complete judgment. They say that what (once) appeared believable is now unbelievable, and that what was then unbelievable was then the opposite. Looking therefore to this, beware, lest you repent what has unworthily fallen p. 300. from you. Wherefore I have written none of these things, nor is there anything (upon them) signed Plato, nor will there ever be. But the sayings now attributed to Socrates were (said by him)<sup>1</sup> when he was young and fair.”<sup>2</sup>

(Now) Valentinus having chanced upon these (lines) conceived the king of all, of whom Plato spoke, to be Father and Bythos and the primal source of all the Aeons.<sup>3</sup> And when Plato spoke of the second (cause) concerning secondary things, Valentinus assumed that the secondary things were all the Aeons being within the limit of the Pleroma and the third (cause) concerning the third things, he assumed to be the whole arrangement without the limit and (outside) the Pleroma. And this Valentinus made plain in the fewest words in a psalm, beginning from below and not as Plato did from above, in these words:—

“I behold all things hanging from air,  
I perceive all things upheld by spirit,  
Flesh hanging from soul,  
Soul standing forth from air,  
And air hanging from aether,  
But fruits borne away from Bythos  
But the embryo from the womb.”<sup>4</sup>

p. 301.

Understanding this thus:—Flesh is, according to them, Matter, which depends from the soul of the Demiurge. But soul stands out from air, that is the Demiurge from the Spirit outside the Pleroma. But air stands out from aether, that is Sophia Without from that which is within (the) limit and the whole Pleroma. Fruits are borne away

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενα Σωκράτους. “Said of him” or “said by him”? The passage is quoted by the Emperor Julian and by Aristides.

<sup>2</sup> So that Hippolytus’ attempt to show that Valentinus plagiarized from Plato resolves itself into an imaginative interpretation of a purposely obscure passage in an epistle which is only doubtfully assigned to Plato. That Valentinus like every one educated in the Greek learning was influenced by Plato is likely enough, but that there was any conscious borrowing of tenets is against probability.

<sup>3</sup> προαρχή τῶν ὄλων Αἰώνων.

<sup>4</sup> That Valentinus is said to have written psalms, see Tertullian, *de Carne Christi*, I, c. xvii, xx, t. ii, pp. 453, 457 (Oehl.).

from Bythos, which is the whole emanation of Aeons coming into being from the Father. The opinions of Valentinus have therefore been sufficiently told.<sup>1</sup> It remains to tell of the teachings of those who have been obedient to his school, another having different teaching.

### 3. *About Secundus and Epiphanes.*<sup>2</sup>

p. 302. 38. A certain Secundus, who was born at the same time as Ptolemy, says that there exist a right hand and a left hand tetrad like light and darkness. And he says that the Power which fell away and is lacking<sup>3</sup> came into being not from the thirty Aeons, but from their fruits. But there is a certain Epiphanes, a teacher of theirs, who says: "The First Principle<sup>4</sup> was incomprehensible, ineffable and

<sup>1</sup> Of the sources from which the author of the *Philosophumena* drew this account of Valentinus' doctrine, much has been written. Hilgenfeld in his *Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, and Lipsius in the article "Valentinus" in Smith & Wace's *D.C.B.*, agree that its main source is the writings of Heracleon. Cruice, *Études sur les Philosophumena*, on the other hand, thinks it largely composed of extracts from a work of Valentinus himself, entitled *Sophia*. Salmon (*Hermathena*, 1885, p. 391), while not committing himself to a definite pronouncement as to the writer quoted, says that Hippolytus undoubtedly quoted from a genuine Valentinian treatise, and that this last is above the suspicion of forgery with which he is inclined to view other quotations in the *Philosophumena*.

<sup>2</sup> The notice of the followers, real or supposed, of Valentinus which occupies the remainder of Book VI adds little to our previous knowledge of their doctrines, being taken almost *verbatim* from the work of Hippolytus' teacher, St. Irenæus. It is noteworthy, however, that although the Table of Contents promises us an account of (among others) Heracleon, nothing is here said of him, although that shrewd critic of the Gospels was thought worthy of refutation by Origen some fifty years later. Yet Hippolytus mentions Heracleon as being with Ptolemy a leader of the Italic School of Valentinians which seems to dispose of the theory advanced by Lipsius (Smith & Wace's *D.C.B.*, s.v. "Valentinus") that Heracleon was the author from whom Hippolytus took his account of Valentinus' own doctrine. Of Secundus nothing more is known than is set down in the text, while the "Epiphanes" here mentioned is thought by some to be not a name, but an adjective, so that the passage would read "a certain *illustrious* teacher of theirs." This was certainly the reading of Irenæus' Latin translator, who renders the word by "*clarus*." Is this a roundabout way of describing Heracleon? As to this see Salmon in *D.C.B.*, s.v. "Heracleon."

<sup>3</sup> ἀνοστήσας καὶ ὑπερέβασεν. Evidently Sophia is meant.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχή.



unnameable" which he calls Solitude<sup>1</sup> and that a Power of this co-exists with it which he names Oneness.<sup>2</sup> The same Monotes and Henotes preceded [but] did not send forth<sup>3</sup> an unbegotten and invisible principle over all which he calls<sup>4</sup> a Monad. "With this Power co-exists a power of the same essence with itself, which same power I also name the One." These four Powers themselves sent forth the remaining projections of the Aeons. But others of them again have called the first and primordial Ogdoad by these names: first, "Before the Beginning," then "Inconceivable," third "Ineffable" and the fourth, "Invisible;"<sup>5</sup> and (they say) that from the first Proarche was projected in the first and fifth place Beginning; from Anennoctos, in the second and sixth (place) Unrevealed, from Arrheton in the third and seventh place, Unnameable and from Aoratos, Unbegotten.<sup>6</sup> (This is the) Pleroma of the first Ogdoad. And they will have these powers to have existed before Bythos and Sige. But yet others understand differently about Bythos himself, some saying that he is spouseless and neither male nor female, and others that Sige exists beside him as his female and that this is the first syzygy. p. 303.

#### 4. About Ptolemy.<sup>7</sup>

39. But the adherents of Ptolemy say that he [Bythos] has two partners whom they call also (his) predispositions<sup>8</sup> p. 304.

<sup>1</sup> Μονότης

<sup>2</sup> Ἐνότης.

<sup>3</sup> προήκατο μὴ προέμεναι, protulerunt non profereudo ex se, Cr. So Irenaeus, I, xi, 3, p. 104, II. In his note Harvey says that the passage implies that Henotes and Monotes "put forth as the original cause the Beginning, but so as that the Beginning was eternally inseparable from their unity."

<sup>4</sup> Irenaeus makes ὁ λόγος, "the Word," the speaker. So Tertullian, adv. Val., "quod sermo vocat." But it seems more natural to refer the speech to Epiphaneus or "the Illustrious Teacher."

<sup>5</sup> Προαρχή, Ἀνενώθητος, Ἀρητος and Ἀόρατος. The three first names, however, are not in the text but are restored from Irenaeus, I, v, 2, p. 105, II.

<sup>6</sup> These four new names are: Ἀρχή, Ἀκατάληπτος, Ἀνενώθητος and Ἀγέννητος.

<sup>7</sup> Of Ptolemy we know a little more than we do of Secundus, a letter by him to his "fair sister Flora" being given by Epiphanius (Haer. XXXIII.) which shows a system not inconsistent with that described in the text. Unlike Valentinus himself he gives the Father a spouse, or rather two.

<sup>8</sup> διαθέσεις, perhaps "states." Cr. and Macmahon translate "dispositions."

(i. e.) Thought and Will. For he first had it in mind to project something, and then he willed (to do so). Wherefore from these two diatheses and powers, that is, from Ennoia and Thelesis as it were blending with one another, the projection of Monogenes and Aletheia as a pair came to pass. The which types and images of the two diatheses of the Father came forth visible from the invisible, Nous from Thelema<sup>1</sup> and Aletheia from Ennoia. Therefore also the male image was born from the later-begotten Thelema, but the female from the unbegotten Ennoia, because Thelema came into being like a power from Ennoia. For Ennoia has ever in mind projection, but she is not able by herself to project what she has in mind. But when the power of Thelema [came into being later],<sup>2</sup> then she projected what she had in mind.

### 5. About Marcus.<sup>3</sup>

40. And a certain other teacher of theirs, Marcus, an  
p. 305. expert in magic, depending now on trickery and now on

<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus here suddenly changes from Thelesis to Thelema. But there is no discoverable difference in the meaning of the two words.

<sup>2</sup> Words in [ ] from Irenæus.

<sup>3</sup> This Marcus is practically only known to us from the statements of Irenæus, from which the accounts in the text and in the later work of Epiphanius are copied. Salmon's argument (*D. C. B.*, s. v. "Marcus") that Marcus taught in Asia Minor or Syria, and that Irenæus himself only knew his doctrines from his writings and the confessions of his Gaulish followers on their conversion to Catholicism seems irrefutable. There is no reason to doubt Irenæus' statement here repeated that Marcus was a magician, nor the generally accepted statement of modern writers on Gnosticism that he was a Jew. This last deduction is supported by his use of Hebrew formulas, of which Irenæus gives many examples, including one beginning "Βασημαχουοση" which appears to be "In the name of Achamoth," the Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent of the Greek Sophia. A more cogent argument is that his identification of the Gnostic Aeons with the letters of the Greek alphabet and their numerical values is, *mutatis mutandis*, exactly correspondent to that of the so-called "practical Cabala" of the Jews which was re-introduced into Europe in the tenth to twelfth centuries, but which probably goes back to pre-Christian times and is ultimately derived from the decayed relics of the Chaldean and Egyptian religions. On the other hand, Irenæus' classing of Marcus among the "successors" or followers of Valentinus is much more open to question. The reverence he shows for the books of the Old Testament and for the Pentateuchal account of the Creation, which is indeed the foundation of the greater part of the system of the Cabala, is inconsistent with the views of Valentinus,

demons, leads astray many. For he says that there is in him the greatest power from the invisible and unnameable places. And often he takes a cup, as if consecrating it,<sup>1</sup> and prolonging the words of consecration, causes the mixture to appear purple and sometimes red, so as to make his dupes think that a certain grace has come down, and has given a blood-like power<sup>2</sup> to the draught. But the rogue, though he formerly escaped the notice of many, will, now that he has been refuted,<sup>3</sup> have to stop. For he used secretly to insert a certain drug having the power of giving such a colour to the mixture, and then to wait while uttering much gibberish, until it dissolved by absorbing moisture and, mixing with the draught, coloured it. And the drugs which can thus give colour we have before described in our book against the Magicians,<sup>4</sup> and have set forth how leading many astray, they utterly ruin them. Which (last), if they care to consider more carefully what has been said above, will know the fraud of Marcus.

41. Which (Marcus) also, mixing a cup by another hand, p. 306. (sometimes) gives it<sup>5</sup> to a woman to consecrate, while he stands by her side holding a larger one empty: and when the dupe has made the consecration, he takes (the cup) from her, and empties it into the larger one and many times pouring (the contents) from one cup to the other, says these words over them: "May the Incomprehensible and Ineffable Charis who is earlier than the universals fill thy inner man, and make abundant in thee the knowledge<sup>6</sup> of

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who as we have seen (n. on p. 33 *supra*) must logically have rejected the inspiration of the Old Testament altogether. St. Jerome (Ep. 75, *ad Theod.*, I, 449), says indeed that Marcus was a Basilidian, and although we have too little of Basilides' own writings to check this statement, it is not impossible that the nomenclature of the Aeons, which is the chief point in which Valentinus and Marcus coincide, was common to all three heretics, and perhaps drawn from a source earlier than them all. The language of the formulas given by Irenæus but not reproduced by Hippolytus, in several instances bear a strong likeness to that of the *Great Announcement* attributed in the earlier part of this Book to Simon Magus.

<sup>1</sup> εὐχαριστῶν.

<sup>2</sup> αἱματώδη δύναμιν, "the potentiality of blood"?

<sup>3</sup> ἀλεγχόμενος. The word shows that by "refutation" the author generally means "exposure."

<sup>4</sup> He has not done so, unless in some part which has been lost.

<sup>5</sup> δίδου.

<sup>6</sup> Γνώσις.

her, even as she scatters the mustard seed upon the good ground!" And as he speaks some such words over it, and (thereby) distracts the dupe and the bystanders, so that he is considered a miracle-worker, he fills the larger cup from the smaller so that it overflows. And we have set forth the trick of this in the above-named book, where we have pointed out many drugs which have the power of causing increase when thus mixed with watery substances,<sup>1</sup> especially when mingled with wine: the drug compounded beforehand, being hidden in the empty cup in such a way that this may be exhibited as containing nothing, and being poured backwards and forwards from one cup to the other, so as to dissolve the drug by mixture with the water,<sup>2</sup> and so that

p. 307. when it is inflated by air, an overflow of the water comes about, and it increases the more it is shaken, since such is the nature of the drug. If, however, one lays aside the cup when filled, the mixture will before long return to its former volume, the power of the drug being quenched by the continued moisture. Wherefore he hurriedly gives the bystanders to drink; and they being at the same time scared and thirsting for it as something divine and mingled by a god, hasten to drink.

42. Such like and other things, the deceiver undertakes to do. Whence he was glorified by those he duped and was thought sometimes to prophesy himself and sometimes to make others do so, either effecting this by demons or by trickery as we have said above. Further he utterly ruined many,<sup>3</sup> and led on many of them to become his disciples (by) teaching them to be indifferent to sin<sup>4</sup> as free from danger (to them) through their belonging to the Perfect Power and partakers of the Inconceivable Authority. To whom also after baptism they promise another which they call Redemption,<sup>5</sup> and thereby turn again to evil those

p. 308. who remain with them in the hope of deliverance, (as if)

<sup>1</sup> ὑγρῆς οὐσίας. Here οὐσία is used in the English sense of "substance." No such substances are mentioned in Book IV as it has come down to us.

<sup>2</sup> The wine used in the Marcossian Eucharist was evidently *mixtum*, not *merum*. Some effervescent powder is indicated.

<sup>3</sup> ἑξαπατήσας; Cr. translates *seduxit*.

<sup>4</sup> ἐβάπτους . . . πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν. Cf. the doctrine of certain Antinomian sects that "God sees no sin in His elect."

<sup>5</sup> Ἀπολύτρωσις, perhaps "Ransom."

those who had been once baptized might again meet with acquittal. Through such jugglery,<sup>1</sup> they seem to retain their hearers, whom, when they consider that they have been (duly) indoctrinated and are able to keep fast the things entrusted to them, they then lead to this (second baptism), not contenting themselves with this alone, but promising them still something else, for the purpose of keeping control over them by hope, lest they should separate from them. For they mutter something in an inaudible voice, laying hands on them for the receiving of Redemption which they pretend cannot be spoken openly unless one were highly instructed, or when the bishop should come to speak it into the ears of one departing this life.<sup>2</sup> And this jugglery is practised so that they may remain the bishop's disciples, eagerly desirous to learn what has been said about the last thing<sup>3</sup> whereby the learner would become perfect. Of which things I have kept silence for this cause, lest any should think I put the worst construction on them. For this is not what we have set before us, but rather the exposure of whence they have derived the hints<sup>4</sup> from which their doctrines have arisen.

43. For the blessed elder Irenæus having come forward very openly for (their) refutation has set forth these baptisms and redemptions saying in rounder terms what those who traffic<sup>5</sup> with them do; and if some of these deny that they have thus received them (it is because) they learn to always deny.<sup>6</sup> Wherefore we have been careful to enquire very sedulously and to find out minutely what they hand down in the first baptism as they call it, and what in the second which they call Redemption: and no unutterable doing of theirs has escaped us. But let us abandon<sup>7</sup> these things to Valentinus and his school. p. 309.

<sup>1</sup> πανουργημα.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the documents of the *Pistis Sophia*, (p. 238, Copt) a "mystery" to be spoken "into the two ears" of an initiate about to die is described. The idea was evidently to provide him with a password which would enable him to escape the "punishments" of the intermediate state, and is to be traced to Egyptian beliefs.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, perhaps "to the utmost."

<sup>4</sup> ἀφορμαί. In the *Philosophumena*, the word nearly always bears this construction.

<sup>5</sup> οἱ ἐπιτυχόντες.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι. Cf. the "*Geist der stets verneint*" of Goethe.

<sup>7</sup> συγχεχωρησθαι.

Marcus, however, imitating his teacher himself also concocts a vision, thinking thus to glorify himself. For Valentinus claims that he himself saw a new-born infant, hearing whom he enquired who he might be. And (the infant) answered declaring himself to be the Logos. Thereupon (Valentinus) having added a certain tragic myth, wishes from this to construct the heresy which he had already taken in hand.<sup>1</sup> With like audacity, Marcus declares that the Tetrads came before him in feminine shape; because, he says, the cosmos could not bear its male form.<sup>2</sup> And she disclosed to him what she was, and the coming into being of all things, which she had never yet revealed to any either of gods or men (but) announced it to him alone, saying thus:—when the First (Being) who has no father,<sup>3</sup> the Inconceivable and Substanceless One, who is neither male nor female, willed the ineffable to be spoken and the invisible to take shape, He opened His mouth and a Logos like unto Him went forth. Who, standing beside Him, showed Him what He was, Himself having appeared in the shape of the Invisible One. And the utterance of the name was on this wise. He spoke the first word of the name which was the beginning and was the syllable<sup>4</sup> of four letters. And He added to it the second, and it also was of four letters. And He spoke the third, which was of ten letters and then the fourth, and this was of twelve. There came to pass therefore, the pronunciation of the whole name of thirty letters, but of four syllables. But each of the elements has its own letters<sup>5</sup> and its own charac-

p. 310.

<sup>1</sup> "His attempted heresy."

<sup>2</sup> Like the rest of this section and most of this chapter, Hippolytus here follows Irenæus *verbatim*. Why the apparition of the Tetrads should be more supportable in female than in male shape can only be guessed; but the frequent personification of the Great Goddess of Western Asia may have had something to do with it.

<sup>3</sup> οὐ πατήρ οὐδείς ἦν, "whose father was no one"—a curious expression in place of the more concise ἀπάτωρ.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἦν ἡ συλλαβὴ αὐτοῦ στοιχείων τεσσάρων, "and taken together it was of four letters." He is punning here on the double sense of στοιχείων as meaning both "letter" and "element." In the Magic Papyrus of Leyden which calls itself "Monas, the 8th (book?) of Moses," there is a curious account of how the light and the rest of creation were brought into being by the successive words or rather the laughter of the Creator. Cf. Leemans, *Papyri Græci*, etc., Leyden, 1885, II, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>5</sup> γράμματα.

ter,<sup>1</sup> and its own pronunciation and figures and images, nor is there any of them which perceives the form of another. Nor does it see that it is an element, nor know the pronunciation of its neighbour; but each sounds as if pronouncing the whole, and believes itself to be naming the [universe].<sup>2</sup> For while each of them is a part of the universe, it thinks its own sound names as it were the whole, and does not cease to sound until it has arrived at the last single-tongued letter of the last element. Then he says that the return of the universals (to the Deity)<sup>3</sup> will come to pass when all things coming together into one letter shall echo one and the same sound. He supposes that the likeness of this sound is the Amen<sup>4</sup> which we speak in unison. But (he says) that the vowels<sup>5</sup> exist to give shape to the substanceless and unbegotten Aeon, and that they are those forms which the Lord called angels, which behold without ceasing the Father's face.<sup>6</sup>

44. But the names of the elements which are common (to all) and may be spoken, he calls Aeons and Λογοι and Roots and Seeds<sup>7</sup> and Pleromas and Fruits. And (he says)

<sup>1</sup> χαρακτήρα, "impres.," or character as we might say Greek characters or script. The different meanings of στοιχεῖα, γράμματα, and χαρακτήρ are here well marked.

<sup>2</sup> So Irenæus.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν. This Return to the Deity was, as has been shown above, the great preoccupation of all these Gnostic sects. They may have borrowed it from the Stoic philosophy. Cf. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> The primitive Church attributed great power to the ritual utterance of the word Amen. Thus Ignatius' second Epistle to the Ephesians: "There was hidden from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary, and the birth of our Lord, and the three mysteries of the shout . . . and thereby . . . magic began to be dissolved and all bonds to be loosed and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil, is destroyed" (Cureton's translation, London, 1845, p. 15); but Lightfoot would read κήρυξις, "proclamation," for κραυγή, "shout. In the *Pistis Sophia* the word Amen is used to denote a class of Powers concerned apparently with the organization of the Kerasmos or semi-material world and called sometimes "the Three" and sometimes "the Seven Amens."

<sup>5</sup> τοῖς [φθόγγους]. The word in brackets is not in the Codex, but is supplied from the corresponding passage in Irenæus.

<sup>6</sup> πρῶσων, a word which, as Hatch noted, is used for the character or part played by an actor in a drama. Matt. xviii. 10 is here evidently alluded to.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Stoic theory of λόγοι σπέρματικοί or "seed-Powers," for which, see Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

- p. 312. that every one of them and what is special to each is to be comprehended as comprised in the name of Ecclesia. Of which elements, he says, that the last letter of the last element first sent forth<sup>1</sup> its own sound, the echo of which going forth begot its own elements as being the images of the other elements. Wherefrom, he says, both the things here below were set in order and those which were before them were brought into being.<sup>2</sup> He says nevertheless that the very letter the sound of which followed immediately upon the echo below was taken up again by its own syllable in order to fill full again the universe, but that the echo remained in the things below as if cast outside it.<sup>3</sup> But the element itself wherefrom the letter with its pronunciation came down below, he says, is of thirty letters, and every one of the thirty letters contains within itself other letters whereby the name of the letter is named. And again others are named by other letters and yet others by these others, so that the total comes out to infinity, if the letters be written separately.<sup>4</sup> You will more clearly
- p. 313. understand what has been said (if it be put) thus:—The element Delta contains in itself five letters, the Delta, the Epsilon, the Lambda, the Tau and the Alpha and the same letters (are written) by other letters.<sup>5</sup> If then the whole substance<sup>6</sup> of the Delta comes out to infinity, letters constantly giving birth to other letters and succeeding one another, how much greater than that one element is the sea of letters? And if the one letter be thus infinite, behold the depth<sup>7</sup> of the letters of the whole name whereof the industry or rather the idiot labour<sup>8</sup> of Marcus will have the Forefather to be composed. Wherefore, (he says) the Father, knowing well His unconfined nature, gave to the elements which He calls Aeons, the power for each to send

<sup>1</sup> *πρόηκατο*.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, before Chaos was organized and the Aeons brought into existence.

<sup>3</sup> A plain reference to the Ectroma or Sophia Without.

<sup>4</sup> *ἰδίᾳ τῶν γραμμάτων γραφέντων* (Miller). The Codex has *διὰ* for *ἰδίᾳ* and *γραφέντος* for *γραφέντων*. Cruice bungles the passage and Macmahon omits it. It is not found in Irenaeus.

<sup>5</sup> *ε. ζ.* the δ can be written δ, ε, λ, τ, α.

<sup>6</sup> *ὅπασταις*.

<sup>7</sup> A pun on the name of the Supreme Father, Bythos or the Deep.

<sup>8</sup> *φιλοπονία* and *ματαιοπονία*.



forth the pronunciation of his own name, whereby none is capable of pronouncing the whole.

45. And [it is said that] the Tetrads having explained these things to him, said:—"I desire now to show to thee Aletheia<sup>1</sup> herself; for I have brought her down from the dwellings on high in order that thou mayest behold her unclothed and learn her beauty, and may also hear her speak and admire her wisdom. See then the head on high the first Alpha-Omega, and the neck Beta-Psi, the shoulders (together with the hands) Gamma-Chi, the breast Delta-Phi, the waist Epsilon-Upsilon, the belly Zeta-Tau, the privy parts Eta-Sigma, the thighs Theta-Rho, the knees Iota-Pi, the legs Kappa-Omicron, the ankles Lambda-Xi, the feet Mu-Nu." Such is the body of Aletheia according to Marcus, this the form of the element, this the impress of the letter. And he calls this element Anthropos<sup>2</sup> and says that it is the fountain of all speech and the principle of every sound, and the utterance of everything ineffable, and the mouth of the silent Sige.<sup>3</sup> "And this is her body. But do thou raising on high the understanding of the intelligence,<sup>4</sup> hear the Self-Begotten and Forefather Word from the lips of Truth."

46. When (the Tetrads) had thus spoken (says Marcus), Aletheia looking upon him and opening her mouth spake a word. But that word was a name and the name was that which we know and speak (to wit) Christ Jesus, having spoken which, she straightway became silent. And when Marcus expected her to say something more, the Tetrads again coming forward said: "Holdest thou simple the word which thou hast heard from the lips of Aletheia? Yet that which you know and seem to have possessed of old is not the name. For you have its sound only, and know not its power. For Jesus is an illustrious name having six letters<sup>5</sup> invoked by all the Elect. But that which occurs among the

<sup>1</sup> Or Truth.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* Man.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem from this that Marcus, following perhaps in this the Anatolic School of Valentinus, made Sige not the spouse of Bythos but merely another name for Aletheia.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς διαβολῆς νόημα. As if he were trying to avoid writing the word Nous.

<sup>5</sup> Hippolytus or Marcus here plays upon the identity of the ἐπίσημον or digamma, the name of the sixth letter in the Greek alphabet, which was used for numeration only, and the adjective ἐπίσημον, "illustrious."

(five)<sup>1</sup> Aeons of the Pleroma has many parts (and) is of another shape and of a different type, being known by those of (His) kindred whose magnitudes<sup>2</sup> are ever with Him."

47. "Know ye that the twenty-four letters among you are emanations in the likeness of the Three Powers encompassing the universe<sup>3</sup> and (the) number of the elements on high. For suppose that the nine mute letters<sup>4</sup> are those of the Father and of Aletheia, because they are mute, that is, ineffable and unutterable; and the semi-mute which are eight,<sup>5</sup> those of Logos and Zoe, because they exist as it were half-way between the mute and those which sound,<sup>6</sup> and they receive the emanation from those above them and the ascension of those below; and the vowels—and they are seven<sup>7</sup>—are those of Anthropos and Ecclesia, since it is the sound going forth from Anthropos which has given form to the universals. For the echo of the sound has clothed them with shape.<sup>8</sup> There are then Logos and Zoe having the 8 and Anthropos and Ecclesia the 7 and the Father and Aletheia the 9. But since the reckoning was deficient,<sup>9</sup> He who was seated in the Father came down, having been sent forth from that wherefrom he had been separated for the rectification of the things which had been done, so that the unity of the Pleromas which is in the Good One might bear as fruit one power which is in all from all. And thus the 7 recovered the power of the 8, and the three places became alike in numbers, being three ogdoads. Which three added together show forth the number of 24." In fact the three elements (which he says

<sup>1</sup> The word in brackets supplied from Irenaeus.

<sup>2</sup> ὡν τὰ μεγέθη. The allusion seems to be again to Matt. xviii. 10. The angels might well be considered on the Valentinian theory the greater parts or counterparts of their terrestrial spouses. In Epiphanius τὰ Μεγέθη seems to be used for the Supreme Being. Cf. Panar. Haer., XXXI, p. 314, Oehl. The passage is said to be suspect.

<sup>3</sup> One of the later documents of the *Pistis Sophia* speaks repeatedly of certain τριδυναμεις or τριδυναμοι (both spellings are used) which seem to hold a very exalted rank in the scale of beings, alike in the spiritual and the material parts of the universe.

<sup>4</sup> φ, χ, θ, η, κ, τ, β, γ, δ.

<sup>5</sup> λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ, ζ, ξ, ψ.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ φωνήεντα.

<sup>7</sup> α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω.

<sup>8</sup> μορφήν αὐτοῖς περιεποίησεν, "has put shape round them."

<sup>9</sup> Reading Ἐπειδή with Irenaeus instead of the Ἐπὶ δὲ of Hippolytus.

exist in the syzygy of the three powers, which are 6, the flowing-forth of which are the 24 elements) having been quadrupled by the Word of the Ineffable Tetrad make the same number for themselves which he says is (that) of the Unnameable One. But they were clothed by the 6 powers in the likeness of the Invisible One, of the images of which elements the double letters are the likeness, which added to the 24 elements by analogy make potentially the number 30.<sup>1</sup>

48. He says that the fruit of this reckoning and arrangement<sup>2</sup> appeared<sup>3</sup> in semblance of an image (to wit) He who after the six days went up to the mountain<sup>4</sup> as one of four persons and became one of six. Who came down and bore p. 318. rule in the Hebdomad, Himself becoming the illustrious<sup>5</sup> Ogdoad and containing within Himself the whole number of the elements. Which the descent of the dove coming upon Him at the baptism made plain, which (dove) is Alpha and Omega, the number being plainly 801.<sup>6</sup> And because of this Moses said that man came into being on the 6th day. But according to the economy of the Passion on the 6th day, which is the Preparation,<sup>7</sup> the last man appeared for the regeneration of the First Man. Of this economy, the beginning and the end was the 6th hour, wherein he was nailed to the Cross. For, (he says) that the perfect Nous, knowing that number 6 possesses the power of creation and regeneration<sup>8</sup> made apparent to the Sons of Light the regeneration which had come through Him who appeared as Episemon. For the illustrious

<sup>1</sup> So that the "ineffable" name of Christ consisted of 30 letters. So Epiphanius, *Haer.*, XXXIV, p. 448, Oehl. No guess hitherto made as to its transliteration into Greek letters seems entirely satisfactory; but Harvey (*Iren.*, I, p. 146, nn. 1, 2), shows that χλ, ρθ, εψιλον (for which spelling Nigidius Figulus and Aulus Gellius are quoted), ιδτα, σιγμα, ταυ, ου (for ομικρον), and, again, σιγμα, can be made to count 30.

<sup>2</sup> The text has αναλογιας, for which Miller rightly restores οικονομιας from Irenaeus. Cf. p. 318 Cr. *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> τεφηνειναι. Irenaeus has πεφυκηναι, "grew."

<sup>4</sup> See the Transfiguration according to Matt. xvii. and Mark ix.

<sup>5</sup> Or "the Episemon."

<sup>6</sup> π = 80, ε 5, ρ 100, ι 10, σ 200, τ 300, ε 5, ρ 100, α 1 = 801. So Α 1 + Ω 800 = 801.

<sup>7</sup> Ἡ παρασκευή. "The Preparation" (for the Passover) i. e. Friday.

<sup>8</sup> τὸν τῶν ἕξ ἀριθμῶν, δύναμιν ποιήσεως κτλ. So Irenaeus' Latin translation, "Scientem cum numerum qui est sex virtutem fabricationis et regenerationem habentem."

number<sup>1</sup> when blended with the other elements completes the 30-lettered name.

p 319. 49. But He has made use as His instrument of the greatness of the 7 numbers, in order that the Fruit of the self-inspired (Council)<sup>2</sup> might be made manifest. Consider, he says, this Episcemon here present, which has taken shape from the Illustrious One who has been, as it were, cut into parts and remains without. Who, by His own power and forethought, by means of His own projection which is that of the Seven Powers, imitated the Seventh Power and gave life to the cosmos<sup>3</sup> and set it to be the soul of this visible universe. He therefore uses this same work also as if it came into being by Him independently; but the rest being imitations of that which is inimitable minister to the Enthymesis<sup>4</sup> of the Mother. And the first heaven sounds the Alpha, and that following it the Epsilon, and the 3rd the Eta, and the 4th and middle one of the 7 the power of the Iota, and the 5th the Omicron, and the 6th the Upsilon, and the 7th the Omega. And all the heavens when locked together into one, give forth a sound and glorify Him by whom they were projected. And the glory of the sounding is sent on high into the presence of the Forefather.<sup>5</sup> And, he says, that the echo of this glorifying being borne to the earth becomes the Fashioner and begetter of those upon the earth. And there is a proof of this in the case of newly born children, whose breath immediately they come forth from the womb, cries aloud likewise the sound of each one of these elements. As then the Seven Powers, he says, glorify the Word, so does the complaining soul among infants. Wherefore, he says, David declared:—"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise."<sup>6</sup> And again:—"The heavens declare the glory

<sup>1</sup> 6 + 24 = 30.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς αὐτοβουλήτου βουλήs . . . ὁ καρπός, "the Fruit of the self-counselled Council," Irenæus.

<sup>3</sup> μιμήσει τῆς ἑβδομάδος δυνάμεως ἐψύχωσε κόσμον, "imparted in imitation of the seven powers animation to this world," (Macmahon); but see Irenæus *in loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> As before, this probably means "Desire."

<sup>5</sup> This seems the first time we meet with the idea of "The Column of Praises" of the Manichæans which mounting from the earth and bearing with it the prayers and praises of mankind plays with them a considerable part in the redemption of Light from Matter.

<sup>6</sup> 1<sup>a</sup>. viii. 2.

of God."<sup>1</sup> When also the soul is in pain it cries aloud nothing else than the Omega in which it is grieved, so that the soul on high recognizing its kindred may send it help.

50. And so far as to this.<sup>2</sup> But concerning the begin- p. 321.  
ning of the 24 elements, she speaks thus:—Henotes existed along with Monotes<sup>3</sup> from which (two) came into being two projections: Monad and the One which, as twice 2, became four. For twice 2 is 4. And again the 2 and the 4 being added together the number 6 is manifested, but when these 6 are quadrupled, 24. And these names of the first Tetrad are understood to be the holiest of holy things, and cannot be spoken, but are known by the Son alone. The Father knows also what they are. Those named by Him in silence and faith are: Arrhetos<sup>4</sup> and Sige, Pater and Aletheia. And the total number of this Tetrad is 24 elements. For Arrhetos has 7 elements, Sige 5<sup>5</sup> and Pater 5 and Aletheia<sup>6</sup> 7. In like manner also the second Tetrad, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia, show forth the same number of elements. And the spoken name of the Saviour, that is Jesus, consists of 6 letters; but p. 322.  
His unspoken (name)<sup>7</sup> from the number of letters taken one by one, is of 24 elements, but Christ (the) Son of 12.<sup>8</sup> But the unspoken (element) in the Christos is of 30 letters and is that of the letters in it, counting the elements one by one. For the [name] Christos is of 8 elements: (<sup>9</sup> for the Chi<sup>10</sup> is of 3, and the Rho of 2, and the Ei of 2 and the Iota of 4, the Sigma of 5 and the Tau of 3, while the Ou is of 2 and the San of 3). Thus they imagine that the unspoken

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Irenaeus puts what follows into the mouth of "the all-wise Sige." A section dealing with the name of Aletheia is omitted by Hippolytus.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps "Unity in Solitude."

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.* "Ineffable."

<sup>5</sup> Four, unless we spell the word as he apparently does, *Σεργή*.

<sup>6</sup> In the section omitted (see n. 2 *supra*) the "body of Aletheia" is said to be *δωδεκάμελος* or "of 12 members," which points to some different notation.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Rev. xix. 11-13.

<sup>8</sup> As Harvey (*Iren.*, I, p. 145, n. 3) points out, this forced isopsephism is only reached by spelling Eta ηι and the Iota in *Χριστός* ιι. He quotes Aulus Gellius in support.

<sup>9</sup> The words in brackets ( ) are not in Irenaeus and are probably the addition of some commentator.

<sup>10</sup> The Codex has *χρι*.

element in "Christos" is of 30 elements. Wherefore also, say they, He said "I am Alpha and Omega," thereby indicating that the Dove has this number, which is eight hundred and one.<sup>1</sup>

p. 323. 51. But Jesus has this ineffable generation.<sup>2</sup> For from the Mother of the Universals the first Tetrad came forth, as if it were a daughter, and the second Tetrad and an Ogdoad thus came into being, wherefrom the Decad proceeded. Thus an Eighteen<sup>3</sup> came into being. Then the Decad having united with the Ogdoad and making it tenfold, [the number] 80 [proceeded; and the 80]<sup>4</sup> being again multiplied by 10, gives birth to the number 800. So that the total number coming forth from the Ogdoad to the Decad is 8 and 80 and 800, which is Jesus. For the name Jesus according to the number in the letters is 888. And the Greek Alphabet has eight monads and eight decads and eight hecatontads indicating the cipher of the eight hundreds as 88, that is the (word) Jesus (made up) from all the constituent numbers. Wherefore also He is named Alpha and Omega as signifying the birth from them all.

p. 324. 52. But concerning His fashioning<sup>5</sup> (Marcus) speaks thus: Powers which emanated from the Second Tetrad fashioned the Jesus who appeared upon earth, and the angel Gabriel filled the place<sup>6</sup> of the Logos and the Holy Spirit that of Zoe, and the power of the Highest<sup>7</sup> (that) of Anthropos and the Virgin that of Ecclesia. Thus by incarnation<sup>8</sup> a man was generated by Himself through Mary. But when He came to the water, there descended upon Him as a dove he who had ascended on high and had filled the 12th number,<sup>9</sup> in whom existed the seed of those

<sup>1</sup> π = 80, ε = 5, ρ = 100, ι = 10, σ = 200, τ = 300, θ = 5, ρ = 100, α = 1: total 801. It is evident therefore that Marcus considered Christ and the Holy Spirit to be the same Person.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρρητον γίνεσθαι, "unspoken derivation"?

<sup>3</sup> δεκαοκτώ, an unusual word, unknown to classical Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Words in square brackets [ ] supplied from Irenaeus.

<sup>5</sup> δημιουργία. Here, as elsewhere, the word implies construction from previously existing matter.

<sup>6</sup> τὸν τόπον ἀναπληρωκίαις.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Luke i. 35.

<sup>8</sup> κατ' οἰκονομίαν. This seems here the meaning of the word. See Millinger, *First Age of Christianity*, Eng. ed., p. 170, n. 2, Hatch; *Influence of Greek Ideas upon the Christian Church*, p. 131; Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria*, II, p. 13, and n. 1, for other meanings.

<sup>9</sup> This seems unintelligible unless we suppose the "body of

who had been sown together<sup>1</sup> in Him, and had descended together and had ascended together. But this Power which descended on Him, he says, was the seed of the Pleroma having within it the Father and the Son, which through them was known to be the unnamed power of Sige, and (to be) all the Aeons. And that this was the Spirit which in Him spake through the mouth of the Son, confessed Himself to be Son of Man, and manifested the Father, yet veritably descended into Jesus (and) became one with Him. The Saviour from the Economy,<sup>2</sup> destroyed death, they say, but Christ Jesus made known the Father. He says therefore that Jesus was the name of the man from the Economy, but that it was set forth in resemblance and shape of the Anthropos who was to come upon Him; and that when He had received he retained the Anthropos himself and the Father himself and Arrhetos and Sige and Aletheia and Ecclesia and Zoe.<sup>3</sup> p. 325.

53. I hope then that these things are clearly to all of sane mind without authority and far from that knowledge which is according to religion, being (in fact) fragments of astrological inventions and of the arithmetical art of the Pythagoreans, as you who love learning will also know from those their doctrines which we have exposed in the foregoing books. But in order that we may exhibit them more clearly to the disciples, not of Christ, but, of Pythagoras, I will also set forth so far as can be done in epitome, the things which they have taken from (this last) concerning the phenomena of the stars. For they say that these universals are composed from a monad and a dyad, and counting from a monad up to four, they bring into p. 326.

Aletheia," said above to be the number 12, to be the heaven known as "the Place of Truth." Cf. *Pistis Sophia*, p. 128, Copt.

<sup>1</sup> The same expression is used in the *Pistis Sophia* where Jesus "sows" a power of light in Elizabeth the mother of John the Baptist. Cf. p. 12, Copt.

<sup>2</sup> Or "Arrangement." Marcus, perhaps here imitating Valentinus, postulates several Saviours, one of whom restores order in the arrangement of the Aeons before coming to this earth.

<sup>3</sup> In Irenaeus there follows here a lengthy "refutation" of Marcus' doctrines and a poem condemning him and his teaching which some think to be the work of Pothinus, Irenaeus' martyred predecessor at Lyons.

being a decad. And the dyad<sup>1</sup> again going forth up to Episeimon, for example, two and four and six show forth the dodecad. And, again, if we count in the same way from the dyad up to the decad, the triacontad appears, wherein are the ogdoad and decad and dodecad. Then they say that the dodecad through its containing the Episeimon and because the Episeimon closely follows it, is Passion.<sup>2</sup> And since through this, the lapse with regard to the 12th number occurred, the sheep skipped away and was lost.<sup>3</sup> And in like manner from the decad: and on this they tell of the drachma which the woman lost and lamp in hand searched for and of the loss of the one sheep; <sup>4</sup> and having contrasted with this the (number) 99, they make a fable for themselves of the numbers, since of the 11 multiplied by 9 they make the number 99, and thanks to this they say that the Amen contains this number.<sup>5</sup>

p. 327. And of another number they say this:—the element Eta with the Episeimon is an ogdoad, as it lies in the 8th place from the Alpha. Then again counting the numbers of the same elements together without the Episeimon and adding them together as far as the Eta, they display the number 30. For if one begins the number of the elements with the Alpha (and continues) up to the Eta (inclusive) after subtracting the Episeimon, one finds the number 30.<sup>6</sup> Since then the number 30 is made from the uniting of the three powers, the same number 30 occurring thrice made 90—for three times 30 are 90 [and the same triad multiplied into itself brought forth 9]. Thus the ogdoad made the number 99 from the first ogdoad and decad and dodecad.

<sup>1</sup> With this sentence, Hippolytus again picks up his quotations from Irenæus.

<sup>2</sup> πάθος, "a passion" or "The Passion"?

<sup>3</sup> περιλανησθαι.

<sup>4</sup> Irenæus' Latin version here makes better sense:—*Similiter et a duodecade abscedentem unam virtutem perisse divinant et hanc esse mulierem quae perdidit drachmam, et accenderit lucernam, et invenit eam.*

<sup>5</sup> α = 1, μ 40, η 8, Ϛ 50, total 99. Writers of the sub-Apostolic age seem to have laid much stress on the miraculous power of the word Amen when uttered in unison. Cf. the Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians (Cureton's translation), p. 15, as to the "mysteries of the shout."

<sup>6</sup> Thus α = 1, β 2, γ 3, δ 4, ε 5, ζ 7, η 8 = 30.



The number of which (ogdoad) they sometimes carry to completion<sup>1</sup> and make a triacontad and sometimes deducting the 12th number they count it 11 and likewise make the 10th (number) 9. And multiplying and decupling<sup>2</sup> these (figures) they complete the number 99. And since p. 328. the 12th Aeon left the 11 [on high] and fell away from them and came below, they imagine that these things correspond one to the other. For the type of the letters is instructive. For the 11th letter is the Lambda which is the number 30 and is so placed after the likeness of the arrangement on high,<sup>3</sup> since from the Alpha apart from the Episcemon, the number of the same letters up to Lambda when added together makes up the number 99.<sup>4</sup> But (they say) that the Lambda which is put in the 11th place<sup>5</sup> came down to seek for what is like unto it so that it may complete the 12th number, and having found it did (so) complete it is plain from the very shape of the element.<sup>6</sup> For the Lambda succeeding as it were in the search for what was like unto itself and finding, seized it, and filled up with it the place of the 12th element Mu, which is composed of two Lambdas.<sup>7</sup> Wherefore they avoid by this gnosis the place of the 99 that is to say the Hysterema<sup>8</sup> as the type of the p. 329. left hand, but follow the One which added to the 99, brings them over to the right hand.

54.<sup>9</sup> But they declare that first the four elements which they say are fire, water, earth (and) air, were made through the Mother and projected as an image of the Tetrad on high. And reckoning in with them their energies, such as heat, cold, moisture, and dryness they exactly reflect the Ogdoad. Next, they enumerate ten powers, thus: Seven circular bodies which they also call heavens, then a circle encompassing these which they call the Eighth Heaven and besides these, the Sun and Moon.<sup>10</sup> And these making up

<sup>1</sup> εἰς δόκληρον. Because the decad is a "perfect" number.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπισημπλέκοντες καὶ δεκαπλασιάζοντες.

<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἀνω οἰκονομίας. The word can here mean nothing else.

<sup>4</sup> α = 1, β 2, γ 3, δ 4, ε 5, ζ 7, η 8, θ 9, ι 10, κ 20, λ 30 = 99.

<sup>5</sup> Because the Episcemon has no τύπος.

<sup>6</sup> στοιχείων here used for "character."

<sup>7</sup> ΛΛ = Μ.

<sup>8</sup> ὀστέρημα; the usual Gnostic name for the Void.

<sup>9</sup> This section passes over Irenaeus' refutation of the last, and forms the beginning of the Nth Chap. (p. 164, 11.).

<sup>10</sup> There must be some mistake here, as the Sun and Moon were included among the seven planetary heavens.

the number 10, they declare to be the image of the invisible decad which is from Logos and Zoe. And (they say) that the dodecad is revealed through the circle called the Zodiac. For they declare that the twelve most evident signs shadow forth the dodecad which is the daughter of Anthropos and Ecclesia. And since they say the highest heaven has been linked to the ascension of the universals, the swiftest in existence, which (heaven) weighs down upon the sphere itself, and counterbalances by its own weight the swiftness of the others, so that in thirty years it completes the cycle from sign to sign—this they declare to be the image of Horos encircling their thirty-named Mother.<sup>1</sup>

Again the Moon traversing the heavens completely in 30 days, typifies (they say) by these days the number of the Aeons. And the Sun completing his journey and terminating his cyclical return to his former place in 12 months shows forth the Dodecad. And that the days themselves, since they are measured by 12 hours, are a type of the mighty<sup>2</sup> Ogdoad. And also that the perimeter of the Zodiacal circle has 360 degrees and that each Zodiacal sign has 30. Thus by means of the circle, they say, the image of the connection of the 12 with the 30 is observed. And again also they imagine that the earth is divided into 12 climates, and that each several climate receives a single power from the heavens immediately above it<sup>3</sup> and produces children of the same essence with the power sending down [this influence] by emanation [which is they say] a type of the Dodecad on high.

55. And besides this, they say that the Demiurge of the Ogdoad on high,<sup>4</sup> wishing to imitate the Boundless and Everlasting and Unconfined and Timeless One and not being able to form a model of His stability and permanence, because he was himself the fruit of the Hysterema, was forced to place in it for rendering it eternal, times and seasons and numbers, thinking that by the multitude of

<sup>1</sup> Not of course the Egyptian god, but the Gnostic "Limit" or Cross. The passage is not very clear.

<sup>2</sup> Irenaeus has *φανερῆς*, "radiant," and the text *κερῆς*, "empty"; Irenaeus' Latin version "*non apparentes*" or invisible. Probably *μεγάλης* was the original word.

<sup>3</sup> *κατὰ καθέτερον*. Macmahon thinks this refers to the position of the sun, which is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Irenaeus omits the words "of the Ogdoad."

times he was imitating the Boundless One. But they declare that in this the truth having escaped him, he followed the false; and that therefore when the times are fulfilled, his work will be dissolved.<sup>1</sup>

56. These things, then, those who are from the school of Valentinus declare concerning Creation and the Universe, every time producing something newer<sup>2</sup> (than the last). And they consider this to be fructification, if any one similarly discovering something greater appears to work wonders. And finding in each case from the Scriptures something accordant with the aforesaid numbers, they prate of Moses and the Prophets, imagining them to declare allegorically the dimensions of the Acons. Which things it does not seem to me expedient to explain as they are senseless and inconsistent, and already the blessed elder Irenæus has marvellously and painfully refuted their doctrines. From whom also [we have taken] their so-called discoveries and have shown that they, having appropriated these things from (the) trifling<sup>3</sup> of the Pythagorean philosophy and the astrologies, accuse Christ of having handed them down. But since I consider that their senseless doctrines have been sufficiently set forth, and that it has been already proved whose disciples Marcus and Colarbasus<sup>4</sup> by becoming the successors of the school of Valentinus (really) are, let us see also what Basilides says.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *κατάλυσιν λαβεῖν*, "recite dissolution."

<sup>2</sup> *καινότερα*. The text has *κενότερα*, "more inane."

<sup>3</sup> *περιεργίας*, "bye-work."

<sup>4</sup> *Κολάρβασος*. The name which is repeated by Tertullian, Philaster and Theodoret can be traced back to the single passage in Irenæus, where it appears in connection with the name *Σιγή* as "the Sige of Colarbasus." A German commentator long since suggested that it was not the name of a brother heretic or follower of Marcus, but a corruption of the words *קול ארבע* *Qol-Arba*, or the "Voice of the Four," and this seems now generally accepted. As most if not all of Marcus' pretended revelations are said to have been dictated to him by an apparition of the Supreme Tetrads, he may well have called the book in which they were written and which seems to have been known to Irenæus, by some such name.

<sup>5</sup> It seems needless to point out that the whole of these chapters dealing with the real or supposed successors of Valentinus is taken direct from Irenæus, and that they have no relation to any other author.

## BOOK VII

## BASILIDES, SATURNILUS, AND OTHERS

1. THESE are the contents of the 7th (Book) of the *Refutation of All Heresies*.

2. What is the opinion of Basilides, and that he, having been struck with the doctrines of Aristotle, constructed his heresy from them.

3. And what things Saturnilus, who flourished at the same time as Basilides, says.

4. How Menander set himself to declare that the world came into being by angels.

5. What was the madness of Marcion, and that his doctrine is neither new nor (taken) from the Holy Scriptures, but comes from Empedocles.

6. How Carpocrates talks foolishness, and thinks existing things to have been produced by angels.

7. That Cerinthus in no way framed his opinion from Scripture, but out of the teachings of the Egyptians.

p 334- 8. What are the Ebionites' opinions, and that they prefer to cleave to the Jewish customs.

9. How Theodotus also erred, having borrowed some things from the Ebionites [but others from the Gnostics].

10. And what was taught by Cerdo, who both declared things (taken) from Empedocles and wickedly put forward Marcion.

11. And how Lucian, becoming a disciple of Marcion, did not blush to blaspheme God.

12. Of whom Apelles becoming a disciple, did not teach the same things as (the rest of) the school, but being moved by the doctrines of the physicists, supposed an essence for the universe.

1. *About Basilides.*<sup>1</sup>

13 Seeing that the doctrines of the heretics are like a p. 335.  
sea lashed into waves by the force of the winds, their

<sup>1</sup> Of the Basilides with whose doctrines this book opens, little is known. While some would on slender grounds make him a Syrian, there is no doubt that he taught in Egypt and especially in Alexandria, where he seems to have steeped himself in Greek philosophy. This must have been during the reign of Hadrian and some time before the appearance of the far greater heresiarch Valentinus. If we could believe the testimony of Epiphanius, Basilides was a fellow-disciple with Saturnilus, to be presently mentioned, of Menander, the immediate successor of Simon Magus; and, according to the more trustworthy witness of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, VII, 17), he himself claimed to be the disciple of Glaucias, "the interpreter" of St. Peter. He had a son Isidore who shared his teaching, and he wrote a treatise in twenty-four books on the Gospels which he called *Exegetica*. The sect that he founded, although never popular, lingered for some time in Egypt; but there is much probability in Matter's conjecture (*Hist. crit. du Gnost.*, 2nd ed., III, 36), that most of his followers became the hearers of Valentinus.

Our author's account of Basilides' doctrine at first sight differs so widely from that given by Irenæus and his copyists that it was for long supposed that the two accounts were irreconcilable. The late Prof. Hort, however, in his lucid article on the subject in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* showed with much skill that this was not so, and that the Basilidian doctrine contained in our text is in all probability that of the *Exegetica* itself, while the teaching attributed to Basilides by Irenæus and others was the same doctrine largely corrupted by the inconsistent and incoherent superstitions which invariably attach themselves to any faith propagated in secret. The immediate source of Basilides' own teaching cannot, up to the present time, be satisfactorily traced; but, although its coping-stone, the non-existent Deity, shows some likeness to the Buddhistic ideas which were at any rate known in the Alexandria of his time (Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, I, 15), it is probable that among the relics of the ancient Egyptian religion, then almost extinct, something of the same idea might have been found. His obligation to the Stoic philosophy is well brought out by Hort; and he was doubtless versed in the dialectical methods of Aristotle, which, then as later, formed the universal equipment of the student of philosophy. Hippolytus' theory that the ground-work of the Basilidian ælifice is a conscious or unconscious borrowing from Aristotle derives no support from any Aristotelian writings known to us. Unlike other Gnostics, Basilides displays no animus towards the Jews beyond reducing their Deity to the Ruler of the Hebdomad, or lowest spiritual world, and he accepts as fully as possible the Divinity of Jesus and the authority of the New Testament. Of the Docetism attributed to him by Irenæus and others, there is here no trace, and the Bishop of Lyons' statement on this point can only be explained by supposing that he here confused Basilides with some other heresiarch.

hearers ought to sail through them in quest of the calm harbour. For such a sea is both wild and hard to over-

The distinctive features of Basilides' teaching as disclosed in our text are, however, plain enough. Rejecting all idea of a pre-existing matter, he derives everything from the Supreme Being, whom he considers to be so unspeakably and inconceivably great that he will not even say of Him that He exists. He it is who from the first decreed not only the foundation of the universe but also the means and agency by which this is to be brought about. Nor do the apparent defects in its constitution involve in Basilides' system any thwarting of the Divine Will by intermediate agents, or any lapse from duty on their part. All things subsequent to the Supreme Being are in effect His children, and from the Panspermia or Seed-Mass originally let fall by Him emerges the First Sonhood, or purest part of the Sonhood, which, rising from the heap by its own lightness and tenuity, springs upward into the presence of the First Cause, where it remains for the purpose of giving light when needed to the lower parts of creation. This is quickly followed by the Second Sonhood (or Second Part of the Sonhood), which, emerging in like manner, rises not from its own unaided power, but with the assistance of the Boundary Spirit, who must have its origin in the Seed-Mass, and who is left as the Boundary between the visible and the invisible part of the universe when the Second Sonhood passes to the Ogdoad or Eighth Heaven. This Eighth Heaven is under the sway of the Great Ruler, a functionary emitted by the Seed-Mass for the purpose of governing this abode of perfection, from which it may be inferred that the Second Sonhood like the First ultimately returns to the presence of the Supreme Being. In his organization of this Eighth Heaven, the Great Ruler is much helped by the Son whom he calls forth from the Seed-Mass, who is expressly stated to be greater and wiser than his own Father.

There remains in the Seed-Mass two other world-creating powers. The first of these is the maker of the Seven Heavens or Hebdomad, which can here hardly be the planets, because they are expressly said to be sublunary. He, too, produces from the Seed-Mass a Son greater and wiser than himself, who again, it may be supposed, assists his father in the organization of this Hebdomad. What form this organization took we are not told, although there is some talk of 365 beings who are all "Dominions and Powers and Authorities" with a ruler called Habrasax. Below this Hebdomad, however, comes this world of ours called the "Formlessness," which has, it is said, "no leader nor guardian nor demiurge" (*i.e.* architect), everything happening in it as decreed by the Supreme Being from the first. Yet this Formlessness contains within it the Third Sonhood (or third part of the Sonhood) whose mission is apparently to guide the souls of men to the place for which they are predestined, which it does by imparting to them some of its own nature. Then, when the time came for the Coming of the Saviour, a light shining from the highest heavens was transmitted through the intermediate places to the Son of the Hebdomad and fell upon "Jesus the son of Mary," and He after the Passion ascended like the two first parts of the Sonhood to the Divine Presence. In due time the third part of the Sonhood will, it is said, follow Him. When this

pass, as the Siciian (sea) is said to be, wherein are fabled to be Cyclops and Charybdis and Scylla and . . . the Sirens' rock.<sup>1</sup> Which sea the Greek poets make out that Odysseus sailed through, skilfully availing himself of the terror of those fierce beasts: for their cruelty to those sailing among them was notorious. But the Sirens, singing clearly and musically for the beguiling of those sailing past, persuaded with their sweet voices those who listened to approach them. And they say that Odysseus, hearing this, stopped with wax his companions' ears, but having had himself bound to the mast sailed without danger past the Sirens while listening to their song. Which I advise those who meet with them to do, and either having on account of weakness stopped their ears with wax to sail through the teachings of the heretics without listening to what, like the shrill song of the Sirens, might easily persuade them to

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happens, the soul predestined to the Seven Heavens will pass thither, those more enlightened will be admitted to the Eighth Heaven, and those entitled to the most glorious destiny of all will probably ascend with the third part of the Sonhood to the Highest. On the two inferior classes, there will then fall the "Great Ignorance," a merciful oblivion which will prevent them from remembering or otherwise being troubled in their beatitude by the knowledge of the still better things above them.

How the salvation of these souls is to be effected there is no indication in Hippolytus, and he leaves us in entire doubt as to whether Basilides allowed any free-will to man in the matter. It is probable that he taught the doctrine of transmigration as a means of purification from sins or faults committed in ignorance. But it is several times asserted that he looked on suffering as a cleansing process for the soul, and that he did not admit the existence of evil (see Hort's article on Basilides in *D. C. B.*, I, pp. 274, 275 for references). About some of his teaching there was deliberate concealment (*ibid.*, p. 279), and Irenaeus (I, xxiv. 6), tells us that his followers were taught to declare that while they were "no longer Jews" they were "not yet" (or perhaps "more than") Christians. In this we may perhaps see the influence of the rubrics of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, and the beginning of that secret propagation of religion which was to find its ripest fruit in Manichaeism. For the rest, although Irenaeus (I, xxiv. 5) tells us that Basilides, like Simon, Valentinus, and other Gnostics, taught that the body of Jesus was a phantasm, and even that Simon of Cyrene had been crucified in His stead, there appears no trace of this in our text, and it is possible that the Bishop of Lyons is here again confusing Basilides' doctrines with those of his successors.

<sup>1</sup> ὄρος, "hill"; possibly a copyist's error for ὄρος, "boundary" or "shore."

pleasure; or else to bind themselves to the Cross of Christ, hearkening faithfully (to Him) and (thus) not to be harassed, being persuaded (only) by Him to whom they  
 p. 336. are bound and standing upright.<sup>1</sup>

14. Since now we have set forth in the six Books before this, the (opinions) which have gone before, it seems now that we should not keep silent about those of Basilides which are those of Aristotle the Stagirite, and not of Christ. But although the doctrines of Aristotle have been before expounded, we shall not shrink from now setting them forth in epitome, so that the teacher by their closer comparison may readily perceive that the sophisms of Basilides are those of Aristotle.

15. Aristotle, then, divides being<sup>2</sup> into three. For one part of it is genus, another, as he says, species,<sup>3</sup> and another something undivided.<sup>4</sup> But the atom is so called, not because of the smallness of its body, but because by its nature  
 p. 337. it can in no way be cut. But the genus is, as it were, a heap composed of many different seeds. From which heap-resembling genus, all the species of existent things are severed;<sup>5</sup> and it is (one) genus which is sufficient for all things which have come into being. In order that this may be clear, I will point out an example whereby the whole theory of the Peripatetic can be retraced.

16. Let us say that there exists simply "animal,"<sup>6</sup> not any particular animal. This "animal" is neither ox, nor horse, nor man, nor god, nor anything else that can anyhow be apparent, but simply "animal." From this "animal" the species of all animals have their substance.<sup>7</sup> And the undifferentiated<sup>8</sup> "animal" is the substance of the animals who have been produced in species<sup>9</sup> but is yet none of

<sup>1</sup> This exordium was evidently intended to be spoken.

<sup>2</sup> οὐσία, Cruice and others translate this by "substance." Here it evidently means "essence" in the sense of "being."

<sup>3</sup> εἶδος, i. e. appearance = that which is seen.

<sup>4</sup> ἄτομος, "which cannot be cut or divided," = "atom."

<sup>5</sup> ἀναδιζασθαι τομήν, "receive cutting."

<sup>6</sup> ζῷον ἀπλῶς. See Aristotle, *Categor.*, c. 3. The "living creature" of the A. V. would here make better sense; but I keep the word "animal" in the text out of respect for my predecessors.

<sup>7</sup> ὑπόστασις, literally *substantia*, with no meaning as has οὐσία of "being." See Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 275.

<sup>8</sup> ἀνείδωρον, "abstract," or "non-specific"?

<sup>9</sup> εἶδωρον.



them. For an animal is man, who takes his beginning from that "animal," and an animal is horse who does likewise. The horse and ox and dog and each of the other animals takes its beginning from the simple "animal" which is none of them. p. 338.

17. But if that "animal" is not one of these, (then) the substance of the things which have been produced has, according to Aristotle, come into being from the things which are not: for the "animal" whence these have severally received it is not one (of them). But, while being none (of them), it has become the one beginning of things which are. But who it is who has sent down this beginning<sup>1</sup> of the things which have been produced later, we shall see when we come to its proper place.

18. Since the threefold essence is, as he says, genus, species and atom, and we have granted<sup>2</sup> "animal" to be genus, and man to be species already differentiated from the multitude of animals, but at the same time commingled with them and not yet transformed into a species of substantial being,<sup>3</sup>—I, when I give form to the man taken apart from the genus, call him by the name of Socrates or of Diogenes or any one of the many names (there are), p. 339. and when I (thus) restrict with a name the man who from genus has become species, I call such being an individual.<sup>4</sup> For the genus is divided into species and the species into an atom; but the atom when restricted by a name cannot by its nature be divided into anything else, as we have divided each of the things aforesaid.

This Aristotle calls essence in its first, chief, and strictest sense, nor is it said of any subject nor as existing in any subject.<sup>5</sup> But he speaks of the subject as if it were genus when he said "animal" of all the animals severally ranged under it, such as an ox, a horse, and the

<sup>1</sup> The text has ταύτην . . . [τὴν οὐσίαν], the words in brackets being rightly deleted, as Cruice notes.

<sup>2</sup> ἐθέμεθα, "posited."

<sup>3</sup> εἰς εἶδος οὐσίας ὑποστατικῆς, which shows the distinction made by the author between οὐσία and ὑπόστασις.

<sup>4</sup> ἄτομον, "undivided."

<sup>5</sup> The text is here corrupt and has to be restored from Aristotle's, the word I have translated "essence" being as before οὐσία while subject is ὑποκειμένον. Cf. Aristotle *Cat.*, c. 5, and *Metaphysics*, IV, c. 8.

rest, describing them by a common name. For it is true to say that man is an animal, and a horse is an animal and an ox is an animal and all the rest. This is subjective, the one (name) being likewise capable of being said of many and different species.<sup>1</sup> For neither a horse nor an ox differs from man *quæ* animal; for the definition of animal fits all the aforesaid animals alike. For what is an animal? If we define it, a common definition will include all the animals. For an animal is a living,<sup>2</sup> feeling being, such as a man, a horse and all the rest. But, "in the Subject," he says, is that which exists in anything, not as part of it, but as being incapable of existing apart from that wherein it is, (and is) each<sup>3</sup> of the accidents of being. The which is called Quality because by it we say *what* certain things are, as, for instance, white, green, black, just, unjust, prudent and such like. But none of these (qualities) can come into being by itself, but must needs be in<sup>4</sup> something. But, if neither the "animal," which is the word I use for all living beings taken severally, nor the "accidents" which are found to occur in all of them, can come into being of themselves, then from those things which do not exist, the individual things<sup>5</sup> are developed and the triply-divided essence is not compounded<sup>6</sup> from other things. Hence Being<sup>7</sup> so called in its first and chiefest and strictest sense, exists according to Aristotle from those things which do not exist.<sup>8</sup>

19. About Being<sup>9</sup> then enough has been said. But Being is called not only genus, species and individual; but also matter, form and privation. But there is no difference among these while the division stands. And Being being

<sup>1</sup> Or "of many animals although they differ in species."

<sup>2</sup> ζῆψυχος, "animated" or "ensouled."

<sup>3</sup> ἑκάστων [sic]. One of the accidents would make better sense. Cf. vol. I, p. 56 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. "inherent."

<sup>5</sup> τὰ ἄτομα.

<sup>6</sup> συμπληρωῦται.

<sup>7</sup> οὐσία, which here as elsewhere in the text may be translated "essence." "Being," perhaps, is better here as more familiar to the English reader.

<sup>8</sup> These definitions of "accident" and the like are not to be found in the *Categories* of Aristotle as we have them in the work known as the *Organon*, nor in any other of his extant works. But they correspond with those given in Book VI, and are there attributed to Pythagoras. Cf. p. 21 *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> οὐσία throughout.

such as it is, the ordering of the cosmos came about automatically in the same way. The cosmos is according to Aristotle divided into many [and different] parts; [and] the part of the cosmos which exists from the earth as far as the moon is without providence or governance and has its rise only in its own nature. But that which is beyond the moon, is ordered with all order and providence and is (so) governed up to the surface of heaven. But the (same) surface is a certain fifth essence renewed from all the elements of nature wherefrom the cosmos is made up, and this is Aristotle's "Quintessence," being as it were a hypercosmic essence. And his system of philosophy is divided so as to agree with the division of the cosmos. For p. 342 there is by him a treatise on physics called *Acroasis*, wherein he has treated of the doings of Nature, not of Providence, from the Earth to the Moon. And there is also his *Metaphysics*, another special work thus entitled, concerning the things which take place beyond the Moon. And there is also his work *On the Quintessence*, wherein he theologizes.<sup>1</sup> Like this also is the division of the universals as they are defined by type in Aristotle's philosophy. But his work *On the Soul* is puzzling; for it would be impossible in three whole books to say what Aristotle thinks about the soul. For what he gives as the definition of the soul is easy to say; but what is explained by the definition is hard to find. For, he says, the soul is an entelechy of the physical organism. What this is would need many words and great enquiry. But the God who is the cause of all these fair beings is one, even to one speculating for a very long time, more p. 343 difficult to be known than is the soul. Yet the definition which Aristotle gives of God, is not hard to be known, but impossible to be understood. For He, he says, is a conception of conception which is altogether non-existent. But the cosmos is according to Aristotle imperishable and eternal; for it contains nothing faulty and is governed by Nature and Providence. And Aristotle has not only put forth books on Nature and the Cosmos and Providence and God,<sup>2</sup> but there is also a certain treatise by him on ethics which is called *The Ethical Books* wherein he builds

<sup>1</sup> That is, makes fables or myths about the gods.

<sup>2</sup> Macmahon remarks that these must be among Aristotle's lost works. This is doubtful.

up a good ethics for his hearers out of a poor one. If, then, Basilides be found not only potentially but in the very words and names to have transferred the doctrines of Aristotle to our evangelical and soul-saving teaching, what remains but by restoring these extraneous matters to their (proper) authors to prove to Basilides' disciples that, as they are heathenish, Christ will profit them nothing?

- P. 344. 20. Now Basilides and Isidore, Basilides' true son and disciple, say that Matthias recounted to them secret<sup>1</sup> discourses which he had heard from the Saviour in private teaching.<sup>2</sup> We see then how plainly Basilides together with Isidore and their whole band belie not only Matthias but also the Saviour. There was, he says, [a time] when Nothing was, not even the nothing of existing things, but baldly and unreservedly and without any sophism, nothing at all. But when I say, says he, that [this] *was*, I do not say that this existed, but I speak thus to signify what I wish to indicate. I say then that nothing at all existed. For, says he, that which is named is plainly not ineffable; for at any rate we call one thing ineffable, but another not ineffable. For truly that which is not even ineffable is not named ineffable, but is, he says, above every name which is named. For neither are there names enough for the cosmos, he says, so diverse is it, but there is a lack of them. Nor do
- P. 345. I undertake, says he, to find proper names for everything; but one must silently understand in the mind not their names, but the properties of the things named. For identity of names has made confusion and error concerning things<sup>3</sup> among those who hear them. And they who first made this appropriation and theft from the Peripatetic lead astray the folly of those who herd with them. For Aristotle who was born many generations earlier than Basilides, was the first to set forth in the *Categories* a system of homonyms which these men expound as their own and as a novelty [derived] from the secret discourses of Matthias.

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκρύφους. Is Matthias a corruption of Glaucias? See n. on p. 59 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Basilides and his son must therefore have been contemporaries of the Apostles. Even if we treat the word ἀπ' αὐτοῦ here as a copyist's interpolation, it is evident that Basilides must have been considerably anterior in time to Valentinus.

<sup>3</sup> πράγματων, "transactions."

21. When nothing [existed], neither matter, nor essence, nor the simple nor the compound, nor [that which is conceived by the mind] nor that which cannot be [so] conceived, [nor that which is perceived by the senses]<sup>1</sup> nor that which cannot be [so] perceived, nor man, nor angel nor God, nor generally any of the things which are named or apprehended by sensation, or of things<sup>2</sup> which can be conceived by the mind but can be thus and even more p. 346. minutely described by all:—(then) [the] God-who-was-Not—whom Aristotle calls Concept of Concept, but (Basilides) Him-who-is-Not, without conception, perception, counsel, choice, passion or desire willed to create a cosmos. But I say (only) for the sake of clearness, says he, that He willed. I signify that he did this without will or conception or perception; and [the] cosmos was not that which later became established in its expanse and diversity,<sup>3</sup> but a Seed of a cosmos. And the Seed of the cosmos contained all things within itself, as the grain of mustard (seed) collects into the smallest space and contains within itself all things at once:—the roots, stem, branches and the numberless leaves, with the seeds begotten by the plant, and often again those grown by many other plants. Thus the God-who-was-Not made the cosmos from things which were not,<sup>4</sup> casting down and planting<sup>5</sup> a certain single seed containing within p. 347. itself the whole seed-mass<sup>6</sup> of the cosmos. But in order that I may make clearer what these (men) say, it was even as an egg of some gorgeous and parti-coloured bird such as a peacock or some other yet more variegated and many-coloured, contains within it, though one, many patterns<sup>7</sup> of multiform and many-coloured and diversely-constructed beings<sup>8</sup>—so, says he, the non-existent seed of the cosmos

<sup>1</sup> The words in this sentence in square brackets are emendations in the text made by different editors.

<sup>2</sup> πραγμάτων, as in last note but one.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ πλάτος καὶ διάρκειον.

<sup>4</sup> Basilides is thus the first Gnostic to teach the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*.

<sup>5</sup> ὑποστήσας. Cf. the legend of Cybele, Vol. I, p. 118, n. 1 *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> πανσπερμίαν. The word is found in the fragments of Anaxagoras and Democritus as well as in Plato. Its use has been revived by Darwin and Weissmann.

<sup>7</sup> ιδέαις.

<sup>8</sup> οὐσιῶν. Nothing is here got by translating the word "substances."

cast down by the God-who-was-Not contained (a Seed-mass), at once multiform and (the source) of many beings.<sup>1</sup>

p 348. 22. All things, then, which are to be described, and those which not having yet been discovered must be left out of the account, were destined to be fitted for the cosmos which was to come into being at the proper time by the help given to it by such and so great a God, whose quality<sup>2</sup> the creature can neither conceive nor define. And these things existed stored within the seed, as, in a new-born child, we see teeth and the power of fatherhood and brains accrue later; and those things which belong to the man but do not at first exist, evolve gradually out of the child. For it would be impossible to say that any projection by the God-who-was-Not became something non-existent,—since Basilides entirely shuns and has in horror [the notion of] substances of things begotten [arising] by way of projection.<sup>3</sup> For what, says he, is the need of projection or of any sub-structure of matter in order that God may fashion a cosmos as the spider makes webs, or mortal man takes brass or wood or some other portion of matter to work with?—But He spoke, says he, and it came to pass; and this is, as these [heretics] say, what Moses spake:—"Let there be light and there was light."<sup>4</sup> Whence, says he, came the light? From nothing. For it is not written says he, whence it came, but only that it came forth from the word of the speaker. For the speaker, says he, was not, nor did that which was spoken [formerly] exist. The seed of the cosmos, he says, came into being from non-existent things [and this seed is] the word which was spoken: "Let there be light." And this, says he, is the saying in the Gospels: "This is the true light which lighteneth every man who cometh into the world."<sup>5</sup> It takes its beginnings<sup>6</sup> from that seed and gives light. This is the seed which contains within itself all

<sup>1</sup> πολυούσιον. Galen uses it as equivalent to "very wealthy."

<sup>2</sup> ὁποιόν. As in Aristotle, *Cate.*, c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> This with Hippolytus' interpolated remark emphasizes the great difference between Basilides' doctrine with its assertion of the creation *ex nihilo* and the emanation theory of all other Gnostics. It does away with the necessity for a pre-existent matter.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. 1. 3.

<sup>5</sup> John 1. 9. This and "Mine hour is not yet come" are the only undoubted references to the Fourth Gospel made by Basilides.

<sup>6</sup> ἀρχάς.

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the Seed-Mass which Aristotle says is the genus divided into boundless species, since we divide from the non-existent animal ox, horse [and] man. Further, of the underlying cosmic seed, they say, "whatever I may say came into being after this, seek not to know whence it came." For it contained all seeds stored and shut up within itself, as it were things which were not, but which were foreordained to exist by the God-who-was-Not.

Let us see then what they say came into being in the first, second or third place from the cosmic seed. There existed (Basilides) says within the seed itself, a Sonhood, threefold throughout, of the same essence<sup>1</sup> with the God-who-was-Not and begotten of the things that were not. Of this triple divided Sonhood, one part was subtle, (one coarse) and one wanting purification. Now the subtle (part) straightway and as it became the first emission of the seed by the One-who-was-Not, escaped and ascended and went on high from below with the speed described by the poet—

"like wing or thought,"<sup>2</sup>

and came, he says, before the One-who-was-Not. For towards him every nature strains on account of his exceeding beauty and bloom,<sup>3</sup> but each differently. But the coarser part still remaining in the seed, although resembling the other,<sup>4</sup> could not go on high, for it lacked the fineness of division which the ascending Sonhood had of itself, and was (therefore) left behind. Then the coarser Sonhood wings itself with some such wing as that wherewith Plato,

<sup>1</sup> *δμοούσιος*. The first occurrence, so far as it can be traced, of this too-famous word. If I am right, the interpretation of *οὐσία* by "substance" came later. The nature of the Sonhood (*Υἱότης*, Lat., *filietas*, which I translate "Sonhood" by analogy with *paternitas* = Fatherhood) is peculiar to Basilides, the idea being apparently that within the Panspermia was concealed a germ which was more closely related to its Divine Parent than the rest. The same idea *mutatis mutandis* reappears in Weissmann's theory of the germ-plasm.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, VII, 36.

<sup>3</sup> *δι' ὑπερβολὴν κάλλους καὶ ὡραιότητος*. The longing of all nature for something higher is also mentioned in the Book on the Ophites (See Book V, Vol. I, pp. 123, 140 *supra*). The phrase was evidently a favourite one with Hippolytus, and he therefore uses it in regard to several heresies, as he has done with the magnet simile.

<sup>4</sup> *μιμητικὴ τις οὐσα*, "being an imitative thing."

Aristotle's teacher, equips the soul in the *Phaedrus*,<sup>1</sup> and Basilides calls the same not a wing but Holy Spirit, clothed wherewith the Sonhood both gives and receives benefit. It gives it because a bird's wing taken by itself and severed from the bird would neither become uplifted nor high in air, nor would the bird be uplifted and high in air if deprived of the wing. This then is the relation which the Sonhood bears to the Spirit and the Spirit to the Sonhood. For the Sonhood borne aloft by the Spirit as by a wing bears aloft the wing, (that is the Spirit) and draws nigh to the subtler Sonhood and to the God-who-was-Not and fashions all things from the non-existent. But [the Spirit] cannot abide with the Sonhood for it is not of the same essence,<sup>2</sup> nor has it the same nature as the Sonhood. But just as dry and pure air is naturally fatal to fishes, so naturally to the Holy Spirit was that place, more ineffable than the ineffable ones and higher than all names, which is the seat at once of the God-who-was-Not and of the [first] Sonhood. Therefore the Sonhood left the Spirit near that blessed place which cannot be conceived nor characterized<sup>3</sup> by any speech, [yet] not altogether alone nor [completely] severed from the Sonhood. For just as when a sweet perfume is poured into a jar, even if the jar is carefully emptied a certain fragrance of the perfume still remains and is left behind, and although the perfume be removed from the jar, the jar retains the fragrance, but not the perfume—so the Holy Spirit remained bereft of and severed from the Sonhood. And this is the saying: "As the perfume on Aaron's head ran down to his beard."<sup>4</sup> This is the savour carried down by the Holy Spirit from on high into the Formlessness<sup>5</sup> and Space of this world of ours, whence the Sonhood first went on high as on the wings of an eagle and borne on his loins. For

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus*, cc. 55, 56.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμοούσιον.

<sup>3</sup> χαρακτηρισθῆναι.

<sup>4</sup> I's. cxxxiii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> ἀμορφίας καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς. The ἀμορφία corresponds exactly to the Chaos of the other Gnostics, as contrasted with the Cosmos or ordered world which in this case is above it. In it, as we see later (p. 356 Cr.) there is neither "leader nor guardian nor demiurge," and everything happens by predestination. The διάστημα we have already met with in the teaching of Simon Magus (p. 261 Cr.). Although in classical Greek it means an "interval," it is here evidently intended to signify something uncultivated, or, as we should say, a "waste."



all things, he says, strain upward from below, from the worse to the better. But there is thus nothing of those things which are among the better which is immovable, so that it cannot come below. But the third Sonhood, he says, which is in need of purification, remains in the great heap of the Seed-mass giving and receiving benefits. And in what manner it does this, we shall see later in the fitting place.<sup>1</sup>

23. Now when the first and second ascensions of the Sonhood<sup>2</sup> had come to pass, and the Holy Spirit remained by itself in the way described, being set midway between the hypercosmic firmaments and the cosmos—for Basilides divides the things that are into two first made and primary divisions, one of which is called by him an ordered world,<sup>3</sup> and the other hypercosmic things—and between these two [he places] the Boundary Spirit,<sup>4</sup> which same is at once Holy and holds abiding in it the savour of the Sonhood, it being the firmament which is above the heaven.<sup>5</sup> [When these ascensions had taken place], there escaped from and was engendered from the cosmical seed and the Seed-mass, the Great Ruler, the head of the cosmos, a certain beauty and greatness and power which cannot be spoken.<sup>6</sup> For he is, says [Basilides], more ineffable than the ineffable ones, mightier than the mighty, and better than all the fair ones you can describe. He, when engendered, burst through, soared aloft, and was borne right up on high as far as the firmament, but stayed there thinking that the firmament was the end of all ascension and uplifting and not imagining that there was anything at all beyond this. And he became wiser, mightier, more

p. 353.

p. 354.

<sup>1</sup> It gives benefit by passing into the souls of certain chosen men and thus enabling them to obtain the highest beatitude. It receives it by thus purifying itself and so working out in turn its own salvation.

<sup>2</sup> He evidently regards the three persons of the Sonhood as one being.

<sup>3</sup> "Cosmos."

<sup>4</sup> τὸ Μεθόριον Πνεῦμα.

<sup>5</sup> The likeness of this to the Egyptian Horus who was at once the sky-god and the ruler of the sublunary world, whose earthly representative was the Pharaoh, is manifest. So, too, is its connection with Horos, the Limit, of the Pleroma in Book VI.

<sup>6</sup> So in the *Pistis Sophia* the great ruler of the material world is only spoken of as the Great Propator or Forefather, but his personal name is never mentioned. The word Ἄρχων here applied to this power is never used by later Gnostics except in a bad sense.

eminent, and more luminous and everything which you can describe as excelling in beauty all the other cosmic things which lay before him, save only the Sonhood left behind in the Seed-mass. For he knew not that [this Sonhood] was wiser and mightier and better than he. Therefore he deemed himself Lord and King<sup>1</sup> and wise architect, and set about the creation in detail<sup>2</sup> of the ordered world. And in the first place he did not think it meet for him to be alone, but created for himself and engendered from the things which lay below him a Son much better and wiser than himself. For all this the God-who-was-Not had fore-ordained when he let fall the Seed-mass. When, therefore, [the Great Ruler] beheld his Son, he wondered, and was filled with love and astounded: for so [splendid] did the beauty of the son appear to the Great Ruler. And the Ruler seated him at his right hand. This is what is called by Basilides the Ogdoad where sits the Great Ruler. Then the Great Wise Demiurge fashioned the whole of the heavenly, that is, the aethereal creation. But the Son begotten by him set it working and established it, being much wiser than the Demiurge himself.<sup>3</sup>

p. 355

24. This [creation] is according to Aristotle, the "entelechy"<sup>4</sup> of the organic natural body, the soul activating the body, without which the body can effect nothing, a something greater and more manifest and wiser than the body. The theory therefore which Aristotle first taught regarding the soul and the body, Basilides explained as referring to the Great Ruler and his so-called son. For the Ruler according to Basilides begat a son; and Aristotle says that the soul is an entelechy, the work and result<sup>5</sup> of the organic natural body. As, then, the entelechy controls the body, so the son, according to Basilides, controls the more ineffable God of the Ineffables. All things soever

<sup>1</sup> *δεσπότης* = autocrat or ruler having unlimited power.

<sup>2</sup> *καθ' ἑαυτὰ*.

<sup>3</sup> This idea of a Power bringing into being a son greater than himself seems peculiar to Basilides among Gnostic teachers. Its origin may, perhaps, be sought among Pagan religions like the Greek worship of Isis. See *Forerunners*, I, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> This *ἐντελέχεια* or Quintessence Aristotle defines (*Metaphys.*, X, 9, 2) as actuality or the property of a thing *in posse* which lends to its motion or activity *in esse*.

<sup>5</sup> *ἐντελέχεια*. The word is much used in astrology.

then which are in the aether up to the Moon are foreseen and controlled by the majesty<sup>1</sup> of the Great Ruler; for here [*i.e.* at the Moon] the air is divided from the aether. Now when all aethereal things had been set in order, yet another Ruler ascends from the Seed-Mass, greater than all the things which are below him, save only the Sonhood which is left behind, but much inferior to the first Ruler. And this one is called by them "able to be named."<sup>2</sup> And his place is called Hebdomad, and he is the controller and Demiurge of all things lying below him, and he has created to himself from the Seed-Mass a Son who is more foreseeing and wiser than he in the same way as has been said about the first [Ruler]. And in this space,<sup>3</sup> he says, are the heap and the Seed-Mass, and events naturally happen as they were (ordained) to be produced in advance by Him who has calculated that which will come to pass and when and what and how it will be.<sup>4</sup> And of these there is no leader nor guardian nor demiurge. For that calculation which the Non-Existent One made when he created them suffices for them. p. 356.

25. When, then, according to them, the whole cosmos and the hypercosmic things were completed, and nothing was lacking, there still remained in the Seed-Mass the third Sonhood which had been left behind to give and receive benefits in the Seed. And the Sonhood left behind had to be revealed and again established on high above the Boundary Spirit in the presence of the subtler Sonhood and the one that resembles it and the Non-Existent One, as, says he, it is written, "All creation groans and is in travail in expectation of the revelation of the sons of God."<sup>5</sup> We spiritual men, he say, left here below for the arrangement and perfect formation and rectification and completion of the souls which by nature have to remain in this [Middle] Space, are the "sons [of God]." "Now p. 357.

<sup>1</sup> *μεγαλειότητος*. The word is post-classical and used in its modern sense as an epithet of the Emperor in Byzantine times. Cf. LXX, Jer. xxxiii. 9; Luke ix. 43; Acts xix. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *ῥητός* as opposed to *ἄρητος*, "ineffable."

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, our world.

<sup>4</sup> *ὡς φθάσαντα τεχθῆναι ὀπὸ τοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα γενέσθαι ὅτε δεῖ καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ λελογισμένον*. The reading is very uncertain. Cf. Cruice, p. 356 nn. 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 22.

from Adam to Moses sin reigned"<sup>1</sup> as it is written. For the Great Ruler reigned who held sway up to the firmament, thinking that he alone was God, and that there was nothing higher than he. For all things were kept hidden in silence. This, says he, is the mystery which was not known to the earlier generations; but in those times the King and Lord, as it seemed to him, of the universals was the Great Ruler, the Ogdoad. Yet of this [Middle] Space p. 358. the Hebdomad was King and Lord, and the Ogdoad is ineffable but the Hebdomad may be named. This Ruler of the Hebdomad, says he, it was who spoke to Moses, saying, "I am the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the name of God was not made known to them:"<sup>2</sup> for thus they will have it to have been written—that is to say [the name] of the Ineffable Ogdoad, Ruler, God. All the prophets therefore who were before the Saviour, spoke from that place.<sup>3</sup> When then, he says, the sons of God had to be revealed to us, about whom, he says, creation groaned and travailed in expectation of the revelation, the Gospel came into the cosmos and passed through every Dominion<sup>4</sup> and Authority and Lordship and every name which is named. And it came indeed, although nothing descended from on high, nor did the Blessed Sonhood come forth from that Incomprehensible and Blessed God-who-was-Not. But as the Indian naphtha, when only kindled from afar off, takes fire, so from the Formlessness of the heap below do p. 359. the powers of the Sonhood extend upward. For as if he were something of naphtha, the son of the Great Ruler of the Ogdoad catches and receives the concepts from the Blessed Sonhood which is beyond the Holy Spirit. For the Power in the midst of the Holy Spirit in the Boundary of the Sonhood distributes the rushing and flowing concepts to the Son of the Great Ruler.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 13, 14. In the Greek not ἀμαρτία as in the text, but θάνατος, "death."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Exod. vi. 2, 3. Basilides has twisted the last sentence, "By my name Jehovah was I not known to them," as Hippolytus notes.

<sup>3</sup> *Incipit*, i. e. from the Hebdomad. Cruice will have it from the Ogdoad, but is clearly wrong.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀρχή, "Rule." Cf. Milton's "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers."

<sup>5</sup> The simile of the vapour of naphtha rising and catching fire from a light above it is apt. As Prof. A. S. Peake points out in his article

26. Therefore the Gospel came first from the Sonhood, he says to the Ruler, through his Son who sits beside him, and the Ruler learned that he was not the God of the universals, but was a generated [being] and had above him the outstretched Treasurehouse of the Ineffable and Unnameable God-who-was-Not and of the Sonhood.<sup>1</sup> And he was astounded and terrified when he perceived in what ignorance he had been, and this, says [Basilides] is the saying: "The fear of [the] Lord is the beginning of wisdom."<sup>2</sup> For he began to be wise when instructed by the Christ seated beside him, and learned what was the Non-Existent One, what the Sonhood, what the Holy Spirit, and what was the constitution<sup>3</sup> of the universals and how these will be restored.<sup>4</sup> This is the wisdom spoken of p. 360 in mystery, as to which, says he, the Scripture declares: "Not in the words taught by human wisdom, but in the teachings of [the] Spirit."<sup>5</sup> Then, says he, the Ruler when he had been instructed and made to fear, confessed thoroughly the sin he had committed in magnifying himself. This, says he, is the saying: "I acknowledge my sin and I know my transgression; upon this I will make full confession for ever."<sup>6</sup>

Now when the Great Ruler had been instructed, and every creature of the Ogdoad had been taught and had learned, and the mystery had been made known to those above the heavens, it was still necessary that the Gospel should come to the Hebdomad also, so that the Ruler of the Hebdomad might be instructed in like manner and be evangelized.<sup>7</sup> The Son of the Great Ruler [therefore]

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on "Basilides" in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, Basilides throughout his system asserts in opposition to Gnostics like Valentinus that salvation comes from the uplifting of the lower powers rather than by the degradation of the higher.

<sup>1</sup> There are many conjectural readings of this passage, for which see Cruice.

<sup>2</sup> Prov. i. 7. So Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, II, 8, 36), who clearly quotes this passage from Basilides.

<sup>3</sup> κατασκευή. Cf. LXX, Gen. i. 1.

<sup>4</sup> ἀποκαταστάθῃσεται. This Apocatastasis, or return of the worlds to the Deity from whom they came forth, is a favourite source of speculation with all Gnostics.

<sup>5</sup> I Cor. ii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> A conflation of Ps. xxxii. 5, and Ps. li. 3.

<sup>7</sup> εὐαγγελισθήσεται, "have the good news announced to him"?

- enlightened the Son of the Ruler of the Hebdomad, having caught the light which he had from the Sonhood on high, and the Son of the Ruler of the Hebdomad was enlightened, and the Gospel was announced to the Ruler of the Hebdomad, and he in like manner as has been said was both terrified and made confession. When then all things in the
- p. 361. Hebdomad had been enlightened, and the Gospel had been announced to them—for according to them, the creatures belonging to these spaces are boundless and are Dominions and Powers and Authorities, concerning whom they have a very long story told by many [authors]. [And] they imagine that there are there 365 heavens, and Habrasax is their Great Ruler, because his name comprises the cipher 365, wherefore the year consists of that number of days<sup>1</sup>—but when, says he, these things had come to pass, it was still necessary that our Formlessness should be enlightened and that the mystery unknown to the earlier generations should be revealed to the Sonhood left behind in the Formlessness as if he were an abortion. As, says he, it is written: “By revelation was made known to me the mystery;”<sup>2</sup> and again, “I heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for man to utter.”<sup>3</sup> [Thus] the light came down from the
- p. 362. Hebdomad, which had come down from the Ogdoad on high to the Son of the Hebdomad, upon Jesus the son of Mary, and He, having caught it, was enlightened by the light shining upon Him.<sup>4</sup> This, says he, is the saying:—“The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,” [that is], that which passed from the Sonhood through the Boundary Spirit into the Ogdoad and Hebdomad down to Mary, “and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee,”<sup>5</sup> [that is] the power of the unction<sup>6</sup> from the Height of the Demiurge on high unto the creation which is of the Son. But, he

<sup>1</sup> It is the words in brackets which connect the system of the text with that attributed to Basilides by Irenæus and Epiphanius. Cf. Iren., I, xxiv. 5, pp. 202, 203, and n. 6, II., and Epiph., *Haer.*, XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. iii. 3, 5.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> As at the Baptism in Jordan where, according to the almost universal tradition, the water was lighted up.

<sup>5</sup> Luke i. 35.

<sup>6</sup> *δυναμὶς τῆς χριστοῦ*. Thus in Cruice. Miller would read *κρίστω*, and Roeser *Ὁυδοῖδος*. Perhaps the correct reading is *χριστός*, according to the idea common to nearly all Gnostics that the Christos only came upon Jesus at His Baptism.

says, up till that [time] the cosmos was thus constituted, until [the time] when the whole Sonhood left behind in the formlessness to benefit souls and [itself] to receive benefits should be transformed and follow Jesus, and should go on high and come forth purified, and should become most subtle as it might do by ascension like the First [Sonhood]. For it possesses all the power of attaching itself naturally to the light which shines downward from on high.

27. When therefore, he says, every Sonhood shall have come [forth] and shall be established above the Boundary Spirit, the creation shall then receive pity. For up till now, p. 363. he says it wails and is tortured and awaits the revelation of the sons of God, so that all the men of the Sonhood shall ascend from this place. When this shall have come to pass, he says, God shall bring upon the whole cosmos the Great Ignorance, so that all things shall remain as they are by nature, and none shall desire any of those things beyond [its] nature. For all the souls of this space which possess a nature enabling them to remain immortal in this [space] alone, will remain convinced that there is nothing different from nor better than this [space]. Nor will any tidings or knowledge of higher things abide in those below, so that the lower souls shall not be tormented by yearning after the impossible, as if a fish should desire to feed with the sheep on the hills. For, says he, such a desire should it happen to them<sup>1</sup> would be [their] destruction. Therefore, he says, all things which remain in their own place are imperishable; but perishable if they wish to overleap and rise above [the limits] of their nature. Thus the Ruler of the Hebdomad will know nothing of the things above him. For the Great Ignorance will lay hold of him, so that grief and pain and p. 364. sighing will stand off from him, for he will neither desire anything impossible nor will he grieve. And in like manner this Ignorance will lay hold of the Great Ruler of the Ogdoad, and similarly all the creatures subject to him, so that none of them shall grieve and mourn for anything outside his own nature. And this shall be the Restoration of all things established according to nature in the seed of the universals at the beginning, but they shall be restored [each] in their proper season. But [to prove] that everything has its proper season, it is enough to mention the

<sup>1</sup> *dyvero* ἄν.

saying of the Saviour:—"Mine hour is not yet come"<sup>1</sup> and the Magi observing the star. For, says [Basilides] He himself was foretold by the nativity<sup>2</sup> of the stars and of the return of the hours into the great heap. This is according to them, the spiritual inner man conceived in the natural man—which is the Sonhood who leaves the soul, not to die but to remain as it is by nature, just as the first Sonhood<sup>3</sup> left the Holy Spirit which is the Boundary in its appropriate place and then did on his own special soul.<sup>4</sup>

In order that we may omit nothing of their [doctrines], I will set forth what they say also about (a) Gospel.<sup>5</sup> Gospel is according to them the knowledge of hypercosmic things, as has been made plain, which the Great Ruler<sup>6</sup> did not understand. When then there was manifested to him what are the Holy Spirit that is the Boundary, and the Sonhood and the God-who-is-Not the cause of all these, he rejoiced at the words and exulted,<sup>7</sup> and this according to them is the Gospel. But Jesus according to them was born as we have before said. And He having come into being by the Birth before explained, all those things likewise came to pass with regard to the Saviour as it is written in the Gospels. And these things came to pass [Basilides] says, so that Jesus might become the first-fruits of the sorting-out of the things of the Confusion.<sup>8</sup> For when the Cosmos was divided into an Ogdoad which is the head of the whole ordered world, [the head whereof is] the Great Ruler, and into a Hebdomad which is the head of the Hebdomad, the

<sup>1</sup> John ii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ γένεσιν, "configuration" or "geniture." The proper word for a theme or horoscope.

<sup>3</sup> It was the Second and not the First Sonhood who left the Holy Spirit at the Boundary.

<sup>4</sup> It is plain from this that Basilides taught that the most spiritual part of man's soul was part of the Sonhood and that it was separated from the rest at death. This is confirmed by what is said later about what happened after the Passion.

<sup>5</sup> Εὐαγγέλιον = "good news"? The article is omitted in both these sentences.

<sup>6</sup> He of the Ogdoad.

<sup>7</sup> ἡγαλλιάσατο, a kind of pun on 'Εὐαγγέλιον, "glad tidings."

<sup>8</sup> Ἰσὶ ἀπαρχῇ τῆς φυλοκριτήσεως γίνηται τῶν συγκεχυμένων. So Clem. Alex. (*Strom.*, II., 8, 36), quoting from the "followers of Basilides," says that the Great Ruler's fear became the ἀρχὴ τῆς σοφίας φυλοκριτητικῆς, "the origin of the wisdom which discriminates."



Demiurge of the things below him, and into this space of p. 366  
 ours, which is the Formlessness, it was necessary that the  
 things of the Confusion should be sorted out by the  
 discrimination of Jesus.

That which was His bodily part<sup>1</sup> which was from the  
 Formlessness, therefore suffered<sup>2</sup> and returned to the Form-  
 lessness. And that which was His psychic part which was  
 from the Hebdomad also returned to the Hebdomad. But  
 that which was peculiar to the Height of the Great Ruler  
 ascended and remained with the Great Ruler. And He  
 bore aloft as far as the Boundary Spirit that which was from  
 the Boundary Spirit and it remained with the Boundary  
 Spirit. But the third Sonhood which had been left behind  
 to give and receive benefits was purified by Him, and  
 traversing all these places went on high to the Blessed  
 Sonhood.<sup>3</sup> For this is the whole theory,<sup>4</sup> as it were a Con-  
 fusion of the Seed-Mass and the discrimination [into classes]  
 and the Restoration of the things confused into their proper  
 places. Therefore Jesus became the firstfruits of the dis-  
 crimination, and the Passion came to pass for no other  
 reason than this discrimination.<sup>5</sup> For in this manner, he  
 says, all the Sonhood left behind in the Formlessness to  
 give and receive benefits separated into its components in p. 367.  
 the same way as [the person] of Jesus was separated. This  
 is what Basilides fables after having lingered in Egypt, and  
 having learned from them [of Egypt] such great wisdom, he  
 brought forth such fruits.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> σωματικὸν μέρος.

<sup>2</sup> This flatly contradicts the story attributed to Basilides by Irenæus to the effect that Simon of Cyrene took His place on the Cross. It has long been thought likely that Irenæus was here confusing Basilides with his contemporary Saturninus.

<sup>3</sup> So in the *Pistis Sophia*, the incorporeal part of man is said to consist of four parts.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπόθεσις.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς χάρις γέγονεν (ἦ) ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλοκρινηθῆναι τὰ συγκεχυμένα.

<sup>6</sup> As has been said, there appears no reason to doubt that Hippolytus took his account of Basilides' doctrines directly from the works of that heresiarch or of his son Isidore. The likeness of the quotations from Basilides or "those about Basilides" in Clement of Alexandria—a far more accurate and critical writer than Hippolytus—to our text leave no doubt on this point, and it is even probable that, as Hort thought, most of Hippolytus' information is gathered from Basilides' *Exegetica*. His account of the universe and its creation is largely Stoic, as may be seen

2. *Satornilus*.<sup>1</sup>

28. And a certain Satornilus who flourished at the same time as Basilides, but passed his life in Antioch of Syria, taught the same things as Menander.<sup>2</sup> He says that one father exists unknown to all, who made Angels, Archangels, Powers [and] Authorities. And that from a certain seven angels the cosmos and all things therein came into being. And that man was [the] creation of angels, there having  
 p. 368. appeared on high from the Absolute One<sup>3</sup> a shining image which they could not detain, says Saturnilus, because of its immediate return on high. [Wherefore] they exhorted one another, saying: "Let us make man according to image

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by a comparison of this chapter with that on the Universe in Prof. E. V. Arnold's excellent *Roman Stoicism* (Cambridge, 1911); but he differs from all the Pagan philosophy of his time by his view of matter which he makes neither pre-existent nor malignant. In this, and in the "happy ending" to his drama of the universe, we may perhaps see the result of the Golden Age of the Antonines, and it is to this, perhaps, that he owed the influence that he, without any great followers or successors, had upon the future theology of orthodox and heretic alike. Many of his ideas, and even a few of his very words, appear in documents like the later parts of the *Pistis Sophia*, and in certain Manichean writings, although the strict monotheism which distinguishes them is in sharp contrast with the dualism of his successors. This begets a doubt whether these last were conscious borrowers of his opinion, or whether both he and they took their doctrines from some common source of Eastern tradition not now recognizable; but on the whole, the first-named hypothesis seems the more probable.

<sup>1</sup> *Σατορνείλος*. So Epiph., *Haer.* XXIII, and Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.*, I, 3, spell the name. Iren., I, 22; Eusebius, *H. E.*, IV, 7, and later writers spell it *Σατορνίνος*. All these accounts, however, together with that in our text, are in effect copies of the chapter in Iren., which is the earliest in time that has remained to us. Salmon in *D. C. B.*, s. v. "Saturninus," thinks that this last is itself copied from Justin Martyr, which is likely enough, but remains without proof.

<sup>2</sup> Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXIII, p. 124, Oehl. adds to this that Saturninus and Basilides were co-disciples, which, if true, would connect their systems with Menander's teacher, Simon Magus. Nothing further is, however, known about Saturnilus or Saturninus or his heresy, which Epiphanius makes the third after Christ, nor is there any mention in any of the heresiologies of any writings by him. His story of a First or Pattern Man made in the image of the Supreme Being is common, as has been said, to many of the early heresies, and reappears in Manichaeism. It is probably to be referred to some tradition current in Western Asia. See Bousset's *Hauptprobleme des Gnosis*, cap. "Der Urmensch."

<sup>3</sup> τῆς αὐθεντίας, "one who holds absolute rule." *Summa potestas*, Cr.

and resemblance."<sup>1</sup> Which, he says, having come to pass, the image could not stand upright by reason of the lack of power among the angels, but grovelled like a worm. Then the Power on high having pity on it, because it had come into being in his likeness, sent forth a spark of life which raised up the man and made him live.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, says he, the spark of life returns at death to its own kindred and the rest of [man's] compound parts is resolved into its original elements.<sup>3</sup> And he supposed the unknown Father<sup>4</sup> to be unbegotten, bodiless, and formless. But he says that He showed Himself as a phantom in human shape, and that the God of the Jews is one of the angels. And, because the Father wished to depose all the angels, Christ came for the putting-down of the God of the Jews and for the salvation of those who believe on him; and that these [believers] have the spark of life within them. For he says that two p. 369. races of men were formed by the angels, one bad and one good. And that since the demons help the bad, the Saviour came for the destruction of the bad men and denions, but for the salvation of the good. And he says that to marry and beget [children] is from Satan. Many of this man's adherents abstain from things that have had life, through this pretended abstinence (leading astray many).<sup>5</sup> And they say that the Prophecies were uttered, some by the world-creators, some by Satan whom he supposes to be an angel who works against the world-creators and especially (against) the God of the Jews.<sup>6</sup> Thus then Saturnilus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. i. 26.

<sup>2</sup> This story is also met with among the Ophites. See Iren. (I, xxx. 5), where life is given to the grovelling figure by Jaldabaoth, the chief of the seven powers. Epiphanius adds to it that the world-makers divided the cosmos among them by lot, and that it was a spark of his own Power that the "Power on high" sent down for the vivification of the First Man, "which spark, he says, they fancy to be the human soul."

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο, εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἀναλύεσθαι.

<sup>4</sup> So Miller. Theodoret has Σωτήρα, "Saviour," for Father.

<sup>5</sup> Words in ( ) restored from Epiphanius.

<sup>6</sup> No necessary mistake or confusion, as has been thought. The "deposition" might be merely that of an unsuccessful general, as in Manichæism.

3. Concerning Marcion.<sup>1</sup>

p. 370. 29. Marcion of Pontus, much madder than these, passing over many opinions of the majority and pressing on to the more shameless, supposed that there were two principles of the All,<sup>2</sup> one good and the other bad. And he, thinking that he was bringing in some new [doctrine], manufactured a school filled with folly and of Cynic life, being himself a lewd one.<sup>3</sup> He thought that the multitude would not notice that he chanced to be a disciple not of Christ, but of Empedocles, who was very much earlier, and he laid down and taught that there were two causes of the All, [*i. e.*] Strife and Love.<sup>4</sup> For what says Empedocles on the conduct of the cosmos? If we have said it before,<sup>5</sup> yet I

<sup>1</sup> Marcion of Pontus was the heresiarch most dreaded by the Antenicene Fathers, and is said to have led away from the Primitive Church a greater number of adherents than any teacher of that age, with the doubtful exception of Valentinus. He also differed from all other heretics of the time in setting up a Church fully equipped with bishops, priests, and deacons over against the Catholic, and in seeing that his followers openly avowed their faith in times of persecution. He rejected the Old Testament entirely, and reduced the New to a shorter edition of the Gospel of St. Luke and ten of the Epistles of St. Paul. This has led to his heresy receiving more attention than any other of its contemporaries at the hands of modern scholars, especially in Germany. Hence it is to be regretted that the chapter in our text which is devoted to him adds nothing to our knowledge of his history or tenets, while its statement that Marcion called the Demiurge *κακοῦργός* (wicked) shows either that Hippolytus was ignorant of Marcion's opinions, or that he misread his authority. The first is the more likely theory, as his master Irenæus gives a more scanty account of Marcion than of any other heretic, while promising to write a special treatise against him. This intention does not seem to have been carried out, and it is probable that while the Marcionite heresy flourished at an early date in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, it had too slight a hold in the West to have given such writers as Irenæus and Hippolytus much first-hand knowledge concerning it. It is also noted that in the so-called "epitome of heresies" in Book X, Hippolytus does not, after his manner with the other heresies, quote from this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *τοῦ παντός*. This expression, as has been many times said above, means the universe without the Void. It does not therefore, exclude the collateral existence of Chaos or unformed matter.

<sup>3</sup> This accusation of incontinence against Marcion is disproved by Tertullian, *de Præscript*, c. 30. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, 206, n. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *φιλία*, Cr., "*Amicitia*," Macm., "Friendship." The stronger word Love seems to express better Hippolytus' meaning. It is, of course, distinct from the *ἀγάπη* or "charity" of the A.V.

<sup>5</sup> He refers to the scanty account of Empedocles' doctrines in Book I, *g. v.*

will not now keep silence, if only for the sake of comparing the heresy of this plagiarist<sup>1</sup> [with the source]. He says p. 371. that all the elements of which the cosmos was compounded and consists are six, to wit:—two material, [viz.] Air and Water; two instruments, whereby the material elements are arranged<sup>2</sup> and changed about, [viz.] Fire and Air; and two which work with the instruments and fashion matter, [viz.] Strife and Love. He says something like this:—

Hear first the four roots of all things:  
 Shining Zeus and life-bearing Here and Aïdoneus.  
 And Nestis who wets with tears the source of mortals.<sup>3</sup>

Zeus is fire and life-bearing Here the earth which bears fruits for the support of life. But Aïdoneus is the air, because while beholding all things through it, it alone we do not see. And Nestis is water, since it is the only vehicle of food, and therefore the becoming cause of all growing things,<sup>4</sup> yet cannot nourish them by itself. For if it could so give nourishment, he says, living things<sup>5</sup> could never die of hunger, for there is always abundance of water in the cosmos.<sup>6</sup> Whence he calls water Nestis, because it is a becoming cause of nourishment, yet cannot itself nourish growing things. These things then are, to sum them up in outline, those which comprise the foundation<sup>7</sup> of the cosmos [*i. e.*] water and Earth from which all things come, Fire and Spirit<sup>8</sup> the tools and agents, and Strife and Love p. 372. which fashion all things with skill. And Love is a certain peace and even mindedness and natural affection,<sup>9</sup> which determines that the cosmos shall be perfect and complete; but Strife ever rends asunder that which is one and divides it and makes many things out of one. Therefore the

<sup>1</sup> κλεψιδόγος, "word-stealer."

<sup>2</sup> κοσμεῖται, "set in order."

<sup>3</sup> κρούνημα βρότειον, ll. 55-57, Karsten; 33-35, Stein. Cr. translates these words *humanam scaturiginem*, and Macm., "the mortal font." It is difficult to assign any meaning to them in the absence of the context.

<sup>4</sup> τρεφομένοις, "things in course of nurture."

<sup>5</sup> ζῷα, "animals."

<sup>6</sup> He appears to ignore the desert, or perhaps thinks this no part of the *ordered* world.

<sup>7</sup> ὑπόθεσις, lit., "substructure."

<sup>8</sup> πνεῦμα, a manifest slip for Ἄη as before.

<sup>9</sup> στοργή, as in the N.T.

cause of the whole creation is Strife, which [cause] he calls baneful, that is deadly.<sup>1</sup> For it takes care that through every aeon, its creation persists. And Strife the deadly is the Demiurge and maker of all things which have come into being by birth; but Love, of their leading-forth from the cosmos and transformation and return to unity.<sup>2</sup> Concerning which, Empedocles [says] that there are two immortal and unbegotten things which have never yet had a source of existence. He speaks, however, somehow like this:—

For it was aforesaid and will be; never, I ween,  
Will the unquenchable aeon lack these two.<sup>3</sup>

p. 373. But what are these two? Strife and Love. For they had no source of existence, but pre-existed and ever were, being through their unbegotten nature incorruptible. But Fire [and Water] and Earth and Air die and again come to life. For when the things which have come into being through Strife die, Love takes them and leads them and adds and attaches them to the All,<sup>4</sup> so that the All may remain *One*, being ever marshalled by Love in one fashion and form. Yet when Love creates the One from many things, and arranges the things which have been scattered in the One, Strife again rends them away from the One, and makes them [into] many, that is, Fire, Water, Earth [and] Air, whence are produced animals and plants and whatever parts of the cosmos we perceive. And concerning the form<sup>5</sup> of the cosmos as ordered by Love, he speaks somehow like this:—

p. 374. For not from the back do two arms<sup>6</sup> spring  
Nor feet nor active knees, nor hairy genitals.  
But it was a sphere and everywhere alike.<sup>7</sup>

Such things [does] Love, and turns out the most beautiful form of the world as One from many; but Strife rends

<sup>1</sup> ὀλέθριον.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸ ἐν ἀποκαταστάσεως. The Codex has τὸν ἕνα. That the meaning is as given above, see p. 373 Cr., where we find *ἐκ πολλῶν ποιῆσθαι τὸ ἐν κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>3</sup> ll. 110, 111, Stein. In p. 274 Cr., *supra*, these lines are quoted as the opinions of "the Pythagoreans."

<sup>4</sup> τὸ πᾶν, not τὸ ὅλον. See n. on I, p. 35 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> βίαι, "species"; so Cruice.

<sup>6</sup> κλάδοι, lit., "branches."

<sup>7</sup> ll. 107, 205, Karsten.

gradually from that One the principle of its arrangement, and again makes it [into] many. This is what Empedocles says of his own birth :—

Of whom I also am now a fugitive and an exile from the gods.<sup>1</sup>

That is, he calls the One divine, and says that the unity formerly existing in the One was rent asunder by Strife and came into being in these many things, existing according to Strife's ordering. For, says he, Strife is the furious and troublous and unresting Demiurge of this cosmos, whose [fashioner] Empedocles calls it. For this is the judgment p. 375- and compulsion of the souls which Strife rends away from the One and fashions and works up, which process [Empedocles] describes somehow like this :—

Who having sinned swore falsely  
And demons are allotted long-drawn out life.<sup>2</sup>

calling the long-lived souls "demons" because they are immortal and live through long ages.

For three myriad seasons they wandered from the blessed,<sup>3</sup>

calling "blessed" those whom Love has made from the many into the oneness of the intelligible<sup>4</sup> cosmos. Therefore, says [Empedocles] they wandered

Putting on in time all mortal forms<sup>5</sup>  
Interchanging the hard ways of life.<sup>6</sup>

p. 376.

He says that the transmigrations and transmutations of the souls into bodies are "hard ways." This is what he says :—

Interchanging the hard ways of life.

For [the souls pass from body to body] being changed about and punished by Strife and are not allowed to remain in

<sup>1</sup> l. 7, Karsten ; 381, Stein.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 4, Karsten ; 372, 373, Stein.

<sup>3</sup> l. 5, Karsten ; 374, Stein.

<sup>4</sup> νοητός, "that which can be understood by the mind rather than by the senses."

<sup>5</sup> εἶδη θνητῶν, "forms of mortals."

<sup>6</sup> ll. 6, Karsten ; 375, 376, Stein.

the One, but are punished in all punishments by Strife. This is what he says:—

For aetherial might drives souls seawards.  
And sea spits them upon Earth's surface ; and Earth into the beams  
Of the radiant Sun, and he casts them into the whirls of aether  
Each takes them from the other, but all hate them.<sup>1</sup>

p. 377. This is the punishment wherewith the Demiurge punishes, just as a smith forging iron, taking it from the fire, dips it in water. For Fire is the aether, whence the Demiurge casts the souls into the Sea ; and the Earth is the ground. Whence he says, from water to Earth, from Earth to Air. This is what he says:—

into the beams  
Of the radiant Sun, and he casts them into the whirls of aether  
Each takes them from the other, but all hate them.

Therefore, according to Empedocles, Love gathers the hated and tortured and punished souls together into this world. For [Love] is good and has pity on their wailing and the disorder and wickedness created by furious Strife. And she hastens and toils to lead them forth quickly out of the world and to settle them in the One, so that all things brought together by her may come to oneness. It is then by reason of this arrangement of this much-divided<sup>2</sup> world by deadly Strife, that Empedocles exhorts his disciples to abstain from all things which have life. For he says that the bodies of animals which are eaten are the dwellings of punished souls, and he teaches those who hear such [his] words to refrain<sup>3</sup> from companying with women, so that they may not cooperate and help in the deeds which Strife effects, ever undoing and rending asunder the work of Love.

Empedocles says that this is the greatest law of the government of the All, speaking somehow thus:—

There is a thing of Necessity, an ancient decree of the gods.  
Eternal and sealed with broad oaths.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ll. 15-19, Karsten ; 377-380, Stein.

<sup>2</sup> *μεμερισμένον*, *minutatim divisi*, Cr.

<sup>3</sup> *ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι*, "to be abstainers."

<sup>4</sup> ll. 1, 2, Karsten ; 369, 370, Stein.



thus calling Necessity the change by Strife of the One into many and that by Love of many into the One. He says, indeed, that there are four mortal gods, Fire, Water, Earth and Air; and two immortal unbegotten and enemies one to the other for ever [viz.] Strife and Love; and that Strife is ever unjust and grasping and rends asunder what belongs to Love and takes it to itself; and that Love is ever good and anxious for unity and calls back to herself and leads and makes one the things rent asunder from the All and tortured and punished in creation by the Demiurge. In some such way does Empedocles philosophize for us on the genesis of the Cosmos and its destruction and its constitution established from good and evil.

And he says that there is a certain conceivable<sup>1</sup> third power which may be conceived<sup>2</sup> from these, speaking somehow like this:—

For if having fixed these things with knowing mind<sup>3</sup>  
 You behold them favourably with pure attention  
 They all will be present with you throughout the age  
 But many others will come forth from these. For they will increase  
 Each into a habit as is the nature of each.<sup>4</sup>  
 And if you desire such other things as are among men  
 A myriad woes arise and dull the edge of care  
 Take heed lest they leave you suddenly as time rolls on.  
 Yearning to join their own beloved race  
 For know that all things have perception and an allotted share of  
 mind.<sup>5</sup>

p. 380

30. When therefore Marcion or any of his dogs shall bay against the Demiurge, bringing forward arguments from the comparison of good and evil, they should be told that neither the Apostle Paul nor Mark of the maimed finger<sup>6</sup> reported these things. For none of them is written in the

<sup>1</sup> νοητήν, as before.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπινοεῖσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Reading for ἀδιήσιν . . . πραπίδεςσιν, ἰδυήσαι πραπίδεςσιν, as in Hom., II., I., 608.

<sup>4</sup> φύσις ἐκάστω, "the nature of each one"?

<sup>5</sup> Cf. II. 313 sqq., Karsten, and 222 sqq., Stein. Schneidewin has restored the very bad text in *Philologus*, VI, 166. But the lines are still obscure—even for Empedocles. They seem to hint at a hidden meaning, to be got by study.

<sup>6</sup> κολοδάκτυλος. See *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (Cambridge), March 1855, p. 87. The story of St. Mark cutting off his thumb to make himself ineligible for the priesthood is quoted by Cruice from St. Jerome.

Gospel [according] to Mark ; [and] Marcion, having stolen them from Empedocles of Agrigentum, the son of Meto, thought until now to conceal the fact that he had taken the whole arrangement of his heresy from Sicily, [after] having transferred the actual words of Empedocles to the Gospel discourses. For now, O Marcion, since you have  
 p. 381. made antithesis<sup>1</sup> of good and evil, I also to-day, following up the teachings you have secretly borrowed<sup>2</sup> set them over against [the originals]. Thou sayest that the Demiurge of the cosmos is wicked.<sup>3</sup> Dost thou not then feel shame in teaching to the Church the words of Empedocles? Thou sayest that there is a good God who destroys the creations of the Demiurge. Dost thou not then clearly preach as good news<sup>4</sup> to thy hearers the good Love of Empedocles? Thou dost forbid marriage and the begetting of children and [lost order thy hearers] to abstain from the meats which God has created for the participation of the faithful and of those who know the truth,<sup>5</sup> having purposely forgotten that thou art teaching the purifications of Empedocles. For, following him as you truly do throughout, you teach your own disciples<sup>6</sup> to avoid meats, lest they should eat some body covering a soul punished by the Demiurge. You dissolve marriages joined by God, [thus] following the teachings of Empedocles so that you may preserve the work of Love undis severed. For marriage according to Empedocles dissevers the One and creates many as we have shown.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἀντιπαράθεσιν, "the setting over against."

<sup>2</sup> ὑπολαβάνεις. Cr. and Macm. both translate, "as you suppose them to be." But Marcion could have been in no doubt as to his own opinions.

<sup>3</sup> Marcion did not say that the Demiurge, whom he probably identified with the God of the Jews, was wicked. On the contrary, he said that he was just, though harsh. See *Forerunners*, II, xi.

<sup>4</sup> εὐαγγελίῳ.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1-5, as quoted in Book VIII, p. 422 Cr.

<sup>6</sup> Reading τοὺς σπαντοῦ μαθητάς for the τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς of the text.

<sup>7</sup> All this argument is a *petitio principii* of the most flagrant kind. There is nothing in the quotations here given from Empedocles to show that that philosopher made Love and Strife the two ἀρχαί of the universe, as Empedocles associates with them the four "elements" of Fire, Earth, Water and Air, and Ἀνάγκη or Fate seems, according to his teaching, to be superior to them all. The quotations prove, however, that Empedocles taught metempsychosis, unless Hippolytus is here con-

31. The earliest and least altered<sup>1</sup> heresy of Marcion, p. 382. comprising the mingling of good and evil, has been shown by us to be that of Empedocles. But since in our own time, a certain Prepon the Assyrian,<sup>2</sup> a Marcionite, in a book addressed to Bardesianes the Armenian, has undertaken discourses on this heresy, I will not keep silence about this either. Considering that there is a third principle, just and set between good and evil, Prepon also does not thus succeed in escaping the teaching of Empedocles. For Empedocles says that the cosmos is governed by wicked Strife, and the other conceivable [world] by Love, while between the two opposed<sup>3</sup> principles is a just Logos, by whom the things severed by Strife are brought together and are attached by Love to the One. But this same just Logos, who fights on the side of Love, Empedocles proclaims as p. 383 a Muse and invokes her to fight on his side, speaking somehow thus:—

If for creatures of a day, O deathless Muse,  
Thou art pleased to relieve our cares by thought,  
Be propitious once more to my prayer, Calliope!  
For I show forth a pious discourse of [the] blessed gods.<sup>4</sup>

Following this up, Marcion repudiates altogether our Saviour's Birth, thinking it out of the question that a creature<sup>5</sup> of destructive Strife should become the Logos

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fusing him with Pythagoras. Marcion did not, and the reason that he gave for abstinence from animal food is different from that attributed to Empedocles. The quotations themselves are much corrupted, and Hippolytus seems to have taken them from memory only, as he is careful to say that these are "something like this." All of them appear in Karsten's or Stein's collections, which were made before the discovery of our text, and are, therefore, an argument against Salmon's theory of forgery.

<sup>1</sup> καθαριωτάτη, "purest."

<sup>2</sup> This Prepon, probably a Syrian, is mentioned by no other writer except Theodoret, who doubtless borrowed from our text. The "Bardesianes" was probably the famous Bardaisan or Ibn Daisan who taught at Edessa and was a follower of Valentinus. It is noteworthy that the Armenian author, Eznig of Goghq, gives a different account of Marcion's teaching from any of the Western heresiologists and makes him admit the independent existence of a third principle in the shape of malignant matter. For this, see *Forerunners*, II, p. 217, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> διαφερούσας, "differentiated"?

<sup>4</sup> ll. 338-341, Stein. Schneidewin has restored the lines as far as is possible.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπόπλασμα, "that which has been moulded."

fighting on the side of Love, that is of the Good. But he said that without birth, in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, He came down from on high to teach in the synagogues, being between evil and good. For if He is  
 p. 384. a Mediator,<sup>1</sup> he says, He is freed from all nature of evil, for evil, as he says, is the Demiurge and all his works. But He was freed also, he says, from the nature of good, so that He might be a Mediator, as Paul says,<sup>2</sup> which he himself confessed [in the saying] "Why callest thou me good? there is one Good."

These then are Marcion's doctrines, whereby he has caused many to err by making use of the words of Empedocles and transferring the philosophy stolen from that person to his own teaching. [Thus] he has compounded a godless heresy which I think has been sufficiently refuted by us. Nor [do we think] that we have omitted anything of those who, having stolen [opinions] from the Greeks, insolently oppose the disciples of Christ, as if these last had become their teachers of these things. But since it seems to us that the opinions of this [Marcion] have been sufficiently exposed,<sup>3</sup> let us see what Carpocrates says.

p. 385.

#### 4. *Carpocrates.*<sup>4</sup>

32. Carpocrates says that the cosmos and the things which are therein, came into being by angels much below the unbegotten Father, but that Jesus was begotten by

<sup>1</sup> *Mediocris*. Not intercessor, but something placed between two others.

<sup>2</sup> Not St. Paul, but Luke xvii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> There is no indication of the source from which Hippolytus drew the material for this chapter. It does not seem to have been the writings of Irenæus, for his remarks in I, xxv tell us even less about Marcion than our text. Possibly Hippolytus was here indebted to the work of Justin Martyr, which seems to have been extant in the time of Photius. With the exception of the notice of Prepon, our text contains nothing that was not known otherwise.

<sup>4</sup> This Carpocrates, whom Epiphanius calls Carpoeras, seems to have been another of "the great Gnostics of Hadrian's time," and to have been learned in the Platonic philosophy. He is mentioned by all the heresiologists, but there is little that is distinctive about his tenets as they have come down to us, and his followers were probably few. They are accused by Irenæus, from whose chapter on the subject Hippolytus' account is condensed, of a kind of Antinomianism having its origin in the contention that all actions are indifferent.

Joseph and was born like other men, though more just than the rest. And that His soul having been born strong and pure remembered what it had seen in the sphere of the unbegotten God;<sup>1</sup> and that therefore a power was sent down to it from that [Deity], so that by its means it might escape from the world-making angels. And that this [soul]<sup>2</sup> having passed through them all and having been freed from them went on high to the presence of the unbegotten Father, and so will the souls<sup>3</sup> [go] who cleave to similar things. And they say that the soul of Jesus, although lawfully trained in Jewish customs, disdained them and therefore received the powers whereby He made of none effect<sup>4</sup> the passions attached to men for their punishment. And that therefore the soul which like that of Christ can p. 386. disdain the world-making rulers, receives in the same way power to do like things. Whence also they reach such [a pitch of] vanity as to say they are like unto Jesus, and even that they are mightier than man, and some of them more excellent than His disciples, such as Peter and Paul and the rest of the Apostles, and that they are in nothing behind Jesus. But that their souls having come from the Transcendent Authority<sup>5</sup> and therefore similarly disdaining the world-makers, are worthy of the same power [as He] and will go to the same place. But that if anyone should disdain more than He the things below, he might become more excellent than He.

They practise, then, magic arts, and incantations and [use] p. 387. philtres and love-seasts, and familiar spirits and dream-senders and other evil works, thinking that they already have authority to lord it over the rulers and makers of this world, nay even over all created in it. Who have themselves been sent forth by Satan for the dishonour<sup>6</sup> of the divine name of the Church before the Gentiles, so that men hearing in one way or another of their doctrines and

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τοῦ ἀγενήτου Θεοῦ περιφορῆ.

<sup>2</sup> χωρησάσαν can only apply to ψυχή. The return of the Power to the Deity could not be supposed to affect other souls.

<sup>3</sup> ὁμοίως. <sup>4</sup> κατήργησε.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς ὑπερκείμενης ἐξουσίας. Cruice points out that these words have slipped into the text from the margin. Irenæus has *ex eadem circumlatione devenientes*, "descending from the same sphere," which is doubtless correct.

<sup>6</sup> εἰς διαβολὴν, probably a play on δίδωλος.

thinking that we are all even as they, may turn away their ears from the preaching of the Truth, [or] beholding their deeds, may speak evil of us all.

And they consider that [their] souls will change their bodies until they have fulfilled all their transgressions; but that when nothing is left undone, they will be set free to depart to the presence of the God who is above the world-making angels, and that thus all souls will be saved. But if any anticipating matters should combine all transgressions  
 p. 388. in one advent,<sup>1</sup> they will no longer change their bodies, but as having paid all penalties at once, will be freed from further birth in a body. Some of them also brand their disciples in the back part of the lobe of the right ear. And they make<sup>2</sup> images of Christ saying that they were made [in the time] of Pilate.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5. *Cerinthus*.<sup>4</sup>

33. But a certain Cerinthus, having been trained in the schooling of the Egyptians, said that the cosmos did not come into being by the First God, but by a certain Power derived from the Authority set over the universals, which is yet ignorant of the God who is over all. And he supposed Jesus not to have been begotten from a virgin, but to have been born the son of Joseph and Mary like all other men,  
 p. 389. and to have been more wise and just than they. And that, at the Baptism, the Christ in the form of a dove descended

<sup>1</sup> ἐν μιᾷ παρουσίᾳ, "in one appearance."

<sup>2</sup> κατασκευάζουσι, "mould or cast."

<sup>3</sup> This chapter is in effect a condensation of Irenæus I, xx, which it follows closely. Hippolytus omits mention of the obscenities attributed to the sect which are hinted at by Irenæus and described fully by Epiphanius. Irenæus also mentions that they claimed to get their doctrine from the secret teaching of Jesus to the Apostles, that one Marcellina taught their heresy in Rome under Pope Anicetus, and that the images of Christ were worshipped by them, *more Gentilium*, along with those of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle. Epiphanius derives the heresy from Simon Magus. It is suggested that the branding by which they knew each other was due to a "baptism by fire."

<sup>4</sup> This chapter also is practically identical with Irenæus I, xxi, which is extant in the Latin version. Cerinthus was one of the earliest of the Gnostics and tradition makes him contemporary with St. John. He was probably a member of the Jewish-Alexandrian school of Philo, and Epiphanius (*Hæer.* XXVIII) adds to Irenæus' account that he taught in Asia, and especially in Galatia.

upon Him from the Absolute Power<sup>1</sup> which is over the universals. And that then He announced<sup>2</sup> the unknown Father and perfected His own powers; but that in the end the Christ stood away from Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose again;<sup>3</sup> but that the Christ being spiritual remained impassible.

6. *Ebionaei.*<sup>4</sup>

34. But the Ebionaei admit that the cosmos came into being by the God who is; and concerning Christ they invent<sup>5</sup> the same things as Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They live according to Jewish customs, thinking that they will be justified by the Law and saying that Jesus was justified in practising<sup>6</sup> the Law. Wherefore He was named by God Christ and Jesus, since none of them has fulfilled the Law. For if any other had practised the commandments which are in the Law, he would be the Christ. And they say it is possible for them if they do likewise to become Christs; and that He was a man like unto all [men]. p. 390.

7. *Theodotus the Byzantian.*<sup>7</sup>

35. But a certain Byzantine named Theodotus brought in a new heresy, asserting things about the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> *αὐθεντίας*, as before.

<sup>2</sup> *κηρύξας*, perhaps "preached."

<sup>3</sup> Does this amount to an admission of the resurrection of the body? If so it is in marked contrast to the Docetism of Marcion and others.

<sup>4</sup> *Ἐβιοναῖοι*, Latin [Iren.] *qui dicuntur Ebionaei*, as if they were followers of a mythical leader Ebion. The existence of any founder of this name is now generally given up, and the word is more probably a mere transliteration of the Hebrew עֲבִיּוֹן, "poor." The Ebionites were in all likelihood Judaizing Christians who had remained behind in Palestine through the wars of Titus and Hadrian, and still kept to the observance of the Mosaic Law. The brief statement in our text is probably derived from Hippolytus' recollection of Irenaeus, I, c. 21, the first sentence being in nearly the same words in both authors. Irenaeus adds to it that they used the gospel of St. Matthew only and did not consider St. Paul as an apostle, because he did not keep the Law; also that they adored Jerusalem as the "house of God."

<sup>5</sup> *μυθεύουσιν*, "fable." Irenaeus' Latin version here inserts a *non*, evidently a clerical error.

<sup>6</sup> *ποιήσαντα*, Cruice, *servare*, Macm., "fulfilled." In either case a curious meaning for *ποίη*. Cf. the *ποίη τῆν μουσικὴν* of Plato, *Phaedo*, 60. E.

<sup>7</sup> In the accounts of the two Theodoti, which may here be taken together, Hippolytus leaves Irenaeus, from whom he has hitherto been

All which partly agree with [the account of] the True Church, since he admits that all things came into being by God. But having taken<sup>1</sup> his [idea of] Christ from the school of the Gnostics and from Cerinthus and Ebion,<sup>2</sup> he considers He appeared in some such fashion as this:—Jesus was a man begotten from a virgin according to the Father's will, living the common life of all men. And having become most pious,<sup>3</sup> He at length on His baptism in Jordan received the Christ from on high, who descended in the  
 p. 391. form of a dove. Wherefore the powers within Him did not become active, until the Spirit which came down was manifested in Him, which [Spirit] declared Him to be the Christ. But some will have it that He did not become God on the descent of the Spirit; and others that [this took place] on His resurrection from the dead.

#### 8. Another Theodotus.

36. But while different enquiries were taking place among them<sup>4</sup> a certain man who was also called Theodotus, a money-changer by trade, undertook to say that a certain Melchizedek was the greatest power, and that he was greater

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content to copy his account of the smaller heresies, and draws from some source not yet identified, but which may be the *Little Labyrinth* of Caius (see Salmon in *D.C.B.*, s.v. "Theodotus."). His description of the heresy of Theodotus of Byzantium corresponds with that of Eusebius (*Ecl. Hist.*, V, 28). The Melchizedekian theory of the "other" Theodotus is mentioned by Philaster (c. 53, p. 54, Oehl.) without reference to Theodotus, although on the preceding page he has given the Byzantine heresy as in our text. Pseudo-Tertullian in *Adv. Omn. Haer.* (II, p. 764, Oehl.) gives the story of both Theodoti much as here, which may give support to the theory that this tract is a summary of the lost *Syntagma* of Hippolytus. Epiphanius (*Haer.* XXXIV, XXXV) divides the Melchizedekians from the Theodotians, and says the first were ἀνοσσοβήτες from the second, but without naming the banker. He also gives some particulars about the first Theodotus, which he does not seem to have taken from Hippolytus. He quotes one Hierax as saying that Melchizedek was the Holy Spirit, and says that "some" say that Hieracles was his father and Astaroth or Asteria his mother, while Melchizedek plays a great part in the earliest part of the *Pistis Sophia* as the "Receiver of the Light."

<sup>1</sup> ἀνοσσοβήτας, lit., "torn away."

<sup>2</sup> So that Hippolytus believed in the mythical founder of the Ebionites.

<sup>3</sup> εὐσεβέστατος.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. the heretics.



than Christ. After the image of whom they allege that Christ happened [to come]. And they like the Theodotians before mentioned say that Jesus was a man, and in the same words [declare] that the Christ descended upon Him.

But the opinions<sup>1</sup> of Gnostics are varied, and we do not p. 392. deem it worth while to recount in detail their foolish doctrines, composed of much absurdity and charged with blasphemy, the most respectable of which those Greeks who philosophized on the Divine have refuted. But one cause of the great conspiracy of these wicked ones was Nicolaus, one of the seven appointed to the diaconate by the Apostles.<sup>2</sup> He, having fallen away from the right doctrine, taught that it was indifferent how men lived and ate: whose disciples having waxed insolent, the Holy Spirit exposed in the Apocalypse as fornicators and eaters of things offered to idols.<sup>3</sup>

9. *Cerdo and Lucian.*<sup>4</sup>

37. But a certain Cerdo taking in like manner his starting-point from these [heretics] and from Simon, says that the God announced by Moses and [the] Prophets was not the p. 393. Father of Jesus Christ. For that this God was known, but the Father of the Christ unknowable; and that the first-named was [only] just, but the other, good. The doctrine of this [Cerdo] Marcion confirmed when he took in hand

<sup>1</sup> γνῶμαι.

<sup>2</sup> Acts vi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. ii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> This Cerdo is only known to us as a predecessor of Marcion, whose teaching he appears to have influenced, although in what measure cannot now be ascertained. His date seems to be fairly well settled as about the year 135 (see *D. C. B.*, s. h. v.), which is that of his coming to Rome, and it was doubtless here that Marcion met him. According to Irenæus, his teaching was mainly in secret and he was always ready to make submission to the Church and recant his errors when publicly arraigned. His doctrine, so far as it has come down to us, does not seem to differ from that of Marcion, Tertullian (*adv. Marcion*) and the tractate *Adv. Omn. Haer.* giving the best account of it. Of Lucian, we know nothing, save that, while Epiphanius (*Haer.* XLII, p. 688, Oehl.) makes him out the immediate successor of Marcion and to have been succeeded by Apelles, Tertullian (*de Resurrectione*, c. 2) speaks of him—if he be the person there referred to as Lucanus—as an independent teacher with no apparent connection with Marcion's heresy. He adds that he taught a resurrection neither of the body nor of the soul, but of some part of man which he calls a "third nature." See *Forerunners*, II, p. 218, n. 2, and 220.

the *Antitheses*<sup>1</sup> and everything which seemed to him to speak against the Demiurge of all things. And so did Lucian his disciple.

10. *Apelles*.<sup>2</sup>

38. Now Apelles who [sprang] from among these men, says thus:—There is a certain good God as Marcion supposed; but he who created all things is [only] just; and there is a third [God] who spoke to Moses, and yet a fourth, a cause of evil. And he names these angels and speaks ill of the Law and the Prophets, deeming the Scriptures of human authorship and false. And he picks out of the Gospels and Epistles the things favourable to him. Yet he clings to the discourses of a certain Philumena as the manifestations<sup>3</sup> of a prophetess. And he says that the Christ came down from the powers on high, *i. e.* from the Good One and was the son of that One, and was not begotten from a virgin, nor did He appear bodiless;<sup>4</sup> but that taking parts from every substance<sup>5</sup> of the All, He made a body, that is from hot and cold and wet and dry. And that in this body He lived unnoticed by the cosmic authorities during the time that He spent in the cosmos. And moreover that having been crucified<sup>6</sup> by the Jews He died, and after three days rose again and appeared to the disciples showing the marks

<sup>1</sup> Ἀντιπαράθεσις. See n. on p. 88 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Of this Apelles, our knowledge is mainly derived from Tertullian, for references to whom see Hort's article "Apelles" in *D. C. B.* He was certainly later than Marcion, for Rhodo (see Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, V, c. 13), writing at the end of the second century, A. D., speaks of him as still alive, though an "old man." The same author seems to consider that on Marcion's death he founded a sect of his own, in which he "corrected" Marcion's teaching in some particulars. This is doubtful, but Rhodo's statements go to show that he quoted from the Old Testament and did not hold the body of Jesus to be a phantasm. Tertullian also mentions several times the connection of Apelles with the "possessed" Philumene, on which he puts a construction negatived by the evidence of Rhodo. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, pp. 218-220.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus here accepts the statement of Tertullian (*de Præscript.*, c. 30) that Apelles wrote a book called *Φανερώσεις*, or *Manifestations*, containing the prophecies of Philumene. He repeats this with more distinctness in Book X, c. 20, *q. v.*

<sup>4</sup> ἄσκαρον.

<sup>5</sup> οὐσία.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, lit., "impaled." It is, however, used by both Philo and Lucian as equivalent to "crucified."

of the nails and [the wound] in his side, and thereby convinced them that He existed and was not a phantom but was incarnate. The flesh [Apelles] says, which He showed, He gave back to the earth whence was its substance, and He desired nothing of others, but merely used [the flesh] for a season. He gave back to each its own, having loosed again the bond of the body, *i. e.* the hot to the hot, the cold to the cold, the wet to the wet and the dry to the dry,<sup>1</sup> and thus passed to the presence of the good Father, leaving the seed of life to the world to those who believe through the disciples.<sup>2</sup>

39. It seems to us that we have set forth sufficiently these p. 395. things also. But since we have decided to leave unrefuted no doctrines taught by any [heretic], let us see what has been excogitated by the Docetae.

<sup>1</sup> This "giving back" of the component parts of man's being to the different powers from which they are derived is a frequent theme among the later Gnostics, and is fully described in the *Pistis Sophia*. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> The source of this chapter is certainly the tractate *Adv. Omn. Haer.*, formerly attributed to Tertullian and to be found in the second volume of that author's works in Oehler's edition. No other author mentions Apelles with such particularity, and all those subsequent to Tertullian appear to have taken their information either from Tertullian's other works, from this tractate, or from our text. This tractate has been discussed in the Introduction (see Vol. I, pp. 12 and 23 *supra*) and perhaps all difficulties may be solved by supposing it to be, not indeed the actual *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, but a summary of it.

## BOOK VIII

### THE DOCETAE, MONOIMUS, AND OTHERS

- P 396. 1. THESE are the contents of the 8th [Book] of the Refutation of all Heresies.
2. What are the opinions of the Docetae,<sup>1</sup> and that they teach things which they say are from the Physicist Philosophy.<sup>2</sup>
3. How Monoimus speaks foolishly, giving heed to poets and geometricians and arithmeticians.
4. How Tatian's [heresy] sprang from the opinions of

<sup>1</sup> Who these Docetae are is a puzzle. Although Cruice writes the name Δοκῆται, Salmon (*D.C.B.*, s.h.n.) gives it as Δοκίται which is, he says, the spelling adopted by both Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria. Their tenets as here described have nothing to do with the opinion that the body of Jesus existed in appearance only which we have seen current among the Simonians, Basilidians, Marcionites, and the followers of Saturninus and perhaps of Valentinus. Nor does it seem connected with any proper name such as the fictitious one of Ebion which was invented to explain to Greek ears the appellation of the Ebionites. It may be thought, perhaps, that it was a kind of nickname derived from this chapter's opening metaphor of the δόκος or "beam," but this is too far-fetched to be insisted upon. Clement is the only early author who mentions them, and then does so in a fashion (*e. g.* *Strom.*, VII, 17) which makes it fairly clear that it is those who held Docetic opinions generally so called, and not any special sect to which he is referring. He also says that Julius Cassianus, a Valentinian, was the founder of Docetism of the Simonian kind and St. Jerome (*adv. Lucifer*, 23) takes this further back by the statement that the opinion in question was current in the life-time of the Apostles. Nor is there anything novel or peculiar in the doctrines set forth in our text of the Docetae or Docetae. The image of the fig-tree with which this chapter opens is but an amplification of the "Indivisible Point" put forward earlier in our text, and there is nothing here stated which is inconsistent with the teachings of Valentinus. This will be further discussed when we come to consider the source of this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ φυσικῆς φιλοσοφίας. That is, drawn from the study of nature and natural objects such as trees and the anatomy of the eye, for which see *infra*.

Valentinus and Marcion wherefrom he compounded his own. And that Hermogenes has made use of the teachings of Socrates, not of Christ.

5. How those err who contend that Easter should be celebrated on the 14th day [of the month].

6. What is the error of the Phrygians, who think Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla to be prophets.

7. What is the vain doctrine of the Encratites, and that their teachings are compounded not out of the Holy Scriptures, but from their own [views] and from those of the Gymnosophists among the Indians.<sup>1</sup> p. 397.

### 1. *The Docetae.*

8. Since the many, making no use of the Lord's counsel, while having the beam<sup>2</sup> in their eye, yet give out that they can see, it seems to us that we should not be silent as to their doctrines. So that they, being brought to shame by our forthcoming refutation, shall recognize how the Saviour counselled them to take away the beam from their own eye, and then to see clearly the straw which was in their brother's eye. Now, therefore, having set forth sufficiently and adequately the opinions of most of the heretics in the seven books before this, we shall not now be silent upon those which follow. Exhibiting the ungrudging grace of the Holy Spirit, we shall also refute those who seem to have attained security. They call themselves Docetae and teach thus:—The first God<sup>3</sup> is as it were the seed of a fig, in size altogether of the smallest, but in power boundless, a magnitude unreckoned in quantity, lacking nothing for bringing forth, a refuge for the fearful, a covering for the naked, or veil for shame, a fruit sought for, whereto, he says, the Seeker came thrice and found not.<sup>4</sup> Wherefore, he says, He cursed the fig-tree,<sup>5</sup> so that that sweet fruit was not found p. 398.

<sup>1</sup> No further reference is made to the Indian Gymnosophists or "Brachmans," and this sentence has probably slipped in from some other part of the roll.

<sup>2</sup> *δοκός*, the "beam" of the Gospels (Cf. Matt. vii. 3, 4; Luke vi. 41, 42). Hippolytus who here resumes his habit of punning tries to connect it with *δοκεῖν*, "to seem."

<sup>3</sup> *Θεὸς εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον*. That this construction is the right one, see p. 400 Cr. and the summary in Book X, p. 496 Cr.

<sup>4</sup> The rhetorical form of this sentence should be noted.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matt. xii. 19, 20; Mark xi. 13-21; Luke xii. 7.

on it, [*i. e.*] the fruit that was sought for. And [the seed] being, so to speak briefly, of such a nature and so old [yet] small and without magnitude, the cosmos came into being from God, as they think, in some such way as this:—The branches of the tree becoming tender, put forth leaves, as is seen, and fruit follows, wherein is preserved the innumerable [and] stored-up seed of the fig. We think, therefore, that three things first come into being from the seed of the fig, the stem which is the fig-tree, leaves, and the fruit or fig, as we have before said. Thus, says he, three Aeons came into being as principles from the First Principle of the universals.<sup>1</sup> And on this, he says, Moses was not silent, when he said that the words of God were three: "Darkness, cloud and whirlwind and he added no more."<sup>2</sup> For, he says, God added nothing to the Three Aeons, but they sufficed and do suffice for all things which come into being. But God Himself abides by Himself and far removed from all the Aeons.<sup>3</sup>

When, therefore, each of these Aeons, he says, had received a principle of generation, as has been said, it little by little increased and grew great and became perfect. Now they think that the perfect number [is] ten.<sup>4</sup> Then the Aeons having come into being equal in number and perfection, as they think, they were thirty Aeons in all,<sup>5</sup> each of them being complete in a decad. But they are divided and the three having equal honour among themselves, differ in position only, because one of them is first, another second, and another third. But this position produced a difference of power. For he who is nearest to the First God—to the seed as it were—chances to have a power more fruitful than the others, he who is the

<sup>1</sup> As Salmon (*ubi cit.*) points out, in the Valentinian system, the male heads of the first three series of Aeons, *i. e.* Nous, Logos and Anthropos occupy a position corresponding to these three first "principles" or ἀρχαί. The fact that their spouses or syzygies are not here mentioned is accounted for by the statement (on p. 101 *infra*) that they are all androgynic, or as is here said "lacking nothing for generation," *i. e.* capable of production without assistance.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deut. v. 22. These words have already been quoted in the chapter on the Sethians (I, p. 165 *supra*). Although here attributed to Moses, they can hardly be taken from Deuteronomy, which describes Moses' death.

<sup>3</sup> Like the Bythos or Unknowable Father of Valentinus.

<sup>4</sup> Lit., "that the perfect being numbered is ten."

<sup>5</sup> Lit., "all the aeons were thirty."

Immeasurable One having measured himself ten times in magnitude. And the Incomprehensible One, who has become second in position to the first, comprehended himself six times. And the third in position, becoming removed to an infinite distance by reason of his brethren's dilatation, conceived<sup>1</sup> himself three times and, as it were, bound himself by a certain eternal bond of unity.<sup>2</sup>

9. And this they think is the Saviour's saying:—"The sower went forth to sow and that which fell upon good and fair ground made some 100, some 60, and some 30."<sup>3</sup> And hence, says he, He said, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," because this is not what all understand.<sup>4</sup> All these Aeons [to wit] the Three and all the boundlessly boundless ones [who come] from them, are masculo-feminine ones.<sup>5</sup> Therefore having increased and become great, and all of them being from that one first seed of their concord and unity, and all becoming together one Aeon, they all p. 401. begat from the one Virgin Mary, the begettal common to them all, a Saviour in the midst of them all,<sup>6</sup> of equal power in everything with the seed of the fig, save that He was begotten. But that first seed whence is born the fig is unbegotten. Then those three Aeons having been adorned<sup>7</sup> with all virtue and holiness, as these teachers think, all the conceivable, lacking-nothing, nature of that Only-Begotten<sup>8</sup> Son—for He alone was born to the boundless Aeons by a triple generation; for three immeasurable Aeons with one mind begot Him—was adorned also. But

<sup>1</sup> The words *μετρήσας, κατέλαβεν, νοήσας* here all seem to be equivalent to "multiplied himself," and to have been used as a play on the double sense of the other words.

<sup>2</sup> This may possibly be an allusion to the Valentinian Ilorus surrounding and guarding the Pleroma.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiii. 3, uses *δίδωμι*, "yield," for *ἐκποιεῖ* as here. Cf. Mark iv. 3, 8, *ἔσπερον*, "boyc." Luke viii. 3-5 stops short at a "hundred-fold."

<sup>4</sup> *οὐκ ἔστι πάντων ἀκούσματα*, "not the hearing of all."

<sup>5</sup> See n. on previous page.

<sup>6</sup> *τὸν μέσον αὐτῶν γέννημα κοινὸν . . . τῶν ἐν μεσότητι Σωτῆρα πάντων*. Cruice, whom Macmahon follows, would translate "a common fruit, a mediator . . . the Saviour of all those who are in meditation"; but I cannot make the sense out of the Greek. Miller, by transferring the word *Μαρίας* to a place after *μεσότητι*, would make it read "through the interposition of Mary."

<sup>7</sup> *κεκοσμημένων*, perhaps "set in order or arranged."

<sup>8</sup> *Μονογενῆς*. One of the very few instances in Gnostic literature, where the word can be thus translated rather than as "one of a kind," or Unique. The explanation in parenthesis shows that it is so intended here, but is probably of a late date.

all these conceivable and eternal things were Light; but the Light was not formless and idle, nor did it lack anything superadded to it: but it contained within itself the boundless forms of the various animals here below corresponding in number to the boundlessly boundless after the pattern of the fig-tree. And it shone from on high into the underlying chaos. And this [chaos], being at once illuminated and given form from the various forms on high, received consistence<sup>1</sup> and took all the supernal forms from the Third Aeon who had tripled himself.<sup>2</sup> But this Third Aeon, seeing all the types<sup>3</sup> that were his at once intercepted in the underlying darkness beneath, and not being ignorant of the power of the darkness and the simplicity and generosity<sup>4</sup> of the light, would not allow the shining types from on high to be drawn far down by the darkness beneath. But he subjected [the Firmament] to the Aeons. Then, having fixed it below, he divided in twain the darkness and the light.<sup>5</sup> "And he called the light which is above the firmament, Day, and the darkness he called Night."<sup>6</sup> Therefore, as I have said, when all the boundless forms of the Third Aeon were intercepted in this lowest darkness, and the impress<sup>7</sup> of that same Aeon was stamped upon it along with the rest, a living fire came from the light whence the Great Ruler came into being of whom Moses says: "In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth."<sup>8</sup> Moses says that this fiery God<sup>9</sup> spoke from the bush, that is from the darksome air, for *batos* [bush] is the whole air which underlies the darkness. But it is *batos*, says Moses according to him, because all the forms of light go from on high downwards, having the air as a passage.<sup>10</sup> And the word from the bush is no less

<sup>1</sup> πῆξις, "fixedness."

<sup>2</sup> So the part of the *Pistis Sophia* which is most plainly Valentinian, has constant allusions to *τριδυναμεις* or triple powers.

<sup>3</sup> χαρακτήρας, "impresses" or "marks."

<sup>4</sup> ἀφθονον, "devoid of envy."

<sup>5</sup> Στερώσας οὖν κάτωθεν, καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀπὸ μέσον τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ μέσον τοῦ φωτός. *Firmamentum igitur quum ab imo confirmasset, divisit per medium tenebras et per medium lucem.* Macmahon follows Cruice, but ignores the repeated ἀπὸ μέσον.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gen. i. 4-7.

<sup>7</sup> ἐκτύπωμα.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. i. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See *supra*, Vol. I. p. 128, for this fiery God, there called the Demiurge Jahlalaoth.

<sup>10</sup> A pun on *βάτος*, "bush," and *βατός*, "passable."



recognized by us. For a sound significant of speech is reverberating air, without which human speech could not be recognized. And not only does our word from the bush, that is from the air, make laws for and be a fellow-citizen with us, but also odours and colours manifest their powers to us through the air.

10. Then this fiery God—the fire born from the light—made the cosmos, as Moses says, in this manner, he being substanceless,<sup>1</sup> [and] darkness having the substance and being ever silent towards the eternal types of the light which are intercepted below.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, until the Saviour's manifestation, there was a certain great wandering of souls by reason of the God of the Light, the fiery Demiurge. For the forms are called souls, having been cooled down<sup>3</sup> from the things above and they continue in darkness to change about from body to body under the supervision of the Demiurge. And that this is so, we may know from the words of Job: "And I also am a wanderer from place to place and from house to house."<sup>4</sup> The Saviour also says: "And if you will receive it, this is the Elias who shall come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."<sup>5</sup> But by the Saviour, change of bodies has been made to cease; and faith is preached for the putting-away of transgressions.<sup>6</sup> In some such way that Only-Begotten Son beholding from on high the forms of the Aeons changing about in the darksome bodies willed to come down for their deliverance. When He saw that the multitude of Aeons could not bear to behold without ceasing the Pleroma of all the Aeons, but remained as mortals dreading corruption,<sup>7</sup> being held by the greatness and glory of power, He drew Himself together as a very great flash in a very small body, or rather, like the light of the eye

<sup>1</sup> ἀνούστατος, "not hypostatized." Cruice has "*non subsistens*."

<sup>2</sup> This seems the only construction, unless we are to consider that it is the Demiurge who wilfully ill-treats the souls.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποψυχῆσαι. A common pun between ψυχή, "soul," and ψῦχος, "cold."

<sup>4</sup> Not in the Canon. As Cruice points out, it is from some apocryphal book which puts it into the mouth of Job's wife and adds it to Job ii. 9. It is also met with in St. Chrysostom's homily, *de Statuis*.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xi. 14, 15.

<sup>6</sup> This doctrine of transmigration cannot be shown to have formed part of Valentinus' own teaching. It appears, however, among some of his followers. Cf. *Forerunners*, II, cc. 9, 10.

<sup>7</sup> A pun on φθαρτοί, "mortals," and φθορά, "corruption."

p. 405. drawn together under the eyelids, and goes forth to the heaven and the shining stars. And there He again withdraws Himself under the eyelids at His pleasure. Thus docs the light of the eye, and although it is everywhere present and is all things to us, it is invisible; but we see only the lids of the eye, the white corners, a broad membrane of many folds and fibres, a horn-like coat, and under this a berry-like pupil, both net-like and disk-like, and if there are any other coats to the light of the eye, it is enwrapped and lies hidden within them.

p. 406. Thus, he says, the Only-Begotten Son, eternal on high, did on Himself (a form) corresponding to each Aeon of the Three Aeons, and being in the triacontad of Aeons, came into the world of the Decad<sup>1</sup> being of such age and as little as we have said, invisible, unknown, without glory and not believed upon. In order then, say the Docetae,<sup>2</sup> that he might do on also the Outer Darkness which is the flesh, an angel came down with Him from on high and made announcement<sup>3</sup> to Mary as it is written, and He was born from her as it is written. And He who came from on high put on that which was born, and did all things as it is written in the Gospels; and was baptized in Jordan. And he was baptized, receiving the type and seal in the water of the body born from the Virgin, in order that when the Ruler should condemn the form which was his to death, to the Cross, that soul which had grown up within the body should strip off that body and affix it to the Tree. And thus (the soul) having triumphed by its means over the Principles and Authorities would not be found naked, but would put on that body reflected in the likeness of that flesh in the water when He was baptized. This he says, is the Saviour's saying: "Unless a man be born of water and of [the] Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens; because that which is born of the flesh is flesh."<sup>4</sup>

From the thirty Aeons, then, He did on thirty forms. Wherefore that Eternal One was thirty years on the earth,

<sup>1</sup> *εις τὸν (δέκατον) κόσμον.* Cruice would omit the *δέκατον*. It clearly, however, means the world of the Decad, Jesus having come down from the "most excellent Ogdoad."

<sup>2</sup> Evidently Hippolytus has not here any book or writing of a particular author before him, but is giving the opinion of the sect generally.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἐγγεγέλισται.* Cf. the *ἐν τοῖς Ἐδαγγελίοις* which follows.

<sup>4</sup> John iii. 5, 6. The Greek text omits *ὅτι*, "because."

every Aeon being manifested in his own year. And souls are all the forms which have been intercepted from each of the thirty Aeons, and each of them possesses a nature p. 407. capable of understanding the Jesus who exists according to nature which that Only-Begotten One from the eternal places puts on. But these places are different. Therefore so many heresies contending [with each other] about it, seek Jesus. And He is claimed<sup>1</sup> by them all, but is seen differently by each from the different places. Towards whom, he says, each [soul] is borne and hurries, thinking that she is alone. Who is indeed her kinsman and fellow-citizen. Whom she beholding for the first time recognizes as her own brother and all the rest as bastards. Those then who have their nature from the lower places cannot see the forms of the Saviour above them. But those on high, he say, from the middle Decad and the most excellent Ogdoad<sup>2</sup>—whence, say they, we are—know Jesus the Saviour not in part but wholly, and are alone the Perfect from above, while the others are only partly so.

11. I think then that this is for right-thinking persons p. 408. sufficient for the knowledge of the complicated and inconsistent heresy of the Docetae—those who attempt to make arguments about inaccessible and incomprehensible matter calling themselves thus. Certain of whom do not only *seem*<sup>3</sup> to be mad; and we have proved that the beam from such matter has entered their own eye, if they are anyhow able to see clearly; and, if not, they will be unable to blind others. Whose dogma the early sophists of Greece anticipated in many points of sophistry, as our readers will understand. These then are the teachings of the Docetae.<sup>4</sup> It seems

<sup>1</sup> *οικειός*, "peculiar to."

<sup>2</sup> This is markedly Valentinian. The Ogdoad is of course the Highest Heaven, the Decad the middle one. See n. on p. 31 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> He here puns again on *δοκεῖν*, "to seem," and *δοκός*, "beam."

<sup>4</sup> The source of this chapter can hardly have been a written book or MS. The style is distinctly that of Hippolytus himself; the passion for plays on words which he has before exhibited, but has kept under restraint while quoting from serious writers like Basilides and Valentinus, here re-umes its sway; and he adds to it a fancy for putting several nominatives in apposition without the *τοιούτοι* which he has heretofore generally employed. This, and the nature of the rhetoric all go to show that he is here quoting not from a written, but from a spoken discourse. The author of this is of course unknown to us; and Hippolytus, who may very likely have forgotten his name, gives us no clue to his identity; but it is fairly clear that he must have been a

right also that we should not keep silence as to the [teachings] of Monoimus.

## 2. *Monoimus.*

12. Monoimus the Arab<sup>1</sup> was a long way off<sup>2</sup> the glory

follower of Valentinus. The Three Aeons who went forth from the first ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄλων correspond to the Nous, Logos and Anthropos who rule over the Valentinian Ogdoad, Decad and Dodecad, and the care taken to bring the number of Aeons up to thirty practically settles this, while the existence of Horos is hinted at, and that of the Sophia is barred only by the attribution of both sexes to all the Aeons. Perhaps, however, the most striking proof of Valentinianism is the myth of all the Aeons coalescing to produce the Jesus who brings salvation, a myth which is not to be found in any other system. If the theory be accepted that Hippolytus' source for the chapter was a Valentinian sermon, the name of Julius Cassianus as its author deserves consideration. He is described by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, III, 13, sqq.) as the founder of Docetism, and as connected with the school of Valentinus, while certain Logia quoted by him appear also in the Valentinian *Excerpta Theodoti*. For other particulars about him see *D. C. B.*, s. nn. "Cassianus" and "Docetism."

<sup>1</sup> This "Monoimus Arabs" is known to no other heresiologist save Theodoret who here as elsewhere probably copied from Hippolytus. Salmon (*D. C. B.*, s. n. "Monoimus") suggests that the name may cover the Jewish appellation of Menahem, which is not unlikely. His system as here disclosed has this in common with that of the Ophites or Naassenes of Book V that both begin with a Divine Being called "Man" for no other assigned reason than that his manifestation here below is known as the Son of Man. He is not, however, here called Adamas as with the Naassenes, and the remark about his being at once father and mother is not necessarily connected with the Naassene hymn quoted on p. 140 Cr. For the rest, there is, *pace* Salmon, nothing distinctly Christian about Monoimus' doctrine, and although the passage from Colossians about the Pleroma dwelling in the Son of Man is here again introduced, the context makes it possible that this is the comment of Hippolytus rather than a direct quotation. On the other hand, Monoimus several times speaks slightly of those who believe that the Son of Man was born of a woman, and he shows a reverence for the Law and the Passover which a Christian of the second century would hardly have exhibited. His opinions seem in fact to be more pantheistic than Christian or Judaic, although as Macmahon truly remarks, his similes about the Creation are not far removed from those of Philo. His remarks about numbers have possibly been corrupted in the copy, and are unintelligible as they stand; but it is not unlikely that they cover some early Cabalistic notions and that his "Perfect Man" may be the Adam Cadmon of the Cabala.

<sup>2</sup> γρηγόρειαι μακρὰν, *longe abest*, Cruice, "was far removed," Macm.

of the great-voiced poet ; for he thinks that some such man as Oceanus existed, of whom the poet speaks somehow like this :—

Oceanus, the birth of gods and birth of man.<sup>1</sup>

p. 409.

Turning this into other words, he says that a Man is the All which is the source of the universals, [being] unbegotten, incorruptible, and eternal ; and that there is a Son of the aforesaid Man, who is begotten, and capable of suffering, being born in a timeless, unwilling, and previously undefined way. For such, says he, is the Power of that Man. And when it was so, the son of the Power came into being more quickly than reasoning or counsel. And this is, he says, the saying in the Scriptures : "He was and came into being,"<sup>2</sup> which is : Man was and his son came into being, as if one were to say : Fire was and Light came into being in a timeless, unwilling, and previously undefined way, while being at the same time fire. But this Man is a single monad, uncompounded [and] undifferentiated, [and yet] compounded [and] differentiated, loving and at peace with all things, [and yet] fighting with and at war with all things before him,<sup>3</sup> unlike and like, as it were a certain musical harmony which contains whatever one may say or leave p. 410. unsaid, showing all things and giving birth to all things. "This is Father, this is Mother, Two Immortal names."<sup>4</sup> But for the sake of an instance, conceive, he says, as the greatest image of the Perfect Man, the one title which is one title uncompounded, simple, a pure monad having no composition whatever from anything, [yet] compounded of many forms, of many parts. That undivided One, he says,

<sup>1</sup> This line does not occur in our editions of Homer. It is apparently a collation of the statement in *Il.*, XIV 201 that Oceanus is the "Father of the Gods" and that in l. 246 that he is the "Father of them all."

<sup>2</sup> *ἦν καὶ ἐγένετο*. This has been thought a quotation from St. John's opening chapter, but the parallel is not very close. As Salmon (*art. cit.*) points out, it signifies Being and Becoming.

<sup>3</sup> *πρὸς ἑαυτὴν*.

<sup>4</sup> The Naassene hymn in Vol. I, p. 120 *supra* runs : "From thee comes father and through thee mother, two immortal names, parents of Aeons, O thou citizen of heaven, man of mighty name !" It is quite possible that Hippolytus, remembering this, is merely here repeating part of it as comment and without attributing the quotation to Monoimus.

is the many-faced and myriad-eyed and myriad-named one tittle of the Iota,<sup>1</sup> which is an image of that Perfect and Invisible Man.

13. The one tittle, he says, is then the monad and a decad. For by this power of the one tittle of the Iota [are produced] also [the] dyad and triad and tetrad and pentad and hexad and heptad and ogdoad and ennead up to the ten. For these are the diversified numbers dwelling within that simple and uncompounded tittle of the

p. 411. Iota. And this is the saying:—"Because it pleased the whole Pleroma to dwell within the Son of Man bodily."<sup>2</sup> For such compounds of numbers from the simple and uncompounded one tittle of the Iota become he says bodily hypostases. Therefore, he says, the Son of Man was born from the Perfect Man, whom none know. But, he says, every creature who is ignorant of the Son, represents Him as the offspring of a woman. Of which Son some shadowy rays come very close to this world and secure and control change [of bodies and] birth. And the beauty of that Son of Man is till now unrevealed to all men who are misled as to the offspring of a woman. Nothing then of the things here come into being, he says, from that Man, nor will they ever do so; but all things that have come into being have done so not from the whole, but from some part of the Son of Man. For, says he, the Son of Man is one Iota, one tittle flowing from on high, full, and filling full all things, and containing within itself whatever the Man, Father of the Son of Man possesses.<sup>3</sup>

p. 412. 14. Now the cosmos, as Moses says, came into being in six days, that is, in six powers which are in the one tittle of the Iota.<sup>4</sup> [But] the seventh, a rest and a Sabbath, came into being from the Hebdomad which is over Earth and Water and Fire and Air, out of which the cosmos came

<sup>1</sup> Cruice points out that this *κεφαλα* or tittle is the acute accent placed over a letter of the Greek alphabet which converts it into a numeral. Thus, ι=Iota, ι=10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Col. i. 19, "For it pleased (the Father) that in Him the whole fulness should dwell."

<sup>3</sup> Salmon (*art. cit.*) points out that this is "at first sight mere pantheism." It is difficult to put any other construction upon it.

<sup>4</sup> These six powers have been compared to Simon Magus' six "Roots," which Simon also connects with the six Days of Creation. Cf. p. 252 Cr.

into being by the one tittle. For the cubes and the octahedrons, and [the] pyramids and all the figures like these of which Fire, Air, Water, [and earth] consist, came into being from the numbers which are comprised in that single tittle of the Iota, which is a Perfect Son of a Perfect Man. When then, says he, Moses says that (the) rod was turned about in different ways for the plagues on Egypt,<sup>1</sup> these [plagues], he says, are symbols allegorizing the Creation. [For] he does not use the rod which is one tittle of the Iota, duplex and varied, as a figure<sup>2</sup> for more plagues than ten. This Creation of the world, he says, is the ten plagues.<sup>3</sup> For everything struck produces and bears fruit as, for instance, p. 413  
vine-shoots. Man, he says, has burst forth from Man, and was severed from him by a certain blow,<sup>4</sup> so that he might be born and might declare the Law which Moses laid down after having received it from God. The Law is according to that one tittle, the Decalogue which allegorizes the divine mysteries of the words. For, says he, the Ten Plagues and the Decalogue<sup>5</sup> are the whole knowledge of the universals which none has known who has been misled concerning the offspring of the woman. And if you say that the whole Law is a Pentateuch, it is [still] from the pentad which is comprised in the one tittle. But the whole Law is for those who have not thoroughly crippled their understanding [a] mystery, a new feast not yet grown old, legal and eternal, a Passover of the Lord God kept unto our generations by those who can see [and] beginning on the 14th [day] which is the beginning, he says, of the decad from which they reckon.<sup>6</sup> For the monad up to 14 is the sum total of the one tittle of the perfect number. And one + two + three + four become ten, wherefore it is the p. 414  
one tittle. But from fourteen up to twenty-one, a hebdomad subsists in the one tittle, the unleavened creature of the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. vii. 20 ; viii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> σχηματίζει. Macm. translates "shape."

<sup>3</sup> δεκάπληγος. Qy. δεκάπληγμος? The word is apparently dragged in for the sake of making a pun with πλῆγη, "a stroke." Πληγμός is a medical term for a seizure or apoplectic stroke, and probably has the same root.

<sup>4</sup> πλῆγη.

<sup>5</sup> δεκάπληγος καὶ δεκάλογος.

<sup>6</sup> Salmon (*art. cit.*) thinks this may have some connection with the Quartodeciman heresy mentioned later in the book.

world in all these.<sup>1</sup> For what, says he, should the one tittle want of any substance like leaven for the Passover of the Lord, the eternal feast which is given for generations. For the whole cosmos and all the causes of creation are the Passover Feast of the Lord. For God rejoices in the transmutation of creation which is wrought under the strokes of the one tittle. The which is the rod of Moses given by God, which strikes the Egyptians and changes the bodies, as did the hand of Moses, from water into blood. And the other [plagues] are in nearly the same way [such as that of the] locusts, wherefore change of the elements he calls flesh into grass: "for all flesh is grass,"<sup>2</sup> he says.

p. 415. But none the less do these men in some such way receive the whole Law. Following, perhaps, as it seems to me, the Greeks who say that there are Substance and Quality and Quantity and Relation and Position and Action and Possession and Passion.<sup>3</sup>

15. So for example Monoimus himself says distinctly in his letter to Theophrastus:<sup>4</sup> "Leave aside enquiry concerning God and Creation and the like, and enquire about Him from thyself, and learn who it is who simply makes His own all that is within thee, saying 'My God, my mind, my understanding, my soul, my body.' Learn also what are grief and rejoicing, and love and hate, and undesired watching and sleep, and undesired anger and love. And if," says he, "thou dost carefully seek out this, thou wilt find Him in thyself [as both] one and many things after the likeness of that one tittle, he finding the outlet for Himself."<sup>5</sup> This then is what these [men] say, which we are under no necessity to compare with what has been before excogitated by the Greeks. Since it is plain from

p. 416. their statements that they have their origin from the geometrical and arithmetical art, which the disciples of

<sup>1</sup> So Cruice, *in omnibus istis creaturam sine fermento mundi*, but I see no meaning in the words.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xl. 6.

<sup>3</sup> These are the "accidents" of substance which Hippolytus has attributed in Book VI to Pythagoras, and in Book VII to Aristotle. See pp. 21 and 64 *supra*. According to Book VI (*ubi cit.*) the [Neo-] Pythagoreans also used the image of the tittle.

<sup>4</sup> Probably some follower of Monoimus, but not otherwise known.

<sup>5</sup> So the Codex. Duncker and Cruice would both read *σεντφ*, "for thyself."



Pythagoras set forth more excellently. As the reader may learn in the passages where we have before explained all the wisdom of the Greeks.

But since we have sufficiently refuted Monoimus,<sup>1</sup> let us see what others have elaborated who wish thereby to raise for themselves an idle name.

### 3. *Tatian.*

16. But Tatian, although himself a disciple of Justin Martyr, was not of like mind with his master, but attempted something new. He says that there were certain Aeons [about whom] he fables in the like way with the Valentinians. But in the same way as Marcion he says that marriage is destruction. And he asserts that Adam will not be saved, through his becoming a leader of rebellion. And thus Tatian.<sup>2</sup>

### 4. *Hermogenes.*

17. A certain Hermogenes<sup>3</sup> thinking also to devise some- p. 417.

<sup>1</sup> Of the source of this chapter little can be said. Both the statements in the earlier part of the text and the letter to Theophrastus bear internal marks of having been taken from real documents. They contain also some peculiarities of diction and construction, which would be quite consistent with their author being an Oriental imperfectly acquainted with Greek.

<sup>2</sup> This short notice of Tatian is condensed from the almost equally short notice of Irenæus (I, xxviii.), who seems to connect Tatian with the sect of Encratites. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, I, xvi.), while mentioning him as a pupil of Justin, does not speak of him as a heretic. Epiphanius (*Haer.*, XLVI) follows Irenæus, and Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.*, I, xx.), Hippolytus.

<sup>3</sup> Of this Hermogenes we know already from Tertullian's tract against him to be found in the second volume of Oehler's edition of Tertullian's works. The date of this tract is said on good authority to be 206 or 207, A.D., and as it speaks of Hermogenes as then living, gives us his approximate date also. It is further said that he was a painter, probably of mythological subjects, that he lived at Carthage, and that he was several times married. Clement of Alexandria also mentions him, and it is suggested that both Tertullian and Clement drew from a tract against him said by Eusebius to have been written by Theophilus of Antioch. The heretical tenets with which he is charged are his contention that God could not have created the world from nothing and that Matter must therefore be co-existent with Him, that Christ on His Ascension left His body in the Sun, and that Adam was not saved. The first of these Tertullian would derive from Stoic teaching, while he does not touch on the

thing new, says that God created all things from co-existent and ungenerated matter. For he held it impossible that God should create the things that are from those that are not. And that God is ever Lord and Maker, but Matter ever a slave and [in process of] becoming. But yet not all [matter], for, as it was being borne about violently and disorderly, He set it in order in this manner. Beholding it boiling like a pot on the fire, He divided it into parts; and that part which he took from the All He reclaimed, and the other He allowed to be borne about disorderly. And the reclaimed part, he says, is the cosmos; and that the other remains waste and is called acosmic<sup>1</sup> matter. He says that this is the essence<sup>2</sup> of all things, as if he were introducing a new doctrine to his disciples; but he does not consider that this fable happens to be Socratic, and is better worked out by Plato than by Hermogenes. But he confesses that Christ is the Son of the God who created all things, and that He was begotten of the Virgin and of Spirit according to the [common] voice of the Gospels. Who after He had suffered rose again in a body and appeared to His disciples, and ascending to the heavens, left His body in the Sun, but Himself went on into the presence of the Father. And in witness of this,<sup>3</sup> he thinks he is corroborated by the word which David the Psalmist spake: "In the Sun he set up his tent, and like a bridegroom coming forth from his bridal chamber, he will rejoice like a giant to run his course."<sup>4</sup> This then is what Hermogenes attempts.<sup>5</sup>

### 5. *About the Quartodecimans.*<sup>6</sup>

18. But certain others, lovers of strife by nature, un-

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second, which is, however, recorded by Clement, nor on the third, which Irenæus (I, xxviii) attributes to the Encratites. It is probable, however, that all three may be derived from the Western Asian tradition, which later gave birth to Manichæism, of which therefore Hermogenes' heresy may prove to have been a forecast.

<sup>1</sup> ἄτακτος ἕκαστος, "unorderd matter."

<sup>2</sup> οὐσία, "substantia," Cr. and Macm.

<sup>3</sup> Μαγευρία δὲ χρεῖται.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xix. 4, 5, "set up his tabernacle in the Sun," A.V.

<sup>5</sup> The probable source of this chapter has been dealt with in the note on previous page.

<sup>6</sup> This is, I think, the first mention of the Quartodecimans as heretics. Eusebius, who thinks that the schism on the point began in

skilled in knowledge, very quarrelsome by habit, maintain p 419 that the Passover ought to be kept on the 14th day of the First Month, according to the ordinance of the Law, on whatever day [of the week] it may fall. They have regard [merely] to that which has been written in the Law: [that is] that he will be accursed who does not keep it as it is laid down. They pay no attention to the fact that it was enacted for the Jews, who were to kill the True Passover. Which [Law] has spread to the Gentiles and is understood by faith, not kept strictly in the letter. They pay attention to this one commandment, but do not regard the saying of the Apostle: "For I bear witness to every man who is circumcised that he is a debtor to do the whole Law."<sup>1</sup> In other matters they agree concerning all things handed down to the Church by the Apostles.

### 6. Phrygians.<sup>2</sup>

19. But there are others also very heretical by nature, Phrygians by race, who have fallen away after being deceived by certain women, Priscilla and Maximilla by name, whom p. 420 they imagine to be prophetesses. Into these they say the Spirit Paraclete has entered and they likewise glorify [even] above these one Montanus as a prophet. Having endless

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the reign of Commodus, treats them with great tenderness, and says (*Hist. Eccl.*, cc. xxiii. and xxiv.), that "the Churches of all Asia" held their opinions, and that Irenaeus himself pleaded their cause before Pope Victor. Epiphanius (*Haer.*, XXX) says that they derived their origin from a mixture of the Phrygian and Quintillian or Priscillianist sects, probably confusing them with the Montanists.

<sup>1</sup> Gal. v. 3.

<sup>2</sup> This heresy of the "Phrygians" is, of course, that generally called the Montanist, which seems to have broken out about the year 180. For some time it was not violently opposed by the orthodox, and Tertullian himself became a convert to it and probably died in its confession. Later it came to be looked upon as an enemy only one degree less prejudicial to the Catholic Church than Gnosticism, and therefore one to be stamped out by excommunication in pre-Constantinian times, and by persecution afterwards. Its tenets are sufficiently summarised in our text for a general understanding of them and their connection with later forms of Patripassianism; but any one wishing to go further into the subject is recommended to read Dr. Salmon's able article on "Montanus" in *D.C.B.*, which will give him all that is really known as to the sect and its tendencies. Its centre seems to have been always Asia Minor,

books of their own, they are not judging what is said in them according to reason, nor giving heed to those capable of judgment; but, carried along heedlessly by the faith that they have in them, imagine that they learn more through them than from the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospels. They glorify these wenches<sup>1</sup> above Apostles and every grace,<sup>2</sup> since some of them dare to say that there are those among them who have become greater than Christ. They confess that God is the Father of the universals, and the creator of all things in the same way as [does] the Church, and also [confess] whatever the Gospel testifies concerning Christ. But they innovate in the matter of feasts and fasts and the eating of vegetable food and roots,<sup>3</sup> thinking that they have learned this from the women. And some of them, agreeing with the heresy of the Noetians, say that the Father is the Son, and that He by being born, under-

P. 421. went both suffering and death. Concerning these, I shall later explain more minutely; for to many their heresy has become the starting-point of evils. We judge then that what has been said is sufficient, we having proved briefly to all that their many absurd books and attempts are feeble and not worth consideration, whereto those of sound mind need pay no heed.<sup>4</sup>

### 7. *Encratites.*

20. But others calling themselves Encratites<sup>5</sup> confess the

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα τὰ γυναῖκα. The phrase is Aristotelian. Cf. same word later on same page.

<sup>2</sup> χάρισμα.

<sup>3</sup> ξηροφαγίας καὶ ῥάφανοφαγίας. First phrase, "dry food."

<sup>4</sup> There is no reason to believe that in what he says here Hippolytus is drawing from any written document. As the Montanists on being condemned by the rest of the Church appealed first to the Gallic Churches in which Hippolytus' master Irenæus was a leading spirit, and later to the Church of Rome, all that he says about them must have been familiar to his hearers without referring to any earlier writers.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐγκρατίται, from ἐγκρατής, "the continent ones." Many Gnostic sects, e. g. those of Saturninus and Marcion seem to have been called Encratites, the reason given by themselves for their abstinence being the malignity of matter. But it is plain from Hippolytus' statement as to the orthodoxy in other matters of those he describes, that these were not Gnostics, but Catholics who practised asceticism inordinately.

[facts] about God and Christ in like manner with the Church. But with regard to the way of life, they having become puffed up,<sup>1</sup> have reverted [to earlier opinions]. They think themselves glorified through food by abstaining from things which have had life, drinking water, and forbidding marriage, and in the other things of life are austere careful. Such as they are judged to be rather Cynics than Christians, seeing that they pay no heed to what was said to them aforetime through the Apostle Paul, who prophesied the innovations that would come by the folly of some, saying thus:—"The Spirit says expressly: In the last times p. 422. some will fall away from the wholesome teaching,<sup>2</sup> giving heed to deceiving spirits and the teachings of demons, through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own consciences as with a hot iron, forbidding to marry and (commanding) to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified through the words of God and prayer. . . ."<sup>3</sup> This saying then of the Blessed Paul is sufficient for the refutation of those who live thus and honour themselves as righteous men, and to show that this also is a heresy.<sup>4</sup>

But although some other heresies are named [to wit

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This is doubtless his reason for quoting St. Paul against them and for ignoring Irenæus' statement that Tatian was their founder, that they taught a system of Acons and denied the salvation of Adam. Bearing in mind that he thought the Docetæ to be an independent sect, it seems probable that in this Book he intended to turn his back upon the Gnostics and to describe only the other sects with a closer resemblance to orthodox Judaism and Christianity. The whole work would thus form a roughly graduated scale extending from the undisguised heathenism of the Ophites to the purely theological errors of Callistus, the description of which seems designed to form the climax of the book. The fact that it was probably, as said in the Introduction, begun, laid aside, and then taken up again and finished, is sufficient to account for discrepancies like that involved in the concluding sentence of this Book.

<sup>1</sup> πεφυσιωμένοι. Cf. the *Φυσιώσεις* of 2 Cor. xii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς ὑγιανούσης διδασκαλίας. The N. T. substitutes *πιστίως*, "faith," for "teaching," and omits the adjective.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 1-5, *verbatim* save as in last note.

<sup>4</sup> It follows from this that Hippolytus is indebted to no other writer than himself for the facts in this chapter.

those] of the Cainites, Ophites or Noachites<sup>1</sup> and others such as they, I do not think it necessary to set forth their sayings and doings, lest they should thereby think themselves somebody or worthy of argument.<sup>2</sup> But since what p. 423. has been said about them seems to be sufficient, we will come to the source of all evils, the heresy of the Noetians, and having disclosed its root and proved plainly the poison lurking within it, we will hold back from such error those who have been swept away by a violent spirit as by a torrent.

<sup>1</sup> *Νοαχίτων*. The Codex has *Νοχαίτων*.

<sup>2</sup> The Cainites are described by Irenæus (I, xxxi) as anterior to Valentinus. The Noachites are mentioned by no other writer. It is difficult to account for the remarks of Hippolytus about the Ophites in this passage in view of the fact that the greater part of Book V has been devoted to the doctrines of the "Naassenes"—a word which he evidently recognized as identical with "Ophites." Unless we are to believe that *Ὀφιτών* is here a copyist's error for the name of some other sect, we are almost compelled to accept the theory given in the Introduction, *i. e.* that the materials for Book V only came into Hippolytus' hands after the rest of the book was written, and that their heresy was then suddenly pitchforked into the place in which we find it without due consideration of its accord with passages like the present. In that case the "seven Books before this" on p. 397 Cr. must originally have read "five," unless we are to suppose that their place was occupied by the description of the Jewish sects later transferred to Book IX.

## BOOK IX

### NOETUS, CALLISTUS, AND OTHERS

1. THESE are the contents of the 9th (Book) of the Refutation of All Heresies.

2. What is the blasphemous folly of Noetus and that he gave heed to the doctrines of Heraclitus the Obscure and not to those of Christ.

3. And how Callistus having mingled the heresy of Cleomenes, Noetus' disciple, with that of Theodotus, set up another and newer heresy, and what was his life.

4. What was the fresh invasion<sup>1</sup> of the stranger spirit Elchesai and that he covers his own transgressions by appearing to keep to the Law, while he in fact devotes himself to Gnostic opinions [entirely], or to astrological and magical ones in addition.

5. What are the customs of the Jews and how many their differences.

6. A long fight has now been fought by us concerning all [early] heresies, and we have left nothing unrefuted. There still remains the greatest fight of all, [to wit] to thoroughly describe and refute the heresies risen up in our own day, by means whereof certain unlearned and daring men have attempted to scatter the Church to the winds, [thereby] casting the greatest confusion among all the faithful throughout the world. For it seems fit that we should attack the opinion which was the first cause of [these] evils and expose its roots, so that its offshoots, being thoroughly known to all, may be contemned.

<sup>1</sup> ἡ καινὴ ἐπιδημία. The book Elchesai, as will presently be seen, is said to have been revealed "in the third year of Trajan" and therefore long anterior to our text. Hippolytus, therefore, probably refers here to a recrudescence of the superstition connected therewith.

1. *About Noetus.*

7. There was a certain man, Noetus<sup>1</sup> by name, by birth a Smyræan. He introduced a heresy from the opinions of Heraclitus. Of which [Noetus], a certain man named Epigonus becomes the minister and pupil, and on his arrival at Rome sowed broadcast the godless doctrine. Whose teaching Cleomenes, by life and manners alien to the Church, confirmed, when he had become his disciple.<sup>2</sup>

p. 426. At that time Zephyrinus, an ignorant and greedy man, thought that he ruled the Church, and, persuaded by the gain offered, gave leave to those coming to him to learn of Cleomenes.<sup>3</sup> And himself also being in time beguiled, ran into the same errors, his fellow-counsellor and comrade in this wickedness being Callistus, whose life and the heresy invented by him, I shall shortly set forth. The school of these successive [teachers] continued to grow stronger and increased through the help given to it by Zephyrinus and Callistus. Yet we never yielded, but many times withstood them to the face, refuted them, and compelled them perforce to confess the truth. They being ashamed for a season, and being brought by the truth to confession, before long returned to wallowing in the same mire.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Noetus, whom Epiphanius (*Haer.*, LVII) would make a native of Ephesus, possibly by confusion with the Praxcas against whom Tertullian wrote, was one of the first to teach the heresy called Patripassian, which made the Father as well as the Son to suffer on the Cross. His date is uncertain, but he was "not very long" dead when Hippolytus wrote (see Hippolytus' Tractate against Noetus in Gallandi, *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* II, p. 454), and the seeds of the heresy seem to have been sown in the time of Justin Martyr. It was undoubtedly Eastern in origin and passed in Rome chiefly under the name of Sabellius. Hippolytus was evidently its greatest opponent there, Zephyrinus and Callistus maintaining a more tolerant attitude towards it, until the last-named Pope was compelled to excommunicate Sabellius. See Salmon's articles in *D.C.B.*, s.n.n. "Noetus," "Praxcas," "Epigonus" and "Cleomenes," and Mr. Hugh Pope's article on "Monarchian" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.*, III, 3) would reverse this position and make Cleomenes Epigonus' teacher and not his pupil. He has probably misread Hippolytus on this point, the later heresiologists frequently failing to distinguish the founders of any heresy from their successors.

<sup>3</sup> This is evidently the beginning of Hippolytus' quarrel with the Primacy. Of Victor, Zephyrinus' predecessor in the Roman Chair, he speaks well. Cf. p. 128 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 2 Peter ii, 22.



S. But since we have pointed out the genealogical succession of these [men], it appears left to us to set forth their evil mode of teaching their doctrines. The opinions of Heraclitus the Obscure being first explained, we shall then make evident the parts of [their doctrines] which are Heraclitan, but which, perhaps, the present chiefs of the heresy do not know to be those of the Obscure, but think to be those of Christ. Should they meet with these [words], they might, thus being put to shame, cease from their godless blasphemy.<sup>1</sup> And although the teachings of Heraclitus have been before expounded by us in this [our] *Philosophumena*,<sup>2</sup> yet it seems expedient to repeat them now, so that by their closer refutation, those who think they are disciples of Christ may be plainly taught that they are not His, but are those of the Obscure.

9. Now Heraclitus says that the All is (one),<sup>3</sup> divided [and] undivided, originated [and] unoriginated, mortal [and] immortal, reason [and] eternity,<sup>4</sup> Father [and] Son, a just God. "It is wise," says Heraclitus, "that those who listen, not to me, but to reason,<sup>5</sup> should acknowledge all things to be one." And because all men do not know nor acknowledge this, he reproves them somehow thus: "They do not understand how anything that is diverse can agree with itself. It is an inverse harmony, like that of a bow and a lyre." But that the All is ever Reason<sup>6</sup> and exists by it, he thus declares:—"That this Reason ever exists, men

<sup>1</sup> *δυσφημίας*.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐν τοῖς φιλοσοφούμενοις*. The Codex has *φιλοσοφούμενους*. It evidently refers to Book I, in which (Vol. I, p. 41) he has given a few words in the gnomic sayings of Heraclitus. The only other previous reference to them seems to be in Book V (Vol. I, p. 154 *supra*) where he calls Heraclitus one of the wisest of the Greeks and in Book VI (p. 4 *supra*) where he attributes Simon's image of "a fiery God" not to Moses but to Heraclitus. If Cruice's emendation holds good this shows that Book I was originally published separately and called "*Philosophizings*," the rest of the work being known as the *Elenchus* or "Refutation." Cf. Introduction *supra*. Bishop Wordsworth (*St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, London, 1880), gets over the difficulty by reading the passage *ἐν τοῖς φιλοσοφούμενοις ἡμῖν*, "in this our *Philosophumena*," and this reading has been adopted in this translation.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stobaeus, *Eclog. Phys.*, I, xlii.

<sup>4</sup> *λόγον αἰῶνα*.

<sup>5</sup> *τοῦ λόγου ἀκούσαστας*, "listen to the argument." Hippolytus had he written in English would doubtless have said "the Word," but this has a different connotation in modern language.

<sup>6</sup> *λόγος* without the article.

do not understand either before they hear it or when they hear it first. For while all things come to pass according to this Reason, they seem to be ignorant of it, although they seem to have attempted endlessly<sup>1</sup> by words and deeds such a description as I now give by analysis of their nature and by saying how things are." But that the All is a Son and for ever an eternal being of the universals, he says thus: "A boy playing at tables<sup>2</sup> is Eternity; the kingdom is a boy's." That he is father of all things that have been generated, begotten and unbegotten, the creation and [its] Demiurge, we have his saying: "War is father of all, but king of all; and it displays some men as gods, others as men; some it makes slaves, others free. Because [this]<sup>3</sup> is a harmony like that of bow and lyre." But that the unapparent, the unseen and unknown by men is [better],<sup>4</sup> he says in these words: "An unapparent harmony is better than an apparent." He thus commends and admires that which is unknown to him before that which is known, and the invisible before that which can be [seen]. And that it is to be seen of men and is not undiscoverable, he says in these words: "Whatever sight, hearing [and] learning can receive,<sup>5</sup> I honour before all," he says, that is, [I prefer]<sup>6</sup> the things seen to those unseen. From such phrases of his it is easy to comprehend his argument. He says that men are deceived in regard to the knowledge of things apparent like Homer, who was the wisest of all the Greeks. For children when killing lice, tricked him by saying: "What we see and clutch we leave behind; but what we neither see nor clutch, we take away with us."

p. 430.

10. Thus Heraclitus supposes the apparent to have an equal lot and honour with the unapparent, as if the apparent and the unapparent were admittedly one. "For," he says, "an unapparent harmony is better than an apparent,"

<sup>1</sup> ἀπειροσίων δοίκασι πειρώμενοι. It is very difficult to make sense of these words and both Cruice and Macmahon leave them untranslated.

<sup>2</sup> πεττεύων. Playing at *tessera* or draughts. Cr., *tesseris jaciens*, a game in which there was chance as well as skill like backgammon. Lucian, as Cruice notes, puts the same phrase into Heraclitus' mouth.

<sup>3</sup> Some word missing here.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπείρων supplied from the next quoted sentence.

<sup>5</sup> The Codex has *θεον ὄψις κ.τ.λ.* Cruice substitutes *θεον* and translates *Quaecumque visus . . . capere possunt.*

<sup>6</sup> Something probably omitted here also.

and "Whatever sight, hearing [and] learning [these are the organs] can receive, this, he says, I honour above all," thus not honouring by preference the unapparent. And so Heraclitus says that neither darkness nor light, nor good nor evil are different,<sup>1</sup> but are one and the same. Therefore he blames Hesiod that he did not know Day and Night, for Day and Night, he says, are one, speaking somehow like this: "Hesiod is the teacher of most things, and they feel sure that he knew most things, who did not [however] know Day and Night. For they are one." And [as to] good and evil:—"Now the surgeons," says Heraclitus, "usually cut, burn, and in every way torture the sick, and complain that they receive from them no fitting reward for their labours, although they do these good works on the diseases." And both straight and crooked, he says, are the same. "The way of wool-carders, he says, is both straight and crooked, [because] the revolution of the tool called *ochleus*<sup>2</sup> is both straight and crooked; for it revolves and moves upwards at the same time. It is, he says, one and the same." And upward and downward are, he says, one and the same: "The way up and down is one and the same." And he says that the polluted and the pure are one and the same, and the drinkable and the undrinkable also. "The sea," he says, "is at once the purest and the most polluted water, for to fish it is drinkable and salutary, but to man undrinkable and hurtful."<sup>3</sup> And in the same way, he says, admittedly the immortal is mortal and the mortal immortal, in such words as these: "Deathless are mortals, and mortals are deathless, when the living take death from these, and the dead life from those." But he speaks here of the resurrection of this visible flesh wherein we have been born. And he knows God to be the cause of this resurrection, saying thus: "Those here will rise again and will become the busy guardians of living and dead." And he says also that the judgment of the ordered world and of all therein will be by fire, speaking thus: "Thunder governs all things," that is, it corrects them, meaning by "thunder" the everlasting fire. But he says also that this fire is discerning and the cause of the

<sup>1</sup> ἕτερον.

<sup>2</sup> A screw. Also a staircase.

<sup>3</sup> ἀλείφειον, "destructive."

government of the universals, and he calls it Need<sup>1</sup> and Satiety. Now Need is according to him the Ordering [of the world],<sup>2</sup> but Satiety the Ecpyrōsis. For "Fire," he says, "coming suddenly will judge and seize all things."<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter [entitled] "All Things Together," the peculiar thought of Heraclitus is set forth.<sup>4</sup> But I have also shown briefly that it is that of Noetus' heresy, he being a disciple not of Christ, but of Heraclitus. For that the created world was its own Demiurge and creator, he declares thus: "God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger." "All things are contraries." This is the thought "but there is a change, as when one  
p. 433- incense is mixed with others; which [incense] is named according to the pleasure of each."

But it is plain to all that the intelligent<sup>5</sup> successors of Noetus and the chiefs of the heresy, although you may say that they were not [actual] hearers of Heraclitus, yet by openly choosing<sup>6</sup> the opinions of Noetus, acknowledge the same things. For they say this: One and the same God is the Father and Demiurge of all, having been pleased, though invisible, to appear to the righteous men of old. For when He is not seen He is invisible [but when seen visible].<sup>7</sup> And when He wishes to be uncontained, He is uncontainable,<sup>8</sup> and when He is contained, He is containable. Thus by the same reasoning, He is unconquerable<sup>9</sup> [and conquerable], unbegotten [and begot-

<sup>1</sup> *χημοσύνη*. Cr., *Ἰσοψία*, Macm., "Craving."

<sup>2</sup> *διακόσμησις*. The making of a cosmos out of chaos or the Creation.

<sup>3</sup> So Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, V, 1, makes Heraclitus predict the destruction of the world by fire. The same theory is attributed to the Stoics.

<sup>4</sup> It has not been thought well to delay the reader by attempting to puzzle out the meaning of Heraclitus whom the ancients themselves did not profess to understand. So far as can be seen the only likeness between his sayings and the teaching of Noetus and his successors was due to the love of paradox shown by both. The parallel between them that Hippolytus tries to draw is mainly forced upon him by his own theory that all heresy is derived from Greek philosophy.

<sup>5</sup> A pun on *νοητός*, the adjective, and Noetus, the proper name.

<sup>6</sup> Another pun between *αἰρουμένοι* and *αἰρεσις*.

<sup>7</sup> The words in brackets supplied from the Summary in Book X.

<sup>8</sup> *ἄχρηστος*, "that cannot be confined (in space)," or what we mean when we say that He is infinite.

<sup>9</sup> *ἀκατάπητος*, "that cannot be dominated." One would have expected the word *ἀνίκητος*; but as this was one of the honorific titles of the Emperor, it was doubtless altered for prudential reasons.

ten], immortal and mortal. How can such as they be shown not to be disciples of Heraclitus? Did not the Obscure long ago philosophize in these very words?

Now that [Noctus] says the Father and Son are the same, no one is ignorant. These are his words. When, then, the Father had not been born, He was rightly proclaimed Father. And when He was pleased to undergo birth, He having been begotten, became the Son of Himself and not of another. For thus [Noctus] seems to establish Monarchia<sup>1</sup> by asserting the Father and the Son so-called are one and the same, not another from another, but Himself from Himself. And that He is called by the name of Father [or Son] according to the change of times. But that One was He who appeared and underwent birth from a Virgin and dwelt as a man among men. And acknowledged Himself to those who saw Him to be a Son by reason of the birth that had taken place, but did not conceal from those who could receive it that He was also Father. And that He also suffered, being nailed to the Tree and gave up His Spirit to Himself, and died and did not die. And that He raised Himself again the third day after having been buried in a tomb and pierced with a spear and nailed with nails. This One Cleomenes and his band say was God and Father of the universals, thereby drawing a Heraclitan darkness over many.<sup>2</sup> p. 434.

<sup>1</sup> Not "sovereignty" but the doctrine of One Source and Ruler of All. The phrase constantly recurs in the theology of the time, and the word Monarchian is applied to all heresies of the Noetian kind.

<sup>2</sup> There can be little doubt as to the source of this chapter. The quotations from Heraclitus are taken from some book of extracts, like the work of Diogenes Laertius, and much corrupted in the taking: the words put into the mouth of Noetus on the other hand are doubtless taken from some written note of the arraignment of Noetus before "the blessed presbyters" who expelled him from the Church as described in Hippolytus' own tract against Noctus, mentioned in n. on p. 118 *supra*. In c. 3 of this, Hippolytus declares that Noetus made use of the same passages of Scripture as "Theodotus," which explains the allusion in the Table of Contents, and he uses other phrases to be found in our text. As the whole controversy between himself and Callistus was doubtless familiar to his readers, there was therefore no reason for him to refer to any written document containing the opinion of Noetus or his successors.

2. *About Callistus.*

11. To this heresy Callistus<sup>1</sup> gave strength—a man artful in evil and versatile in falsehood, who was seeking after the  
 P. 435. bishop's throne. And he led whither he liked Zephyrinus,<sup>2</sup> an ignorant man, unlearned and unskilled in the Church's rules, whom [Callistus] persuaded by gifts and extravagant demands. [And as Zephyrinus] was a receiver of bribes and a money-lover, he induced him to be ever making faction between the brethren, while he himself by crafty words contrived that at the last both parties should be friendly to himself. And sometimes he deceived those who thought truly, by saying that he thought for his own part like things with them; and again he said likewise to those [who held] the opinions of Sabellius, whom, when he might have brought him into the right way, he abandoned. For Sabellius did not harden [his heart] to our<sup>3</sup> admonitions,

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, as has been said, Hippolytus discloses his chief reason for the publication or republication of the whole work. The controversy which raged round the evidence of schism in the Primitive Church which it affords has now died down, and we are therefore able to examine such evidence dispassionately. The suggestion that the Callistus here mentioned had been confused with another person has now been given up, and there is little doubt that Hippolytus' adversary was the Pope of that name who presided over the Church of Rome between the primacies of Zephyrinus and Urbanus, this last being quickly succeeded by Pontianus. In estimating the worth of the story which Hippolytus here tells against him, the way has been cleared by the frank acceptance by contemporary Catholic writers such as Monsignor Duchesne (*Hist. ancienne de l'Église*, Paris, t. I.) and Dom. Chapman (*The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1908, s.v. "Callistus"), of the view that the calumnies against Callistus here put forward, although much exaggerated and coloured, have a basis of fact. In this, they follow the line taken by the celebrated Dr. Döllinger at the first appearance of our text, and no modern scholar has yet been found to seriously controvert it. It therefore only remains to draw attention to the points in which Hippolytus has, in Dr. Döllinger's opinion, garbled or added colour to the facts, and on the whole, it has seemed more satisfactory to do this in the footnotes than here. The references, except when otherwise stated, are to the English edition of Döllinger's *Hippolytus and Callistus*, Edinburgh, 1876. Callistus' primacy appears from several testimonies to have lasted from A.D. 218 to 223, when he was killed apparently in a riot.

<sup>2</sup> Zephyrinus appears to have been Pope from A.D. 202 to 218.

<sup>3</sup> τῶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παρασκευάσθαι. It is thought that this is a *pluralis majestatis* consequent on Hippolytus' claim to be himself Bishop of Rome.

but when he got alone with Callistus, he was urged by him to relapse towards the doctrine of Cleomenes, alleging that he was of like opinions. [Sabellius] did not then understand his trickery, but knew it afterwards, as I will shortly explain.<sup>1</sup>

Now [Callistus] bringing forward Zephyrinus himself, persuaded him to say publicly: "I know one God, Christ Jesus, and beside Him I know no other, begotten and susceptible of suffering." And at one time he said: "The Father did not die but the Son," and thus maintained without ceasing the faction among the people.<sup>2</sup> Knowing whose designs, we did not give way to him, but refuted and withstood him for the Truth's sake. He also, advancing towards madness, through everyone concurring with him—though we did not—called us ditheists,<sup>3</sup> thus violently spitting forth the concealed poison within him. It seems good to us then to set forth the lovable<sup>4</sup> life of this man since he was born at the same time as ourselves, in order that by the mode of life of such a one being made apparent, the heresy which he has taken in hand may become well and quickly known to those who have right mind. He bore witness<sup>5</sup> when Fuscianus was Prefect of Rome;<sup>6</sup> and the manner of his martyrdom was on this wise.

12. [Callistus] chanced to be a house-slave of a certain Carpophorus,<sup>7</sup> a man of the faith who was of Cæsar's household. To him as to one of the faith Carpophorus entrusted no little money on his promising to bring in profit from the

<sup>1</sup> The construction of the whole of this paragraph offers difficulty, and many emendations have been proposed in the text. The reading of Roeper has been mainly followed here, and the meaning is not doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ λαῷ, *i. e.* "the laity."

<sup>3</sup> "Worshipper of two gods." In Döllinger's opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 219) this accusation was well founded.

<sup>4</sup> ἀγαπητόν. Doubtless written sarcastically. Wordsworth, Cruice and Macmahon all attach the phrase to δοκεῖ and translate "seems good," for which use of the word I can find no precedent.

<sup>5</sup> ἐμαρτύρησεν. A play on the double meaning of the word, which might be translated "he was martyred." But Callistus had not been martyred when our text was written, nor was he even a confessor.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐπαρχος. Fuscianus was Prefect of the City from A.D. 188 to 193.

<sup>7</sup> Evidently the freedman of Marcus Aurelius whose inscription is to be found in C.I.L. 13040. Cf. de Rossi, *Bull.*, 1866, p. 3, and Duchesne, *Hist. ancienne*, I, p. 294, n. 1.

business of a money-dealer. Who taking it, set up a money-changer's stall in the place called the *Piscina Publica*,<sup>1</sup> to whom in course of time not a few deposits were entrusted by  
 p. 437. widows and brethren on the strength of Carpophorus' name. But he having made everything disappear,<sup>2</sup> was in difficulties. When he had done this, one<sup>3</sup> was not lacking to tell Carpophorus; and Carpophorus said that he required accounts from him. Callistus being aware of this and suspecting danger from his master,<sup>4</sup> took flight and made for the sea. Who finding a ship at Portus<sup>5</sup> ready to sail when she should have her cargo, went on board intending to sail. But he could not thus escape; for one was not lacking to tell Carpophorus what had happened. And he having halted at the harbour according to the news given him, tried to hurry to the ship. But she was lying in the middle of the harbour, and the ferryman being slow, Callistus saw his master afar off, and knew that as he was in the ship he would be taken. So he disregarded life and thinking that his end had come, cast himself into the sea.<sup>6</sup> But the sailors, jumping down into the boats, dragged him out  
 p. 438. against his will amid a great shouting from the shore. And thus he was handed over to his master and taken away to Rome, whence his master sentenced him to the *Pistrinum*.<sup>7</sup>

But time having gone on, some brethren, as generally happens, came forward and besought Carpophorus that he would set free the runaway from punishment, affirming that

<sup>1</sup> "Public Fishpool." It was one of the fourteen *Regiones* of the city and the quarter of the money-dealers. The Latin name is here not translated, but written in Greek letters.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐξαφανίσας*. A similar word is used by Carpophorus in his address to Fuscianus later. Döllinger, *op. cit.*, argues that this does not necessarily imply any criminality on Callistus' part as he may have lost the money in an attempt to increase his master's profit. See note on next page.

<sup>3</sup> *ὄντι ἕλιπον* δε. Bunsen calls this "a rank Latinism."

<sup>4</sup> Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 109) draws attention to Carpophorus' cruelty as shown by his condemnation of a fellow-Christian to the awful punishment of the treadmill.

<sup>5</sup> Portus Ostiensis or Ostia, the Port of Rome.

<sup>6</sup> Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 110) argues that this was not suicide but an attempt to escape.

<sup>7</sup> *εἰς πίστινον*, transliterated as before. The terrible nature of this punishment is well known. Cf. Darenberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, s.h.v.



he had admitted having gold laid up with certain persons.<sup>1</sup> And Carpophorus like a pious man said that he did not care about his own [money], but that he was concerned about the deposits. For many cried to him with tears that they had trusted to his name when confiding money to Callistus, and [Carpophorus] being persuaded, ordered him to be released. But he having nothing to pay back and not being able to run away again because he was watched, devised a scheme for [obtaining] death. On a Sabbath day, pretending to go forth to his debtors, he rushed into the synagogue of the assembled Jews, and stayed there factiously opposing them.<sup>2</sup> But when they were factiously opposed by him, they abused and rained blows upon him and haled him before Fuscianus, who was then Prefect of the City. And this was their accusation:—"The Romans have conceded to us the right to read aloud publicly the laws of our fathers. But this man coming in forbade it, making a faction against us, and affirming that he was a Christian." p. 439. And as Fuscianus chanced to be on the judgment-seat, and was angered by the words of the Jews against Callistus, one was not lacking to tell Carpophorus what was being done. And he, hastening to the judgment-seat, cried out to the Prefect, "I beseech you, O Lord Fuscianus, do not believe this man, for he is not a Christian, but seeks occasion of death, having made away<sup>3</sup> with much money of mine, as I will prove."<sup>4</sup> But the Jews thinking this to be a fetch, as if Carpophorus were seeking by this speech to get him set at liberty, cried out against him to the Prefect with increased fury. And he being moved by them, had [Callistus] scourged and sent him to a mine in Sardinia.

But after a time, there being other martyrs there, Marcia, being a God-loving woman and a concubine of Commodus and having wished to do some good work, summoned p. 440.

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 110) thinks that he had lent it to the Jews, and that this accounts for the subsequent riot.

<sup>2</sup> See last note. In Döllinger's opinion, he only went there to ask for his money.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπαρίσας.

<sup>4</sup> Döllinger (*ubi cit.*) points out that Carpophorus' speech throws further light on his character. Callistus was a Christian, as Hippolytus admits. Carpophorus' anxiety to prevent his being sentenced is explained by the fear of losing Callistus' services, sentence of penal servitude acting as manumission.

before her the blessed Victor, who was Bishop of the Church at that time,<sup>1</sup> and enquired what martyrs there were in Sardinia. And he gave her the names of all, but did not give her that of Callistus, knowing what he had dared to do. Then Marcia, having succeeded in her petition to Commodus, gave the liberating letter to an elder named Hyacinthus, a eunuch,<sup>2</sup> who took it and sailed for Sardinia, and having handed it to the Administrator<sup>3</sup> of the place for the time being, set free all the martyrs with the exception of Callistus. But he, on his knees and weeping, besought that he also might be set free. Then Hyacinthus was moved by entreaty and required the Administrator [to do this] affirming that he was the foster-father of Marcia and arranging to hold the Administrator harmless. And he being persuaded [in turn] set free Callistus also.<sup>4</sup> Upon whose coming [to Rome], Victor was much annoyed at what had befallen; but, as he was a compassionate man, held his peace. But to guard against the reproach of many

p. 441. —for the audacities of Callistus were not a long way off— and Carpophorus was still an obstacle, he sends him to abide in Antium, making him a certain monthly allowance for his support.<sup>5</sup> After [Victor's] falling asleep, Zephyrinus having had [Callistus] as a coadjutor in the management of the clergy, honoured him to his own detriment, and sending for him from Antium, set him over the cemetery.<sup>6</sup> And Callistus being ever with [Zephyrinus], and as I have said before, serving him with guile,<sup>7</sup> put him in the background<sup>8</sup> as neither able to judge what was said to him nor to com-

<sup>1</sup> Victor's exact date is uncertain, but he probably succeeded Eleutherus as Pope in A.D. 189 and was himself succeeded by Zephyrinus in 202.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ εὐδαμονί προσβυτίῳ. Some would translate "priest"; but the ordination of a eunuch would be contrary to the Canons.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτροπεύων.

<sup>4</sup> Döllinger (*op. cit.*) thinks there is no doubt from this that Callistus was both condemned and set free as a Christian.

<sup>5</sup> From this, from the intervention of the brethren with Carpophorus and from the favour shown to him by Hyacinthus, Döllinger (*op. cit.*) draws the conclusion that Callistus' conduct up to this point must have seemed to the community unlucky rather than criminal.

<sup>6</sup> The famous cemetery in the Via Appia still bearing his name, where many of the early Popes are buried.

<sup>7</sup> ἐνοχλοῦσι.

<sup>8</sup> ἐξοφλοῦσι. See: n. 3 on p. 127.

prehend all the counsels of Callistus when talking to him of what things pleased him. Thus, after the death of Zephyrinus, [Callistus] thinking that he had succeeded in his pursuit,<sup>1</sup> put away Sabellius as one who does not hold right opinions. For [Callistus] was afraid of me and deemed that he could thus wipe off the charge [against him] before the Churches,<sup>2</sup> just as if he held no different opinions from theirs.

Now Callistus was a sorcerer<sup>3</sup> and a trickster and in time snatched away many. And harbouring the poison in his heart, and devising nothing straight, besides being ashamed to declare the truth because he had reproached us in public, saying: "Ye are ditheists,"<sup>4</sup> but especially because he had often been accused by Sabellius of having strayed from his first faith, he invented some such heresy as this:—He says that the Word is the Son and that He is also the Father, being called by that name, but being one undivided Spirit.<sup>5</sup> And that the Father is not one thing and the Son another; but that they subsist [as] one and the same. And that all things above and below are filled with the Divine Spirit, and that the Spirit which was incarnate in the Virgin was not other than the Father, but one and the same. And that this is the saying: "Dost thou not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in Me?"<sup>6</sup> For that which is seen, which is a man, that is the Son; but the Spirit which is contained in the Son, that is the Father. "For I do not," he says, "say that there are two Gods, Father and Son, but One. For the Father who existed in Him, having taken on Him the flesh, made it God by union with Himself and made it one [Being] so that He is called Father and Son, one God. And that this [God] being one Person cannot be

p. 442.

p. 443.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* imagining himself to be the lawful Pope.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently refers to Hippolytus' charge of Sabellianism against him.

<sup>3</sup> γόης. Perhaps a juggler with words; but this sense is unusual.

<sup>4</sup> See note on p. 125 *supra*. Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 219) thinks that Hippolytus separated the Logos from God, and suggests that Origen may have shared the error.

<sup>5</sup> Bishop Wordsworth (*St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, 1880, p. 87) would translate: "The Word is the Son and also the Father, being called by a different name, but that the indivisible Spirit is one."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. John xiv. 11. The N.T. has πιστεύετε μοι, "Believe me" (imperative).

two."<sup>1</sup> And so he said that the Father had suffered *with* the Son; for he did not like to say that the Father suffered and was One Person, [so as] to avoid<sup>2</sup> blasphemy against the Father. [Thus this] senseless and shifty fellow, scattering blasphemies high and low, so that he may only seem [not] to speak against the Truth, is not ashamed to lean now towards the doctrine of Sabellius and now towards that of Theodotus.<sup>3</sup>

The sorcerer having dared such things, set up a school against that of the Church,<sup>4</sup> thus to teach. And first he contrived to make concessions to men in respect of their pleasures, telling every one that their sins were remitted by himself. For if any one who has been received<sup>5</sup> by another and calls himself Christian should transgress, he says, the transgression of him will not be reckoned against him if he hastens to the school of Callistus. And many were pleased with this proposition,<sup>6</sup> having been stricken with conscience as well as cast out of many heresies. And p. 444. some even after having been cast by us out of the Church by a [regular] judgment, joining with these last, filled the school of Callistus. He laid it down that if [even] a bishop commits any sin, though it should be one unto death, he ought not to be deposed. In his time bishops and priests and deacons who had married twice and even thrice began to keep their places among the clergy.<sup>7</sup> For if any one who

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 216) says this is a correct statement of the Catholic position.

<sup>2</sup> Bunsen would read *ἐκφυγών*, ["thus] avoiding." Cruice inserts *οὕτω πως ἐλπίζων*, "thus hoping to avoid." Döllinger inserts *ὥστε* before *ἐκφυγεῖν*.

<sup>3</sup> If this Theodotus is, as seems probable, the Theodotus of Byzantium mentioned in Book VII (p. 390 Cr.), who was excommunicated by Victor, his heresy was, as Hippolytus himself records, Adoptianist, and his opinions must have been poles asunder from those of Callistus.

<sup>4</sup> Here as elsewhere throughout this chapter, Hippolytus assumes that he is the rightful head of the Catholic Church, and that Callistus and the more numerous party within it are only a "school."

<sup>5</sup> *συναγόμενος*, "gathered in," "a member of any other man's congregation," Wordsworth; *ab alio fuerat seductus*, Cruice, whom Macmahon follows.

<sup>6</sup> A logical term.

<sup>7</sup> *eis κλήρους*. Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 140) points out that Lectors, acolyths, Ostiarii and sub-deacons were all included in the phrase *ἐν κλήρῳ* afterwards used, and that such persons were not forbidden to marry. Yet the context is against him, and there can be no doubt that

was in the clerical order<sup>1</sup> should marry, he [decided] that he should remain in the order as if he had not sinned, saying that what was spoken by the Apostle was said with regard to this [viz. :] "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?"<sup>2</sup> And also the Parable of the Tares, he says spoke as to this: "Let the tares grow to the harvest,"<sup>3</sup> that is, let the sinners remain in the Church. But he also said that the ark of Noah was made into an image<sup>4</sup> of the Church, wherein were dogs and wolves and crows and all clean and unclean [animals]. Thus, he affirms, ought the Church to do likewise; and as many things as he could bring together on this point, he thus interpreted.

Whose hearers being attracted by these doctrines continue [to exist], deluding themselves and many others, crowds of whom flock into the school. Wherefore they are multiplied **p. 415.** and rejoice in the crowds, by reason of the pleasures which Christ did not permit. Whom slightly regarding, they forbid no one to sin, affirming that they themselves remit sins to those with whom they are well pleased. For [Callistus] has also permitted women, if they, being unmarried and in the prime of life, turned towards some one unworthy of their station, or did not wish to lessen it by [marriage], to hold any bedfellow they might choose as lawfully married to them, whether he was a house slave or free,<sup>5</sup> and to consider this person although not married by law as in the place of a husband.<sup>6</sup> From this the so-called faithful women began to make attempts with abortifacient drugs and to gird themselves tightly so that they might cast out what they had conceived, through their not wishing on account of their family or superabundant wealth to have a child by a slave or some mean person. See now what impiety the lawless one has reached when he teaches

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Hippolytus intends to imply, whether with truth or not, that Callistus did not degrade even the superior clergy for marrying more than once.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν κλήρῳ.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xiv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xiii. 29.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς ὁμοίωμα.

<sup>5</sup> ἐλεύθερον, "a freed man"?

<sup>6</sup> Döllinger (*op. cit.*, p. 158) suggests that this is a reference to the *contubernium*, or concubinage known to Roman law, which the Church insisted on regarding as a lawful marriage. The case of Marcia mentioned above might be one in point, but it is to be noted that Hippolytus calls her *παλλακὴ Κομόδου* only.

p. 446. adultery and murder at the same time! And in the face of these audacities the shameless ones attempt to call themselves a Catholic Church, and some think that they do well to join with them.

Under this [Callistus, too], a second baptism has been ventured upon by them for the first time.<sup>1</sup> These things the most amazing Callistus has set on foot, whose school still persists and preserves the customs and tradition [of the Church], nor does it discriminate as to whom it should hold communion with, but offers communion indiscriminately to all. From whom also they are called by a name that they share with him, and, by reason of the protagonist of such works being Callistus, are called Callistians.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Concerning Elchesaites.<sup>3</sup>

p. 447. 13. When the teaching of this [Callistus] had been dispersed over the whole world, a certain man called Alcibiades

<sup>1</sup> This practice of second baptism, which Hippolytus does not accuse Callistus of teaching, but of which he says that it was begun in his time, is apparently brought in here to connect this chapter with the next on the Elchesaites. Had such accusation any foundation, it would certainly have been known to Cyrian or Firmilian.

<sup>2</sup> No other author seems to have taken up this name, and the rest of the paragraph shows that it was Callistus' party which was regarded as Catholic and Hippolytus' as schismatic. As Hippolytus was writing of matters within his own knowledge and in some measure that of his readers, there is no reason to suppose that he drew his material from any written source; but it has been suggested that the facts in Callistus' life that he here narrates may have been obtained *videlicet* from Carpophorus.

<sup>3</sup> This heresy of the Elchesaites was a very old one, and probably had its roots in the Babylonian religion some millennia before Christian times, ablution and exorcism being then considered one of the most effectual modes of removing the consequences of transgression. Prof. Brandt, of Amsterdam, who has paid much attention to the Mandæan religion which has affinities with it, in his monograph on the subject (*Elchasai, Ein Religionstifter und sein Werk*, Leipzig, 1912), thinks that Elchasai, a name which may mean something like "Power of the Sun," was a real man who flourished in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), and founded in Syria an eclectic religion made up of the doctrines of Judaism and Christianity, mingled with the belief in the sovereign efficacy of baptism found among the Hemerobaptists, Mughtasila or "Washers," who still exist. Thus, according to En-Nadim (Flügel's *Mani*, p. 340), these Mughtasila in the tenth century still revered as a prophet a certain Al-Hasil who seems to be our Elchasai, along with Moses, Christ, and Mohammed.

dwelling at Apamea in Syria, who was crafty and full of impudence, and having looked into the matter, deemed himself more forcible and expert in tricks than Callistus, arrived in Rome bringing with him a book.<sup>1</sup> He pretended that a righteous man (called) Elchasai, had received the same from the Seres<sup>2</sup> of Parthia and gave it to one called Sobiae,<sup>3</sup> as having been revealed by an angel. The height of which angel was 24 schoeni,<sup>4</sup> which is 96 miles; but the girth was 4 schoeni, and from shoulder to shoulder 6 schoeni; and his footprints were 3½ schoeni in length, which is 14 miles,<sup>5</sup> their width 1½ schoeni, and their depth half a schoenus. And that there was with him also a female whose measure, he says, accorded with those aforesaid. And that the male is the Son of God, and that the female is called the Holy Spirit. Describing these portents, he is wont to distract the foolish by this address: "A new remission of sins was brought as good news to men in the third year of the reign of Trajan." And he prescribes (therefore) a baptism which I will explain (later). He affirms that of those wrapped in all licentiousness and pollution and breaches of the Law, if any such be a believer and turns again and hearkens to and believes on the book, he determines that he shall receive by baptism remission of sins.

p. 448.

It also appears that his successors sent out missionaries to the West, including doubtless the Alcibiades of our text. Origen, in his Homily on the 82nd Psalm, mentions having met with one of these who may have been Alcibiades himself. They seem to have obtained some success among the Ebionite and Essene communities on the shores of the Dead Sea, but the effort soon died out, and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, VI, 38) says that it was stifled almost at its birth. Epiphanius (*Haer.*, XIX, 5; XXX, 17; and LIII, 1) mentions them in connection with the "heresies" of the Nazareans, Ebionites and Sampseans respectively, but like Theodoret does little but repeat Hippolytus' statements.

<sup>1</sup> This book which is mentioned by all the writers who refer to Elchasai, doubtless began with the vision of the angel from whom he professed to receive his revelations.

<sup>2</sup> ἄνε Σηρῶν, Chinese? Or it may be a town called Serac.

<sup>3</sup> Brandt (*op. cit.*, p. 42) thinks the word is Mandæan or Aramaic, and means "the Baptized," i.e. the Mugtasila.

<sup>4</sup> These measurements, intended to show the enormous difference in size between the celestial powers and mankind, are peculiarly Jewish and are frequent in the Haggadah and Cabala.

<sup>5</sup> The Roman mile here meant was 142 yards less than ours. The schoenus was a measure of land used also by the Egyptians and Persians.

These tricks he audaciously elaborated, starting from the doctrine before described which Callistus had brought forward. For he, having understood that many rejoiced at such an announcement,<sup>1</sup> thought that his enterprise would be timely.<sup>2</sup> Yet we withstood him also, and did not permit very many to go astray, refuting them<sup>3</sup> [with the argument] that this was the work of a spurious<sup>4</sup> spirit and of a puffed-up heart; and that the man like a wolf had risen up among the many stray sheep which the false guide Callistus had scattered abroad. But, since we have begun, we shall not be silent regarding the doctrines of this man also; and we shall bring to light the (mode of) life (he advocates),<sup>5</sup> and shall then prove that his supposed discipline is a make-believe. And then again I will explain the chief of his sayings, so that the reader who has studied his writings may know thoroughly what and of what quality is the heresy on which he has ventured.

p. 449.

14. He puts forward as a bait, conformity with the Law,<sup>6</sup> claiming that those who have believed ought to be circumcised and to live according to the Law while clutching at something from the heresies aforesaid. And he says that Christ was a man born in the way common to all; and that He was not now begotten for the first time from a virgin, but that both in the first instance and then many times since, He had been begotten and born, appeared and grown up, alternating births and changing one body for another, wherein He makes use of the Pythagorean teaching.<sup>7</sup> But [the Elchesaites] are so vainglorious as to say

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* as that of Callistus.

<sup>2</sup> Hippolytus' motive in thus connecting Alcibiades' visit with Callistus' proceedings is obvious. There could be nothing in common in the re-baptizing of reconverted heretics of which he (probably erroneously) accuses his adversary, and the magical efficacy of the ablution prescribed by Alcibiades.

<sup>3</sup> ἐλέξαντες.

<sup>4</sup> νόθος, "bastard." Is this an allusion to the composite nature of the Elchesaite religion?

<sup>5</sup> All these phrases are so condensed as to make the conjectural restoration of important words necessary. It would seem that the author was here hurrying over his task.

<sup>6</sup> νόμον πολιτείαν. The Jewish Law is of course intended.

<sup>7</sup> Transmigration of souls does not appear to have entered into the conceptions of the Mandæans, Mughtasila, or any other sects with which Elchasaï is known to have been connected; but Buddhist ideas



that they themselves foretell the future, starting evidently from the measures and numbers of the Pythagorean art before described. And they give heed to mathematics and astrology and magic as if they were true, and they use these things to astonish the weak-minded, so that they may think themselves partakers in a mighty matter. They give also incantations and spells<sup>1</sup> to those bitten by dogs and to possessed and other diseased persons concerning which we shall not be silent. Having then sufficiently detailed the sources and causes of their audacities, I will proceed to repeat their writings, whereby the reader may know at once their folly and their godless endeavours. p. 450.

15. To his catechumens, then, [Alcibiades] administers baptism, speaking such words as these to those whom he deceives: "If, therefore, any one has gone in unto a child, or to any kind of animal, or to a male or to a brother or to a daughter, or has committed adultery or fornication, and wishes to receive remission of sins, immediately he hears this book, let him be baptized a second time in the name of the Great and Highest God and in the name of His Son, the Great King. And let him be purified and be chaste and call to witness the seven witnesses who are written in this book [to wit], the Heaven and the Water, and the Holy Spirit and the Angel of Prayer and the oil and the salt and the Earth."<sup>2</sup> These are the wonderful mysteries of Elchasai, the hidden and great things which he hands down to the disciples who are worthy. And the lawless one is not content with these, but before two or three witnesses puts the seal on his own crimes, again speaking thus: "I p. 451.

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seem to have made some way with the Dead Sea communities. Did Alcibiades draw this idea from them? If so this might explain the allusion to the Seres.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίλογοι.

<sup>2</sup> The text puts both Holy Spirit and Angels of Prayer in the plural. Yet they must be singular, or the seven witnesses would be more than that number. Brandt (*op. cit.*) thinks many mistakes in this chapter are to be explained by a faulty translation from Aramaic into Greek. He also thinks that the mention of salt implies a sacrament celebrated with bread and salt, and that earth, as one of the five elements of Aristotle, should be substituted for the Earth as a pendant to which Heaven is thrown in. It is simpler to derive the spell from the ancient Babylonian religion in which Heaven and Earth are coupled for the purpose of conjuration.

say again, O adulterers and adulteresses and false prophets, if you wish to turn again so that your sins may be remitted unto you, peace shall be yours, and a portion with the just, if immediately you hearken to this book and are baptized a second time with your garments."

But since we have said that these persons use incantations over those bitten by dogs and over others, we shall point out [these also]. Thus he speaks: "If a furious and mad dog in whom is the breath of death,<sup>1</sup> bite or tear or touch any man or woman or man-child or maid-child, in the same hour let [the bitten one] run with all his clothing and go down to a river or a pool where there is a deep place, and let him be baptized there with all his clothing, and let him pray<sup>2</sup> to the Great and Highest God in faith of heart, and then call to witness the Seven Witnesses who are written p. 452. in this book, saying: 'Lo! I call to witness the Heaven and the Water and the Holy Spirit and the Angel of Prayer and the oil and the salt and the Earth. I call to witness these Seven Witnesses that I will no more sin, nor commit adultery, nor steal, nor do injustice, nor be greedy, nor cherish hatred, nor break faith, nor take pleasure in any evil deeds.' Then upon saying this, let him be baptized with all his clothing in the name of the Great and Highest God."

16. But in most other matters he talks nonsense, and teaches [the repetition of] the same spells over the phthisical, and the baptizing of them in cold water forty times a week. And in the same way with those possessed of devils. O wisdom inimitable and incantations filled full of powers! Who will not be struck at such and so great a power of words? But since we have said that they also make use of the error of the astrologers, let us prove this out of their own mouths. Thus he says: "There are evil stars of impiety. This is now spoken unto you, O God-fearing p. 453. men<sup>3</sup> and disciples. Beware of the days of their authority,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πνεῦμα διαφθορῆς. Cruice and Macmahon both translate "spirit of destruction." It evidently refers to rabies, and the authors of the spell seem to have known that mere contact with a rabid animal might produce infection.

<sup>2</sup> Both Miller and Duncker read προσευξάσθω, which has been adopted here as making better sense. Cruice reads προσβειξάσθω, "show himself unto."

<sup>3</sup> εὐσεβεῖς. Often applied by the Jews of this time to those who observed their usages, but were not full proselytes.

<sup>4</sup> ἡ. ε. "on which they bear rule"—a well-known astrological phrase.

and begin no works on these days, and baptize not man nor woman in the days of their authority when the moon goes forth with them and journeys with them.<sup>1</sup> Be ye ware from that day until the moon leaves them utterly and then baptize and begin in every beginning of your works. Honour also the Sabbath Day for it is one day out of these.<sup>2</sup> But beware of beginning ought in the third day from the Sabbath, because when three years of the reign of Trajan Cæsar were fulfilled, he brought the Parthians under his sway.<sup>3</sup> And when three years more are completed war will rage between the angels of the impiety of the North,<sup>4</sup> and thereby all the kingdoms of iniquity will be troubled.”<sup>5</sup>

17. Since, now, he believes it would be unreasonable that these great and secret mysteries should be trampled underfoot or delivered to many, he advises that they should be preserved as if they were costly pearls,<sup>6</sup> saying thus: p. 451  
 “Read not these words to all men and keep their commandments carefully, since not all men are faithful nor all women straight.” But these things neither the sages of the Egyptians, nor Pythagoras the sage of the Greeks withdrew within their sanctuaries. For had Elchasai chanced to live at the time, what need would there have been for Pythagoras, or Thales, or Solon, or Plato the wise, or the rest of the Greeks to learn of the priests of the Egyptians, seeing that they would have had so much and so great wisdom from Alcibiades, the most wonderful interpreter of the wretched Elchasai? Now therefore it seems that

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* “rises and sets with them.”

<sup>2</sup> This cannot mean that it is one of the days when the evil stars rule. Probably some words like “which God has chosen” are omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Did Alcibiades or Elchasai consider Trajan’s successful campaign against the Parthians a calamity?

<sup>4</sup> “ἄρκτων, lit., “of the Bears.” Thus Cruice. But it is probably another case of putting plurals for singulars.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that this is an unfulfilled prediction which fixes the date of Elchasai’s book. If, however, we take Trajan’s invasion of Parthia at A.D. 113, which seems the most likely date, the rebellion of the Jews in the Cyrenaica, Egypt and Cyprus broke out within the three years mentioned and raged until it was suppressed by Marcus Turbo and Lusius Quietus, about the end of 116. The book may therefore well be later than this.

<sup>6</sup> A possible allusion to Matt. vii. 6.

enough has been said for persons of sound mind to have a complete knowledge of the madness of these [heretics], wherefore it does not seem fit to make use of any more of their sayings, which are many and laughable.

But since we have not passed over the things which have sprung up among ourselves, and have not been silent on those which [happened] before our time, it seems proper, so that we may go into everything and leave nothing unexpounded, to say something of the [customs] of the Jews P. 455 also, and what are the differences among them; for I think that up till now this has been passed over.<sup>1</sup> [And] when I shall have spoken of these,<sup>2</sup> I shall proceed to the exposition of the Word of Truth.<sup>3</sup> So that after the lengthy struggle of the discourse against all heresies, we, firmly pressing forward to the crown of the kingdom, and believing on the things which are true, may not be confounded.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4. *Jews.*<sup>5</sup>

18. Originally there was one nation of Jews. For one teacher had been given them by God [namely] Moses, and

<sup>1</sup> For the reason of this omission see Introduction, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> μηδὲ σιωπήσας, "when I have not kept silence about"—a round-about phrase.

<sup>3</sup> This promise is fulfilled by the peroration of Book X. This shows the close connection between the Summary and the first nine Books, and proves that the author of Book X, if not Hippolytus himself, was at any rate some one who wished to be taken for him.

<sup>4</sup> The quotations in this chapter from the book of Elchasai were doubtless taken from a Greek translation of that work brought to Rome by Alcibiades.

<sup>5</sup> The reasons that probably influenced Hippolytus in writing this description of Jewish religion as a sequel to his Ninth Book are stated in the Introduction. It is for the most part extracted from Josephus, the order of the paragraphs following that adopted by him, and the words being in many cases the same. This has led Cruice to suggest that both are taken from a common source, which he takes to be a Christian writer of the first century. This is extremely unlikely, since Epiphanius, Porphyry and Pliny all quote Josephus directly; but it is probable that when he leaves Josephus, as he does after the account of the Sadducees, Hippolytus draws from the statements of some Jewish convert to Christianity of whom we know nothing. In this, the Messianic ideas of the Jews which brought about the great revolt under Bar Cochba are clearly set out, but it is curious that writing as he must have done long after the practical extermination of the Jewish nation by Hadrian, he should have made no allusion to it; and it may therefore well be that he preferred to condense here the statements

through him was given one Law. And there was one desert and one mountain [namely] Sinai; for one God was their legislator. But after they had crossed the river Jordan and had divided by lot the land won by the spear, they rent asunder in different ways the Law of God, each understanding the precepts differently. And thus they set up teachers for themselves and found out heretical opinions and advanced in schism. Whose diversity I shall set forth; but although for a long time they have been scattered in many divisions, yet I will expose [only] the chief of them, whence the lovers of learning<sup>1</sup> may easily know the rest. For three sects<sup>2</sup> are distinguished among them, and the adherents of one of these are Pharisees, of another Sadducees, and the others<sup>3</sup> are Essenes. These [last] practise the more holy life [of the three], loving one another and observing continence. And they turn away from every deed of concupiscence, holding it hateful even to listen to such things. They renounce marriage, but take the children of others and bring them up in their customs, thus adopting<sup>4</sup> them and impelling them to the sciences, [but] not forbidding them to marry, although they themselves abstain from it. But they admit no women, even those who are willing to devote themselves to the same policy, nor give heed to them, for they distrust women altogether.

19. And they despise wealth and do not shrink from sharing with those who lack [it], although none of them is richer than another. For it is a law among them that any

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which Justin Martyr puts into the mouth of Trypho, with which his own agree in almost every particular. This Ninth Book bears throughout the marks of haste or weariness, many of the sentences, except where he is manifestly using the work of another as model, being slurred over and difficult to construe grammatically. In one or two cases, he contradicts his own statements, as in the case of the Sadducees, making a subsequent correction by himself or the scribe necessary. See n. on p. 147 *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> of φιλομαθείς. Here as elsewhere this seems to mean "the learned" simply.

<sup>2</sup> εἶδη, "species," or "kinds."

<sup>3</sup> ἕτεροι δὲ. Does he mean that all the rest of the Jews are Essenes? Throughout this Book the article is frequently omitted as in the title to this chapter. The rest of the section is almost *verbatim* from Josephus, *de Bell. Jud.*, II, 8, 2.

<sup>4</sup> τεκνοποιούνται, "make them their own children."

p. 457. one entering the heresy must sell his possessions and offer the price to the common stock, which the ruler receives and distributes to all for their needs. Thus there is no want among them. And they use not oil, thinking anointing their bodies pollution. But there are stewards appointed by vote who look after all their property in common, and all of them wear white garments always.

20. And there is not one city of them, but many of them dwell in every city. And if one of the practisers of the heresy<sup>1</sup> should arrive from a strange country, they hold all things in common for him, and those whom they knew not before they receive as guests and intimates. And they travel about their native land, and when they go on a journey they carry nothing with them except arms. And they have in every city a ruler who spends what is collected for the purpose of providing clothes and food for them. And their dress and its fashion are modest. They do not possess two tunics or a double set of footgear; but when those in use become old, they take others. And they neither buy nor sell anything<sup>2</sup> at all; but if one possesses ought, he gives it to him who lacks, and what he has not, he receives [in its stead].<sup>2</sup>

p. 458. 21. But they lead a well-ordered and regular life, and always pray at dawn, not speaking before they have praised God. And thus they all go forth and do what work they will, and after working until the fifth hour, leave off. Then, assembling again in one place, they gird themselves with linen cinctures so as to conceal their privities, and thus wash in cold water. And after having thus purified themselves, they gather together in one dwelling—but no one who thinks differently from them is with them in the house—and they get to breakfast. And sitting down in order, they are offered bread in silence, and then some one kind of food from which each has a sufficient portion. But none of them tastes anything till the priest has blessed and prayed over it. And after breakfast, when he has again prayed, they offer up praises to God. Then, laying aside as holy the garments with which they are clothed while indoors—and these are of linen—and receiving again the

<sup>1</sup> ἀπειριστῶν. A Latinism here used for the first time by Hippolytus.

<sup>2</sup> These two sections also are taken from Josephus *op. cit.*, II, 8,

others in the vestibule, they hasten to their favourite work **P. 459.** until the afternoon. And they take supper in all respects as before described. And none ever shouts, nor is any other uproarious sound heard, but each one speaks quietly, every one decently yielding the conversation to the other, so that to those without the silence of those within seems somewhat of a mystery. And they are at all times sober, eating and drinking everything by measure.<sup>1</sup>

22. Now all give heed to the president<sup>2</sup> and what he commands they obey as law. For they are zealous to pity and help the downtrodden. And before all things they abstain from rage and anger and such-like, judging that these betray mankind. And none takes oath to the other, but what each one says is judged stronger than an oath. And if any one takes an oath, he is condemned as one not to be believed (without God).<sup>3</sup> And they are diligent concerning the recital of the Law and the Prophets, and also if there should be any summary<sup>4</sup> [of these] [made by one] of **p. 460.** the faithful, [they listen to it?] And they are very curious concerning plants and stones, being very inquisitive as to their operation, as they think that these did not come into being in vain.

23. But to those who wish to become disciples of the heresy, they do not straightway impart the traditions, until they have first made trial of them. For a year they set before them the same sort of food as [is served] to themselves, but outside their assembly and in another house. And they give them a hatchet and the linen cincture and white garments. When they have during this period given proof of continence, they draw nearer to the way of living [of the others] and are purified more thoroughly than at first, but they do not take their food with them. For after they have shown that they can practise continence, for another two years' trial is made of such a one's character, and on his appearing worthy, he is adjudged so [to be

<sup>1</sup> So is this. Cf. Josephus, *op. cit.*, II, 8, 5.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ προεστῶτι. The president of the feast is evidently a different person from the official of the same name in § 20, or of the *ιερεὺς* or priest in § 21, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Words in ( ) inserted by Cruice from Josephus from whose § 6 this section is taken.

<sup>4</sup> σύνταγμα, *volumen ad usum fidelium*, Cruice, "treatise," Macmahon.

received] by them. Before, however, he can eat with them, he is sworn with fearful oaths ; first, that he will show piety towards the Divine, then that he will observe justice towards men, and will in no way wrong any, nor hate anyone who  
 p. 461. wrongs him or who is an enemy to him, but will pray for him. And that he will fight on the side of the just and will keep faith with all, especially with those who bear sway, nor be disobedient to them. For it happens to none to rule save by God. And if [the aspirant] should bear rule, that he will never be arrogant in authority, nor make more use than is customary of any ornament ; but is to love the truth,  
 p. 462. to refute the liar, and not to steal, nor soil his conscience with unlawful gain, nor hide ought from his fellow-heretics. And will tell nothing [of their secrets] to others even if he shall suffer violence unto death. Besides this, he swears to them to impart none of the doctrines [of the sect] otherwise than as he himself received them. By such oaths, therefore, do they bind those who come unto them.<sup>1</sup>

24. But if any should be convicted in any transgression, he is cast out of the order, and he that is cast out sometimes perishes by a fearful fate. For, being bound by the oaths and customs, he cannot take food with other people. Therefore sometimes they utterly destroy the body by famine. Wherefore in the last extremity they sometimes take pity on many already dying, thinking the penalty unto death sufficient for them.<sup>2</sup>

25. Concerning their judgments, they are most careful and just. They deliver judgment after assembling not less  
 p. 463. than a hundred and what they determine is irrevocable. And they honour the Lawgiver [next] after God, and if anyone blasphemes him, he is punished. And they are taught to give ear to the rulers and elders ; and if ten are sitting in the same place, one will not speak unless the others wish. And they are careful of spitting in front of them or on the right side ; and more than all the Jews, they arrange to abstain from work on the Sabbath. For not only do they prepare their food one day before, so as not to light a fire, but they neither move an implement nor relieve nature.

<sup>1</sup> This, too, is almost *verbatim* from Josephus, *op. cit.*, II, 8, 7 ; but it is to be noted that Hippolytus omits the obligation to preserve the books of the sect and the names of the angels.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Josephus, *op. cit.*, § 8.



And some of them will not even get out of bed. But on other days, when they wish to evacuate, they dig a pit a foot long—with the hoe—for such is the hatchet which they give their adherents when first becoming disciples<sup>1</sup>—and covering it on all sides with their cloak, sit down, affirming that they must not insult the rays [of the Sun]. Then they throw back the excavated earth into the pit. And this they do choosing the most deserted places, [and] when they have done this they straightway wash, as if the secretion were polluting.<sup>2</sup>

p. 464.

26. But in course of time they have drawn apart and do not [all] observe the discipline in the same way,<sup>3</sup> being divided into four parts. For some of them are more austere than they need be, so that they will carry no coin, saying that they must not bear any image, nor look upon it, nor make it. Wherefore none of them goes into a city, lest he shall enter in through a gate whereon are statues, as they think it unlawful to pass under an image. And others, if they hear anyone holding forth about God and His Law, will watch such an one until he is alone in some place, and threaten to kill him if he be not circumcised. Whom, if he does not consent, he does not spare, but slays him. Whence from this occurrence they take their name, being called Zealots, but by some Sicarii. And yet others of them name none Lord but God, even if any should torture or slay them. And those who succeeded them became so much worse than their discipline that they would not touch those who remained in the ancient customs: [or] if they did so [by accident] they straightway washed themselves as if they had touched one of another sect. And the majority are long-lived, so that they live more than a hundred years. Now they say that the cause of this is their consummate piety towards God, and their condemning the serving [of food] without measure and to their being continent and slow to anger. And they despise death rejoicing that they can make an end with a good conscience. But if any one

p. 465.

<sup>1</sup> Like the Egyptian *turria*, an axe with its blade at right angles to instead of in a line with the shaft. Much used for digging.

<sup>2</sup> This section also is taken from Josephus, *op. cit.*, II, 8, 9. Hippolytus omits to say that the blasphemers of Moses were to be punished capitally. The refusal to get out of bed is not mentioned by Josephus.

<sup>3</sup> *ἡ ἀσκησις*, lit., "training," as for a gymnastic competition. Cf. our word "ascetic."

should torture such [men] to make them speak ill of the Law or to eat food offered to idols, they would not do so, suffering death and supporting tortures so that they may not go beyond their conscience.<sup>1</sup>

27. But the doctrine of the Resurrection is also strong among them. For they confess that the flesh rises again and will be immortal in the same way that the soul is already immortal. Which soul when it departs from the body, abides in an airy and well-lighted place until judgment, which place the Greeks hearing of it called [the] Islands of the Blessed. But there are other opinions of them which p. 466. many of the Greeks appropriated and maintained as their own teaching. For the discipline among them concerning the Divine is earlier than all nations, as is proved by all that the Greeks have ventured to say about God or the fashioning of the things that are starting from no other source than the Jewish Law. Wherefrom especially Pythagoras and those of the Porch took much, having been instructed in it by the Egyptians. And [the Essenes] say also that there will be a judgment and a conflagration of the All, and that the unjust will be punished everlastingly. And prophecy and the foretelling of things to come are practised among them.<sup>2</sup>

28. Now there is another order of Essenes making use of their customs and way of life, but they differ from these [just described] in the one [point of] marriage; saying that those who reject marriage do a fearful thing. And they declare that this comes to the taking-away of life, and that one must not cut off the succession of children, and that if everyone thought like this, the whole race of men might easily be cut off. They certainly try their wives for a period of three years; but when they have had three purifications, so as to prove that they can bear children, they wed them.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *op. cit.*, § 10, says that the sect and not their teaching was fourfold. He transfers the story of pollution by touch to the attitude of the seniors towards the juniors, and knows nothing of the gate story. The Zealots, according to him (*op. cit.*, VII, 8, 1) grew up under the Sicarii, who defended Masada against the Romans in Vespasian's time. The rest of this section corresponds with his Book II, 8, 10.

<sup>2</sup> In this section, Hippolytus leaves Josephus, except as to the Islands of the Blessed and the Essene gift of prophecy, both of which are to be found in Josephus, *op. cit.*, II, 8, 11, 12.

But they do not company with them when pregnant, proving p. 467. [thereby] that they do not marry for pleasure but from need of children. And the women wash themselves in the same way and don linen garments in the same way as the men with their cinctures. This, then, concerning the Essenes.<sup>1</sup>

But there are others also disciplined in the customs of the Jews, and called both legally and generically Pharisees. The majority of whom are [to be found] in every place, and all call themselves Jews, but on account of the special opinions held by them are called besides by specific names.<sup>2</sup> Now they, while holding fast the ancient tradition, continue to enquire methodically into what things are clean and what unclean according to the Law. And they interpret the things of the Law, putting forward teachers for that purpose. And they say that Fate is, and that some things are due to freewill and some to Fate, so that some [come] by ourselves and some by Fate. But that God is the cause of all, and that nothing is arranged or happens without His will. And they confess the Resurrection of the Flesh and that the soul is immortal, and [admit] a judgment to come and a p. 468. future conflagration, and that the wicked will be punished in unquenchable fire.

29. But the Sadducees eliminate Fate, and confess that God neither does nor contemplates anything evil; but that man has the power to choose the good or evil. But they deny not only the Resurrection of the Flesh, but also consider that the soul does not survive. But that its [function] is to live and that that is why man is born. And that the doctrine of the Resurrection is fulfilled by leaving children on earth when we die. But that after death there will be no hope of suffering either evil or good. For [they say that] there will be a dissolution of soul and body and that man will go to that which is not in the same way as the other animals. And that if a man has great possessions, and having become rich is [thereby] glorified, he is so far the

<sup>1</sup> Josephus (*op. cit.*, II, 8, 13), almost *verbatim* through the whole section.

<sup>2</sup> ὀνόμασι κυρίως, properly "nicknames." He seems to imply that while they called themselves Jews, other people knew them as Pharisees, Chasidim, or Puritans. The statement about Fate and the everlasting punishment of the wicked is to be found in Josephus (*op. cit.*, II, 8, 14), but the reward of the good is there said to be metempsychosis.

p. 469. gainer; but that God does not take care of the affairs of any one individual. And while the Pharisees love one another, the Sadducees love [only] themselves. The same heresy was especially strong round about Samaria. And they give heed to the customs of the Law, saying that one ought to do so that one may live well and leave children behind on earth. But they pay no attention to the Prophets, nor to any other wise men, but only to the Law [given] through Moses. Nor do they interpret anything. This then is the heresy of the Sadducees.<sup>1</sup>

30. Since now we have set forth the differences among the Jews, it seems proper not to pass over in silence the discipline of their service of God. Now there is a fourfold system with regard to the service of God among all Jews [to wit] Theological, Physical, Moral and Ceremonial.<sup>2</sup> And they say that there is one God, the Demiurge of the All and the Maker of all things that before were not,<sup>3</sup> nor did He make them from any subordinate essence, but He willed and created. And that there are angels and that they have come into being for the service of creation; but that there is also a Spirit having authority ever standing beside Him for the glory and praise of God. And that all things in the creation have sensation and that nothing is without soul.<sup>4</sup> And they pursue customs tending to a holy and temperate life as is to be recognized in their Law. But these things were of old carefully laid down by those who originally received a God-made Law, so that the reader will be astonished at so much moderation and care in the customs prescribed for man. But the ceremonial service offered in becoming fashion was excellently performed by them as it is easy for those who wish to learn by reading the Book discoursing on these matters.<sup>5</sup> [There they will

p. 470.

<sup>1</sup> This section also appears to be expanded from Josephus, *op. cit.*, II, 8, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *τερουργικη*.

<sup>3</sup> He here seems to imply that in the view of the Jews, at any rate, the All was made from pre-existent material, as a house from bricks, while some things were created *e nihilo*. This is denied in the next sentence.

<sup>4</sup> *ἄψυχον*. Perhaps with Cruice and Macmahon, we should translate "without life." Yet it seems hardly possible that Jews considered stones and minerals as alive.

<sup>5</sup> *Leviticus?*

see] how reverently and devoutly they offered to God the things given by Him for the use and enjoyment of man, obeying Him orderly and constantly. Some of these [doctrines] the Sadducees reject; for they hold that neither angels nor spirit exist.<sup>1</sup>

But all alike wait for Christ, the Coming One foretold by the Law and the Prophets. But the time of the Coming was not known of the Jews, [so that] the supposition endured that the sayings which appeared to concern the Coming were unfulfilled. But they expect that Christ will presently come, since they did not recognize His presence. And seeing the signs of the times of His having come already, this troubles them, and they are ashamed to confess that He has come, since with their own hands they became His murderers, through anger at being convicted by Him of not having hearkened to their Laws. And they say that He who was thus sent by God is not Christ. But they confess that another will come who as yet is not, and will bear some of the signs which the Law and the Prophets foreshowed; but some things they imagine wrongly. For they say that his birth will be from the race of David, but not from a Virgin and [the] Holy Spirit, but from a woman and a man, as it is a rule for all to be begotten from seed. And they declare that he will be a king over them, a man of war and a mighty one, who, having gathered together the whole nation of Jews, will make war on all the nations and re-establish for them Jerusalem as the royal city. Whereunto he will gather in the whole nation, and again will restore the ancient customs, while [the nation] is king and priest<sup>2</sup> and dwells in security for a sufficient time. Then shall again spring up against them a war of [the nations] gathered together. In this war the Christ shall fall by the sword and not long afterwards the end and conflagration of the All shall draw near, and thus their conjectures about the Resurrection shall be fulfilled, and everyone shall be recompensed according to his works.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here he, or perhaps some commentator, has to contradict what he has just said about "all" Jews believing these doctrines.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλευόντων καὶ ἱερατευόντων, "acting as kings and priests."

<sup>3</sup> Here again it is plain that "all Jews" could not believe this statement of Messianic hopes, and the Sadducees in particular would have repudiated what he says about the Resurrection and future recompense.

31. It seems to us that the opinions of all Greeks and Barbarians have been sufficiently set forth, and that nothing has been left undemonstrated either of the philosophizings<sup>1</sup> or of the things imagined by the heretics. To those among them [who read this], the refutation from what has been set forth is clear [viz.] that either plagiarizing from or laying under contribution what the Greeks have elaborated, they have put them forward as divine. Now, having run through all [these systems] and having declared with much labour in the nine books [above] all these opinions, thereby leaving to all men a little guide through life, and furnishing to the

p. 473- readers a study of no little joy and gladness, we think it reasonable to present as the conclusion of the whole [work] a discourse on the Truth.<sup>2</sup> And we shall write this in one book, [viz.] the Tenth. So that the reader, having recognized the overthrow which the heresies of these audacious men have sustained, may not only despise their follies, but by also recognizing the power of the Truth, [and] by worthily believing in God, can be saved.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν φιλοσοφουμένων, a play quite in Hippolytus' usual manner on the name of the Book and its meaning. It should be noted that the "things imagined by the heretics" correspond to the second title, "Refutation of all Heresies."

<sup>2</sup> He has already promised this in the conclusion to the chapter on the Elchesaites (p. 138 *supra*), which strengthens one's conviction that that on the Jews was an afterthought. It is plain, however, that nine Books were intended to precede the "Discourse on the Truth." Here again, he does not mention the Summary.

## BOOK X

P- 474

### SUMMARIES, AND THE WORD OF TRUTH

1. THESE are the contents of the 10th [Book] of the Refutation of all Heresies.
2. An epitome of all the philosophers.
3. An epitome of all [the] heresies.<sup>1</sup>
4. And what is in all things the Word of Truth.
5. Having broken through the labyrinth<sup>2</sup> of the heresies without violence but rather having dissolved them by our

<sup>1</sup> The promises before noted at the end of Books VIII and IX to declare the Doctrine of Truth says nothing of these epitomes, nor do they always accord with the earlier Books which may be supposed to be here epitomized. For a suggested explanation of this discrepancy see Introduction, Vol. I, pp. 18, 19 *supra*. It should also be noted that, while the author omits here any detailed mention of the contents of Books II, III, and IV, he can hardly have had Book I before his eyes at the time of writing, or he would have referred to it directly instead of quoting as he does from Sextus Empiricus. As has been said in the Introduction, the "epitome of the heresies" bears closer relation to Books V-IX, although it omits several heresies included in the epitomized books. That the writer, if not Hippolytus himself, is at any rate writing in his name, is plain from the wording of chap. 5, *infra*, and we can hardly suppose a forger so reckless as not to have read the earlier Books before attempting to epitomize them. On the other hand, it is perfectly conceivable that Hippolytus had in his possession notes from which his earlier Books were written, and that of these only a part remained when he set to work to write Book X. It would seem, therefore, that only some such hypothesis as that given in the Introduction really fits the case.

As to the style of the Book it does not differ materially from that of the others, save in one particular. This is the frequent omission of the definite article, which is so frequent as to arouse suspicion that the scribe may have been here translating from a Latin rather than copying from a Greek original.

<sup>2</sup> This is the main reason for supposing that this Book is that called the *Labyrinth* which Photius says was by the author of the work *On the Universe*, attributed by the list on the chair to Hippolytus. Cf. Salmon in *D.C.B.*, "Hippolytus Romanus."

single refutation in the power of Truth, we now draw near to the demonstration of the Truth itself. For then the manufactured sophistries of the error will appear inconsistent, when the definition of the Truth has shown that it has not taken its beginnings from the philosophy of the Greeks. Nor [has it taken] from [the] Egyptians [the] doctrines (and) the follies which are adored among them as worthy of faith—as [the] mysteries have taught—nor has it been devised out of the inconsistent jugglery of [the] Chaldeans, nor been forged by the unreasoning madness of [the] Babylonians through the activity of demons.<sup>1</sup> In whatever shape, however, the definition subsists, it is true, unguarded, and unadorned,<sup>2</sup> and by its appearance alone will refute the error. Concerning which, although we have many times made demonstrations, and have pointed out the Rule of Truth sufficiently and abundantly for those who are willing to learn, yet once again we judge it reasonable on the top of all the doctrines of the Greeks and heretics, to place as if it were [the] crown of the books [preceding], this demonstration by means of the tenth book.

6. Now having brought together the teachings of all the sages among [the] Greeks in four books,<sup>3</sup> and those of the heresiarchs in five, we shall point out the Doctrine concerning the Truth in one, after having first made a summary of what has been the opinions of all. For the teachers of the Greeks, dividing philosophy into three parts, so philosophize, some preaching Physics, some Ethics and some Dialectic.<sup>4</sup> And those who preached Physics thus declared,

<sup>1</sup> All these were probably described in the missing Books II and III, together with Book IV, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> ἀκαλότιστος.

<sup>3</sup> Book I only is concerned with the teachings of the Greek philosophers; but Books II and III must, according to the promise in Vol. I, pp. 63, 64, have contained an exposition of the mystic rites and astrological doctrine, and Book IV is entirely taken up with magic and divination. This is confirmed by the statement in Vol. I, p. 119. Hippolytus must therefore have forgotten this when writing Book X, or at any rate did not have the earlier Books before him.

<sup>4</sup> From here to the end of the section on p. 479 Cr., is a copy from Sextus Empiricus' work, *Adversus Physicos*, c. 10. So close is this that we are able by its aid to correct by it the faulty text of Sextus, and *vice versa*. Sextus, as a sceptic, was of course as much opposed to the study of nature as Hippolytus, and was therefore only interested in showing the discrepancies among its teachers. But how does this make the quotation from him an "epitome"?



some that all things were born from one, others from many. And of those who said [they came] from one, some [said they came] from what had no Quality, and others from that which had Quality. And of those who [said they came] from that which had Quality, some [said that they came] from fire, others from air, others from water and yet others from earth. And of those who [said they came forth] from many things, some [said that they came] from numerable things [others from boundless ones. And of those who said they came from numerable things], some [say that they came] from two, others from four, others from five, and others from six. And of those [who say] that they came from the boundless things, some [say that they came] from things like generated things, others from those unlike. And some of them say that they came from things impassible, others from things passible. The Stoics indeed would establish the birth of the universals from that which has no Quality and one body. For according to them, matter unqualified and capable of change by means of the universals is their source. And when it is transformed, fire, air, water and earth come into being. And those who will have all things to come into being from that which has Quality are the followers of Hippasus and Anaximander and Thales the Milesian. Hippasus the Metapontian<sup>1</sup> and Heraclitus the Ephesian declared the genesis of things to be from fire, but Anaximander from air, Thales from water, and Xenophanes from earth.

“For all things [came forth] from earth and all end in earth.”<sup>2</sup>

7. Of those who would derive the universals from [the] many and [the] numerable, the poet Homer declares that the universals have been composed of earth and water when he says:—

“Ocean source of Gods and mother Tethys.”<sup>3</sup>

and again:—

“But turn ye all to water and earth.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not mentioned in Book I.  
<sup>2</sup> *II.*, XIV, 201.

<sup>3</sup> Karsten, VIII, p. 45.  
<sup>4</sup> *II.*, VII, 99.

And Xenophanes the Colophonian seems to agree with him, for he says :—

“ All we are sprung from earth and water.”<sup>1</sup>

But Euripides says from earth and aether, as he lets us see from his saying :—

“ I sing aether and earth, mother of all.”<sup>2</sup>

But Empedocles from four, saying thus :—

p. 478.

“ Hear first the four roots of all things ;  
Shining Zeus and life-bearing Here and Aïdoneus  
And Nestis who wets with tears the human source.”

But from five, Ocellus the Lucanian<sup>3</sup> and Aristotle. For with the four elements they include the fifth and rotating body whence, they say, are all heavenly things. But from six, the followers of Empedocles derived the birth of all things. For in the verses where he says :—

“ Hear first the four roots of all things ”

he makes everything come from four. But when he adds to this :—

“ And hateful Strife apart from these [and] equal everywhere,  
And Love with them equal in length and breadth,”<sup>4</sup>

p. 479.

he is handing down six things as sources of the universals [*i. e.*] four material : earth, water, fire, [and] air and two, the agents Love and Strife. But the followers of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian and Democritus and Epicurus and very many others whose [opinions] we have before recorded in part, taught that the genesis of all things was from the boundless. But Anaxagoras says they came from things like those produced ; but the followers of Democritus and Epicurus, from those unlike and impassible, that is from the atoms ; and those of Heraclides the Pontian<sup>5</sup> and Asclepiades<sup>6</sup> from those which are unlike, but passible, such as disconnected corpuscles. But the followers of Plato say

<sup>1</sup> Karsten, IX, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Said to be a quotation from Euripides' *Hymns*.

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned in Book I.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. pp. 83, 84 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Not mentioned in Book I.

<sup>6</sup> Not mentioned in Book I.

that they came from three, and that these are God, Matter and Exemplar; but he divides matter into four principles: fire, water, earth, air; and says that God is the Demiurge of Matter, but Exemplar the Mind.

8. Now, having been persuaded that the system of Natural Science<sup>1</sup> is confessedly found unworkable by all these [philosophers], we ourselves shall unhesitatingly say concerning the examples of the Truth what they are and how we believe in them. But in addition we will first set forth in epitome the [opinions] of the heresiarchs, so that the opinions of all being thereby easy to discern, we may p. 480. display the Truth as clear and easy to discern also.

### 1. *Naassenes.*

9. But since this seems fitting, we will begin first with the ministers of the serpent. The Naassenes call the first principle of the universals a man and also Son of Man,<sup>2</sup> and him they divide into three. For part of him, they say, is intellectual, part psychic, and part earthly. And they call him Adamas and think the knowledge of him is the beginning of the power to know God. And they say that all these intellectual and psychic and earthly [parts] came into Jesus, and that the three substances spoke together through Him to the three races of the All. Thus they declare that there are three races, [the] angelic, psychic [and] earthly, and that there are three Churches, angelic, psychic and earthly; but that their names are [the] Called, Chosen, [and] Captive. These are the heads of their doctrine in so far as it can be briefly comprehended. They say that they were handed down by James the Brother of p. 481. the Lord to Mariamne, thereby belying both.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> φυσιολογία.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 371 Cr.

<sup>3</sup> In this chapter on the Naassenes, Hippolytus may be supposed to have had before him either the whole of Book V or the notes from which it was written. We may see, therefore, from this, what his idea of an epitome is. He does not try to condense his former statements so as to give us a bird's-eye view of the whole heresy, but picks out from them a few sentences which seem to him of special importance. Hence it is only useful to us as a means of checking the text, and brings us no nearer to an appreciation of the doctrines of the sect.

2. *Peratæ.*

10. But the Peratæ, Ademes the Carystian and Euphrates the Peratic<sup>1</sup> say that a certain cosmos—this is what they call it—is one divided into three. But of this threefold division of theirs, there is a single source, as it were a great fountain, capable of being cut by the reason into boundless sections. And the first and most excellent section is according to them the triad and the one part of it is called Perfect Good [and] Fatherly Greatness. But the second part of the Triad is, as it were a certain boundless multitude of powers, and the third is that of form. And the first [of the Triad] is unbegotten (since it is good: but the second good and self-begotten and the third, begotten).<sup>2</sup> Whence they say explicitly that there are three gods, three words, p. 482. three minds [and] three men. For to each part of the cosmos when the division was made, they assign Gods and Words and Men and the rest. But from on high, from the unbegotten state and from the first section of the cosmos, when the cosmos had already been brought to completion, there came down in the time of Herod a certain triple-natured and triple-bodied and triple-powered man called Christ, having within Him all the compounds and powers from the three parts of the cosmos. And this they will have to be the saying: "In Him dwells all the Fulness of the Godhead bodily." For [they say that] there came down from the two overlying worlds, namely from the unbegotten and the self-begotten, to this world in which we are, all sorts of seeds of powers. And that Christ came down from the Unbegottenness in order that through His descent all the things triply divided may be saved. For the things, he says, brought down from on high shall ascend through Him; but those who take counsel together against those brought down shall be ruthlessly rejected and having been punished shall be sent away. And he says that those [worlds] which will be saved are two, the overlying ones

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. I, p. 69 *supra*, where this Ademes is called Akembes and both he and Euphrates are mentioned as astrologers only. In Vol. I, p. 149 also the order is reversed and Ademes is called Celbes. Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.*, I, 17, quotes this chapter almost *verbatim*, thereby showing that it was Book X and not Book V which he copied.

<sup>2</sup> Words in ( ) added from Theodoret, *ubi cit.*

released from corruption. But the third will be destroyed, p. 483. which is the world of form.<sup>1</sup> And thus the Peratæ.

### 3. *The Sethiani.*

II. But to the Sethians it appears that there are three definite principles of the universals. And that each of these principles (has boundless powers . . . everything which you perceive by your mind or which you pass over for lack of thought)<sup>2</sup> is formed by nature to become [each of the principles] as in the human soul every art is to be learned. As if [they say] there should come to a boy spending some time with a pipe-player, the power of pipe-playing, or with a geometrician the power of measurement, or in like manner with any other art. But the substances of the principles, they say, are light and darkness. And between them is pure spirit. But the spirit which is set between the darkness which is below and the light which is above is, they say, not spirit like a gust of wind or any small breeze which may be perceived, but resembles some faint fragrance of balsam or of incense artificially compounded as a power penetrating p. 484. by force of fragrance and better than words can say. But because the light is above and the darkness below and the spirit between them, the light, like a ray of the sun on high, shines on the underlying darkness, and the fragrance of the spirit holding the middle place is borne and spread abroad as the odour of incense on the fire is borne. And as the power of the triply divided is such, the power of the spirit and the light together are below in the darkness beneath. But, they say, the darkness is a fearful water into which the light is drawn down with the spirit and changed into a similar nature. Now the darkness is sensible, and knows that if the light is taken away from it, the darkness will remain desolate, viewless, without light, powerless, idle and weak. In this way by all its wit and foresight it is forced to retain within itself the brilliance and scintillation of the light along with the fragrance of the spirit.

And with regard to this, they bring in this image, saying that as the pupil of the eye appears dark because of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. I, pp. 146-148 *supra*, which this chapter follows closely.

<sup>2</sup> Words in ( ) added from Vol. I, p. 161 *supra*. Nearly four lines are wanting here which can be filled from the page quoted.

- p. 485. waters underneath it, but it is made light by the spirit, thus the light seeks after the spirit and retains for itself all the powers which wish to withdraw and to depart. But these are ever boundless, wherefrom all things are modelled and become like mingled seals. For, as the seal coming into conjunction with the wax, makes the impress, while itself remains by itself whatever it was, so the powers coming into conjunction with each other elaborate all the boundless races of living things. Therefore [they say] came into being from the first conjunction of the three principles, the form of a great seal [*i. e.*] of heaven and earth, which had a shape like a womb with the navel in the midst. Thus also the rest of the models of all things were modelled resembling a womb like heaven and earth. But they say that from the water came into being the first born principle, a violent and rushing wind the cause of all generation, which sets in action a certain heat and movement in the cosmos from the movement of the waters. And [they say]
- p. 486. that this was changed into a complete form like the hissing of a serpent, beholding which the cosmos is driven to generation, being excited like a womb, and therefrom they will have it the generation of the universals is established. And they say that this wind is a spirit and that a perfect god came into being from the waters and from the fragrance of the spirit and from the brilliance of the light. And that there is also the begetting of a female, Mind, the spark from on high which is mingled with the accretions of the body and hastens to flee away so that it may escape and not find dissolution through being enchained in the waters. Whence it cries aloud from the mingling of the waters according to the Psalmist, as they say. "Thus the whole care of the light on high is how it shall draw the spark beneath from the Father who is below," [that is], from the wind which puts in action heat and disturbance and creates for himself Mind (a perfect son) who is not (peculiar) to himself, [whom] they declare, beholding the
- p. 487. perfect Word of the light from on high, changed Himself into the form of a serpent and entered into a womb, so that He might take again that mind which is a spark of the light. And this, [they say] is the saying: "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant."

And this the unhappy and wicked Sethians will have to be the [servile] form.<sup>1</sup> This then is what they say.

#### 4. *Simon.*

12. And the all-wise Simon says thus. There is a boundless power and this is the root of the universals. The boundless power is, he says, fire. According to him, it is not simple, as the many say the four elements are simple and therefore think fire is simple; but [he says] that the nature of the fire is double, and of this double [nature] he calls one part hidden and the other manifest. And that the hidden parts are concealed within the manifest parts of the fire, and the manifest parts of the fire are produced by the hidden. But, he says, that all the seen and unseen parts of the fire are to be considered as having sense.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, he says, the begotten world came into being from the unbegotten fire. But it began to come into being, he says, thus. The begotten [cosmos] took from the principle of that fire the first six roots of the principle of generation. For these six roots were born from the fire by pairs, which he calls Nous and Epinoia, Phoné and Onoma, Logismos and Enthymesis. And [he says] that in these six roots [taken] together, the Boundless Power exists (potentially but not actively, which Boundless Power) he says is the "He who Stands, Stood, and will Stand," which if it be exactly reflected will be within the six powers in substance, powers, greatness and influence, being one and the same as the Unbegotten and Boundless Power, and in no way inferior to that Unbegotten and Unchangeable and Boundless Power. But if it remains only potentially in the Six Powers and is not exactly

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this chapter, the summarizer copies closely the former account of the Sethians, for which see Vol. I, pp. 160-169 *supra*. I have not thought it worth while to draw attention to the slight differences in readings, but it is plain that the meaning in both cases was as obscure to the summarizer as it is to us.

<sup>2</sup> *φρόνησις*. This is evidently taken from the account of Simon's doctrine in Book VI, c. 12 (p. 6 *supra*), which says that the unseen parts of the fire have *φρόνησις* "and a share of mind," without mention of the seen parts. The rest of this chapter, with the exception of the last sentence attributing supreme power to Simon, is substantially, but not exactly word for word, identical with c. 12 of Book VI. Cf. pp. 247, 250 and 259 Cr.

p. 489. reflected, it, he says, vanishes and will die away like the grammatical or geometrical power in the mind of a man, when he does not receive technical teaching in addition. And Simon says that himself is the He Who Stands, Stood, and will Stand, being the Power which is above all.<sup>1</sup> Thus, then, Simon.

### 5. *Valentinus.*

13. But Valentinus and those from his school say the Source of the All is a Father and yet are carried into conflicting opinions [about him]. For some of them [think] that he is alone and capable of generation, while others hold that he is incapable of bringing forth without a female, and give him as a spouse Sigê, calling him Bythos. From whom and from his spouse some say that six projections came into being, [viz.] Nous and Alethcia, Logos and Zoë, Anthropos and Ecclesia, and that this is the first Ogdoad which brings forth.<sup>2</sup> And, again, [they say] that the projections which were first born within the Limit<sup>3</sup> are called the things within the Pleroma; but those second, those without the Pleroma; and those third, those without the Limit, the offspring of which last exists as the Hysterema.<sup>4</sup> But he says that there was born from that which was projected in the Hysterema, an Aeon, and that this is the Demiurge, for he does not wish him to be the First God, but speaks ill both of him and of what came into being by him. And [he says] that Christ came down from that which was within the Pleroma for the salvation of the Spirit that went astray, which dwells in our inner man, which they say will be saved for the sake of the

p. 490.

<sup>1</sup> The only ground for this assertion seems to be Simon's statement to Helen of Tyre (see p. 15 *supra*), that he was the "Power over all things," which seems to be explained by that on p. 12 *supra*, that the Power which Stands, etc., is *potentially* in all things.

<sup>2</sup> *ἑπταγενέσιον*. While in Book VI, of which these chapters profess to be a summary, the author describes Nous and Aletheia with their projectors as the descendants of Bythos alone, he here gives an account of the rival opinion that Bythos had a spouse called Sigê, and he reckons her in with her descendants so as to make up the number of eight.

<sup>3</sup> This is, of course, the *Horos* of Book VI.

<sup>4</sup> This word is also used in Book VI (see p. 286 Cr.), as the exact converse of the *Pleroma* or Fulness.



indwelling one. But [Valentinus] will not have it that the flesh will be saved, calling it a "coat of skin" and a corrupter of mankind. I have described this in epitome, as one meets with much matter [concerning it] and differing opinions among them. 'This then is what Valentinus' school thinks.<sup>1</sup>

#### 6. Basilides.

14. But Basilides also says that there is a God-Who-Is-Not who, being non-existent [made] the created world out of the things that are not. [He says] that a certain seed, p. 491. like a grain of mustard-seed was cast down, which contained within itself the stem, the leaves, the branches [and] the fruit; or, like a peacock's egg, contains within itself a varied multitude of colours, and they say that this is the seed of the cosmos, from which all things were produced. For [he says] the seed contained all things within itself, inasmuch as thus the things that were not were pre-ordained to come into being by the God-Who-Is-Not. Then there was, they say, in that seed a Sonhood, tripartite and in all things of the same substance with the God-Who-Is-Not, being begotten from the things that were not. And of this tripartite Sonhood, one part was [itself] finely divided, another coarsely so, while the other part needed purification. But the finely-divided part, straightway and concurrently with the happening of the first casting-down of the seed by the God-Who-Is-Not, escaped and went on high and came into the presence of Him-Who-Is-Not. For every nature yearns for Him because of His superabundance of beauty, but each in a different way. But the more coarsely divided [part] abode in the Seed and being merely imitative could not go on high, for it was much inferior to the finer part.<sup>2</sup> And it was given wings by the Holy p. 492. Spirit, for the Sonhood putting them on, both gives and

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that throughout this chapter there is no attempt to quote directly from Book VI, and that it is evidently the opinions of the Italic school of Valentinus and not the Anatolic that the author is here summarizing. In the next chapter, as will be seen, he resumes direct quotations.

<sup>2</sup> So far, the author is transcribing almost *verbatim* the statements in Book VII, cf. pp. 346-350 Cr.

receives benefit.<sup>1</sup> But the third Sonhood has need of purification. It remains in the heap of the Panspermia and it gives and receives benefit. And [he says] that there is something called [the] Cosmos and something hypercosmic for (the things that are) are divided by him into these two primary divisions. And what is between them, he calls [the] Boundary Holy Spirit, having the fragrance of the Sonhood.

From the Panspermia of the heap of the cosmic seed, there escaped and was brought forth the Great Ruler, the chief of the Cosmos, [a being] of unspeakable beauty and greatness. And he, uplifting himself to the firmament thought there was none other above him. And he became brighter and mightier than all below him, save the Sonhood left behind whom he did not know to be wiser than he. This [Ruler] having turned to the fashioning of the Cosmos, first begat for himself a Son better than he, and made him sit at his right hand. And this [place of the Ruler] they declare the Ogdoad. He then builds the whole p. 493. heavenly creation. But another Ruler ascended from the Panspermia, greater than all those lying beneath save the Sonhood left behind, but much inferior to the first, and he is called Hebdomad. He is the Creator and Demiurge and Controller of all below him; and he also made for himself a son more foresighted and wiser than he. But all these, they say, are according to the predetermination of that One-Who-Is-Not, and are worlds and boundless spaces.<sup>2</sup> And [Basilides] says that on Jesus who was born of Mary the power of [the] Gospel came, which descended and illumined the Son of the Ogdoad and the Son of the Hebdomad for the illumination and separation and purification of the Sonhood left behind that he might benefit and receive benefits from the souls. And they say that themselves are sons [of God], who for this purpose are in the world, [viz.] that they may purify the souls by their teaching and go on high together with the [third] Sonhood to the presence of the Father above, from whom the first Sonhood proceeded.<sup>3</sup> And they declare that the cosmos

<sup>1</sup> This is not said of the Holy Spirit in Book VII, cf. pp. 70, 71 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> This, too, is a new statement, although it may perhaps be implied from what is said on pp. 72, 73 and 76 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> So p. 76 *supra*.

shall endure until all the souls together with the Sonhood shall withdraw [from it]. And Basilides is not ashamed to narrate these portents.<sup>1</sup>

### 7. *Justinus.*<sup>2</sup>

P. 494-

15. Justinus also daring to [advance] things like these, says thus: "There are three unbegotten principles of the universals, two male [and] one female. Of the male, one is a certain principle called the Good, and is alone thus called, having foreknowledge of the universals. But the other [male] is the Father of all begotten ones, and has no foreknowledge and is unknown and unseen and is called, they say, Elohim. [But] the female is without foreknowledge, inclined to passion, double-minded, double-bodied, as in the stories about her<sup>3</sup> which we have above related in detail, the upper parts of her down to the groin being a virgin and those [below] a viper. The same is called Edem and Israel. And he declares that these are the principles of the universals wherefrom all things came into being. And [he says] that Elohim came without foreknowledge to desire for the composite virgin, and, accompanying with her, begat twelve angels. The names of these are . . .<sup>4</sup> And of these the paternal ones take sides with the (father); but the maternal ones with the mother. The same are (the trees of Paradise)<sup>5</sup> whereof Moses, speaking allegorically, wrote in the Law. And all things were made by Elohim and Edem; and the animals together with the rest of [creation] come from the beast-like parts, but man from those above the groin. And Edem deposited in [man] the

P. 495

<sup>1</sup> Save as before noted, everything in this chapter is to be found in the account of Basilides given in Book VII. The few exceptions show that the summarizer had assimilated its contents and an intelligent knowledge of Basilides' teaching. He entirely omits, however, the prediction of the Great Ignorance.

<sup>2</sup> The summarizer here takes Justinus from among the Ophites of Book V, where he is to be found in the earlier part of the text, and puts him after Basilides.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *αὐτῆς* for *αὐτοῦ*.

<sup>4</sup> These are omitted from the text, possibly because the summarizer did not wish to repeat names which might be used in magic. Cruice supplies them in his text from Book V, Vol. I, p. 173 *supra*, which see.

<sup>5</sup> The words in round brackets ( ) are as elsewhere in this chapter supplied by Cruice from Book V.

soul which is her power (but Elohim the spirit). But he declares that Elohim having learned [of the light above him] ascended to the presence of the Good One and left Edem behind. Whereat she being angered makes every plot against the spirit of Elohim which is deposited in man. And for his sake, the Father sent Baruch and commanded the Prophets (to speak) so that he might set free the spirit of Elohim and draw all men away from Edem. But he declares that Heracles became a prophet and that he was worsted by Omphale, that is by Babel, whom they name Aphrodite. And at last in the days of Herod Jesus became the son of Mary and Joseph, to Whom he declares Baruch to have spoken. And that Edem plotted against Him, but could not beguile Him, and therefore made Him to be crucified. Whose spirit [Justinus] says went on high to the Good One. And thus (the spirits) of all who believe these silly and feeble stories will be saved; but the body and soul belonging to Edem, whom the foolish Justinus calls the Earth,<sup>1</sup> will be left behind.<sup>2</sup>

### 8. *The Docetae.*

16. But the Docetae say things like this: That the first God is as the seed of the fig-tree from whom have come three Aeons, like the stem and the leaves and the fruit. And that these have projected thirty Aeons, each of them (ten). But all are linked together in tens and only differ in arrangement by some being before others.<sup>3</sup> And they projected infinitely boundless Aeons and are all masculo-feminine. And having taken counsel they all came together into one and from this intermediate Aeon was begotten from the Virgin Mary the Saviour of all, like in all things to the seed of the fig-tree, but inferior to it in that He was begotten. For the seed whence the fig-tree [comes] is unbegotten.<sup>4</sup> This then was the great light of the Aeons, complete, receiving no setting in order,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. I, p. 175 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing in this chapter which is not taken from the account of Justinus' doctrines in Book V, nor anything to show that the summarizer had any knowledge of these except from this.

<sup>3</sup> τινὰς τινῶν πρώτους!

<sup>4</sup> So the Codex. Cruice has γεννητόν, "begotten," but I see no reason for the alteration.

<sup>5</sup> κόσμησιν. Perhaps "adornment,"

containing within itself the forms of all the animals. And [they say] that this [light] shining into the underlying chaos provided a cause to the things which have been and are, and descending from on high impressed [on the] chaos below the forms of the Aeonie exemplars.<sup>1</sup> For the third Aeon which had tripled itself, seeing that all his types were drawn down into the darkness below and not being ignorant of the terrible nature of the darkness and the simplicity of the light, created heaven and having fixed it between, divided in twain the darkness and the light.<sup>2</sup> Then all the forms of the third Aeon having been overcome, they say, by the darkness, his likeness<sup>3</sup> subsisted p. 498. as a living fire coming into being by the light. From which, they say, the Great Ruler came to be, of whom Moses talks when he says that this God is a fiery God and a Demiurge who ever transfers the forms<sup>4</sup> of all (Aeons) into bodies. But they declare that it is these souls for whose sake the Saviour came,<sup>5</sup> and showed the way whereby those that had been overcome may escape. And [they say] that Jesus did on that unique power, wherefore He could not be gazed upon by any by reason of the overpowering greatness of His glory. And they say that all things happened to Him as is written in the Gospels.<sup>6</sup>

### 9. *Monoimus.*

17. But the followers of Monoimus the Arab say that the principle of the All is a First Man<sup>7</sup> and Son of Man, p. 499. and that the things which have come to pass as Moses

<sup>1</sup> ἰδέαι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 102 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκτόπιμα

<sup>4</sup> ἰδέαι. As before he means "patterns" or "exemplars."

<sup>5</sup> παραγεννηθῆναι.

<sup>6</sup> Here again there is nothing which cannot be found in Book VIII (see pp. 99-105 *supra*), from which this chapter is evidently taken. As has before been said, the summarizer to arrive at this has omitted all mention of Saturnilus, Menander and Carpocrates, while the other systems mentioned in Book VII, he has placed after the Docetae instead of before them.

<sup>7</sup> The summarizer here uses for the first time in our text the expression "First Man," which plays so large a part in later heresies such as Manichaeism. For its early appearance in Western Asia and its influence see Bousset's *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, c. 4. "Der Urmensch," and *Forerunners*, I, p. lxi, and II, pp. 292, 293.

says, came into being not by the First Man but by the Son of Man, and not from the whole, but from part of him. And that the Son of Man is Iota, which is the Decad, a dominant number wherein is the substance of all number, whereby every number subsists, and is the birth of the All [viz.] Fire, Air, Water [and] Earth. But this being so, Iota is one and one tittle, a perfect thing from the Perfect, a tittle flowing from on high, having within itself whatever also has the Man the Father of the Son of Man. Therefore [Monoimus] says that the world of Moses came into being in six days, that is, in six powers, from which the cosmos came forth from the one tittle. For cubes and octohedrons and pyramids and all the equal-sided figures like these, whence are made up Fire, Air, Water [and] Earth, have come into being from the numbers left behind in that simple tittle of the Iota which is the Son of Man. When therefore, he says, Moses speaks of a rod turning towards Egypt he is attributing allegorically the woes<sup>1</sup> of the world to the Iota, nor does he figure more than the ten woes. But if, he says, you wish to understand the All, enquire within thyself who it is who says, "My soul, my flesh, my mind,"<sup>2</sup> and who within thee makes each thing his own as another does to him. Understand that this is a perfect thing from the Perfect who considers all the so-called non-existent and all the existent as peculiar to himself.<sup>3</sup> This then is what Monoimus thinks.

#### 10. *Tatian.*

18. But Tatian, like Valentinus and the others, says that there are certain unseen Aeons, by one of whom below the cosmos and the things that are, were fashioned. And he practises a very cynical mode of life, and hardly differs from Marcion in his blasphemies and his rules about marriage.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *πλόη*. He evidently refers to the ten plagues as on p. 109 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> He omits the "My God . . . my understanding" of the letter to Theophrastus, on p. 110 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> He alters the *ἐξιδιοποιούμενος* (cf. p. 415 Cr.) to *κατιδιοποιούμενος*—a fair proof of the inaccuracy of the scribe. Except for the inaccuracies noted, however, there is no statement in this summary which cannot be found in Book VIII, pp. 106–111 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> For these few lines, the summarizer has evidently not taken the

11. *Marcion*.<sup>1</sup>

p. 501.

19. Marcion the Pontian, and Cerdo his teacher, also determined that there are three principles of the All, a Good One, a Just One, and Matter. But certain disciples of theirs add to this, saying that there are a Good One, a Just One, a Wicked One, and Matter. But all [agree] that the Good One created nothing wholly;<sup>2</sup> but they say that the Just One, whom some name the Wicked One, but others merely the Just, made all things out of the underlying Matter. For he made them not well but absurdly.<sup>3</sup> For things must need be like their creator. Wherefore they make use of the parable in the Gospels, saying, "A good tree cannot make evil fruits,"<sup>4</sup> and so on, declaring that in this it is said that things were devised wickedly by [the Just One]. And he says that Christ is the son of the Good One and was sent for the salvation of souls. Whom he calls [the] inner man, saying that He appeared as a man, but was not man, and as incarnate, but was not incarnate, p. 502. and was manifested in appearance [only], but underwent neither birth nor suffering, but seemed [to do so]. And [Marcion] does not wish that [the] flesh shall rise again. And, saying that marriage is destruction, he leads his disciples to a very Cynical life, thinking thereby to vex the Demiurge by abstaining from the things brought into being or laid down by him.<sup>5</sup>

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trouble to refer to the author's statements about Tatian in Book VIII, p. 111 *supra*. He now omits all reference to Justin Martyr, there said to be Tatian's teacher, and to Tatian's peculiar ideas about the salvation of Adam; while he introduces a special world-creating aeon not mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Here he omits the heresies of the Quatodecimans and the Encratites, which receive notice in Book VIII, pp. 113, 115, 116 *supra*, and passes on to Marcion, who was a contemporary of Valentinus. It is plain, therefore, that he does not attempt in the summary to keep either to order of date or to that of the earlier books.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν ὅλων πεποιημένα. So the Codex. Some word seems to be missing; but perhaps the passage should read οὐδὲν τῶν ὅλων, "none of the universals."

<sup>3</sup> ἀλόγως, "unreasonably."

<sup>4</sup> Matt. vii. 18.

<sup>5</sup> This also is certainly not taken from the chapters on Marcion in Book VII, pp. 82-90 *supra*, which are mainly devoted to an attempt to prove Marcion to have plagiarized from Empedocles. Nor is it from Irenaeus or from the tractate *Adversus omnes hereses*.

12. *Apelles.*

20. But Apelles, the disciple of [Marcion] displeased with what was said by his teacher, as we have before said, proposed by another theory that there are four Gods, declaring that one is (good) whom the Prophets knew not, but of whom Christ is the Son. And that another is the Demiurge of the All, whom he does not wish to be a god, and another a fiery one who is manifest, and yet another a wicked one: [all of] whom he calls angels. And adding Christ to these, he says that He is the fifth. But he gives heed to a book which he calls *Manifestations* of a certain Philumene whom he thinks a prophetess. And he says p. 503. that Christ did not receive the flesh from the Virgin, but from the adjacent substance of the cosmos. Thus he has written treatises<sup>1</sup> against the Law and the Prophets attempting to discredit them as false speakers and ignorant of God. And he says, like Marcion, that [all] flesh will be destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

13. *Cerinthus.*

21. But Cerinthus, who had been trained in Egypt, would have it that the cosmos did not come into being by the First God, but by a certain angelic power far removed and standing apart from the Authority [set] over the universals and ignorant of the God over all things. And he says that Jesus was not begotten from a Virgin, but was the son of Joseph and Mary in the same way as the rest of mankind, and that He excelled all other men in righteousness, moderation and intelligence. And that at the Baptism, there descended upon Him from the Authority over the universals, the Christ in the form of a dove, and that He then preached the unknown God and perfected his powers;<sup>3</sup> p. 504. but that at the end of the passion the Christ fell away from Jesus. And Jesus suffered, but the Christ remained passionless, being a spirit of [the] Lord.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *συντάγματα*, "summaries"?

<sup>2</sup> The substance of this can be found in the account of Apelles in Book VII, pp. 96-97 *supra*; but the summarizer does not use the phrases of the earlier book, and he can hardly have had it before him.

<sup>3</sup> As before (p. 389 Cr.), Macmahon here translates *καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπετέλειεν*, "he wrought miracles."

<sup>4</sup> This, on the other hand, is taken almost *verbatim* from c. 33 of



14. *Ebionæi.*

22. But the Ebionæi say that the cosmos came into being from the true God; but speak of the Christ as does Cerinthus. And they live in all things according to the Law of Moses, thus declaring themselves justified.<sup>1</sup>

15. *Theodotus.*

23. Theodotus the Byzantian brought in another heresy such as this, declaring that the universals came into being by the true God. But he says, like the Gnostics before described, that the Christ appeared in some such fashion [as this]. He said that the Christ was a man akin to all, but He differed [from others] in that He by the will of God was born from a Virgin who had been overshadowed by the Holy Spirit. And that he was not incarnate in the Virgin, p. 505. but at length at the Baptism the Christ descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove, whence they say He did not before then exercise powers. But he will not have the Christ to be God. And so Theodotus.<sup>2</sup>

16. *Other Theodotians.*

24. And others of them say all things like those aforesaid, altering one single thing only in that they accept Melchizedek as some very great power, declaring him to exist above every power. After whose likeness they will have the Christ to be.<sup>3</sup>

17. *Phrygians.*

25. But the Phrygians take the beginnings of their heresy from one Montanus and Priscilla and Maximilla, thinking

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Book VII (pp. 92, 93 *supra*), the few slight differences between the two chapters being not other than a careless scribe might be expected to make.

<sup>1</sup> This also from Book VII, p. 93 *supra*, but slightly condensed.

<sup>2</sup> This also appears to be condensed from the account of Theodotus in Book VII, pp. 93, 94 *supra*. The summarizer adds to it the alleged denial by Theodotus of Christ's divinity, which does not appear in Book VII.

<sup>3</sup> This, too, is not inconsistent with the account of "other Theodotians" in Book VII, pp. 94, 95 *supra*, but omits all reference to the Nicolaitans.

the wenches prophetesses and Montanus a prophet. But they are considered to speak rightly in what they say about the beginning and the fashioning of the All, and they receive not otherwise the things about the Christ. But they stumble with those aforesaid to whose words they erringly give heed rather than to the Gospels, and they prescribe new and unusual fasts.

26. But others of them approaching the heresy of the Noetians think in like manner concerning the wenches and Montanus, but blaspheme the Father of the universals saying that He is at once Son and Father, seen and unseen, begotten and unbegotten, mortal and immortal. These take their starting-points from one Noetus.<sup>1</sup>

### 18. *Noetus.*

27. And in the same way Noetus, being a Smyranean by birth, a garrulous and versatile man, brought in this heresy, which from one Epigonus reached Cleomenes and has so remained with his successors until now. It says that the p. 507. Father and God of the universals is one and that He made all things, and became invisible to the things which are when He willed, and then appeared when he wished. And that He is invisible when He is not seen; but visible when He is seen; and unbegotten when He is not begotten, but begotten when He is begotten from a Virgin; and passionless and immortal when He does not suffer and die, but that when [the] Passion comes, He suffers and dies. They think this Father is Himself called Son according to times and circumstances.<sup>2</sup> The heresy of these persons Callistus confirmed, whose life we have faithfully set forth.

<sup>1</sup> Here the summarizer reverts to Book VIII, pp. 113, 114 *supra*, from which his account of the Phrygians or Montanists appears to be taken. The phrases used are not identical, and while Book VIII merely says that the Montanist heresy agrees with the Patripassianism of the Noetian, the Summary declares that the first was absolutely derived from the second.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ καιροὺς καλούμενον πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα. Cf. the καλούμενον κατὰ χρόνον τροπήν, p. 434 Cr. Otherwise this chapter seems to be a condensed paraphrase rather than a series of extracts from Book IX, the summarizer having here added together the "heresies" so called of Noetus and Callistus. As mentioned in the Introduction, he is careful not to mention that Callistus was a Pope, and in the last sentence but one, he omits the name of Sabellius which is mentioned in the earlier book. Cf. p. 130 *supra*.

Who himself gave birth to a heresy, taking starting-points from them, while himself confessing that this Fashioner the All is the Father and God; but that He is spoken of by name and named Son, while in substance He is (one Spirit). For God, he says is a Spirit not other than the Logos nor the Logos than God, and therefore this Person is divided in name indeed, but not in substance. And he names this one God, and says that He was incarnated. And he wishes the Son to be He who was seen and overcome according to the flesh, but the Father to be He who dwelt within [Him]. p. 508. He sometimes branches off to the heresy of Noetus and sometimes to that of Theodotus, but holds nothing steadfastly. This now Callistus.

### 19. *Hermogenes.*

28. But one Hermogenes having also wished to say something [new] said that God made all things out of coexistent and underlying matter. For that it is impossible to hold that God created existing things from those which are not.<sup>1</sup>

### 20. *Elchasaitae.*

29. But certain others, as if bringing in something new [and] collecting things from all heresies, prepared a foreign book bearing the name of one Elchasai. These in the same way [as their predecessors] confess that the principles of the All came into being by God, but do not confess Christ to be one. But they say that there is one on high who is often transferred<sup>2</sup> into [many] bodies, and that he p. 509. is now in Jesus. Likewise that at one time, this one was born from God, and at another became [the] Spirit, and sometimes was born from a Virgin and sometimes not. And that thereafter he is ever transferred into [many] bodies, and is manifested in many according to [the] times. And they use incantations and baptisms for their confession.

<sup>1</sup> He now reverts to Hermogenes, against whom Tertullian wrote, and who must therefore in the time of Callistus have long been dead. The few lines given here correspond to the opening sentences of the chapter on this heretic in Book VIII, p. 112 *supra*, which see.

<sup>2</sup> μεταγγιζόμενον, lit., "poured" as from one vessel into another—a considerable amplification of the statement in Book IX, p. 134 *supra*.

of the elements.<sup>1</sup> And they are excited about astrology and mathematics and (give heed) to magic (acts). And they say they foreknow the future.<sup>2</sup>

21. [Title lacking].<sup>3</sup>

30. (Abraham being commanded) by God, migrates from Mesopotamia and the city of Harran to the part now called Palestine and Judæa but then Canaanitis, concerning which we have in part but not without care handed down the account in other discourses.<sup>4</sup> Through this occurred the beginning of [the] increase [of population] in Judæa, which got the name from Judah the fourth son of Jacob, of whom it was also called the kingdom, through the royal race being from him. (Abraham)<sup>5</sup> migrates from Mesopotamia (being 75 years old) and being in his hundredth year (begat Isaac. (And Isaac being) 60 years old begat Jacob. And Jacob [when] 87 years old begat Levi. But Levi when 40 years old begat Kohath.<sup>6</sup> And Kohath [was 4] years old when he went down with Jacob into Egypt. Therefore the whole time which Abraham and all his race by Isaac dwelt in the land then called [the] Canaanitis was 215 years.<sup>7</sup> And his

<sup>1</sup> Water and Earth are the only two "elements" mentioned in the exorcisms attributed to the Elchesaites in Book IX, p. 135 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The statements in this account of the Elchesaites are all to be found in the description of them in Book IX, pp. 132-138 *supra*; but the same words are not used, and there is nothing to show that the summarizer had the earlier book before him at the time of writing.

<sup>3</sup> Cruice suggests that the considerable *lacuna* that there evidently is here was filled by a summary of the chapters on the Jewish sects with which Book IX ends (see pp. 455-472 Cr.). This hardly seems to correspond with the form of what is left; but it is not impossible that we have here excerpts from the book on chronology which we know Hippolytus to have written. Another suggestion is that what follows is from his *Commentary on Genesis*, of which a few fragments survive.

<sup>4</sup> Were these *ἐπέροι λόγοι* the treatise "On the All" which Hippolytus wrote?

<sup>5</sup> As throughout the words in round brackets ( ) are supplied by Cruice. In this chapter they are mainly taken from Gen. xi., which see.

<sup>6</sup> Καθθ. In all these names I have used the spelling of the A.V. as being more familiar to the general reader than that of LXX.

<sup>7</sup> If Abraham did not beget Isaac until he had been twenty-five years in Canaan, the figures would be for Abraham twenty-five, for Isaac sixty, for Jacob eighty-seven, for Levi forty, for Kohath four. But this makes 216 at least.

(father) was Terah. This one's [father] was Nahor, his Scrug (his Zeu, his Peleg, his Eber) whence (the Jews) are called Hebrews. There were 72 (sons of Abraham from whom also were 72) nations, whose names also we have set forth in other books.<sup>1</sup> Nor did we omit this in its place as we wished to show to the learned<sup>2</sup> our affection concerning the Divine and the accurate knowledge concerning the Truth which we have painfully acquired. But the father of this Eber was Shelah, and his Canaan, and his Arphaxad, who was born to Shem; and his father was Noah in whose time the flood over the whole world came to pass, which neither Egyptians, nor Chaldæans, nor Greeks record. For to them the floods in the time of Ogyges and Deacalion were [only] in places. Now in their time<sup>3</sup> were 5 generations, or 435 years.<sup>4</sup> This [Noah] being a most pious man and one who loved God, alone with [his] wife and children and their three wives escaped the coming flood, being saved in an ark, the measurements and remains of which, as we have set forth<sup>5</sup> [elsewhere], are shown to this day in the mountains called Ararat which are near the land of the Adiabeni. It is then to be observed by those who wish to give a painstaking account how plainly it is shown that the God-fearing race are older than all Chaldæans, Egyptians, [or] Greeks. But what need is there to name here those before Noah who both feared and spake with God, when to what has gone before the witness of antiquity is sufficient?

31. But since it seems not unreasonable to show that those nations who occupy themselves with philosophy<sup>6</sup> are later in date than they who feared God, it is right to say both where their race came from, and that when they migrated to these countries, they did not take a name from them, but themselves gained [one] from those who first

<sup>1</sup> So the fragment of the *Chronicon* attributed to Hippolytus in Fabricius, *S. Hippolyt. Opera*, p. 50, which perhaps goes to show the authorship of the Summary.

<sup>2</sup> φιλομαθέσιν.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τούτων, that is reckoning from Noah to Eber.

<sup>4</sup> Cruice would read 495 years.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκτεθείμεθα. The phrase that he uses everywhere in the book for statements in *this* work. See n. on previous page.

<sup>6</sup> σοφία. This is in pursuance of Hippolytus' favourite theory that philosophy was the source of all heresy.

ruled<sup>1</sup> and dwelt [there]. The three sons of Noah were Shem, Ham and Japhet. From them the whole race of men multiplied and dwelt in every country. For the word of God<sup>2</sup> was confirmed by them which said, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth."<sup>3</sup> So mighty was this one saying, that 72 children were begotten by the 3 sons, family by family, of whom 25 were Shem's, 15 Japhet's, and 32 Ham's. And the sons of Ham were, as has been said 32 :— his were Canaan, from whom the Canaanites, Misraim, from whom the Egyptians, Cush, from whom the Ethiopians, Phut, from whom the Libyans. These in their own speech unto this day are called by the common name of their ancestors and even in the Greek are named by the names by which they have just been called. But if it were shown that there were formerly none to inhabit their countries, nor a beginning of [any] race<sup>4</sup> of men, yet there are still these sons of Noah, a God-fearing man who was himself a disciple of God-fearing men, thanks to which he escaped the great although temporary threat of [the] waters. How then can it be denied that there were God-fearing men earlier than all Chaldæans, Egyptians [and] Greeks,<sup>5</sup> the father of which [last] was born to that Japhet [and had the] name Jovan, whence [the] Greeks and Ionians? And if the nations who occupy themselves with matters of philosophy are shown to be altogether of much later date than the God-fearing race and the Flood, will not the Barbarian and whatever races in the world are known and unknown, appear later than these? Wherefore now, do ye Greeks, Egyptians and Chaldaeans and every race of men master this argument and learn what is the Divine and what His well-ordered creation from us, the friends of God, who have not been trained in dainty phrase, but in the knowledge of Truth and the practice of moderation find words for His demonstration.<sup>6</sup>

32. One God is the First and Only One and Creator and

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαύρων. Macmahon translates "were born," but I think the word is never used in that sense by Hippolytus.

<sup>2</sup> ῥῆμα Θεοῦ. An unusual phrase here.      <sup>3</sup> Gen. i. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Reading γένους with the Codex instead of the γένος of Cruice.

<sup>5</sup> Because these "God-fearing men" were before the Flood, and the others could only have descended from Shem, Ham or Japhet.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the author's meaning, but the reading is not very well settled Cruice translates *qui non elegantibus verbis divina coluimus*, which Macmahon follows.

Ruler of all. He has no coeval, neither boundless chaos, nor immeasurable water, nor solid earth, nor compact air, nor hot fire, nor subtle spirit, nor the blue canopy of great heaven.<sup>1</sup> But He was One, alone with Himself, who when He willed created the things which are, which at first were not, save that He willed to create them as knowing of what they would be. For foreknowledge also is present with Him. He fashioned first the different principles of things to come—fire and spirit,<sup>2</sup> water and earth,—from which different [principles] He made His creation. And some things He [made of] one substance and some he bound together out of two, others of three and yet others of four. And those that are of one were immortal, for dissolution does not dog them, for that which is one will never be dissolved. But those [made] from two or three or four [substances] are dissoluble, wherefore they are called mortal. For death is called this, the dissolution of what is bound together. We think we have now answered sufficiently those who have sound perception, who, if for love of learning they will enquire further into these substances and the causes of the fashioning of all things, they will learn them by reading our book, treating of "the Substance of the All."<sup>3</sup> And I think that it is here enough to set forth the causes from ignorance whereof the Greeks glorified with dainty phrase the parts of the creation, but ignored the Creator. Starting wherefrom the heresiarchs, transfiguring into like expressions what was formerly said by [the Greeks] have composed laughable heresies.

33. This God, then, One and Over All having first conceived in His mind begat [the] Word, not a word in the sense of a voice, but the indwelling Reason<sup>4</sup> of the All. He begot Him alone from the things which are. For the Father Himself was what is, from Whom was the Word, the

<sup>1</sup> This is, of course, an allusion to the theories of the "Barbarians" on the Deity set out in Book IV. Cf. Vol. I, p. 104 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that throughout this chapter he uses "spirit" as the fourth element instead of "air." So Photius, quoting from the work "On the All," which is attributed to Hippolytus.

<sup>3</sup> This work is known to us by the list on the chair mentioned in the Introduction, and by a notice by Photius, who seems to have read the work under the name of Josephus. Cf. Salmon in *D.C.B.*, s.n. "Hippolytus Romanus."

<sup>4</sup> This *Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* which Philo distinguishes from the *Λόγος προφορικός* seems to have been a phrase first adopted into Christian theology by Theophilus of Antioch.

cause of the begetting of things coming into being, bearing within Himself the will of His begetter, not ignorant of the thought of the Father. For from the time<sup>1</sup> of His coming forth from Him who begat Him, becoming His first-born voice, He holds within Himself the ideas conceived in His Father's mind. Whence, on the Father ordering the world to come into being, the Word completed it in detail,<sup>2</sup> [thus] pleasing God. And the things which multiply by generation, He formed male and female; but all those for service and ministry he made either males who have no need of females or neither male nor female. For when the first substances

p. 517. of these came into being [namely] Fire and Spirit, Earth and Water, from the things that were not, neither male nor female things existed. Nor could male and female have come forth from each of these, unless the God who gave the command had willed that the Word should do this service.<sup>3</sup> I confess that angels are [formed] of fire and I say that no females are present with them. But I consider that Sun and Moon and stars were in like manner [formed] of fire and spirit and are neither male nor female. But I say that swimming animals were [formed] of water and that winged ones are male and female.<sup>4</sup> For thus God willed and commanded that the watery substance should be fruitful. In like manner, serpents and wild beasts and all sorts of animals were [formed] from earth and are male and female; for this the nature of begotten things allowed. For whatever things He willed, those God created. These He fashioned by the Word, for they could not have come into being otherwise than they did. But when as He had willed He also created, He called and designated them by name. Thereafter He fashioned the ruler of them all, and equipped him from all substances brought together. Nor did He wish to make a God and fail, nor an angel—be not deceived—

p. 518. but a man. For had God willed to make thee a God, He could: thou hast the example of the Word. But He willed a man and created thee a man. But if thou dost wish also to become a God, hearken to the Creator and withstand Him not now, so that being found faithful over a little, thou mayest be entrusted with much.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἄμα.<sup>2</sup> τὸ κατὰ ἔν.<sup>3</sup> ὑπευργῆ.<sup>4</sup> Like most of the ancients, Hippolytus does not know that fish have sex.<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matt. xxv. 21, 23; Luke xix. 17.



Only the Word of this [God] is from Him. Wherefore He also is God, being the substance of God. But the world is from nothing. Wherefore it is not God and it will be dissolved<sup>1</sup> when the Creator wills. But God who created makes nothing evil; but he creates it fair and good. For He who creates is good. But man when he came into being was an animal with free-will,<sup>2</sup> not having a ruling mind, nor dominating all things by reflection and authority and power, but a slave<sup>3</sup> and full of all contrary [desires].<sup>4</sup> Who, in that he is free to choose produces evil, which when it is completed by accident is nothing unless thou dost make [it].<sup>5</sup> For it is by the thinking and willing something evil, that it is named evil; which was not from the beginning, but came into being later. [And] as man was free to choose, a Law was laid down by God, not vainly. For if man were not free to will or not to will, what need of a Law?<sup>6</sup> For the Law is not decreed for a dumb beast, but a bridle and a whip; but to man was appointed a commandment and a penalty in respect of what he was to do and not to do. And [the] Law as to this was laid down of old through righteous men. Nearer to our own times, a Law full of majesty and justice was laid down through the Moses aforesaid, a steadfast man and one who loved God.

p. 519.

All these things, the Word of God directs, the First-born Son of [the] Father, the light-bringing voice before dawn.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter there came into being righteous men who loved God. These were called prophets from their showing beforehand the things to come.<sup>8</sup> To whom word came not at one season [only], but through all generations the utterances of things foretold was most clearly brought forward.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδέχεται λύσιν, "receives dissolution."

<sup>2</sup> αὐτεξούσιον, "his own authority"?

<sup>3</sup> i. e. to his passions. See p. 178 *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> πάντα ἔχον τὰ ἐναντία.

<sup>5</sup> So Cruice. Macmahon says, "which evil is not consummated except you actually commit some piece of wickedness." But the reading is very uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> τί καὶ νόμος ὤρίσθη, "why was the Law enacted?"

<sup>7</sup> πρὸ ἑωσφόρου, "Before the Morning Star." Cf. 2 Peter i. 18, 19.

<sup>8</sup> διὰ τὸ προφαίνειν. The real derivation is from πρόφημι.

<sup>9</sup> Cruice points out the likeness between this doctrine of the Word speaking through the Prophets, and that with which Origen begins his treatise, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν (I, § 1), that before the Incarnation "Christ, the Word of God, was in Moses and the prophets." It was doubtless this, and the likeness between the theory of the origin of evil as given on

p. 520. Nor did they merely give an answer to those present there at the time, but through several generations also the things to come were foreshadowed. [And this] because speaking of things past they recalled them to mankind; but by showing what was then happening they put away carelessness, and by foretelling the future have made every one of us fearful by the sight of the fulfilment of prophecies and the expectation of the future. Such is our faith, O all ye men who are not persuaded by vain speeches, nor captured by sudden movings of the heart, nor enchanted by plausible and eloquent words, but have not been obdurate to words uttered by Divine power. And these things God commanded [the] Word; and the Word speaking through [the prophets], uttered them for the turning of man from disobedience and emancipating him from the force of Fate, but calling him to liberty by his free choice.<sup>1</sup>

p. 521. The Father in the last days sent forth this Word, not speaking through a prophet, and not wishing that the Word when proclaimed should be darkly guessed at, but that He should be manifested to the very eyes of all. He, I say, (sent Him forth) that the world when it beheld Him should be put to shame. For He did not give commandment through the person of prophets, nor affright [the] soul by an angel, but was Himself present and spake. Him we know to have taken body from a Virgin and to have moulded<sup>2</sup> the old man through a new formation. [We know] that He passed in life through every age,<sup>3</sup> so that He might become

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pp. 518, 519 Cr. of our text, and that of Origen in *Joanni*, II, 7, 8, which caused some commentator to write in the margin of the Codex, *Ὁριγένους καὶ Ὁριγένους δόξα*: "Origen and Origen's opinions." The words used in the two cases are too unlike to suggest any identity of authorship or conscious borrowing; but it is perfectly probable that Origen when in Rome communicated with Hippolytus as head of the Greek-speaking community there, and that they had many ideas in common. This would account at once for the likeness between the passages noted and for the confusion between Hippolytus and Origen as the author of the *Philosophumena*, while it throws new light on Origen's condemnation for heresy.

<sup>1</sup> *ἰκονισμῷ προσεπίσει.*

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Cruice *πεφωρακῶτα* for the *πεφορηκῶτα* of Miller. Although Miller's reading accords with the Scriptural "put on the old man," the allusion is evidently to the *φωράμα* of a few lines lower down.

<sup>3</sup> This is evidently an allusion to the extraordinary theory of Hippolytus' master, Irenæus (Book II, c. 33, § 3, p. 331, Harvey), that

a law for every age, and that His presence might show forth His manhood as an example<sup>1</sup> to all men; and that through Him it might be proved that God makes nothing evil, and that man as master of himself can will or not will [evil], being capable of both. We know, too, that this man came into being out of the same material<sup>2</sup> as ourselves; for were He not of the same [matter] it would be vain to order that the Teacher be imitated. For had that Man chanced to be of another substance [than ours] why should he order me who am weak by nature to do things like Himself? And [in that case] how is He good and just? But in order that He might not be thought different from us, He underwent toil, and was willing to hunger, and denied not thirst,<sup>3</sup> and was stilled in sleep, and renounced not suffering, and submitted to death, and manifested resurrection, sacrificing in all this His own manhood, so that thou when suffering may not be faint-hearted, but mayst confess thyself a man and expect also what the Father promised Him. p. 522.

34. Such is the true word about the Divine.<sup>4</sup> O all ye men, Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts and ye army-leading Latins,<sup>5</sup> and all ye dwellers in Europe, Asia and Libya.<sup>6</sup> To you I am become a counsellor, being a disciple of the Word who loves man and myself a lover of mankind, so that you may hasten to be taught by us who is the real God and what His well-ordered creation. And that you give not heed to the sophistries of artificial discourses,<sup>7</sup> nor to the crazy promises of plagiarizing heretics, but to the august simplicity of unboastful truth. Through the knowledge of which, you shall escape the coming menace of the judgment of fire, and the unlighted vision of

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Christ having suffered at 30 years old lived and taught after the Resurrection until He was "40 or 50," thus "passing through every age." Cf. *Forerunners*, II, p. 61 and note.

<sup>1</sup> ἄκρον, "arm" or "goal."

<sup>2</sup> φυράμα, lit., "dough" or plastic substance.

<sup>3</sup> An allusion to the Word on the Cross.

<sup>4</sup> περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> It is curious that he does not call them Romans.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek name for the province called by the Romans Africa.

<sup>7</sup> He is here repeating the phrase used on p. 150, with which he begins this Book. Its repetition shows the continuity of this last and that it was all written at the same time and by the same author.

p. 523. gloomy Tartarus unilluminated by the voice of the Word, and the boiling of the Lake of the eternal Gehenna of flame, and the ever-threatening eye of the angels punished in Tartarus,<sup>1</sup> and the worm which through the filth of the body turns towards the body which threw it forth as for food. And these things thou shalt escape when thou hast been taught the God Who Is. And thou shalt have an immortal body together with an incorruptible soul. And thou shalt receive the kingdom of the heavens, who whilst on earth didst also recognize the heavenly King. But thou shall speak with God and be joint heir with Christ, not enslaved by desires nor sufferings nor diseases.<sup>2</sup> For thou [wilt] have become God. For whatever sufferings thou underwent as man, thou hast shown that thou art a man; but whatever is appurtenant to a God, that God has promised to bestow, because thou hast been made divine, since thou hast been begotten immortal. This is the [true] "Know Thyself," the knowledge of the Creator God. For to him who knows himself has occurred the being known to Him by whom

p. 524. he is called. Wherefore now, O men, be not your own enemies, nor hesitate to turn again. For Christ is the God over all, Who has arranged to wash away iniquity from among men, and to make anew the old man who from the beginning was called His image, thus showing forth His love towards thee. Having hearkened to Whose august precepts, and having become a good imitator of the Good One, thou wilt be like unto and be honoured by Him. For God asks no alms,<sup>3</sup> and has made thee God for His own glory.

<sup>1</sup> *Ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κολαστῶν*. Tartaruchian is a Coptic form. See Budge's *Miscellaneous Texts of Upper Egypt*, 1915, p. 590.

<sup>2</sup> *ὁμιλητῆς Θεοῦ*, Cr. *familiaris*, Macm., "companion of."

<sup>3</sup> *οὐ πτωχεύει*. The phrase has given much concern to commentators. Cruice suggests *δὲ γὰρ πολυωρεῖ*, "has a great esteem for thee." Wordsworth translates "has a longing for thee." Macmahon "(by such signal condescension) does not diminish aught of the dignity of His divine perfection." The phrase is probably an allusion to the heathen notion formally stated by Aelius Aristides and others that the gods *had need* of the sacrifices of mortals.

## INDEX

- ADAM of Cabala, i. 120 *n.* 6; the first man, *ap.* Chaldeans, i. 122; arch-man of Samothrace, i. 132; made by Jaldabaoth and his sons, *ap.* Ophites, i. 122 *n.* 3. *See* Tatian
- Adamas, supreme god of Naasenes, i. 120; the "unsubdued," epithet of Hades, Dionysos and Attis, i. 120 *n.* 6; called the arch-man, i. 128, 129; Isaiah's words attributed to, i. 134
- Adonis, Assyrian name of Attis, i. 124
- Aetius, *Philosophumena* attributed to, i. 5; his *de Placitis Philosoph.* quoted, i. 39 *n.* 3, 43 *n.* 1, 56 *n.* 1
- Aipolos = goatherd according to Phrygians, i. 137
- Akembes, the Carystian, joint founder of Peratic heresy, i. 69, 149; ii. 154. *See* Euphrates
- Alcibiades, of Apamea. *See* Elchesaites
- Alcinous, chief source of Hippolytus for Plato's doctrines, i. 51 *n.* 3
- Alès, Adhémar d', his *Théologie de St. Hippolyte* quoted, i. 66 *n.* 1
- Amygdalus, Phrygian name of Attis, i. 140
- Anaxagoras, his teaching, i. 44-46
- Anaximander, his teaching, i. 42, 43
- Anaximenes, his teaching, i. 43, 44
- Andronicus the Peripatetic, quoted by Sethiani, i. 167
- Apelles, follower of Marcion. His tenets, ii. 96, 97; his prophetess Philumena, ii. 96; summary of doctrines of, ii. 166
- Apocatastasis, return of worlds to Deity, ii. 75 *n.* 4
- Apparitions of gods, how produced by magicians, i. 97, 100
- Apsethus the Libyan, story of, ii. 3, 4
- Archelaus, his teaching, i. 46, 47
- Aristotle, i. 16; his teaching, i. 55-57; his *Categorics*, i. 55 *n.* 5; his Quintessence, i. 56 *n.* 1; ii. 72 *n.* 4; phrase of, used by Simon M., ii. 11 *n.* 4; Basilides' tenets attributed to, ii. 62-66. *See* Plato
- Arithmomaney, i. 83-87
- Armellini attributes *Philosophumena* to Novatian, i. 6
- Arnold, Prof. E. V., his *Roman Stoicism* quoted, i. 57 *n.* 3, 127 *n.* 3, 136 *n.* 5; ii. 45 *n.* 7, 79 *n.* 6
- Asclepiades, i. 19; ii. 152
- Assyrians = Syrians, i. 123 *n.* 6; teach triune nature of Deity, *ib.*
- Astrology, source of heresy, i. 34; the Chaldean system of, i. 67-69; folly of, i. 70-75, 113; zodiacal types of, i. 88-91
- Astronomers, calculations of, i. 76-83; Hippolytus' contempt for, i. 82
- Athenæus, his *Deipnosophistæ* quoted, i. 108 *n.* 3
- Attis, legend of, i. 118 *n.* 1; hymns to, sung in Mysteries of great Mother, i. 141, 142; names of: Adonis, Osiris, Moon, Sophia, Adamna, Corybas, Pappas, Aipolos, Amygdalus, Syrietas; *ib.*

- Babylonians, say god is Darkness, *ap.* Hippolytus, i. 104
- Baptism, in primitive Church followed by milk and honey, i. 136 *n.* 9
- Barbelo, the earth-goddess of Gnostics, i. 139 *n.* 5
- Baruch*, book of. *See* Justinus
- Basilides, i. 13, 14, 16; his tenets, ii. 59-79; hearer of Glaucias, ii. 59 *n.* 1; of Matthias, ii. 66; his son Isidore, *ib.*; his God-who-is-Not, ii. 67. The Pan-spermia, ii. 68; Ascension of First Sonhood, ii. 69; of Second Sonhood, ii. 70; the Boundary Spirit, *ib.*; the Great Ruler and his greater Son, ii. 71, 72; the second ruler or Hebdomad, ii. 73; descent of the Gospel, ii. 75; the 365 heavens and Habrasax, ii. 76; light which shines upon Jesus and His Passion, *ib.*; Apocatastasis of Formlessness and Mission of Jesus, ii. 77-79; the great ignorance, ii. 77; summary of doctrines of, ii. 159-161. *See* Simon of Cyrene, Aristotle
- Baulo. *See* Hecate
- Baur, Chr. F., attributes *Philosophumena* to Caius the presbyter, i. 6
- Beelzebuth, made from perplexity of Sophia, *ap.* Valentinus, ii. 31; name parody of Jabezeth, ii. 31 *n.* 2
- Benn, Alfred W., his *Philosophy of Greece* quoted, i. 37 *n.* 6, 43 *n.* 1
- Bigourdan, G., his *L'Astronomie: Evolution des Idées*, etc., quoted, i. 80 *n.* 3
- Blastus, heretic mentioned by pseudo-Tertullian, i. 13
- Bouché-Leclercq, A., his *L'Astrologie Grecque* quoted, i. 67 *n.* 1, 74 *n.* 5; 108 *n.* 2, 148 *n.* 4
- Bousset, Prof. Wilhelm, his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* quoted, i. 123 *n.* 2; ii. 80 *n.* 2, 163 *n.* 7
- Brachmans, their lives and teaching, i. 60-61; ii. 99 *n.* 1
- Brandt, Prof. A. S. H. W. *See* Elchেসaites
- Brimo, name of Demeter in Mysteries, i. 138
- Bruce, the, Papyrus, i. 3 *n.* 1; quoted, ii. 12 *n.* 2
- Buddhism, known to Clement of Alexandria, ii. 59 *n.* 1
- Budge, Sir Ernest A. W. T., his *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts* quoted, i. 30; ii. 178 *n.* 1
- Bunsen, Baron von, his *Hippolytus and his Age*, i. 5
- Cabala, the Jewish process of *gematria*, i. 131 *n.* 1; explanation of, ii. 40 *n.* 3; measurements in, ii. 133 *n.* 4
- Caius the presbyter, *Philosophumena* attributed to, i. 6
- Callistus, Pope (218-223 A.D.), i. 3, 5, 7, 13, 17, 19, 29; leans towards heresy of Noetus, ii. 118; his life and tenets, ii. 124-132; falls with Sabellius, ii. 124; calls Hippolytus' party ditheists, ii. 125, 129; formerly slave to Carpophorus, ii. 125; his misdeeds and flight, ii. 126; condemned to mill by Carpophorus, *ib.*; makes riot in synagogue and sent to mines by Fuscianus, ii. 127; released by Victor and Marcia, ii. 128, 129; promoted to charge of cemetery by Zephyrinus, ii. 128; excommunicates Sabellius, ii. 129; his leanings towards Sabellius and Theodotus, ii. 130; favours laxity of morals in Church, ii. 130-132; and second baptism, ii. 132
- Carpocrates, i. 17; his tenets, ii. 90-92; assigns sinless soul to Jesus, ii. 91; says all men may be Christs, *ib.*; lawlessness of followers of, ii. 91-92. *See* Magic
- Carpophorus. *See* Callistus
- Caulacau, used with Saulasau and Zecsar by Naassenes, i. 131; Adamas identified with, *ib.*; name in which Saviour descended, *ib.* *n.* 6

- Cerdo, i. 16; teacher of Marcion, ii. 95, 96
- Cerinthus, i. 17; his tenets, ii. 92, 93; adoptionist views of, ii. 93; summary of doctrines of, ii. 166
- Chaldeans, horoscopy of, described, i. 67-76
- Charles, R. H., his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of O. T.* quoted, i. 154
- Cicero, quoted, i. 68 n. 1, 107 n. 2
- Clement of Alexandria, i. 11; quoted, i. 144 n. 2, 146 n. 1; ii. 12 n. 5, 20 n. 1, 78 n. 8, 105 n. 4, 122 n. 3
- Cleomenes, preacher of Noctian heresy, ii. 118, 123
- Colarbasus, his arithmetical heresy, i. 83; name of, ii. 57 n. 4
- Constellation figures, interpretation of, i. 107-114
- Corybas, god of Phrygians, i. 133; his legend, *ib.* n. 5
- Cruice, Abbe Patrice M., *Philosophumena*, etc., i. 4 n. 5; *Études sur les P.*, i. 12 n. 2
- Cumont, Franz, his *Textes et Monuments de Mithra* quoted, i. 98 n. 5; *Les Mystères de Mithra, ib.*; *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i. 110 n. 2; *Cosmogonie Manichéenne*, i. 176 n. 5
- Cybele, or Great Mother, worship of, i. 3; legend of, i. 118 n. 1. See Attis, Naassenes, Ophites, Rhea
- Cyphi, Egyptian incense used in magic, i. 92
- Demiurge, or architect of Universe; fiery god of Naassenes, i. 128; made from fear of Sophia, *ap.* Valentinus, ii. 30
- Democritus, his teaching, i. 48, 49
- Devil, ruler of this world made from grief of Sophia, *ap.* Valentinus, ii. 31
- Diklymus of Alexandria, *Philosophumena* attributed to, i. 5
- Diels, Hermann, edits Book I. of *Philosophumena*, i. 31 n. 1
- Diodorus of Eretria, mentioned by no other author, i. 38 n. 6
- Diogenes Laertius, source of Hippolytus' summary of philosophies, i. 64 n. 2; quoted, i. 35 n. 7, 36 *nn.* 2, 3; 37 n. 6; 40 *nn.* 2, 3; 41 *nn.* 2, 3; 42 n. 1; 44 *nn.* 1, 3; 48 *nn.* 3, 4; 54 n. 1; 56 *nn.* 1, 2; 58 n. 1; 59 *nn.* 1, 3; mentions Gymnosophists and Druids, 60 n. 1
- Docetae, i. 15, 17; their tenets, ii. 99-105; interpretation of story of fig-tree, ii. 99, 100. And of Parable of Sower, ii. 101; views on Annunciation and Passion of Jesus, ii. 104; probably Valentinian, ii. 105 n. 4; summary of doctrines of, ii. 162, 163
- Döllinger, Dr. Ignaz, i. 6, 7; his *Hippolytus and Callistus* quoted, ii. 124 n. 1; 125 n. 3; 126 *nn.* 4, 6; 127 *nn.* 1, 2, 4; 128 *nn.* 4, 5; 129 n. 4; 130 *nn.* 1, 7; 131 n. 6
- Dositheus, a Samaritan heretic, i. 13, 14
- Druids, Pythagoreans, i. 61, 62. See Diogenes Laertius
- Duchesne, Mgr. Louis, his *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église* quoted, i. 6, 7; ii. 124 n. 1; 125 n. 7
- Duncker, Ludwig, *Philosophumena*, etc., i. 4
- Ebionites, their tenets, ii. 93; summary of doctrines of, ii. 167. See Mugtasila
- Ephantus, his teaching, i. 50
- Edem (Eden), garden of, compared to brain, *ap.* Naassenes, i. 143; river of, compared to serpent, *ap.* Peratae, i. 155; to four senses of man, *ap.* Simon Magus, ii. 10; name of Israel wife of Elohim, *ap.* Justinus, i. 175
- Egypt = the body, *ap.* Naassenes, i. 130; and Peratae, i. 155

- Egyptians, used for Alexandrians, i. 40 n. 1; astrology of, 48 n. 4; "Wisdom" of, i. 104-107; *Gospel accdg. to*, quoted, i. 123
- Elchesaites, i. 14, 17; Brandt's *Elchesai*, ii. 132 n. 3; Alcibiades introduces heresy of, into Rome, ii. 133; the *Book of Elchesai* quoted, *ib.*; their belief in transmigration, ii. 134; repeated baptisms and spells used by, ii. 135, 136; prophecies of, ii. 137; summary of doctrines of, ii. 169, 170. See Mughtasila
- Elcuis (Mysteries of), words used in, i. 129; rites of, described, i. 138, 139
- Empedocles, i. 9, 16; his teaching, i. 40, 41
- Encratites, their tenets, ii. 114, 115; their connection with Tatian, ii. 114 n. 5; extreme asceticism of, ii. 115
- Epicurus, his teaching, i. 58, 59
- Epiphanes (supposed follower of Valentinus), his tenets, ii. 38
- Epiphanius, quoted, i. 5, 11, 122 n. 3; ii. 39 n. 7, 48 n. 2, 49 n. 1, 76 n. 1, 80 n. 2, 3; 90 n. 4, 92 n. 3, 4; 93 n. 7, 95 n. 4, 113 n. 6, 118 n. 1, 132 n. 3
- Esenes, Book of Job attributed to, i. 109 n. 2; Ebionites and, 110 n. 3. See Jews, Mughtasila, Zealots
- Euphrates (the Peratic), his story of war in heaven, 1, 69; meaning of name of, i. 146 n. 1; founder of Ophite heresy, *ib.*; and with Akembes of Peratae, i. 149
- Eusebius, quoted, i. 7, 14 n. 1; ii. 96 n. 2, 111 n. 2, 112 n. 6, 132 n. 3
- Fabricius, edits Book I of *Philosophumena*, i. 1
- Faye, Eugène de, his *Introduction*, etc., and *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* quoted, i. 8 n. 3
- Fessler, Prof., attributes *Philosophumena* to Caius, i. 6
- Firminus, J. Maternus, his *Matheseos* quoted, i. 68 n. 1
- Flora. See Ptolemy, follower of V.
- Flügel, Prof., his *Mani* quoted, ii. 132 n. 3
- Fuscianus, prefect of city (188-193 A.D.), sentences Callistus to mines, ii. 127
- Ganschinetz, Richard, his *Hippolytus' Kapitel gegen die Magier* quoted, i. 92 n. 2
- Geryon, the triple-bodied, pervades everything, *ap. Naassenes*, i. 131
- Gnostics, Mysteries of, i. 32, 33; derive tenets from Greeks and barbarians, i. 119. See Naassenes, Philo
- Giaillot, L., his *Le Culte de Cybèle* quoted, i. 135 n. 1
- Greeks, Phœnician origin of, attributed to Herodotus, i. 111; tenets of Physicists among, taken from Sextus Empiricus, ii. 150-153
- Gronovius, annotates Book I of *Philosophumena*, i. 1
- Hatch, Edwin, Dr., his *Hibbert Lectures* quoted, i. 38 n. 1, 123 n. 4, 136 n. 9; ii. 45 n. 6, 52 n. 8, 62 n. 7.
- Hebrew words used by magicians, i. 92, 93
- Hecate, hymn to, i. 100, 101; identified with Laubo, Gorgo, Mormo and Mene, i. 101; also with Artemis, Persephone and Eriskigal, *ib.* n. 1
- Hemerobaptists, i. 18; ii. 132 n. 3. See Mughtasila
- Heraclion, follower of Valentinus, his tenets not described by Hippolytus, ii. 38 n. 2
- Heraclides of Pontus, i. 19; ii. 152
- Heraclitus of Ephesus, i. 10, 16, 17; his teaching, i. 41; ii. 119. See Noctus



- Hermes, street statues of, i. 127
- Hermogenes, i. 16; his tenets, ii. 111-112; summary of doctrines of, ii. 169
- Hesiod (the poet), his *Theogony* quoted, i. 62, 63
- Hippasus, i. 19; ii. 151
- Hippo, his teaching, i. 50, 51
- Hippocrates, quoted, i. 126
- Hippolytus, schismatic Pope (218-235 A.D.), i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16; denies Pauline authorship of *Hebrews*, i. 23 n. 1; calls himself guardian of the Church, i. 34; heterodoxy of, ii. 125 n. 3, 129 n. 4; *Chronicon* of, ii. 171; his own doctrine stated, ii. 172 to end; his *Substance of the All*, ii. 173
- Homoousios, first used by Hippolytus, ii. 69 n. 1
- Hyacinthus. *See* Marcia
- Irenæus, St., Hippolytus' indebtedness to, i. 11, 12, 13; his *Five Books Against Heresies* quoted, i. 122 n. 3, 139 n. 5, 160 n. 1; ii. 15 n. 2, 17 n. 4, 25 n. 6, 27 n. 2, 38 n. 2, 39 n. 3, 4; 40 n. 2, 44 n. 2, 45 n. 5, 48 n. 1, 49 n. 2, 3, 6; 50 n. 2, 51 n. 2, 8; 53 n. 3, 54 n. 1, 56 n. 2, 57 n. 4, 5; 59 n. 1, 76 n. 1, 79 n. 2, 80 n. 2, 90 n. 4, 91 n. 5, 92 n. 3, 4; 93 n. 4, 5; 111 n. 2, 3. *See* Jesus
- Isidore. *See* Basilides
- Isis identified with the Earth, i. 105 n. 4; Mysteries of, i. 126
- Jacobi, Prof., first to declare Hippolytus author of *Philosophumena*, i. 5
- Jaldabaoth, a fiery god, i. 128, 132 n. 3; ii. 102 n. 9; a "fourth number," *ib.* *See* Adam, Sophia
- James, the brother of the Lord, alleged transmitter of Naassene doctrines, i. 121; ii. 153
- Jerusalem, the heavenly, mother of all living, i. 130; the city in Phœnicia, i. 138
- Jesus, His triple nature, *ap.* Naassenes, i. 121; the Perfect Man, i. 134; reason of His Incarnation, i. 145; His triple powers, *ap.* Perata, i. 147; Intermediate between the Father and matter, i. 158; Son of Joseph and Mary, *ap.* Justinus and Carpocrates, i. 178; ii. 96; the great High Priest, ii. 29; mystic name of, *ap.* Irenæus, ii. 47; self-generated, *ap.* Marcus, ii. 52; His Illumination Mission and Passion, *ap.* Basilides, ii. 78, 79; the One God of Zephyrinus, ii. 123; so of Callistus, ii. 129. *See* Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebionites, Docetae, Justinus
- Jeû of Bruce Papyrus, called the Great Man, i. 122 n. 4
- Jews, history of, from Josephus and others, ii. 138-148; divided into Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, ii. 139; tenets of Essenes, ii. 139-145; the like of Pharisees, ii. 145; the like of Sadducees, ii. 145-147; all expect Messiah, ii. 147; chronology of history of, ii. 170-172
- Josephus, i. 10 n. 3; i. 17. *See* Jews
- Jothor, father-in-law of Moses, i. 131
- Justin Martyr, says Simon Magus claimed divinity, i. 14
- Justinus, the Gnostic, i. 3; perhaps not Ophite, i. 28 n. 2; his tenets, i. 169-180; probably one of the later Gnostics, i. 169 n. 4; his oath of secrecy, i. 171, 179; his *Baruch* quoted, i. 171; allegorizes Herodotus' Scythian story, i. 172; his Triad of the Good One, Elohim and Etem, i. 172, 173; the twenty-four angels of, and their names, i. 173; likeness of these to Bar Khôni's Ophites, *ib.* n. 3, 4;

- angels of, called Trees, i. 174 ;  
creation of protoplasts, i. 174 ;  
ascent of Elohim, i. 175, 176 ;  
sin of Eve and Naas, i. 176 ;  
origin of evil, i. 177 ; Heracles  
a Saviour, *ib.* ; Jesus called by  
Baruch when twelve years old,  
i. 178 ; explanation of Pagan  
myths, i. 179 ; summary of doc-  
trines of, ii. 161, 162 ; put by  
summarizer after Basilides, i.  
161 n. 2
- Kessler, Konrad, his *Mani* quoted,  
i. 82 n. 2
- King, C. W., his *Gnostics and  
their Remains* quoted, ii. 17 n. 2
- Lane, E. W., his *Modern Egyptians*  
quoted, i. 97 n. 2
- Langdon, Dr. Stephen, his *Tam-  
muz and Ishtar* quoted, i. 105  
n. 3
- Latinisms in text of *Philosophu-  
mena*, i. 23
- Leemans, Prof. C., his *Papyri  
Græci* quoted, ii. 44 n. 4
- Legge, F., his *Forerunners and  
Rivals of Christianity* quoted,  
i. 2 n. 2, 9 n. 1, 27 n. 1, 39  
n. 1, 40 n. 1, 94 n. 1, 105 nn.  
3, 4 ; 109 n. 2, 114 n. 2 ; 122  
n. 1, 123 nn. 1, 2, 3 ; 128 n. 2,  
130 n. 1, 135 n. 4, 137 n. 2,  
139 n. 5, 155 nn. 2, 3 ; 156 n.  
4, 160 n. 1, 162 n. 2, 165 n. 2,  
169 n. 5, 173 n. 4, 174 n. 2,  
175 n. 2 ; ii. 7 nn. 1, 3 ; 25 n. 3,  
34 n. 5, 72 n. 3, 82 n. 3, 88  
n. 3, 89 n. 2, 95 n. 4, 97 n. 1,  
103 n. 6, 163 n. 7
- Leucippus, his teaching, i. 48
- Lipsius, R. A., opposes Hippo-  
lytus' authorship, i. 6 ; his  
articles in *D.C.B.* quoted, ii.  
38 nn. 1, 2
- Lucian of Samosata, his *Alex-  
ander* quoted, i. 92 n. 2, 99 n.  
4 ; follower of Cerdo, ii. 96
- Macmahon, J. H., translates  
*Philosophumena*, i. 5
- Magic, its connection with astro-  
logy, i. 91 n. 4 ; practised by  
Simon's disciples, ii. 16 ; and  
Carpocratians, ii. 91
- Magicians, tricks of, described, i.  
92-103
- Man, Perfect, *ap.* Naassenes, i.  
123, 134, 138 ; in *Pistis Sophia*, i.  
123 n. 3 ; *ap.* Sethiani, i. 165 ;  
First, *ap.* Manichæans, i. 27,  
123 n. 2 ; expression used in  
Summary, ii. 163. *See* Adam,  
Adamas, Monoimus, Pindar
- Manichæism, the Atlas or Omo-  
phorus of, i. 110 n. 2 ; First  
Man of, captured by powers of  
darkness, i. 123 n. 2 ; ii. 7 n. 3 ;  
hostility of, to Jews, i. 165 n. 3 ;  
Justinus's anticipation of, i.  
169 n. 4, 176 n. 5 ; Valentinus's,  
ii. 17 n. 5 ; evocation of First Man  
in, ii. 34 n. 5 ; our earth worst  
of all worlds, ii. 35 n. 3 ; column  
of praises in, ii. 50 n. 3 ; secrecy  
of, ii. 59 n. 1. *See* Cumont,  
Flügel, Kessler
- Marcia, concubine of Commodus,  
ii. 127 ; takes counsel with  
Pope Victor, *ib.* ; her foster  
brother Hyacinthus, *ib.*
- Marcion, i. 10, 16, 17 ; his tenets,  
ii. 82-90 ; compared with those  
of Empedocles, ii. 82-88 ; Pre-  
pon's address to Bardesanes, ii.  
89 ; summary of doctrines of,  
ii. 165
- Marcus, follower of Valentinus,  
i. 12 ; his tenets, ii. 40-57 ; his  
frauds and juggling tricks, ii.  
41-43 ; vision of the Tetrad, ii.  
45-48 ; his cabalistic system of  
numbers, ii. 48-56
- Mariam, aunt of Moses, i. 131
- Mariamne, said to have received  
Naassene tradition from St.  
James, i. 121 ; ii. 153 ; known  
to Origen and Celsus, i. 121, n. 5
- Mark, St., story of self-mutiliation  
to avoid orders, ii. 87
- Maspero, Sir Gaston Charles, I  
*Hist. anc<sup>me</sup> de l'Orient* quote  
i. 47 n. 1

- Matter, Jacques, *Hist. du Gnosticisme* quoted, ii. 59 n. 1
- Maximilla. *See* Phrygians
- Melchizedek. *See* Theodotus the Banker
- Menander, successor of Simon Magus, i. 17; ii. 59 n. 1
- Metoposcopy, divination by physiognomy, i. 87-92
- Michael, scribe of MS., i. 4
- Miller, Bénigne Emanuel, first editor of *Philosophumena*, i. 4, 5; his *Mélanges de Litt. Græque* quoted, i. 100, n. 5
- Monarchia, doctrine of one supreme source of all things, ii. 123
- Monoimus Arabs, i. 17; his tenets, ii. 106-111; not Christian, ii. 106 n. 1; his heavenly man, ii. 107, 163; cabalistic theory of numbers, ii. 109; letter to Theophrastus quoted, ii. 110; summary of doctrines of, 163, 164
- Montanus. *See* Phrygians.
- Mughtasila, washers or Hemero-baptists, Elchēsaites derived from, ii. 132 n. 3; make converts among Essenes and Ebionites, *ib.*
- Mynas, Mynōides, discoverer of MS. of *Philosophumena*, i. 2, 3, 5
- Mysteries of the heretics, i. 23, 33, 125, 180; promise to describe, i. 63; probably described in missing Books, i. 65; source of Naassene heresy, i. 121; M. of Assyrians, i. 123; of Phrygians, i. 126, 133, 135-138, 140; ineffable M. of Isis, i. 126; M. of Greeks, i. 127; *Ilye Cye* in Eleusinian, i. 129; M. of Samothrace, i. 132; great secret of Eleusinian, i. 138; Lesser and Great, i. 139; M. of the Great Mother, i. 141, 142; Phliasian, older than Eleusinian, i. 166; M. of Justinus, i. 171
- Naas, the serpent, i. 120, 142; one of Justinus' maternal angels, i. 173
- Naassenes, i. 3; their tenets, i. 118-146; call themselves Gnostics, i. 120, 142; their supremacy deify Adamas, i. 120; all his powers in Jesus, i. 121; the names of the Three Churches, *ib.*; the first man, i. 122; their connection with the Mysteries, i. 123; with the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, *ib.*; the myth of Attis, i. 124; their interpretation of the mysteries of Isis, i. 126, 127; the demi-urge Jaldabaoth, i. 128; their interpretation of Homer, i. 130; of the Cabiric mysteries, i. 132; the myths of Corybas and Pappas, i. 133-135; other names of Attis, i. 135-140; N. mentioned by Irenæus, i. 139 n. 5; why so called, i. 142; hymns of, i. 142, 144, 145; interpretation of anatomy of brain, i. 143, 144; summary of doctrines of, ii. 153. *See* Adamas, Eleusis, Geryon, Serpent
- Neologisms used by Hippolytus, i. 24
- Noetus, i. 3, 13, 15, 17; his tenets, ii. 118-123; his heresy, derived from Heraclitus, ii. 118-123; his followers, ii. 118; identifies Father and Son, ii. 123; summary of doctrines of, ii. 168, 169. *See* Cleomenes, Phrygians
- Novatian, *Philosophumena* attributed to, i. 6; Hippolytus said to follow, i. 7 n. 4.
- Oannes, the first man, *ap.* Assyrians, i. 122
- Ocellus Lucanus, i. 19; ii. 152
- Ophites, i. 16, 17; heresy derived from worship of Cybele or Great Mother, i. 118 n. 1; curse Christ, *ap.* Origen, i. 121 n. 1; comparative insignificance of, i. 20 n. 1; ii. 116. *See* Attis, Euphrates, Naassenes
- Origen, *Philosophumena* attributed

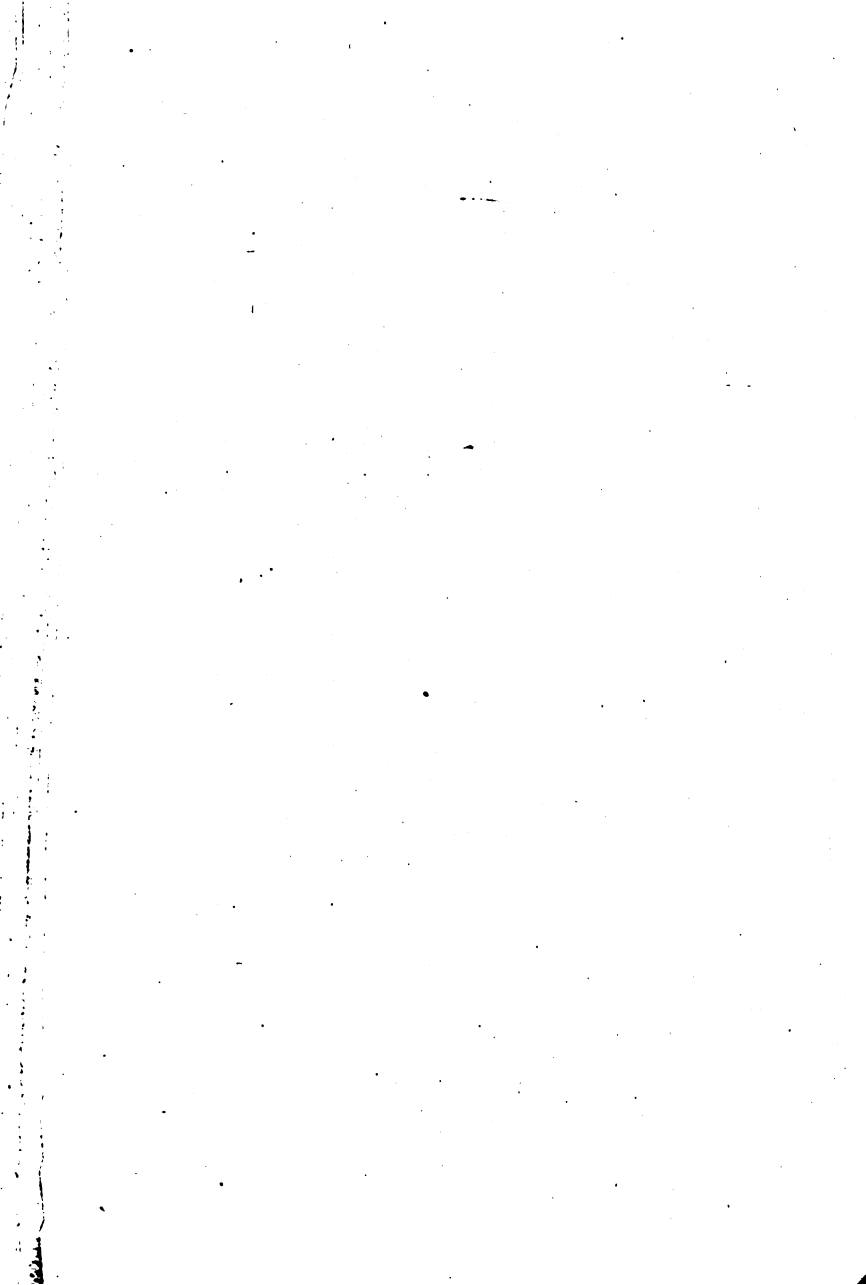
- to, i. 5, 6; *Contra Celsum* quoted, i. 20 n. 1, 121 nn. 1, 5; 130 n. 1; 146 n. 1
- Orpheus, a theologian, i. 103 n. 4; discloser of mysteries, i. 166; his *Bacchica* quoted, but otherwise unknown, *ib.*; Sethian heresy derived from, *ib.*
- Osiris, his mutilation, i. 126; signifies water, i. 105 n. 4; his statue in the temple of Isis, i. 127
- Papas, god of Phrygians, i. 135; name of Attis, *ib.* n. 1; means Father, *ib.*
- Parmenides, his teaching, i. 47, 48
- Parthey, Gustav, his *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri* quoted, i. 93 n. 5
- Patricianism, heresy of, ii. 118 n. 1, 168 n. 1
- Paul, St., *Acts of*, and *Thekla*, quoted, i. 30 n. 1
- Peratæ, i. 3; mentioned by Clem. Alex., i. 146 n. 1; their teaching, i. 146-159; their triple division of the cosmos, i. 146; ii. 154; their Christology, i. 147; their astrological theories, i. 148, 149; their book *Proastii* quoted, i. 150-153; why called Peratæ, i. 154; their saviour Serpent, i. 155; Serpent is type of Christ, Joseph and Nimrod, i. 155, 156; the constellation Draco, i. 157; anatomy of brain typifies Father and Son, i. 159; summary of doctrines of, ii. 154, 155. See Eden, Euphrates
- Persephone, as lover of Adonis, i. 124. See Hecate
- Persians say God is Light, i. 104
- Pharisees. See Jews
- Philo, his Logos and Gnostic ideas, ii. 7 n. 3, 8 n. 2, 173 n. 4
- Philumena. See Apelles
- Photius, his *Bibliotheca* quoted, i. 12, 13 n. 1.
- Phrên. See Râ
- Phrygians (Montanists), their tenets, ii. 113, 114; followers of Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla, ii. 113; lean towards Noctian and Patrician heresies, ii. 114; summary of doctrines of, ii. 167, 168. See Mysteries, Naassenes
- Pindar, ode on first man assigned to, i. 122
- Pistis Sophia*, The, quoted, i. 3 n. 1, 9 n. 1, 123 nn. 1, 3, 124 n. 11, 150 nn. 1, 3, 152 n. 2, 155 n. 1, 162 n. 2, 173 n. 1, 177 n. 5; ii. 5 n. 4, 16 n. 4, 43 n. 2, 45 n. 4, 48 n. 3, 52 n. 9, 53 n. 2, 71 n. 6, 79 n. 3, 93 n. 7, 97 n. 1, 102 n. 2
- Plato, i. 16; his teaching, i. 51-55; passages from Aristotle ascribed by Hippolytus to, i. 53, 54; his *Clitopho* quoted as *Republic*, i. 55 n. 7; analogy between his teaching and Simon M.'s, ii. 5; and Valentinus', ii. 18, 19, 25; quoted, ii. 23, 36, 37. See Alcinous
- Plutarch, his *de Iside et Osiride* quoted, i. 129 n. 3; *de Exilio*, ii. 23 n. 1
- Point, indivisible, from which all things spring, i. 115, 141; ii. 9
- Pontianus, Pope (230-235 A.D.), i. 7
- Praxeas, a heretic refuted by Tertullian and mentioned by pseudo-Tert., but not by Irenæus or Hippolytus, i. 13
- Prepon the Assyrian. See Marcion
- Priscilla. See Phrygians
- Proastii. See Peratæ
- Proteus, identified with Attis, i. 137
- Prudentius quoted, i. 7
- Ptolemy, Claudius, the astronomer, mentioned, i. 82; his *Tetrabiblos* quoted, i. 88 n. 2
- follower of Valentinus, his tenets, ii. 39, 40; his letter to his "fair sister Flora," ii. 39 n. 7

- Pyrrho, wrongly called an Academic by Hippolytus, i. 32; his teaching, i. 59
- Pythagoras, i. 15, 16, 17; his life and followers, i. 36-39; his theory of numbers, i. 37, 115 n. 6, 116; ii. 20; Accidents attributed to, ii. 21; his theory of metempsychosis, ii. 23; gnostic sayings of, ii. 23, 24; solar theory of, ii. 24
- Quartodecimans, i. 17; their tenets, ii. 112, 113; Irenæus their advocate, ii. 112 n. 6
- Rà, Egyptian Sun-God, invoked by magicians, i. 92 n. 7
- Rhea, an androgyne deity, i. 125; identified with Gè and Cybele, *ib.* n. 1
- Rogers, Dr. R. W., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* quoted, 151 n. 2
- Sabellius. *See* Callistus
- Sadducees. *See* Jews
- Salmon, Dr. George, his *Cross-references in Philoſophumena* quoted, i. 8; ii. 38 n. i.; his articles in *D.C.B.* i. 6 n. 1, 7 n. 4, 22 n. 1, 69 n. 6; ii. 38 n. 2, 40 n. 3, 80 n. 1, 98 n. 1, 100 n. 1, 105 n. 4, 108 n. 3, 109 n. 6, 113 n. 2, 118 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 173 n. 3
- Saturnilus, i. 16; his tenets, ii. 80, 81; his Unknown Father, ii. 81; angels make man in His image, *ib.*; Christ sent to depose God of Jews, *ib.* *See* Simon of Cyrene
- Saulasau. *See* Caulacau.
- Schneidewin, F. G., with Duncker edits part of *Philosophumena*, i. 4.
- Schürer, Prof., his *History of Jewish People* quoted, ii. 7 n. 3, 8 n. 2
- Secundus, follower of Valentinus, his tenets, ii. 38
- Sephora, wife of Moses, i. 131
- Serpent, inspirer of Naassene doctrine, i. 120, 142; identified with substance of water, i. 142; the constellation Draco, i. 146 n. 1; the brazen, *ap. Peratae*, i. 155, 156; the Son and the Word, i. 157; wind of darkness *ap. Sethiani*, i. 164, 165; of Justinus, wholly evil, i. 169 n. 5
- Seth, Paraphrase of. See* Sethiani.
- Sethiani, their tenets, i. 160-169; authors who mention, i. 160 n. 1; the Sitchus of Bruce Papyrus, *ib.*; their triad of Light, Darkness and Spirit, i. 161; Light and Spirit caught by Darkness, i. 162; impregnation of Darkness, i. 163; analogy with other triads, i. 165, 166; system of, derived from Orphic, i. 166; Phlasiian Mysteries of Great Mother, *ib.*; simile of oil-well at Ampe, i. 168, 169; their *Paraphrase of Seth*, i. 169; summary of doctrines of, ii. 155-157. *See* Andronicus, Man Sextus Empiricus, Hippolytus' borrowings from, i. 10, 69 n. 1; ii. 150. *See* Greek
- Simon of Cyrene, story of his substitution for Jesus on the Cross probably Saturnilian, not Basilidian, ii. 59 n. 1, 79 n. 2
- Simon Magus, i. 3, 13, 14; his system derived from art of arithmetic, i. 115, 116; his six roots, i. 116; ii. 7; his *Great Announcement* quoted, i. 115, 140, 141; ii. 4-14; his life and tenets, ii. 2-17; his supreme God, fire, ii. 4; his account of the creation of Man, ii. 9; his Epinoia Helen of Tyre, ii. 15; his death, ii. 17; source of Valentinian heresy, ii. 17, 40 n. 3; summary of doctrines of, 157, 158. *See* Edem, Justin, Magic, Menander
- Socrates, i. 16; his teaching, i. 51
- Sophia, name given to Helen of Tyre by Simon M., i. 13 n. 3;

- Sethians make her cause of Flood, *ib.*; identified with Earth, i. 105 *n.* 3; ii. 27 *n.* 4; mother of Jaldabaoth, *ap.* Naassenes, i. 118 *n.* 1, 132 *n.* 3; in Naassene hymn, i. 145 *n.* 3; her name of Achamoth, i. 173 *n.* 4; fall of, *ap.* Valentinus, ii. 7 *n.* 3, 27; decides fate of men, ii. 17 *n.* 5; her adventures, ii. 28-36; the heaven of, ii. 31 *n.* 1; identified with Holy Spirit, ii. 33
- Sotion of Alexandria, Hippolytus' borrowings from, i. 49 *n.* 3; 64 *n.* 2
- Stähelin, Heinrich, his - *Die Gnostischen Quellen Hippolyts* quoted, i. 8 *n.* 2
- Stoics, their teaching, i. 57, 58; Hippolytus' reluctance to mention, i. 157 *n.* 2
- Syrictas, the pipe-player, name of Attis, i. 142
- Tatian the Gnostic, i. 17; his tenets, ii. 111; holds Adam not saved, *ib.*; summary of doctrines of, ii. 164. *See* Encratites
- Tertullian, *Philosophumena* assigned to, i. 6; quoted, ii. 82 *n.* 3, 96 *nn.* 2, 3, 111 *n.* 3. *See* Praxeas
- Tertullian, Pseudo-, *Adversus Omnes Hæreses*, i. 11-13; quoted, i. 160 *n.* 1; ii. 95 *n.* 4, 97 *n.* 2. *See* Praxeas
- Thales, i. 9, his teaching, i. 35, 36; quoted, i. 142
- Theodore bar Khôni, his *Book of Scholia* quoted, i. 169 *n.* 4, 173 *n.* 3
- Theodoret calls Hippolytus Bishop and Martyr, i. 7, 11, 12; his account of Perate, i. 146 *n.* 1; quotes summary and not text of *Philosophumena*, ii. 154 *n.* 1
- Theoxotus the Banker, his tenets, ii. 94, 95; holds Melchizidek greater than Christ, ii. 94; summary of doctrines of, ii. 167
- Theodotus of Byzantium, his tenets, ii. 93, 94; adoptionist views of, ii. 94; summary of doctrines of, ii. 167
- Theophrastus. *See* Monoimus
- Thomas, Gospel according to, quoted, i. 126
- Urbanus, Pope (223-230 A.D.), i. 7
- Valentinus, his system derived from arithmetical art, i. 15; from Pythagoras and Plato, ii. 17-19; Zoroastrian and Egyptian features of, ii. 17 *n.* 1; division of followers as to Supreme Being, ii. 25; his system of Aeons, ii. 26, 27; Sophia and her Ectroma, ii. 28; projection of Horos, ii. 29; Jesus the Common Friend of the Pleroma, *ib.*; salvation of Ectroma and result of her passions, ii. 30; fourfold division of world, ii. 31, and of man, ii. 32; analogies of myths of, with Manichæism, ii. 34 *n.* 5, 35 *n.* 3; Anatolic and Italiote schools of, ii. 34; purpose of Incarnation, *ap.* ii. 35; summary of doctrines of, ii. 158, 159. *See* Beelzebuth, Demiurge, Devil, Pleroma and Sophia
- Victor, Pope (189-202 A.D.). *See* Callistus
- Wessely, his *Griechische Zauberpapyri* quoted, i. 93 *n.* 5
- Wilson, James, his *Complete Dictionary of Astrology* quoted, i. 67 *n.* 1.
- Wordsworth, Bishop Christopher, his *Hippolytus and the Church of Rome* quoted, i. 4 *n.* 2; i. 6; i. 12 *n.* 1; ii. 119 *n.* 2, 129 *n.* 5
- Xenophanes, his teaching, i. 49, 50
- Zaratas (Zoroaster) quoted, i. 9, 104 *n.* 3; ii. 20; Amshas-

- pands of, and Simon Magus' roots, ii. 2 *n.* 2; the like and Aeons of Valentinus, ii. 17 *n.* 5
- Zealots, said by Hippolytus to be a sect of Essenes, ii. 143, 144 *n.* 1
- Zeesar. *See* Caulacau
- Zephyrinus, Pope (202-218 A.D.), i. 3; said by Hippolytus to be ignorant and unskilled, ii. 118, 124; leans towards heresy, ii. 118

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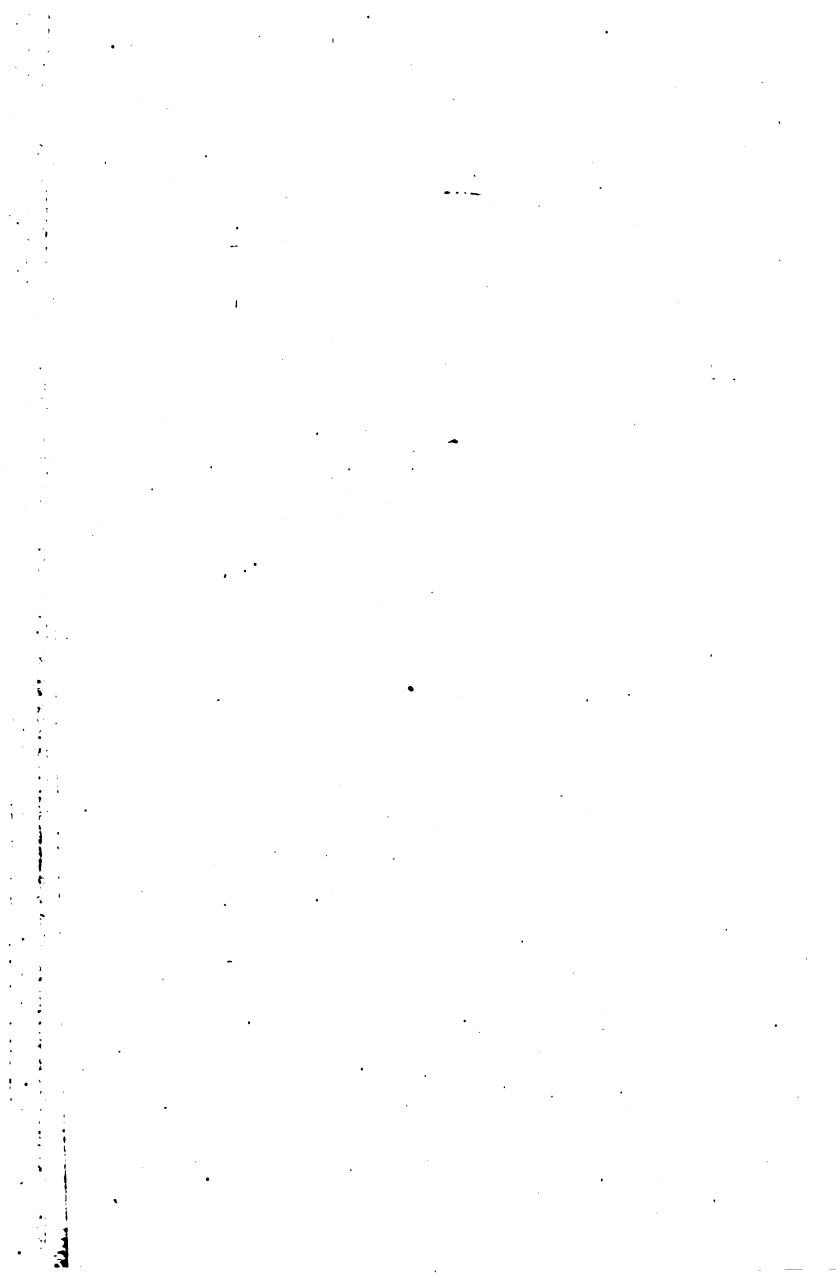




pands of, and Simon Magus' roots, ii. 2 *n.* 2; the like and Aeons of Valentinus, ii. 17 *n.* 5  
Zealots, said by Hippolytus to be a sect of Essenes, ii. 143, 144  
*n.* 1

Zeesar. *See* Caulacau  
Zephyrinus, Pope (202-218 A.D.), i. 3; said by Hippolytus to be ignorant and unskilled, ii. 118, 124; leans towards heresy, ii. 118

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