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STUDIES IN GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGIONS AND GNOSTICISM

BY

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH



E. J. BRILL

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GRAECO-ROMAN RELIGIONS
AND GNOSTICISM

STUDIES IN GREEK AND ROMAN RELIGION

EDITED BY H.S. VERSNEL
IN CO-OPERATION WITH F.T. VAN STRATEN

VOLUME 4



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BY

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH



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IN MEMORIAM
HANS HERTER
(1899-1984)

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PREFACE

This volume comprises a handful of studies dealing with Graeco-Roman (Hellenistic) religions and Gnosticism. The studies have been selected in accordance with these two principles. (1) *Ad fontes*. Each study concentrates on a religious key-text, trying to interpret it, to discover its sources, and to assess its value. Hence a heavy input on the *Quellenforschung*. (2) *Varietur*. The studies included in this volume should reflect different facets of religious beliefs in late antiquity.

Ten of the fifteen studies have been previously published in scholarly journals. Their text appears here as corrected, revised, or updated wherever necessary. I am indebted to the following publishing houses for the kind permission to reprint the articles in question: J.D. Sauerländer's Verlag, Frankfurt am Main (for Nos. 1 and 5); E.J. Brill, Leiden (for Nos. 3 and 8); Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn (for Nos. 4 and 6); Oxford University Press (for Nos. 7 and 9); Scholars Press, Decatur, Georgia (for No. 14); The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore (for No. 15).

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Urbana, Easter, 1986

M. Marcovich

A GOD CALLED Lychnos

Epigram IX Gow-Page¹ (= A.P. V. 7) of Asclepiades of Samos (born ca. 320 B.C.) reads as follows:

Λύχνε, σὲ γὰρ παρεοῦσα τρίς ὤμοσεν Ἡράκλεια
ἤξειν κούχ ἤκει· λύχνε, σὺ δ' εἰ θεὸς εἶ
τὴν δολίην ἀπάμυνον· ὅταν φίλον ἔνδον ἔχουσα
παίζη, ἀποσβεσθεὶς μηκέτι φῶς πάρεχε.

“Lamp, here in your presence swore Heracleia three times that she would come to me. And she did not. Now, lamp, if you are a god punish the perjurer: When she next time has a friend at her home to entertain him, put yourself out and deny her your light.”

(1) Judging by the usual sense of the participle παρεοῦσα, “when she was here present;” by the expression, ἤξειν κούχ ἤκει, “that she would come to me, but did not come;” finally, by the close parallelism with the twin-epigram of Asclepiades X Gow-Page (= A.P. V. 150):

Ὠμολόγησ' ἤξειν εἰς νύκτα μοι ἢ ἑπιβόητος
Νικῶ καὶ σεμνὴν ὤμοσε Θεσμοφόρον,
κούχ ἤκει· φυλακὴ δὲ παροίχεται. ἄρ' ἐπιорκεῖν
ἤθελε; τὸν λύχνον, παῖδες, ἀποσβέσατε.

—it seems safe to conclude that the deceived poet-lover is addressing the lamp standing in his own home. This, however, contradicts the text of lines 2-4, where clearly the lamp in the house of the hetaera Heracleia is being addressed (notice the force of ἔνδον ἔχουσα). And yet, we must be dealing with one and the same lamp, as it is attested by the anaphora of this invocation—λύχνε, σέ... λύχνε, σύ.²

(2) Hugo Stadtmüller,³ Maurice Platnauer⁴ and Walther Ludwig⁵ had tried to make also the first λύχνε refer to the lamp situated in the house of Heracleia by changing the transmitted παρεοῦσα either into πτάραντα (Stadtmüller) or into παρεόντα (Platnauer and Ludwig, independently from each other): “She swore in thy presence” (Platnauer);

¹ *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1965.

² So, correctly, Walther Ludwig, *Mus. Helv.* 19 (1962) 156.

³ *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol.* 143 (1891) 333 f.; A.G. V. 6 (Teubner, 1894).

⁴ *Class. Review* 33 (1919) 25.

⁵ O.c., 156 and 158.

“Herakleia schwur bei der Lampe gleich wie bei einem ‘gegenwärtigen Gott’...” (Ludwig).

Now, Stadtmüller’s *πάραντα* is better left aside, since Asclepiades’ lamp has nothing to do with the prophetic lamp of Marcus Argentarius, whose Epigram XIV Gow-Page⁶ (= A.P. VI. 333) reads:

Ἦδη, φίλτατε λύχνε, τρίς ἑπταρες· ἦ τάχα τερπνὴν
εἰς θαλάμους ἤξειν Ἀντιγόνην προλέγεις;

Here the poet-lover wonders whether the sputtering of the lamp indicates the approach of his mistress, while Asclepiades sends an imprecation on his treacherous mistress, and the irrelevance is evident (correct are Gow and Page, Commentary, p. 122). As for Platnauer’s and Ludwig’s *παρόντα* (for *παρεούσα*), I think it is unlikely for the following reason. An Epiphany or Parousia is expected from an absent and distant god,⁷ not from a house-lamp being always present and on hand. Consequently, the phrase, *λύχνος παρών*, in the sense of *θεὸς ἐπιφανής*, *deus praesens*, sounds unconvincing to me. Ludwig (p. 158, n. 11) adduces Dionysus, Demetrius Poliorcetes [see Article 2] and Peitho as examples of “present gods,” but they surely belong to a different category.

(3) Peter Von der Mühl⁸ kept the transmitted *παρεούσα* while taking it to mean, “in Person, von sich aus, eigens, bereit:” “Herakleia hatte sich gestellt, hatte bereit, ins Gesicht dem Dichter-Sprecher dreimal bei der Lampe geschworen, sie werde zu ihm kommen.” However, the participle *παρών*, which is very common in drama—sometimes in the company of *αὐτός*, sometimes serving as a simple “Zeilenfüller” (cf. LSJ, s.v., IV),—cannot be found in the Hellenistic epigram. Accordingly, it seems safer to take *παρεούσα* in its usual sense of “here present” (W.R. Paton), “hier anwesend.” Then *ἤξειν* must imply “to come to me again” (= *πάλιν ἤξειν*), which does not seem to present difficulty.

(4) Mrs. N. Čistjakova⁹ translated correctly *παρεούσα* with “here present,” but took the second *λύχνε* to be the same lamp as the first one, the one standing in the house of the poet-lover, while interpreting the epigram as a humorous inscription on the lamp, and the lamp itself as the poet’s present to the treacherous hetaera (p. 44). However, a *curse* as an inscription on a gift-object (*μηκέτι φῶς πάρεχε*) seems to me unthinkable. The situation depicted in the Epigram I Gow-Page (= A.P. V. 5) of Flaccus is quite different:

⁶ *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip, etc.* 2 vols. Cambridge, 1968.

⁷ Compare F. Pfister, RE Suppl.-Bd. IV. 277-323.

⁸ *Mus. Helv.* 19 (1962) 202 f.

⁹ *Eirene* 8 (1970) 41-45.

Ἀργύρεον νυχίων με συνίστορα πιστὸν ἐρώτων
 οὐ πιστῇ λύχνον Φλάκκος ἔδωκε Νάπη,
 ἦς παρὰ νῦν λεχέεσσι μαραίνομαι, εἰς ἐπιόρκου
 παντοπαθῆ κούρης αἴσχεα δερκόμενος...

Flaccus had given the expensive lamp to his mistress Nape as a token of his *love*, before knowing that she would betray him. On the contrary, our Asclepiades already knows that his mistress Heracleia has betrayed him (δολίη). Thus the poet's lamp cannot be taken as a credible gift to the perjuring girl. And besides, who would expect Heracleia to take the harmful present into her house as soon as she had read the imprecation inscribed on it! If so then the epigram becomes meaningless.

(5) Gow and Page (in the Commentary, II, p. 123) offer two possible explanations, neither of them being convincing enough to me. They wrote:

Two possible solutions suggest themselves. The first, that lamps make common cause and that Asclepiades' lamp may thus control the behaviour of others; and this, though not very persuasive, may derive a little support from εἰ θεὸς εἶ (see 2 n.). The second possibility is that Asclepiades is waiting neither in his house nor in hers but in a room which she uses for assignments. If that is so the difficulty disappears, but [Epigram] X gives pause, and we know no evidence that hetaerae used, like Messalina in *Juv.* 6.114 ff., accommodation addresses.

The introduction of a magic Aladdin-lamp really is "not very persuasive." For, first, how can Asclepiades know when exactly Heracleia would entertain a client at her home, in order to activate his magic lamp working on remote control? And second, according to the rules of the homeopathic magic, it suffices for the deceived poet-lover to put out *his own* lamp: the lamp in the house of the victim will automatically die out.

As for the second possibility, that Asclepiades and Heracleia were meeting in a neutral "rented room," in a "Zimmer auf Stunden," "chambre à l'heure," such an "accommodation address" was advocated by Giuseppe Giangrande after the publication of this article.¹⁰ He argued against Gow and Page that such "gemietete Wohnungen" of the hetaerae did exist in Hellenistic times, while referring to H. Licht and K. Sudhoff.¹¹ However, even if they existed in the time of Asclepiades, there is nothing in our epigram to indicate such a "chambre à l'heure." For the most natural meaning of ἦξειν is "to come to my place," and the usual sense of ἔνδον is "at her own place," "at her home," "chez soi"

¹⁰ *R.E.G.* 86 (1973) 319-22, esp. 312.

¹¹ H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, II, Dresden-Leipzig, 1926, 52. K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, 106, quoted by K. Schneider in *RE VIII* (1913) 1342.65 f. (s.v. Hetairai).

(compare, e.g., Plato *Protag.* 311 a 1). In addition, already Gow and Page had referred to the close parallelism with the twin-epigram X of Asclepiades (“but X gives pause”), and there the lamp in question is surely standing in the house of the poet-lover.

(6) The difficulties disappear as soon as we print λύχνη as Λύχνη. For in our epigram we are dealing with a *god* called Lychnos, as it is attested by the poet himself in line 2: Λύχνη, σὺ δ’ εἰ θεὸς εἶ (“Now, Lychnos, if you are really a god...”). The first Λύχνη refers to the lamp in the house of the poet, the second Λύχνη—to the one in the house of the hetaera. And since the anaphora, Λύχνη, σέ... Λύχνη, σὺ, indicates that the poet is addressing one and the same lamp, it follows that he is talking to a god called Lychnos. As a god, Lychnos is present wherever there is a lamp, which is but his image or manifestation.

Now, Lychnos appears as personified and divinized already in Comedy:

Βαχχίς θεόν σ’ ἐνόμισεν, εὐδαίμον λύχνη·
κεῖ¹² τῶν θεῶν μέγιστος, εἰ ταύτη δοκεῖς

(C.A.F. III A Adesp. Fr. 152 Edmonds). In Aristophanes’ *Ecclesiazusae* 8-13, Praxagora addresses this hymn to Lychnos:

κὰν τοῖσι δωματίοισιν Ἄφροδίτης τρόπων
πειρωμέναισι πλησίος παρασταταεῖς,
10 λорδομένων τε σωμάτων ἐπιστάτην
ὀφθαλμὸν οὐδεὶς τὸν σὸν ἐξείργει δόμων.
μόνος δὲ μηρῶν εἰς ἀπορρήτους μυχοὺς
λάμπεις ἀφεύων τὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν τρίχα.¹³

Of course, the patroness-goddess of the hetaerae is Aphrodite, by whom they swear: μὰ τὴν Ἄφροδίτην (Aristoph. *Plut.* 1069; *Eccl.* 999). Ὡς πόρνη τὴν Ἄφροδίτην ὄμνυσιν, says a scholiast ad locum. But in the Aphrodisia, Lychnos appears in the role of a manifestation of (Erscheinungsform) or a substitute for (Stellvertreter) Aphrodite, and that is why our hetaera Heracleia could swear by Lychnos, who is her patron-god (Schutzgott).

A burning lamp must be present in the boudoir of every hetaera. If the lamp is extinguished the hetaera will remain without the necessary protection of her *Schutzgott*. Then she may not have success with her clients,

¹² Edmonds: καὶ codd. (Plut. *De garrul.* 513 F).

¹³ On this passage compare H. Kleinknecht, *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike* (Tübinger Beiträge, 28), Stuttgart-Berlin, 1937, 93-98.

and eventually may go bankrupt. We are now in a better position to grasp all the force of the revenge on the part of the deceived poet-lover. His *curse* is not to be taken for a playful joke. What Asclepiades is actually asking the god Lychnos amounts to the following: “Lychnos, the patron-god of the hetaerae, stop protecting Heracleia the perjurer: let her lose her clients!” (= ὅταν φίλον ἔνδον ἔχουσα / παίζῃ, ἀποσβεσθεῖς μηκέτι φῶς πάρεχε).

Lamp and Hetaera are inseparable friends in matters of the Aphrodisia since the times of Hipponax Fr. 17 West (Fr. 22 Diehl):

κύψασα γάρ μοι πρὸς τὸ λύχνον Ἀρήτη.

Lamps are the most common votive offering of the hetaerae to their goddess. After winning the affection of her master through successful Aphrodisia, a slave-girl used to honor Aphrodite with lamp-offerings: τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην ὡσπερ αἰτίην τούτων / λύχνοις ἐτίμα... (Babrius 10.6 f.). Similar in tone is Meleager's Epigram XI Gow-Page (= A.P. VI. 162):

Ἄνθεμά σοι Μελέαγρος ἐὼν συμπαίστορα λύχνον,
Κύπρι φίλη, μύστην σῶν θέτο παννουχίδων.

“Im dritten Jahrhundert n. Chr. weihten in Ephesos ein Bruder und eine Schwester, die sich Mysterien der Aphrodite Daitis nennen, einen Eros und eine bronzene Hängelampe mit zwei Dochten,” wrote M.P. Nilsson.¹⁴ And Augustine (*De civ. dei* 21.6) reports on a miraculous lamp in a shrine of Aphrodite that no storm or rain could extinguish: *Fuisse vel esse quoddam Veneris fanum atque ibi candelabrum et in eo lucernam sub divo sic ardentem, ut eam nulla tempestas, nullus imber extingueret; unde sicut ille lapis, ita ista λύχνος ἄσβεστος, id est lucerna inextinguibilis, nominata est.* In his turn, Plutarch tells the following *χρεία* about Demosthenes (*Demosth.* 8.3):¹⁵ ... Πυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἔλλυχνίων ἔφησεν ὄζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἠμείψατο πικρῶς ὁ Δημοσθένης. “Οὐ ταῦτά γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, ὦ Πυθέα, ὁ λύχνος σύνοιδε.” Of course, Pytheas had in mind the *lucubrationes*, while Demosthenes hinted at the Aphrodisia, both connotations being implied by the word *λύχνος*.

If the lamp of Aphrodite is extinguished in her boudoir the hetaera Heracleia may have no success in bed. The same is true of Meleager's rival, being overwhelmed by deep sleep in the bed of Heliadora (Meleager's Epigram LI Gow-Page = A.P. V. 165.3-6):

¹⁴ M.P. Nilsson, *Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike. Opuscula Archaeologica VI* (Lund, 1950), 105 f.; *Österreich. Jahresh.* 17 (1914) 145 ff.

¹⁵ Quoted by Kleinknecht (above, note 13, p. 97, n. 2).

εἴ τις ὑπὸ χλαίνη βεβλημένος Ἥλιοδώρας
 θάλλεται, ὑπναπάτη χρωτὶ χλαινόμενος,
 κοιμάσθω μὲν λύχνος, ὁ δ' ἐν κόλποισιν ἐκείνης
 ῥιπτασθεῖς κείσθω δεύτερος Ἐνδυμίων.

Compare also Meleager's Ep. XXIII (= A.P. V. 197.3 f.): ναὶ φιλάγρυπνον / λύχνον, ἐμῶν κώμων πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα τέλη.¹⁶ Ep. LXIX (= A.P. V. 8.1 f. and 6): Νυξ ἱερὴ καὶ λύχνε, συνίστορας οὔτινας ἄλλους / ὄρκοις ἄλλ' ὑμέας εἰλόμεθ' ἀμφοτέροι / ... λύχνε, σὺ δ' ἐν κόλποις αὐτὸν ὄρας ἐτέρων. Philodemus' Epigram I Gow-Page (= A.P. V. 4): τὸν σιγῶντα... συνίστορα τῶν ἀλαλήτων / λύχνον...; Flaccus' Ep. I (= A.P. V. 5): νυχιῶν με συνίστορα πιστὸν ἐρώτων / ... λύχνον...; Argentarius' Ep. I G.-P. (= V. 128.3 f.):

Ἀντιγόνης καὶ χρῶτα λαβῶν πρὸς χρῶτα, τὰ λοιπὰ
 σιγῶ, μάρτυς ἐφ' οἷς λύχνος ἐπεγράφετο.¹⁷

Martial 14.39.1 *dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna*.

(7) The suggested interpretation that Heraclia swears three times by Lychnos exactly because he is her *Schutzgott*, finds support in Asclepiades' twin-epigram X: Νικῶ καὶ σεμνὴν ὤμοσε Θεσμοφόρον. Here the hetaera Nico swears by Demeter Thesmophoros because the latter is the *Schutzgöttin* of wives in their marital life. In Syracuse, on the main day of the Thesmophoria women would prepare cakes in the form of ἐφήβια γυναικεῖα, to be offered to Demeter and Persephone; in the entire Sicily these cakes are called *μυλλοί* = *pudenda muliebria*, says Heraclides of Syracuse.¹⁸ "Weil die Thesmophorienfeier sich aber mit den intimsten Dingen des Frauenlebens beschäftigt, ist dem männlichen Geschlecht die Teilnahme an ihrer Feier meist versagt."¹⁹

(8) The Lychnos of Aphrodite appears as personified and divinized. Similarly, the nuptial bed appears as personified in the belief of the lovers. Hera swears by her nuptial bed (*Iliad* 15.39 f.: ἴστω... νωίτερον λέχος αὐτῶν / κουρῖδιον).²⁰ And in Lucian's *Cataplus* 27, Λύχνος and Κλίνη appear as the main witnesses against the tyrant Megapenthes. Plutarch (*De garrul.* 513 F) quotes, ὦ φιλότατη κλίνη (C.A.F. III A Adesp. Fr. 151

¹⁶ Herwerden: πολλὰ πίνοντα μέλη P Pl.

¹⁷ Agathias, A.P. V. 263, shows an unmistakable influence of Musaeus: αἰεὶ σὺ (sc. λύχνε) φθονεῖς τῇ Κύπριδι, καὶ γὰρ ὅθ' Ἡρῶ / ἤρμοσε Λειάνδρω...

¹⁸ Arud Athenaeus XIV, 647 A: ἐκ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐφήβια γυναικεῖα, ἃ καλεῖσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν μυλλοὺς καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ταῖς θεαῖς. On the background of this custom compare W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, 1977, 368.

¹⁹ O. Kern, RE IV. 2750.64.

²⁰ Compare R. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, Leipzig, 1902, 13 and 22.

Edm.), along with Fr. 152 (quoted above, on p. 4) dealing with Lychnos. So does Philodemus in his Epigram I (= A.P. V. 4.5): σὺ δ', ὦ φιλεράστρια κοίτη. It suffices to compare Argentarius' Ep. I (μάρτυς ἐφ' οἷς λύχνος ἐπεγράφετο) with Asclepiades' Ep. XXV. 12 (= A.P. V. 181.12): ὦν κλίνη μάρτυς ἐπεγράφετο.

(9) Finally, a voice of caution. The lamp of the lovers, linked with Aphrodite and thus divinized, should not be confused with other personified lamps. For example, there is a different reason for the personification of the prophetic lamp in the *Λυχνομαντεία*. Here belongs, among others, Argentarius' Epigram XIV Gow-Page (= A.P. VI. 333): ἤδη, φίλτατε λύχνη, τρὶς ἑπτάρεις·²¹ ἢ τάχα... προλέγεις; ... ἀναξ... Compare also Pap. Mag. Lond. 121.667 (I p. 105 Kenyon): λέγων τὸν λόγον ἐπτάκις πρὸς τὸν λύχνον, dealing with an ἀγωγή ἀσκέτου (593). And again, there is a different reason for the vivification of the lamp in the *Seelenglauben*: apparently, the λύχνοι in Lucian's *Lychnopolis* (*Veræ hist.* I. 29), which walk, talk, and have names, are no other thing than our own "doubles"—"Doppelgänger" or "Seelenkerzen" ("the soul-candles"); compare: ἔνθα καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λύχνον ἐγνώρισα καὶ προσειπὼν αὐτόν...²²

Finally, in the signalling lamp of Hero, Musaeus seems to offer a strange combination of the two types of Λύχνος mentioned above: (a) the Lychnos of Aphrodite and (b) the Lychnos as a "Seelenkerze" of Leander himself. On (a) compare *Hero et Leander* (ed. P. Orsini) 1 Εἰπέ, θεά, κρυφίων ἐπιμάρτυρα λύχνον ἐρώτων; 6 λύχνον ἀπαγγέλλοντα διακτορήν Ἀφροδίτης; 8 λύχνον, ἔρωτος ἄγαλμα; 239-41:

Ἦρῶ λύχνον ἔφαινε· ἀναπτομένοιο δὲ λύχνου,
θυμὸν Ἔρωσ ἔφλεξεν ἐπειγομένοιο Λεάνδρου·
λύχνῳ καιομένῳ συνεκαίετο.

On (b) compare perhaps 14 f.: μίαν συνάειδε τελευτήν / λύχνου σβεννυμένοιο καὶ ὄλλυμένοιο Λεάνδρου; 217 f. and 329 f.:

μή μιν ἀποσβέσσωσι, καὶ αὐτίκα θυμὸν ὀλέσω,
λύχνον, ἐμοῦ βιότοιο φασφόρον ἡγεμονῆα.

καὶ δὴ λύχνον ἄπιστον ἀπέσβεσε πικρὸς ἀήτης,
καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔρωτα πολυτλήτοιο Λεάνδρου.²³

²¹ Compare Gow-Page ad v. 1365 (II, p. 173); Gow ad Theocrit. 7.96.

²² Compare R. Ganszyniec, RE XIII, 2116.24 ff.

²³ Compare now the exemplary edition of Musaeus provided by Karlheinz Kost, *Musaios, Hero und Leander: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Bonn (Bouvier), 1971, especially Excursus ad v. 1: "Die Lampe in der Liebesdichtung," 126-32.

HERMOCLES' ITHYPHALLUS FOR DEMETRIUS

The hymn of Hermocles of Cyzicus in honor of the divinized Demetrius Poliorcetes, sung by a chorus on the occasion of the king's last visit to Athens (in 291 or 290 B.C.), deserves a fresh look for at least three reasons. First, the Ithyphallus is one of the most eloquent documents for the Hellenistic ruler-cult ("Herrscherkult"), rich in content. Second, Hermocles is a prize-winning poet of paeans in honor of Antigonos and Demetrius (at least since 307 B.C.: Athenaeus 697 A), and his Ithyphallus seems to have enjoyed wide popularity (cf. Athenaeus 253 F: the Athenians had sung the hymn οὐ δημοσίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν). Third, in his effort to substantiate the worship of a personal ruler, Hermocles seems to borrow arguments both from the old Heraclitus and from the contemporary Epicurus.

The hymn displays a bipartite structure. *Aretology* of the God-King, in his Athenian *Parousia* (lines 2; 8; 18), comprises the first half of the poem (lines 1-19). *Prayer* to the new Savior for help against the Aetolian threat fills its second half (lines 20-34). In this article, I shall limit myself to offering a critical text of the hymn (preserved in Athenaeus 253 D-F), followed by a brief commentary on the key-ideas only.¹

¹ The main editions of the hymn are: Athenaeus, ed. G. Kaibel (Teubner, 1887; reprint 1961); J.U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925 (reprint Chicago, Ares, 1981), pp. 173-75; F. Jacoby, in *FGrH* (1926): 76 (Duris) F 13 (p. 141 f.); Athenaeus, ed. C.B. Gulick (Loeb, 1929); *Anth. Lyr.* ed. E. Diehl, 2nd ed., Fasc. 6 (1940), p. 104.

Here is a selection from the rich literature on Hermocles' hymn to Demetrius. U.v. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, Berlin, 1881, 242 f.; O. Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschenentum" *Neue Jahrbücher f. Wissenschaft u. Jugendbildung* 2 (1926) 646 f.; K. Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *A.J.P.* 49 (1928) 228-239; V. Ehrenberg, "Athenian Hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes," *Die Antike* 7 (1931) 279-297 = *Idem, Aspects of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1946 (reprint New York, Arno, 1973), 179-198; O. Immisch, *Das Erbe der Alten* 20 (1931) 6 ff.; W. Schubart, *Die religiöse Haltung des frühen Hellenismus* (Der alte Orient, 35.2; 1937), 18 f.; M.P. Nilsson, *Gesch. der griech. Religion*, II, Munich, 1950, 143 f. (3rd ed., 1974, 151 f.); E. Manni, *Demetrio Poliorcete*, Rome, 1951, 93-95; E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley, 1951, 241 f.; Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschenentum und griechische Städte* (Zetemata, 14; Munich, 1956), 232 f.; L. Cerfaux et J. Tondriau, *Un concurrent du christianisme: Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Bibliothèque de Théologie, Série III, Vol. V; Tournai, Desclée, 1957), 180-187; Fr. Taeger, *Charisma: Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, I, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1957, 270-273; L. Alfonsi, "Sull' 'Itifallo' di Ermippo (?)," *Rhein. Mus.* 106 (1963) 161-164; Cl. Wehrli, *Antigone et Démétrios*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1968, 177 f.; L. Kertész, "Bemerkungen zum Kult des Demetrios Poliorcetes," *Oikumene* 2 (Budapest, 1978), 163-175; *Idem*, "Religionsgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen zur Herausbildung des Herrscherkultes in Athen," *Oikumene* 4 (1983) 61-69; A. Mastrocinque, "I miti della

TEXT

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Δημοχάρης τοσαῦτα εἶρηκε περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων κολακείας· Δουῖρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἰθύφαλλον

x — ∪ — x — ∪ — x — ∪ —
— ∪ — ∪ — ∪

ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι
τῇ πόλει πάρευσιν·

ἐνταῦθα (γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ) Δημήτριον
ἄμα παρῆγ' ὁ καιρός.

5 Χῆ μὲν τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια
ἔρχεθ' ἵνα ποήσει,
ὁ δ' ἰλαρός, ὥσπερ τὸν θεὸν δεῖ, καὶ καλὸς
καὶ γελῶν πάρεστι.

Σεμνόν τι φαίνεθ', οἱ φίλοι πάντες κύκλω,
10 ἐν μέσοισι δ' αὐτός,
ὅμοιον ὥσπερ οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἀστέρες,
ἥλιος δ' ἐκεῖνος.

Ἦ τοῦ κρατίστου παῖ Ποσειδῶνος θεοῦ,
χαῖρε, ἀφροδίτης.

15 Ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοί,
ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα,
ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἕν,
σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρώμεν,
οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν.

20 Εὐχόμεσθα δὴ σοι·
πρῶτον μὲν εἰρήνην πόησον, φίλτατε·
κύριος γὰρ εἶ σύ.
Τὴν δ' οὐχὶ Θήβας, ἀλλ' ὄλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα
Σφίγγα περιπατοῦσαν,

25 Αἰτωλόν, ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος,
ὥσπερ ἡ παλαι(ά),
τὰ σώμαθ' ἡμῶν πάντ' ἀναρπάσας φέρει,
κοῦκ ἔχω μάχεσθαι
(Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἀρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας,

sovranità e il culto dei Diadochi," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto*, Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, 137 (1978-79) 71-78; F. Landucci Gattinoni, "La divinizzazione di Demetrio e la coscienza ateniese," *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica dell'Università del Sacro Cuore* (Milan) 7 (1981) 115-123; G. Sommariva, "Il proemio del *De rerum natura* di Lucrezio e l'inno a Demetrio Poliorcete," *S.I.F.C.* 54 (1982) 166-185.—On the *Ithyphalli* compare Athenaeus XIV, 622 A, and G.M. Sifakis, in Φίλτρα. Τιμητικός τόμος Σ.Γ. Καφωμένου, Thessalonica, Constantinidis, 1975, 119-138.

30 νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πόρρω),
 μάλιστα μὲν δὴ κόλασον αὐτός· εἰ δὲ μή,
 Οἰδίπουν τιν' εὐρέ,
 τὴν Σφίγγα ταύτην ὅστις ἢ κατακρημιεῖ
 ἢ σπῖλον ποήσει.

Testimonia: Athen. XV, 697 A: 'Ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ φησὶ Φιλόχορος Ἀθηναίου ἄδειν παιᾶνας τοὺς πεπονημένους ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκλέους (Schweighaeuser: Ἑρμίππου ACE) τοῦ Κυζικηνοῦ, ἐφαμίλλων γενομένων τῶν παιᾶνας ποιησάντων (πάντων e.g. Kaibel), καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκλέους προκρίθεντος. Athen. VI, 253 B-D: Φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Δημοχάρης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ γράφῳν· ἐπανεθόντα δὲ τὸν Δημήτριον ἀπὸ τῆς Λευκάδος καὶ Κερκύρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέχοντο οὐ μόνον θυμιῶντες καὶ στεφανοῦντες καὶ οἰνοχοοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσοδιακο (Bernhardy: προσόδια καὶ AC) χοροὶ καὶ ἰθύφαλλοι μετ' ὀρχήσεως καὶ ᾠδῆς ἀπήντων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφιστάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ὄχλους ἤδον ὀρχούμενοι καὶ ἐπάδοντες ὡς εἶη μόνος θεὸς ἀληθινός, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι (ἢ addidi) καθεύδουσιν, ἢ ἀποδημοῦσιν, ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν· γεγρονῶς δ' εἶη ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, τῶ δὲ κάλλει διάφορος καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας φιλανθρωπία κοινός. Δεόμενοι δ' αὐτοὶ ἰκέτευον, φησὶ, καὶ προσήχοντο.

Apparatus criticus: Duo versus excidisse vidit Bergk (e.g.: Ἀνάγετε πάντες, ἀνάγετ' ἐρυχωρίαν / τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖτε) // 3 γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ suppl. Toup / Δημήτριον Casaubon Δημήτριος A // 4 παρῆγ' Porson, παρῆχ' H.P. Richards : παρῆν A : παρεῖν' R. Renehan (H.S.C.P. 68 [1964] 381) // 6, 21 et 34 πο- scripsi : ποι- A // 9 τι Meineke : ὅτι A // 11 αὐτός C : αὐτοῖς A // 11 ὅμοιον Meineke : ὅμοιος A // 21 μὲν C : με A // 23 Θήβας, ἀλλ' ὄλη τὴν Ἑλλάδα scripsi : Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ὄλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος A, omnes // 24 περιπατοῦσαν AC περικρατοῦσαν Casaubon, omnium consensu // 25 Αἰτωλὸν scripsi (cf. 3 Δημήτριος A, 1 ὅμοιος A) : Αἰτωλός A : Αἰτωλίδ' C // 26 πάλαι AC, corr. Casaubon // 31 κόλασον Toup σχόλασον AC, def. Jacoby // 34 σπῖλον Meineke, Bergk : σπεινον A : πεινῆν C : σπῖνο Schweighaeuser, agn. Powell : σποδὸν Wilamowitz, agn. Kaibel

COMMENTARY

1-4: The Parousia of the great goddess Demeter and the king Demetrius, who bears her name, is emphasized by the repetition of the verb *πάρεμι* (in lines 2, 8, and 18, expressing the idea of *praesens divus*, Horace *Carm.* 3.5.2), in addition to the alliteration of the sounds π/φ in lines 1-2, 9, 13 and 21.

In v. 4, Porson's emendation of ΠΑΡΗΝ into ΠΑΡΗΓ' is convincing enough. It is an imperfect standing for an aorist (Kühner-Gerth, *Satzlehre*⁴ I, 143 f.). Richards' παρῆχ', adopted by Powell ('*cum perfectum locus postulet*'), is palaeographically less likely. As for Renehan's παρεῖν', it is not likely to me because the elision of the *infinitive*-ending -αι is difficult to parallel (at Theognis 104, most probably we should read μεταδοῦν, and at Phoenix 2.20 [p. 234 Powell]—δοῦν).

There is an inveterate—and, in my opinion, wrong—interpretation of the couple mentioned in line 3—(Δήμητρα καὶ) Δημήτριον—as referring to Demetrius and his fourth wife Lanassa (the ex-wife of Pyrrhus), whom he had just married. The interpretation of a visit to Athens by Demetrius

and Lanassa seems to go back to A.J. Reinach (1911),² and was accepted by W.W. Tarn (1913), who wrote: "Demetrius returned to Athens in the summer of 290; he probably brought Lanassa with him. It appears that she desired to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries; and the two made a state entry into Athens as the divine pair Demeter and Demetrius."³ K. Scott (1928) too defended Reinach's interpretation.⁴ More recently, it was adopted by A.-J. Festugière (1946) ("When in September 290 Demetrius Poliorcetes and his new wife Lanassa made their solemn entry into Athens as gods made manifest (Demetrius and Demeter), the city instituted a contest of paeans in honor of the divine couple"),⁵ by C. Wehrli (1968),⁶ A. Mastrocinque (1979)⁷ and others.

Against this widespread interpretation of Demeter as Lanassa it suffices to say the following. First, the Parousia of Demeter is sufficiently explained by the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries in lines 5-6. Second, the link between Demetrius and his patroness Demeter is well established by the Athenian decree of 294 B.C. (the present visit is taking place in 291 or 290 B.C.). It reads: "Whenever Demetrius visits the city he shall be received with the honors usually paid to either Demeter or Dionysus" (Plutarch *Demetrius* 12.1: δέχεσθαι Δημήτριον, ὁσάκις ἂν ἀφίκηται, τοῖς Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου ξενιασμοῖς).⁸ Finally, the contemporary historian Demochares (apud Athen. VI, 253 B, quoted above, in *Testimonia*) implies that Demetrius, after his wedding with Lanassa on the island of Corcyra, returned to Athens *alone*.

5-8: The presence of Demeter in the hymn was necessary for the poet to stress the idea that the goddess is Demetrius' patroness, no more. Accordingly, since the hymn is dedicated to Demetrius alone, the goddess is too quickly being sent away to Eleusis (lines 5-6). It is true that the word *σεμνά* (5) recurs in line 9 as an adverb (*σεμνόν τι*), but the reason for this repetition is not to provide an additional link between Demetrius and Demeter, but rather to express two different ideas. (1) As is known, the mysteries of Demeter are *holy* (*Hymn to Demeter* 478 and N.J. Richardson ad locum). (2) In his turn, Demetrius displays a *majestic* radiance of the

² "Étolie," *Journal internat. d'archéologie et numismatique* (1911) 221 f.

W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913, 49. Idem in *C.A.H.* VII (1928) 84.

⁴ *A.J.P.* 49 (1928) 232 f. ("with great probability").

⁵ *Épique et ses dieux*, Paris, 1946; English translation by C.W. Chilton, Oxford, 1955, 51 f.

⁶ O.c. (note 1) 177 f.

⁷ O.c. (note 1) 80 f. So also Kertész, *Oikumene* 2 (1978) 169.

⁸ F. Jacoby, in his Commentary on *FGrH* 328: F 166 (p. 542 f.); W.S. Ferguson, "Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Hellenic League," *Hesperia* 17 (1948) 131 n. 43; Habicht, o.c. (note 1) 50 ff.

gods among his retinue, just as does the sun-god amidst the stars (lines 9-12).

In lines 7-8, Demetrius shows the cheerfulness, beauty and smile of a friendly god made manifest, full of the divine grace. These traits were well pointed out by Cerfaux and Tondriau,⁹ and need no further comment. However, I do not share the opinion expressed, for example, by Scott, Ehrenberg and Cerfaux-Tondriau,¹⁰ that the expression of line 7, ὡσπερ τὸν θεὸν δεῖ, refers to the god Dionysus (supposedly mentioned in the lost two lines at the beginning of the poem). For I understand the phrase to mean, "as it is meet for a god," and to refer to the new god Demetrius, son of Poseidon and Aphrodite, alone. Finally, let me mention that Demochares (*Testimonia*) was wrong when paraphrasing lines 7-8 of the poem as follows: τῷ δὲ κάλλει διάφορος καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας φιλανθρωπία κοινός. For his κοινός is due to the misinterpretation of ἱλαρός, taken for ἴλεως, "gracious."

9-12: The majestic radiance (σεμνότης) of the divinized Demetrius,¹¹ who appears shining in the middle of his friends just as does the sun amidst the stars, is much more than a simple poetic simile. The pretension of Demetrius to be treated as a *roi soleil* is attested by his fondness of wearing a *cosmic cloak*, with the universe, the stars and the twelve signs of the Zodiac being woven in it (Duris apud Athen. XIII, 535 F; Plutarch *Dem.* 41.6),¹² as Weinreich, Scott, and Cerfaux-Tondriau have pointed out.¹³

13-14: Demetrius is being greeted by the Athenians as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite. "Everyone knew of Demetrius as the master of the seas as well as the frequent conqueror on the battlefield of love," remarks Ehrenberg.¹⁴ Indeed, Poseidon as Demetrius' *Schutzgott* appears often on his coins, since the famous tetradrachm of Salamis on Cyprus (306 B.C.), commemorating the king's naval victory there and displaying Poseidon on its reverse.¹⁵

⁹ O.c. (note 1) 183 and n. 4.

¹⁰ Scott, o.c., 233; Ehrenberg, o.c., 290 f. (= 190 f.); Cerfaux-Tondriau, o.c., 184 n. 1.

¹¹ Compare, e.g., "the majestic effulgence of kings" (τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων τὸ γαῦρον), standing upon the Daughter of Light in *Acta Thomae* 6.—*Infra*, p. 157.

¹² Duris 76 F 14 Jacoby: αἱ δὲ χλαμύδες αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ὄρφνινον ἔχουσαι τὸ φέγγος τῆς χρῶας, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐνύφαντο χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας ἔχον καὶ τὰ δώδεκα ζώδια. Plutarch *Dem.* 41.6: ἦν δὲ τις ὑφαινομένη χλανὶς αὐτῷ πολὺν χρόνον, ἔργον ὑπερήφανον, εἴκασμα τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν φαινομένων. Compare E. Manni, *Plut. Dem.*, Florence, 1953 (*Bibl. di Studi Sup.*, 19); Taeger, o.c., I, 278 n. 151.

¹³ Weinreich 647; Scott 236 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 184 and nn. 2-4.

¹⁴ O.c., 286 (= 185).

¹⁵ E.T. Newell, *The coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, London, 1927, Plates II and III.1-5.

However, while Ehrenberg (in 1931) and Wehrli (in 1968) are convincing enough in establishing a solid link between Demetrius and his patron Poseidon on the ground of rich numismatic evidence,¹⁶ the fact that Demetrius had enjoyed special favors of Aphrodite—as is reflected, for example, in his *five* “legitimate” marriages—is less convincing to me as an explanation of the greeting, “son of Aphrodite,” in our hymn.¹⁷ Maybe Hermocles called Demetrius a son of Aphrodite because of his “marvelous and exceptional *beauty*, so that no sculptor or painter ever achieved a likeness of him” (Plutarch *Dem.* 2.2: ἰδέα δὲ καὶ κάλλιε προσώπου θαυμαστός καὶ περιττός, ὥστε τῶν πλαττόντων καὶ γραφόντων μηθένα τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἐφικέσθαι)?¹⁸

15-18: “For other gods are either far away, or lend no ear, or are not, or care nothing about us: but thee we can see in very presence...” This is the kernel of the poem, a *cri d’esprit* of the poet (and may be of the epoch as well). What is the source of Hermocles’ inspiration? Three possibilities come to mind—Critias, Plato, Epicurus (mentioned in chronological order).

In his play *Sisyphus*¹⁹ Critias calls “the sweetest lie” (25 f.) the people’s idea that the gods have eyes and ears, and pay attention to what men say or do (17-21):

ὥς ἔστι δαίμων ἀφθίτω θάλλων βίω
νόω τ’ ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων, φρονῶν τε καὶ
προσέχων τε ταῦτα καὶ φύσιν θεῖαν φορῶν,
20 ὃς πᾶν τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκού(σ)εται,
(τὸ) δρώμενον δὲ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.

Critias may have been a source of Hermocles. Still, the idea that “the gods are far away from men” is absent in Critias, who expressly says that the gods are believed to live in the heaven as part of this cosmos (31 ἢ ὑπερθε περιφορά).

Wolfgang Haase has recently suggested²⁰ the trilemma of Plato’s *Laws* X as a probable source of inspiration for Hermocles. As is known, the trilemma reads: Either the gods do not exist, or they exist but care not for

¹⁶ Cf. Newell (note 15) apud Ehrenberg, Plate III, a-c; Wehrli, o.c. (note 1), pp. 226, 229 f., and Plates V, X, XVI.

¹⁷ The five “legitimate” wives of Demetrius are: Phila, Eurydice of Athens, Deidameia, Lanassa, and Ptolemais.

¹⁸ Demetrius’ exceptional beauty finds its confirmation in the iconography: see E. Manni ad Plut. *Dem.* 2.2, and especially Wehrli, pp. 223-230, and Plates IX-XVI (a rich collection).

¹⁹ *TrGF* I, Göttingen, 1971, 43 F 19 Snell = 88 B 25 Diels-Kranz.

²⁰ In a public lecture on “Gods—Men—Godmen,” delivered at the University of Illinois at Urbana on 13 November 1985.

men, or else they may be won over by men (εὐπαραμύθητοι, παραιτητοί) with offerings and sacrifices.²¹ Again, the element, μακρὰν ἀπέχουσιν οἱ θεοί, of the hymn is absent in Plato as well.

That leaves us with Epicurus' contemporary theology as the most likely source of Hermocles' criticism of the traditional gods. As is known, the foundation of Epicurus' Κῆπος coincides with Demetrius' first visit to Athens (in 307/6 B.C.), so that the Epicurean theology must have been known enough in Athens sixteen years later (in 291/0 B.C.).

Otto Weinreich (1926) seems to be the first scholar to see in the statement of the hymn, οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἔν (17), an echo of Epicurus' theology: "oder die Götter kümmern sich nicht um uns, wie Epikur lehrt" (p. 647). M.P. Nilsson accepted it,²² while L. Alfonsi (1963) extended the Epicurean influence to include the words μακρὰν ἀπέχουσιν (15) as well. He wrote: "Colpisce lì per lì il chiaro contenuto epicureo dell'inno: chè si parla di dei lontani (e si rammentino μετακόσμια, gli *inter-mundia* in cui secondo Epicuro vivono appunto gli dei!), di dei che non si occupano delle vicende umane (*eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus*, come si esprimeva Ennio facendo parlare Telamone) ..."²³

Apparently, scholars were not impressed by Weinreich's suggestion of an Epicurean influence upon Hermocles' hymn (at least, Festugière, Dodds and Cerfaux-Tondriau are noncommittal), while Ehrenberg (1931) and Taeger (1957) advanced the idea of *die Popularphilosophie* as the most likely source for Hermocles' rejection of the traditional gods. And this seems to be the prevailing sentiment today. Ehrenberg wrote:²⁴

It is therefore quite possible that among other views his [sc. Epicurus'] were also alluded to in our song, though it seems more likely that we have here rather a confirmation that Epicurus' philosophy had much in common with popular ideas. At that time quite frequently we find the view expressed that

²¹ *Laws* X, 885 b; cf. *Republic* II, 364 b.

²² *Geschichte der griech. Religion*, II (1950) 143 n. 5 = 3rd ed. (1974) 151 n. 5.—Unjustly criticized by Taeger, *Charisma* I (1957) 273 n. 115.

²³ *Rhein. Mus.* 106 (1963) 162 and n. 3.—Apparently, Grazia Sommariva (*S.I.F.C.* 54 [1982] 181-84) was not aware of Alfonsi's Note. Her suggestion that the prayer, πρῶτον μὲν εἰρήνην πόησον (line 21), also derives from Epicurus, is not likely to me. If Demetrius appears in the role of a Σωτήρ, then he must be *eo ipso* an Εἰρηνοποιός. Compare Weinreich (647): "Demetrios ist εἰρηνοποιός, wie wir hier mit einem Ehrentitel römischer Kaiser sagen dürfen, ein Wort, das ja auch im neuen Testament wichtig ist: so heissen da die 'Söhne Gottes'. Demetrios kann Frieden geben, denn er ist der 'Herr'. Herr über Krieg und Frieden, Leben und Tod. Κύριος steht im Text des Athenaios, das Wort, das im Laufe der Entwicklung Jesus Christos zum Kultgott Kyrios Christos hat werden lassen."—Compare, e.g., H. Windisch, "Friedensbringer-Göttersöhne," *Zeitschrift f. NT Wiss.* 24 (1925) 240-260; *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum* VIII (1972) 434-505 (s.v. "Friede"); G. Kittel, *Theol. Wb. zum NT* II (1935) 398-418 (s.v. εἰρήνη [εἰρηνοποιός, p. 417 f.]); III (1938) 1038-1094 (s.v. κύριος).

²⁴ *Aspects of the ancient world*, 188.

the gods neither see nor hear, and that they do not take the slightest interest in the affairs of mankind.

In his turn, Taeger wrote:²⁵

Ganze Reihen, Vers 15ff., erinnern Wort für Wort an die Popularphilosophie der aufklärerischen Observanz und können mit zahllosen Parallelen vor allem aus Euripides und später etwa aus den jüdischen und christlichen Polemiken belegt werden. Hier spricht trockenste und abgegriffenste Schulweisheit, die jedes echte religiöse Gefühl erstickt.

I shall argue, however, that Hermocles implies three (not four) possibilities, and that their *combination* is best explained as referring to the theology of Epicurus. First, the expression, ἄλλοι μακρὰν ἀπέχουσι θεοί, means, “the traditional gods *live* very far from us.” It does not refer to a *temporary* absence of the gods from Olympus, as Weinreich and Ehrenberg took it to mean. Weinreich wrote (p. 647): “eine faule Sache mit den Olympiern! Wenn man sie braucht, sind sie fort—bei den Äthiopen oder sonstwo.” Similarly Ehrenberg (p. 188): “Perhaps the gods are too far away—among distant peoples such as the Ethiopians or Hyperboreans.” For when the Olympians are paying a visit to Oceanus and the Ethiopians, sure thing they will be back to Olympus on the *twelfth* day (*Iliad* 1.423-25).

It is true that Demochares (*Testimonia*) had understood Hermocles exactly as Weinreich did, when paraphrasing our lines as follows: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι (ῆ) καθεύδουσιν, ἢ ἀποδημοῦσιν, ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν. But how is he to be trusted when he renders the clause, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα, with καθεύδουσιν? My point is this: the other three verbs—οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα, οὐκ εἰσίν, and οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν—express *permanent* behavior or properties of the gods; accordingly, the most likely sense of the clause, μακρὰν ἀπέχουσιν θεοί, is “the gods *live* far from us,” not, “the gods use to travel far away from us.”

The second member, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα, means, of course, “the gods do not *lend* ear,” not, “the gods have no ears.” For Hermocles is very far from speaking of non-anthropomorphic gods, say, in the shape of a globe. Consequently, the expression means that the traditional gods are not ἐπήχοι, as Weinreich had correctly pointed out (“Oder sie haben keine Ohren—sie sind nicht ἐπήχοι”).²⁶ And if the gods are not giving ear to the men’s prayers and needs, it follows that they simply do not care about us at all. Accordingly, the phrase, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα, says much the same as the more common formula, οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἓν.

²⁵ *Charisma* I, 272 f.

²⁶ O.c., p. 647. Compare O. Weinreich, “Θεοὶ ἐπήχοι,” *Athenische Mitteilungen* 37 (1912) 1-68 (138 instances listed on pp. 5-25).

We now come to the third and crucial member, οὐκ εἰσίν. In my opinion, it is not a strict philosophical *atheistic* statement (unlike that in Plato's *Laws X*), meaning, "the gods do not exist." For being sandwiched between the clauses, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα and οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν ("the gods lend no ear or care nothing about us"), our expression should be understood as an idea exactly *opposite* to (18), σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρωῶμεν, "but thee we can see in very presence." In other words, Hermocles wants to say the following: "Since other gods live far away from the mankind, lend no ear and care nothing about us, then for us it is the same as if they did not exist." This fine semantic nuance was correctly perceived by Nilsson, who commented: "der Unterschied zwischen der epikureischen Lehre, die der Ithyphallikos vorträgt, und dem οὐκ εἰσίν, war für das allgemeine Verständnis nicht zu gross."²⁷

In conclusion, the Epicurean gods *live too far away* from the mankind, in the *intermundia* or the spaces between the countless cosmic systems (μετακόσμιον = τὸ μεταξὺ κόσμων διάστημα, Diog. Laert. 10.89),²⁸ a fact that seems to be expressed by the words, μακρὰν ἀπέχουσιν θεοί. Moreover, they enjoy their peace and happiness there (according to Philodemus, they eat, drink, and converse),²⁹ and certainly they do not concern themselves with human affairs,³⁰ a doctrine alluded to in the phrases, οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα and οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἔν. It follows that the Epicurean gods are of *no use* to us, the same as if they *did not exist at all* (= οὐκ εἰσίν, 17). Compare the similarity of argument with Tertullian's *Apologeticum* 47.6: *Epicurei* [sc. *deum adseverant*] *otiosum et inexercitum et, ut ita dixerim, neminem humanis rebus.*³¹

If the suggestion that all three members of lines 15-17 refer to Epicurus alone is correct, then we may have in Hermocles' hymn the earliest extant criticism of Epicurus' novel theology. I shall quote here three later sharp criticisms of this theology. Cicero *N.D.* 1.116 (Cotta refuting Velleius' advocacy of Epicurus' theology): *Quae porro pietas ei debetur, a quo nihil acceperis?... qui* [sc. the Epicurean gods] *quam ob rem colendi sint, non intellego, nullo nec accepto ab his nec sperato bono.* Seneca *De beneficiis* 4.1.1: *Ita-*

²⁷ *Geschichte der griech. Religion*, II (1974³) 151 n. 5.

²⁸ Cicero *N.D.* 1.18 (and A.S. Pease ad loc.); *De Fin.* 2.75; *De Div.* 2.40; Lucret. 3.18-24; 5.146-155; Hippolyt. *Refutatio* 1.22.3; Philodem. *De Dis* III, col. 8.31 (p. 27 Diels: *Abhandlungen Akademie Berlin* 1917, 4).

²⁹ Philodem. *De Dis* III, Fr. 77 (p. 67 Diels), and col. 13.36-39 (p. 36 f. Diels).

³⁰ Compare Epicur. *Ratae Sent.* 1 (Diog. Laert. 10.139): Τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὐτὲ αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὐτὲ ἄλλω παρέχει; Cic. *N.D.* 1.45 and 1.102 (and Pease ad loc.). Compare Cic. *N.D.* 1.54 (Velleius defending Epicurean theology): *Quis enim non timeat omnia providentem et cogitantem et animadvertentem et omnia ad se pertinere putantem curiosum et plenum negotii deum?*, and H. Usener, *Epicurea*, Leipzig, 1881 (reprint Rome, 1963), Nos. 360-366 (*De vita deorum beata*).

³¹ *Epicurea*, No. 363.

*que non dat deus beneficia, sed securus et negligens nostri, aversus a mundo aliud agit aut, quae maxima Epicuro felicitas videtur, nihil agit, nec magis illum beneficia quam iniuriarum tangunt. Hoc qui dicit, non exaudit precantium voces.*³² Atticus apud Eusebium, *Praep. Ev.* 15.5.11: 'Ἐκεῖνο δ' ἐμοὶ κριτῆ καὶ αἰσχυνηλότερον ὁ Ἐπίκουρος δοκεῖ πεποιηκένα· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἀπογνοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς ἀνθρώπων κηδεμονίας εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθόντας αὐτοῖς, καθάπερ εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἀπώκισε καὶ ἔξω που τοῦ κόσμου καθίδρυσε, τὸ ἀπάνθρωπον αὐτῶν τῆ ἀποστάσει καὶ τῆ πρὸς ἅπαντ' ἀκοινωνία παραιτούμενος.³³

19: "Nor can the dead statues of an absent god replace a living god, present and ready to help, just as you are now (= σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρώμεν)." The pun, οὐ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν, is eloquent enough and serves as a slogan in this *programmatic* poem. I think the most likely source of inspiration for Hermocles here was Heraclitus' famous criticism of the traditional religion, Fr. 5 DK (= 86 Marcovich): Καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλασι δὲ τουτέοισιν εὐχονται, ὁκοῖον εἴ τις τοῖς δόμοισι λεσχηνεύοιτο, οὐ τι γινώσκων θεοὺς οὐδ' ἥρωας, οἵτινές εἰσιν. "And they [sc. the common people] pray to these statues, as if some one were to talk to houses, not knowing anything about the true nature of gods and heroes." This saying of the Enlightener was extremely popular and influential in antiquity.³⁴ One example. The anonymous author of the Fourth Pseudo-Heraclitean Letter comes close enough to Hermocles' pointed paronomasia, οὐ λίθινος, ἀλλ' ἀληθινός, when asking (p. 315.13 Tarán; p. 58.13 Attridge):³⁵ "Ἀνθρωπος λοιδορίαν ποιεῖται, λίθινος εἰ λέγοιτο· θεὸς δὲ ἀληθεύεται, ᾧ (Bywater: ὡς codd.) τοῦτο τὸ εὐώνυμον "ἔκ κρημνῶν γεννᾶται" (ἀνατίθεται addidi e.g.); Ἀπαιδευτοί, οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς χειρόκμητος (Westermann: χειρό-τμητος codd.), οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βᾶσιν ἔχει...; In view of this passage, the possibility that Hermocles' attack on the statues of the gods derives from the early Cynicism cannot be ruled out, but I do not have evidence for such a one.³⁶

³² Idem, No. 364.

³³ Idem, No. 362. Fr. 3 des Places.

³⁴ The evidence is to be found in M. Marcovich, *Eraclito: Frammenti*, Florence, 1978 (Bibl. di Studi Sup., 64), ad Fr. 86.

³⁵ Compare R. Mondolfo and L. Tarán, *Eraclito: Testimonianze e Imitazioni*, Florence, 1972 (Bibl. di Studi Sup., 59), 279-359; H.W. Attridge, *First-Century Cynicism in the Epistles of Heraclitus*, Scholars Press, 1976 (Harvard Theol. Studies, 29), esp. pp. 13-23 and 58-61.

³⁶ On the Cynic (and Stoic) criticism of the images of gods in late antiquity, compare J. Geffcken, *Zwei griechische Apologeten*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. XX-XXII; Idem, "Der Bilderstreit des heidnischen Altertums," *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* 19 (1919) 286 ff.; M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griech. Religion*, II (3rd ed. 1974) 526 f.

The most eloquent examples of this criticism come from the first and second centuries A.D. For example, Plutarch *De Superstitione* 167 D: Εἶτα χαλκοτύποις μὲν πείθονται καὶ λιθοῤῥοῖς καὶ κηροπλάσταις ἀνθρωπόμορφα τῶν θεῶν τὰ εἶδη ποιοῦσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα πλάττουσι καὶ

23-24: In line 24, I keep the transmitted Σφίγγα περιπατοῦσαν while converting the genitives in line 23 into accusatives. Casaubon's emendation, Σφίγγα περικρατοῦσαν (adopted by all editors), is not likely to me for the following reasons. (1) A scribal error Π for ΚΡ seems to be less likely than the common misreading of supralinear abbreviations (in line 23). What is more important, (2) if we read with Casaubon περικρατοῦσαν it would mean that the Aetolian League had under its control the entire Greece; compare Ehrenberg's translation (p. 179): "Punish the Sphinx that rules, not only over Thebes but over all Greece." This would be, however, historically untrue, for around 291 or 290 B.C. the Aetolian League had extended its control to Delphi, but no farther (compare Plutarch *Dem.* 40.7-8).³⁷ (3) On the contrary, the transmitted περιπατοῦσαν means that the Aetolians were crossing and recrossing the Hellenic lands in their plundering forays and pillages, but no more. (4) The suggested interpretation seems to find its confirmation in lines 29-30, Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἀρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας, νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πόρρω. (5) Finally, the transmitted reading is more appropriate to the traditional image of the Sphinx. She is envisaged as a winged *lioness* with the human face, as such a savage *predator traversing vast fields* (compare Hygin. *Fab.* 67.4: *Sphinx* ..., *quae agros Thebanorum vexabat*). Aeschylus (*Septem* 776) calls her ἡ ἀρπαξάνδρα Κήρ,³⁸ which matches our line 27, τὰ σώμαθ' ἡμῶν πάντ' ἀναρπάσας φέρει.

κατασκευάζουσι καὶ προσκυνουσί, φιλοσόφων δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀποδεικνύντων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνότητα μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ εὐμενείας καὶ κηδεμονίας. The Cynic Oenomaus of Gadara apud Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 5.36: οὐκ ἀθάνατοι, ἀλλὰ λίθινοι καὶ ξύλινοι δεσπότες ἀνθρώπων (sc. οἱ θεοί). Athenagoras *Legatio pro Christianis* 4.1; 15.1: Ἐπεὶ οἱ πολλοὶ... προσίαισι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης εἰδώλοις, δι' ἐκείνους καὶ ἡμεῖς (sc. οἱ Χριστιανοί)... προσελευσόμεθα καὶ προσκυνήσομεν τὰ ἀγάλματα; 15.3; 17.5: Γῆ ταῦτα καὶ λίθοι καὶ ὕλη καὶ περίεργος τέχνη; 26.5.

L. Alfonsi (*Rhein. Mus.* 106 [1963] 162), however, seems to imply that line 19 of our hymn too was inspired by the Epicurean theology when writing: "di dei ..., nè lignei nè di pietra, come saranno accusati di essere appunto gli dei pagani dagli apologisti del Cristianesimo primitivo, che recorrevano per questa parte abbondantemente a motivi, a τόποι epicurei. È quell' antitesi λίθινον—ἀληθινόν, a parte il ricercato effetto paronomastico, ritorna appunto in testi cristiani."

This reasoning does not seem sound to me. A criticism of the traditional statues of gods cannot be traced to Epicurus himself, but only to Cynicism (and maybe Stoa). It is true that much of the polemics of the early Apologists may go back to Apollodorus, *De Dis*, to the Epicureans, and notably to Philodemus, *De Pietate*. But the content of this polemics is *mythological*: compare, e.g., A. Henrichs' stemma in his study "Philodemus 'De Pietate' als mythographische Quelle," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 5 (1975) 7. On the other hand, the criticism of the *statues of gods* came to the Christian writers probably from Cynic (and Stoic) sources.

³⁷ Compare G. Klaffenbach, in *IG IX.1.1* (1932), p. XV f. (*Fasti Aetolici*, B.C. 290); Wehrli, o.c., 177-179.

³⁸ Compare W.H. Roscher, *Lexikon*, IV, 1366 (further literature is not needed here).

Incidentally, in the last line of the hymn Meineke's σπίλον seems to be the most likely reading. Hermocles prays Demetrius either to throw the Aetolian Sphinx down the precipice into the sea or to turn her into a rock or stone (just as is the famous Sphinx from Egypt, or any other stone-sphinx throughout the Hellenic lands). Now, σπίλος seems to resume the image of the *mountaineer* Aetolian, "who sits on the top of a *rock*, just as the traditional Sphinx used to do" (25 f.: Αἰτωλόν, ὅστις ἐπὶ πέτρας καθήμενος, / ὥσπερ ἡ παλαιά), ...

DEMETER, BAUBO, IACCHUS—AND A REDACTOR

The mourning Demeter at Eleusis is persuaded to laugh, break her fast, and drink the *cycceon* either by the ritual jesting and jeering (αἰσχρολογία, σκώμματα, τωθασμός) on the part of Iambe, or by the equally ritual *indecent exposure* (ἀνάσυρμα, ἀνασυρμός) on the part of Baubo. The main source for the former is the Homeric Hymn to Demeter 202-204,¹ and for the latter—Orphic Fr. 52 Kern. The *anasyrma* of Baubo is preserved in two main sources: Clement, *Protr.* 20.1-21.1, and Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 5.25-26. Now, in support of his statement that Baubo ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ ἀποδεικνύει τῇ θεῶ, Clement quotes an Orphic hymn consisting of five hexameters. Its text, in Stählin's edition, reads as follows (Kern follows Stählin's text):

ὡς εἰποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρετο, δεῖξε δὲ πάντα
 σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἰακχος,
 χειρὶ τέ μιν ῥίπτασκε γελῶν Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις·
 ἦ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν μείδησε θεά, μείδησ' ἐνὶ θυμῶ,
 5 δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν ᾧ κυκεῶν ἐνέκειτο.

1 ἀνεσύρετο P¹ M : ἀνεσύρατο P³ Euseb. (*Praep. Ev.* 2.3.34) / δεῖξε Eus. : δεῖξαι P // 2 ἦκεν P ante corr. (ut vid.) : ἦ.εν P post corr. : ἦεν M Eus. // 4 μείδησε M Eus. : μείδησε P ante corr. (ut vid.) : .εἶδη.σε P post corr.

Some one hundred years later (ca. A.D. 300), Arnobius translated Clement's text into Latin with some rhetorical embellishments of his own *africitas*.² His text of the Orphic hymn, however, differs substantially from Clement's version. It reads as follows:³

Sic effata simul vestem contraxit ab imo
 obiecitque oculis formatas inguinibus res:
 quas cava succutiens Baubo manu (nam puerilis
 ollis vultus erat) plaudit, contrectat amice.

¹ See the exhaustive discussion of the passage by N.J. Richardson, in his edition of *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford, 1974, 211-224.

² That Arnobius is translating Clement, has been shown by A. Röhricht, *De Clemente Alexandrino Arnobii in irridendo gentilium cultu deorum auctore*. Diss. Kiel, 1892, p. 34 f. Compare also Henri Le Bonniec, in his Budé edition of Arnobius: *Arnobius, Contre les gentils*, I, Paris, 1982, p. 54 ff.

³ The text of Arnobius is quoted from the second edition of C. Marchesi: *Arnobii Adv. nationes libri VII* (Corpus scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum), Turin, 1953.

- 5 Tum dea defigens augusti luminis orbes
tristitias animi paulum mollita reponit:
inde manu poclum sumit risuque sequenti
perducit totum cyceonis laeta liquorem.

2 formatas inguinibus *Sabaeus* (1543) : formata sanguinibus *P* / 4 ollis *P* : olli *Sabaeus* / amice *Gelenius* (1546) : amicae *P* / 7 poclum *Sabaeus* : poculum *P* / risuque *Sabaeus* : risu quem *P*

The relationship between Clement's and Arnobius' version of Baubo's *anasyrma* is a *quaestio vexata*. Earlier scholarship is in Kern (ad Orphic Fr. 52, p. 129). The most recent discussion is by Fritz Graf (1974).⁴ He seems to reach a noncommittal *non liquet* conclusion (p. 199):

So hätten denn Clemens und Arnobius jeder nur eine Facette der schillernen Verse des Orpheus hervorgehoben. Von Bedeutung ist jedoch, dass sich Arnobius viel enger an das orphische Vorbild zu halten scheint, dass er mehr weiss, als er den Worten des Clemens entnehmen konnte...

Baubo's *anasyrma* in Clement and Arnobius deserves a closer look. In this paper, I shall argue the following points. (1) Clement's text as transmitted is corrupt, but can be emended: there are *seven* scribal errors in five hexameters. (2) Arnobius translates Clement's text into Latin, but he does not use the same text as Eusebius did: Arnobius' copy of Clement offered a text *altered by a redactor*. (3) This redactor has misunderstood the sense of the word τύπος; in addition, he took ἦεν for a copula, thus understanding in line 2, τύπος = παῖς. As a consequence, he altered Clement's text in the second halves of lines 2 and 3, in order to eliminate the god Iacchus and make Baubo the sole subject of the sentence in line 3. (4) Finally, since Arnobius' version is based on a *distortion* of Clement's original text, its evidential value is null, leaving Clement as our only source. The relationship between Baubo's *anasyrma*, the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Thesmophoria is beyond the scope of this paper.⁵

- (1) In my opinion, Clement's text should read:

- ὥς εἰποῦσα πέπλους ἀνεσύρατο, δεῖξε δὲ πάντα
σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τόπον· παῖς δ' ἦκεν Ἰακχος,
χειρὶ τέ μιν ῥίπτασ' ὀρέγων Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλπους·
ἦ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνόησε θεά, μείδησ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
5 δέξατο δ' αἰόλον ἄγγος, ἐν ᾧ κυκεῶν ἐνέκειτο.

⁴ Fritz Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Band XXXIII), Berlin, de Gruyter, 1974, 194-199.

⁵ On the problem see Graf 169 n. 56, esp. 170 f.

COMMENTARY

1. **ἀνεσύρατο**: Should be given preference over ἀνεσύρετο.⁶ First, it stands in Eusebius. Second, it is also to be found in Gregory of Nazianzus, who imitates the Orphic line as follows:

ὡς εἰποῦσα θεὰ δοιοὺς ἀνεσύρατο μηρούς.⁷

2. **τόπον**: Is the correct reading here. First, ὁ τόπος means *prudendum muliebre* (LSJ, s.v., I. 3), the sense which is required here. Second, it is supported by Arnobius' context (5.25): *partem illam corporis, per quam secus femineum et sobolem prodere et nomen solet acquirere gene(t)ricum...*; *retegit se ipsam* (sc. Baubo) *atque omnia illa pudoris loca revelatis monstrat inguinibus*, where the words, *omnia illa pudoris loca monstrat*, correspond exactly to δεῖξε δὲ πάντα / σώματος οὐδὲ πρόποντα τόπον. It seems likely that Arnobius had in his text of Clement both τόπον and τύπον (one of them being written either *supra lineam* or *in margine*). Now, Arnobius translates τόπον as, *omnia illa pudoris loca*, and τύπον—as, *formatae inguinibus res* (in his verse 2).

2. **ἦχεν**: Is the most suitable verb to go with Iacchus. Most probably, this is what the scribe Baanes wrote in A.D. 914, in the Arethas codex Parisinus 451. Arethas then erased the χ to read ἦ.εν. He did so probably after collating Baanes' exemplar either with the text of Eusebius or with another manuscript of Clement, where stood ἦεν.

3. **ρίπτασx' ὀρέγων**: For the transmitted *ρίπτασχε γελῶν*. First, there is no visible reason for the small boy Iacchus to laugh at Baubo's indecent exposure. As an innocent Διώνυσος ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῶ, he is too young to understand the meaning of Baubo's *anasyrma*. Naturally enough, he is interested only in the breasts of his *nurse* (3 κόλποι), not in her αἰδοῖα γυναικεῖα. Second, while we do have a verb (ρίπτασx') to go with μιν (i.e., Baubo), we badly need another verb to go with Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλπους. The participle ὀρέγων is the best candidate to yield the required sense: "while reaching with his other hand below Baubo's breasts." Χεῖρ' ὀρέγων can be easily understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from the presence of χεῖρί in the same line. The scribal corruption seems to have developed as follows:

ΡΙΠΤΑΚΟΡεΓωΝ > ΡΙΠΤΑΚεΛεΓωΝ >
ΡΙΠΤΑΚεΓεΛωΝ.⁸

Consequently, the situation described in lines 2-3 seems to be as follows. In the moment of Baubo's *anasyrma* in front of Demeter, there

⁶ ἀνεσύρατο has been accepted by Claude Mondésert, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Le Protreptique*, 2nd edition in collaboration with André Plassart (Sources Chrétiennes, 2), Paris, 1949.

⁷ Greg. Naz. *Orat. in Iulian.* I. 141 (P.G. 35.653).

⁸ *ρίπτασχε* in this position of a hexameter: *Iliad* 23.827; *Odyssey* 8.37; 11.592.

appears (ἦεν) the small boy Iacchus. He is hungry. With his one hand he starts tossing Baubo's skirt (1 πέπλοι) around, while with the other he tries to reach below her breasts (ὀρέγων Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλπους). The reason is clear enough: while Demeter is his *mother*, most probably Baubo is his *nurse*. For Demeter as the mother of Iacchus-Dionysus, compare the Oxford vase-fragment (IV century B.C.) showing a seated Demeter with the small boy Dionysus in her lap.⁹ As for the literary evidence, compare Lucretius 4.1168: *at tumida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab Iaccho* (Arnobius alludes to this verse in *Adv. nat.* 3.10); Diodor. 3.64.1; Schol. ad Aristid. 46, 213 (p. 648 Dindorf); Suda and Photius, s.v. Ἰακχος· Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ.¹⁰ As for Baubo as a probable nurse of Iacchus, compare Hesychius, s.v. Βαυβῶ· τιθήνη Δήμητρος. The change of κόλποις into κόλπους was suggested already by Daniel Heinsius.

4. ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν μείδησε θεά, μείδησ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ: The anaphora is pointless. Now, the second μείδησ' must be kept in view of *Odyssey* 20.301, μείδησε δὲ θυμῷ / (*contra* Mullach's change into γήθησ').¹¹ Hermann's change of the first μείδησε into ἐνόησε seems to be the correct reading.¹² I think it is supported by both Clement and Arnobius. The former has (20.3): ἡ δὲ τέρπεται τῇ ὄψει ἡ Δηώ... ἡσθεῖσα τῷ θεάματι. And the latter offers (5.25): *Atque pubi adfigit oculos diva et inauditi specie solaminis pascitur*, plus Arnobius' verse 5:

Tum dea defigens augusti luminis orbes.

(2) *Enter a Redactor.* He finds in Clement's corrupt text of line 2: σώματος... τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἰακχος. First, he takes τύπος to mean τὸ τετυπωμένον, i.e., "an image imprinted on Baubo's body." Second, he understands ἦεν as a copula explaining this τύπος as a παῖς. Accordingly, the redactor understood Clement's text as follows: "The image on Baubo's lower abdomen was the face of the boy Iacchus" (σώματος... τύπος = παῖς Ἰακχος).

As a consequence, since Iacchus no longer was a living being, able to move his hands, the redactor saw it necessary to eliminate Iacchus altogether from the text and make Baubo the only subject of the following line 3. This was achieved by such a deliberate alteration of Clement's text in the second halves of lines 2 and 3 (the redactor's alteration is printed *supra lineam*):

⁹ Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, Inv. 1956-355. M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, 3rd. ed., Munich, 1967, p. 855 (Nachtrag ad p. 318) and Plate 53.1.

¹⁰ See, e.g., O. Kern in RE IX (1914) 621 f. (s.v. Iakchos); Graf, o.c., 198 et alibi.

¹¹ *Frag. Philos. Gr.* I, 175.

¹² Adopted by A. Platt, *Journal of Philology* 26 (1899) 232.

τύπον· παῖς νηπίαχος δ' ἦν,¹³
 σώματος οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἰακχος,
 ἔρατὸν Βαυβῶ κολάφοισιν·
 χειρὶ τέ μιν ῥίπτασκ' ὀρέγων Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλπους·

The redactor understood his text as follows: “Baubo pulled up her robes, and exposed the entire image on her body, not a decent one: it was the face of a small child, and Baubo started tossing him around with her hand, slapping him mildly out of love.” For our redactor this image was “not a decent one” probably because he had envisaged Baubo’s *pudendum* serving as the mouth of the face she had drawn on her lower abdomen. As for the expression, *παῖς ἔρατός*, compare Pindar *O.* 10.99.

It is this phantastic altered text of Clement that Arnobius had in his hands, exploiting it with all his *africatas*. The sense of *τύπος*, “image of a face,” is present both in Arnobius’ verses 2-4 and in his context (5.25): *formatas inguinibus res* (2); *nam puerilis / ollis* (sc. *formatis rebus*) *vultus erat* (3 f.); *et in speciem levigari* (sc. Baubo’s *pudendum*) *nondum duri atque hystriculi pusionis* (5.25). And since the face of a small boy has no “mustache,” Arnobius’ Baubo had to engage in a *novatio* (5.35), she had to shave her pubic hair: *longiore ab incuria liberat* (sc. Baubo her *pudendum*), *facit sumere habitum puriorem* (5.25).

Next, the redactor’s *παῖς νηπίαχος δ' ἦν* becomes in Arnobius, *nam puerilis / ollis vultus erat* (in lines 3-4 of the Hymn), and *species... pusionis* (in the context). Moreover, the redactor’s change of subject and object in line 3 (Baubo becomes the subject, and *μιν* = *παῖδα* the object) is adequately reflected in Arnobius’ translation: *quas* (sc. *formatas res*) *cava succutiens Baubo manu* (line 3). The correption of a long vowel *in thesi* (as here *cava* and *manu*) is common enough in postclassical Latin poetry. Consequently, no change of the word *Baubo* is needed (contra *Baubus manu*’ of N. Heinsius, or *Bacchi manu*’ of Ioannes Auratus). Finally, the redactor’s probable text, *ἔρατὸν... κολάφοισιν*, is supported by Arnobius’ translation, *plaudit, contrectat amice* (sc. Baubo, line 4).

Incidentally, the impressive alliteration of *π* in lines 1-2 of the redactor’s text (*πέπλους... πάντα / ... οὐδὲ πρέποντα τύπον· παῖς νηπίαχος*), as well as that of *α* (in line 5), was not wasted on Arnobius, who imitates them in his lines 2 (*obieciturque oculis*) and 8 (*laeta liquorem*).¹⁴

¹³ Already Leopardus had suggested the reading, *παῖς νηπίαχος δέ*, for *παῖς δ' ἦεν Ἰακχος*, but as the *original* text of Clement, not as the deliberate alteration by a redactor. Herwerden adopted it (*Hermes* 5 [1871] 143).

¹⁴ More on these late Latin verses in Graf 166.

(3) The presence of a redactor intervening in Clement's text becomes even more clear from his addition of the words, αἰπόλος δὲ ὁ Δυσάυλης, in *Protr.* 20.2. Probably, he was inspired by such a common place as, e.g., Hesiod's *Theogony* 445 f., βουκολίας τε βοῶν τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν / ποίμνας τ' εἰροπόκων ὄϊων. However, Clement's original text has the advantage of keeping the names of Baubo and Dysaules together. After all, they are a *married couple*.¹⁵ It is the redactor who separated Dysaules from Baubo, and placed Eumolpus as the last one of the five, in order to link him with the *gens Eumolpidarum* of the next clause. I doubt that Arnobius was able of adding, αἰπόλος δὲ ὁ Δυσάυλης. As a rule, Arnobius limits himself to embellishing the material found in his source. Here is a comparison of the two passages.

Clement, *Protr.* 20.2

Ῥικουν δὲ τηλικάδε τὴν Ἐλευσίνα οἱ γηγενεῖς· ὀνόματα αὐτοῖς Βαυβῶ καὶ Δυσάυλης καὶ Τριπτόλεμος, ἔτι δὲ Εὐμολπός τε καὶ Εὐβουλεύς· βουκόλος ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ἦν, ποιμὴν δὲ ὁ Εὐμολπος, σβῶτης δὲ ὁ Εὐβουλεύς· ἀφ' ὧν τὸ Εὐμολπιδῶν καὶ τὸ Κηρύκων τὸ ἱεροφαντικόν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀθήνησι γένος ἤνηθησεν.

Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 5.25

Qui(nque) illud temporis has partes incolebant terrigenae, quibus nomina haec fuerant: Baubo Triptolemus Eumolpus Eubuleus Dysaules: boum iugator Triptolemus, *capellarum Dysaules custos*, Eubuleus porcorum, gregis lanitii Eumolpus, a quo gens eclluit Eumolpidarum et ducitur clarum illud apud Cecropios nomen et qui postea floruerunt caduceatores, hierophantae atque praecones.

There is, however, another difference between Clement and Arnobius, which may seem to favor Arnobius' version of the story. While in Arnobius the reason for Baubo's *anasyrma* is simply her desire to make her guest, the mourning Demeter, laugh (5.25 *statuit exhilarare*), in his turn, Clement—in a gloss typical of his style¹⁶—tries to explain Baubo's indecent exposure as an expression of her feeling of being despised and even offended by Demeter's refusal to take food: περιαλγῆς ἢ Βαυβῶ γενομένη (ὡς ὑπεροραθεῖσα δῆθεν) ἀναστέλλεται τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐπιδεικνύει τῇ θεῷ (20.3). Doubtless, Clement is improvising with his gloss, probably under the in-

¹⁵ Asclepiades of Tragilus, *FGrH* 12 F 4; Graf 159; *Der kleine Pauly*, I (1964) 843-45 (s.v. Baubo).

¹⁶ The gloss is revealed as such by the phrase, ὡς... δῆθεν. On similar Clementine glosses compare M. Marcovich, *Eraclito: Frammenti*, Florence, 1978, ad Frr. 7; 48; 99 (= B 35, 26; 20 DK), and H. Wiese, *Heraklit bei Klemens von Alexandrien*, Diss. Kiel, 1963 (typewritten), passim.

fluence of such a custom in his own time (compare Artemidorus *Onirocrit.* 4.44).¹⁷

This gloss of Clement, however, does not suggest that Arnobius' version of Baubo's *anasyrma* should be preferred over the one in Clement. For—*pace* Graf, pp. 195 and 197 f.,—Arnobius *knew* of Clement's improvised explanation. In my opinion, Arnobius' words (5.25): *Rogat illa* (sc. Baubo Cererem) *atque hortatur contra... ne fastidium suae humanitatis adsumat* (sc. Ceres), reflect Clement's gloss, ὡς ὑπεροραθεῖσα δῆθεν. Now, it is not difficult to see why Arnobius had chosen not to follow Clement's explanation. For the redactor of Clement's text had provided Arnobius with a goldmine to exploit—the interpretation of τύπος as an image of a boy's face drawn by Baubo on her lower abdomen. Hence the words, *in speciem... nondum duri atque hystriculi pusionis*, in Arnobius' context; hence the words, *nam puerilis / ollis* (sc. *formatis rebus*) *vultus erat*, in Arnobius' verses, serving as a motivation of Baubo's *anasyrma* (5.25): *vertit Baubo artes et quam serio non quibat allicere, ludibriorum statuit exhilarare miraculis*. In conclusion, Arnobius' version of the story shows no advantage over Clement's version.

(4) Finally, I should mention two attempts at adapting Clement's text to that of Arnobius—by converting the boy Iacchus into a part of Baubo's body. Back in 1890, A. Ludwich had suggested in Clement's text the reading ἴαλλος, for the transmitted ἴακχος (line 2 of the Orphic hymn).¹⁸ And in 1907, Hermann Diels argued for the printing ἴακχος (instead of ἴακχος), in the sense of *pubendum muliebre*.¹⁹ Both attempts, however, ran into difficulties with the text of the next line 3. And besides, I would say, any attempt at separating Iacchus from the Eleusinian Demeter—a link at least as old as IV century B.C.—would be only suicidal.²⁰ Nevertheless, Diels' interpretation was attractive enough to find a recent adept in Graf, who writes:

“Hermann Diels hat gezeigt, dass ἸΑΚΧΟΣ mit den *formatae inguinibus* res identisch ist und dass die Athenaiosglosse ἴακχος· χοῖρος diese Identifikation sichert: Baubo gibt ihrem Unterleib die Form eines παῖς, eines *nondum duri atque hystriculi pusionis*. Das versteht man als Jux ohne weiteres, und es findet sich dazu auch eine Parallele²¹” (p. 196).—“Die Diskrepanz zwischen

¹⁷ Correctly referred to by Graf 195 n. 5.

¹⁸ “Baubo und Demeter,” *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 141 (1890) 51-58, with reference to Suda, s.v. ἴαλλος· ὁ σκωπτῶλης and ἴαλλοι· τὰ σκώμματα.

¹⁹ “Arcana Cerealia,” in *Miscellanea A. Salinas*, Palermo, 1907, 1-14.

²⁰ It suffices to refer to Graf's exhaustive discussion, 46-69; 198; and, for a global image, to W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1977, 127; 428; 430.

²¹ “ex Helvetiorum popularibus ludicris aut ex artificum Monacensium fescenninis.” Diels, o.c., 8 f.; Graf 196 n. 10.

Paraphrase und Versen lässt sich wohl nur verstehen, wenn man annimmt, Clemens habe angesichts des eleusinischen Milieus (wie nach ihm Generationen von Philologen bis vor Hermann Diels) "ΙΑΚΧΟΣ als Eigennamen aufgefasst" (p. 197).—"Vielmehr wird man an ein Spiel mit dem Doppelsinn von "ΙΑΚΧΟΣ denken müssen" (p. 198).

Against Diels (and Graf) it suffices to say that nowhere in Greek ἴακχος means *cunnus*. Diels' only warrant is Athenaeus III, 98 D. We read there that the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Elder reportedly was fond of employing such strange—and insipid—metaphors as these: μένανδρος ("man-waiter") for παρθένος (ὅτι μένει τὸν ἄνδρα); μενεκράτης ("standhold") for στῦλος (ὅτι μένει καὶ κρατεῖ); βαλάντιον ("against-hurler") for ἀκόντιον (ὅτι ἐναντίον βάλλεται); μυστήρια ("mice-keepers") for αἱ τῶν μυῶν διεκδύσεις (ὅτι τοὺς μῦς τηρεῖ); γαρότας (= γᾶς ἀροτήρ, "earth-plower") for βουῶς; finally, ἴακχος ("squealer") for χοῖρος.

Now, it is not difficult to see that, in this rather dull and flaccid list, the word χοῖρος has its normal sense of *pig*, and not the Aristophanic connotation of *cunnus*. This "squealer" (χοῖρος) squares with the rest of the examples—ox, mouse-holes, javelin, pillar, maiden. And if χοῖρος here does not mean *pudendum muliebre*, neither does ἴακχος. It follows that Diels' interpretation is unfounded.

In conclusion, the suggested intervention of a redactor into Clement's account of Baubo's *anasyrma* at *Protr.* 20.1-21.1 best explains the differences between Clement's original and Arnobius' Latin translation at *Adv. nat.* 5.25-26. Since the alteration of Clement's text undertaken by this redactor is based upon a misunderstanding, on his part, of the words τύπον and ἦεν (which he found in his copy of Clement), it follows that the redactor's interpretation—τύπος = παῖς, "the drawing on Baubo's body was the image of a boy's face,"—cannot be taken seriously. And finally, since Arnobius had chosen to follow this either supralinear or marginal alteration of Clement's original text, introduced by the redactor, it follows that his testimony about Baubo, Iacchus, and Demeter is equally worthless, leaving Clement as our only source for the Orphic Baubo at Eleusis.

SATOR AREPO = GEORGOS HAR PON

I. INTRODUCTION

In his recent (1978), exhaustive—87 column long—PW RE article,¹ Heinz Hofmann provides the historians of Graeco-Roman religions with a complete evidence on the famous—and elusive—Sator magic square (= SS). The charm is a perfect four-entry palindrome—to be read either horizontally or vertically starting from each corner of the square. It consists of the magic number of five words with five letters in each (5²):

S A T O R	R O T A S
A R E P O	O P E R A
T E N E T	T E N E T
O P E R A	A R E P O
R O T A S	S A T O R

It is surprising, however, to learn that Hofmann, after discussing countless attempts at solving the SS—being advanced since 1823²—, in conclusion adopts and strongly defends (558.57 ff.) the solution proposed by Hildebrecht Hommel (in 1952)³—as “die einzige, methodisch wie historisch richtige und mögliche Erklärung des Satorquadrats” (560.34 ff.). Following an old French anonymous suggestion (going back to 1854), Hommel assumes that the SS was written boustrophedon (zigzag) and, in addition, that the middle word *tenet* should be read twice: *Sator opera tenet : (tenet) opera Sator*, which he translates, “Der Schöpfer

¹ PW RE, Suppl.-Bd. XV (1978) 477-565, s.v. “Satorquadrat.” See also H. Hofmann, *Das Satorquadrat. Zur Geschichte und Deutung eines antiken Wortquadrats*. Bielefelder Papiere zur Ling. u. Lit.-Wissenschaft 1977, No. 6, pp. 52.

² Since F. Huberti (1823) and F. Scolari (1825) around the Maria Magdalena Monastery at Campomarzo near Verona: compare Carlo Cippola, in *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 29 (1893-94) 209-212; Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Recherches de science religieuse* 25 (1935) 188-225, esp. 211 n. 60; Harald Fuchs, “Die Herkunft der Satorformel,” *Schweizerisches Archiv f. Volkskunde* 47 (1951) 28-54 (= *Festschrift Karl Meuli*), esp. 29 n. 2.

³ First in *Theologia Viatorum* 4 (1952) 108-180, then in *Schöpfer und Erhalter. Studien zum Problem Christentum und Antike*, Berlin, 1956, 32 ff.; 139 ff.; Idem, in *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, Artemis Verlag Zürich u. Stuttgart, 1965, 2705.

(Sämamm, Vater) erhält seine Werke.” According to Hommel, this thesis, “The Creator preserves his works,” and the SS itself, derive from a Stoic-Pythagorean setting: “Der Erfinder ist vielmehr in stoisch-pythagoreischem Umkreis zu suchen: etwa Nigidius Figulus, ‘Pythagoricus et magus’ (ca. 98-45 v. Chr.)?”⁴

The present paper has a double objective. First, I shall argue against the interpretation of the SS advanced by Hommel and defended by Hofmann. In my opinion, it simply sweeps under the rug the strange proper name *Arepo* (along with *rotas*). Second, I shall suggest that *Arepo* is a latinized form of a *Kurzname* of the extremely popular “god of good luck” in the Graeco-Roman Egypt—Harpon, Arpo(cras), Harpo(crates), i.e., “Horus-the-Child” (in Egyptian Ḥr-pꜣ-ḥrd)—, in other words, a manifestation of the old god Horus, “the master of magic” (ꜥ ḥkꜥ). Accordingly, our *Zauberformel*, apotropaic charm, or φυλακτήριον would mean: “The sower Horus/Harpocrates keeps in check toils and tortures” (e.g., “Ἀρπῶν ὁ σπείρων κατ’ ἐχεπόνους καὶ τροχούς”).

Apparently, the earliest known attempt at interpreting the SS belongs to a Byzantine scribe (end of the XIVth century), who on fol. 60^v of cod. Par. gr. 2511 (Bible) wrote:

σ ἄ τ ο ρ	ὁ σπείρων
ἄ ρ ἔ π ο	ἄροτρον (sic)
τ ἔ ν ε τ	κρατεῖ
ὄ π ε ρ α	ἔργα
ῥ ὁ τ α ς	τροχούς

I.e., “The sower holds the plough, the works, the wheels.” Now, unless the Byzantine scribe knew more than we do today, the most likely source of inspiration for his interpretation **arepum* = ἄροτρον is Columella *De re r.* 5.1.6 (= Isidor. *Orig.* 15.15.4, p. 485 Lindsay): *arepennis*—a Gallic word for “half-acre” (compare *semi-iugerum*, “half-juger,” “quarter-acre,” and French *arpent*, “an acre”).

However, although this **arepum*, meaning either “plough” or “half-acre,” is to be found nowhere, it still lives, e.g., in the *Th.L.L.*, s.v. *arepo*. So does the attempt of the Byzantine scribe—in numerous modern interpretations of the SS—from F. Scolari (back in 1825)⁵ and Charles

⁴ *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, s.v. Satorformel, 2705.

⁵ *Nuova dichiarazione dell’iscrizione Sator...*, Verona, 1825: “Il seminatore di un arepo (piccola pezza di terra) mantiene con suo lavoro il convento” (i.e., “la Ruota” of the Monastery Maria Magdalena near Verona). Compare Cippola (supra, n. 2), l.c.

Wescher (in 1874)⁶ down to, e.g., Jérôme Carcopino (in 1948)⁷ and Walter O. Moeller (in 1973).⁸ I think, Margherita Guarducci, among others, has been successful in putting to rest Carcopino's shaky interpretation.⁹

II. SATOR OPERA TENET : (TENET) OPERA SATOR

The idea to read the SS boustrophedon while repeating the word *tenet*—*Sator opera tenet : (tenet) opera Sator*—goes back to an anonymous French author of 1854,¹⁰ who translates: “Le semeur possède (par conséquent récolte) ses oeuvres,” i.e., “On récolte se qu'on sème” (“One reaps what he has sown”). Apparently, the earliest attempts to interpret *Sator* as Jesus the Sower (Mt. 13:3; Mk. 4:3; Lk. 8:5), or as the God Creator—and then *tenet* as “holds together,” “preserves,”—belong to A. Schmöger (1917),¹¹ R. Sabbadini (1919),¹² an anonymous German scholar of 1926,¹³ L. Wagner (1943),¹⁴ and others.

However, a new twist to this line of interpretation was given by Harald Fuchs (in 1951)¹⁵ and Hildebrecht Hommel (in 1952). The former translates (p. 47): “Der Schöpfer selbst erhält seine Schöpfung,” and the latter (pp. 36 ff.): “Der Schöpfer erhält seine Werke.”¹⁶ The only difference of significance between the mutually independent interpretations

⁶ *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1874, 151-54. Wescher is the discoverer of the scribe's note on fol. 60^v of cod. Par. gr. 2511.

⁷ “Le Christianisme secret du ‘carré magique,’” *Mus. Helveticum* 5 (1948) 16-59 = *Études d'histoire chrétienne*, Paris, 1953, 9-91: “Le semeur avec sa charrue tient avec soin ses roues,” or rather, “Le semeur, veillant à sa charrue, tient avec soin ses roues” (p. 29).

⁸ *The Mithraic Origin and Meanings of the Rotas-Sator Square*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 38, Leiden, Brill, 1973, 10: “The sower (creator) guides (holds) the wheels carefully in (on) the field (half-acre).”

⁹ “Il misterioso ‘quadrato magico’: l'interpretazione di Jérôme Carcopino, e documenti nuovi,” *Archeologia Classica* 17 (1965) 219-270.

¹⁰ In *Magasin Pittoresque* 22 (1854) 348.

¹¹ In *Katholische Kirchenzeitung* (Salzburg), No. 21 of 24 May 1917, p. 173: “Der Sämann hält die Werke zusammen.” Compare Hofmann (supra, n. 1), p. 517.44.

¹² In *Rivista di Filologia* 47 (1919) 34.

¹³ In *Der Tag* (Berlin), No. 103 of 30 April 1926: “Der Herr hält die Werke.” Compare V. Stegemann, in *SB Akademie Heidelberg*, Philol.-hist. Klasse, 1933-34, 79; Fuchs (supra, n. 2), 43 n. 28; Hofmann 517.61.

¹⁴ In *Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 420-421 of 19 August 1943: “Gott erhält die Welt.” Hofmann 518.14.

¹⁵ Supra, n. 2, pp. 42 ff.

¹⁶ So do G. Gagov, *Misc. Franciscana* 61 (1961) 276 ff. (“Il Creatore, l'autore di tutte le cose, mantiene, conserva le proprie opere”), and J. B. Bauer, in *ADEVA (Akad. Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt)—Mitteilungen* 31 (1972) 7 ff. (“Der Schöpfer, der Weltgott, bindet alle seine Werke”). Compare Hofmann 518.25.

of Fuchs and Hommel is in the fact that the former maintains Jewish origin of the SS (pp. 49-51), while the latter feels it rather reveals Stoic heritage (“Stoisches Gedankengut”).

In favor of his interpretation, “The Creator preserves his creation” (e.g., ‘Ο Γενέτωρ σώζει τὰ πάντα), Hommel refers to Cicero *N.D.* 2.86 and to Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo* 397 b 20. This was then accepted by Hofmann.¹⁷ The former passage reads: *Omnium autem rerum quae natura administrantur seminator et sator et parens, ut ita dicam, atque educator et altor est mundus, omniaque sicut membra et partes suas nutricatur et continet.* The latter passage reads: Σωτήρ μὲν γὰρ ὄντως ἀπάντων ἐστὶ καὶ γενέτωρ τῶν ὀπωσδήποτε κατὰ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον συντελουμένων ὁ θεός (cf. 400 a 3 f.).

Now, my objections to the boustrophedon reading of the SS, and to the interpretation, *Sator opera tenet* : (*tenet*) *opera Sator*, are as follows.

(1) Why would anyone employ the zigzag-writing of secret magic formulas—say, of a *defixionis tabella*¹⁸—only to express a rather trivial “Stoic” thesis, “The Creator keeps the world together”? What is so magic about this *philosophical* thesis? To be sure, it cannot explain the wide popularity of the SS as an apotropaic charm, spell, φυλακτήριον, *Abwehrzauberamulet*—being preserved in countless wall-graffiti and inscriptions, in amulets, ostraca, potsherds, papyri and parchments, from Pompeii (as early as before 79 A.D., probably even before 62 A.D.) and Rome to Aquincum in Hungary, from Manchester and Cirencester in England to Dura-Europos, Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia, from Byzantium to Western Europe. Roman soldiers, sailors, traders, free men, freedmen and slaves alike, were not Stoic philosophers to appreciate enough, adopt and spread such a *Weltformel* as this: “Die Welt ist und existiert wirklich so, wie sie ist.”¹⁹ The point is that in such a magic charm as is the SS one would expect to find the name of the *Schutzgott*.²⁰ In the boustrophedon-interpretation, “The Creator preserves his creation,” such a name is missing. I think, however, that the name is well provided in *Arepo*.

¹⁷ Hommel 51 ff.; Hofmann 534-538 and 558-560.

¹⁸ For the boustrophedon-writing Fuchs (supra, n. 2), p. 45 n. 32, refers to *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, edited by Richard Wünsch (*I.G.* III.3; *C.I. Att.*, Appendix, 1897), Nos. 33; 34; 52; 65; 170. But the evidence is meager: Nos. 33 and 170 are the only clear examples of the boustrophedon-writing, while in No. 65 only the first line is written from left to right, the rest of ten lines being written all from right to left.

¹⁹ Hofmann 563.17.

²⁰ Compare, e.g., Theodor Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, Bd. I-II, Leipzig, 1921 & 1924 (Studien zur Paläographie u. Papyruskunde, 21 & 23), I, paragraphs 680-801; Idem, in *PWRE* XIV (1928), s.v. “Mageia” (Name), 334-342; A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, Bd. III: *Einleitung in koptische Zaubertexte*, Bruxelles, 1930, paragraphs 196-229 (pp. 117-133).

(2) The earliest extant examples of the SS (at least ten of them) display this wordorder:

R O T A S
 O P E R A
 T E N E T
 A R E P O
 S A T O R

Notably, both graffiti from Pompeii (before 79 A.D.), the inscriptions or graffiti on a roof-tile from the governor's palace at Aquincum (ca. 107 A.D.), on an amphora-sherd from Deansgate (Mamucium near Manchester, late second century A.D.), four wall-graffiti from the temple of Artemis-Azzanathkona at Dura-Europos (ca. 200-250 A.D.), the graffiti from S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, and the wall-inscription from Cirencester (Corinium Dobunorum?, Gloucestershire, both ca. 300 A.D.).²¹ Now, since the opening words of these oldest extant examples of the SS make a perfect sense—*rotas opera*, “tortures and toils” (compare, e.g., Plato *Republic* 2, 365 b 6, *πόννοι καὶ ζημίαι*; 6, 503 a 3, *πόννοι καὶ φόβοι*)—, the most natural assumption is that every Roman reader read each line of the inscription from left to right alone.²²

²¹ Both graffiti from Pompeii may be older than the earthquake of 62 A.D.—the one on column No. 61 of the Big Palestra (Regio II, Campus), the other on a column of the house of P. Paquius Proculus (Regio I, insula 7, domus 1). To Hofmann 480-483 add the inscription on an amphora-sherd from Mamucium (Deansgate near Manchester, late II A.D., found in 1978): ROTAS / OPERA / TENE[...: see M.W.C. Hassall and R.S.O. Tomlin, in *Britannia* 10 (1979) 353.

²² The left-to-right reading is valid for the rest of the extant magic squares (listed, e.g., in Hofmann 539 f.). A few examples:

A Λ Φ A	C Y K A	R O M A
Λ ε ω N	Y Δ ω P	O L M
Φ ω N H	K ω Π H	M I L O
A N H P	A P H C	A M O R

S	A	T	A	N
A	D	A	M	A
T	A	B	A	T
A	M	A	D	A
N	A	T	A	S

The advocates of the bustrophedon reading, however, while dismissing the words *rotas* and *Arepo*, are forced to assume that the Rotas-square was read *beginning from right to left*—*Sator opera tenet*. Incidentally, no Greek *defixionis tabella*, when it is written bustrophedon, begins from right to left but vice-versa. The defenders of the zigzag-reading are puzzled themselves. So Fuchs wrote (p. 46 n. 32): “Im Rotas-Quadrat lässt sich die Linksläufigkeit der ersten Zeile verschieden erklären.” The most likely explanation to him is that the Sator-square should have been older than the Rotas-square: “Das wahrscheinlichste ist, dass eine frühere Fassung des Quadrates, die mit dem Worte Sator begonnen hatte, später umgekehrt worden ist.” Such an assumption, however, simply contradicts the rich evidence: the oldest ten extant examples of the SS begin with *Rotas*, not with *Sator*.²³

In his turn, Hommel (p. 38) believes that the Rotas-square offers the original version, but that it must be read starting from right to left. Later on, somebody had changed the word-order to Sator-square—in order to make the access to the bustrophedon-reading easier: “Man wollte den Einstieg in die Bustrophedon-Lesung erleichtern.”

Finally, Hofmann (p. 563.40) assumes that the original sense of the SS—i.e., *Sator opera tenet*—was forgotten; hence the shift to the normal reading from left to right: “Man muss annehmen, dass der eigentliche Sinn des Satorquadrats, wie er von seinem Verfasser verstanden wurde, frühzeitig verlorenging oder von vornherein einer grösseren Öffentlichkeit gar nicht bekannt wurde. Diese sah allein die vollkommene Form des Wortquadrats, die zu Kritzeleien geradezu herausforderte...”

Such guesswork, however, will convince nobody. The most natural assumption is that both versions of the SS—*Rotas opera tenet Arepo sator* and *Sator Arepo tenet opera rotas*—were read by the Romans beginning from left to right alone, and that in each case the sentence yielded the same (and perfect) sense: “The sower Arepo checks toils and torments.”

(3) The defenders of the zigzag-reading of the SS simply destroy the *magic unity* of the charm. It consists of the following elements. (a) Of the

²³ Carcopino’s criticism of the bustrophedon-reading of the Rotas-square (supra, n. 7), p. 27, is valid. His objection to the repetition of the word TENET, however, has been somewhat weakened by Fuchs’ reference (p. 44 n. 29) to the Elkasai-formula in Epiphanius’ *Panarion* 19.4.3, where the central (sixth) word *ena* is to be read twice: *Raba dina biom elichon misaad ena / (ena) misaad elichon biom dina raba*, which is Aramaic for, “I witness for you on the day of great judgment.” See M.A. Levy, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 12 (1858) 712.

magic number of five times five letters (5^2).²⁴ But if we read *tenet* twice we will be operating with thirty, no longer with twenty-five letters. (b) These five words give the same sentence in a “super-palindrome”—starting from each corner of the square either horizontally or vertically. In other words, these twenty-five letters are interlocked in a crossword, thus preventing the evil influence from penetrating the charm, and the person or house it protects. (c) As was to expect, the charm includes the name of its *Schutzgott* (= *Arepo*), along with his relevant epithet (= *Sator*). (d) The charm also displays a magic interlocking formula to serve as its “spine” or “cross.” This is the central word *tenet* = κατέχει, “keeps in check,” “keeps under control,” “binds”—a key-word in the *Bindemagie*. (e) Furthermore, the charm also spells out the evils against which its *Schutzgott* protects—*rotas opera*, “torments and toils,” literally, “tortures on the wheel and forced labor.” (f) Finally, our *Zauberformel* comprises the three basic magic vowels necessary for the invocation of the *Schutzgott*. In our case, they are—*more magorum*—repeated four times each: A A A A E E E E O O O O. Usually, a magic λόγος consists of the full series of seven vowels (A E H I O Y Ω).²⁵ But the selection of three basic vowels A E O occurs as well; e.g., in P. Mag. Leiden 384 = *P.G.M.* XII. 73 (A H Ω) and 102 (A Ω H). In conclusion, the zigzag-reading of the SS destroys this elaborate magic unity of the charm.

(4) Hommel’s main witness (“Kronzeuge”) for the reading *Sator opera tenet* in antiquity is Pseudo-Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 415 A.D.), who in his *Carmen de Providentia Dei*²⁶ wrote:

²⁴ Hofmann 562.2 explains the magic power of the number *five* as a Pythagorean γάμος (compare Aristotle *Metaph.* 1078 b 23) of *three* (male) and *two* (female), while referring to Alexander *In Metaph.* p. 39.8 Hayduck: Γάμον δὲ ἔλεγον τὸν πέντε, ὅτι ὁ μὲν γάμος σύνδοδος ἄρρενος ἐστί καὶ θήλειος, ἔστι δὲ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἄρρεν μὲν τὸ περιττόν, θήλυ δὲ τὸ ἄρτιον· πρῶτος δὲ οὗτος ἐξ ἄρτιου τοῦ δύο πρῶτου καὶ πρῶτου τοῦ τρία περιττοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει. Compare Walter Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon*, Nürnberg, 1962, pp. 31 n. 98; 154 n. 25; 442 f.; 448 n. 57.

The magic power of the pentad, however, may be better explained by Egyptian or Hebrew sources. For example, there are *five* supreme gods of Hermopolis (Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, pp. 806 and 874). In the “Bindezauber gegen den Hund,” London Ms. Or. 1013 A, 24, Eagle (Ἄετός) from *Revelation* 4:7 is invoked as *PETAGRAMMATA*, which I would understand as ὁ πενταγράμματος δαίμων (cf. p. 39). See A.M. Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte*, Bd. II (Bruxelles, 1931), No. V.24; Bd. III, paragraph 221. Compare also the *pentagram*, *pentacle*, *pentalpha*. Other magic squares too consist of five times five letters; for example, the one beginning with SATAN ADAMA (supra, n. 22), or the one starting with the word RUACH (“Spirit”): compare S. Seligmann, “Die Sator-Formel,” *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde* 13 (1914) 177 ff.; Hofmann 539 f.; 542.

²⁵ On which see, e.g., Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, Leipzig, 1922 (*Stoicheia*, 7) 35 ff. [The second edition, Leipzig, 1925, is not available to me.]

²⁶ Migne, *P.L.* 51, p. 620. New edition by M.P. McHugh, Diss. The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, 98. Washington, D.C., 1964. [New critical edition by M. Marcovich, sub prelo, 1988.]

130 Nec mihi fas dixisse aliquid non rite creatum,
 Aut ullas ausim mundi reprehendere partes,
 Cum sator ille operum teneat momenta suorum
 Et carptim varios in totum temperet usus.

According to Hommel, Pseudo-Prosper imitates the SS. Hofmann is more cautious, but he too states (p. 560.14): “Es ist zwar nicht eindeutig beweisbar, ob der Dichter des Carmen damit tatsächlich das Satorquadrat in einer zu einem Hexameter gedehnten Form zitiert, doch dürfte diese Annahme sehr naheliegend und plausibel erscheinen.”

I think, however, that this assumption is not at all likely. First, there is a great difference between the statement, *Sator opera tenet* (“Der Schöpfer erhält seine Werke”), and Pseudo-Prosper’s point, *Sator tenet momenta operum suorum* (“Der Schöpfer enthält die Entscheidungskraft [oder Ausschlagskraft] über seine Werke.” “The Creator exercises the decisive power (force or influence) over his works”). It is thanks to this “ultimate force” that the Creator is able to produce a harmonious cosmos out of the quarrelling elements, which, as the poet says (v. 122 f.): *aliis alia obsistunt, contraria discors / Omnia motus alit*. In brief, the SS and Pseudo-Prosper speak of two different topics. And second, even if Pseudo-Prosper had used the SS, his lines still would be no proof for the boustrophedon reading, *Sator opera tenet*. For the poet may well have read the SS from left to right alone, while skipping the words he did not need (*Arepo* and *rotas*) and keeping the words he needed (*Sator... tenet... opera...*).

(5) *The Anagram*. The SS yields the anagram printed below. It was discovered independently by three scholars—by Chr. Frank (in 1924),²⁷ by S. Agrell (in 1925 = 1927),²⁸ and particularly by Felix Grosser (in 1926).²⁹ Since 1926, this interpretation of the SS as a “Christian cryptogram” has found wide acceptance: no less than sixty scholars are listed by Hofmann (pp. 514-516). One example; J. Gwyn Griffiths (in 1971) said about the possibility for the Pater Noster-Anagram of being a sheer coincidence, “this is too much to believe.”³⁰ Here is the Anagram:

²⁷ In *Deutsche Gaue* 25 (1924) 76. For AO Frank refers to *Revel.* 21:6 [add 1:8; 22:13, and compare Gerhardt Kittel, in *Theol. Wb. zum NT*, I (1933) 1 f.]. Frank also says that he had read about this anagram in *Die deutsche Warte* “vor einigen Jahren.”

²⁸ In *Runornas talmystik och dess antike förebild: Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund* 6 (1927) 37 f.

²⁹ *Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926) 165-169.

³⁰ *Class. Review*, N.S. 21 (1971) 6.

		P		
		A		
	A	T		O
		E		
		R		
P	A	T	E	R
		N	O	S
		T	E	R
		O		
		S		
	A	T		O
		E		
		R		

Now, both Fuchs and Hommel accept the Pater Noster-Anagram as being originally intended by the author of the SS, but neither of them ascribes it to the Christians. Hommel believes the Anagram itself is Greek and Stoic, while referring, inter alia, to the Homeric phrase, Ἦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε, Κρονίδη (*Iliad* 8.31; *Odyssey* 1.45; 1.81; 24.473). In his turn, Fuchs feels it is rather Jewish, “ein ererbtes jüdisches Gut.”³¹ But in 1973, Hommel has abandoned his interpretation of the Pater Noster AO as being intended by the author of the SS.³² As for Fuchs’ alleged Jewish origin of the Pater Noster AO in our charm, Hofmann (p. 558.24 ff.) was successful in putting it to rest—inter alia, by pointing out that there is no prayer in Jewish tradition called Pater Noster, so typical and fundamental as to be adopted by the author of the SS: “Aber nur eine *fundamentale* Formulierung kann auf diese Weise, wenn überhaupt, im Satorquadrat verschlüsselt sein (Hommel 47...), und gerade das trifft für die jüdische Gebetsanrede nicht zu.”

Apparently, the first scholars to reject the Pater Noster AO anagram in the SS were E. Suys (in 1935),³³ and Guillaume de Jerphanion (in 1936),³⁴ followed by many others.³⁵ P. Veyne³⁶ even applied the theory

³¹ *Supra*, n. 2, p. 50 n. 43. On AO see Fuchs p. 50 n. 45, and Hofmann 549-557, No. 6 (a)—(j). Also Dornseiff (*supra*, n. 25) 122 ff., and my note 27.

³² H. Hommel, *Symbola*, II, Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1977, herausgegeben von Burkhard Gladigow, “Nachtrag 1973.”

³³ *Les études classiques* 4 (1935) 291 ff.

³⁴ *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 12 (1936) 401 ff.; *Recherches de science religieuse* 27 (1937) 326 ff.

of probability to prove that this anagram could not have been intended by the author of the palindrome.

The Pater Noster AO anagram then must be considered as a *sheer coincidence*. So are many other Christian anagrams obtained from our SS—some of them going back to 1627.³⁷ I mention five of them only:

- (1) Oro te, pater, oro te, pater, sanas. (Obtained by “knight’s move” in 1917).³⁸
- (2) O pater, ores pro aetate nostra.
- (3) Retro, Satana, toto opere asper. (Both 2 and 3 from 1935).³⁹
- (4) Satan, oro te pro arte, a te spero.
- (5) Satan, ter oro te, opera praesto. (Both 4 and 5 from 1764).⁴⁰

III. SATOR AREPO = ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ ἌΡΠΩΝ, ἌΡΠΩΣ, HARPO(CRATES)

Frustrated by the strange name Arepo, some scholars go so far as to assume that our SS is no more than a “sinnloses Wortspiel”—a gibberish, abracadabra, ἀβλαναθαναλβα, or ἄσημα ὀνόματα and Ἐφέσια γράμματα.⁴¹ Apparently, the first one so to do was Athanasius Kircher (in 1665),⁴² the last ones—P. Veyne (1968),⁴³ H. Polge (1969),⁴⁴ and especially C.D. Gunn, in his Yale dissertation on the SS (1969).⁴⁵ While Veyne applied the theory of probability, Polge and Gunn resorted to the computer. As a result, Polge called our SS (p. 155): “une construction phraséomorphe anacyclique à quadruple entrée;” and after exploring 625 applicable combinations of our 25 letters supplied by the computer,

³⁵ Listed, e.g., in Fuchs, p. 39 n. 18. Add: W. Baines, *New Test. Studies* 33 (1987) 469-476. Kurt Aland, *Festschrift A. F. J. Klijn*, Kampen, 1988, 9-23.

³⁶ *Bull. Ass. G. Budé* 1968, 427 ff.

³⁷ A total of some forty such anagrams are listed in: Jerphanion (supra, n. 2) 222; M. Dingler apud Ed. von Welz, *Societas Latina* 5 (1937) 57 f.; Fuchs, p. 36 n. 14; Erich Dinkler, *Signum Crucis. Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Christlichen Archäologie*, Tübingen, 1967, 170 f.; Hofmann 512 f.

³⁸ First by H. Williams, in *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), No. 308 of 19 June 1917, then by others (listed in Hofmann 513, No. 7).

³⁹ By Jerphanion 222.

⁴⁰ In *Onomatologia curiosa artificiosa et magica oder Natürliches Zauberlexikon*, s.v. “Amuletum” (2nd ed., 1764); G. Fritsch, *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie* 15 (1883) 535-37; 40 (1917) 144 f.

⁴¹ Such interpretations are listed in Hofmann 518.V. (“Nicht sinnvoll zu lesen”) and 539-41.VI. (“Sinnloses Wortspiel”).—On Ἐφέσια γράμματα compare, e.g., Th. Hopfner (supra, n. 20), I, paragraphs 759; 765 f.; *PW RE XIV* (1928) 340 ff.; Kropp (supra, n. 20), III, paragraphs 230-241; Dornseiff (supra, n. 25) 36; 54; 63 f., and passim.

⁴² *Arithmologia sive de abditis numerorum mysteriis*, Rome, 1665, 220 f.

⁴³ Supra, n. 36.

⁴⁴ *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 175 (1969) 155-163.

⁴⁵ *The Sator-Arepo-Palindrome: A new inquiry into the composition of an ancient word-square*, Yale Univ. Diss. 1969.

he reached this conclusion (p. 163): “qu’aucune combinaison n’est linguistiquement viable;” it follows that the name Arepo is “un anthroponyme imaginaire,” “un artifice lexicales,” “une option irrationnelle.” P lge closes his study with the following caveat: “il est ainsi définitivement prouvé qu’il est parfaitement vain de chercher à *arepo* une interprétation assise sur les données philologiques et archéologiques classiques.”

However, if Arepo really was such a fictitious proper name, added to the palindrome *in fine*, one would expect the inventor of our charm to write rather:

S A T O R
A R E N O
T E N E T
O N E R A
R O T A S

This would have given the magic square even a better sense: “The sower Areno checks any burden or torment.” But this is not the case. Consequently, the most likely reason for the inventor of the SS to write down AREP O, and not AREN O, is that there existed a real *magic Schutzgott* called AREP O.

Let us consider briefly a similar “healing” magic square, also very popular in antiquity; it too comprises one “meaningless” word:⁴⁶

	<i>Revel.</i> 4:7 (Ezechiel 1:10):	P .Mag. Copt. Lond. Ms. Or. 1013 A (= V. 24 f. Kropp):
A Λ Φ A	Μόσχος	<i>the face of Bull</i>
Λ ε ω N	Λέων	<i>the face of Lion</i>
Φ ω N H	Ἄετός (ἱς)	<i>the face of Eagle</i>
A N H P	Ἄνθρωπος	<i>the face of Man</i>

⁴⁶ E.g., in the Cairo Ostrakon No. 8147 (No. 490 Crum); in the Berlin Coptic P. 11347.29 (= XXXIV.29 Kropp); in the Vienna Coptic P. 17354.1 & 7 f. (= LXV Kr.); in the Berlin P. 8105. Compare Kropp (*supra*, n. 20), III, paragraphs 221 f.; Hofmann 486; 540; 542.

Obviously, the magic square comprises the names of the four living creatures around the heavenly throne of *Revelation* 4:7 (Ezechiel 1:10). They are identified as such by the author of the Coptic magic papyrus London Ms. Or. 1013 A (= V. 24 f. Kropp). Now, "Αλφα clearly refers to Hebrew Aleph ("ox"), but why is Eagle called Φωνή? Kropp (III, p. 130 n. 1) remarks: "Φωνή Stimme scheint mir aus dem Zwang des Akrostichons an Stelle des Adlers zu stehen." This is likely enough, but does not tell the whole story. There must be something of significance in the word Φωνή to link it to 'Αετός in the reader's mind. Otherwise the author of the magic square may well had written, for example:

A	Λ	Φ	A
	Λ	ε	ω N
	Φ	ω	P H
A	N	H	P

For the metaphor Φωρή, "theft," is more appropriate for a bird of prey like eagle. The answer is to be found in the fact that in the Book of Revelation Eagle plays a special role while serving as *the voice of God*: Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἤκουσα ἑνὸς ἀετοῦ πετομένου ἐν μεσουρανήματι λέγοντος φωνῆ μεγάλης, Οὐαὶ οὐαὶ οὐαὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς... (*Revel.* 8:13).

It is thanks to this special role of Eagle that in our Coptic φυλακτήριον (V. 24 f.) 'Αετός could be invoked as PETAGRAMMATA, which I understand as ὁ πενταγράμματος δαίμων. For the same reason Eagle is invoked as AKRAMATA in Coptic magic P. Berlin 11347 (XXXIV.29 f. Kropp), and as the angel AGRAMATONAEL in Coptic magic P. London Ms. Or. 5525 (XLVIII.113 Kropp), i.e., 'Αγράμματος, "whose name is not to be written down." In conclusion, the magic name of the Eagle from *Revel.* 4:7—Φωνή—has a deeper meaning, and is not to be explained by the exigencies of a wordsquare alone.

Back to *AREPO*. The most natural assumption is that it is the name of the *Schutzgott* of our charm, and that *SATOR* is then his relevant epithet. Now, the most likely candidate for such a magic protector is the old Egyptian god of magic *Horus*. His epithets include: "master of magic" ("der Zaubermächtige," ʕ h̄kʕ); "averting evil" (h̄šfw); "protector" (šwʕt); "savior" (šdj); "deliverer" (wḏ), and many others.⁴⁷ And the

⁴⁷ Compare Samuel A. B. Mercer, *Horus, Royal God of Egypt*, Grafton, Mass., 1942, pp. 206 f.; 212; 214.

most popular aspect of Horus in the Graeco-Roman Egypt is *Harpocrate*: (Ḥr-pʃ-ḥrd), i.e., “Chorus-the-Child.”⁴⁸

Harpocrates’ name appears in the inscriptions from Italy as: AR-POCRA,⁴⁹ ARPOCRAS,⁵⁰ ARPHOCRAS,⁵¹ ARPOCRATES,⁵² ARPHOCRATES.⁵³ I think AREPO is a *Kurzname* of ARPO(CRAS), ARPO(CRATES). First of all, such a *Kurzname* is not unusual in Egypt. For example, Ḥr(·w)-m (“Horus is in”) is a short proper name for the full one—Ḥr(·w)-m-wšḥt (“Horus is in the hall”).⁵⁴ Or take the Coptic *Kurznamen*: ISI stands for ISIDOROS, PUSI for PUSIRIS, APO for APOLLO, EPIMA for EPIMACHOS, STEPHA for STEPHANOS, etc.⁵⁵ Coming to the point, I think there are two such *Kurznamen* of Ἄρποκράτης in Greek papyri—Ἄρπῶς and *Ἄρπων. Now, Ἄρπῶς appears in papyri at least *eight* times since III century B.C.⁵⁶ Obviously it is a theophorous proper name deriving from the god Ἄρποκράτης, just as is another popular proper name—Ἄπολλῶς—such a theophorous name deriving from Ἄπόλλων. The relationship is simple enough:

Ἄπολλῶς : Ἄπόλλων = Ἄρπῶς : *Ἄρπων, Ἄρποκράτης

⁴⁸ On the Graeco-Roman Harpocrates see Michel Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire Romain, 22), Leiden, Brill, 1972, 198-203; Adolf Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, Berlin, 1934 (Reprint, 1968), 392 ff.; S. Mercer (supra, n. 47), 130 ff.; 196; Idem, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1949, 68 f.; 412 ff.; Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, 273-75.

⁴⁹ E.g., *C.I.L.* IV.2400 and add. (p. 221) (Pompeii). Compare C. Herennius Arpocra (*C.I.L.* VI.200; VI.42, Rome).

⁵⁰ E.g., *C.I.L.* VI.31 (Rome); compare T. Flavius Arpocras (*C.I.L.* VI.28.562, Rome); P. Pomponius Arpocras (*C.I.L.* XI.6716.80, Florence).—(H)ARPOCRAS: compare, e.g., the freedman of Claudius (Sueton. *Claud.* 28; Seneca *Apocol.* 13); another freedman of Nero (Suet. *Nero* 37.4; Chronogr. a. 354 Mommsen, Chron. Min. I, p. 146); the physician of Pliny, *Ep.* 5 (4); 7 (23); 10 (5).—Ἄρποκράς, *C.I.L.* IV.2481a and b (Pompeii).

⁵¹ E.g., *C.I.L.* IV.2191 (Pompeii); *C.I.L.* VI.7255; VI.9016 (Rome); IX.136 and 137 (Brundisium).

⁵² Compare Aurel(ius) Arpocrat(es): *C.I.L.* XIV.4569, dec. XV a 2 (Ostia).

⁵³ *C.I.L.* IX.4722 and 4772 (Forum Novum, Samnium). See Michel Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire Romain, 21), Leiden, Brill, 1972, Index, p. 364, s.v. Harpocrate.

⁵⁴ Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt (J.J. Augustin), I, 1935, p. 247, Nos. 14 & 20; II, 1952, p. 99.—On *Kurz- und Kosenamen* compare II, pp. 94 ff.

⁵⁵ Gustav Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, I, Leipzig, 1929, 56; 96 f. Also Latin names, e.g., ANTO for ANTONIUS, etc. (p. 105).

⁵⁶ They are listed in Friedrich Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 54, and in Daniele Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum (Suppl. al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke)*, Milan, 1967, I, p. 53.—Add: Grenfell-Hunt XXX.28; Michigan P. Inv. 6886.8 (= P. Petaus o. 48.8; *Papyr. Colon.* 4 [1969]).

Latin AREPO may derive either from Ἄρπῶς or from *Ἄρπων. The latter nominative-form, however, is not documented, but the vocative-form Ἄρπον is, so that it is not difficult to assume that *Ἄρπων would be a Hellenized nominative of Egyptian Ἄρπον. This Ἄρπον (once Ἀρπεν)—which I am inclined to derive from Egyptian Hr-pꜣ (“Horus the”)—appears in the combination Harpon-Knuphi, i.e., Horus-the-Chnum,⁵⁷ and is identified with the Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων.⁵⁸ Ἄρπον serves as a vocative.

Now, the evening prayer to Horus in the Berlin magic papyrus 5025 AB (= *P.G.M.* I.26 Preisendanz) reads: α εε ηηη ιιι οοοοο υυ[υυυ]υ ωωωωωω ἤκέ μοι ἄγαθὲ γεωργέ, Ἄγαθὸς Δ[αί]μων, Ἄρπον [Κνουῦ]φι; compare I.237: Ἄρπον Χνουφι. And in the long Paris magic papyrus Suppl. gr. 574 (= *P.G.M.* IV.2433) the same god Ἄρπον Κνουφι (or Ἀρπεν Χνουβι, 2199) is again invoked as Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων (2428), with the following prayer for success, riches and bliss (2437): Δός μοι οὖν χάριν, ἐργασίαν εἰς ταύτην μου τὴν πράξιν, φέρε μοι ἀργύρια, χρυσόν, ἰμ[ατ]ι[σ]μόν, πλοῦτον πολυόλβον ἐπ’ ἄγαθῶ.

The transition from Greek HARPŌN/HARPŌS to Latin AREPO is an easy one. First, the form *arepo* was conditioned by its palindrome *opera* anyway. Second, the anaptyxis of E is natural enough in the spoken Latin and is common in Latin inscriptions. To mention the proper names alone: ArEniensis (*C.I.L.* II.105); CElodia (VIII.3520); CEresce(n)s (VIII.16940; compare III.4908^a); GERacilis (VIII.6237); OcEtari (VIII.6239); QuadErati (VIII.6255 f.); SepEtumienus (XIII.7109); TErebONIO (I.² 33; compare VIII.22424); VicEtorinus (*Inscr. Gsell* I.2964).⁵⁹ In Greek, compare maybe: Ἀρέπυιαι : Ἄρπυιαί; Τερόπων : Τέρπων; Ἐρεμῆς : Ἐρμῆς, etc.⁶⁰

Let us explore now the religious background of Harpocrates. He was an extremely popular god of good luck in the Graeco-Roman Egypt. In our *P.G.M.* I.27, Harpon-Knuphi is addressed as Ἄγαθὸς Γεωργός = Ἄγαθὸς Δαίμων, another popular Egyptian *Schutzgott*.⁶¹ As for the divine epithets, Γεωργός Ἄρπων and *Sator Arepo* are close enough.

What is more significant, however, Harpocrates has been early identified with *Eros* (Plutarch *Amatorius* 19, 764 B), just as his mother *Isis* has

⁵⁷ On the god Chnum see, e.g., Bonnet (supra, n. 48), 135-140, esp. 139 f.

⁵⁸ Compare Richard Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904, 143; 226; and Preisendanz, apparatus ad *P.G.M.* I.27.

⁵⁹ Compare Manu Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München, 1963, 97 f. (with literature on anaptyxis in Latin).

⁶⁰ Compare Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ I, München, 1968, 278.

⁶¹ On Agathos Daimon see, e.g., *Der kleine Pauly*, I (1964), 121 f.

been identified with *Aphrodite*. Compare the inscriptions in the Serapeum on Delos: "Ἐρωτος νικηφόρου (*I.G.* XI.4, 1304; ca. 200 B.C.);⁶² "Ἐρωτι Ἄρφοκράτει.⁶³

In countless terra-cotta figures, Harpocrates is often represented as a nude young boy with a cornucopia and either a phallus or an elongated penis. In the "apotropaic" terra-cotta Graindor No. 6, however, Harpocrates' enormous phallus takes the place of the cornucopia.⁶⁴ In the terra-cotta Graindor No. 15,⁶⁵ Harpocrates displays an erect phallus "de dimensions inusitées." Doubtless, this is another example of the Harpocrates-χερνιβοπάστης,⁶⁶ and his enormous phallus is believed to spread the fertility of the god Sator-Γεωργός. For Harpocrates is believed to be as γόνιμος καὶ τρόφιμος as is his father Osiris: Πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρωπόμορφον Ὀσίριδος ἄγαλμα δεικνύουσιν ἐξορθιάζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ διὰ τὸ γόνιμον καὶ τὸ τρόφιμον (*Plutarch De Iside* 51, 371 F).⁶⁷ Compare also the Harpocrates terra-cottas Graindor Nos. 18 & 19,⁶⁸ while in the terra-cotta Berlin No. 9181 his penis is represented as elongated.⁶⁹

Harpocrates-Eros was extremely popular at Pompeii—in wall-painting, reliefs, amulets, jewelry, and especially in statuettes of bronze or silver. Here his penis is not erect, but the cornucopia is his inseparable attribute (e.g., Catalogue Nos. 104; 107; 111).⁷⁰ V. Tran Tam Tinh states about the Pompeii statuettes: "En effet, ces statuettes d'Isis ou d'Harpocrate, presque identiques à celles trouvées à Herculaneum et en Égypte, semblent provenir des mêmes ateliers et ne remontent pas au delà du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. Il est probable qu'elles provenaient d'Alexan-

⁶² P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris-Nancy, 1916, No. 5 = Ladislaus Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 28), Berlin, 1969, p. 63.

⁶³ Roussel (supra, n. 62), No. 194; Vidman, p. 77; *Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 2132.

⁶⁴ Paul Graindor, *Terres cuites de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine* (Ghent Université, Faculté de philosophie et lettres, Recueil de travaux, 86), Antwerpen, 1939, p. 75 f. and Plate V.6.

⁶⁵ Pp. 84-86 and Plate VII.15

⁶⁶ Compare Graindor (supra, n. 64), pp. 26 and 85 f.

⁶⁷ Compare *Plutarch De Iside* 12, 355 E (on the Phallegphoria-Pamylia); 18, 358 B (on the holy phallus of Osiris), and J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, University of Wales Press, 1970, pp. 299 f.; esp. 342 ff.; 495.—Some scholars believe that Harpocrates is represented as ithyphallic because of the syncretism between Horus and Min, an old ithyphallic fertility god of Egypt; so notably Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägypt. Religion*, 274; 465. But Harpocrates' father Osiris is ithyphallic himself, and Min is not represented with a cornucopia, as is Harpocrates, i.e., "Horus-the-Child."

⁶⁸ Pp. 88-90; Plates VIII.18 & IX.19.

⁶⁹ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 274 (Abbildung 69.4) = Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 393 (Abb. 165.4).

⁷⁰ Compare V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, Paris, 1964, p. 86, and os. 102-104; 106-108; 110-111 ter; 102 bis (p. 200); 105 bis (p. 201); Plates XII.1 & 3; XXI.2. M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire* (supra, n. 53), p. 283; Plates 48 & 50a.

drie, ou qu'elles imitaient les prototypes alexandrins."⁷¹ The same will be true of the Harpocrates-statuettes found elsewhere.⁷²

The role of the ithyphallic boy Harpocrates as an apotropaic god of good luck becomes even clearer from his identification with ithyphallic fertility god "und überhaupt Segenbringer und Übelwehrer" (Herter)—*Priapus*, the ubiquitous *Fascinus deus*, also a son of Aphrodite.⁷³ On the Egyptian terra-cottas of the ithyphallic Harpocrates-Priapiscus see Herter IV C 13 & 14 (pp. 102 and 291 f.). As for the literary sources for this syncretism, Herter (290 f.) refers to Suda, s.v. Πρίαπος 2 (2276 Adler), and to Procopius *De bellis* 1.19.35. The Suda-passage is self-eloquent: Τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Πρίαπου, τοῦ Ὠρου παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις κεκλημένου, ἀνθρωποειδὲς ποιοῦσιν, ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον κατέχον..., ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κρατοῦν τὸ αἰδοῖον αὐτοῦ ἐντεταμένον, διότι τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἐν τῇ γῆ σπέρματα φανερὰ καθίστησι... And Procopius says that the Blemyes and the Nobatae reverence Isis and Osiris, and not the least of all Priapus (καὶ τήν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὄσιριν σέβουσι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον), where Priapus is clearly the boy Harpocrates.

Furthermore, it is because of his role as a popular fertility and bounty god that Harpocrates is often called in monuments *Καρποκράτης*—a pareymology influenced by *καρποφόρος*, *καρποδότης* (Coptic *Karpokratis*).⁷⁴ Another Greek form of his name—'Αλφοκράτης—may also be pareymological in origin (e.g., 'Αλφο-κράτης, "healer of leprosy"?).⁷⁵ In the famous aretology of Carpoocrates from the marble-inscription of Chalcis (ca. A.D. 300; No. 88 Vidman),⁷⁶ the god himself reveals us some of his powers: *Καρποκράτης εἰμί ἐγώ, Σαράπιδος καὶ Ἴσιδος ὕος, ... Πᾶς καιρός εἰμί ἐγώ... πᾶσαν ἐκάθηρα γῆν... πᾶσαν φαρμακείαν ἰατροῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν [e.g. δίδωμι]...*⁷⁷

⁷¹ O.c. (supra, n. 70), p. 10.

⁷² Compare Françoise Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 26), 3 vols., Leiden, Brill, 1973, I, Plates XXX (Rome); XXXI (Egypt); II, Plate XVI.2 (Thessalonica). R.E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cornell U.P., Ithaca, N.Y., 1971, Plates 20 (London); 38 (Roman lamp); 52 (Mainz); 53 (Rome).

⁷³ See Hans Herter, *De Priapo* (RGVV, 22), Giessen, 1932, p. 232 ff. ("mala omnia averruncabat;" "omnia bona, imprimis divitias, afferebat"). *Der kleine Pauly*, 4 (1972) 1130 f.

⁷⁴ See Françoise Dunand (supra, n. 72), III, 329; esp. II, 153 n. 4; For Coptic, see Heuser (supra, n. 55), p. 60. Compare also Witt (supra, n. 72), p. 211 n. 7.

⁷⁵ On this name of Harpocrates see Fr. Dunand, II, p. 153 n. 4.

⁷⁶ See Richard Harder, "Karpokrates von Chalkis," *Abh. Akad. Berlin*, Philol.-hist. Klasse 1943 [1944], No. 14; Vidman, *Sylloge* (supra, n. 62), p. 40 f. (with literature); Idem, *Isis und Serapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (RGVV, 29), Berlin, 1970, 25; Dunand, II, 153-155.

⁷⁷ Compare the Egyptian healing *Zauberspruch* quoted by Erman (supra, n. 48), 297, where the magician assumes the role of the god Horus: "Laufe aus, Gift, komm, fliesse zu Boden! Horus bespricht dich, er vernichtet dich, er bespeit dich. Du steigst nicht auf und fällst herab... durch das, was Horus sagt, der Zaubermächtige."

In conclusion, the Ἄγαθος Γεωργὸς Ἄρπων, Ἄρπῶς, Ἄρποκράτης is the most likely source of our *Sator Arepo*. As Adolf Erman (back in 1934) had stated about Harpocrates in the Graeco-Roman Egypt: “Kein Gott muss dem niederen Volke mehr am Herzen gelegen haben, als Horus das Kind, Har-pe-chrot oder wie man griechisch sagte: Harpokrates.”⁷⁸ While Harpocrates as a baby on the knees of his mother *Isis lactans* had greatly influenced the Christian iconography of *Maria lactans*,⁷⁹ the same Harpocrates, now as a young boy with his cornucopia etc., had become an extremely popular god of good luck among the poor and humble of the Graeco-Roman Egypt—being identified with Eros, Priapiscus or “Carpocrates.”

There seems to exist an indication that a Copt of the seventh century A.D. had even identified our Arepo with Horus. The same Coptic ostracon (Cairo Museum No. 8147) that had preserved the ΑΛΦΑ Λεων ΦωνΗ ANHP magic square, contains also the following magic square:⁸⁰

C	A	T	ω	P
A	C	ω	P	H
T	ω	N	H	N
ω	P	H	N	H
P	H	N	H	Λ

Just as in the magic square SATAN ADAMA TABAT AMADA NATAS (note 22), only the first two words make sense—the rest being a magic *Kauderwelsch* (gibberish),—so also in the Coptic ostracon only the first two words seem to make sense. Now, CATωP is clearly SATOR, but what is ACωPH? We know that the Copt had to start his second line with an A, and to end it with an H, in order to provide the three basic “vowels of invocation” (AA ωωωω HHHHHH). But what is the sense of the remainder—CωP? I think this CωP is nothing else but another Coptic form for *Horus* = 2 ωP.⁸¹ It is possible that this magic name of the god of magic Horus lives in another medieval magic square, in the form

⁷⁸ *Die Religion der Ägypter*, 39. Compare H. Idris Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Liverpool U.P., 1953, 66.

⁷⁹ Compare V. Tran Tam Tinh (avec la collaboration de Yvette Labrecque), *Isis lactans: Corpus des monuments gréco-romains d'Isis allaitant Harpocrate* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 37), Leiden, Brill, 1973, 40-49; Witt (supra, n. 72), 272-281.

⁸⁰ Jerphanion (supra, n. 2), p. 197 n. 20; Hofmann 486; 540.

⁸¹ Heuser (supra, n. 55), 60 (but cf. p. 39).

of ASORA.⁸² If my guess about $C\omega P = 2\omega P = \text{Horus}$ is correct, then SATOR AREPO = CAT ω P A-C ω P-H (or A-SOR-A).⁸³

However it may be, the Egyptian origin of the Sator square best explains its wide popularity in the extant Coptic amulets, papyri and ostraca, coming from Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia. In my opinion, the SS came into existence in Alexandria (somewhere between 30 B.C. and A.D. 50), and reached Pompeii before A.D. 62—along with the cult of Isis, Serapis and the charm-boy Harpocrates. And if the words of the SS—*rotas opera*—imply “wheels of torture and forced labor” (τροχούς καὶ πόνους), then the author of the SS may well belong to those *lower layers* of the society at Alexandria who had embraced Harpocrates as their charm-boy-god of good luck—maybe even a Roman soldier, sailor or trader? After all, Harpocrates is also represented as a boy-soldier in full Roman panoply.⁸⁴

It remains to determine the sense of the words *rotas opera tenet* (or *tenet opera rotas*). Two senses are possible. First: “The Sower Harpocrates keeps in check tortures and toils.” Second: “The Sower Harpocrates keeps (maintains, protects) the carriage and the product of (agricultural) labor (i.e., crop; compare Hesiod’s ἔργα).” Both senses are possible.⁸⁵ The reasons for giving the preference to the former sense may be as follows. (1) *Rotae*, in the sense of “chariot,” is a *poetic* word limited to Vergil and a few others. On the contrary, *rotae* = τροχοί,⁸⁶ “the wheels of torture,” is more common. (2) *Tenet* preserves its usual sense, “keeps in check; controls,”—a *t.t.* in the *Bindemagie* (= κατέχει). Finally, (3) the combination, *rotae opera*, in the sense, “tortures and toils (such as the forced labor),” seems to have been common enough in antiquity (compare, e.g., Plato *Republic* 2, 365 b 6, πόννοι καὶ ζήμια).⁸⁷

⁸² Compare Hofmann 539.—Maybe also in the magic square beginning with the word SA-SOR.

⁸³ Presumably, the Copt did not want to keep the Latin form AREPO for ΑΡΠΩΝ (and he could not make use of ΑΡΠΩΝ because of its consonantic cluster), so he decided to interpret AREPO-ΑΡΠΩΝ as A-C ω P-H, where C ω P hints at 2 ω P, i.e. Horus.

⁸⁴ Compare a stele with Harpocrates as a small boy-warrior in the Flinders Petrie Collection (University College, Oxford); the picture, e.g., in J. Grafton Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, 3rd ed., London, 1924, fig. 110 on p. 210. As for the adult Horus as a warrior, compare the Berlin stele No. 17549; the picture, e.g., in Erman, fig. 167 on p. 394; Bonnet, fig. 79 on p. 314.

⁸⁵ *Rota* = “the torture-wheel” (*O.L.D.*, s.v., 3); *opus* = “forced labor” (*O.L.D.*, s.v., 2); = “product of labor” (9); *tenet* = “keeps in check, controls” (*O.L.D.*, s.v., 19); = “keeps, maintains, protects” (15).

⁸⁶ For the plural τροχοί, in the sense of “wheels of torture,” compare Pollux 10.187. Latin plural *rotas* is conditioned by the word *Sator*.

⁸⁷ The suggestion advanced in this paper—SATOR AREPO = ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ “ΑΡΠΩΝ—is not the first attempt at linking the SS to Egypt. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Class. Review*, N.S. 21 (1971) 7, suggested that Arepo may derive from Egyptian Ḥr-Ḥp, probably

meaning “the face of the Apis.” There are three instances of this name in Ranke (*supra*, n. 54), I, p. 252, No. 11 (and three additional instances of the proper-name Ἡρ-Ἡρ, No. 8).—Now, my objections to this identification are as follows. First, Ἡρ-Ἡρ is not the name of a divinity, but only a *proper name* (theophorous as it may be). And second, Ἡρ-Ἡρ is not documented in a Greek form. If it were, one would expect it to be Ἄραπις, which is rather far from Arepo.

Moreover, my teacher †Milan Budimir, “Miscellanea,” *Zentralinstitut f. Hygiene* (Belgrade), 17 (1941) 145 ff.; *Živa Antika* 8 (1958) 301-304, had suggested that Arepo may derive from an “orphisch-pythagoreischer Heiland Ἄρπων,” while assuming such a Greek original of the SS: “Ἄρπων σάτωρ κρατεῖ Φέργα κύκλα” (“Der Heiland Arpon hält die Zauberhandlungen und die Schmerzen fern”); compare Hofmann 500.20-23; 506 No. 30.—However, such an Orphic “*Heilheros*” is documented nowhere.

Finally, Gerald M. Browne, *Zeitschrift f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik* 52 (1983) 60, in support of my interpretation of the square suggested that in the square itself AREPOTENET hints at HARPOCRATES—“on a deeper plane.”—He may well be right, but there is no way of telling. I think we are on a safer ground if assuming that *tenet* is a translation of the Greek magic technical term κατέχει, not κρατεῖ. Browne refers to the Byzantine scribe (end of the XIVth century) of cod. Par. gr. 2511 f. 60^v (p. 29), who glossed *tenet* with κρατεῖ. But “holds’ of this late witness clearly depends on his understanding of the entire sentence: ὁ σπείρων ἄροτρον κρατεῖ ἔργα τροχούς.

UBI MURES FERRUM RODUNT

(1) Being by nature prompt to anger (*irae properus*: Tac. *Ann.* 11.26; *irae atque iracundiae conscius sibi, utramque excusavit edicto*: Suet. *Claud.* 38), Claudius in heaven loses his temper (*excandescit hoc loco Claudius et quanto potest murmure irascitur*: Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 6.2) and orders my lady of Fever to be taken away and decapitated (*ille autem Febrim duci iubebat... iusserat illi collum praecidi*).

Hercules wants to put Claudius to his place by frightening him considerably (*et quo terribior esset...*): "Where the hell do you think you are? In your Rome?" Then he produces the following threatening words (7.1): "*Audi me, inquit, tu desine fatuari. Venisti huc, ubi mures ferrum rodunt. Citius mihi verum, ne tibi alogias excutiam.*"

This worked. Claudius understands at once that he is no longer in Rome and in power, and changes his attitude of arrogance (*Claudius ut vidit virum valentem, oblitus nugarum, intellexit neminem Romae sibi parem fuisse, illic non habere se idem gratiae: gallum in suo sterquilino plurimum posse*).

(2) Now, what is so frightening in this obscure proverbial expression: *ubi mures ferrum rodunt?* ("You just listen to me and stop playing the fool. You have come to the place where the mice nibble iron").

(a) In 1864, Bücheler had suggested this explanation: This is a different world, where even a small creature like mouse may become dangerous and frightful.¹

(b) But August Otto preferred the interpretation offered by H. Genthe: "Hier bist du gefangen, wie die Maus in der Falle, hier gibt es keine Ausflucht," though there is no mention of the mousetrap in the text.²

(c) It was an easy task for Crusius to dismiss Otto's interpretation, and to come back to Bücheler's suggestion, which implied "a Fairyland of Nowhere, where the things are topsy-turvy:" "Das Jenseits wird mit Zügen aus den Märchenutopien und der 'verkehrten Welt' ausgestattet."³

¹ Fr. Bücheler, *Divi Claudii Apocolocyntosis. Symb. Philol. Bonn.* 1 (1864) 51 = *Kleine Schriften*, I, Berlin, 1915, 459: "Hercules meint: wo es anders als im gewöhnlichen Erdenleben zugeht und auch das Kleinste fürchterlich wird; er sucht damit den äusserst furchtsamen (Sueton 35) Claudius zu ängstigen."

² A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, No. 1168.

³ Otto Crusius, in *Wochenschrift f. klass. Philol.* 8 (1891) 432 = *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter etc.*, ed. R. Häussler, Hildesheim, Olms, 1968, 13, and also in his *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas*, Leipzig, 1892, 72-74 (ad Herodas 3.74-76).

(d) Continuing the line of interpretation Bücheler-Crusius, Weinreich wrote: "Wo schon ängstliche Mäuse das Eisen fressen, was für Kerle müssen dann erst Hercules und die anderen Himmelsbewohner sein!"⁴ Weinreich especially stressed the *adynaton*-element of such an Utopia.

(e) A new twist to this interpretation was given by Morris C. Sutphen,⁵ who saw in Seneca's dictum a *double-entendre*. Namely, in view of the evidence that on the Cycladic island of Gyarus (= Yaros, between Ceos and Tenos) mice nibbled iron,⁶ and also of the fact that Yaros was used as one of Rome's—and not only Rome's!—political prisons since the times of Tiberius,⁷ Sutphen suggested that Seneca's intention was to bring Claudius to the prison of the other world.

(f) Apparently without being aware of Sutphen's interpretation, C.F. Russo, in his recent useful edition of the *Apocolocyntosis*,⁸ advanced the same suggestion: "Questo luogo terribile, a quanto pare, era nell'isola di Giaro."

(g) Finally, following a second suggestion offered by Bücheler:⁹ "*ubi nihil est hominum neque humanitatis*," W.H. Alexander¹⁰ referred to the American expression: "Tough guy chewed nails" and took the saying to mean: "Claudius... has come to a rough and tough place."

(3) We can safely discard the interpretation of the saying, *ubi mures ferrum rodunt*, in the sense of a Yaros-prison in heaven (e) and (f). For Gyarus is not the only place where reportedly mice gnaw iron, other such places in antiquity being, e.g., Teredon in Caspia¹¹ or the land of the Chalybes in Pontus.¹²

(4) As for the Bücheler-Crusius-Weinreich line of interpretation, (a), (c), (d), about the heaven as a topsy-turvy land of Nowhere ("eine verkehrte Welt"), I would think it is not likely either, for the simple

⁴ Otto Weinreich, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis*. Einführung, Analyse u. Untersuchungen, Übersetzung, Berlin, 1923, 74 n. 1; 75.

⁵ "A Further Collection of Latin Proverbs," *Amer. Journ. Philol.* 22 (1901) 251 = Häussler (supra, n. 3), 190.

⁶ Antigonus *Mirab.* 18; Aelian *N.A.* 5.15; Pliny *N.H.* 8.222.

⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.68; 4.30; Juvenal 1.73; Plutarch *De exilio* 8, 602 C.

⁸ L. Annaei Senecae *Apocolocyntosis*. Ed. C.F. Russo, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 2nd ed., 1955, p. 74.

⁹ In his edition of Herodas (1892), ad 3.74-76.

¹⁰ *Class. Philol.* 30 (1935) 351.

¹¹ Amyntas ap. Aelian *N.A.* 5.14; 17.17.

¹² Aristotle *Mirab. ausc.* 25-26 (p. 832 a 22): 'Ἐν Κύπρῳ (codd.: Γυάρῳ ed. Didot.) τῆ νῆσῳ λέγεται τοὺς μῦς τὸν σίδηρον ἐσθίειν· φασι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Χάλυβας ἐν τινὶ ὑπερκειμένῳ αὐτοῖς νησιδίῳ τὸ χρυσίον συμφορεῖσθαι παρὰ πλειόνων etc.; Pliny *N.H.* 8.222: *id quod natura quadam et ad Chalybas Jacere* (sc. *mures ferrum rodere*) *in ferrariis officinis*. Compare *Kathá Sarit Sāgara* 10.60; Tr. by C.H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1884, p. 41 f.

reason that the phenomenon of *mice gnawing iron* is not an *adynaton*, but a *real fact*. After all, mice and rats are rodents, and in order to keep their teeth in good shape they just have to gnaw any hard object, even metal: iron,¹³ lead,¹⁴ silver,¹⁵ or gold.¹⁶

I think the example adduced by Weinreich and others from *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* 10.60 is misleading. For, in the anecdote about the cheating merchant who claimed that mice had eaten a whole large balance, confided to him, made of one thousand *palas* (pound) of iron,¹⁷ the *adynaton* does not consist in the fact that mice gnaw iron (as Weinreich and others had taken it), but rather in the merchant's claim that mice had eaten the *whole* scales, made of *one thousand* pound of iron.

(5) We may now ask: When is such a phenomenon of rats attacking iron-objects likely to take place? I think the answer is obvious: When they had eaten everything else. When the overpopulation of rats had reached the point of *famine*, with no other food to eat left over, they will gnaw even objects of metal. This seems to be typical of small islands—such as Gyarus, Elymnum, etc.—from which rats cannot easily emigrate, as they usually do in such circumstances. I believe that the evidence supports the interpretation of the dictum, *there where mice gnaw iron*, as implying extreme hunger, famine and starvation.

(a) There is a piece of evidence which seems to have been neglected by all scholars: Heraclidis Lembi *Excerpta Politiarum* 62 ed. Dilts¹⁸ = Aristotle Fr. 611 Rose: Κατώκισαν δὲ καὶ Κλεωνᾶς Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἴθω, ἐξαναστάντες ἐξ Ἑλυμνίου, ὡς μὲν μυθολογοῦσιν, ὑπὸ μῶν, οἱ τὰ τ' ἄλλα κατήσθιον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν σίδηρον. From this testimony it becomes clear that the inhabitants of the island of Elymnum were forced to emigrate by a mice-plague. With nothing else left to eat rats started attacking iron-objects.

¹³ The references adduced in notes 6, 11, 12 and 16.

¹⁴ Compare, e.g., Alfred Brehm, *Tierleben*, 4th ed., II, Leipzig und Wien, 1914, 344: "Sogar die Bleirohre der Wasserleitung nagen sie durch (sc. die Wanderratten)... Landeis erhielt mehrfach solche Frassstücke für das Musum in Münster."

¹⁵ Pliny *N.H.* 8.221: *adrosis Lanui clipeis argenteis Marsicum portendere bellum* (sc. *mures*). Cf. Cicero *De Div.* 1.99; 2.59: *Quasi vero quicquam intersit, mures diem noctem aliquid rodentes scuta an cribra corroserint*.

¹⁶ Aristot. *Mirab.* 26 (cf. n. 12); Theophrasti Fr. 174.8 (III, p. 221 Wimmer): ὅτι οἱ μύες ἱστοροῦνται καὶ σίδηρον κατεσθίειν καὶ χρυσίον· διὸ καὶ ἀνατέμνοντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐν τοῖς χρυσεῖοις τὸν χρυσὸν ἀνιμῶνται; Livy 30.2.10: *mures Antii coronam auream adrosere*; Pliny *N.H.* 8.222.

¹⁷ Arabic and Western parallels of the anecdote are to be found in Tawney (cf. n. 12), p. 42 n. 1; J. Bolte and G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, II, Leipzig, 1915, p. 372 n. 1; Weinreich (cf. n. 4), p. 74 n. 1; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Bloomington, 2nd ed., 1966, J1531.2.

¹⁸ Greek, Roman and Byzantine Monographs, 5. Duke University, 1971.

(b) The same will be true of Pliny's report about the island of Gyarus (*N.H.* 8.222): *Theophrastus auctor est in Gyara insula cum incolas fugassent (sc. mures), ferrum quoque rosisse eos.* After driving away the inhabitants of the island rats started gnawing even objects of iron.

(c) What about the lines Herodas 3.74-76, adduced by Crusius in 1891? I think they too square with the suggested interpretation while implying *extreme poverty*:

Λαμπρίσχος·
 Ἄλλ' εἷς πονηρός, Κότταλε, ὥστε καὶ περνὰς
 οὐδεὶς σ' ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅκου χῶρης
 οἱ μῦς ὁμοίως τὸν σίδηρον τρώγουσιν.

To Crusius' interpretation (adopted by Weinreich): "Das Land, 'wo die Mäuse auch... das Eisen fressen,' liegt dort, wo die Esel und Wölfe durch die Lüfte fliegen, wo die Böcke gemolken und die Kühe gesattelt werden,"¹⁹ I would object: Who would think of a boy being sold as slave in a nowhere-land? I think the saying implies the following: "Cottalus, you are such a chap good-for-nothing that no slaves-trader (no matter how good a liar he may be) would be able to sell you to anybody, not even to the people of the *poorest* country in the whole world."²⁰

(d) We may now be in a better position to explain the belief that mice (a *Seelentier* by preference²¹) can predict *war* by gnawing metal: *Ante vero Marsicum bellum quod clipeos Lanuvii, ut a te dictum est (1.99), mures rosissent, maximum id portentum haruspices esse dixerunt (Cicero De Div. 2.59; Pliny N.H. 8.221; Livy 30.2.10).* Probably, mice gnawing the silver-shields at Lanuvium was considered by the soothsayers as the most ominous sign of all simply because they associated *war* with *famine*, which is when mice would attack the objects of metal.

(6) Back to Seneca's dictum. *Desine fatuari: venisti huc, ubi mures ferrum rodunt.* In view of the fact that the phenomenon of mice gnawing iron usually implies famine and starvation, I would advance the following interpretation: "Stop joking. This is a serious situation for you. This is no longer Rome: you will get *nothing to eat here.*" I think Seneca is alluding here to Claudius' notorious *gluttony*: *Cibi vinique quocumque et tempore et loco appetentissimus... nec temere umquam triclinio abscessit nisi distentus ac madens... Convivia agitavit et ampla et assidua (Sueton. Claud. 33; 32).*

¹⁹ *Untersuchungen...* (cf. n. 3), p. 72.

²⁰ On (5) (c) compare also E. Wendling, *Philol.* 51 (1892) 180, and I.C. Cunningham, *Herodas Mimiambi*, Oxford, 1971, 122.

²¹ Compare, e.g., Steier, in *PWRE*, s.v. Maus, XIV (1930) 2406 f.; Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, I, 196.

This suggestion is supported by the fact that Seneca makes another allusion to Claudius' voracity at *Apocol.* 9.5. In the senate of the gods, Diespiter proposes that Claudius be given the status of god, since "it is for the public good that there be some one able to join Romulus in devouring boiled turnips" (*cum... sitque e re publica esse aliquem qui cum Romulo possit 'ferventia rapa vorare,' censeo uti divus Claudius ex hac die deus sit*).

(7) Possibly, Seneca's image of a heaven with no food for the souls of the dead was inspired by the Stoic eschatological idea about the souls of the dead being nourished solely from exhalations that reach them in the ethereal regions about the moon: ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ἀναθυμιάσεως τρέφεσθαι (Plutarch *De facie* 943 E); *animus... aletur et sustentabitur iisdem rebus, quibus astra sustentantur et aluntur* (Cicero *Tusc.* 1.43); τροφῆ τε χρώνται οἰκεία τῇ ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσει, ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἄστρα (Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 9.73).²²

²² Compare H. Cherniss ad Plutarch *De facie* 943 E (Loeb, Plutarch, *Moralia*, XII, 1968), p. 203 n. e.

THE ISIS WITH SEVEN ROBES

The Isiac inscription *Sylloge* No. 254 (Vathy, Samos; imperial age) reads as follows:¹

Σαράπιδι, Εἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, / Ἀλφοκράτῃ²
 Αὔξος Δημοκλέ/ους Σάμιος ὁ καὶ Τήνιος
 ἱεροφό/ρος ἑπτάστολος σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναι/κι
 Ἐορτῇ καθιέρωσεν εἰς τὰ ἴδι[α].

(1) On the word ἑπτάστολος Widman remarks: “*Vox adhuc ignota.*” But Theodor Hopfner³ and recently (1973) Françoise Dunand⁴ referred to the epithet of Isis ἑπτάστολος in Hippolytus *Refutatio* 5.7.23. This text, however, should read as follows:⁵

... ἱερά καὶ σεβάσμια καὶ ἀνεξαγόρευτα τοῖς μὴ τετελεσμένοις τὰ Ἴσιδος ἔχουσι μυστήρια. τὰ δ' εἰσὶν οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ (τὸ) ἠρπασμένον καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ἑπταστόλου καὶ μελανείμονος, (ὅπερ ἐστίν) αἰσχύνῃ Ὀσίριδος. Ὅσιριν δὲ λέγουσιν ὕδωρ· ἡ δὲ Ἴσις⁶ ἑπτάστολος, περὶ αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καὶ ἐστολισμένη ἑπτὰ στολὰς αἰθ(ε)ρίους (τοὺς πλάνητας γὰρ ἀστέρας οὕτω προσαγορεύουσιν ἀλληγοροῦντες)...

Now, I think Miss Dunand is right when interpreting that Auxos, from our inscription, wears seven robes because his goddess Isis does so (“à l’imitation de la déesse”), just as, for example, the members of the Isiac community from Delos or Eretria wear black cloaks because their goddess does so (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν μελανηφόρων).⁷ I would disagree with her, however, in two points of significance: (1) that Auxos is a simple initiate

¹ *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, collegit Ladislaus Vidman (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 28), Berlin, 1969, p. 133. The inscription was first published by E. Bambudakis, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, 1931, p. 173 f.—Compare L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, Paris, 1938, 117; Françoise Dunand, *Le culte d’Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, 3 vols. (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire Romain, 26), Leiden, Brill, 1973, III, p. 63 n. 2.

² I.e., Ἀρποκράτῃ.

³ *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, I-V, Bonn, 1922-1925, p. 435.

⁴ O.c. (supra, n. 1), III, p. 64 n. 1.

⁵ Ed. M. Marcovich, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1986 (Patristische Texte u. Studien, Band 25), p. 148.

⁶ φύσις P, correxi.

⁷ O.c., II, 24 f.; III, 64.

or follower of Isis; (2) that the term ἐπτάστολος indicates the degree of his religious knowledge. Miss Dunand wrote: "l'hierophore de Samos devait être un initié, et il n'est pas impossible que le terme *heptastolos* n'indique le degré de 'connaissance' auquel il est parvenu" (III, 64). "Cette expression 'aux sept tuniques' doit en effet faire allusion, nous semble-t-il, aux vêtements que porte le myste le jour de son initiation; dans le récit d'Apulée, Lucius apparaît en public revêtu de douze robes de consécration..."⁸ (III, 173).

In my opinion, (1) unlike Apuleius' Lucius, our Auxos is more than a simple initiate or follower ("fidèle") of Isis: he may well be her lower priest. This may be concluded from his title ἱεροφόρος, "the superintendent supervising the carrying of the sacred objects of Isis."⁹ And (2), Auxos wears seven robes for the same reason his goddess does. And she does so because she is *regina caeli* (Apuleius *Metam.* 11.2), because she rules over the orbits of the *seven planets*, as we read in the text of Hipolytus quoted above.

(2) Isis in her role of a *cosmic goddess*, as *mater siderum, parens temporum orbisque totius domina* (Apul. *Metam.* 11.7), wears seven robes because they represent seven heavens or orbits of the planets (Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). As for the image of heaven as a robe, compare, e.g., Isaias 40:22 (Hebrew); *Psalm* 102:26-27 (= NT *Hebr.* 1:10-12); Philo *De fuga* 110; *De somniis* 1.203 & 1.207; Ps.-Chrysostom. *In venerabilem crucem* (P.G. 50, 819 s.f.): (ὁ θεός) δείξας καθάπερ λειμῶνα¹⁰ τὸν οὐρανόν, and in general Robert Eisler, *Weltmantel und Himmelszelt*, Munich, 1910, I, 87 ff.

Now, since each one of the seven heavenly bodies is thought of as possessing a different color,¹¹ one may imagine the statue of Isis as wear-

⁸ Apul. *Metam.* 11.24: *Mane factum est, et perfectis sollemnibus processu duodecim sacratus stolis, habitu quidem religioso satis...*

⁹ On the functions of a ἱεροφόρος, ἱεραφόρος, ἀγιαφόρος, compare L. Vidman, *Sylloge*, ad No. 16; Idem, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (RGVV 29), Berlin, 1970, 61 f.; Th. Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*, 2 vols., Prague, 1940-1941 (Reprint Darmstadt, 1967), II, p. 59; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, University of Wales Press, 1970, p. 265 f. (ad Plut. *De Is.* 3, 352 B: τοῖς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἱεραφόροις καὶ ἱεροστόλοις προσαγορευομένοις).

¹⁰ λειμῶν means here "an embroidered robe" = *vestmentum* (Latin version of Ps.-Chrysostom). The Nubian version has: T[A]KAN, "covering:" see Gerald M. Browne, *Chrysostomus Nubianus* (Papyrologica Castrorovianiana, 10), Rome-Barcelona, 1984, p. 18.6. — Compare Philostrat. *Imagines* 2.1.3: λειμῶν τε ὁ περὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς χρώματα...

¹¹ Compare Herodot. 1.98; Plato *Republic* 10, 616 e—617 a; Pliny *N.H.* 2.79; W.H. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. "Planeten," 2531 f.; Idem, *Die Sieben- u. Neunzahl im Kultus u. Mythos der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1904 (= Abh. d. philol.-hist. Klasse der Sächs. Ges. der Wiss., XXIV.1).

ing seven robes each one of a different color. Compare Plutarch *De Iside* 77, 382 C: Στολαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν Ἴσιδος ποικίλαι ταῖς βαφαῖς. If the statue, however, wears one single robe, it is likely to be a multicolored one, just as is the case in Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.3 Helm: ... *vestis multicolor, bysso tenui pertexta, nunc albo candore lucida, nunc croceo flore lutea, nunc roseo rubore flammida...* (“a multicolored garment, woven from fine linen, now radiant with snowy whiteness, now saffron-yellow like the crocus, now flaming with roseate red”).¹²

(3) The black cosmic cloak of Isis, her *pallium cosmicum*, should be distinguished from her multicolored garment, as it is clearly distinguished, for example, in Apuleius (11.3): *palla nigerrima splendens atro nitore*. The statue of Isis as the moon-goddess wears a black garment (Plutarch *De Iside* 52, 372 D), while both types of clothing seem to be meant by Plutarch *De Is.* 3, 352 B: “some dark and shadowy, others bright and shining” (τὰ μὲν μέλανα καὶ σκιώδη, τὰ δὲ φανερά καὶ λαμπρά).¹³

The suggestion that our Samian ἱεροφόρος, or a lower priest of Isis, wears his seven stoles just because his cosmic goddess does so, finds its support in the bas-relief of a priestess of Isis (II century A.D.) from the Museo Pio-Clementino at Rome (= *Sylloge* No. 453).¹⁴ Here the priestess wears the same *pallium cosmicum* with fringes adorned with crescents and stars that wear both her goddess Isis (at Apuleius 11.3-4) and the devotee of Isis, Lucius (at Apul. 11.24: *hanc Olympiacam stolam sacrati nuncupant*).

Finally, a parallel for the sense suggested by Hippolytus at 5.7.23—Ἴσις ἑπτάστολος = ἑπταούρανος—is provided by the magic papyrus Berlin 1026.23.17 (IV century A.D.): θεέ, τὸ ὄνομά σου παντοκράτορος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑπταουράνου, where Preisigke (*Wb.*) correctly translated ἑπταούρανος as “aus sieben Himmeln bestehend.”¹⁵

¹² Griffith's translation, o.c. (supra, n. 9), p. 562.

¹³ Plutarch adds that the deceased devotees of Isis are adorned with such dark and bright garments.

¹⁴ Compare Vidman, p. 218; Eisler, *Weltmantel und Himmelszelt*, I, p. 69 f. (with Fig. 19); Michel Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie*, Leiden, Brill, 1972, Rome, No. 107 (p. 143).

¹⁵ The statue of Mary in Monte St. Giuliano (Sicily) is constantly being covered with seven veils (except during the procession on 15 August): Eisler, I, p. 86 n. 3.—How relevant this is to our Ἴσις ἑπτάστολος I do not know.

THE TEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS
(NAG HAMMADI II.2)¹

Prologue and Logion 1

P. Oxy. 654.1-5

B. Grenfell-A. Hunt (= O)²

Οὔτοι οἱ {οι} λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοι³ οὓς ἐλά-
λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰούδα⁴ ὁ
καὶ Θωμᾶ.⁴ (1) καὶ εἶπε[ν· ὅστις⁵ τὴν ἐρμηνεί-
αν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων εὐρήσει,⁶ θανάτου
οὐ μὴ γεύσεται.

Coptic version (= C)

These are the secret words which Jesus the Living spoke, and Didymus Judas Thomas wrote them down. (1) And He said: He who shall find the interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of these words shall not taste death.

Right at the beginning of the *Gospel of Thomas* (= GTh) we see a red light warning us of two things: (1) O and C might be two different recensions, since C has Didymus Judas Thomas (as in the *Acts of Thomas*, 1, p. 100.4 Bonnet: Ἰούδας Θωμᾶς ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος; cf. John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2 Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος),⁷ whereas O has the more common formula,

¹ Lecture delivered at Oxford (Faculty of Theology) on 13 February 1968. I am indebted to the Coptologist Dr. James Drescher for several useful suggestions; of course, the responsibility for any possible mistake is mine alone.

² Lines 1-5 as restored by H.-Ch. Puech, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1957), p. 153, and by J. A. Fitzmyer, *Theological Studies* 20 (1959) 505-560 (p. 513) [= Idem, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, London, 1971, 355-433], slightly corrected by me.

³ Cf. *Acts of Thomas*, 39 (p. 156.14 f. ed. M. Bonnet): ... ὁ δεχόμενος (sc. Θωμᾶς) αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Χριστοῦ) τὰ ἀπόκρυφα λόγια.

⁴ The omission of the final -ς is common enough: E. Mayser, *Gramm. der griech. Papyri*, I, pp. 205 ff.

⁵ ὅστις scripsi (cf. Matt. 5:41) : ὅς ἄν Puech and O. Hofius, *Evangel. Theologie* 20 (1960), pp. 21 ff.; 182 ff. : ὅστις ἄν Fitzmyer (too long) : ἕάν τις John 8:51 and 52.

⁶ εὐρήσει scripsi : εὔρηι Puech : εὐρίσκη Fitzmyer : εὐρήση Hofius.

⁷ Cf. John 14:22 and R. E. Brown, "The Gospel of Thomas and St. John's Gospel," *New Testament Studies* 9 (1963), p. 158.

Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς (as, e.g., in the *Acts of Thomas*, 2, p. 102.5 B. and elsewhere): there is no space for Δίδυμος in O.

And (2): By twisting and distorting the canonical saying John 8:52, "If anyone keeps my word, he shall never taste death," into, "If anyone finds the interpretation of these (secret) words, he shall not taste death," the compiler of the GTh shows us his gnostic visiting card.⁸ Logion 1 implies that *all* "these secret words" of the collection are thought of as bearing a gnostic message: to find out *this* meaning equals to achieve the life everlasting.

How it works, we learn, e.g., from Logion 13a. Building on Matt. 16:13-17 (Mark 8:27-30; Luke 9:18-21), the compiler of the GTh lets Jesus ask his disciples: "Compare Me and tell Me whom I am like. Simon Peter said to Him: Thou art like a righteous angel. Matthew said to Him: Thou art like a philosopher ['a wise man' seems to be a gloss on φιλόσοφος].⁹ Thomas said to Him: Master, my mouth will not at all bear to say whom Thou art like. Jesus said: I am no (longer) thy master." That is it: the synoptic Simon Peter had answered: σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and the synoptic Jesus was satisfied with the answer. But not the gnostic Jesus of the GTh. Now, Thomas has found the wanted gnostic ἐρμηνεῖα of the nature of Jesus: being the supra-cosmic Light (cf. Logia 77a; 61b; 50; 83), Jesus is both ineffable and incomparable to anything from this perishable world (cf. Gärtner, pp. 125 ff. and 144 ff.). And Jesus' answer implies: Since now we both are made equal in the *gnosis*: Οἶδά σε Ἐρμῆ καὶ σὺ ἐμέ· ἐγὼ εἶμι σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ¹⁰ (cf. Logion 108:

⁸ Compare, e.g., J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*. Translated by R. Fuller (2nd ed., London, 1964), pp. 30 f.; R.M. Grant—D.N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (London, 1960), pp. 105 ff.; B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas* (London, 1961), pp. 95 ff. and 272; E. Haenchen, *Theol. Rundschau* 27 (1961), pp. 317 ff.; E. Haenchen, *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums* (Berlin, 1961), p. 38; W. Schrage, *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 28 ff. (Schrage is less convincing in "Evangelienzitate in den Oxyrhynchus-Logien und im koptischen Thomas-Evangelium," *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 251-268.)

⁹ C: NH II. 2, p. 35.1 f.: ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΜΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΝΡΜΝΖΗΤ. Compare Pahor Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyrus in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo*, vol. I (Government Press, Cairo, 1956), plates 80.10-99.28. A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till and †Yassah ʿAbd Al Masiḥ, *The Gospel according to Thomas* (Coptic text and English translation: Leiden-London, 1959).—Compare now *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Codex II (Leiden, 1974), pp. 32.10-51.28. Thomas O. Lambdin, however, translates: "You are like a wise philosopher." *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977), p. 119.

¹⁰ Pap. Mus. Brit. 122.49 f. (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. F.G. Kenyon, I, p. 118). R.M. Grant—D.N. Freedman (p. 126), and E. Haenchen (*Die Botschaft*, p. 15 n. 5) offer different interpretations of Jesus' words, "I am not thy Master:" with reference to Mark 10:17; Luke 18:18, the former ("Thomas... is rebuked because of the title he uses"); with reference to the *Acts of Thomas*, 39 (p. 156.12 B.), ὁ δίδυμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (sc. Thomas), the latter.

“Whoever drinks from My mouth shall become like Me, and I Myself will become he...”).

Another clear example of the gnostic remodelling of a canonical saying we find in Logion 33a:

P. Oxy. 1r. 20 f.	Matt. 10:27
20 λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ(ς· <δ>) ¹¹ ἀκούεις	(cf. Luke 12:3) καὶ ὁ
εἰς τὸ ἐν ὠτίον σου καὶ	εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε,
[εἰς τὸ ἕτερον, κηρύξα-]	κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν
[τε ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων...]	δωματίων.

C: “What thou shalt hear in thine ear (and) in the other ear, that preach from your housetops.”

Some scholars consider the words of C, “in the other ear,” as a dittography (cf. NH II, p. 39.11 f.: $\zeta\bar{m}$ πεκ' μαλαξε $\zeta\bar{m}$ πκεμαλαξε, for example, Haenchen (*Die Botschaft des Th.-Ev.*, p. 21: “als vermutliche Dittographie zu streichen”). But others (for example, Schrage, in his book, p. 81) think it might be a gnostic expansion of Matt. 10:27. I think the latter are right, because C agrees here with O, since the last two letters of O 1r.21 are probably κε (= καὶ),¹² and not TO, as Grenfell and Hunt in 1898 read them.¹³

The point is that in primitive folklore each ear is thought of as communicating with (let us say) a separate, independent brain. The German Odin bore on his shoulders two ravens which told him, each raven in one ear, about all that was going on around him: the name of the one raven was Huginn (“intellectual power”), and the name of the other Muninn (“remembrance”).¹⁴ The Indian magicians must blow magic into disciples’ both ears: thus only will it be effective.¹⁵ And the Spanish medieval judges stopped up one ear while the first litigant presented his case: they were saving one ear for the second litigant.¹⁶ Consequently, the disciples of the gnostic Jesus are expected to hear canonical sayings in one ear, and their gnostic interpretation in the other. By the way, Logion

¹¹ ὁ add. Fitzmyer : ἄ add. Hofius.

¹² As Grenfell and Hunt themselves admitted in 1897 (ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ, London, p. 15): “The last letter of the line may be ε, and the preceding one Γ or conceivably K.”

¹³ Thus the restoration of the Logion by Fitzmyer (p. 543) is partly wrong: <δ> ἀκούεις [εἰς τὸ ἐν ὠτίον σου, τοῦτο κήρυξον ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων].—Haenchen’s dittography-theory still lives in Thomas O. Lambdin (see note 9, above), who translates (p. 122): “Preach from your housetops that which you will hear in your ear {(and) in the other ear}.” In my opinion, the expression of Greek, εἰς τὸ ἐν ὠτίον, makes it clear that the text, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἕτερον, is to be expected. Consequently, the text of C is correct as transmitted.

¹⁴ Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VI, p. 1207.

¹⁵ Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, D1721.3.

¹⁶ Op. cit., J1289.8.

33a seems to have been a gnostic commonplace (cf. the Naassenes ap. Hippolyt. *Refut.* 5.7.28, p. 149.144 f. Marc., and Clem. *Strom.* 1.56.2).

In short, I shall here follow the trend of Haenchen, Gärtner, Grant, and many others, in believing that we have to do with a gnostic gospel. The opposite view is shared by G. Quispel, who in 1967 wrote: "...In dieser Hinsicht haben sie sich geirrt!... Denn wenn es im zweiten Jahrhundert in Edessa keine Gnostiker gab, kann das *Thomas-evangelium* nicht gnostisch sein! Von Gnostikern in Edessa wissen wir nichts."¹⁷ He was followed by T. Säve-Söderbergh¹⁸ and others.

We shall now discuss the differences in the text of the Logia preserved in C, O, or H (= Hippolytus' account on the Naassenes).

Logion 2

A. Ἀνάπαυσις *as*
the final goal

B. Βασιλεύειν *as*
the final goal

O, 654.5-9

[λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·] |^⑥ μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ
ζη|τῶν¹⁹ τοῦ ζητεῖν²⁰ ἕως ἄν |^⑦ εὔρη·
καὶ ὅταν εὔρ|ηι θαμβηθήσεται, καὶ θαμ-
|^⑧ βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει, κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας
ἐπαναπα-] |^⑨ ἥσεται.²¹

C

Jesus said: Let him who seeks cease not seeking until he finds; and when he finds, he will become troubled (disturbed, upset); and when he becomes troubled, he will be astonished, and he will rule over the All.²²

A. Ἀνάπαυσις *as*
the final goal

B. Βασιλεύειν *as*
the final goal

Clement *Strom.* 5.96.3: Οὐ παύσεται ὁ
ζητῶν (τοῦ ζητεῖν addidi) ἕως ἄν εὔρη·
εὔρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ
βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπανα-
παήσεται (quotation); 2.45.5: ἦ καὶ

¹⁷ Makarius, *das Thomas-Evangelium und das Lied von der Perle* (Suppl. to *Novum Testamentum*, Leiden, 1967), p. 66.

¹⁸ "Gnostic and Canonical Gospel Traditions," in *The Origins of Gnosticism* (Colloquium of Messina, 1966), Suppl. to *Numen*, 12 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 552-562.

¹⁹ Cf. Matt. 7:7 f. = Luke 11:9 f.

²⁰ τοῦ ζητεῖν add. K.F.G. Heinrici.

²¹ ἐπαναπαήσεται scripsi ex Clem. V : ἀναπαήσεται Grenfell-Hunt, accepted by Fitzmyer, Hofius.

²² NH II. 2, p. 32.16-19: ... αγω ροταν εφωανθινε φνα/¹⁷ ψπρτρ
αγω εφωανψορτρ̄ φνᾱ/¹⁸ (a 12 letters blank space) ψπρη αγω φνᾱ/¹⁹ ρρο
εχμ̄ πτηρϛ. The blank space in the codex does not affect the text, which goes without lacuna.

τῶι καθ' Ἐβραίουσ εὐαγγελίωι “ὁ θαυμάσασ βασιλεύσει” γέγραπται “καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσασ ἀναπαήσεται” (paraphrase).

Rev. 14:13 ἴνα ἀναπαήσονται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν.

Clem. Paed. 1.29.3 (p. 107.25 St.):
τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆσ γνώσεωσ ἡ ἀνάπαυσισ.
Quis dives salvetur? 23.3 ἀνάξω γάρ σε εἰσ ἀνάπαυσιν...²³

A. Ἐνάπαυσισ *as*
the final goal

Corpus Hermet. IX.10:
καὶ περινοήσασ τὰ πάντα καὶ εὐρῶν
σύμφωνα τοῖσ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου
ἐρμηνευθεῖσιν, ἐπίστευσε καὶ τῆι καλῆι
πίστει ἐπανεπαύσατο. XIII.20: ἀπὸ
σοῦ Αἰῶνοσ εὐλογίαν εὐρον καὶ (ὁ ζῆτῶ)
βουλήι τῆι σῆι ἀναπέπαυμαι.

Rev. 5:10 βασιλεύσουσιν ἐπὶ τῆσ γῆσ.
(Cf. 20:4 end; 20:6; 22:5.)

The Second Apocalypse of James (NH V.4), p. 56.2-5: “werden (sie) belehrt werden (darüber) und zur Ruhe kommen... werden sie herrschen (und) König (werden).”²⁴

Acts of Thomas, 136 (p. 243.8-10 B.): Καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολοσ εἶπεν· Τὸ ταμιεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου βασιλέωσ ἀναπέπταται, καὶ οἱ ἀξίωσ μεταλαμβάνοντεσ τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ἀναπαύονται καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι βασιλεύουσιν.²⁵

B. Βασιλεύειν *as*
the final goal

Corpus Hermet. XIV.4:
ἄξιόν ἐστι νοῆσαι καὶ νοήσαντα θαυμάσαι
καὶ θαυμάσαντα ἑαυτὸν μακαρίσαι, τὸν
γνήσιον πατέρα γνωρίσαντα. IV.2:
θεατῆσ γὰρ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ
ἄνθρωποσ, καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐγνώρισε
τὸν ποιήσαντα plus III.3: εἰσ ἔργων
θειῶν γνῶσιν... καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ
οὐρανὸν δεσποτεῖαν.

Asclepius, 8 (p. 306.6 f. Nock):
mirari atque <ad>orare caelestia et
incolere atque gubernare terrena.²⁶

There can be little doubt that O and the *Gospel of the Hebrews* ap. Clement give the original text of the Logion (so also Haenchen, pp. 34 n. 1; 73; Vielhauer, p. 297). Now, thanks to Vielhauer (especially pp. 292 ff.), we know what an important part is played by motif A (that of the *rest* as

²³ Compare Ph. Vielhauer, “ANAPAYΣIΣ: Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangeliums,” in *Aphophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen* (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift f. NT Wiss., 30, Berlin, 1964), pp. 281-299.

²⁴ Eds. A. Böhlig and P. Labib (*Wiss. Zeitschrift der Univ. Halle*, 1963, Sonderband, p. 78) = *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977), p. 253. Quoted by W. Schrage ap. Ph. Vielhauer, op. cit., p. 297 n. 75.

²⁵ Referred to by H.-Ch. Puech, op. cit. (above, n. 2), p. 165.

²⁶ Compare Ph. Vielhauer and Puech ap. E. Hennecke-W. Schneemelcher, *NT Apokryphen*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1959), I, pp. 106; 216; 225; Gärtner, op. cit. (above, n. 8), pp. 261 f.

the final goal) in the gnostic system of the GTh, which maintained that the gnostic rest was achievable during one's lifetime: cf. Logia 51 (and 113); 60 (end); 90 (echoing Matt. 11:28-29); 50 (end); 86. If in Logion 50 end ("If they ask you: What is the sign of your Father in you?, say to them: It is movement and rest") we may understand this "movement" as a ζῆτεῖν καὶ εὐρεῖν (as Haenchen, p. 73, and Vielhauer, p. 295, had suggested), then its parallelism to our Logion 2 in O = Clement would be even greater.

Nevertheless, the translator of the GTh from Greek into Coptic *deliberately* changed (Quispel is right, p. 112) motif A into motif B (that of *ruling over the All as the final goal*). Why did he do so? Since the existence of the motif B is well attested (as shown above), the possibility of a corrupt Greek original must be dismissed. Thus I would suggest the following explanation.

C presupposes such a Greek text: ... καὶ ὅταν εὐρηθῆται, καὶ θαμβηθῆται θαυμάσεται, καὶ βασιλεύσει ἐπάνω πάντων (or τοῦ παντός). Now, I think: (a) θαυμάσεται stood in the Greek source of C as a gloss on θαμβηθῆται, since also in Clement II, θαυμάσας appears as a synonym for Clement V, θαμβηθεῖς. The translator took over both verbs and formed a false climax ("and when he becomes troubled, he will be astonished"). Further, (b) he read ἐπαναπαύσεται as ἐπάνω πάν(των) ἔσται, while recalling John 3:31 (ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν), possibly his Logion 77a ("I am the Light which is above all things"), and probably motif B as well.²⁷ And finally, (c) the translator knew that βασιλεύσει of Logion 2 was one of so many mnemonic key-words (or "mot-crochets," as G. Garitte in 1957 called them)²⁸ which led to βασιλεία of Logion 3. Now, he wished to bring both words even closer to each other: thus he sacrificed καὶ βασιλεύσας ἐπαναπαύσεται and put the stress on βασιλεύσει.

If this explanation is true, it would show us how much freedom the Coptic translator did use: he was not translating, he was remodelling his Greek original, and in so doing he was guided by any inspiration, even by a gloss. Thus the probability is that the Archetype of the GTh spoke of one single "astonishment" or "amazement" (θαμβεῖν = θαυμάζειν), that belonging to the *final* stage of the *gnosis* ("and when he finds, he will be amazed") and probably corresponding to the "amazement" of the

²⁷ Already Fitzmyer (p. 518), A. Guillaumont, *Le Muséon* 73 (1960), pp. 330 f., and O. Cullmann, *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 85 (1960), p. 324, had conjectured ἀνά or ἐπὶ πάντα, instead of ἀναπαύσεται, in the Greek original of C, but I think they thought of a mistake, not of a deliberate change, on the part of the Coptic translator. On the other hand, G. Garitte, *Le Muséon* 73 (1960), pp. 164 ff. and 340 f., was not convincing enough to me.

²⁸ *Le Muséon* 70 (1957), pp. 63 f.

Greek *mystai* in sight of the “marvel of marvels” (cf. Logion 29, and Hippolyt. *Refut.* 5.8.18, p. 158.96 Marc.: θαῦμα θαυμάτων).

Incidentally, I think Clement (*Strom.* 2.45.4) was mistaken when he referred our Logion to the adage from the *Traditions of Matthew*, θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα. For this “wondering” follows another motif, the Platonic-Aristotelian pattern of τὸ θαυμάζειν ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας, and belongs to a first stage in the *gnosis*, as Clement himself admits: βαθμὸν τοῦτον πρῶτον τῆς ἐπέκεινα γνώσεως.

Logion 3

O, 9-21²⁹

- (a) λέγει Ἰ[η(σοῦ)ς· ἐὰν
 10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς [εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν· ἰδοὺ
 ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῶι, φθήσεται ὑμᾶς
 τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ· ἐὰν δ' εἴπωσιν ὅ-
 τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν, εἰσελεύσονται
 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης προφθάσαν-
 15 τες³⁰ ὑμᾶς· καὶ³¹ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν³²
 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐσ]τι [κάκτος. (b) ὃς ἂν ἑαυτὸν
 γνῶι, ταύτην εὐρή[σει, καὶ ὅταν³³ ὑμεῖς
 ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε, [εἴσεσθε ὅτι υἱοὶ
 ἐστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ζ[ῶντος· εἰ δὲ μὴ
 20 γνῶς <εσ>θε ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν [τῇ πτωχείαι ἐστέ
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πτω[χεία.

C

(a) Jesus said: If those who lead you³⁴ say to you: ‘Behold, the Kingdom is in the sky,’ then the birds of the sky will precede you (be there before you). If they say to you: ‘It is in the sea (θάλασσα),’ then the fish³⁵ will precede you. But rather (ἀλλὰ) the Kingdom is inside of you, and it is outside of you.

²⁹ The text as restored by Fitzmyer, slightly corrected by me.

³⁰ προφθάσαντες scripsi : φθάσαντες Fitzmyer.

³¹ Read ἀλλ' (= C).

³² τῶν οὐρανῶν Grenfell-Hunt, accepted by Hofius (cf. Hippol. *Refut.* 5.7.20, p. 147.101 Marc.: <τὴν> ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν <τῶν> οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην : τοῦ θεοῦ Fitzmyer ex Luke 17:21. C has only “Kingdom” here, as in Logia 27 (against τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ of O, 1^v, 7-8) and 113a (against Luke 17:20). Cf. W. Schrage, in *Aphorreta*, p. 258

³³ ὅταν scripsi (= C) : ὅτε Fitzmyer.

³⁴ Οἱ ἔλκειν, “lead astray,” “verführen,” cf. Haenchen, *Theol. Rundschau* 27 (1961) p. 158.

³⁵ C omits “of the sea.”

(b) When (ὅταν) you come to know yourselves, then (τότε) you will become known, and you will realize that you are the sons of the Living Father. But (δὲ) if you do not come to know yourselves, then you dwell in poverty, and you are the poverty (itself).

3 (a): O, 13, has: ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστίν, whereas C has: “it is in the sea (θάλασσα),” instead. Now, some scholars thought that the clause with “under the earth” is missing in C as a result of an oversight on the part of the translator (so, e.g., Gärtner, p. 83). On the other hand, the attempt by Hofius to restore “or in the sea” in the text of O is improbable, because of the harsh phrase, ἔσονται φθάσαντες. His restoration reads:

τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστίν ἢ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ,
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης ἔσονται φθάσαν-
15 τες ὑμᾶς.

They all follow C. Taylor³⁶ in believing that *three* world parts are mentioned here: sky, earth, and sea (as, e.g., in Job 22:7-8; Ps. 134:6).

But I think all the difficulties disappear if we bear in mind that the Hebrew word *tehōm*—which implies both “a bottomless pit,” “a great deep,” and “ocean,” “floods of water”—is usually translated in the LXX either as ἄβυσσος³⁷ or as θάλασσα. Thus O translated *tehōm* as “underworld, the depth of the earth,” and C as “sea.” They both followed the polarity idea: Heaven-Earth (as in Deut. 30:12-13; Ps. 106:26; Rom. 10:6-7), and nothing is missing in C. If this is true it might suggest to us the following: (1) that Logion 3 (at least) was originally written in Hebrew; and (2) that O and C definitely represent two different recensions.

3 (b): On the contrary, I think the Coptic translator has mistakenly omitted an entire line from his Greek original (ὅς ἂν ἑαυτὸν γῶνι, ταύτην εὐρήσει)—because of the similarity between O, 16, ὅς ἂν and O, 17, ὅταν. For hardly could the Coptic translator deliberately have omitted the words of O, “Whoever knows himself will find it (the Kingdom):” the εὐρήσει-element goes well both with his system (cf. Logia 2, μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζητῶν τοῦ ζητεῖν ἕως ἂν εὕρηι; 113: “But rather, the Kingdom of the Father is spread out upon the earth, and men *do not see it*”) and with Hippolytus’ account on the Naassenes (5.7.20, p. 147.101 f. Marc.: <τὴν> ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν <τῶν> οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην).

Finally, the words of C, “When you come to know yourselves, then you will become known, and you will realize . . .,” presuppose such a Greek original: καὶ ὅταν ὑμεῖς ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθε, γνωσθήσεσθε, καὶ ἔσεσθε. . . It is obvious that γνωσθήσεσθε is out of place in this context and that O offers the original text. My guess is that the translator into C had found in his Greek original γνῶσεσθε mistakenly written twice: he then took the

second γνώσεσθε for γνωσθήσεσθε while recalling the idea, γνῶναι θεόν—γνωσθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ, of Gal. 4:9; 1 Cor. 8:3; 13:12. Thus the arbitrary procedure of the translator into C seems to be visible here again.

Logion 4

O, 21-27

[λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·
οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθ[ρωπος παλαιὸς ἡμε-
ρῶν³⁸ ἐπερωτῆσαι πα[ιδίον ἐπὶ ἡμε-
ρῶν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς ζωῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς ζή-
25 σεται·³⁹ ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι <καὶ>⁴⁰
οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι, καὶ [εἰς ἓν καταντήσου-
σιν.

C

Jesus said: The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a small child of seven days about the place (τόπος) of Life, and he will live. For many who are first shall become last <and the last first>,⁴¹ and they shall become one and the same.

(1) Either the translator or the copyist of C has by oversight omitted the words, καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι (so also Schrage, p. 259). C is full of such omissions; one example: Logion 55a, “Whoever does not hate his father and his mother <as I do = ὡς ἐγώ> cannot become a disciple to Me” = Logion 101.

(2) As for the end of O, Grenfell and Hunt suggested, and Fitzmyer adopted, the restoration: [ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔξου]σιν. I do not think this trite formula is likely at all. On the other hand, Hofius’ restoration, implicitly adopted by Schrage: [εἰς μόνος γενήσου]σιν, must be dismissed because of the form γενήσουσιν. But if we restore the line so: [εἰς ἓν καταντήσου]σιν, it could be paralleled by such passages as Eph. 4:13: μέχρι καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐνότητά τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς

³⁶ *The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus Found in 1903* (Oxford, 1905).

³⁷ Cf., e.g., J. Jeremias, in Kittel’s *Theol. Dict. of the NT*, s.v. ἄβυσσος.

³⁸ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν Hofius with reference to Dan. 7:9, 13, 22 (= C) : πλήρης ἡμερῶν C. Taylor, accepted by Fitzmyer.

³⁹ καὶ αὐτὸς ζήσεται scripsi : καὶ ζήσεται Hofius (too short) : καὶ ζήσει· εἴσεται, “he will know” Fitzmyer (unlikely).

⁴⁰ I think καὶ was mistakenly omitted in O, because there is no space for it.

⁴¹ “and the last first” addidi ex O et Mark 10:31 = Matt. 19:30; cf. Matt. 20:16 = Luke 13:20.

ἄνδρα τέλειον, εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ; John 17:11 ἵνα ὧσιν ἐν καθῶς ἡμεῖς; 21; 22; 23 ἵνα ὧσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἓν. As A.F.J. Klijn⁴² and H.C. Kee⁴³ have shown, the return to the primal unity in the either bisexual or male Archanthropus Adam, and to the original innocence is one of the key ideas of the GTh (compare Logia 11c; 22; 106 [with 48]; 114,⁴⁴ especially 18 and 72). Consequently, O and C seem to agree in all.

However, if we now take Hippolytus' account on the Naassenes⁴⁵ (*Refutatio* 5.7.20, p. 147.102-105 Marc.):

περὶ ἧς (sc. τῆς μακαρίας κρυβομένης ὁμοῦ καὶ φανερουμένης φύσεως) διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδιδόασι λέγοντες οὕτως· “ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρήσει ἐν παιδίῳ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι.”

we realize at once that this saying cannot possibly go back to our Logion 4. Doubtless, the same GTh is meant, but the Naassene recension contained at least one Logion which is missing in C.⁴⁶ We shall call it Logion 4^{bis}. Hippolytus is a trustworthy source; he is quoting here (*διαρρήδην* = verbatim, expressly), as he elsewhere does.⁴⁷ I shall now try to show that the message of this Logion 4^{bis} of H is quite a different one from that comprised in Logion 4 of C and O.

The idea of C and O seems to be: A newly born child or suckling, a spiritual pure being which has just come down to this perishable world from the “place of Light,” knows that place much better than a man old in days, spoiled by this material world which is but a corpse (*πτῶμα*: Logia 56; 80).

The idea of a “small child of seven days” seems to be that the newborn is not yet *circumcised* (which will take place on the eighth day: Gen. 17:12);

⁴² “The ‘single one’ in the Gospel of Thomas,” *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* 81 (1962), pp. 271-278.

⁴³ “Becoming a Child in the Gospel of Thomas,” *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* 82 (1963), pp. 307-314.

⁴⁴ On the contradiction between Logia 22 and 114, and on the Egyptian background of the latter compare K.H. Rengstorf, in *The Origins of Gnosticism*, Suppl. to *Numen*, 12 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 564-574.

⁴⁵ On the relation between the Naassenes (ap. H) and the GTh compare R.M. Grant, *Vigiliae Christ.* 13 (1959), pp. 170-180; W.R. Schoedel, *ibid.*, 14 (1960), pp. 225-234; K. Smyth, *The Heythrop Journal* 1 (1960), pp. 189-198; E.M.J.M. Cornélis, *Vig. Christ.* 15 (1961), pp. 83-104.

⁴⁶ Puech is correct, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1957), p. 151, and ap. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *NT Apokryphen*, 3rd ed., I, p. 204: “Ich wäre daher geneigt zu glauben, dass es sich in beiden Fällen um dasselbe Thomas-Evangelium handelt, dass aber die Naassener eine stellenweise umgearbeitete Fassung benutzt haben.”

⁴⁷ This time *contra* Puech, loc. cit.: “... sehr frei zitiert und abgewandelt worden ist.”

it stands thus at the very beginning of the human lifespan.⁴⁸ If this is true, then the parallel material would be: Logion 18: "For where the beginning (ἀρχή) is, there will be the end. Blessed is he who shall take his place in the beginning: he shall know the end, and he shall not taste death;" Logion 22a: "Jesus saw infants being suckled. He said to His disciples: These infants who are being suckled are like those who enter the Kingdom" (built upon Matt. 18:1-3; 19:13-15 and parallels). The Valentinian psalm in Hippolytus' *Refutatio*, 6.37.7, p. 253.7 Marc.: ἐκ μήτρας δὲ βρέφος φερόμενον, and 6.42.2, p. 259.11-13 M.: καὶ γὰρ Οὐάλεντίνος φάσκει ἑαυτὸν ἑωρακέσθαι παῖδα νήπιον ἀρτιγέννητον, οὐ πυθόμενος ἐπεζητεῖ τίς ἂν εἴη, ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν Λόγον. *The Gospel of Truth*, p. 19.28-30: "there came the little children also, to whom the Gnosis of the Father belongs."⁴⁹

On the other hand, the idea of the Naassene Logion seems to be: The primeval Adam, ὁ τέλειος Ἄνθρωπος, is always present in man, but he remains hidden in him until the man himself attains to maturity or τελειότης. This process begins with (ἀπὸ) seven years of age and ends at fourteen: then Adam manifests himself in man.

The background of this idea seems to be Greek. Compare, e.g., Ps.-Galen, *Hist. philos.* 127 (Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 646) plus Aetius 5.23 (pp. 434 f. Diels): Πότε ἄρχεται τῆς τελειότητος ὁ ἄνθρωπος; Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ Στωϊκοὶ ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς τελειότητος περὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἑβδομάδα, περὶ ἣν ὁ σπερματικὸς κινεῖται ὄρρος... Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἑβδομάδα, περὶ ἣν ἔννοια γίνεται καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ, καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀρχή.⁵⁰ This reckoning presupposes the old folkloric division of the human lifespan into ten hebdomads (attested in Greece since Solon, Fr. 19 Diehl [= 27 West] ap. Philo, *De opif. mundi* 104 f., and ap. Clement, *Strom.* 6.144). The Naassene motif stresses the fourteenth year, i.e., the earliest age at which a man is able to *beget*, when he is mature. If he becomes father at fifteen, he can become grandfather at the earliest age of thirty: $2 \times (14 + 1) = 30$. Hence Heraclitus (A 18-19 Diels-Kranz = Fr. 108 Marc.) reckoned the space of thirty years as one human generation; i.e., as a complete cycle of the living force or soul (grandson = grandfather, after whom he is often named). Thus Hippolytus

⁴⁸ Or, as H.C. Kee, op. cit. (above, n. 43), p. 311, put it: "The child of seven days is living in the perfect week, and therefore before the fall." On circumcision compare H. Strack-P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch*, IV, p. 24. Differently G. Quispel, in *The Origins of Gnosticism* (Suppl. to *Numen*, 12), p. 628.

⁴⁹ Eds. M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel (Zürich, 1956). Cf. George W. MacRae, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977), p. 39. Compare Matt. 11:25; Luke 10:21.

⁵⁰ Cf. M. Marcovich, *Hermes* 94 (1966), p. 121 f.; idem, *Eracilito: Frammenti* (Bibl. di Studi Superiori, 64), Florence, La Nuova Italia Ed., 1978, ad Fr. 108.

guessed some part of the truth when he referred (*Ref.* 5.7.21) to the Ps.-Hippocratic folkloric adage, ἐπτά ἐτῶν παῖς πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

Now, I think the Naassene motif stressed the *phallic* or procreative aspect of the Archanthropos (compare *Ref.* 5.7.27-29; 5.7.21 ὅθεν οὗτοι τὴν ἀρχέγονον φύσιν τῶν ὄλων ἐν ἀρχεγόνῳ τιθέμενοι σπέρματι; 5.7.23 αἰσχύνη Ὀσίριδος; 5.7.29 αἰσχύνη ἀνθρώπου; 5.8.10 καὶ τὰς αἰσχύνας ἄνω ἐστραμμένας). But Leisegang⁵¹ and Puech, following the Stoic speculation about λόγος (cf., e.g., SVF, I, No. 149; Aetius 4.11.4), believed that it is rather the divine λόγος which in the fourteenth year takes the place of the human reason, "and the invisible presence of Christ, the perfect Man, and thereby of the Kingdom of heaven, becomes effective in us."⁵² Wherever the stress may be, on σπέρμα—as I would rather think—on on πνεῦμα,⁵³ the point is that Logion 4^{bis} has very little in common with Logion 4.

That Hippolytus' evidence gives a reliable clue is confirmed by the Manichaean Psalm-Book (of the Chester Beatty Collection), II, f. 192.2-3: "The grey-haired old men,—the little children instruct them: they that are *six years old* instruct them that are *sixty years old*."⁵⁴

I would therefore suggest these two points. (a) There existed, say, in the Archetype of the GTh, a Logion in which a *seventy*-year-old man was asking a child of *seven* about the Son of Man or Jesus (this was then modified by the Manichaean Psalm-Book into the relation: a *sixty*-year-old man and a child of *six*).⁵⁵ Of this Logion only the text in the first part of Logion 4^{bis} survived: ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρήσει ἐν παιδίῳ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἐπτά.

(b) What follows in Logion 4^{bis} (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι) seems to be a later expansion. It is foreign to the system of GTh, where no aeons appear. The expansion was undertaken by somebody who probably wished to obtain a pleroma with fourteen aeons. The parallels would be: *Jeû* book II, c. 52 (p. 327.23 f. Schmidt-Till): "der grosse Gott, der in dem vierzehnten Aeon 'der grosse gerechte (χρηστός) Gott' genannt wird;" Manichaean *Kephalaia*, c. X (p. 43.2 f. Polotsky-Schmidt-Böhlig): There are fourteen great Aeons of Light; the first hebdomad consists of five στοιχεῖα plus Call and Hear. (The text with the other hebdomad of Aeons is desperately corrupt.)

⁵¹ *Die Gnosis*, 4th ed. (1955), p. 136.

⁵² Ap. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, op. cit., I, p. 201 = English translation by R. McL. Wilson (London, 1963), I, p. 280.

⁵³ Compare also U. Bianchi, "Le problème des origines du gnosticisme," in *The Origins of Gnosticism*, pp. 9 ff.

⁵⁴ "Psalms of Heracleides," *Manichaean Psalmbook*, ed. C.R.C. Allberry (Stuttgart, 1938).

⁵⁵ I do not know why: perhaps to get two pleromas of 30 Aeons each one, according to the Marcasian calculation? Cf. F. Sagnard, *La Gnose Valentinienne* (Paris, 1947), pp. 365 ff.

The Naassene Logion 4^{bis}—along with the Naassene version of Logion 11b (see below)—is a proof for the thesis that there existed at least three very different recensions of the GTh: O, C, H (= Hippolytus). At the same time, it is a good example of how variable, how much open to modifications and expansions the Logia of a gnostic gospel might be.

Logion 5

O, 27-31

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [γνῶθι τὸ ἔμπροσ-
θεν τῆς ὄψεώς σου, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον
ἀπό σου ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται] αἰ σοι.⁵⁶ οὐ γάρ ἐσ-
30 τιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φαν[ερὸν γενήσεται,⁵⁷
καὶ θεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.

Inscription on a shroud from Behnesa:⁵⁸

λέγει Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἔστιν τεθαμμένον
ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται. +

C

Jesus said: Know what is in thy sight, and that which is hidden from thee will be revealed to thee. For (γὰρ) there is nothing hidden which shall not become manifest.

Kephalaia 65 (I, p. 163.28 f.):

Erkennt, was vor eurem Angesicht ist, und das euch Verborgene wird euch offenbar werden.

The restoration of O, 31 by Grenfell and Hunt is now confirmed by a (fifth- or sixth-century A.D.) inscription on a shroud (bought at Behnesa-Oxyrhynchus in 1953). The *Kephalaia* have only one member of the Logion, C has two members, O even three (and the shroud only the third one). I think the *Kephalaia* offer only an abridged text of C. As for the third member in O, it looks like a late Christian marginal gloss or a secondary expansion—an independent “Wanderspruch” (Haenchen). Hence perhaps its presence on a shroud (where it served as a magical formula to assure that the shroud be unbound on the day of resurrection). Probably, the saying, “There is nothing buried which shall not be raised up,” was inspired by such passages as 1 Cor. 15:20: *ὡνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς*

⁵⁶ Cf. Matt. 10:26 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται...; Luke 12:2.

⁵⁷ Cf. Luke 8:17 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται...; Mark 4:22.

⁵⁸ Cf. H.-Ch. Puech, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 147 (1955), pp. 126-129.

ἐγγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων; 22 ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοιοποιηθήσονται.

Thus the probability is that it never belonged to the Archetype of the GTh. Otherwise it would have been acceptable to C, where Jesus appears in flesh. Or, as Haenchen (*Die Botschaft* etc., p. 36 n. 7) put it: “Dass auch Gnostiker von (gegenwärtiger geistlicher) Auferstehung sprechen und darum auch dies Logion übernehmen konnten, ist deutlich...” Schrage (*Apophoreta*, p. 256 n. 18) agreed with Haenchen and referred to 2 Tim. 2:18 (ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι), and to the *Gospel of Philip*, Logion 23 end (NH II.3, p. 57.18 f.): “It is necessary to rise in this flesh (σάρξ), since everything exists in it.” The opposite view (that the version of O has preference) is shared by G. Quispel (*Makarius* etc., p. 71).⁵⁹

Logion 6

O, 32-40
 ἐξ]ετάζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 λέ]γουσιν· πῶς νηστεύ[σομεν, καὶ πῶς προσ-
 ευξό]μεθα, καὶ πῶς [ἐλεημοσύνην ποιήσο-
 35 μεν, κα]ὶ τί παρατηρή[σομεν περὶ τῶν βρω-
 μάτω]ν;⁶⁰ λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [μὴ ψεύδεσθε⁶¹ καὶ ὅ
 τι μισ]εῖτε⁶² μὴ ποιεῖτ[ε·⁶³ πάντα γάρ ἐστι
 πλήρ]η[ς] ἀληθ[ε]ίας <ἐν>αν[τι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. οὐ
 γάρ ἐστι]ν ἀ[π]οκεκ[ρυμμένον ὃ οὐ φανερω-
 40 <θή]σεται. μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστιν [...

C

His disciples (μαθητῆς) questioned Him and said to Him: How do you want us to fast (νηστεύειν), and how shall we pray, and how shall we give alms (ἐλεημοσύνη), and what diet shall we observe (παρατηρεῖν)?

Jesus said: Tell no lie, and do not do what you hate, for all things are manifest before Heaven. For (γάρ) there is nothing hidden that shall not become manifest, and nothing covered that shall remain without being uncovered.

The restoration of O, 37-40, is difficult, because we cannot be sure

⁵⁹ I do not think that the adage, θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα (*Traditions of Matthew*, ap. Clement, *Strom.* 2.45.4), belongs to the same motif as, “Know what is in thy sight,” of Logion 5 (*contra* Puech, op. cit., p. 128, and ap. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, I, p. 225).

⁶⁰ περὶ τῶν βρωμάτων restored Hofius : ὅταν δειπνῶμεν Fitzmyer restored instead.

⁶¹ Cf. James 3:14; Col. 3:9; Eph. 4:25; Lev. 19:11.

⁶² μισ]εῖται O (as in v. 18 γνώσεσθαι; v. 23 ἐπερωτῆσε; vv. 24 f. ζή]σετε).

⁶³ Cf. Matt. 7:12 (Luke 6:31); Tobit 4:15 καὶ ὃ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσεις.

enough about the Coptic text either. The first difficulty consists in that the *Ed. pr.* (A. Guillaumont and others) suggested the reading με ('Truth') in lieu of the transmitted πε ('Heaven'). Following this suggestion Hofius tried to avoid the reading τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and then was forced to interrupt the text in the middle of a sentence. Thus his restoration is not likely; it reads:

[... πάντα γὰρ ἔμπρο-
σθεν τῆς ἀληθ[ε]ίας ἀν[α]κεκαλυμμένα ἔστιν
καὶ οὐδὲ ἔ]ν ἀ[π]οκεκρυμμένον ἔστιν. Λέ-
40 γει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· μα]χάρι[ός] ἔστιν [...]

I think Fitzmyer was right in following the transmitted text of C, suggesting the restoration given above, which I have improved in two points: v. 38, read: <ἐν>αντι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. Acts 8:21; 1 Clem. 39.4); and vv. 39 f., read: φανερω<θή>σεται (cf. Mark 4:22: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν κρυπτόν ἐὰν μὴ ἴνα φανερωθῆι), in lieu of Fitzmyer's φανερόν ἔσται.

Apparently, Fitzmyer was not aware of a second difficulty: C has (p. 33.20) τηρογ, which can mean either πάντες or πάντα. The *Ed. pr.* rendered it as "all things," and I think it was right, *contra* the same *Ed. pr.*, which in Logion 77a (p. 46.24) rendered τηρογ as "them all," instead of "all things" or "everything." But O, 38 has ...]HC. If we now read: [πάντα γὰρ ἔστι πλήρ]η{ς} ἀληθ[ε]ίας (cf. Isa. 1:21 S¹ and John 1:14), we must explain this small C in πλήρης as a *lapsus calami* of the copyist. But πλήρης could be read also as πλήρεις; thus the possibility for the restoration: πάντες (τηρογ) γὰρ εἰσι πλήρεις ἀληθείας remains.

Now, the last clause of C—"and nothing covered that shall remain without being uncovered"—is definitely missing in O. Since this clause obviously follows Matt. 10:26 (Luke 12:2): καὶ κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται,⁶⁴ I would rather think that the copyist of O by an oversight had omitted a whole line of his exemplar—because of the homoioteleuton, φανερωθήσεται... ἀποκαλυφθήσεται. And since he has omitted also the phrase, λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς after this clause, it seems very likely that he did so by a mistake, not deliberately. Thus there seems to be no deliberate difference between O and C in this Logion.⁶⁵

Logion 7

O, 40 ff.

40 μα]χάρι[ός] ἔστιν [ὁ λέων ὄν ἄνθρωπος
ἐσθίει, καὶ ὁ λέω]ν ἔστ[αι] ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ἐπ-

⁶⁴ Cf. also Schrage, *Das Verhältnis*, etc., pp. 34-37.

⁶⁵ As for the message of the Logion, compare Logia 14; 27; 104.

[ἀρατός ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃν λέων ἐσθίει,]
[καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔσται λέων...]

C

Jesus said: Blessed (μακάριος) is the lion which the man eats, and the lion will become man; and cursed is the man whom the lion eats, *and the lion will become man.*

O, 40 ff. probably contains Logion 7 (as Jean Doresse⁶⁶ and Hofius had suggested); thus I give a possible restoration of O, 40-43. Fitzmyer's tentative restoration seems unlikely to me; it reads:

40 μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστὶν [ὁ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῶν.
πάντα γὰρ ἐν φανερω]ῶι ἔστ[αι παρὰ τῶι πατρὶ ὅς
ἐν τῶι οὐρανῶι ἐστ]ιν.

As for the text of C, it seems obvious that the italicized words should be transposed to read: "and the man will become lion," as Doresse (o.c., p. 371); the *Ed. pr.* (p. 5); S. Giversen;⁶⁷ Hofius (p. 35 n. 54); and Haenchen⁶⁸ have already suggested. There is really no need to insist on the transmitted text (as, e.g., Gärtner did). Possibly, in such a short Logion as this one C did not disagree with O, but one cannot be sure. The lion stands here for "this material world, corpse and death:" compare Ps. 7:3; 21:21-22; 34:17; Hippolyt. *Refut.* 5.8.15 (the Naassenes); Clem. *Exc. ex Theodoto* 84; and Gärtner, pp. 162 f.

Logia 30 a, b

P. Oxy. 1^v, 1-21 (now Bodley MS Gk. Th. e 7 [P]), contains Logia C 26 (end): καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῶι ὀφθαλμῶι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου; 27; 28 till NH II.2, p. 38.27: καὶ οὐ βλέ[πουσιν ὅτι κενοὶ ἤκουσιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον... (cf. Fitzmyer, pp. 535 f.). And O, 1^r, 1-21, contains Logia C 29 (end): ... ταύτην τ]ήν πτωχείαν(ν) (cf. Fitzmyer, pp. 537 f.); 30a; 77b; 31; 32; and the beginning of 33a (discussed above, under Logion 1, p. 57). Now, Logia 30 a, b read in O as follows:

O, 1^r, 2-9
(a) [λέγ]ει [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ὅπ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν
[γ' θεοί,] ε[ἰσὶν] θεοί· καὶ
[ὅ]που ε[ἶς] ἐστὶν μόνος

⁶⁶ *Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (London, 1959), p. 356.

⁶⁷ *Thomasevangeliet* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 38.

⁶⁸ *Theol. Rundschau* 27 (1961), p. 160.

- 5 [λ]έγω· ἐγὼ εἶμι μετ' αὐ-
 τ[οῦ.] (b) ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθον
 καὶ εὐρήσεις με·
 σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ γὼ
 ἐκεῖ εἶμι.

C

Logion 30. Jesus said: Where there are three gods, they are gods; where there are two or (ἢ) one, I am with him. Logion 77b. Cleave (a piece of) wood, I am there; lift up the stone, and you will find Me there.

(1) Grenfell and Hunt restored in line 5 [λ]έγω or [λέ]γω (“Where one is alone, I say: I am with him”), and this was adopted by Guillaumont,⁶⁹ Hofius (p. 185), Jeremias (p. 107), Gärtner (p. 84), and many others. Fitzmyer (p. 539) restored [αὐ]τῶι instead (“and where one is all alone to himself”), but his reading is linguistically weak. I myself (back in 1968) was willing to conjecture [ἢ δ]ύω⁷⁰ but C.H. Roberts⁷¹ and H.W. Attridge⁷² have re-examined the papyrus (the latter using ultraviolet light), reaching the conclusion that [λ]έγω is the correct reading (cf., e.g., Matt. 5:22; 5:28; 5:32). C omits this λέγω (maybe because of the cluster ΛεΓω ε Γω).

(2) Furthermore, the Coptologist Dr. James Drescher suggested to me that in C, “where there are three gods, they are gods,” seems a strangely inept thing to say, and that there is possibly a dittography of the word “gods” in the Coptic. Consequently, we should read: “Where there are three (sc. men), they are gods.” If so, then we may restore simply [τρεῖς] in line 3 of O, instead of Guillaumont’s restoration [γ’ θεοί].

The arguments for [τρεῖς] are: (a) If O in v. 4 writes εἰς why, then, in v. 3 should it write τρεῖς as γ? (b) What is more important, the Hebrew motif speaks of three *men*: “The Shekinah is present wherever three study the Torah.” This becomes clear both from Matthew 18:20 (οὗ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἔμδον ὄνομα, ἐκεῖ εἶμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν) and from *Pirqe Aboth* 3.7 (where this number goes from ten to one only).⁷³ The restora-

⁶⁹ “Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus retrouvés à Nag-Hamâdi,” *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958), pp. 115 f.

⁷⁰ [ἢ δ]ύω, ἐγὼ εἶμι μετ' αὐτ[ῶν]. Omicron and omega are sometimes confounded in the papyri (as, e.g., in Pap. Par. 50.21 δύο): cf. E. Mayser, *Gramm. der griech. Papyri*, I, pp. 99 n. 1.—I now read 3 f.: καὶ / [δ]ῆπου (δύο ἢ) εἰς ἐστὶν μόνος... (cf. p. 73).

⁷¹ *Journal of Theol. St.*, N.S. 21 (1970), pp. 91 f.

⁷² *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 16 (1979), pp. 153-157 (p. 155).

⁷³ Compare also Psalm 82 (81):1 *Targum*, and Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch*, I, pp. 794 f.; Guillaumont, loc. cit.

tion [τρεις] has been adopted both by Roberts (p. 91) and Attridge (p. 156).

I think the saying implies: "It is said: Wherever three men are gathered together to study the Torah, they become the holy ones (= they are in presence of the Shekinah). But I say unto you: Wherever only two or one of My disciples are gathered together, I will make the third (so that the Shekinah may be present)."

It seems that the medieval Cathari knew this Logion: "Where there was one of his little ones, he would be with him; and where there were two, similarly; and where there were three, in the same way."⁷⁴

(3) After this [τρεις] in line 3, the surface is badly abraded, and the traces are compatible with both readings: ε[ις]ιν θεοί (C.H. Roberts and the majority of scholars) or ε[ις]ιν ἄθεοι (Grenfell and Hunt, and recently Attridge). Reading line 3 so: [τρ]ε[ις], ε[ις]ιν ἄθεοι, Attridge (p. 156) translates: "Where there are three, they are without god, and where there is but a single one I say that I am with him." He feels that "the fragment asserts that any *group* of people lack divine presence. That presence is available only to the "solitary one." The importance of the solitary (μοναχός) is obvious in the Gospel [of Thomas]. Cf. Sayings 11, 16, 22, 23, 49, 75 and 106. This saying must now be read in connection with those remarks on the 'monachos'."

This interpretation seems to me highly unlikely for the following reasons. (a) The contention that the saying denies divine presence to "any *group* of people" is refuted by the words of C, "and where there are two;" by Matt. 18:20 (οὗ γὰρ εἰσιν δύο ἢ τρεῖς); by *Pirqe Aboth* 3.7; and by the saying of the Cathari as well. (b) Attridge's explanation of the Coptic text is not convincing; it reads: "The α-privative was probably accidentally lost and an attempt was then made to make some sense out of the resulting saying by specifying that the three beings involved were gods." But the text, [ὅπ]ου ἐάν ὦσιν [τρεις], ε[ις]ιν θεοί, gives a good sense ("Wherever there are three [sc. men], they are gods [or godlike]"), requiring no attempt at making some sense. And the Coptic translation is best explained as displaying a small dittography: "Where there are three [gods], they are gods."

(c) The sense of ἄθεος, "being without God," is strange here and cannot be paralleled for the time of GTh. For at NT *Ephes.* 2:12, ἄθεοι does not mean "being separate from God, being without God," but rather, "being without the knowledge of the true God" = 1 *Thess.* 4:5; *Gal.* 4:8-9

⁷⁴ Quoted by I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, II (Munich, 1890), p. 210, and by R.M. Grant-D.N. Freedman, op. cit., p. 141.

μη εἰδότες τὸν θεόν (cf. G. Kittel, *Theol. Wb. zum NT*, III [1938], p. 122.16). (d) Finally, of the sayings of GTh adduced by Attridge, 11c; 16b; 22b; 23 and 106 are irrelevant to our case, while μοναχός in 49 (“Blessed are the solitary and elect”) and 75 has not the same sense as “and where there is but a single one.”

In conclusion, in view of the presence of the words δύο ἢ both in C and in Matt. 18:20, I would read O as follows: [ἔ]ου ἐὰν ὦσιν / [τρεῖς,] ε[ἰς]ἰν θεοί· καὶ / [ἔ]που <δύο ἢ> ε[ἰς] ἐστὶν μόνος, / [λ]έγω· ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ’ αὐ/τ[οῦ.] There is no substantial disagreement between O and C.

One final remark. Our saying does not imply that God would be inferior to Jesus. Neither does Logion 100: “Give Caesar what belongs to Caesar; give God what belongs to God; and give Me what is Mine.” Cf. Matt. 22:21 (Mark 12:17; Luke 20:25): Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ. The Gnostic has only expanded a synoptic saying (as he elsewhere did), but the possibility for the Hebrew God to be understood as the gnostic Unknown Father remains, and the latter is not inferior to Jesus. (The opposite view is shared by R.M. Grant—D.N. Freedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 142; 178.)

Logion 30 b of O appears in C after Logion 77a, which reads: “I am the Light that is above all (things), I am the All. The All came forth from Me, and the All attained (reached) to Me.” Now, some scholars follow K.H. Kuhn⁷⁵ in believing that the original place of the saying was after Logion 30a, as in O. It was then transferred after Logion 77a by the compiler of C because of the mnemonic key-word principle (“Stichwortanschluss”). Namely, the verb πωρ (“to attain *or* reach to”) appears at the end of our Logion 77a, and the verb πωρ (“to cleave *or* split”) occurs at the beginning of Logion 77b, in the same line of the codex (p. 46.26), both words being homonym only in Coptic. Kuhn adduced another example of such mnemonic homonyms: μαλαχε (“ear”) in Logion 33a (p. 39.11), and μαλαχε (“bushel,” Egyptian μάτιον) in the following Logion 33b (p. 39.14).

However, I would rather think that the original place of Logion 77b—say, in the Archetype of the GTh—was as in C, not as in O.⁷⁶ Because (1) it suits better the pantheistic idea expressed in Logion 77a (“I am the All”), than the Midrashic Logion 30a. And (2) I think that the vicinity of the homonyms πωρ in Logia 77a, b, and of μαλαχε in Logia 33a, b is a pure coincidence. Anyway, it seems strange that the

⁷⁵ *Le Muséon* 73 (1960), pp. 317 f.; cf. Haenchen, *Theol. Rundschau* 27 (1961), pp. 161 f.; 309 f.; Schrage, *Das Verhältnis*, etc., p. 82.

⁷⁶ So also Quispel, *Makarius*, etc., p. 100; Gärtner, p. 146 (cf. also Haenchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 334 f.).

compiler of C did not apply the same principle to Logion 7, $\mu\omicron\gamma\iota$, “lion” (literally “killer”?) vs. Logion 11a, b $\mu\omicron\gamma$, ; “to die; death” (such a welcome gnostic association!).

To make myself clear: I do not think Kuhn’s hypothesis about the *homonymic* linking key-words in the Coptic recension is likely; but I do think that Garitte’s⁷⁷ hypothesis about the *semantic* or thematic linking key-words (or items), such as, for example, $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\xi$ in Logia 28 and 29; or $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in Logia 50 and 51, might work (though not all of Garitte’s examples are equally convincing).

In short, as for the Logion 30b of O, C seems to have the preference over O.

Logion 36

P. Oxy. 655 col. I, 1-30, and col. II, 1-22, as restored by Grenfell-Hunt, by Fitzmyer (pp. 544 ff.), and especially by R.A. Kraft,⁷⁸ comprise Logia C 36; 37; 38; 39; and probably Logion 24b, in the fragment *d* (cf. Kraft, p. 262).

O 655 col. I, 1 ff.

[$\mu\eta$ μεριμνᾶτε] ... μήτε [τεῖ τροφῆι ὑμῶν τί φά[γητε μήτε] τεῖ σ[ολεῖ ὑμῶν] τί ἐνδύ[ση]σθε. (Cf. Matt. 6: 25; Luke 12:22.) [πολ]λῶν κρεί[σσον]ές [ἔστε] τῶν [κρί]νων, ἅτι[να ο]ὐ ξα[ί]νει⁷⁹ οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει. (Cf. Matt. 6:28; Luke 12:27.) [ἀλλ’] ἐν ἔχοντ[ες] ἔ[ν]δ[υ]μα τί ἐν[δεῖτε] καὶ ὑμεῖς; τίς ἂν προσθ[εί]η ἐπὶ τὴν εἰλικιάν ὑμῶν; (Cf. Matt. 6:27; Luke 12:25.) αὐτὸ[ς δ] ὥσει ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑμῶν.

C 36

Be not concerned about what you shall put on (wear).

This is a clear example of a *deliberate* drastic cutting of the original text of the GTh by the redactor of C, who dropped both these passages of O: “(Be not solicitous)... either for your sustenance, what you will eat or” and “Of how much more worth are you than the lilies, which neither card nor spin! But since you have one garment, what indeed do you lack? Who of you could increase (his) stature? He shall give you (each) your garment!”⁸⁰—in his zeal to bring Logion 36 logically as close as possible to the following Logion 37, which reads: “When you undress yourselves without being ashamed, and take up your clothes and put them under

⁷⁷ *Le Muséon* 70 (1957), pp. 63 f.; cf. also Gärtner, op. cit., pp. 28 f.

⁷⁸ *Harvard Theol. Review* 54 (1961), pp. 253-262.

⁷⁹ οὐ ξαίνει J.A.H. Michelsen and T.C. Skeat, accepted by R.A. Kraft αὐξάνει Grenfell and Hunt, accepted by J.A. Fitzmyer.

⁸⁰ Kraft’s translation (p. 259).

your feet like little children, and tread on them, then shall you see the Son of the Living One...". Because the redactor of C saw a "contradiction" between the words of Logion 36, "But since you have one garment, what indeed do you lack?... *He shall give you (each) your garment,*" and the lack of any garment required by Logion 37 (compare also the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, ap. Clement, *Strom.* 3.92: ὅταν τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἔνδυμα πατήσητε).

This is the explanation shared also by Kraft (p. 254); Gärtner (p. 86); Schrage (p. 91). The explanation given by R.M. Grant-D.N. Freedman (p. 144), "that the editor of Coptic Thomas wanted to remove such obvious traces of his sources" as are the synoptic passages quoted above, is not likely at all.

The Coptic redactor simply did not realize that Logia 36 and 37 dealt with two *different* topics: with the attachment to earthly wealth, the former; with the return to primeval sexual innocence in the androgynous Adam, the latter.

This might be a good opportunity for us to reflect how much freedom each one of the gnostic sects or communities used in adjusting its own GTh, and how different from each other must have looked the Naassene recension of the GTh (= H), the Coptic one (= C), and that represented by the three Oxyrhynchus papyri (= O)! But let us continue.

Logion 11c

C

"On the day when you were one, you became two. But (δὲ) whensoever (ὅταν) you shall have become⁸¹ two, what will you do?"

Clem. *Strom.* 3.92.2

καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὰ δύο ἐν καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ. *Gal.* 3:28 οὐκ ἐνὶ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ. Philo, *De opif. mundi* 134 οὔτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ.⁸² Et alibi.

The second clause of Logion 11c seems to imply: "Whensoever you become again out of two one, what else will be left for you to do?" = "Whensoever you males and you females return to the asexual Archanthropus Adam, there will be nothing more for you to do: you will achieve the ἀπηρτισμένη τελείωσις (Hippol. *Refut.* 5.6.6, p. 142.31 Marc.).

⁸¹ Or "when you become two." The translation of *Ed. pr.* "when you have become two" is misleading.

⁸² We find another similarity between Philo (loc. cit. and *Leg. alleg.* 1.31) and the GTh (Logion 84) in the distinction between Adam created according to God's *image* and Man created according to God's *likeness*, as A.F.J. Klijn, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* 81 (1962), p. 277, has well pointed out.

Doresse (op. cit., p. 371) defended the transmitted second “two” in the text of C by suggesting “that the duality is in fact an aspect of the unity; for the state of ‘being two’ is a synthesis of opposites—male and female, upper and lower, etc...”. But the compiler of the GTh was not a Heraclitean, and the transmitted text simply contradicts the rest of the corresponding Logia. Thus I think the text is corrupt here: the second “two” (ἄνωγα, p. 34.24) was written (by analogy with the first one) by a copyist who had found the text to be lacunose; and it was so because the original word ογα (“one”) had been mistakenly dropped before the following ογ (“what”).

If we read ογα instead of ἄνωγα, there will be no disagreement with the rest of the relevant sayings: Logion 22: “When you make the two one (ἄνωγα ογα, p. 37.25)... and when you make the male and the female one and the same, so that the male not be male, nor the female female... then shall you enter (the Kingdom);” Logion 106: “When you make the two one (ἄνωγα ογα, p. 50.19), you shall become the sons of Man...;”⁸³ Logion 18: “For where the beginning is, there will be the end;” and (with the only exception that here the female shall return to the male Adam):

Logion 114:

Jesus said: Behold, I myself shall lead her (Mary) in order to make her male, so that (ἵνα) she too may become a living spirit (πνεῦμα), resembling you males. For every woman who shall make herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven.⁸⁴

Gospel of Philip
Logion 71 (NH II. 3, p. 68.22)

When Eve was still in Adam, death did not exist. When she separated from him, death came into being. Whensoever he becomes again complete and attains his former self, death shall no longer exist.⁸⁵

Logion 11b

H (5.8.32, p. 161.172 M.)

Λέγουσι γοῦν· “Εἰ νεκρὰ ἐφάγετε καὶ ζῶντα ἐποιήσατε, τί, ἂν ζῶντα φάγητε,

C

In the days when you ate what is dead, you made it (or him) alive:

⁸³ Compare also Logia 84; 72 (“I am not a divider, am I?”), and H.C. Kee, *Journal of Bibl. Lit.* 82 (1963), pp. 308 f.

⁸⁴ Cf. K.H. Rengstorf, in Suppl. 12 to *Numen* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 564-574.

⁸⁵ Ed. W. Till, *Das Evangelium nach Philippos* (Berlin, 1963). Translated by R. McL. Wilson (London, 1962). Compare now Martin Krause, in Werner Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, II (Artemis Verlag, Zürich u. Stuttgart, 1971), p. 110 [English translation by R. McL. Wilson, Oxford, 1974, II, p. 90], and Wesley W. Isenberg, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977), p. 141. Cf. *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*. Codex II (Leiden, 1974), p. 80.

ποιήσετε;” (Ζῶντα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ λόγους καὶ νόας καὶ <τοὺς τελείους> ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μαργαρίτας ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀχαρακτηριστοῦ, ἐρ(ρ)ιμμένους εἰς τὸ πλάσμα <ὡς> καρπούς.)

whensoever (ὅταν) you come to live in the light, what will you do?

I would like to suggest the following two points. First, the Naassene recension seems to give the original text of the saying. (1) Because the elegant mathematical proportion contained in it seems to reflect the more genuine form:

νεχρὰ φαγεῖν : ζωοποιεῖν :: ζῶντα φαγεῖν : τί ποιήσετε; (= What else is left for you to do? = The final fulfilment.)
(cf. Log. 7)

(2) Because this version can be paralleled by the *Gospel of Philip*, Logion 93 (p. 73.19): “This world is an eater of corpses. All the things that are eaten in it themselves die too. The truth is an *eater of life*. Therefore no one nourished from <the truth> shall die...” (3) Because I think we can explain why C (or its source) had changed the words ἂν ζῶντα φάγητε into “whensoever you come to live in the light” = ὅταν δ’ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ἔσεσθε, but not the reverse. The redactor of C made this modification to make the saying *even more consistent* with his system (as he did in Logion 36)—this time with the important sayings dealing with the Light-essence of Jesus. I think the version, ὅταν δ’ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ ἔσεσθε, was inspired by John (cf. 1 John 1:7 ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ περιπατῶμεν, ὡς αὐτός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ φωτί...; 2:9 ὁ λέγων ἐν τῷ φωτὶ εἶναι; John 12:36 ἵνα υἱοὶ φωτὸς γένησθε; etc.), just as, e.g., Logion 77a (“I am the Light that is above all things”) was inspired by John (cf. John 8:12 “I am the Light of the world; he who follows Me shall never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life;” 12:46).⁸⁶

Secondly, I think the striking idea, ζῶντα φαγεῖν, “to eat living things,” is also based upon John, namely, upon the well-known, predominantly eucharistic, homily 6:31-58,⁸⁷ which gives a new explanation of the manna or “the true bread from heaven” (cf. Exod. 16:4 and 15; Ps. 77:24). Now, in John the stress seems to be on the equation: “the life-giving bread from heaven = the flesh of Jesus” (cf. John 6:51 “I am the living bread which came down from heaven; if anyone eats of this bread, he shall live forever; and the bread which I shall give is My flesh, for the life of the world;” 6:55 “For My flesh is true food, and my blood is true drink;” 6:35 and 48 “I am the bread of life”).

⁸⁶ Compare R.E. Brown, *N.T. Studies* 9 (1963), p. 165.

⁸⁷ Cf., e.g., Sir E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, ed. by F.N. Davey (London, 1947), pp. 304 ff.

On the other hand, in the Haggadah literature the equation: “the life-giving bread from heaven = the true Word of God (either Torah or Wisdom)” prevails (compare, e.g., Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 3.162: “That the food of the soul is not earthly but heavenly, we shall find abundant evidence in the Sacred Word: [Exod. 16:4]... You see that the soul is fed not with things of earth that decay, but with such *words* as God shall have poured like rain...”).⁸⁸

Now, it seems to me that the more concrete and probably eucharistic Johannine formula is still visible in the recension of H: compare Hippol. *Refut.* 5.8.11 (p. 157.59 M.), where John 6:53 is quoted, and the phrase itself, ζῶντα φαγεῖν. That *this* version was the original one, and not that represented by C, we may perhaps infer from the *Gospel of Philip*, Logion 93 (p. 73.19): “This world is an eater of corpses. All the things that are eaten in it themselves die too. The truth is an eater of life. Therefore no one nourished from the truth shall die. Jesus came from that place (= heaven) and He brought the foods from there. And to those who so desire He gave life, so that they might not die.” Logion 23 (p. 57.4): “He who shall not eat My flesh and drink My blood has no life in him (cf. John 6:53). What is it? His flesh is the word (λόγος), and His blood is the Holy Spirit. He who has received these has food and drink and clothing” (cf. Matt. 6:25). And finally Logion 15 (p. 55.10): “... Man used to feed like the beasts. But when Christ came, the perfect (τέλειος) Man, He brought bread from heaven, so that man might be nourished with the food of man.”

In short, the more concrete, probably eucharistic, and more original formula: “The life-giving food or bread from heaven is the *flesh* of Jesus” seems to prevail both in H and in the *Gospel of Philip*, while the more spiritual formula: “The life-giving food is the *word* of Jesus” seems to play a secondary part there (compare Hippolytus’ comment on the Logion 11b: ζῶντα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ λόγους καὶ νόας κτλ., quoted on p. 77, and Logion 23 of GPh). On the contrary, in C the flesh-idea is absent: “Whensoever you come to live in the light...”

The same shifting toward more *spiritualism* might be reflected also in Logion 11a: “... and the dead are not alive, and the living shall not die,” which again might be inspired by John 3:6, “That which is born of flesh is flesh, and that which is born of spirit is spirit;” 6:63, “It is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Compare P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven*, Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*, 10 (Leiden, 1965), pp. 29 ff.; 147 ff.

⁸⁹ R.E. Brown, op. cit. (above, n. 86), p. 161, referred to John 11:26 instead.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) I have tried to make a distinction between a corrupt or lacunose text in C O H due to a *mistake* or oversight, and a *deliberately* modified, expanded, transposed, or omitted text.

A more likely restoration of O and the healing of the corruptions in Logia 3b; 4; 6; 7; 11c; 30a; 33a have been attempted.

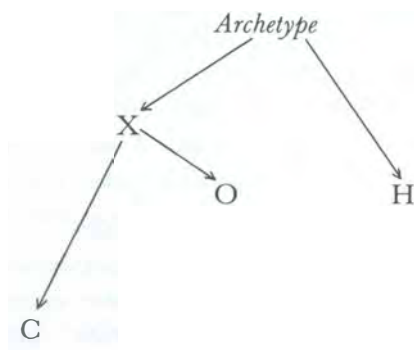
(2) As for the *deliberate* differences in C O H, they seem to suggest the following:

(a) C does not go back to O, because C translates Hebrew *tehôm* as “sea,” and O as “underworld” (Logion 3a); C has Didymus Judas Thomas, and O only Judas Thomas (Prologue). But possibly both C and O derive from a common source (= X).

(b) C seems to have the advantage over O in the text of Logia 5 and 77b; on the contrary, in the text of Logia 2 and 36, O has the preference.

(c) In Logion 11b, H seems to give a more genuine text than C, and besides H has preserved a new Logion (4^{bis}), which is missing both in C and O.

Consequently, a very tentative stemma of the transmission of the GTh would be:



(3) The offered interpretation of Logion 11b suggests that the GTh was inspired by John, as R.E. Brown has shown, and probably to an extent even greater than he recognized.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Jacques E. Ménard, *L'évangile selon Thomas* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 5), Leiden, 1975, came to my hands too late to be used.

THE NAASSENE PSALM IN HIPPOLYTUS

TEXT¹

Νόμος ἦν γενικὸς τοῦ παντός ὁ πρῶτό(τοκο)ς Νόος,
 ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος ἦν τοῦ πρωτοτόκου τὸ χυθὲν Χάος,
 τριτάτη(ν) Ψυχὴ δ' ἔλαβ' ἐξ)εργαζομένη νόμον·
 διὰ τοῦτ' ἐλάφου μορφὴν περιχειμένη
 κοπιᾷ, θανάτῳ μελέτημα, κρατουμένη·
 ποτὲ (μὲν) βασίλ(ειον) ἔχουσα βλέπει τὸ φῶς,
 ποτὲ δ' εἰς (σπ)ήλαιον ἐκρι(πτο)μένη κλαίει.

7

7a { <ποτὲ μὲν> χαίρει, ποτὲ δὲ κλαίεται,
 7b <ποτὲ μὲν> κρίνει, ποτὲ δὲ κρίνεται,
 7c ποτὲ μὲν θνήσκει, ποτὲ δὲ γίνεται. }

P f. 40^v

14

<κ)ἀνέξοδον ἢ μελέα κακῶ(ν)
 λαβύρινθον ἐσῆλθε πλανωμένη.
 εἶπεν / δ' Ἰησοῦς· ἐσόρ(α), πάτερ,
 ζήτημα κακῶν <τόδ'> ἐπὶ χθόνα
 ἀπὸ σῆς πνο(ι)ῆς ἀποπλάζεται·
 ζητεῖ δὲ φυγεῖν τὸ πικρὸν Χάος,
 οὐκ οἶδε(ν ὅ)πως διελεύσεται.

21

τούτου με χάριν πέμψον, πάτερ·
 σφραγίδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι,
 Αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω,
 μυστήρια πάντα δ' ἀνοίξω
 μορφάς τε θεῶν ἐπιδειξῶ·
 {καί} τὰ κεκρυμμένα ἀγίας ὁδοῦ
 γινῶσιν καλέσας παραδώσω.

¹ Hippol. *Refut.* 5.10.2 (p. 171 f. ed. Marcovich, Berlin, 1986).—Select literature on the Psalm: Adolf von Harnack, *SBBA*, 1902, pp. 542-545; A. Swoboda, *Wiener Studien* 27 (1905), p. 300 f.; J. Kroll, *Die christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandrien*. Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen an der Akademie zu Braunsberg, 1921 u. 1922, pp. 94 ff.; Thielko Wolbergs, *Griechische religiöse Gedichte der ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte*, I: Psalmen und Hymnen der Gnosis und des frühen Christentums (Beiträge zur klass. Philol., 40; Meisenheim am Glan, 1971), pp. 6 f. and 37-59; Bernhard Herzhoff, *Zwei gnostische Psalmen* (Diss. Bonn, 1973), pp. 78-142.

1 πρώτο(τοκο)ς H. Usener (*Allgriech. Versbau*, Bonnae 1887, p. 94 s.), cf. v. 2 : πρώτος P : πρώτιστος coniec. Em. Miller (Oxonii 1851) 2 τὸ δὲ δεύτερον P. Cruice (Parisiis 1860) 3 τριτάτη(ν) (sc. μοῖραν seu τάξιν) scripsi : τριτάτη P : τρίτατον Miller / ἔλαβ' Miller : ἔλαβεν P : ἔλαχεν Cruice (ἔλαχ' A. Swoboda), at cf. *Iliad*. 23.275 / <ἐξ>εργαζομένη scripsi : ἐργαζομένην P : ἐν(θ') ἐργαζομένη Miller 4 τοῦτο P / ἐλάφου Miller : ἔλαφον P : ἐλαφρὸν Gu. Harvey (ad Irenaei I [1857], p. LXI) : ἐλαφρὸν Gu. Christ (*Anthol. Gr. carminum Christ.*, Lipsiae 1871, p. 32 s.) 5 θανάτου coniec. P. Wendland (1916), conl. Plat. *Phaed.* 81 a 1 6 μὲν add. Miller / βασιλ(ειον) Swoboda : βασι' P : βασιλείαν Miller 7 <σπ>ήλαιον coniec. Th. Wolbergs : ἔλαιον P : ἔλεον Miller : ἐλεείν' Cruice, agn. Wendland / ἐκρι(πτο)μένη Cruice : ἐρριμένη P : ἐρριμμένη Miller / κλάει Christ : κλαίει P 7abc del. Cruice (1860) et Ad. ab Harnack (1902): tres dochmios anapaestis immiscuit poeta quidam temporis posterioris, verbis vv. 6-7 ποτὲ <μὲν> βλέπει τὸ φῶς, ποτὲ δὲ κλάει adhortatus. 7abc scripsi ex coniectura: ποτὲ δὲ κλαίεται χαίρει, ποτὲ δὲ κλαίει κρίνεται, ποτὲ δὲ κρίνεται ἠθήσκει, ποτὲ δὲ γίνεται P 8 κ' add. Cruice et ἀνέξοδον scripsit Christ : ἀνέξοδος P : κἀνέξοδος Wendland / κακῶ(ν) Miller : κακῶ P 9 λαβύρινθον corr. ex λαβυρίνθων P / εἰσῆλθε P, corr. Miller 10 διησοῦς P, corr. Miller / ἐσόρ P, corr. Miller 11 τόδ' add. Miller : ἔτ' add. Cruice 12 πνοῆς P, corr. Cruice / ἀποπλάζεται Cruice : ἐπιπλάζεται P 14 καὶ οὐκ οἶδε πῶς P, corr. Miller 18 διανοιῶ P, corr. Miller 19 τε Harvey et R. Lipsius (*Gnosticismus*, 1860, p. 56) : δὲ P 20 καὶ del. Lipsius et Usener.

TRANSLATION

The universal law of the All was the First-born Mind;
the second one after the First-born was the outpoured Chaos,
while the Soul got the third rank, with the duty to fulfill the law.
For that reason she put on the form of a hind
and started toiling as a captive, being a game for Death.
Sometimes she would live in a royal palace and look at the light,
but sometimes she is being thrown in a den, and there she weeps. (7)

7a { Sometimes she rejoices, sometimes she weeps aloud;
7b sometimes she is a judge, sometimes she is being judged;
7c sometimes she dies, sometimes she is being born. }

Finally, she—wretched in her sorrows—
in her wanderings entered the exitless Labyrinth.
Then Jesus said: “Look, Father:
this prey to evils is wandering away to Earth,
far from Thy spirit (*or* breath)!
And she seeks to escape the bitter Chaos,
but knows not how to win through. (14)

For that reason send Me, Father!
Bearing the seals I will descend;
I will pass through all the Aeons;
I will reveal all the mysteries
and show the forms of the gods.
I will transmit the secrets of the holy way,
calling them Gnosis (Knowledge).” (21)

COMMENTARY

1. νόμος γενικός = ὁ κοινὸς νόμος, “the universal law” (A. Hilgenfeld). Compare Heraclitus Fr. 23 Marc. (= B 114 DK); Cleanthes *Hymnus in Iovem* vv. 24 and 39; Diog. Laert. 7.88; Diodorus Tarsensis Fr. 20 in *Deut.* (P. G. 33, p. 1583 C) γενική (opp. μερική) νομοθεσία.—νόμος ~ νόος : Cic. *De legg.* 2.8: ita principem legem... mentem esse... dei; P. G. M. 5.465 ὁ μέγας Νοῦς, ἐνόμωσ τὸ πᾶν διοικῶν.—ὁ πρωτότοκος Νόος : cf. Theodoret. *Haer.* 1.4 πρωτόγονος Νοῦς; Iren. *Adv. haer.* 1.24.4: (Basilides) innatum... Patrem... misisse primogenitum Nun suum; 1.1.1 (Ptolemaeus) τὸν δὲ Νοῦν τοῦτον καὶ Μονογενῆ καλοῦσι καὶ Πατέρα καὶ Ἀρχὴν τῶν πάντων; Nag Hammadi Codices (= NHC) I.1 (*The Prayer of the Apostle Paul*), A.38; V.1 (*Eugnostos the Blessed*), p. 9.7.²

2. τὸ χυθὲν Χάος = Hippol. *Refut.* 5.7.9 (p. 145.45 M.) τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον Χάος, “the outpoured (= boundless) Chaos;” 10.32.1 (p. 408.2 M.) Χάος ἄπειρον. Cf. NHC II.5 (*On the Origin of the World*), p. 99.27 f.: “all of that (sc. Chaos) is a boundless darkness and water of unfathomable depth;” p. 98.31 “the limitless Chaos;” I.5 (*The Tripartite Tractate*), p. 89.26 f.: “(the pit)... which is called the Outer Darkness, and Chaos, and Hades, and the Abyss” (cf. Hebrew *tehôm*); Iren. 1.30.1 (Ophites): ὕδωρ, σκότος, ἄβυσσος, χάος.—As for the paretymology, cf., e.g., Zeno (*S. V. F.* I, No. 103): aquam χάος appellatum ἀπὸ τοῦ χέεσθαι.

3. <ἐξ>εργαζομένη νόμον, “fulfilling the law:” cf. Ps. 14:2 = Acts 10:35 ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην, “bringing about justice.” Cf. Ptolemy *Ep.* 6.6 = Rom. 7:12 ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος, καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή.

4. ἐλάφου μορφήν περιχειμένη: cf. Ps. 41:2 ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, οὕτως ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς σέ, ὁ θεός. Hence the image of a hind standing at the right hand of Jesus during his baptism, in an early Christian fresco.³ (A more remote possibility is the influence of the myth of Actaeon changed into a stag.) Compare Wolbergs, p. 45 f.—I think the reading ἐλάφου (ἐλαφον P) is strongly supported by v. 5, θανάτῳ μελέτημα = “a spoil or game for the hunter Death:” cf. Xenophon *Cyneg.* 13.15 ἡ μελέτη τῶν κυνηγετῶν.⁴

5. κοπιᾷ (διὰ τοῦτο, i.e., ἐξεργαζομένη νόμον): “the principle Soul works hard and toils (while bringing life to the Creation).” Cf. NHC II.1

² Cf. James M. Robinson, Ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977).

³ Cf. Joseph Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903), plate 259 nr. 2; cf. plate 150 nr. 3; Wolbergs, p. 45 f.; A. van Lantschoot, in *Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum* (Boston, 1950), p. 347 f.

⁴ On the other hand, to read with Harvey, Christ and others, ἐλαφρὸν μορφήν περιχειμένη, “putting on a fickle form,” would be insipid.

(*The Apocryphon of John*), p. 20.19 f.: “And she (sc. the luminous Epinoia) assists the whole creature, by toiling with him...;” Hippol. *Refut.* 5.7.25: Λέγουσι οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία, ὅτι τούτων ἐστὶν οὐδέν, γεννᾷ δὲ καὶ ποιεῖ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα.—Θανάτωι μελέτημα: cf. perhaps NHC II.3 (*The Gospel of Philip*, Logion 39), p. 60.12-14: “Echmoth is the Wisdom of death, which is the one who knows death” = Ψυχὴ in Valentinus ap. Hippol. *Refut.* 6.32.8-9.

6-7. ποτὲ μὲν ... βλέπει τὸ φῶς, ποτὲ δὲ... κλάει: cf. Iren. 1.4.2 (Ptolemy): Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἔκλαιε (sc. Ἀχαμῶθ ἡ ἐκτὸς τοῦ πληρώματος) καὶ ἐλυπεῖτο ... διὰ τὸ καταλελειφθαι μόνην ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῶν κενώματι· ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ἔννοιαν ἤχουσα τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτὸς διεχεῖτο καὶ ἐγέλα... (von Harnack, *SBBA*, 1902, p. 544 n. 1).—6 βασιλείων, “royal palace (open to sunshine),” cf. Xenophon *Cyrop.* 2.4.3.—ἔχουσα = ἐνοικοῦσα, “dwelling in:” cf. Soph. *El.* 181.—τὸ φῶς = 1 Νόος = 12 πνοιή (πνεῦμα): cf. Ptolemy *Ep.* 7.7 (πατήρ = φῶς); Hippol. *Refut.* 5.19.2 (the Sethians): φῶς καὶ σκότος· τούτων δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον (and Wolbergs, p. 48 f.).

7. (σπ)ήλαιον: cf. Plot. 2.9.6.8 ἀναβάσεις ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου (Wolbergs, pp. 49-51); Plato *Rep.* VII, 514 a 5 τὸ σπήλαιον; Iren. 1.4.2 ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ κενώματι.—Matt. 21:13 = Jer. 7:11 σπήλαιον ληιστῶν, “den of the robbers;” NHC II.3 (*The Gospel of Philip*, Logion 9), p. 53.11-13: “It (sc. the soul of Christ) fell into the hands of robbers and was taken captive, but he (sc. Christ) saved it.” Hippol. 5.6.7 (the Naassenes): καὶ τρεῖς ἐκκλησίαι, ἀγγελικὴ, ψυχικὴ, χοικὴ· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκλεκτὴ, κλητὴ, αἰχμάλωτος.

6-7. βασιλείων : σπήλαιον = φῶς : σκότος: cf. Hippol. 5.7.9 τὰς δὲ ἐξαλλαγὰς ταύτας (sc. τῆς ψυχῆς) τὰς ποικίλας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ κατ’ Αἴγυπτίους εὐαγγελίῳ κειμένας ἔχουσιν (sc. the Naassenes); *Corp. Hermet.* 10.7 τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ψυχῶν πολλαὶ αἱ μεταβολαί, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐτυχέστερον, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐναντίον (and A.-J. Festugière ad loc.); Clement *Exc. ex Theodoto* 56.3 τὸ μὲν οὖν πνευματικὸν φύσει σωιζόμενον, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν αὐτεξούσιον ὄν ἐπιτηδεϊότητα ἔχει πρὸς τε πίστιν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπιστίαν καὶ φθοράν, κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αἴρεσιν· τὸ δὲ ὕλικόν φύσει ἀπόλλυται; Iren. 1.6.1 (p. 51 f. Harvey).

7. κλάει: Iren. 1.4.2: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν δακρῶν αὐτῆς (sc. Achamoth) γεγονέναι πᾶσαν ἔνυγρον οὐσίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος τὴν φωτεινὴν...; NHC II.1, p. 31.6: Pronoia in the realm of darkness (prison, Chaos, Hades) “wept and shed tears, bitter tears...” (cf. Wolbergs, p. 50 f.).

7abc: The intrusion of three *dochmiacs* into the anapaestic system delates the lines as being a later expansion inspired by v. 7 κλάει (so von Harnack)—probably by somebody who wanted to have a psalm consisting of 24 (instead of 21) lines, or by somebody who wanted to

elaborate on the destiny of Soul.—7b. **ποτὲ μὲν κρίνει (?)**, **ποτὲ δὲ κρίνεται**: cf. Matt. 7:1-2; Luke 6:37; Sextus *Sent.* 183; Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.1 [= BG 1] (*The Gospel according to Mary*), p. 15.16-19: “And the soul (ψυχή) said: ‘Why do you judge (κρίνειν) me although I have not judged (κρίνειν)? I was bound though I have not bound’.”⁵

8. **ἀνέξοδον... λαβύρινθον**: cf. *A.G.* 12.93.1 (Rhianus) λαβύρινθος ἀνέξοδος; Theocrit. 12.19 ἀνέξοδον εἰς Ἀχέροντα (and A.S.F. Gow ad loc.).—**ἡ μελέα κακῶν**: cf. Eurip. *Med.* 96 δύστανος ἐγὼ μελέα τε πόνων.

10.=15. **πάτερ**: i.e., 1 Νόος. The father of Jesus, Son of Man, is Man.

11. **ζήτημα κακῶν=5. θανάτω μελέτημα**, i.e., “a prey to evils” (von Harnack). (Cf. Hippocrat. *V.M.* 3 ζήτημα... εὔρημα, “thing sought and thing found”.)

12. **ἀπὸ σῆς πνοιῆς ἀποπλάζεται**: “is wandering away far from Thy spirit (or breath):” cf. *Iliad.* 13.591 f.; *Odyssey* 1.75.—**πνοιῆς** = πνεύματος: cf. 1 *Clem.* 21.9 πνοή θεοῦ; Gen. 2:7; 7:22; Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 16.16 ψυχᾶς... τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πνοὴν ἡμφιεσμένας.

13. **τὸ πικρὸν Χάος**: cf. πικρὸς Ἄιδης W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, 567.4; *A.G.* 7.303.6.

14. **οὐκ οἶδε(ν ὅ)πως διελεύσεται**: the opposite is 21 γνῶσις = γνῶσις τῆς ἀγίας ὁδοῦ, “the (secret) knowledge of the ascent (= ἄνοδος) of the soul.” Compare Aram. mas(s)iqṭā, “ascent of the soul” of the Mandaeans.⁶

16. **σφραγίδας ἔχων**: probably, “passes,” or magic formulas, each one different for each Aeon, for both the descending Redeemer (Jesus) and the ascending Soul and the souls of the pneumatics (gnostics). Compare 1 *Jeu* 33-38 (seven seals) and 2 *Jeu* 45-48 (eight seals) ed. C. Schmidt;⁷ Fr. J. Dölger, *Sphragis* (1919), pp. 160 ff.; G. Fitzer, in G. Kittel, *Theol. Wb. zum NT*, 7 (1964), 953; Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, *Gr.-Engl. Lex. of the NT*, s.v., 1 d; Wolbergs 56.

17 **Αἰῶνας ὅλους**: probably, either seven or thirteen of them; cf. Hip-

⁵ Text and translation by R. McL. Wilson and George W. MacRae, in Douglas M. Parrott, *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 11, Leiden, 1979), p. 463 f.

⁶ Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1927), p. 295.

⁷ *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, I. Die Pistis Sophia, die beiden Bücher des Jeu, unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk, ed. Carl Schmidt; 3rd ed. by Walter Till (GCS, 45, Berlin, 1962), pp. 290-294 and 308-314. *The Books of Jeu and the untitled text in the Bruce Codex*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot (Nag Hammadi Studies, 13, Leiden, 1978), pp. 83-88 and 105-116.

pol. 5.6.5; 5.7.20; 5.9.5. According to the Naassenes, Jesus himself is μακάριος Αἰὼν Αἰώνων (Hippol. 5.8.45).⁸

18. μυστήρια πάντα: probably, a concrete thing: a secret password, sign or symbol, different for each one of the archons (aeons). Cf. Orig. *Contra Celsum* 6.31; Revel. 1:20; Hippol. 5.9.22.⁹

19. μορφάς... θεῶν: "the shape (form) of each one of the aeons." Such as lion, bull, serpent, eagle, bear, dog, ass, cock, hyena, dragon, monkey, sheep. Cf. Origen *Cels.* 6.30 and 6.33; NHC II.1 (*The Apocryphon of John*), p. 11.26-34; Wolbergs 56 n. 95.—θεοί = αἰῶνες, ἀστέρες: cf. *P.G.M.* 13.997; Hippol. 5.16.6 (the Peratics).

20. τὰ κεκρυμμένα ("the secrets") = σφραγίδες + μυστήρια + μορφαὶ θεῶν (?).—ἡ ἁγία ὁδός = ἡ τῆς Ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνοδος. Compare perhaps *The Gospel according to Mary* (BG 1, p. 16.14-21): The seven powers (ἐξουσία) of wrath (ὀργή) ask the ascending soul: "Whence do you come, slayer of men, or (ἦ) where are you going, conqueror of space?" The soul answered and said: "What binds me has been slain, and what surrounds me has been overcome, and my desire (ἐπιθυμία) has been ended, and *ignorance has died...*"¹⁰

21. ἀνοίξω... ἐπιδείξω... παραδώσω: sc. τοῖς πνευματικοῖς (νοεροῖς, ἐκλεκτοῖς, ἀγγελικοῖς) μόνοις: Hippol. 5.6.7.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) The Naassene psalm is a complete creed of a three-principle Gnostic system: in twenty-one brief lines the psalm comprises no less than thirty Gnostic key-words. Moreover, the psalm is a gem of the Christian Gnosticism: compare Jesus in line 10 and Hippol. 5.9.21-22 (p. 170.122 Marc.): "For we [the Naassenes] enter in through the true gate, which is Jesus the Blessed one [cf. John 10:9; Ps. 118 (117):20]. And out of all men we are the only true Christians, who perform the mystery at the third gate [cf. 2 Cor. 12:2; Gen. 28:17; Hippol. 5.8.31]."

(2) The psalm consists of three *hebdomads* (total, 21 lines). (Incidentally, the cosmic hebdomad of seven planets is mentioned at Hippol. 5.7.23-24; and the Naassene Jesus reveals himself in the fourteenth aeon: Hippol.

⁸ Cf. *P.G.M.* 4.2198 ὁ Αἰὼν τῶν Αἰώνων; Synes. *Hymn.* 5 (2).67; A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion...* (Boston, 1972), I, pp. 383 and 388; W. Bousset, "Der Gott Aion," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Supplements to NT, 50, Leiden, 1979), pp. 192-230.

⁹ Cf. A. von Harnack, op. cit., p. 545; A.D. Nock, op. cit., II, pp. 798 n. 28; 889 and n. 43.

¹⁰ Text and translation by R. McL. Wilson and George W. MacRae, in NHS, 11 (above, n. 5), p. 465.

5.7.20 [cf. 2 Cor. 12:2].) The first hebdomad (1-7), composed in six (1-3) and five (4-7) catalectic anapaests each line, states the three basic principles of the system (1-3; notice three past tenses: 1 ἦν, 2 ἦν, 3 ἔλαβ'), and succinctly describes the mission of the third principle, the soul, in this world of ours (4-7; notice three present tenses this time: 5 κοπιᾷ, 6 βλέπει, 7 κλάει).

The second hebdomad (8-14), composed in four catalectic anapaests each line, reveals that the time for the Apocatastasis has come. Finally, the third hebdomad (15-21), with paroemiacs in lines 17-19 and 21, speaks of the Redemption itself. It is separated from the second hebdomad by no less than five future tenses, each one placed at the line end: 16 καταβήσομαι /, 17 διοδεύσω /, 18 ἀνοιξω /, 19 ἐπιδειξω /, 21 παραδώσω /.

As a whole, the psalm displays the figure of an *inverted pyramid*, with the line containing the word Gnosis (21) at its top. The intention seems to be clear: the salvation comes from above. But maybe the psalm itself was devised as a *μυστήριον*, a "magic formula" for the pneumatics, enabling them to achieve the ascent and the salvation? As for the figure itself, it is Hellenistic: compare, e.g., the Πέλευς by Simmias from Rhodes in E. Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.* 2, p. 260.

(3) The three principles of the psalm (Nous, Chaos, Psyche, 1-3) seem to be genuinely Naassene. Compare Cau-lacau, Sau-lasau, Ζησάρ (Ze'er Sham) at Hippol. 5.8.4 [Isaiah 28:10; Iren. 1.24.5-6, et alibi]; or ὁ Προών, τὸ ἐκχεχυμένον Χάος, ὁ Αὐτογενής at Hippol. 5.7.9; or else (Ἄρχ)άνθρωπος, ἡ θνητὴ φύσις ἢ κάτω, Υἱὸς Ἀνθρώπου at Hippol. 5.8.2 and 10.9.1. To quote Hippolytus himself (5.8.1): "He who says that the All is composed of three (principles), speaks the truth and will be able to give the proof about the universe." In my opinion, the conclusion reached by Bernhard Herzhoff, in his dissertation on the psalm (Bonn, 1973), p. 135, that Valentinus himself is the author of the Naassene psalm, cannot stand criticism. The psalm can be explained in terms of the Naassene system alone (involving three principles) as preserved in Hippolytus 5.6.3—5.10.2 and 10.9.

(4) In the psalm, the lion's share belongs to the third (middle) principle, the Soul (11 lines), and to her salvation (along with the salvation of all the pneumatics; 8 lines). The Soul "fulfills the law" of the All (i.e., of Nous), by bringing life to the κτίσις: "For the Soul is the cause of everything that comes into being" (Hippol. 5.7.10). To accomplish this mission (διὰ τοῦτ', 4), the Soul puts on the form of a *hind* (probably under the influence of Psalm 41:2), and descends to Earth (4-7).

In other words, I think that the word νόμος in line 3 has the same sense as the word νόμος in line 1 (a kind of ring composition): “the law of the All.” It does not have the derogatory connotation of ὁ νόμος τῆς κτίσεως (*contra*, e.g. R. Reitzenstein, *SB Akad. Heidelberg* 10 [1917], p. 49; Wolbergs, pp. 44 f.). The very fact that the Soul “puts on a form” (μορφήν περιχειμένη, 4) attests to a special mission of a divine principle. That this mission is by no means limited to the κτίσις alone, becomes clear from Hippol. 5.7.11-13 (p. 145.55 M.): Πᾶσα οὖν φύσις ἐπουρανίων, φησί (sc. Naassenus), καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων (Phil. 2:10) ψυχῆς ὀρέγεται, where ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων καὶ αἰωνίων ἄνω μακαρία φύσις (p. 146.65 M.) is being included (τὰ ἐπίγεια = Ἀφροδίτη, τὰ καταχθόνια = Περσεφόνη, τὰ ἐπουράνια = Σελήνη)

(5) Accordingly, there is no disagreement between the first and the second hebdomad of the psalm: the former deals with Cosmogony, the latter with Apocatastasis. In part one, κοπιᾷ (“works hard, toils”) was to be expected as part of the Soul’s mission in the κτίσις (and was authorized by the universal law of the All, Nous). However, the Soul’s perishing in the Labyrinth (Chaos) was not expected. As soon as the Soul reaches this point (in part two of the psalm), the time for Redemption has come, and the Redeemer acts: “Then Jesus said: ‘Look, Father: this prey for evils... For that reason send me, Father!’” This point of mortal danger for the Soul is emphasized by the expression, 12 ἀπὸ σῆς πνοιῆς ἀποπλάζεται (implying: “wandering away *too far* from Thy protecting spirit”), which is sandwiched between four words expressing “hopelessness,” placed at the beginning and end of the second hebdomad: 8-9 ἀνέξοδον... λαβύρινθον, and 13-14 τὸ πικρὸν Χάος... οὐ διελεύσεται.

(6) The Redeemer Jesus (Son of Man, Adamas) is a *doublet* of the Soul: both are bisexual (ἄρσενόθηλος), Hippol. 5.6.5 vs. 5.7.13. The Father to whom Jesus, Son of Man, speaks (in lines 10 and 15) is Man (Archanthropos, Nous): here Harnack (*SBBA*, 1902, p. 544) is correct, *contra* B. Herzhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 110 (Jesus’ father is “the unborn Father” of Basilides). Again, there are only three principles in the Naassene system; the only apparent “fourth principle” there is the Demiurge Esaldaeus [El-Shaddai], “the fiery god, the fourth in number” (Hippol. 5.7.30), but he is equated with Chaos (Hippol. 5.8.5).

When descending to this world, the Soul takes the form of a hind: the descending Jesus apparently takes the form of Man. While Psyche is predominantly psychic, the affinity between Psyche and Jesus may well be in the fact that both share in the *pneuma*. Jesus is pneumatic par ex-

cellence, while Psyche is pneuma qua Life: Λέγουσιν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας, ἣτις ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία, ὅτι τούτων ἐστὶν οὐδέν, γεννᾶι δὲ καὶ ποιεῖ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα (Hippol. 5.7.25).

Incidentally, Psyche (and the psychics) is αὐτεξούσιος, and can choose between salvation and perdition (Clement *Exc. ex Theodoto* 56.3). Hence the Naassene ἡ ψυχικὴ = ἡ κλητὴ ἐκκλησία (Hippol. 5.6.7; cf. Matt. 22:14; Clem. *Exc. Theod.* 58.1). On the other hand, Jesus, just like the three-bodied giant Geryon (Hippol. 5.6.6; 5.8.4), comprises all three “men” (pneumatic, psychic, choic: 5.6.7).

(7) Finally, the presence in the psalm of a pre-existent Jesus (for the expected Christ) does not prove Valentinian authorship of the psalm. For it may be explained by strong Christian feelings of the Naassenes. Compare, e.g., Hippol. 5.9.21-22 (quoted above, Conclusions, 1, p. 85); or 5.8.45 (Jesus as ὁ μακάριος Αἰὼν Αἰώνων); or else 5.8.20-21 (Jesus, the true gate, equated with the perfect Man, fully “characterized” from the Uncharacterized One above).

However, pre-existent *Jesuses* are known from other Gnostic systems as well; compare, e.g., NHC III.2 (*The Gospel of the Egyptians*), p. 64.1 and p. 65.17; VII.2 (*The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*), p. 66.8; II.5 (*On the Origin of the World*), p. 105.25; *Pistis Sophia*, c. 81 (p. 114 f. Schmidt-Till).

Valentinian flavor may be detected in v. 7, κλάει (cf. Iren. 1.4.2), as Harnack had suggested (p. 544 n. 1). But compare also, e.g., NHC II.1 (*The Apocryphon of John*), p. 31.6 f.: “And he (sc. the spirit in the chains of the prison of the body) wept and shed tears. Bitter tears he wiped from himself...”

In conclusion, the content of the fascinating Naassene psalm is Naassene, not Valentinian.

PHANES, PHICOLA, AND THE SETHIANS¹

There is a puzzling piece of evidence about the mysteries of the Μεγάλη θεός (i.e., Γῆ: cf. Paus. 1.31.4) at the Attic Phlya,² as reported by Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, 5.20.6-8 (pp. 194.29-195.40 Marc.). Unfortunately, books IV-X of the *Elenchos* are preserved in one single manuscript, the extremely corrupt and highly lacunose Par. suppl. gr. 464 saec. XIV. They were then inadequately edited by Paul Wendland (then a dying man), and posthumously published by the Berlin Academy in 1916. Nevertheless, Wendland's text was reprinted by Otto Kern, in *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1922), Fr. 243; in his *PWRE* article on Mysteries (XVI [1935], col. 1265), and recently by F.H. Sandbach, in Plutarch, *Moralia*, vol. VII (Teubner, 1967), Fr. 24, as well. I am offering the following text of the passage under consideration.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔστι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς παστάδος ἐκείνης [sc. in Phlya] ἐγγεγραμμένα⁽¹⁾ (περὶ ὧν καὶ Πλούταρχος ποιεῖται λόγους ἐν ταῖς⁽²⁾ πρὸς Ἐμπεδοκλέα δέκα βίβλοις), ἔστι δὲ <ἐν>⁽³⁾ τοῖς πλείοσι <ν ἄλλοις>⁽⁴⁾ καὶ πρεσβύτης τις ἐγγεγραμμένος⁽¹⁾ πολίος, περωτός,⁽⁵⁾ ἐντεταμένην ἔχων τὴν αἰσχύνην, γυναικίκα ἀποφεύγουσαν διώκων κυνοειδῆ.⁽⁶⁾ ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβύτου· Φάος ρύετης,⁽⁷⁾ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικός· † περη † Φικόλα.⁽⁸⁾ ἔοικε δὲ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν <τῶν>⁽⁹⁾ Σηθιανῶν λόγον ὁ Φάος ρύετης⁽⁷⁾ τὸ φῶς, τὸ δὲ σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ⁽¹⁰⁾ / [Par. f. 51v] ἢ Φικόλα, τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διάστημα ἀρμονία Πνεύματος <τοῦ>⁽¹¹⁾ μεταξὺ τεταγμένου. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ Φάο<υ>ς ρύετου⁽¹²⁾ τὴν ρύσιν ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτός, ὡς λέγουσι, δηλοῖ κάτω· ὥστε εὐλόγως ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς Σηθιανούς ἐγγύς που τελεῖν παρ' αὐτοῖς⁽¹³⁾ τὰ τῆς Μεγάλης Φλειασίων ὄργια.⁽¹⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ ἐγκε- P ⁽²⁾ ταῖς Em. Miller (Oxonii, 1851) : τοῖς P ⁽³⁾ ἐν addidi post Mill. ⁽⁴⁾ τοῖς πλείοσι P : <ἐν> τοῖς πλεῖστοις coniec. Miller, agn. P. Cruice (Parisiis, 1860) : τοῖς κείσοι coniec. E. Maass (*Orpheus*, 1895, p. 302) : ταῖς παστάσι coniec. Wendland / ἄλλοις addidi conl. Hippol. 5.21.1 (p. 196.3 s. M.) et *Iliad*. 9.639 ⁽⁵⁾ περωτός P, corr. Miller ⁽⁶⁾ κυνοειδῆ P : κυνοειδῆ F.G. Schneidewin et L. Duncker (Gottingae, 1859), agn. Cruice, P. Tannery (*Revue de philol.* 24 [1900], p. 99), F.H. Sandbach (1967) ⁽⁷⁾ Φάος ρύετης scripsi : φάος ρύεντης P : Φάνης ρύεις B. ten Brink (*Mnemosyne* 2 [1853], p. 383) : Φάνης ἐριέντης coniec. E. Maass (p. 303) ⁽⁸⁾ † περη † non sanum (an γεραϊτή, i.e. γεραρή, "veneranda, honoranda"?) et Φικόλα scripsi : περηφικόλα P : Περσεφόνη Φλυά ten Brink : ἐριέντου Κόρη

¹ Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, held in Chicago, 8-11 November 1973.

² Cf. Otto Kern, in *PWRE*, XVI (1935), s.v. Mysterien, col. 1265 f.; Ernst Meyer, in *RE*, Suppl. X (1965), s.v. Phlya, col. 537.

coniec. Maass ⁽⁹⁾ τῶν addidi ⁽¹⁰⁾ δὲ post ὕδωρ P, transp. Gottingenses ⁽¹¹⁾ τοῦ addidi ⁽¹²⁾ Φάο(υ)ς ῥυέντου scripsi : φάος ῥυέντου P : Φάνητος ῥυέντος ten Brink ⁽¹³⁾ αὐτοῖς scripsi : αὐτοῖς P ⁽¹⁴⁾ Φλιασίων (Φλειασίων ego) ὄργια R. Scott et A. Meineke : φλοιᾶς ἰονόργια P : Φλυῆσιν (Φλυᾶσιν H. Diels) ὄργια Gottingenses

1. The grey-headed, winged old man pursuing a fleeing woman is, most probably, the Orphic god *Phanes* (as B. ten Brink, back in 1853, had guessed), and not Boreas pursuing Oreithyia (as Paul Tannery, *op. cit.*, p. 100 n. 2, had suggested). For:

(a) The epithet πολίος, “grey-headed,” suits Phanes well in his role of Πρωτόγονος (“first-born”)³ and ἀρχέγονος (“primeval:” Nonnus, *Dionys.* 12.68) god.

(b) The epithet περωτός is welcome too, since Phanes has golden wings⁴ and is so represented in art.⁵

(c) His *membrum virile* is erect (ἐντεταμένην ἔχων τὴν αἰσχύνην), for Phanes is the Orphic begetter of both the gods and the mortals: γένεσις μακάρων θνητῶν τ’ ἀνθρώπων (Orphic hymn to Πρωτόγονος 6.3 Quandt).

As such he is sometimes called Πρίαπος (*Orph. hymn.* 6.9),⁶ πολύσπορος (6.10), and Eros as well (cf. Proclus, *In Plat. Tim.* 31 a, I, p. 434.4 Diehl: ὁ Φάνης = ἄβρὸς Ἔρωσ, and perhaps Aristophanes, *Birds*, 696 f.). In this respect, the long Magic papyrus from Paris (Suppl. gr. 574, col. 1748 ff. = *P.G.M.* IV: I, p. 128 Preisendanz) seems to be of special significance: ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν ἀρχηγέτην πάσης γενέσεως, τὸν διατείναντα τὰς ἑαυτοῦ πτέρυγας εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον... πρωτόγονε, παντὸς κτίστα, χρυσοπτέρυγε...

(d) Φάνης = Φάος. The etymology of Phanes had been often deduced in antiquity from φῶς. Compare Orphic hymn 6.8:

λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἀγνόν, ἀφ’ οὗ σε Φάνητα κικλήσκω.

Hermias, *In Plat. Phaedr.* 247 c, p. 149 Couvreur: φέγγος ἄελπτον, and K. Preisendanz, in *PW RE*, XIX (1938), s.v. Phanes, col. 1763.

(e) As for the epithet of Phanes, ῥυέντης, I think it must be corrupt. For, it cannot be explained as being formed by analogy after αὐθέντης, συνέντης, etc. I would suggest the reading ῥυέτης as the easiest way out. This

³ Cf. *Orph. hymn.* 6.1 Quandt; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 9.141; 12.34; Hermias, *In Plat. Phaedr.* 247 c, p. 149 Couvreur; Damascius, *Dubitat. et solut. de primis principiis*, cc. 111 and 123 bis (I, pp. 285.9 and 319.5 Ruelle [Paris, 1889]), and Karl Preisendanz, in *PW RE*, XIX (1938), s.v. Phanes, col. 1764.

⁴ Cf. *Orph. hymn.* 6.2: χρυσαίαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον περύγεσσι (and W. Quandt, *ad loc.*); Hermias, *In Plat. Phaedr.* 246 e, p. 142.13 Couvreur (= Fr. 78 Kern):

χρυσαίαισ περύγεσσι φορεύμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

Aristophanes, *Birds* 697, and Preisendanz, *o.c.*, 1765.

⁵ Compare, e.g., the winged Phanes on a second-century A.D. relief, now in Modena: *Revue Arch.* 1 (1902), pl. 1; W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935), pl. 12 facing p. 254.

⁶ Cf. Hans Herter, *De Priapo* (RGVV, 23, Giessen, 1932), pp. 70; 308.

ῥυέτης was formed in the same way as were δραπέτης, ἐπέτης, ἐχέτης, κραγέτης, ναιέτης; ἀρχηγέτης, εὐεργέτης, ὑπηρέτης, etc.⁷ I think the emendation is strongly supported by Hippolytus' context, in which ῥυέτης is explained as indicating "the shedding or streaming of light downwards" (τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ Φάο(υ)ς ῥυέτου τὴν ῥύσιν ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτός, ὡς λέγουσι, δηλοῖ κάτω).

2. Consequently, there seems to be little room for doubt that our Φάος ῥυέτης is the Orphic primeval begetter Phanes. But who is the fleeing woman? Her name, Φικόλα, mentioned twice in the text, seems to be sound. Now, the only known partner of Phanes in Orphic cosmogonies is Nyx (cf. *Orph. Fr.* 98; 104; 109 Kern, and Preisendanz, op. cit., col. 1767 ff.). Thus, I would suggest that Phicola is a chthonic deity linked to the Night-goddess.

(a) She is described as being "dog-like," κυνοειδής = κυνώπις. This I would understand as a woman with the face (or maybe mask?) of a bitch. (Schneidewin's reading κυανοειδής = κυανέη, "dark, black," is not likely Greek, though it was accepted by Cruice, Tannery, and recently by Sandbach as well.) Now, Selene is called sometimes "bitch." So in the already mentioned *Pap. Mag. Par.* IV, col. 2279: Κυνώ; col. 2337: κύων κυάνεος; col. 2251: ἰσοπάρθενε κύον.⁸

(b) No doubt, the word ΠΕΡΕΗ is a corruption. (My guess is, of ΓΕΡΑΙΗ = γεραρή, σεβαστή, "reverend, venerable, august".) Anyway, it must be an epithet of Phicola, some counterpart to Phanes' own epithet ῥυέτης (and maybe πρεσβύτετης as well). Compare perhaps Νύξ ἱερή, in the Orphic hymn quoted by Hermias, loc. cit.

(c) The name itself, Φικόλα, if correct, cannot be a Greek word. My guess is that it is a Semitic word. Compare the name of the commander of Abimelech's army, Phicol: Φικολ (LXX, Gen. 21:22 and 32; 26:26); Φικόλος (Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 1.263), and Φικόλα, name of a village in Transjordanic Perea (*Ant. Iud.* 12.160).

In conclusion, I would suggest that Phicola is a chthonic partner to the Orphic Phanes (as are Selene, Hecate, Persephone, or Nyx), coming from a Semitic Orphic cosmogony.

3. This hypothesis may be supported by the following facts.

(a) In Orphic cosmogonies Semitic names sometimes do occur. So in

⁷ Cf. Ernst Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -της (-τ-)* (Untersuchungen zur indogerm. Sprach- u. Kulturwiss., 1, Strassburg, 1910), I, pp. 165 f.; 234 ff.; Ed. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich, 1939 = 4th ed., 1968), I, p. 500.

⁸ Also in *Hymni magici*, ed. K. Wessely: *Denkschriften der Akademie Wien* (Phil.-hist. Kl., 36.2), 1888, pp. 27-35.

the cosmogony of Mochos ap. Damascium, *Dubit. et solut. de primis principiis* c. 125 ter (I, p. 323.8 Ruelle): Οὐλωμός, ὁ νοητὸς θεός.⁹

(b) We may rest assured that Hippolytus did not go to Phlya to see for himself the paintings with the Orphic cosmogony in the colonnade of the Great Goddess Earth; nor is he copying from Plutarch (as Ernst Meyer, in *PWRE*, Suppl. X [1965], s.v. Phlya, col. 537.49, suggested). Here, as elsewhere in the *Elenchos*, Hippolytus is simply copying his sources, this time a Sethian Exegesis of their doctrines. This becomes clear from the words at the end of our passage ὡς λέγουσι (sc. οἱ Σηθιανοί), and is confirmed by Hippolytus' phrasing in the immediately following sentence (5.20.8, p. 195.41 f. M.). Here the Sethian source quotes *Iliad* 15.189:

τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστον¹⁰ δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς

in order to prove temporal priority and universal validity of the Sethian triad: φῶς, σκότος, πνεῦμα. Now, Hippolytus' introducing words—Τῆι δὲ διαιρέσει τῆι τριχῆι μαρτυρεῖν ἔοικε καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς λέγων—clearly come from the same Sethian Exegesis.

Consequently, the Sethians *could* have used some Near-Eastern Orphic cosmogony about Phanes and Phicola, while attributing it to the ancient and famous mysteries of the Great Goddess at Phlya—*ad maiorem gloriam Sethianorum*.

⁹ Cf. Hans Schwabl, in *PWRE*, Suppl. IX (1962), s.v. *Weltschöpfung*, col. 1497.

¹⁰ ἕκαστον scripsi (cf. p. 195.43: τουτέστι τῶν τριχῆι διτηρημένων ἕκαστον εἴληφε δύναμιν) : ἕκαστα P : ἕκαστος Homer. et Hippol. 5.8.3.

JUSTIN'S *BARUCH*: A SHOWCASE OF GNOSTIC SYNCRETISM

The book *Baruch* of the Gnostic Justin is preserved in Hippolytus alone (*Refut.* 5.23.1-27.5 and 10.15.1-7, pp. 198-209 and 393-395 Marc.).¹ It displays a strong Jewish background. Nevertheless, elements of Iranian (Persian), Greek, and above all Christian beliefs are visible enough in the system. I think Justin's *Baruch* may serve as a showcase of Gnostic syncretism at work.

ACT ONE: THE PRIMORDIAL STATE

Theme 1: The Three Principles of the All (5.26.1 and 10.15.1). *Baruch* belongs to the Gnostic systems operating with three fundamental principles (such as are the systems of the Naassenes, Peratics, Sethians, Archontics, Docetists, of Monoimus, and of the Simonian *Megale Apophasis* as well). The three principles of the All (ἦσαν τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ τῶν ὅλων) are: the Good One (ὁ Ἄγαθός), Elohim (Ἐλωείμ) and Edem (Ἐδέμ). All three are "unbegotten" (ἀγέννητοι), i.e., imperishable and eternal. The first two are male, the third one is female. The supreme principle, the Good One, alone possesses the foreknowledge about the All (προγνωστικὸς τῶν ὅλων), while Elohim and Edem do not (they are ἀπρόγνωστοι).

Elohim is also called "Father of all what is created" (πατὴρ πάντων τῶν γεννητῶν), and, in addition, "unknown and invisible" (ἄγνωστος καὶ

¹ This article is an expanded public lecture delivered on March 4, 1986, at the University of Illinois at Urbana, on the occasion of the 80th Anniversary of its Department of the Classics.—Select literature on Justin's *Baruch*: Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*. Teil 1: *Die mythologische Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1934, 335-341 (3rd ed., 1964); Ernst Haenchen, "Das Buch Baruch. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der christlichen Gnosis," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 50 (1953) 123-158 = Idem, *Gott und Mensch. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Tübingen, 1965, 298-334; Robert M. Grant, "Gnosis Revisited," *Church History* 23 (1954) 36-45 = Idem, *After the New Testament*, Philadelphia, 1967, 194-207; Manlio Simonetti, "Note sul *Libro di Baruch* dello gnostico Giustino," *Vetera Christianorum* (Bari) 6 (1969) 71-89; Idem, *Testi Gnostici Cristiani*, Bari, 1970, 52-60; Ernst Haenchen in Werner Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, Zürich und Stuttgart (Artemis), I, 1969, 65-79 (English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson, Oxford, 1974); R. van den Broek, "The Shape of Edem according to Justin the Gnostic," *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973) 35-45; Karin Kvideland, "Elohims Himmelfahrt," *Temenos* (Helsinki) 10 (1974) 68-78; Maurice Olender, "Éléments pour une analyse de Priape chez Justin le Gnostique," *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1978, 874-897 (Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 68). Greek text: *Hippolytus: Refutatio*, ed. M. Marcovich, Berlin, 1986 (PTS, Vol. 25).

ἀόρατος). In her turn, the female principle, Edem, is irascible and double-minded (ὀργίλη and διγνώμων or δίγνωμος). Her name is also Israel (5.26.7 and 37), and Earth (Γῆ: 5.26.7; 9; 36).

Where do these three principles come from? As for Edem, already her name tells us that she is Eden from Gen. 2:8 (Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Εδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς). However, since she is Earth as well, the possibility remains that Hebrew *'adamah*, "earth," had played some part in the paretymology of the name of Edem.²

Elohim is obviously the Jewish God-Demiurge, "Father of the whc Creation." Nevertheless, his epithets, ἄγνωστος καὶ ἀόρατος, have puzzled scholars. So Hans Jonas (p. 336 and n. 1) suggested that all three epithets of Elohim—ἀπρόγγνωστος καὶ ἄγνωστος καὶ ἀόρατος—should have *active* sense, while translating, "ohne Vorauswissen, Erkennen und Sehen." But he appended this caveat: "... so ungewöhnlich im gnostischen Sprachkreise auch diese Bedeutung von ἄγνωστος und ἀόρατος sein mag." In his turn, Ernst Haenchen (p. 125 n. 4) rejected Jonas' interpretation, while taking both adjectives in their normal *passive* sense, "unbekannt" and "unsichtbar." But then he took them for a later expansion to be deleted: "Wir vermuten deshalb in den Worten καὶ ἄγνωστος καὶ ἀόρατος den Zusatz eines Bearbeiters oder Abschreibers..." Thus Haenchen omits both words in his translation of *Baruch* in V. Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, p. 72.

In my view, neither is right, and ἄγνωστος καὶ ἀόρατος, "unknown and invisible," is genuine Justin's. For, (1) both epithets are appropriate for the Jewish God. Noetus calls Him so at Hippol. 9.10.10 (p. 348.50 M., cf. 9.9.5, p. 345.19 and 21: ἀφανῆς ἀόρατος ἄγνωστος ἀνθρώποις). (2) At 5.26.1 = 10.15.1, Edem has four epithets. Consequently, Elohim's own four epithets serve as counterbalance. And (3), Elohim's epithets "unknown and invisible" form a contrast to the very nature of Edem. She is Earth, and as such she can be known and seen, while Elohim is also Sky (Οὐρανός, 5.26.36) and Zeus (5.26.34 and 35: κύκνος and χρυσός), and as such "invisible."

While Elohim and Edem (Eden) are undeniably Jewish, the Good One is more difficult to assess. Certainly, he cannot derive from such a late script as *Ezra* (4 *Esdras* 7.138), ca. A.D. 100. Nor can he be explained by means of Mark 10:18 (Luke 18:19; Matt. 19:17): Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός, as Robert Grant (p. 37) and others were willing to. It is true that Mark 10:18 is a favorite Gnostic text (compare the Naassenes at Hippol. 5.7.26; Marcion at Hippol. 7.31.6; Marcus at

² So Jonas, p. 336 n. 4; G. Scholem, *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 242 f.; van den Broek 40.

Iren. 1.20.2). But it hardly can be the source of the widespread Gnostic doctrine of the Good God. At Hippol. 5.7.26, for example, the NT saying is clearly a *consequence*, not a *cause* of the doctrine: Τοῦτον <δ'> εἶναί φησιν Ἀγαθὸν μόνον, καὶ περὶ τούτου λελέχθαι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος λεγόμενον· [follows Mark 10:18].

In a group of Gnostic systems there is a clear opposition between the supreme Good God and the Jewish Just God. For example, in Cerdon, Marcion, Apelles, and, I think, in Justin's *Baruch* as well (compare Hippol. 5.26.16, below, Theme 8). There can be little doubt that the Just God is the Jewish Demiurge, the God of Law, Retribution and final Justice, while the Good God is best explained as an *alien, extra-cosmic, unknowable god*, say, the Iranian Ahura Mazdā (or Ohrmazd). This is not the place to deal with this *vexata quaestio*. My point is this: the unknown Good God is present in too many different Gnostic systems to be explained by any single NT passage (Mark 10:18 being included). For example, in the Naassene doctrine (Hippol. 5.7.26; 5.8.44; 5.9.14); the Marcionites (e.g., Iren. 1.27.1); Valentinus Fr. 2 (Clement, *Strom.* 2.114.3); Ptolemy, *Ep. ad Floram* (ap. Epiphan. *Pan.* 33.7.5); *The Apocryphon of John* BG 8502.2, p. 25.18 f. Till-Schenke ("der jederzeit Gute (ἀγαθός), der Gutes (ἀγαθόν) Spendende, der Gutes (ἀγαθόν) Tuende"); NHC II.1, p. 4.6 f. ("a goodness-giving Goodness"); *The Gospel of Truth* (NHC I.3, pp. 33.34; 36.35; 42.30; 43.19); *The Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II.6, p. 135.26); *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II.7, p. 145.14); *Eugnostos the Blessed* (NHC III.3, p. 72.17) = *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III.4, p. 95.10); *Asclepius* (NHC VI.8, p. 74.32); *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII.2, p. 62.11), and many others (cf. Foerster's "Register gnostischer Begriffe:" *Die Gnosis*, p. 435 = p. 331 of English translation).

Theme 2: The Shape of Edem (5.25.1-4; 5.26.1; 10.15.2). She is δισώματος and μιξοπάρθεος, half virgin and half viper (from the groin down: μέχρι βουβῶνος παρθένος, ἔχιδνα δὲ τὰ κάτω). Now, what is the likely source of Justin's inspiration? Hippolytus himself (5.25.1-4) suggested the Scythian Echidna, half virgin and half viper, the mother of Agathyrus, Gelonus and Scythes by Heracles, according to Herodotus (4.8-10). Herodotus' myth remains a possibility, but a remote one. For (1) the similarities between Justin's Edem and Herodotus' Echidna stop at their identical shape: the rest of each myth is different. And (2) There are other Greek Echidnae, closer to Justin than is the Scythian one.

In his turn, Haenchen (p. 125 n. 2 = p. 301 n. 2) suggested the zodiacal sign Virgo as the source of Justin's Edem, since Virgo—along with Gemini, Sagittarius and Pisces—is called in Astrology "a double-bodied

sign'' (δίσωμον ζώδιον: e.g., Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* 5.10 = Hippol. 5.13.8). So in 1969, Haenchen wrote (in Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, p. 66): "... ihr [i.e., Eden's] Jungfrauenleib geht unten in den einer Schlange über. Hier spielt die antike Lehre von den Sternbildern hinein. Sie nannte nicht nur die Fische und die Zwillinge zweileibig, sondern auch den Schützen und die Jungfrau. Denn man stellte sich den einen als Zentauren, als Pferdmenchen vor, die Jungfrau aber so, wie sie hier beschrieben wird."

However, the image of Virgo as half virgin and half viper is to be found nowhere in antiquity, and long before the publication of Haenchen's article W. Gundel had shown (e.g., in *PIWRE*, XVIII [1949], s.v. Parthenos 1, col. 1949.41-47) that the Virgo of the zodiac is called a διφυές, δίσωμον, σύνθετον or πολύμορφον ζώδιον thanks to the identification of this sign with the composite figure of Isis with her small boy Horus, the famous *Isis lactans* (Teucer of Babylonia, ed. F. Boll, *Sphaera* [Leipzig, 1913]), 18: ... Ἴσιν τρέφουσιν τὸν Ὠρον; Antiochus of Athens, *ibid.*, 58: Ἐν Παρθένῳ γυνὴ παιδίον βαστάζουσα). This was well pointed out by R. van den Broek, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Robert Grant (p. 41) suggested the wedding of Zas and Chthonie from Pherecydes of Syros as the source of Justin's marriage of Elohim and Edem. Pherecydes and Justin seem to share the information that the respective marriage was the archetype of all human marriages (Pherecydes 7 B 2, col. 2 Diels-Kranz;³ Hippol. 5.26.10), as Paul Wendland (ed., *ad loc.*) had pointed out. But this similarity is deceptive. All Pherecydes says is that Zas gave his wife Chthonie as gift a *cosmic cloak*, woven by himself, on the third day of marriage, on the day of *anacalypteria*, a regular occasion for a gift from husband to wife (West, p. 17 f.). Consequently, continues Pherecydes, this was the αἴτιον for the custom of *anacalypteria*: ταῦτά φασιν ἀνακαλυπτήρια πρῶτον γενέσθαι, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ νόμος ἐγένετο καὶ θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν (B 2 DK). On the other hand, Justin says that Edem brought to Elohim in marriage her entire faculty or power (δύναμις), as kind of a property (οὐσία), and that is why brides today bring dowry to their grooms in imitation of that first and divine marriage: Πᾶσαν γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν, οἰοῖνε τινα οὐσίαν, ἐν γάμῳ ἢ Ἐδὲμ προσήνεγκε τῷ Ἐλωείμ· ὅθεν, φησί, κατὰ μίμησιν ἐκείνου τοῦ πρώτου γάμου προῖκα προσφέρουσι μέχρι σήμερον αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσι, θεῖῳ τινὶ καὶ πατρικῷ νόμῳ πειθόμεναι, τῷ γενομένῳ πρὸς <τὸν> Ἐλωείμ <ἀπὸ> τῆς Ἐδέμ (5.26.10). In brief, Pherecydes and Justin speak of two different things.

³ The text of the papyrus now in M.L. West, *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, Oxford, 1971, 16; *idem*, *Class. Quarterly* 57 (1963) 164 f.

However, unlike Justin's Edem, Pherecydes' Chthonie is not half virgin and half viper. And besides, there are other sources for the holy matrimony between Heaven and Earth, more popular than Pherecydes, or, as R. van den Broek correctly put it (p. 41 n. 20), "the marriage of Heaven and Earth was a wide-spread mythologoumenon."

Following a hint of W. Weber,⁴ van den Broek himself (pp. 38-42) has argued for the Isis-Thermouthis as the prototype of Justin's Edem. She is usually represented as half woman and half a coiling serpent.⁵ She was identified with Demeter and enjoyed wide popularity in the Hellenistic Egypt. But the problem with Isis-Thermouthis is that she had never traveled outside Egypt, and I do not find sufficient reasons to locate our Justin in the Alexandria of Basilides, *pace* van den Broek (p. 42 f.): "The cult of Isis-Thermouthis was confined to Egypt. There are no indications that she was venerated or even known elsewhere in the classical world. This implies that like so many other Gnostics, Justin must have lived in Egypt at least for some time, probably in Alexandria."

I think the most likely source of Justin as for the shape of Edem is "the stout-hearted divine Echidna" of Hesiod's *Theogony* (297-299), "half a virgin with glancing eyes and fair cheeks, and half again a huge snake, awful and mighty:"

θείην κρατερόφρον' Ἐχιδναν,
ἥμισυ μὲν νόμφην ἑλικώπιδα καλλιπάρηον,
ἥμισυ δ' αὖτε πέλωρον ὄφιν δεινόν τε μέγαν τε

This Echidna was very much alive in late Orphic Cosmogonies, e.g., in Fr. 58 Kern, preserved in Athenagoras, *Legatio* 20.4 (circa A.D. 177). Hesiod's *Theogony* was a classical textbook, and his Echidna is exactly 50% virgin, and 50% viper, just as is Justin's Edem.

ACT TWO: THE CREATION

Theme 3: The ἱερός γάμος between Elohim (Heaven) and Edem (Earth) (5.26.2; 10.15.3). In Theme 1, we have seen that Father Elohim is ἀπρόγνωστος, i.e., unaware of the consequences of his actions. Consequently, he allows himself to become victim of love-passion (ἐπιθυμία) and to fall in love with the μιξοπάρθενος Edem-Earth. Since this feeling is mutual, Elohim and Edem contract the first holy matrimony in history (5.26.8 and 10). The Near-Eastern and Greek (cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 45; 106; 126 f.; 133 etc.) ἱερός γάμος between Heaven and Earth strikes the

⁴ W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, II, Berlin, 1914, Textband, p. 47 n. 37.

eye. It is explicitly alluded to at 5.26.36, where Heaven and Earth of Isaiah 1:2 (ἄκουε, οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου, ἡ γῆ) are interpreted as Elohim's spirit and Edem's soul (both being present in man). As a contrast, in the Simonian Gnosis, Heaven and Earth from Is. 1:2 are interpreted as Nous and Epinoia (Hippol. 6.13.1). The same ἱερός γάμος of Greek mythology is present also at 5.26.34-35, where Elohim is Zeus, and Edem is Leda or Danae (cf., e.g., M.L. West ad *Theogony* 133).

Theme 4: Twice Twelve Angels (5.26.3-5). In Hesiod, the first progeny of Gaia by Uranos consisted of *twelve* Titans (six male and six female, *Theog.* 133-138). In Justin, Elohim and Edem beget twenty-four angels. Twelve of them resemble the father, and twelve the mother. That means that the angels of Elohim are pneumatic, spiritual and good, while the angels of Edem are psychic, irascible and double-minded (cf. Theme 1). Pretty soon we will learn that the angels of Edem are actually the evil cosmic rulers (archons, satraps) of this world. The contrast between pneumatic and psychic becomes clear from the role which is played by the third angel on each side. Baruch ("The Blessed One;" cf. Iren. 2.24.2: *Baruch* = *Hebraice Deus*), the right hand of Elohim, is the angel of salvation. Naas (Hebrew *Nāhāsh*), the right hand of Edem, is the angel of evil.

Only the names of the first five angels of Elohim are preserved (probably because a scribe had skipped one line from his exemplar, comprising seven names, cf. Hippol., p. 201.16 M.). They are: Michael; Amen (cf. Revel. 3:14; NHC II.1, p. 16.1; Pistis Sophia 1, p. 2.18 et al.); Baruch (cf. NHC IX.1, p. 6.14); Gabriel; Ἡσαδδαῖος (= El-Shaddai). The names of the twelve angels of Edem are: Babel (= Balbel (?)) of NHC II.1, p. 16.10); Achamōth (= Wisdom, Σοφία); Naas (= ὄφις, Hippol. 5.6.3; 5.9.12); Bel; Belias (cf. NHC II.1, p. 11.3; III.2, p. 58.21; = Belial, Beliar, 2 Cor. 6:15); Satan; Sael (= Sheol); Adōnaios (= Adōnai); Καίθθαν; Φαραώθ (= Pharaoh); Καρκαμενώς and Λάθην.⁶

⁵ Compare Gisèle Deschênes, *Isis Thermouthis* (Thèse dactylographiée à l'Université Laval, Québec, janvier, 1975); Idem, "Isis Thermouthis," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1978, 305-315 & plates XLVII-LIII; Françoise Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, Leiden, 1973 (EPRO, Vol. 26), I, pp. 88-91 and plates XXVI-XXVIII; III, p. 266 and n. 3: "Isis Thermouthis figure sur une terre cuite et un bronze trouvés à Cyzique, mais il doit s'agir d'oeuvres d'importation; la terre cuite, en particulier, est conforme à un modèle connu en Egypte."

⁶ More on these angels compare M. Marcovich, ad Hippol. 5.26.3-4 (p. 201); Robert M. Grant, "Les êtres intermédiaires dans le judaïsme tardif," in Ugo Bianchi, Ed., *The Origins of Gnosticism* (Numen, Suppl. XII, Leiden, 1967), p. 151 f.; J. Michl, in *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Christ.* 5 (1962), s.v. "Engel," pp. 247; 241; 209; 232 f.; 202 f. (Nos. 8 & 9); Haenchen, o.c., pp. 136-138 (on Baruch). On Sael compare the φυλακτήριον in cod. Par. 2316 ff. 433' and 436': Σαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενοῦντων καὶ ὀδυνωμένων, ap. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 19 n. 0 and 297.8 f.

While the great majority of these names are Jewish, Pharaoh is obviously Egyptian, and at least Bel and Babel come from Mesopotamia: Bel is the planet Jupiter (Marduk),⁷ and Babel is the planet Venus (= Aphrodite, Hippol. 5.26.20 and 28).⁸

Theme 5: Angels as the Trees of the Paradise. As an interlude only, Justin reports this Haggadah (cf. 5.26.6: Τούτου <γάρ> τοῦ παραδείσου ἀλληγορικῶς οἱ ἄγγελοι κέλκηνται ξύλα). The sum of these twenty-four angels also makes the Paradise (5.26.5: Τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁμοῦ πάντων τὸ πλῆθος ὁ παράδεισος, φησίν, ἐστί). For that reason, Gen. 2:8, Καὶ ἐφύτευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδεμ κατὰ ἀνατολάς, had to be altered into (5.26.5): Ἐφύτευσεν ὁ θεὸς παράδεισον κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς Ἐδέμ, ἵνα βλέπη τὸν παράδεισον ἢ Ἐδέμ (τουτέστι τοὺς ἀγγέλους) διὰ παντός. This Haggadah may be paralleled by Psalmi Salomonis 14:3, ὁ παράδεισος τοῦ κυρίου, τὰ ξύλα τῆς ζωῆς, ὅσοι αὐτοῦ; VT Pseudepigr. 14:2, “The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His pious ones.” Jean Daniélou had drawn attention to the twelve trees in the Paradise in 5 *Ezra* 2.18: *Sanc-tificavi et paravi tibi arbores duodecim gravatas variis fructibus*.⁹

The idea of a Paradise consisting of only twelve (or twice twelve) trees may well reflect the original meaning of the Paradise as a “small walled enclosure”—Old Persian *pairi-daēza* = περι-τείχισμα. Anyway, Baruch is the Tree of life, while Naas is the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 2:9; Hippol. 5.26.6).

Theme 6: The Creation of the World and Man. After the creation of the Paradise (i.e., of the twenty-four angels-trees), Elohim takes care of creating heaven and earth, and all what is in them (Gen. 2:1; Hippol. 5.26.11: Κτισθέντων δὲ πάντων, ὡς γέγραπται παρὰ τῶ Μωϋσεῖ, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς...). But for the creation of animals and Man, Elohim delegates this task to his angels (5.26.7). As for the role of the angels as demiurges, compare, e.g., Iren. 1.24.1 (Saturnilus); 1.30.5 (The Ophites); NHC II.1, p. 15.13 ff. (*The Apocryphon of John*); II.4, p. 87.23 ff. (*The Hypostasis of the Archons*), et alibi.

Both animals and Man are created from the clay of the earth (Gen. 2:7). Animals are created from the lower, viperous, portions of the body

⁷ Compare *The Right Ginza* I.192, p. 28.30; II.126, p. 46.30 Lidzbarski; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque* (Paris, 1899), pp. 37 n. 2; 49; 69; 97; 632; Βῆλ καὶ Δράκων (LXX and VT Apocrypha).

⁸ Compare Βάβελ in Pap. demot. mag. Lond. et Lugd.-Batav. col. 5.9, p. 46 Griffith-Thompson; Erik Peterson, *Rhein. Mus.* 75 (1926), p. 398 f.

⁹ Jean Daniélou, *Revue des Etud. Lat.* 48 (1970) 361. Cf. Van den Broek, o.c., 40 n. 19.—The fourteen evergreen trees from 1 Enoch 3 (cf. *Geoponica* 11.1) belong to a different motif.

of Edem-Earth, while Man is created from her upper, human, portions (5.26.7).

Most probably, the man created by the (imperfect) angels could not stand up and walk (compare Saturnilus ap. Iren. 1.24.1 = Hippol. 7.28.3). That is why Elohim and Edem had to put in Adam and Eve their respective δύναιμις—Elohim *spirit* (πνεῦμα), Edem *soul* (ψυχή): 5.26.8. Compare Gen. 2:7, Καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

Now, Adam and Eve have been created in the *image* (εἰκόν) of Elohim and Edem, respectively (cf. Gen. 1:27, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν). At the same time, Adam and Eve become an *everlasting token, warranty, seal, memorandum or reminder* (σύμβολον, σφραγίς, ὑπόμνημα) of the marital bond, love and unity between Elohim and Edem (5.26.8-9). Finally, Adam and Eve receive from their creators the commandment: “Ἀυξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε τὴν Γῆν,” τουτέστι τὴν Ἐδέμ (5.26.9). The injunction of Gen. 1:28 (Ἀυξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐτῆς) was not appropriate, since Earth is Edem, who brings Elohim in marriage rich *dowry* (οὐσία)—her entire *power* or *faculty* (δύναμις; 5.26.10). It is this property of Edem (οὐσία) that is envisaged by Justin as the future inheritance of Adam and Eve.

Theme 7: The Twelve Persian Zodiacal Satraps (5.26.11-13). In addition to being trees of the Paradise, the twelve angels of Edem are also the twelve evil cosmic rulers of this world. Actually, they are the twelve Chaldaean zodiacal archons or satraps. The Persian word satrap (*xshathra pāvan* = “ruler of a province”) appears in the text (5.26.11): οὗτοι... οἱ δώδεκα ἄγγελοι... διέπουσι τὸν κόσμον, σατραπικὴν τινα ἔχοντες κατὰ τοῦ κόσμου παρὰ τῆς Ἐδέμ ἐξουσίαν.

Now, the Chaldaean astrology teaches that the twelve signs of the Zodiac are divided into *four trigons* (τρίγωνα, *triplicitates, triquestra*)—by the construction of four equilateral triangles within the zodiac circle: 1. Aries, Leo, Sagittarius. 2. Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn. 3. Gemini, Libra, Aquarius. 4. Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces. Each one of the four quadrants is called a τεταρτημόριον (5.26.11 and 13; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 1.19 Περὶ τριγώνων).¹⁰

Consequently, the twelve satraps of Edem are also divided into four quarters or realms. Their uninterrupted circle forms a dancing chorus,

¹⁰ Compare, e.g., A. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., 199 ff.; W. and H. Gundel, in *PWRE*, XX (1950), p. 2125, s.v. “Planeten;” G.P. Goold, ad Manilius, *Astronomica* (Loeb, 1977), 2.273-286; pp. XLI f., et alibi.

and they constantly *circle* the Earth (5.26.12: ... ἀλλ' οἰονεὶ ἐν χορῶ κυκλικῶ ἔμπεριέ(ρ)χονται <πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν>, ἀλλάσσοντες τόπον ἐκ τόπου). As a consequence, the twelve evil archons bring any kind of tripulations to every corner of the Earth—poor crops, starvation, illnesses, sufferings (λιμός, στενοχωρία, θλίψις, κακοὶ καιροί, νόσων <συ>στάσεις).

The most probable means for the evil influence of the twelve archons upon the mankind is the astrological *effluence* (ἀπόρροια, *emanatio*). This may be inferred from Irenaeus' report on the Valentinian Gnostic Marcus (1.17.1, p. 167 f. Harvey = Hippol. 6.53.6-7, p. 277 M.). There the twelve signs of the Zodiac exercise an influence upon the twelve climatic zones on Earth thanks to their ἀπόρροια.¹¹ The twelve signs themselves are only the image of the heavenly Δωδεκάς.

Now, as a surprise, each astrological τρίγωνον or τεταρτημόριον of the cosmic satraps is called a *river*: Φεισῶν (Pishon), Γεῶν (Gihon), Τίγρις and Εὐφράτης (Gen. 2:10-14). How was the jump from Genesis (ποταμὸς δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδεμ) to Chaldaean astrology (τεταρτημόρια) possible? The explanation advanced by R. van den Broek (p. 42) is not very convincing to me: "But it is also possible that his [Justin's] conception of Edem's activity as expressing itself in four principles, was influenced by the Egyptian idea that Thermouthis reveals herself in four separate manifestations."

In my opinion, Justin's equation, τεταρτημόριον = ποταμός, was facilitated by the following two interpretations. First, in Gen. 2:10, ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται (sc. ὁ ποταμός) εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, means, "beyond there (i.e., Eden) the river divides and becomes four *branches*." Justin, however, took the word ἀρχή to mean *command as body of troupes, realm, province, satrapy*. That is why each one of the four branches is called also a παράταγμα and οἱ τόποι <οἱ> τεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς (5.26.12). Thanks to two different senses of ἀρχή the four rivers have been converted into four satrapies, realms of regions of the Earth. The transition from river to land may have been influenced by Gen. 2:11-14. Much more abstract is the Naassene and Simonian interpretation of the four rivers of Eden as four *senses* of the Archanthopos (Hippol. 5.9.15-17; 6.15.1).

Second, the circle of the Zodiac is thought of as an uninterrupted *stream*. Hence Justin's expressions: Καὶ τοῦτο <τὸ> κατὰ τὴν ἐπικρά(τη)σιν τῶν τεταρτημορίων ποταμῶν ὡσπερὶ ρεῦμα κακίας κατὰ θέλησιν τῆς Ἐδεμ ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν κόσμον περιέρχεται (5.26.13); Οὔτοι οἱ δώδεκα ἄγγελοι...

¹¹ On the astral ἀπόρροια, compare, e.g., Hippol. 5.13.3 ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων ἀπορροίας τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἀποτελεῖσθαι; 5.15.3 ὡς γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπορροίας τῆς ἄνω, οὕτως <καὶ πάντα> τὰ ἐνθάδε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπορροίας τῶν ἀστέρων γένεσιν ἔχειν καὶ φθοράν; Sext. Empir. *Adv. math.* 5.12-14; and, e.g., Fr. Boll, *Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 54 f.; 134 ff.

οίονει ἐν χορῶ κυκλικῶ ἐμπεριέ(ρ)χονται (πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν) (5.26.12). Compare Gnost. Anonym. ap. Hippol. 4.47.1: Εἰλεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους αὐτὰς λέγει, οἷόν τι ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα, μέγα θαῦμα Δράκοντος πελώρου (Arat. 45 f.; 57).

In this theme, one thing is sure. By producing the paronymy, Φεισῶν = φειδωλὸν γὰρ τὸ παράταγμα τῶν ἀγγέλων τούτων (5.26.12), Justin provides us with the sure indication that he was writing his *Baruch* in Greek. At the same time, the ease with which he jumps from Genesis to Persia witnesses to the agility of his syncretistic mechanism (which is the topic of this lecture).

Theme 8: The Enlightenment of Elohim (5.26.14-18). Having accomplished the creation of the world in agreement with Edem, Elohim decides to ascend above the heavenly vault or dome, to inspect his creation from above. I take the clause of 5.26.14, ἀναβῆναι ἠθέλησεν εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ μέρη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεάσασθαι μή τι γέγονε τῶν κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἐνδεές, to mean the same as 5.27.3, ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος (cf. Gen. 1:8, καὶ ἐξάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρανόν). Elohim takes his twelve angels with him leaving his wedded wife Edem-Earth behind and down.

Edem wants to join her husband in the ascent, but is not able to. The explanation that she is by nature ἡ κάτω Δύναμις (5.26.28), while Elohim, as Heaven (Οὐρανός), is ἡ ἄνω Δύναμις, would have done. Justin, however, decides to combine here Greek philosophy. Both Elohim and Edem are elementary physical forces in the All. The dynamis of Elohim is the light *pneuma*, the dynamis of Edem is the heavy element *earth*. Consequently, the former always shows an upward tendency (ἦν γὰρ ἀνωφερής), while the latter shows a downward tendency (κατωφερής). The same dichotomy between Spirit as ἀνωφερὲς καὶ λεπτομερές, and Matter as κατωφερὲς καὶ παχυμερές, we find both in the system of Basilides and in an Anonymous Gnostic ap. Hippol. 4.43.8.¹²

The point is that Elohim just *had to* ascend to the Good One. First, to be illuminated himself; second, to show the way of salvation to the future pneumatics, members of the Gnostic congregation of Justin. Elohim's desire to inspect his creation from above (μή τι γέγονε τῶν κατὰ τὴν κτίσιν ἐνδεές) is in the text only to witness to the well-known imperfection and ignorance of the Gnostic Jewish Demiurge (cf., e.g., Saklās = Aramaic "stupid"). He is mistaken in thinking that his creation is a perfect one, and he badly needs illumination. Through a mystic revelation Elohim

¹² Compare, e.g., Ps.-Aristotle *Probl.* 13.5, p. 908 a 25; Plutarch *De Stoic. repugn.* 1053 E.

must recognize that he is not the supreme god, but that there is a mightier one above him (the Good One). In brief, the enlightenment of the Jewish Demiurge is a Gnostic common place, and the beloved testimony is Psalm 111 (110):10, ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου, which in the *interpretatio Gnostica* means: “The panic fear felt by the Lord Creator of the world is the beginning of his wisdom.”

When he had ascended above the heavenly dome (ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω πέρασ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, 5.26.15), Elohim sees an enormous *light*, much brighter than the one he had created (φῶς κρεῖττον ὑπὲρ ὃ αὐτὸς ἐδημιούργησεν). As a matter of fact, Elohim had created two lights—“day-light,” on the first day of creation, and “sun-light,” on the fourth day; just as in Hesiod (*Theogony* 124) Day was born much earlier than Helios. But nothing of the sort could be compared to the irradiance Elohim saw. Maybe because he saw the old Iranian, Vedic extra-cosmic light, *rōkáh*? Anyway, this light resides in the house of the extra-cosmic Good One (5.26.16).

Elohim is amazed, he comes to his senses, repents, and confesses: “I thought that *I* was *the* God” (5.26.15: ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐγὼ κύριος εἶναι). He approaches the gates of the heavenly palace of God (cf. Gen. 28:17), and quotes Psalm 118 (117):19, Ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας, ἵνα εἰσελθὼν ἐξομολογήσωμαι τῷ κυρίῳ. He receives the answer coming from the light (φωνὴ <δ’> αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐδόθη λέγουσα): “This is the gate of the Lord: *the just ones* (δίκαιοι) enter through it” (Ps. 118:20). I think it is significant to know that Elohim is *just*. For this squares with the Gnostic distinction between the supreme Good God, and the Jewish Demiurge, who is only God of the Law, retribution and justice.

The gates open; Elohim leaves his twelve angels outside the gates, enters the palace of the Good One, and undergoes the mystic experience and illumination. But before doing so he swears a solemn *oath*, which is to be repeated by every future initiate into the Gnostic faith of Justin. We don’t know the text of Elohim’s oath sworn in the presence of the Good One, and I doubt that Justin knew it either, but all he wrote down in *Baruch* was Psalm 110 (109): 4, Ὡμοσε κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται (5.24.1; 5.27.1). As for the text of the oath sworn by the initiates of the community of Justin, there are two slightly different versions in Hippolytus. The relevant evidence is as follows.

5.24.1

Ὡμνευε δέ, φησὶν Ἰουσι-
νος, εἰ γινῶναι θέλεις “ἅ
ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς
οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδ’ ἐπι
καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου

5.26.16

Καὶ ἀνεώχθη παραχρῆμα
ἢ πύλη, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ
πατὴρ δίχα τῶν ἀγγέλων
(αὐτοῦ) πρὸς τὸν
Ἀγαθόν, καὶ εἶδεν “ἅ

5.27.1-2

Γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ὄρκος ἐν
τῷ πρώτῳ (αὐτῶν)
βιβλίῳ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ
Βαρούχ, ὃν ὀρκίζουσι τοὺς
κατακοῦειν μέλλοντας

ἀνέβη,”¹³ τὸν επανὼ πάντων, <τὸν> Ἄγαθόν, {τὸν ἀνώτερον} ἄρρητα φυλάξαι τὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας σιγώμενα. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν, ἰδὼν τὸν Ἄγαθόν και τελεσθεὶς παρ’ αὐτῶ, τὰ τῆς σιγῆς ἄρρητα ἐφύλαξε και ὤμοσε, καθὼς γέγραπται· “Ὡμοσε κύριος και οὐ μεταλεληθήσεται.”

ὄφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε και οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε και ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη.”¹³ Τότε λέγει αὐτῶ ὁ Ἄγαθός· “Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου.”

τούτων τῶν μυστηρίων και τελεῖσθαι {παρὰ} τῶ Ἄγαθῶ. “Ὁν ὄρκον, φησὶν, ὤμοσεν ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν <ὁ> Ἐλωειμ παρὰ τῶ Ἄγαθῶ γενόμενος, και οὐ μετεμελήθη ὁμόσας· περὶ οὐ γέγραπται, φησὶν· “Ὡμοσε κύριος και οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται.” (2) “Ἔστι δὲ ὁ ὄρκος οὗτος· “Ὁμνύω τὸν ἐπάνω πάντων, τὸν Ἄγαθόν, τηρῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα και ἐξειπεῖν μηδενί, μηδὲ ἀνακάμψαι ἀπο τοῦ Ἄγαθοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν.” Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁμόση τοῦτον τὸν ὄρκον, εἰσέρχεται πρὸς τὸν Ἄγαθόν και βλέπει “ὅσα ὄφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε και οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε και ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη.”¹³

I would draw the following two tentative conclusions. First, the original text of the oath is as in column 3 (5.27.2): “I swear by the One who is above all, by the Good One, that I shall keep these mysteries and shall not reveal them to anybody; and that I shall not return from the Good One back to the creation.” The text in column 1 (5.24.1) is a free paraphrase of Hippolytus (based on the book *Baruch*). Second, in the middle column (5.26.16), Hippolytus has omitted the text from the book *Baruch* mentioning *the oath and the baptism of Elohim*.

This omission seems to be confirmed by the following facts. (1) The presence of the mystic formula (1 Cor. 2:9) in all three passages (“to see what the eye has not seen, the ear has not heard, nor the human heart has conceived”). (2) The reference to the oath of Elohim both in 5.24.1 and 5.27.1, και γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν <ὁ> Ἐλωειμ ὤμοσε. And (3) the explicit mention of the baptism of Elohim in the presence of the Good One at 5.27.2-3:

... και πίνει ἀπὸ “τοῦ ζῶντος ὕδατος,” ὅπερ ἐστὶ λουτρὸν αὐτοῖς, ὡς νομίζουσι, “πηγὴ ζῶντος ὕδατος ἀλλομένου” (John 4:10 and 14)... και

¹³ 1 Cor. 2:9, a beloved Gnostic reference to describe mystic revelation: Hippol. 6.24.4; The Gospel of Thomas, Logion 17 (NHC II.2, p. 36.5-9 expanded); Clement *Exc. ex Theod.* 10.5; Manich. Turfan Fr. M. 789; *Acta Thomae* 36; *Acta Petri Gr.* 39, et alibi.

ὕδωρ ἐστὶν <τὸ> ὑπεράνω τοῦ στερεώματος (Gen. 1:6) τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ, ζῶν <ὄν>, ἐν ᾧ λούονται οἱ πνευματικοὶ ζῶντες ἄνθρωποι, <καὶ> ἐν ᾧ ἐλούσατο <ὁ> Ἐλωεὶμ καὶ λουσάμενος οὐ μετεμελήθη.

In short, I think the Good One would not have allowed Elohim to see the holy mysteries before swearing the oath, and he certainly would not have seated him at his right hand before Elohim's baptism and purification through "the living water," which is located above the heavenly vault (στερέωμα) and which belongs to the Good One. Consequently, Hippolytus has skipped an important text from *Baruch* in column 2: the foundation of the holy baptism practised by the members of Justin's congregation (5.27.2-3).

Back to the House of the Good One. He bids Elohim to sit at his right hand (cf. Psalm 110:1, Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου· Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου). Elohim, however, who is now fully aware of the imperfection of his creation, wants to return to Earth and to destroy it (5.26.17: "Ἐασόν με, κύριε, καταστρέψαι τὸν κόσμον ὃν πεποίηκα). But the Good One, being pure goodness, would not allow him to do so: "You may commit no evil deed while you are with me. You and Edem have created the world by a mutual agreement, so let Edem have the creation as long as she wishes, and you stay with me (cf. Deuter. 5:31)" (5.26.18). And that was the final order. Elohim remains with the Good One, and his only communication with this world is through his third angel Baruch.

One reason for Elohim would have done: "The world I have created is imperfect and evil, and I want it destroyed." But Justin puts in the mouth of Elohim a different reason: "My spirit has been tied up in men, and I want to recover it" (5.26.18: τὸ πνεῦμα γὰρ μου ἐνδέδεταί εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ θέλω αὐτὸ ἀπολαβεῖν). It may sound surprising to learn that Elohim wants his spirit, present in every man, recovered even before it has been subjected to tortures on the part of Edem. But Elohim's wish becomes understandable from the general tenet of Gnosticism. For Elohim to put his spirit in Adam and Eve was a consequence of his *psychic* feeling of "love-desire" (ἐπιθυμία, mentioned three times at 5.26.2) and of his ignorance (διὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ἄγνοιαν, 5.26.37). Now that he has been illuminated, it is his duty to recover every *pneumatic* particle from the psychic and choic world of decay (cf. 5.27.3).

What is more important for the strong syncretistic tendencies of Justin is that, in the brief statement of Elohim, he seems to combine Genesis with Plato. For his words, θέλω ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, compare Gen. 6:3, Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός· Οὐ μὴ καταμείνη τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας. As for his words, τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐνδέδεταί εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, compare Hippol. 5.26.37, τὸ πνεῦμά

⟨μου⟩, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐνδεθέν (scripsi ἐντεῦθεν P), and Plato, *Phaed.* 81 d 9 (αἶ ψυχαι... ἕως ἂν τῇ τοῦ συνεπακολουθοῦντος, τοῦ σωματοειδοῦς, ἐπιθυμία πάλιν ἐνδεθῶσιν εἰς σῶμα· ἐνδοῦνται δέ...); 91 e 7 (ἄλλοθι πρότερον ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, πρὶν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεθῆναι); *Tim.* 43 a 4 (τὰς τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς περιόδους ἐνέδου εἰς ἐπίρρυτον σῶμα καὶ ἀπόρρυτον); 44 a 8 (ἄνους ψυχὴ γίγνεται τὸ πρῶτον, ὅταν εἰς σῶμα ἐνδεθῇ θνητόν), et alibi.

Theme 9: The Origin of Evil. The Revenge of Edem (5.26.19-24; 10.15.5). Seeing that her husband is not returning to her, Edem-Earth first adorns herself to look well (imitating the Stoic Mother Nature), in order to attract Elohim and win him back (the psychic word ἐπιθυμία is employed again). But Elohim remains under the control of the Good One (κρατηθεὶς τῷ Ἀγαθῷ ὁ Ἐλωεῖμ). Then Edem, being hurt, distressed and angry, decides to take revenge on her husband for abandoning her. Since he is beyond her reach, Edem engages in punishing and tormenting what is left from him in this world: this is his *spirit*, which he had put in every man and woman. The main source of inspiration for Justin seems to have been Galatians 5:16-17.

Gal. 5:16-17

Λέγω δέ, πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέσητε. ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς σαρκὸς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀλλήλοισ ἀντίκειται, ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἐὰν θέλητε ταῦτα ποιῆτε.

Hippol. 5.26.25

⟨Καὶ⟩ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ψυχὴ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τέτακται καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐστὶν Ἐδέμ, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα Ἐλωεῖμ, ἐκάτερα ὄντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ θήλεσι καὶ ἄρρεσι.

Edem gives order to her first angel, Babel (Venus), to bring about adultery and divorce among men, so that Elohim's spirit abiding in every man and woman may suffer the same torment of separation Edem herself was suffering. She also empowers her third angel, Naas (Snake), to punish and torture the spirit of Elohim in men, in every possible way. That is why Naas first seduces Eve and has intercourse with her (compare 2 *Enoch* 31:6; *Apocal. Abrahæ* 23; the Archontics ap. Epiphan. *Pan.* 40.5.3), then he does the same with Adam, thus originating both adultery and pederasty.

Justin quite explicitly puts an emphasis on Elohim's departure and ascent as the αἴτιον of evil in the mankind. Consider 5.26.14, Γέγονε δὲ ἡ τῆς καχίας ἀνάγκη ἐκ τοιαύτης τινὸς αἰτίας (follows Elohim's ascent); 5.26.21, ... ἵνα διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἧ κολαζόμενος ὁ Ἐλωεῖμ, ὁ καταλιπὼν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς γινομένας αὐτῷ τὴν σύζυγον; and particularly 5.26.23-24:

Ἔνθεν (δὲ) γέγονε μοιχεία καὶ ἀρσενοκοιτία, ἀπὸ τότε (τε) ἐπεκράτησε τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ (κεχώρηκε addidi) τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἐκ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς γενόμενα τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς· ἀναβάς γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαθὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ὁδὸν ἔδειξε τοῖς ἀναβαίνειν θέλουσιν, ἀποστὰς δὲ τῆς Ἐδέμ ἀρχὴν κακῶν ἐποίησε τῷ πνεύματι {τοῦ πατρὸς} τῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Two questions arise. The first one: We have already learned that the evil came to the mankind with the twelve evil cosmic rulers of Edem: Καὶ τοῦτο (τὸ)... ῥεῦμα κακίας κατὰ θέλησιν τῆς Ἐδέμ ἀδιαλείπτως τὸν κόσμον περιέρχεται (5.26.13). And this was long before Elohim's departure from Edem. Is there a contradiction in Justin's system?

I don't think so. In my opinion, the word κακία has two different connotations. In Theme 7, it refers to *external causes*, misfortunes, calamities and disasters (such as λιμός, στενοχωρία, θλίψις, κακοὶ καιροί, νόσων συστάσεις). On the contrary, here, in Theme 9, it refers to the *moral evil* (wickedness, depravity), caused by man's *behavior* (such as μοιχεία, ἀρσενοκοιτία, παρανομία, χωρισμὸς γάμου).

The second question is more difficult to answer: How much is Elohim to blame for the origin of moral evil in mankind? For Justin is quite clear about the fact that Elohim, by abandoning his wedded wife, had broken the solemn marital bond and agreement with Edem (5.26.21, *παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας*).

I do not think that Isaiah 45:7—referred to by Grant (p. 39)—can help us here (“I am the One who makes well-being and creates woe”). Two points should be made. First, Elohim is the Gnostic Jewish Demiurge. As such he is both just (δικαίος, 5.26.16) and ignorant (ἀπρόγνωστος, 5.26.1; διὰ τὴν πατρικὴν ἄγνοιαν, 5.26.37; ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐγὼ κύριος εἶναι, 5.26.15). In addition to possessing spirit, he must possess soul as well: he is both *pneumatic* and *psychic*. Because of the latter, he allowed himself to become a victim of ἐπιθυμία, to fall in love with Edem, to create this world with her, and finally, to abandon her.

In brief, by breaking his marital contract with Edem, Elohim becomes the αἴτιον of moral evil (παρανομία) in the mankind. And by leaving behind his spirit in men to be exposed to the punishment on the part of Edem, Elohim only displays his original “lack of foreknowledge.” All this may be explained by the imperfection of the Gnostic Demiurge, who is not the supreme God.

Second, there can be little doubt, however, about Justin's mind: the *good* prevails in Elohim's behavior after all. Justin states (5.26.24): Ἀναβάς γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαθὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ὁδὸν ἔδειξε τοῖς ἀναβαίνειν θέλουσιν, ἀποστὰς δὲ τῆς Ἐδέμ ἀρχὴν κακῶν ἐποίησε τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. The sufferings of Elohim's spirit in men are only *temporary*: Jesus will soon save the spirit and deliver it to Elohim (Theme 12). But the benefit

of Elohim's ascent is *essential and lasting*. For Elohim has shown the way of salvation to all future pneumatics (Gnostics), and that is what matters. In the sentence just quoted, the advantage is given to the ascent of Elohim (although it is mentioned first). If anyone has doubts about this, let him read Hippol. 5.26.26: ...ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατοικοῦν, φύγη τὴν Ἐδέμ καὶ τὴν πλάσιν τὴν πονηράν, ὡσπερ ἔφυγεν ὁ Πατήρ Ἐλωείμ.

ACT THREE: THE SALVATION

Theme 10: Baruch three times defeated by Nahash (5.26.21-26; 10.15.5). In the course of history of mankind, Elohim *five* times sends down to Earth his third angel Baruch, to serve as his personal messenger, in order to recover his spirit left behind in every man and woman. Elohim's original message is addressed directly to his spirit in men, and it is loud and clear (5.26.26): "Escape the evil mould (ἡ πλάσις ἡ πονηρά) of Edem-Earth, just as the Father Elohim did!" But Justin is not quite consistent here, in his attempt to explain both Jewish and gentile history (see Theme 11).

Baruch's first mission is to Adam (and Eve) in the Paradise. He stands in the middle of the garden of Edem, which now consists of only *twelve* angels-trees of Edem, and delivers this command to Adam (Gen. 2:16-17): "You may eat from any of the Trees in the Paradise, except from the Tree of the knowledge of good and evil." We already know that this tree is Nahash, and Justin is quite explicit: "That means that you may obey the rest of the angels of Edem, with the only exception of Naas." For, while all twelve angels of Edem are *psychic*—i.e., they possess emotions, passions and drives,—it is only Nahash who possesses *unlawful passions* (such as the fornication of Eve, and the pederasty with Adam): πάθη μὲν γὰρ ἔχουσιν οἱ ἔνδεκα, παρανομίαν δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ὁ δὲ Νάας παρανομίαν ἔσχε (5.26.22).

We know from 5.26.21 that Baruch has been sent down by Elohim εἰς βοήθειαν τῷ πνεύματι (αὐτοῦ), τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν. Therefore, one may ask: In what way is the spirit of Elohim being helped by the command of Baruch to Adam and Eve to obey the rest of the eleven angels of Edem, including Satan (5.26.4)? My answer is: By this command the spirit of Elohim in Adam and Eve is being saved from sure perdition. For the end of Gen. 2:17—ἢ δ' ἂν ἡμέρα φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε—is not quoted by Justin (or Hippolytus), but it is certainly implied. At least, the sure death deriving from this Tree is mentioned in *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II.4, p. 88.30-32).

However, Baruch's order: "Obey the rest of the angels of Edem," may look inconsistent with the original mission of Baruch (to save the spirit of Elohim). I think it may be explained by two reasons. (1) By the

text of Genesis, where βρώσει φάγη implies *permission*; hence Justin's interpretation, πείθεσθε. (2) If Elohim himself experienced ἐπιθυμία, why should his creation Adam and Eve be deprived of *legitimate* emotions (πάθη)?

The rest of the missions of Baruch are no longer to Man directly, but through a chosen medium: Moses, the Jewish prophets, "the prophet" Heracles, finally Jesus. Baruch comes to Moses to use him as his own mouthpiece, in an effort to urge the sons of Israel to turn toward the Good One (ὅπως ἐπιστραφῶσι πρὸς τὸν Ἄγαθόν, 5.26.24). From the expression, αἱ ἐντολαὶ τοῦ Βαρούχ, we may assume that Justin is referring to the Law of Moses, reinterpreted in the Gnostic way. Similarly, Baruch employs the prophets as his mouthpiece, trying to deliver the message of Elohim to his spirit abiding in every man.

Now, in four of the five missions of Baruch, either Nahash or Babel make an attempt to *thwart* Baruch's effort, to make it ineffective. Three times they have succeeded (Moses, the prophets, Heracles). They employ two magic, devilish, tricks: (1) ἐπισκιάζειν, "to overshadow, eclipse or obscure the commands of Baruch;" (2) ὑποσύρειν, "to seduce, charm or beguile a person." However, such an attempt is missing in the case of Adam and Eve. But since we know that they have disobeyed the command given by Baruch (Elohim or God: Gen. 3:6), it is reasonable to assume that Nahash had foiled Baruch's command given to Adam and Eve as well—simply by beguiling Eve (Gen. 3:1-5)—and that Nahash (and Babel) had tried to *neutralize* each one of the five efforts of Baruch. It is Hippolytus who had skipped the respective sentence while excerpting Justin's book (as he elsewhere does). Here is the evidence.

<i>Action</i>	<i>Counteraction</i>
5.26.22: Baruch gives command to Adam (καὶ παρήγγειλε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ): Gen. 2:16-17	<Nahash counteracts by beguiling Eve. Exspects: Ὁ δὲ Νάας ὑπέσυρε τὴν Εὔαν...>
5.26.24-25: Baruch speaks to the sons of Israel through Moses.	Nahash overshadows the commands of Baruch through the soul of Edem abiding in Moses: ὁ <Νάας> τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Βαρούχ ἐπεσκίασε καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐποίησεν ἀκούεσθαι.
5.26.26: Baruch speaks to the spirit of Elohim in men through the prophets.	Nahash beguiles the prophets through the soul of Edem in them: ὁ Νάας διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ... ὑπέσυρε τοὺς προφῆτας, καὶ ὑπεσύρησαν πάντες καὶ οὐκ ἠκούσθησαν οἱ λόγοι τοῦ Βαρούχ, οὐς ἐνετείλατο <ὁ> Ἐλωείμ.

5.26.27: Elohim sends Heracles to overpower the twelve angels of Edem and free his spirit.

5.26.30: Baruch is sent by Elohim to Jesus. He tells him: Πάντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ προφήται ὑπεσύρσαν· πειράθητι οὖν, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, μὴ ὑποσυρῆναι...

5.26.28: Babel, in the shape of Omphale, beguiles Heracles and deprives him of power: ἡ Ὀμφάλη... ὑποσύρει τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἀποδιδύσκει τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ (ἑτοῦτέστι) τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ Βαρούχ, ἃς ἐνετείλατο (ὁ) Ἐλωείμ)...

5.26.31: Nahash tries to beguile Jesus as well, but does not succeed: Ὑποσύραι οὖν ὁ Νάας καὶ τοῦτον ἠθέλησε (ν, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ)· πιστὸς γὰρ ἔμεινε τῷ Βαρούχ. Ὅργισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Νάας ὅτι αὐτὸν ὑποσύραι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι. 10.15.7: Καὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι τὴν Ἐδέμ, μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπατήσαι, καὶ τούτου χάριν πεποιηκέναι (αὐτὸν) σταυρωθῆναι.

I think the above synopsis demonstrates that the motif of ἐπισκιάζειν, ὑποσύρειν, ἀπατᾶν, on the part of Edem, Baruch or Babel, plays a significant part within the Themes 10-12, and that it stood in Justin's *Baruch* in the report on the first mission of Baruch as well, but was omitted by Hippolytus.

Theme 11: Elohim's prophet Heracles defeated by Babel (5.26.27-28; 10.15.6). Since three *peaceful* attempts by Baruch to free Elohim's spirit from Edem have failed, Father Elohim now decides to employ sheer *force*. He chooses a "prophet" from the uncircumcision (ἐξ ἀκροβυστίας), the gentile Heracles, and sends his third angel Baruch to him with the following message (αἱ ἐντολαὶ τοῦ Βαρούχ, ἃς ἐνετείλατο (ὁ) Ἐλωείμ, p. 206.145 M.): "Overpower the twelve angels of Edem and free the spirit of the Father from the twelve angels of the creation of evils."

Heracles obeys and accomplishes his twelve labors, one after the other: first, the Nemean Lion; next, the Hydra of Lerna; third, the Boar of Erymanthus, and so on. Let us stop here for a moment and ask this question: How come that Elohim had chosen a prophet from the uncircumcision, and why exactly Heracles? My answer is: *The Greeks had called the constellation Engonasin Heracles, and the Gnostics identified it with Adam.*

The constellation of the Northern Hemisphere Ὁ ἐν γόνασιν, The Kneeler (*Ingeniculus*) is situated between Ophiuchus (The Snake-holder) and the famous Draco of the North Pole. At least since Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi* 4, Engonasin has been interpreted as a kneeling Heracles (tired after accomplishing his twelve labors). And the Dragon, just

beneath his heel, sometimes has been interpreted as the dragon of the Hesperides.¹⁴ On the other hand, an anonymous Ophitic Gnostic in Hippolytus had identified Engonasin with Adam: *Refut.* 4.47.5; 48.3 and 7 (pp. 132.25-28; 133.12 and 31 M.), with reference to Gen. 3:15 (αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν).¹⁵ Hippolytus is quite explicit: οἱ αἰρετικοὶ... τὸν Ἐν γόνασί φασι εἶναι τὸν Ἀδάμ, κατὰ πρόσταγμα, φησί, τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς εἶπε Μωσῆς, φυλάσσοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Δράκοντος, καὶ τὸν Δράκοντα τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ.

There can be little doubt that we are dealing here with an astral Heracles, fighting against the twelve zodiacal archons of Edem. This is confirmed by two bits of information. First, the *shape* of this twelve archons—lion, hydra, boar, etc. They correspond to the usual shapes of the Gnostic cosmic rulers (cf. *The Apocryphon of John*, NHC II.1, p. 11.26-34; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 6.30 and 6.33). Second, the evil influence (ἀπόρροια) of the twelve zodiacal angels upon the twelve climatic zones on earth (Theme 7, p. 100 ff. above) seems to be present here as well. Compare Justin's explanation of the twelve labors of Heracles as the names of twelve peoples on earth (5.26.28): τὰ δώδεκα ἄθλα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους... Τῶν ἔθνων γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματά φησιν, ἃ μετωνόμασται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῶν μητρικῶν ἀγγέλων. That is to say, under the evil influence of the twelve zodiacal angels of Edem, the twelve peoples, or rather climatic zones, on earth have changed their original names to be called now, for example, the Lion of Nemea; the Hydra of Lerna; the Boar of Erymanthus, and so on. Compare 5.26.11: Οὗτοι <δὲ> ἐμπεριέ(ρ)χονται οἱ δώδεκα ἄγγελοι τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη... καὶ διέπouσι τὸν κόσμον, σατραπικὴν τινα ἔχοντες κατὰ τοῦ κόσμου παρὰ τῆς Ἐδὲμ ἐξουσίαν.

No sooner had Heracles overpowered all twelve angels of Edem than he became victim of the charms of Omphale (προσπλέκεται αὐτῷ ἢ Ὀμφάλῃ). For this queen of Lydia is no other but a manifestation of the conquered angel of Edem—Babel or Aphrodite (the planet Venus). Omphale succeeds in beguiling Heracles with her beauty (ὑποσύρει τὸν Ἡρακλέα), and in depriving him of his power. As the myth goes,¹⁶ Omphale exchanged clothing with Heracles: she put on his lion's skin, he put on her female garb. But the point is that Heracles' power resided in his "magic tunic." Consequently, he is now powerless. Not satisfied with

¹⁴ Compare A. Rehm, *PW RE*, V (1905), p. 2564.12 ff., s.v. Engonasin; Fr. Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 100 ff.; Arat. 63-67 and 73; Hippol. 4.47.4-5. G.P. Goold, ad Manil. *Astronomica*, s.v. Engonasin (and Star-chart 1).

¹⁵ Cf. W. Gundel, in *PW RE*, IIIA, p. 2423.1 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Gertrud Herzog-Hauser, *PW RE*, XVIII (1939), p. 393.8 ff., s.v. Omphale; ●. Gruppe, *PW RE*, Suppl. III (1918), pp. 973 f.; Hans Herter, "Lydische Adelskämpfe," *Kleine Schriften* (München, 1975), p. 543.

the motif of the “magic tunic,” Justin interprets Heracles’ robe as *the commands of Elohim*. If so, then the best explanation seems to be that Heracles, under the spell of Omphale’s charms and being deprived of his tunic, had simply *forgotten* the orders of Elohim. By putting on the stole of Omphale, Heracles at once had become a victim of Edem, “the lower Dynamis” (ἡ Ἐδέμ, ἡ κάτω Δύναμις, p. 207.146 f. M.)—no longer pneumatic, but psychic alone. As a consequence, his mission and his deeds have been thwarted (καὶ οὕτως ἀτελής ἐγένετο <καὶ> τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἡ προφητεία καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ).

The question, why did the Greek Omphale exchange clothing with Heracles (whether reflecting an old ritual of Heracles from the island of Cos, or following a more common marriage custom), is irrelevant for us here. The point is that, according to Justin, through this ritual *Kleider-tausch* Heracles loses his *power* (δύναμις). What is the source of Justin’s inspiration? R.M. Grant (p. 45 n. 15) wrote: “According to Diod. Sic. 4.31.8, this exchange meant that Omphale took the courage of Heracles.” But all Diodorus is saying there is that Omphale approved of, or was pleased with, the courage displayed by Heracles in Lydia (ἡ δ’ Ὀμφάλη ἀποδεχομένη τὴν ἀνδρείαν Ἡρακλέους...). A source closer to Justin’s interpretation, Heracles’ loss of his robe meant the loss of his power or faculty, may be seen in Ovid’s *Heroides* 9.103-106 (or in Ovid’s Greek source). There, the loss of Heracles’ *virtus bellica* is clearly implied:

Se quoque nympha tuis ornavit Iardanis armis
et tulit e *capto* nota tropaea *viro*.

105 I nunc, tolle animos et fortia gesta recense:
quod tu non esses, iure *vir* illa fuit.

Theme 12: Jesus proclaims the Gospel about the Good One, and delivers the spirit to Elohim (5.26.29-32; 10.15.6-7). Finally, “in the days of king Herod” (Matt. 2:1; Luke 1:5), Elohim sends Baruch to his fifth and last mission—to Nazareth. There he finds Jesus, son of Joseph and Mary, as a *twelve-year old boy*, tending sheep (cf. John 10:11).

The information that Jesus has fulfilled twelve years of age is important: he has reached the required religious maturity enabling him to serve, e.g., as a prophet. Justin is building on Luke 2:42 (Jesus arriving at the age of *bar mitswāh*), which agrees with the Jewish law: Samuel started prophesying at the age of twelve (Joseph *Ant. Iud.* 5.348), and Mani experienced his first revelation at the same age.¹⁷ In Valenti-

¹⁷ Compare Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, I, p. 285 n. 1; A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, “Der Kölner Mani-Kodex (P. Colon. inv. nr. 4780), *Zeitschrift f. Papyrologie u. Epigraphik* 19 (1975), p. 15 n. 25 (with literature).

nianism, Jesus' coming of age is a manifestation of the Dodecad of Aeons (Iren. 1.3.2 [Ptolemy]; 1.20.2 [Marcus]). According to Greek belief, a boy reaches the puberty with the age of fourteen; that is why the Naassene Jesus reveals himself in the fourteenth Aeon (Hippol. 5.7.20: "Ἐμὲ ὁ ζῆτων εὐρήσει ἐν παιδίῳ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ Αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι." (Cf. supra, pp. 63-67: *The Gospel of Thomas*, Logion 4^{bis}).

First, Baruch illuminates Jesus by revealing to him the Gnostic gospel about the Good One, Elohim and Edem, and about the creation (5.26.29: καὶ ἀναγγέλλει αὐτῷ πάντα ὅσα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο, <τουτέστιν> ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐδὲμ καὶ τοῦ Ἐλωείμ <καὶ τοῦ Ἄγαθοῦ, καὶ τὰ> μετὰ ταῦτα γενόμενα). Then he delivers the message of Elohim by telling Jesus: "All the prophets before you have been beguiled (cf. John 10:8; Hippol. 6.35.1). So you, Jesus, son of man, try not to be beguiled, but proclaim this message to men, and tell them the good news about the Father [Elohim], and about the Good One. And then ascend to the Good One, and sit there along with Elohim, the Father of us all" (5.26.30). Jesus obeyed the Angel while replying, Κύριε, ποιήσω πάντα, and proclaimed the gospel of Baruch.

Jesus' mission consists of two things: (1) To proclaim the gospel about the Good One to men, and (2), To ascend himself to the Good One. 'Ο Ἄγαθός is mentioned four times in this text dealing with the kerygmatic mission of Jesus (p. 207.154; 157; 163 and 166 M.). Obviously, the stress is on the supreme God.

One may ask now: What about the main goal of Elohim: the recovery of his soul? As we shall see (in 5.26.32), Jesus has accomplished this task, *but not as his main duty*. Apparently, proclaiming the new gospel of Baruch, and showing the way of salvation to the Gnostics, was the main concern of the Jesus of Justin.

Nahash wants to beguile Jesus as well, but is not able to. For Jesus remains faithful to Baruch. Enraged by his failure, Nahash makes Jesus crucified. Since the dynamis of Edem and her main angel Naas is matter and psyche, they have power only over Jesus' flesh and soul, not over his spirit as well. That is why Jesus leaves his psychic and choic man by the cross, while addressing Edem-Earth: Γύναι, ἀπέχεις σου τὸν υἱόν (cf. John 19:26), and He himself, now a pure pneumatic man, ascends to the Good One (5.26.31-32).

On His way to the highest heaven, Jesus delivers his spirit (belonging to Elohim) into the hands of the Father Elohim (cf. Luke 23:46). That means that, at the time of Jesus' ascent, Elohim takes his usual position between the highest heaven of the Good One and the earth of Edem. Conceivably, what is left of Jesus' essence is the pure pneumatic

substance, which is inexhaustible. Probably, Jesus is being seated at the right hand of the Good One.

Hippolytus' excerpts from Justin's *Baruch* are very fragmentary, but a bit of information witnesses to the role of Jesus as the ἀπαρχή of the salvation of all the Gnostics (cf. 1 Cor. 15:20-23). Hippol. 10.15.7 reads: ([sc. τοῦ Ἰησοῦ] τὸ πνεῦμα ἀνεληλυθέναι πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαθὸν λέγει. Καὶ πάντων δὲ οὕτως τῶν τοῖς μωροῖς καὶ ἀδρανέσι λόγοις (αὐτοῦ) [sc. Ἰουστίνου] πειθομένων (τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα τοῦ Ἐλωείμ) σωθήσεται, τὸ δὲ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς Ἐδέμ καταλείψεται.

Justin's Christology is beyond the scope of this lecture. It suffices to say that Jesus remains purely a *man* (son of Joseph and Mary), although a *chosen man*. Probably, Jesus was envisaged by Justin as a second Adam. The fact that there is no mention of the miracles, deeds and teachings of Jesus squares with the Gnostic treatment of Jesus. In Justin, the emphasis is on the kerygmatic mission and on the way of salvation displayed by this Gnostic Redeemer.

One final remark. R. Reitzenstein¹⁸ and H. Jonas (op. cit., p. 285 n 1) had called Baruch "the Third Messenger" (in Manichaean doctrines this is the Archanthropos first, "The Living Spirit," next). E. Haencher (p. 137 n. 2) was right when pointing out that "angel" does not mean the same as "apostle or messenger." One may add too that Nahash as well was "the third angel," and that Baruch was the only messenger of Elohim, in all five missions. But one may perhaps ask: Could Jesus be called "The Third Redeemer," i.e., after Baruch and Heracles? I don't think so. As already stated, Baruch remains as the sole messenger of Elohim, and Heracles looks rather as an *additional episode*. Consequently, Justin's Jesus may be perhaps counted as the third prospective Redeemer only if Moses and the prophets are considered as the previous two (compare, e.g., Ptolemy in Hippol. 6.35.1: Πάντες οὖν οἱ προφήται καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δημιουργοῦ, μωροῦ, λέγει, θεοῦ, μωροὶ οὐδὲν εἰδότες. Διὰ τοῦτο λέγει ὁ Σωτὴρ: John 10:8). But I doubt that Justin was aware of this possibility.

ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗ

Theme 13: The Good One as Priapus (5.26.32-33). We have seen earlier (Theme 1, pp. 93-95) that the alien, extra-cosmic supreme principle of the Good One remains uninvolved in the accident of the creation of the world, which is the work of Elohim, Edem, and the angels. Now,

¹⁸ *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1927, p. 60. (Reprint, Darmstadt, 1956; English translation, Pittsburgh, 1977.)

however, as a total surprise, Justin tells us that the Good One, this *pure pneumatic extra-cosmic* supreme principle, may be identified with no other than *Priapos*, the popular Graeco-Roman ithyphallic *fertility-god*, father of every procreation. What a demeaning role for a manifestation of the Iranian Ahura Mazdā!

Haenchen was shocked, and declared the passage in Hippolytus “a later addition, void of understanding.” He wrote (pp. 143-145 = 319-321 and n. 1):

“Zu diesem Bild des Guten, das der Hauptteil des Buches Baruch andeutet, passt nun freilich der Abschnitt 26,32 f. ganz und gar nicht. Hier wird der Gute ausgerechnet mit Priapos identifiziert...” “Es gehört nur ein mässiges Feingefühl dazu, um zu erkennen: Damit wird allem widersprochen, was wir sonst im Baruchbuch über den Guten hören. Er, der doch als der Gute der bösen Welt ganz unbekannt ist, soll überall bekannt und von der ganzen Schöpfung geehrt sein!” “Diese Ineinsetzung des Guten gerade mit Priapos, mit der Welt in ihrer Fruchtbarkeit, mit der als göttliche Güte verstandenen Fruchtbarkeit, ist also eine verständnislose spätere Zutat.” “Nein, es muss dabei bleiben: der Gute ist ein ausserweltlicher, mehr: ein gegenweltlicher Gott.”¹⁹

Of course, Haenchen (p. 144 n. 1 = 320 n. 1) was aware of the fact that the supreme principle of the Naassenes too was called *ὁ Ἄγαθός* (Hippol. 5.7.26 and 28); that he was considered to be the cause of the entire creation, although himself remaining uninvolved in the creation (5.7.25); and finally, that the ithyphallic herms are envisaged as his manifestation (5.7.27-29). Still, he felt that there is a difference of substance between the *Naassenerpredigt* and Justin's book *Baruch*, between the *Zeugungsmacht* of the former, and the *Weltfeindlichkeit* of the latter. At best, Haenchen felt, the Naassene doctrine may have served as a source of inspiration for the interpolator to expand the book of *Baruch* with the *Priapos* simile:

Die Berührung mit dem Einschub im Baruchbuch ist deutlich. Aber über ihr darf man nicht vergessen: In ihm ist mit Priapos wirklich die Natur in ihrer Fruchtbarkeit gemeint, und deren Lobpreis in aller Welt ist innerhalb der sonst streng durchgeführten Weltfeindlichkeit des Baruchbuches ein Fremdkörper. Die Gnostiker der “Naassenerpredigt” dagegen, die sich für die allein wahren Christen hielten (V.9.22), deuteten auch den Phalloskult als den... Lobpreis der wahren Schöpfung des Menschen in der Geistesgeburt des vollkommenen Menschen.

¹⁹ Similar in tone is Haenchen's rejection of the passage in W. Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, I, p. 71: “Wir erwähnten schon, dass manche Stücke des Buches Baruch wie eine fremde Zutat wirken. Das gilt vor allem von der Ineinsetzung des Guten mit dem Priapos, dem Gotte der Zeugungskraft. Der Gute ist nach der gnostischen Auffassung ja gerade jenseits der Schöpfung und hat ausgerechnet mit der irdischen Zeugung und Fruchtbarkeit nichts zu tun. Er ist—wenn man von der Botschaft des Baruch absieht—völlig unbekannt.”

Wir haben uns demnach das Verhältnis dieser Stelle der "Naassenerpredigt" zu dem Priaposabschnitt im Baruchbuch etwa derart zu deuten, dass die — in ganz anderem Sinn vollzogene — Identifikation des Guten mit der Zeugungsmacht dazu verführt hat, auch das weltfeindliche Baruchbuch mit dieser vermeintlichen Ergänzung zu vervollständigen.²⁰

In my opinion, Haenchen's categorical rejection of the Priapus-passage in the book of *Baruch* simply cannot stand criticism. Already Maurice Olender (in 1978) has extensively argued against Haenchen's contention, by pointing out the role of Priapus in the late religious speculations, and by involving the Good One from the Naassene doctrine, and Eros from NHC II.5 (*On the Origin of the World*). While I agree with Olender's defense of the authenticity of the passage on Priapus in Hippolytus, I find his arguments too complicated to convince. For one thing, the part played by Eros in NHC II.5 (p. 109.2; 10; 14; 16; 20; 25; p. 111.9 and 19) resembles more an Orphic cosmogony than the role of the Good One in Justin.

I think the authenticity of the equation, $\delta \text{ 'Αγαθός} = \text{Πριάπος}$, in the book of *Baruch*, may be proven by the following three arguments. (1) Τὸ πριο-ποιεῖν τοῦ Πριάπου = ἡ πρόγνωσις τῶν ὄλων τοῦ 'Αγαθοῦ. (2) Πνεῦμα = Σπέρμα. (3) 'Ο 'Αγαθός (θεός) = 'Ο 'Αγαθός Δαίμων (Πριάπος). But first let me quote the passage in question (5.26.32-33):

'Ο δὲ 'Αγαθός ἐστι, (φησί,) Πριάπος, ὁ πρὶν τι εἶναι ποιήσας· διὰ τοῦτο (καί) καλεῖται Πριάπος, ὅτι ἐπριοποίησε τὰ πάντα. Διὰ τοῦτο, φησί, εἰς πάντα ναὸν ἴσταται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τιμώμενος, βαστάζων τὰς ὀπίρας ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, τουτέστι τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς κτίσεως, ὧν αἴτιος ἐγένετο πριοποιήσας τὴν κτίσιν πρό(τε)ρον οὐκ οὔσαν.

(1) The main reason for Justin to compare Priapus to the Good One seems to be the *paretymology*, $\text{Πριάπος} = \delta \text{ πρὶν τι εἶναι ποιήσας}$. The verb πριο-ποιεῖν is a little convincing neologism of Justin's. And it is repeated three times in the short passage, for the benefit of his readers (and of modern scholars as well). This function of the extra-cosmic Good One is to be detected in Theme 1 (5.26.1 and 10.15.1; supra, p. 93). While neither Elohim nor Edem possesses the foreknowledge (*ἀπρόγνωστοι*), the supreme principle, the Good One, does possess "*the foreknowledge about the All*" (*προγνωστικός* or *προγνώστης τῶν ὄλων*). And this πρόγνωσις τῶν ὄλων

²⁰ Similarly in *Die Gnosis*, l.c.: "Aber bei der Identifizierung des Guten mit Priapos steht es eben doch anders: Der Gute befindet sich in seinem jenseitigen Lichtreich, und die Behauptung, dass sein Standbild mit dem Phallus vor jedem Tempel stehe, ist gerade von der gnostischen Grundanschauung aus eigentlich eine Blasphemie."

is manifested in the fact that the Good One *pre-creates* this world *before* its creation by Elohim and Edem (= ὁ πρὶν τι εἶναι ποιήσας). He does so by pre-creating in his *mind* the noetic genera and species of the future real things and beings.

I think that Justin here may stand under the influence of Basilides. Compare, e.g., Hippolytus' summary of the doctrine of Basilides (10.14.1): "Basilides too affirms that there is a non-existent God who had created a non-existent world from non-existent elements by casting down a non-existent seed" (Βασιλειδῆς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει εἶναι θεὸν οὐκ ὄντα, πεποιηκότα κόσμον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων οὐκ ὄντα, οὐκ ὄν καταβαλόμενον τι σπέρμα). Basilides is here re-interpreting Aristotle's *Categories* (compare Article 11), and "non-existent" means simply *noetic*. Possibly, Hippolytus was aware of the dependence of Justin upon Basilides, by placing Justin immediately after Basilides in his *Epitome* (10.14 and 10.15).

However, if Justin's teaching about the pre-creation of this world in the mind of the extra-cosmic supreme Good One is likely to be dependent on the noetic pre-creation of this world in the mind of the non-existent supreme God, then Justin must be later than Basilides, *contra* the usual placement of Justin's *Baruch* before Basilides (e.g., in Foerster's *Die Gnosis*, I: IV. Kapitel: Das Buch Baruch. V. Kapitel: Basilides). This dependence, however, is not a sufficient reason to locate Justin in the Alexandria of Basilides (as R. van den Broek was willing to do).

(2) That the pure *pneumatic* supreme Good God may be theoretically involved in the *spermatic* creation of this world—and thus be envisaged by Justin as the ithyphallic god of procreation Priapus,—becomes clear from the well-known Stoic equation, σπέρμα = πνεῦμα. E.g., in Zeno (Galen *Def. med.* 94 = *SVF*, II, No. 742): σπέρμα = πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον ἐν ὑγρῷ; in Chrysippus (Diog. Laert. 7.158 = *SVF*, II, No. 741): ἀνθρώπου δὲ σπέρμα... εἶναι πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. Cf. Galen, *De usu part.* IX.4 (II, p. 12.20 Helmreich).

The Gnostic evidence is unmistakable in this respect. Compare:

Gnosticus Anonymus ap. Hippol.
4.51.11-12

Ὁ γὰρ ἐγκέφαλος κύριον μέρος ὦν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἐπίκειται ἀτρεμῆς καὶ ἀκίνητος, ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα... Ὅθεν καὶ τὰ σπέρματα ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου διὰ τῆς ὀσφύος χωροῦντα ἐκκρίνονται.²¹

The Naassenes ap. Hippol.
5.7.25-26

Λέγουσιν οὖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος οὐσίας, ἥτις ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν γινομένων αἰτία, ὅτι τούτων ἐστὶν οὐδέν, γεννᾶ δὲ καὶ ποιεῖ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα... Διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὸ πάντα κινοῦν· μένει γὰρ ὃ ἐστι,

²¹ Compare the Peratics ap. Hippol. 5.17.11-12 (and Article 11).

ποιουῦν τὰ πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν
 γινομένων γίνεται. Τοῦτον <δ'> εἶναι
 φησιν Ἄγαθὸν μόνον (follows Mark
 10:18; Luke 18:19).

Both passages provide the link between πνευματικὸς and σπερματικὸς λόγος in the *interpretatio Gnostica*. In addition, Hermes has been interpreted as σπερματικὸς λόγος both by Porphyry (ap. Eusebius *Praep. ev.* 3.11.42) and by the Naassene author (Hippol. 5.7.29). As for Priapus, he has been equated with σπερματικὸς λόγος by Porphyry (ap. Euseb. 3.11.15).²² As for the *Naassenerpredigt*, one cannot be sure whether its author is talking about Osiris (cf. Plut. *De Is.* 371 F) or rather Priapus, as I am inclined to believe. Anyway, the similarity in imagery and diction between Justin's Priapus as ὁ Ἄγαθός, and the Naassene Priapus/Osiris as τὸ Ἄγαθηφόρον, is striking:

Justin (5.26.33-34):

Ὁ δὲ Ἄγαθός ἐστι, <φησί,>
 Πρίαπος... Διὰ τοῦτο, φησίν, εἰς
 πάντα ναὸν ἴσταται καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς,
 ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τιμώμενος,
 βασιτάζων τὰς ὁπώρας ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ,
 τουτέστι τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς κτίσεως, ὧν
 αἴτιος ἐγένετο προιοποιήσας τὴν κτίσιν
 πρό(τε)ρον οὐκ οὐσαν.

The Naassene (5.7.27-28):

Οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησίν, ἔστι ναὸς ἐν <ῶ> πρὸ
 τῆς εἰσόδου οὐχ ἔστηκε γυμνὸν τὸ
 κεχυρμένον, κάτωθεν ἄνω βλέπον καὶ
 πάντας τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν <ἐξ> αὐτοῦ
 γινομένων στεφανούμενον. Ἐστάναι
 δὲ... λέγουσι τὸ τοιοῦτον... καὶ ἐν
 πάσαις ὁδοῖς καὶ πάσαις ἀγυαῖς καὶ παρ'
 αὐταῖς ταῖς οἰκίαις, <ὡς> ὄρον τινὰ καὶ
 τέρμα τῆς οἰκίας προτεταγμένον. Καὶ
 τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ Ἄγαθόν ὑπὸ πάντων
 λεγόμενον· Ἄγαθηφόρον γὰρ αὐτὸ
 καλοῦσιν.

In the Naassene report, both epithets—ὄρος τις καὶ τέρμα τῆς οἰκίας and τὸ Ἄγαθηφόρον (cf. *P.G.M.* 4.3165)—hint exactly at Priapus.²³ Then the conclusion that Justin may have stood under the spell of the *Naassenerpredigt* I think becomes more likely than not. My point, however, is that Gnostic equation of the *pneumatic* ὁ Ἄγαθός with the *spermatic* Priapus is utterly credible.

(3) Finally, Justin's equation of ὁ Ἄγαθός θεός with Priapus may have been encouraged by the identification of Priapus with the old fertility god Ἄγαθός Δαίμων (cf. Cornutus *De nat. deor.* 27, p. 50.15 Lang). Cornutus'

²² Cf. Hans Herter, *De Priapo* (RGVV, 23), Giessen, 1932, 237 f.; M. Olender, op. cit. (supra, n. 1), p. 885.

²³ Cf. *A.G.* XVI.86; 236; 237; 243; 260; 261; Epigr. 782 Kaibel, and Herter, op. cit., 246.

reason for this equation was: ἡ πλεονάζουσα ἐν τῷ θεῷ σπερματικὴ δύναμις.²⁴ Justin's supreme principle, the Good One, who had pre-created this world in his mind, could only approve of the command given to Adam and Eve by Elohim and Edem (5.26.9): "Αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε τὴν Γῆν" (cf. Gen. 1:28).

In conclusion, far from being a later expansion, Justin's equation of the Good One with Priapus: (1) squares with his own system; (2) finds its support in other Gnostic systems (Basilides; the Naassenes); (3) best illustrates the range of Justin's *syncretistic drive*. For, if Elohim could have been equated with Zeus; Edem with Ge (Leda and Danae); Babel with Aphrodite (and Omphale); Adam with Ganymede (or catamite); and finally Heracles with the Gnostic Redeemer, then the Good One could have been envisaged as Priapus as well.

²⁴ Cf. Herter, *op. cit.*, 238 f.; Olender, 881.

NEW Gnostic TEXTS

The main objective of Hippolytus, in his masterpiece *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, was to demonstrate his thesis that the Christian heretics in general and the Gnostics in particular are no more than *mere plagiarists* from Greek philosophy and religion. Hippolytus' neologism, κλεψίλογοι and κλεψιλογεῖν, is repeated seven times throughout his book.¹ In order to prove his thesis, the author felt it necessary to expand his *Elenchos* (Books V-IX) by including an extensive survey of Greek philosophy (Book I), Hellenistic mysteries (the lost Books II and III), astrology, astronomy and magic (Books IV), called *Philosophumena* (Books I-IV).

This survey is presented as the fruit of the author's own research effort for the benefit of the reader. Now the reader is provided with a tool for a *close comparison* (ἡ ἐγγίων παράθεσις ὁμοῦ καὶ σύγκρισις, 6.21.2) of a plagiarizing Gnostic (e.g., Valentinus) with his Greek source (e.g., Plato and Pythagoras). That is why the same passage from a Greek philosopher is repeated several times in the work.

Nobody will deny that the Gnostics were inspired by Platonism, Pythagoreanism and Graeco-Roman mysteries (and that is why we find a Coptic translation of Plato's *Republic IX*, 588b-589b, in NHC VI.5 in the first place). But the point is that Hippolytus was not successful in pin-pointing such an influence upon a concrete Gnostic treatise. The result is that the author's entire enterprise with *Parathesis* proves to be a gross failure. For Valentinus did not copy from Plato's Second Letter (contrary to *Ref.* 6.37); Marcion has nothing to do with Empedocles (contrary to Hippolytus' own *Antiparathesis*, 7.30); and the pure Christian modalist Monarchianist Noetus probably had never heard of Heraclitus of Ephesus (contrary to *Ref.* 9.8-10).

Consequently, the real purpose of Hippolytus in producing his *Philosophumena* seems to have been *to impress his audience*. To present himself as a knowledgeable and learned author with an encyclopaedic erudition—in the eyes of his Roman congregation, of the empress Iulia Mamaea, of the matron Severina, and the posterity in general. To the extent that everybody could see the difference between the erudite self-proclaimed Pope Hippolytus, and the ἀγράμματος Pope Zephyrinus and the ex-slave Pope Callistus, Hippolytus' archenemy.

¹ Κλεψίλογοι: Proem 11 (p. 56.65 M.); 4.51.14 (p. 139.83); 7.29.3 (p. 304.10); 10.34.2 (p. 415.8). - Κλεψιλογεῖν: 5.4 (p. 140.10); 7.31.8 (p. 314.38); 9.31.1 (p. 378.4).

The most striking discovery, however, when dealing with the *Quellenforschung* of the *Elenchos*, is the fact that Hippolytus—in his zeal to offer a “proof” of the Gnostic plagiarizing from Greek philosophy—often finds this “proof” not very far: *in the same Gnostic scriptures he had set out to refute.*

Two remarks are in order here. First, Gnostic authors often quote texts from Greek poets and philosophers. They do so *openly and deliberately*, in order to produce their *Exegesis* or *Interpretatio Gnostica*. According to the Gnostics, Greek poets and philosophers were “spontaneous Gnostics,” without being aware of that. Once “correctly interpreted” (i.e., Gnostically reinterpreted), they all serve as *witnesses* to the universal validity and primordial truth of the respective Gnostic doctrine. In other words, there is no difference between Gnostic treatment of OT and NT, and of Greek philosophers: *Μαρτυρεῖν δὲ φασιν αὐτῶν τῷ λόγῳ οὐχ ἀπλῶς μόνην τὴν Ῥέαν, ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔπος εἶπεῖν, ὄλην τὴν κτίσιν* (*Ref.* 5.7.16). And that is why, for example, the *Naassenerpredigt* quotes *Odyssey* 24.1-12, or Hymn to Attis, or else *P.M.G.*, No. 985 (*Ref.* 5.7.30-37; 5.9.8-9; 5.7.3-6).

Second, Hippolytus, however, copies these passages dealing with Greek philosophers from the respective Gnostic Exegesis, and presents them as his own discovery and “proof” of the Gnostics plagiarizing Greek philosophers. In brief, *a plagiarist accuses a quoting author of plagiarizing.* Now, that Hippolytus was able of doing just that is supported by the fact that he has been long recognized as a *reckless plagiarist*, verbatim copying entire pages from Irenaeus, Sextus Empiricus, Flavius Josephus and others without stating his source.

The fact that Hippolytus copies passages from Greek poets and philosophers from Gnostic Exegeses is of significance for us, because we are now in a position to include those passages into the respective Gnostic treatise and thus to increase the extant Gnostic material. I shall now substantiate my discovery on a few clear examples.

(1) *Aratus* (4.47-49) *is copied from an Ophitic Exegesis*²

Aratus	The Naassenes	The Peratae
4.47.1-2: Εἰλεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους αὐτὰς	5.8.34: Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον, φησὶν, οἱ Φρύγες	5.16.15: Ἐπὶ τούτου, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τὸ “μέγα

² The term *Ophitic* is employed in this paper in a very loose sense—to designate any significant role of the Serpent (Dragon), not necessarily its role as a Gnostic Redeemer. In this anonymous Gnostic doctrine, the Serpent plays a *negative* role (cf. p. 123), just as it does in the system of Justin’s *Baruch* (Nahash), or in the doctrine of the Ophites ap. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.30.7-8 and 15.—Greek text is quoted from my edition of Hippolytus’ *Refutatio*, PTS, Vol. 25, Berlin, 1986.

λέγει, οἷόν τι ποταμοῦ
 ρεῦμα, “μέγα θαῦμα
 Δράκοντος πελώρου”
 (Aratus 45 f.; 57). Καί
 τοῦτ’ εἶναι φησιν ὃ ἐν τῷ
 Ἰωβ πρὸς τὸν <θεὸν ὁ>
 διάβολος ἔφη: “ἐμπερι-
 πατήσας τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν
 καὶ περιελθὼν” (Job 1:7),
 τουτέστι περιστραφεὶς καὶ
 περισκοπήσας τὰ
 γινόμενα. Τετάχθαι γὰρ
 νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν
 ἀρχικὸν πόλον τὸν
 Δράκοντα, τὸν ὄφιν, ἀπὸ
 τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου πόλου
 πάντα ἐπιβλέποντα καὶ
 πάντα ἐφορῶντα, ἵνα
 μηδὲν τῶν πραττομένων
 αὐτὸν λάθῃ.

καλοῦσιν αἰπόλον, οὐχ ὅτι,
 φησὶν, ἔβασκεν αἴγας καὶ
 τράγους, ὡς οἱ ψυχικοὶ
 ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι,
 φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἀ<ε>ιπόλος,
 τουτέστιν ὁ αἰεὶ πολλῶν καὶ
 στρέφων καὶ περιελαύνων
 τὸν κόσμον ὅλον στροφῆ.

θαῦμα” ὀρώμενον ἐν τῷ
 οὐρανῷ τοῖς δυναμένοις
 ἰδεῖν· κατὰ γὰρ, φησὶν,
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἄκραν αὐτοῦ
 {τὴν} κεφαλὴν (ὅπερ
 πάντων ἀπιστότερον τοῖς
 οὐκ εἰδόσι) μίσγονται
 δύοσι τε καὶ ἀνατολῇ
 ἀλλήλαις (Arat. 61
 f. = Ref. 4.47.3). Τοῦτ’
 ἔστι, <φησί,> περὶ οὗ εἶπεν
 ἡ ἀγνωσία· ἐν οὐρανῷ
 “εἰλεῖται μέγα θαῦμα
 Δράκον<τος>”, “δεινοῖο
 πελώρου” (Arat. 46).

Hippolytus’ account of Aratus is in Book IV (*Philosophumena*), i.e., in the part of the work dealing with the pagan Greek, non-Gnostic, sources. And it is introduced by these words (4.46.1-2): ... ὅπως ὃ τετάγμεθα περὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων ἐπιδείξαντες, ἐκάστοις τε τὰ ἴδια ἀποδοῦναι ἀναγκάσαντες γυμνοὺς τοὺς αἰρεσιάρχας φανερώσωμεν... “Ἴνα δὲ σαφέστερα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ ῥηθησόμενα φανῇ, δοκεῖ καὶ <τὰ> τῷ Ἀράτῳ πεφροντισμένα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστρον διαθέσεως ἐξειπεῖν... However, that Hippolytus is copying from a *Gnostic Exegesis on Aratus*, becomes clear both from his following introductory words, ὡς τινες εἰς τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν γραφῶν εἰρημένα ἀπεικονίζοντες αὐτὰ [sc. τὰ τῷ Ἀράτῳ πεφροντισμένα] ἀλληγοροῦσι, and from the quotation Job 1:7, in 4.47.2.

The constellation of Dragon, situated in the region of North Pole, never sets below the horizon but is always visible. As such the Dragon could become an ideal Gnostic *Overseer* (ἐπιστάτης): Πάντων γὰρ δυνόντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων μόνος οὗτος ὁ πόλος οὐδέποτε δύνει, ἀλλ’ ἄνω ὑπὲρ τὸν ὀρίζοντα ἐρχόμενος πάντα περισκοπεῖ καὶ ἐπιβλέπει, καὶ λαθεῖν αὐτὸν τῶν πραττομένων, φησί, δύναται οὐδέν (4.47.3). This is confirmed both by the Naassene αἰπόλος and by the Peratic passage.

The only difference of significance is that with the Naassenes and the Peratics the Dragon is a positive principle (cf. 5.16.16: ὁ τέλειος Ὁφίς), while in the anonymous Gnostic Exegesis on Aratus he is a negative principle—Satan or Demiurge of this world, keeping under his watch the entire creation (περιστραφεὶς καὶ περισκοπήσας τὰ γινόμενα). This is confirmed by Job 1:7 (“And the Lord said to Satan: ‘Whence do you come?’ Then

Satan answered the Lord and said: ‘From roaming the Earth and patrolling it.’”), and also by the fact that at 4.47.5, the Dragon is identified as the Serpent from Genesis 3:15.

Now, a systematic analysis and assessment of this anonymous Gnostic system (4.47.4—4.49.4) is beyond the scope of this paper. My only purpose here is to demonstrate that Hippolytus is copying from a *Gnostic Exegesis on Aratus*. Therefore, it will suffice to add these two points. (1) In this Gnostic system, the constellation of the Kneeler (Engonasin) is explicitly interpreted as Adam (4.47.5; 4.48.3 and 7). The first instance reads: οἱ δὲ αἰρετικοί... τὸν Ἐν γόνασί φασιν εἶναι τὸν Ἀδάμ, κατὰ πρόσταγμα, φησί, τοῦ θεοῦ, καθὼς εἶπε Μωσῆς, φυλάσσοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Δράκοντος, καὶ τὸν Δράκοντα τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ (Gen. 3:15).

(2) The similarity between our Anonymus Gnosticus and a Peratic passage—as for the role of the constellations of the Kneeler (Engonasin, Adam), the Dragon (Satan), Crown, Lyre, Serpent (“Οφίς), and the Snakeholder (Ophiuchus)—is striking. Compare:

Anonymus Gnosticus
(4.48.4-6)

Ἔοικε δὲ ὁ Ἐν γόνασιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς Λύρας, τοῦτο δὲ (τοῦ) Στεφάνου ἐφάπτεσθαι... Ἐπιβουλεύεται δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ ἀποσπᾶται ὁ Στέφανος αὐτοῦ ὑπ’ ἄλλου θηρίου, (τοῦ) μικροτέρου Δράκοντος, ὃ ἐστὶ γέννημα τοῦ φυλασσομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐν γόνασι τῷ ποδί. Ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἕστηκεν, ἐκατέραις ταῖς χερσὶ καρτερῶς κατασφίγγων καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἔλκων ἀπὸ τοῦ Στεφάνου τὸν Ὀφιν καὶ οὐκ ἐῷ(ν) ἐφάπτεσθαι βιαζόμενον τοῦ Στεφάνου τὸ θηρίον Ὀφιοῦχον δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄρατος καλεῖ, ὅτι κατέχει τὴν ὄρμην τοῦ Ὀφειως, ἐπὶ τὸν Στέφανον ἔλθειν πειρωμένου. Λόγος δέ, φησὶν, ἐστὶ(ν) οὗτος, ὁ ἐν(ν) σχήματι ἀνθρώπου, ὁ κωλύων ἐπὶ τὸν Στέφανον ἔλθειν τὸ θηρίον, οἰκτείρων τὸν ἐπιβουλεύομενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δράκοντος, ὁμοῦ καὶ τοῦ γεννήματος ἐκείνου.

The Peratae
(5.16.16)

Ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ Δράκοντος] παρατέτακται Στέφανος καὶ Λύρα, καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄκραν ἐλεεινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὁ Ἐν Γόνασιν (καλούμενος), ἐστὶν ὀρώμενος, “δεξιτεροῦ ποδὸς ἄκρον ἔχων σκολιοῦτο Δράκοντος” (Arat. 70 = Ref. 4.47.5). Κατὰ δὲ τὸν νῶτον τοῦ Ἐν γόνασιν ἐστὶν (ὁ) ἀτελής Ὀφίς, ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ κατεσφιγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀφιοῦχου καὶ κωλυόμενος ἐφάπτεσθαι τοῦ Στεφάνου, παρακείμενον τῷ τελείῳ Ὀφει [i.e., τῷ Δράκοντι].

In both Gnostic systems Ophiuchus plays the role of a Gnostic Redeemer (Logos, Anthropos), but while in the Anonymus the Crown is being reserved for Adam (Engonasin: 4.48.3: ὁ Ἀδάμ... παρακείμενον

αὐτῷ τὸν Στέφανον λήφεται), in the Peratic exegesis it is being saved for the Dragon, as ὁ τέλειος Ὁφίς. But the point is that both Exegeses of Aratus are Gnostic.

(2) *A pneumatic medical treatise (4.51.10-13) is copied from another Ophitic Exegesis*

Medical Treatise

4.51.11: Ὁ γὰρ ἐγκέφαλος κύριον μέρος ὦν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἐπίκειται ἀτρεμῆς καὶ ἀκίνητος, ἐντὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τὸ πνεῦμα... Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλος ἀνατμηθεὶς ἔνδον ἔχει τὸ καλούμενον καμαρίον, οὗ ἑκατέρωθεν ὑμένες εἰσι λεπτοί, οὓς πτερυγία προσ-αγορεύουσιν, ἡρέμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος κινούμενα καὶ πάλιν ἀπελαύνοντα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν παρεγκεφαλίδα. (12) Ὁ διατρέχον διὰ τινος ἀγγείου καλάμῳ ἑοικότες ἐπὶ τὸ κωνάριον χωρεῖ, ᾧ πρόσκειται τὸ στόμιον τῆς παρεγκεφαλίδος, ἐκδεχόμενον τὸ διατρέχον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀναδιδόν ἐπὶ τὸν νωτιαῖον λεγόμενον μυελόν, ὅθεν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα μεταλαμβάνει τὸ πνευματικόν, πασῶν τῶν ἀρτηριῶν δίκην κλάδου ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἀγγείου ἡρτημένων. Οὗ τὸ πέρασ ἐπὶ τὰ γεννητικὰ ἀγγεῖα τερματίζεται· ὅθεν καὶ τὰ σπέρματα ἐξ ἐγκεφάλου διὰ τῆς ὀσφύος χωροῦντα ἐκκρίνεται. (13) Ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς παρεγκεφαλίδος ἑοικὸς κεφαλῇ δράκοντος...

The Peratae

5.17.11: Πρὸς τούτων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν φέρουσι (καὶ) τὴν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου ἀνατομὴν, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἀπεικονίζοντες τῷ Πατρὶ διὰ τὸ ἀκίνητον (εἶναι), τὴν δὲ παρεγκεφαλίδα τῷ Υἱῷ διὰ τε τὸ κινεῖσθαι καὶ δρακοντοειδῆ ὑπάρχειν. (12) Ἦν ἀρρήτως καὶ ἀσημάντως ἐπισπᾶσθαι διὰ τοῦ κωναρίου φάσκουσι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ καμαρίου ἀπορρέουσαν πνευματικὴν καὶ ζωογόνον οὐσίαν· ἦν ὑποδεξαμένη ἢ παρεγκεφαλὶς, ὡσπερ ὁ Υἱός, ἀλάλως μεταδίδωσι τῇ ὕλῃ τὰς ἰδέας (τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τὸν νωτιαῖον μυελὸν διαρρεῖ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν γενομένων κατὰ σάρκα)

As the case (1), our pneumatic medical treatise is presented as part of Hippolytus' own research on Greek pagan sources of Gnostic plagiarism: that is why it has been placed in Book IV (*Philosophumena*). However, that Hippolytus had copied it from a Gnostic source is proven beyond doubt by the following three facts. (1) Both in the medical treatise and in the Peratic doctrine the brain plays the part of the Father. That is why we read in the former: ὁ γὰρ ἐγκέφαλος κύριον μέρος ὦν τοῦ παντὸς σώματος (4.51.11) and: λέγοντες τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ πατρικὴν θειότητα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου διαθέσεως διδάσκεισθαι (4.51.10). Both the brain and the Father are *immobile* (ἀκίνητος), while the pneuma flows down from the brain to the organs of generation. The source of the

pneuma is immobile also in the Naassene doctrine (5.7.25, quoted supra, p. 117 f.).³

(2) Equally important is the fact that the cerebellum has the shape of a *serpent*: ἔστι δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς παρεγκεφαλίδος εἰκὸς κεφαλῆ δράκοντος (4.51.13). That is why it has been equated with the Son by the Peratics: it is an ideal μεσίτης between the Father and the material world: (5.17.11) ἀπεικονίζοντες... τὴν δὲ παρεγκεφαλίδα τῷ Υἱῷ διὰ τε τὸ κινεῖσθαι καὶ δρακοντοειδῆ ὑπάρχειν. This *Ophitic* element is surely Gnostic. Compare another *Ophitic* simile in the doctrine of the Ophites (ap. Iren. 1.30.15): *Quidam enim ipsam Sophiam Serpentem factam dicunt: quapropter et contrariam existitisse Factori Adae, et agnitionem hominibus immisisse, et propter hoc dictum Serpentem omnium sapientiore* (Gen. 3:1). *Sed et {propter delevi} positionem intestinorum nostrorum, per quae esca inferitur, eo quod talem figuram habeant, ostendentem absconsam generatricem Serpentis figurae substantiam in nobis.* (Compare Theodoretus, *Haer. fab. comp.* 1.14.)

(3) The equation, τὰ σπέρματα = ἡ πνευματικὴ οὐσία, is well documented in Gnosticism (cf. p. 117), and is confirmed by the Peratic passage (the fact that the pneumatic substance is explained here as the forms or the genera for the shapeless matter does not contradict this).

(3) *Hippolytus' report on the Mysteries of the Great Goddess at Phlya* (5.20.6-8) is copied from a *Sethian Exegesis*.

The text has been discussed supra, pp. 89-92. The report is clearly introduced as Hippolytus' own discovery (5.20.4-5). However, that it was copied from a Sethian source, is proven (1) by the telltaling words (5.20.7), κατὰ τὸν <τῶν> Σηθιανῶν λόγον and ὡς λέγουσι; (2) by the clear Sethian interpretation of the Orphic divinities: Φάος ρύετης = τὸ φῶς; Φικόλα = τὸ σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ; τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διάστημα = ἀρμονία πνεύματος. Notice the contrast:

5.20.4-6:

Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς [sc. τοῖς Σηθιανοῖς] ἡ πᾶσα διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν θεολόγων, Μουσαίου καὶ Λίνου καὶ τοῦ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ μυστήρια μάλιστα καταδείξαντος Ὀρφῆως... Τετέλεσται δὲ ταῦτα [sc. τὰ

5.20.7-8:

Ἔοικε δὲ εἶναι κατὰ τὸν <τῶν> Σηθιανῶν λόγον ὁ Φάος ρύετης τὸ φῶς, τὸ δὲ σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ ἢ Φικόλα, τὸ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διάστημα ἀρμονία Πνεύματος <τοῦ> μεταξὺ τεταγμένου. Τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦ Φάου(ς) ρύετου τῆν

³ The comparison of Edem with brain in the Naassene doctrine (5.9.15) is different in kind: Ἐδέμ δὲ εἶναι λέγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, οἰνοὶ δεδεμένον καὶ κατεσφιγμένον ἐν τοῖς περιχειμένοις χιτῶσιν ὡσπερ οὐρανοῖς. In addition to the obvious paronymology (Ἐδέμ = τὸ δεδεμένον), the Naassene author may have been influenced by an idea similar to that in Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 1.64: τῆς Ἐδέμ, τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίας.

Βακχικά τοῦ Ὀρφέως] καὶ παραδέδοται ἀνθρώποις πρὸ τῆς Κελεοῦ καὶ Τριπολέμου καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης καὶ Διονύσου ἐν Ἐλευσίνοι τελετῆς, ἐν Φλειοῦντι τῆς Ἀττικῆς· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Φλειοῦντι (τὰ τῆς) λεγομένη(ς) Μεγάλη(ς) ὄργια. Ἔστι δὲ παστὰς ἐν αὐτῇ...

ρύσιν ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτός, ὡς λέγουσι, δηλοῖ κάτω· ὥστε εὐλόγως ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς Σηθιανούς ἐγγύς που τελεῖν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς Μεγάλης Φλειασίων ὄργια.

Since Phicola is probably a Semitic name (cf. p. 91 f.), it is highly unlikely that her name was ever inscribed in the colonnade of the temple of the Great Goddess at Phlya, but comes from a Semitic Orphic cosmogony. Hippolytus is clearly copying from a Sethian source. Even his claim that the mysteries of the Great Goddess are older than the Eleusinian mysteries (5.20.5) may derive from the same Sethian source, where it may have been intended to prove the *primordiality* of the Sethian faith—of their three principles Φῶς, Σκότος, Πνεῦμα, interpreted by them in Orphic terms as Φάνης, Φικόλα, διάστημα.

(4) *The "Pythagorean" (6.24-25) and "Marcionite" doctrine (7.29) is copied from a Gnostic Commentary on Empedocles.*

Hippolytus ascribes both to Pythagoras and Marcion a *Neoplatonic* interpretation of Empedocles' Φιλία and Νεῖκος. According to this interpretation, Philia stands for the extra-cosmic intelligible world of unity, while Neikos represents the plurality of this sensible cosmos of ours (6.24.1 and 3; 7.29.17; 7.31.3). Recently, the Neoplatonic origin of this interpretation has been convincingly pointed out by Walter Burkert.⁴ My only disagreement with Burkert is in my belief that the direct source of Hippolytus here is a *Gnostic* one. This may be proven by the following three main facts.

(1) The presence of the quotation from 1 *Cor.* 2:9 at 6.24.4—a beloved Gnostic text (cf. Hippol. 5.24.1; 26.16; 27.2; *Ev. Thomae*, Logion 17; Clem. *Exc. ex Theod.* 10.5; Manichaean Turfan Fr. M 789). (2) The role of Neikos as the Gnostic "evil Demiurge of this world" (ὁ δημιουργὸς τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ὁ πονηρός, 7.29.15; 7.31.3), and of Philia as the Redeemer both of the elements and the souls. (3) The presence of the Christian and Gnostic term, ἡ κτίσις, "this creation of ours," at 7.29.9 and 24. This cannot be a "Zusatz des Hippolytus" (*contra* Burkert, p.

⁴ Walter Burkert, "Plotin, Plutarch und die platonisierende Interpretation von Heraklit und Empedokles," in *Kephalaion. Studies... C.J. de Vogel* (Assen, 1975), pp. 141 f. and especially p. 145 n. 27.—On Empedocles in Hippolytus' *Refutatio* in general, compare J.P. Hershbell, *Phronesis* 18 (1973) 97-114 and 187-203.

“Pythagoras”

ἔοικε, κατὰ Πυθαγόραν ἢ τοῦ κόσμου
διαμονή.

“Marcion”

καὶ προσοικειοῖ τῷ παντί, ἵνα μένη τὸ
πᾶν ἓν, ὑπὸ τῆς φιλίας ἀεὶ
διακοσμούμενον μονοτρόπως καὶ
μονοειδῶς. (12) Ὅταν δὲ ἡ φιλία ἐκ
πολλῶν ποιήσῃ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὰ
δισπασμένα προσοικοδομήσῃ τῷ ἐνί,
πάλιν τὸ νεῖκος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀποσπᾶ καὶ
ποιεῖ πολλά, τουτέστιν πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν,
ἀέρα, τὰ <τ’> ἐκ τούτων γεννώμενα ζῶα
καὶ φυτὰ καὶ ὅσα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου
κατανοοῦμεν.

7.29.15: ...<“νεῖκος” μαινόμενον”
(Empedocl. B 115.14) καὶ τετα-
<ρα>γμένον καὶ ἄστατον τὸν δημιουργὸν
το(ῦ)δε τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
ἀποκαλῶν.

7.29.20 Αὕτη <δὴ> ἐστὶν ἡ κολασίς ἣ
κολάζει <τὰς ψυχὰς> ὁ δημιουργός...
(21) Μισουμένας οὖν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ
βασανιζόμενας καὶ κολαζόμενας ἐν τῷδε
τῷ κόσμῳ κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα
συνάγει ἡ φιλία, ἀγαθὴ τις οὐσα καὶ
κατοικτείρουσα τὸν στεναγμὸν αὐτῶν
καὶ τὴν ἄτακτον καὶ πονηρὰν “τοῦ
νείκους τοῦ μαινομένου” κατασκευήν,
καὶ ἐξάγειν <αὐτὰς> κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐκ τοῦ
κόσμου καὶ προσοικειοῦν τῷ ἐνί
σπεύδουσα...

In conclusion, the entire imagery, language and atmosphere in this interpretation of Empedocles’ Neikos as the evil Demiurge of this world, and of Philia as its good Savior are *Gnostic*. However, as a surprise, Hippolytus tells us that, in addition to Philia and Neikos, there is a *third principle* both in Empedocles and in Marcion. This third Dynamis or divinity takes the *middle* position between the principle of Good (Philia) and the principle of Evil (Neikos, the Demiurge). His name is Logos. As Philia, he too is noetic (intelligible), and he serves as the right hand of Philia in her activity as a Savior (7.31.5: ὁ Λόγος, ὁ τῆ φιλία συναγωνιζόμενος, τουτέστι τῷ Ἀγαθῷ). It was not difficult for Hippolytus to equate Empedocles’ Philia with Marcion’s Good God; Neikos with the Demiurge, and this third, middle, principle, called Logos—with Jesus in his role of ὁ μεσίτης (cf. Gal. 3:20; Clem. Exc. ex Theod. 53.2, and Cyrillus of Alexandria, *De trinitate dial.* 1 [V.1, p. 410 D Aubert]: τὸν ἀμφοῖν

ἀνάμεσον, θεοῦ τε φημί καὶ κτίσεως, ταύτη γάρ τοι καὶ μεσίτην αὐτὸν κεκληῖσθαί φησιν).

Two questions now arise. (1) Hippolytus derives the existence of such a third principle in Empedocles from his B 110 and B 131. Why? And (2) Is Hippolytus here copying the same *Gnostic Commentary* on Empedocles, or rather another, non-Gnostic, source? But first the evidence.

7.29.25-26:

Τοιαύτη (δὴ) τις {ἡ} κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἡμῖν ἢ τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις καὶ φθορὰ καὶ σύστασις, ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ συνεστῶσα, φιλοσοφεῖται. Εἶναι δέ φησι καὶ νοητὴν τρίτην τινὰ Δύναμιν, ἣν καὶ ἐκ τούτων (τῶν πολλῶν) ἐπινοεῖσθαι δύνασθαι, λέγων ὡδὲ πως· (Empedocle. B 110.1-10) ... “πάντα γὰρ ἴσθι φρόνησιν ἔχειν καὶ νόματος (α)ἴσαν.”

7.31.2-4:

Τρίτην (τινὰ οὖν) φάσκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἀρχήν, καὶ μέσσην ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ τεταγμένην, οὐδ' οὕτως δὴ ὁ Πρέπων τὴν Ἐμπεδοκλέους διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε δόξαν. (3) Κόσμον γὰρ φησιν εἶναι ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς (τούτον), τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νείκους διοικούμενον τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ ἕτερον νοητόν, τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς φιλίας, καὶ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς διαφορούσας ἀρχὰς δύο, ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ· μέσον δὲ εἶναι τῶν διαφορῶν ἀρχῶν (τούτων τὸν) δίκαιον Λόγον, καθ' ὃν συγκρίνεται τὰ διηρημένα ὑπο τοῦ νείκους καὶ προσαρμόζεται κατὰ τὴν φιλίαν τῷ ἐνί. (4) Τοῦτον δὲ {αὐτὸν} τὸν δίκαιον Λόγον, τὸν τῇ φιλίᾳ συναγωνιζόμενον, Μοῦσαν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς προσαγορεύει καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ συναγωνιζέσθαι παρακαλεῖ, λέγων ὡδὲ πως· (Empedocle. B 131.1-4) ... “ἄμβροτε Μοῦσα, / ... εὐχομένῳ νῦν αὐτε παρίστασο, Καλλιόπεια, / ἀμφὶ θεῶν μακάρων ἀγαθὸν λόγον ἀμφαίνοντι.”

(1) Empedocles B 110 and B 131 as the source of inspiration for a late antique interpreter of Empedocles in ascribing a Logos to him. As Ettore Bignone had pointed out (back in 1916), Hippolytus' ὁ δίκαιος λόγος at 7.31.3-4 derives from the Stoic ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος (e.g., in DL 7.54).⁵ This becomes clear from the interpretation of Empedocles' B 2 by Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. math.* 7.122-124): “Ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα κριτήριον εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον, τοῦ δὲ ὀρθοῦ λόγου τὸν μὲν τινα θεῖον ὑπάρχειν, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρώπινον. Ὡν τὸν μὲν θεῖον ἀνέξιστον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρώπινον ἐξοιστόν. Λέγει δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσι τὴν κρίσιν ἀληθοῦς ὑπάρχειν οὕτως· (B 2.1-8) ... ,

⁵ Ettore Bignone, *Empedocle* (Torino, 1916), pp. 637 f.; 647 f.; W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, II (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 260 f., is in agreement with Bignone.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἄληπτον εἶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἰκνεῖται ὁ ἀνθρώπινος λόγος ληπτὴν ὑπάρχειν, διασαφεῖ τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐπιφέρων· (B 2.8-9) “Σὺ δ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ ὦδ' ἐλιάσθης, / πεύσει οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐβροτείη μῆτις ὄρωρεν.”

My only disagreement with Bignone and Guthrie is in this. In his source, a late interpretation of Empedocles, Hippolytus had found probably the Stoic term, ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος, understood as “the right reason, expressible by men.” It is he who had changed ὀρθὸς into δίκαιος, in order to meet the third principle of Prepon (7.31.2): Τρίτην <τινὰ οὖν> φάσκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἀρχήν, καὶ μέσην ἀγαθοῦ καὶ κακοῦ τεταγμένην, οὐδ' οὕτως δὴ ὁ Πρέπων τὴν Ἐμπεδοκλέους διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε δόξαν.

Back to 7.29.25-26. I think it is not difficult to see the same Stoic “reason, spread throughout the cosmos,” in “the third, intelligible, Dynamis, which can be perceived in the manifold particular things around us.” According to this Stoic interpreter, this universal reason may be detected in Empedocles’ famous thesis (B 110.10): πάντα γὰρ ἴσθι φρόνησιν ἔχειν καὶ νόματος αἴσαν. While the words φρόνησις and νόμα were interpreted as the Stoic λόγος, the word πάντα stands for “all manifold particular things of this cosmos.” That is why my supplement was necessary at 7.29.25, ἦν καὶ ἐκ τούτων <τῶν πολλῶν> ἐπινοεῖσθαι δύνασθαι. Here the expression, ταῦτα τὰ πολλά, means, “this sensible world of plurality,” and is confirmed both by B 110.10 πάντα and by Hippol. 7.29.14 (p. 307.67 M.), γενέσθαι ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τούτοις, “to be born in this world of plurality.”

And what about Empedocles’ B 131? Why is the Muse there identified with Logos? The answer is not easy. My guess is that a late interpreter of Empedocles had understood the Muse, the source of wisdom and truth, as ὁ θεῖος λόγος or ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος, on which Empedocles’ own ἀγαθὸς λόγος (B 131.4) depends. The Muse-Logos is an *assistant* to Philia as the principle of Good (ὁ Λόγος ὁ τῆ φιλίᾳ συναγωνιζόμενος, τουτέστι τῷ Ἀγαθῷ, 7.31.5). As a *mediator* between the goddess of Good (Philia) and man (here, the poet), the Muse-Logos becomes an ideal *assistant* to man as well (τοῦτον δὲ τὸν δίκαιον Λόγον, τὸν τῆ φιλίᾳ συναγωνιζόμενον, Μοῦσαν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς προσαγορεύει καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ συναγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλεῖ, 7.31.4). The interpretation of the Muse as Logos seems to find its support in Sextus Empir. 7.124, as Guthrie had pointed out (II, p. 261 n. 1). There, the Muse, who σοφίης ἐπ’ ἄκροισι θοάζει (Empedocles B 3.8), seems to have been interpreted as Logos: Ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς... παρίστησιν ὅτι τὸ δι’ ἐκάστης αἰσθήσεως λαμβανόμενον πιστόν ἐστι τοῦ λόγου τούτων ἐπιστατοῦντος (follows B 3.1-13).

(2) It is more likely than not that Hippolytus here continues copying

the same *Gnostic* source. For the idea expressed by Empedocles B 110.10, and interpreted by Sextus (8.286) as: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἔτι παραδοξότερον πάντα ἡξίου λογικὰ τυγχάνειν (καὶ οὐ ζῶα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυτὰ), is a beloved Gnostic theme. And the line B 110.10 itself has been quoted by the Simonians (Hippol. 6.12.1; 10.12.2).

(5) *Aristotle (7.15-19) is copied from a treatise of Basilides.*

It is Basilides, not Hippolytus, who quotes Aristotle here, in order to substantiate his own basic doctrine: “In the beginning, a non-existent (i.e., pure noetic) God had pre-created⁶ a non-existent (noetic) world out of non-existent (noetic) elements, by throwing a non-existent (noetic) seed, comprising the entire diversity and multiplicity of the future real world.” Aristotle’s *genus* serves as a proof of Basilides’ non-existent (intelligible) *seed* of all particular things, while Aristotle’s definition of God as νόησις νοήσεως (*Metaph.* Α 9, 1074 b 34) is quoted to prove Basilides’ “non-existent,” pure noetic God.

Aristotle’s γένος as σωρὸς τῆς πανσπερμίας⁷

Aristotle	Basilides
7.15.1-2: Ἀριστοτέλης μὲν οὖν τὴν οὐσίαν διαιρεῖ τριχῶς· ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν τι γένος, τὸ δὲ τι εἶδος, τὸ δὲ τι ἄτομον... Τὸ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οἰονεὶ σωρὸς τις, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων καταμειγμένος σπερμάτων, ἀφ’ οὗ γένους οἰονεὶ τινος σωροῦ πάντα τὰ τῶν γεγονότων εἶδη διακ(ε)ρ(ι)ταί. Καὶ ἔστι τὸ γένος ἔν ὄν πᾶσι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀρχοῦν.	7.22.16: Ἡ δὲ τρίτη υἰότης, φησὶν, ἡ ἀποκαθάρσεως δεομένη, μεμένηχη(ν ἐν) τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς πανσπερμίας σωρῷ. 7.23.3: ... διέσφυξεν καὶ ἐγεν(ν)ήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ σπέρματος καὶ τῆς πανσπερμίας τοῦ σωροῦ ὁ μέγας ἄρχων... 7.24.5: Τὰ δ’ ἐν τῷ διαστήματι τούτῳ ὁ σωρὸς αὐτός ἐστι, φησί, καὶ ἡ πανσπερμία. 7.25.6: ... οὕτω κάτωθεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμορφίας τοῦ σωροῦ, διήκουσιν, <φησὶν,> αἱ δυνάμεις ἄνω μέχρι τῆς υἰότητος.

⁶ The terms employed by Basilides for this purely noetic pre-creation of the world by the “non-existent” God are: προβουλεύεσθαι 7.22.1; 22.6; 23.6; 10.14.2. προλογίζεσθαι 7.27.5. προλογισμός 10.14.9: Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κατὰ προλογισμὸν εἶναι ἐκείνου τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος (θεοῦ) λέγουσιν.

⁷ Πανσπερμία as a philosophical term is linked both with Anaxagoras (cf. B 1: Ὅμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν) and with Democritus’ ἄθροισμός τῶν ἀτόμων. Compare Aristotle’s expression, πανσπερμία πάντων τῶν στοιχείων, at *Phys.* Γ 4, 203 a 21 (= 59 A 45 DK); *De caelo* Γ 4, 303 a 16 (= 67 A 15 DK); *De anima* A 2, 404 a 4 (= 67 A 28 DK), and Walter Spoerri, *Späthellenistische Berichte über Welt, Kultur und Götter* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 9), Basel, 1959, pp. 14 ff.

7.27.5: Ἦν γάρ, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς [sc. ὁ Σωτῆρ] ὑπὸ (τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ)... ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ προλελογισμένος σωρῶ.
10.14.5-6.

Aristotle's γένος as τὸ μὴ ὄν

Aristotle

7.16.1-2: Λέγομεν εἶναι ζῶον ἀπλῶς, οὐχὶ τὶ ζῶον· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον οὐ βουῖς, οὐχ ἵππος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, {οὐ θεός,} οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὀτιδήποτε ἔστι δηλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ζῶον. Ἀπὸ τούτου (δὲ) τοῦ ζώου αἱ πάντων τῶν κατὰ μέρος ζῶων ἰδέαι τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔστι πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἐν (ε)ἰδεσι τοῦτο τὸ ἀν(ε)ἶδεον ζῶον (ἀρχή), καὶ τῶν γεγενημένων οὐδὲ ἐν (έστιν).

7.17.1: Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ ζῶον, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (γε) γέγονεν κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην ἢ τῶν γεγενημένων ὑπόστασις. (Ἐκείνῳ) γὰρ τὸ ζῶον, ὅθεν ταῦτα (τὰ ζῶα) ἐλήφθη κατὰ μέρος, ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἐν· οὐδὲ ἐν δὲ ὄν, γέγονε τῶν ὄντων μία τις ἀρχή.

Basilides

7.21.4: Οὕτως (οὖν ὁ) οὐκ ὦν θεὸς ἐποίησε κόσμον οὐκ ὄν(τα) ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, (οὐκ ὄν) καταβαλόμενος καὶ ὑποστήσας σπέρμα τι ἐν, ἔχον πᾶσαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου πανσπερμίαν.

10.14.1-2: Βασιλείδης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λέγει εἶναι θεὸν οὐκ ὄντα, πεποιηκότα κόσμον ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων οὐκ ὄντα, οὐκ ὄν καταβαλόμενον τι σπέρμα... Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι φησι τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σπέρμα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα γέγονεν· εἶχεν γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα (τεθησαυρισμένα καὶ κατακείμενα ο)ἶον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ γενέσθαι προβεβουλευμένα.

Aristotle's God as ὁ μὴ ὦν

Aristotle

7.19.7: Ὁ γὰρ ὅρος, ὃν Ἀριστοτέλης ἀποδίδωσι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, χαλεπὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι(ν εἰπεῖν), γνωσθῆναι {νοηθῆναι} δ' ἔστιν ἀμήχανος. "Νόησις" γάρ, φησὶν, ἐστὶ "νοήσεως"· ὅπερ ἐστὶ· παντάπασιν οὐκ ὦν.

Basilides

7.21.1: Ἐπεὶ (οὖν) οὐδέν, (φησὶν, ἦν,) οὐχ ὕλη, οὐκ οὐσία, οὐκ ἀνούσιον, οὐχ ἀπλοῦν, οὐ σύνθετον, οὐ νοητόν, οὐκ αἰσθητόν, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οὐ ἄγγελος, οὐ θεός, οὐδὲ ὅλως τι τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἢ δι' αἰσθήσεως λαμβανομένων ἢ νοητῶν πραγμάτων..., (ὁ) οὐκ ὦν θεός (ὃν Ἀριστοτέλης καλεῖ "νόησιν νοήσεως", οὔτοι δὲ οὐκ ὄντα) ἀνοήτως, ἀναισθητῶς, ἀβουλ(ήτ)ως, ἀπροαιρέτως, ἀπαθῶς, ἀνεπιθυμήτως κόσμον ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι.⁸

From the close parallelism between both columns it becomes clear beyond doubt that it is Basilides—not Hippolytus—who had attributed to Aristotle a doctrine of a non-existent (pure noetic) God, of the univer-

sal genus as something non-existent, and of the same genus as a huge heap of all kinds of seeds necessary for the future cosmos (ὁ σωρὸς τῆς πανσπερμίας). Consequently, it is Basilides who quotes from Aristotle to prove his own theory.

In conclusion, future scholars dealing with the Gnostic systems preserved in Hippolytus' *Refutatio* should include the respective Exegeses on Empedocles, Aristotle, and Aratus, as well as the interpretations of the Mysteries at Phlya and of Pneumatic medicine. They all have been copied by Hippolytus from different *Gnostic treatises*—Ophitic, Sethian, Basilidean and others.

⁸ Other characteristics of the transcendental, supra-cosmic God of Basilides are not of our concern here. I must add, however, that I am in strong disagreement with Werner Foerster, "Das System des Basilides," *New Testament Studies* 9 (1962-63) 233-255, p. 236, when he states: "Wenn Hippolyt immer von dem 'nicht-seienden Gott' spricht, so ist das wohl seine eigene, karikierende Ausdrucksweise, jedenfalls ist mit ihr gemeint: der über das Sein erhabene, nicht mit Seinskategorien zu fassende Gott." In my view, ὁ οὐκ ὤν θεὸς comes from Hippolytus' *source*, i.e., Basilides.

MONOIMUS' LETTER TO THEOPHRASTUS

The Gnostic system of Monoimus the Arab, as preserved in Hippolytus (*Refut.* 8.12-15 and 10.17), is highly syncretistic, with apparent borrowings from the Naassenes, Peratics, Simonians, Basilides, and may be Ptolemy as well. However, at the closing of his—very fragmentary—account of the doctrine of Monoimus (8.15.1-2 and 10.17.5), Hippolytus verbatim quotes parts of a letter of Monoimus addressed to a Theophrastus. The text of the letter is both lacunose and corrupt, and scholars are puzzled by its content. The words of Werner Foerster may best illustrate this puzzlement:¹

Wenn ein Stück aus einem Brief des Monoimos zitiert wird, das dazu auffordert, in sich selbst hineinzuschauen, so scheint das auf eine mystische Frömmigkeit hinzudeuten; aber das Stück ist zu kurz, um feste Schlüsse daraus zu ziehen, zumal der Menschensohn "leidensfähig" sein soll; das lässt darauf schliessen, dass auch "Jesus" in diese Spekulationen einbezogen ist.

I shall try to heal the text of Hippolytus, and to offer an interpretation of Monoimus' letter within the frame of his teaching. But first let me describe briefly the main points of Monoimus' system.

(1) *One Principle of the All: Man and Son-of-Man.* There is one single principle of the All (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων), which may be thought of as twofold: Man and Son-of-Man. The only difference between them is that the former is unborn, while the latter is born. This reminds us at once of the Naassene primeval Archanthropos Adamas and his Son (*Refut.* 5.9.1).² But there are two differences of significance. First, in the *Naassenerpredigt* in Hippolytus, the stress is on the primordial Adamas: in Monoimus, however, the emphasis is on Son-of-Man. And second, Monoimus' Son-of-Man is born independently of *time, will or plan* (8.12.3: ἀχρόνως γενόμενον, ἀβουλήτως, ἀπροορίστως· τοιαύτη γὰρ ἐστὶ), φησὶν, ἡ δύναμις ἐκείνου τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου... γενέσθαι τὸν υἱὸν λογισμοῦ καὶ βουλήσεως τάχιον). This act of the primeval Man of Monoimus reminds us of a similar act of the primeval "non-existent" God of Basilides: <ὁ> οὐκ ὢν θεὸς... ἀνοήτως,

¹ Werner Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, I (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1969), p. 319.

² On the God "Man" see the seminal study by Hans-Martin Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1962.

ἀναισθητός, ἀβουλ(ήτ)ως, ἀπροαιρέτως, ἀπαθῶς, ἀνεπιθυμήτως κόσμον ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι (*Refut.* 7.21.1).

The existential relationship between Monoimus' Man and Son-of-Man is best illustrated by the example of the simultaneity of *fire* and *light*. Like Man, fire "was;" and like Son-of-Man, light "came into being" (cf. Gen. 1:3, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς), but before any time and simultaneously with the existence of fire: Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς· "ἦν καὶ ἐγένετο." "Ὅπερ ἐστίν· {ὁ} ἦν Ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐγένετο Υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς <ἄν> τις εἶποι· ἦν πῦρ, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς ἀχρόνως καὶ ἀβουλήτως καὶ ἀπροορίστως, ἅμα τῷ εἶναι τὸ πῦρ (8.12.4).³

(2) *Man and Son-of-Man as Iota*. Monoimus' supreme god called Man possesses absolute perfection (τελειότης): 8.12.6 and 7; 8.13.3. This τέλειος Ἄνθρωπος reminds us of the Naassene τέλειος Ἄνθρωπος Adamas (5.8.20). And since Son-of-Man is as inseparable from Man as is light from fire, it follows that Son-of-Man too is τέλειος: such father, such son: ἐκ τελείου τέλειος 8.14.2; 10.17.3 and 5. The expression may be paralleled by the Valentinian way of speaking (6.31.5): the aeon Stauros is μέγας, ὡς <ἐκ> μεγάλου καὶ τελείου Πατρός (i.e., Βυθοῦ).

The perfection of both Man and Son-of-Man is best illustrated, continues Monoimus, by the example of the letter Ἰῶτα, which he calls: τοῦ τελείου Ἀνθρώπου <ἦ> μεγίστη εἰκὼν (8.12.6). For in Greek alphabet Iota (I) stands for *Decad*, which is called ὁ τέλειος ἀριθμός (8.14.6) or ὁ κύριος ἀριθμός (10.17.2) because it comprises every single number (8.13.1). Of course, the erudite Monoimus is well aware of the fact that the Decad is called the perfect number thanks to the Pythagorean holy Tetractys or Tetrad (since $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 = 10$).⁴ Because at 8.14.6 he mentions: ἡ γὰρ μονὰς ἕως τῆς <τετράδος> ... ἐστί, <φησί,> τὸ κεφάλαιον... τοῦ τελείου ἀριθμοῦ· τό τε γὰρ ἓν, δύο, τρία, τέσσαρα γίνεται δέκα...

³ It is by no means certain that Monoimus had in mind Gen. 1:3. In Basilides, however, Gen. 1:3 is used as a proof of the "non-existent" God and "non-existent" seed of the world (7.22.3): Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν... τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ Μωσέως· "Γενηθήτω φῶς. Καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς." Πόθεν, φησί, γέγονε τὸ φῶς; Ἐξ οὐδενός. Οὐ γὰρ γέγραπται, φησί, πόθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον (τὸ γενόμενον) ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ λέγοντος. Ὁ δὲ λέγων, φησίν, οὐκ ἦν, οὐδὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ἦν

⁴ Compare, e.g., *Refut.* 6.24.1: Δύο οὖν κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν εἰσι κόσμοι· εἷς μὲν νοητός, ὃς ἔχει τὴν μονάδα ἀρχήν, εἷς δὲ αἰσθητός· τούτου δὲ ἐστὶ (<ν> ἀρχῇ ἢ) τετρακτύς, ἔχουσα "ἰῶτα, τὴν μίαν κεραΐαν" (cf. Matt. 5:18), ἀριθμὸν τέλειον. Καὶ ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς Πυθαγορικούς τὸ ἰ, ἢ μία κεραΐα, πρώτη καὶ κυριωτάτη καὶ τῶν νοητῶν <καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν> οὐσία, νοητῶς καὶ αἰσθητῶς λαμβανομένη. *Iren. Adv. haer.* 1.3.2 = *Eriphan. Panar.* 31.14.8.—For Δ (4) = I (10), compare A. Delatte, *Etudes sur la littérature pythagoricienne* (Paris, 1915), pp. 249 ff.; Fr.-M.-M. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de Saint Irénée* (Etudes de philosophie médiévale, 36), Paris, 1947, pp. 337-348; W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Plato* (Nürnberg, 1962), pp. 63 ff.; 170 ff.; *Iren.* 1.1.1.; 2.14.6.

He prefers, however, to explain the Decad as the perfect number by means of NT: “ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ μία κεραία” (Matt. 5:18; cf. Luke 16:17), “the smallest letter *or* a tip (apex) of it only.” This he understands as a hendiadys (just as the anonymous Pythagorean source at 6.24.1 did, quoted in n. 4): ἰῶτα ἓν, ἢ μία κεραία *or* ἢ μία τοῦ ἰῶτα κεραία (8.12.6 and 7; 8.13.1; 2 and 4; 8.14.1; 2 and 3; 10.17.2 and 3).

Monoimus builds his theology on the image of Iota as representing both Man and Son-of-Man. For in Roman alphabet, Iota, interpreted as “the one stroke,” stands for *Monad* (I). As *Monad*, it reflects the *unity* of the All in the supreme god Man. In Greek alphabet, the same Iota stands for *Decad* (I), thus manifesting the *plurality, multiplicity and totality* of the All, comprised in the same primeval supra-cosmic Man. Thus, Iota may be called both ἀπλῆ and πολυσχιδής. Monoimus is quite explicit in this respect (8.12.5-7):

‘Ο δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος μία μονάς ἐστίν, (φησίν) ἀσύνθετος, συνθετή, ἀδιαίρετος, διαιρετή, πάντα φίλη, πάντα μαχίμη, πάντα εἰρηνική, πάντα πρὸς ἑαυτὴν πολέμιος· ἀνόμιος, ὁμοία, οἰοῖνε τις ἄρμονία μουσική·⁵ πάντα ἔχουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὅσ’ ἂν τις εἴπη (ἦ) καὶ παραλείπη μὴ νοήσας·⁶ πάντα ἀναδεικνύουσα, πάντα γεννώσα· αὕτη μήτηρ, αὕτη πατήρ, τὰ δύο ἀθάνατα ὀνόματα.⁷ (6) Ὑποδείγματος δὲ χάριν, τοῦ τελείου Ἀθρώπου (τούτου) κατανόει, φησί, (τὴν) μεγίστην εἰκόνα (ὡς) “Ἰῶτα ἓν, τὴν μίαν κεραίαν” (cf. Matt. 5:18)· ἥτις ἐστὶ {κεραία μία} ἀσύνθετος, ἀπλῆ, μονάς εἰλικρινής, ἐξ οὐδενὸς ὄλως τὴν σύνθεσιν ἔχουσα· (καὶ αὖ) συνθετή, πολυειδής, πολυσχιδής, πολυμερής. (7) Ἡ ἀμερής ἐκείνη μία (μονάς), φησίν, ἐστὶν ἢ πολυπρόσωπος καὶ μυριόμματος καὶ μυριώνυμος μία τοῦ Ἰῶτα κεραία, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ τελείου Ἀθρώπου ἐκείνου, τοῦ ἀοράτου.

The same (noetic) unity and plurality of the All is comprised in the image of Son-of-Man as Iota, interpreted both as *Monad* and *Decad*. When speaking of Son-of-Man, two points should be made here. (1) I think there can be little doubt that Monoimus' Son-of-Man is actually *Jesus*. And (2), Son-of-Man—not Man—is the real source of the Creation. Consequently, the image of Iota as the totality of the Cosmos fits better Son-of-Man than Man.

⁵ Compare, e.g., Ps.-Aristotle *De mundo* 5, p. 396 b 15: Μουσική δὲ ὄξεισ ἅμα καὶ βαρεῖσ, μακροῦσ τε καὶ βραχεῖσ φθόγγουσ μίξασα ἐν διαφόροισ φωναῖσ μίαν ἀπετέλεσεν ἄρμονίαν.

⁶ This is a beloved Gnostic phrase to express, “absolutely everything:” compare *Refut.* 5.19.1 (the Sethians); 6.9.7 (the Simonians); 7.22.1 (Basilides).

⁷ This is another borrowing from the Naassene doctrine: compare *Refut.* 5.6.5; Synesius *Hymn.* 5 (2) 63 f.; and E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913), p. 229 n. 1.

(1) *Son-of-Man as Jesus*. (a) Already the name Son-of-Man hints at Jesus. To quote only Schenke: "Im frühen hellenistischen Christentum ist nämlich die spätjüdische Messiasbezeichnung "Menschensohn" bald zu einem kaum mehr verstandenen Titel Jesu geworden... Über das Christentum gelangte der Heilands-Titel "Menschensohn" in die Gnosis und gewann hier eine spekulativ-theologische Bedeutung, die ihm in der Kirche vorenthalten worden war."⁸

(b) At 8.13.2, the term, "absolute fullness" (πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα), clearly refers to Jesus as the Decad (I), not to Man: Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ, (φησί,) τὸ εἰρημένον· "ὅτι πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ἠϋδόκησε κατοικῆσαι" ἐπὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου "σωματικῶς"· αἱ γὰρ τοσαῦται τῶν ἀριθμῶν συνθέσεις ἐξ ἀπλῆς καὶ ἀσυνθέτου τῆς μιᾶς κεραίας τοῦ Ἰῶτα σωματικαὶ γεγονῶσι, φησίν, ὑποστάσεις. The same quotation from *Colossians* 1:19 and 2:9 has been interpreted as referring to *Christ* by the Peratics (*Refut.* 5.12.5; 10.10.4) and by the Valentinians (*Iren.* 1.3.4; *Clement Exc. ex Theod.* 31.1).

(c) At 8.13.3, the allusion to Jesus is obvious: Γέγονεν οὖν, φησίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τελείου Ἀνθρώπου ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου, "ὄν ἔγνωκεν οὐδεὶς" (cf. *Matt.* 11:27)· φαντάζεται γὰρ (αὐτόν), φησίν, ὡς γέν(ν)ημα (τῆς) θηλείας ἢ κτίσις πᾶσα, τὸν Υἱὸν ἀγνοῦσα.

(2) *Son-of-Man Jesus as Iota*. (a) The super-cosmic Son-of-Man should be thought of as taking place beneath the supreme Man but above the Creation (Cosmos), as kind of a Μεσότης-Μεσίτης. This becomes clear from 8.13.3: Οὗ Υἱοῦ (δὲ) ἀκτίνες ἀμυδραὶ πάνυ, ἐμπελάζουσαι τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, συνέχουσι, (φησί,) καὶ συγκρατοῦσι τὴν μεταβολήν, (τουτέστι) τὴν γένεσιν. This I understand to mean: "The very dim beams coming down to this world from the Son maintain and strengthen the qualitative change (of matter), i.e., the generation." Now, in order to serve as source of Creation, Son-of-Man must "flow down" to this Cosmos, just as does *a vertical stroke of Iota*. Compare 8.13.4 (= 10.17.2): Ἔστι γάρ, φησίν, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου Ἰῶτα ἔν, μία κεραία, ῥυεῖσα ἄνωθεν,⁹ πλήρης ἀποπληροῦσα, πάντα ἔχουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὅσα καὶ ὁ Ἀνθρωπος ἔχει, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου.

(b) At 8.12.2, Monoimus says that Man is ἀγέν(ν)ητος, ἀφθαρτος, while Son-of-Man is γεν(ν)ητός καὶ παθητός. Since Son-of-Man, as that pleromatic Iota "flowing down to this world," is the source of Creation, I think παθητός has here its philosophical sense, "liable to qualitative

⁸ O.c. (supra, n. 2), p. 154; compare pp. 6-15.

⁹ The phraseology is Gnostic. Compare the Peratics (*Refut.* 5.17.4): ἀπὸ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἕλην ῥερευκέναι τὰς δυνάμεις; the Naassenes (5.8.41): ἤλθομεν οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνωθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος ῥέντες κάτω.

change'' (cf., e.g., Athenagoras *Leg.* 16.3). However, the allusion to the passibility of Jesus is unmistakable, in view of the same terminology both in the Simonian doctrine (6.18.1) and in Noetus (9.11.3).

(c) The Valentinians interpreted the Decad (Iota) as referring to Jesus = I(esus), and Monoimus must have known it. Compare Iren. 1.3.2 = Eriphan. 31.14.8: Καὶ τοὺς δέκα αἰῶνας ὡσαύτως διὰ τοῦ Ἰῶτα γράμματος, ὃ προηγείται τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ [sc. τοῦ Ἰησοῦ], σημαίνεσθαι λέγουσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Σωτῆρα, ''ἰῶτα ἐν ἧ μίᾳ κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ, ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται'' (Matt. 5:18).

(3) *Son-of-Man and Creation.* According to Monoimus, this Cosmos derives from a *part* of the Son-of-Man, that ideal Iota or perfect Decad, comprising in itself the plurality, multiplicity and fullness (πλήρωμα) of this world of ours (8.13.4): Γέγονεν οὖν, φησίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνθάδε, οὐδ' ἔσται πώποτε· τὰ δὲ γεγονότα πάντα οὐκ ἀπὸ ὄλου, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μέρους τινὸς γέγονε τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου. ''Ἔστι γάρ, φησίν, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου Ἰῶτα ἐν, μία κεραία, ῥυεῖσα ἄνωθεν, πλήρης ἀποπληρούσα, πάντα ἔχουσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὅσα καὶ ὁ Ἀνθρωπος ἔχει, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου.

The image of Iota as the perfect Decad has been preserved throughout Monoimus' description of Creation, sometimes being brought to its extreme limits. So, the world has been created in six days, which means, in six powers being comprised in the one stroke of Iota (8.14.1: Γέγονεν οὖν <ὁ> κόσμος, ὡς φησι Μωϋσῆς, ἐν ἕξ ἡμέραις, τουτέστιν ἐν ἕξ Δυνάμεσι, ταῖς <κατειλημμέναις> ἐν τῇ μιᾷ κεραίᾳ τοῦ Ἰῶτα). These six powers are a clear borrowing from the Simonian *Megale Apophasis* (*Refut.* 6.13.1; 6.14.1-2).¹⁰

The four elements too derive from the Iota-Decad. For, as Plato had shown (*Tim.* 55 a-56 b; *Tim. Locr.* 98 d [35 Marg]), earth, water, air and fire are no other things than cubes, icosahedra, octahedra and pyramids. Consequently, they are reducible to numbers comprised in the perfect Decad (8.14.2): Οἱ τε γὰρ κύβοι καὶ τὰ <εἰκοσάεδρα καὶ τὰ> ὀκτάεδρα καὶ <αἱ> πυραμίδες καὶ πάντα τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια σχήμα<τα>, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε πῦρ, ἀήρ, ὕδωρ, γῆ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριθμῶν γεγονάσι τῶν κατειλημμένων ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἀπλῇ τοῦ Ἰῶτα κεραίᾳ, ἣτις ἐστὶν Υἱὸς Ἀνθρώπου, <ἐκ> τελείου τέλειος.

Furthermore, the staff of Moses turned into the ten plagues against the Egyptians (*Exod.* 7:8-11:10) also witnesses to the creative power of the Iota-Decad. For the ten plagues of Egypt (8.14.3: τὰ πάθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον—ἄτινα, φησίν, ἐστὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἀλληγοροῦ<μενα> σύμβολα) refer to the qualitative change of matter, i.e., to generation (τὰ πάθη = μεταβολή,

¹⁰ On the other hand, the explanation of the seventh day or Sabbath as deriving from the heavenly Hebdomad (8.14.1) seems to be a borrowing from Valentinianism (cf. *Refut.* 6.32.7-8).

γένεσις, 8.13.3). And this generation is being caused by the blows of the stroke-staff Iota (8.14.3-4): Αὕτη <δέ> φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ δεκάπληγος ἡ κοσμικὴ χτίσις· πάντα γὰρ πλησσομένα γεννᾶται καὶ καρποφορεῖ, καθάπερ αἱ ἄμπελοι. “Ἄνθρωπος <γὰρ> ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἐξέσ(σ)υται,” φησίν, “καὶ ἀποσπᾶται, πληγῇ τινι μεριζόμενος,” (Democritus B 32 DK) ἵνα γένηται. Similarly, the Decalogue of Moses too attests to the creative mysteries of the Son-of-Man as Iota (8.14.4-5): ... ἡ δεκάλογος ἀλληγοροῦσα τὰ θεῖα τῶν ὄλων μυστήρια. Πᾶσα γάρ, φησίν, ἡ γνῶσις τῶν ὄλων δεκάπληγός ἐστι καὶ δεκάλογος· ἦν οἶδεν οὐδεὶς τῶν περὶ τὸ γέν(ν)ημα τῆς θηλείας πεπλανημένων (another allusion to the heavenly origin of Son-of-Man Jesus).

One question now arises. The perfect Son-of-Man possesses absolute *beauty* (8.13.4): Τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐκείνου τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου μέχρι νῦν, <φησί>, πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἀκατάληπτον ἀνθρώποις, ὅσοι περὶ τὸ γέν(ν)ημα τῆς θηλείας εἰσὶ πεπλανημένοι.¹¹ If the perfect and beautiful Son-of-Man is the source of this Creation, why the Creation itself is not perfect and beautiful? My answer would be: the perfect Son-of-Man is only the *Source* of Creation, he is not its *Agent* as well. The real creator of this world is the imperfect and malevolent Jewish Demiurge: that is why his work is imperfect. It seems that Hippolytus is excerpting Monoimus' treatise so carelessly that the Jewish Creator is mentioned once only (and incidentally). He must, however, have played a significant role in Monoimus' doctrine, so that the latter may belong to the three-principle Gnostic systems after all (i.e., Man, Son-of-Man, Demiurge, as “the third god”). Anyway, the relationship between the perfect Son-of-Man and the imperfect Jewish Creator may be seen from the following comparison:

Son-of-Man (8.13.3):

Οὐ Υἱοῦ <δὲ> ἀκτίνες ἀμυδραὶ πάνυ, ἐμπελάζουσαι τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, συνέχουσι, <φησί>, καὶ συγκρατοῦσι τὴν μεταβολὴν, <τουτέστι> τὴν γένεσιν. (8.14.3): ... οὐκ εἰς πλείονα πάθη τῶν δέκα σχηματίζει [sc. Μωϋσῆς] τὴν ῥάβδον, ἣτις ἐστίν, <φησίν, ἡ τοῦ> Ἰῶτα μία κεραία, ἀπλῆ <καὶ> ποικίλη. Αὕτη <δέ>, φησίν, ἐστὶν ἡ δεκάπληγος ἡ κοσμικὴ χτίσις.

Demiurge (8.14.8):

Χαίρει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῆς κτίσεως τῇ μεταβολῇ, <φησίν>, ἥτις ὑπὸ τῶν δέκα πληγῶν τῆς κεραίας ἐνεργεῖται τῆς μιᾶς· ἥτις ἐστὶ Μωσέως ῥάβδος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένη. Ἦι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους πλήσων <ὁ θεός> μεταβάλλει τὰ σώματα, καθάπερ τὴν χεῖρα Μωσέως <εἰς χιόνα, καὶ> τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αἷμα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ.

¹¹ This absolute beauty of the Son-of-Man reminds us of the similar absolute beauty of the Naassene Snake-Nahash (*Refut.* 5.9.14), or of the beauty of the Great Archon, Ogdoad, of Basilides (7.23.3): ὁ μέγας ἄρχων, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ κόσμου, κάλλος τε καὶ μέγεθος ἡ Δύναμις <λα>ληθῆναι μὴ δυναμένη.

The clause of 8.14.8, χαίρει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῆς κτίσεως τῇ μεταβολῇ, refers clearly to the imperfect and malevolent Jewish Creator. It is he who has converted the *positive* Creation (8.13.3, μεταβολή = γένεσις) granted by the Son-of-Man into a *negative* Gnostic “constant transformation of matter” (μεταβάλλει τὰ σώματα, 8.14.8). The same negative activity of the Jewish Demiurge is implied by “the transformation of the elements into flesh” (8.14.8: <ή> τῶν στοιχείων εἰς σάρκα μεταβολή).

Strangely enough, Hippolytus embarks on an extensive explanation by Monoimus (8.14.6-7) of the Passover (based on *Exodus* 12:6-20) as an eternal cosmic feast in honor of the God, i.e., of the Son-of-Man, the perfect One Stroke: “Ὀλος γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ πάντα <τὰ> τῆς κτίσεως στ<οιχ>εῖα ἀσχα εἰσίν, <φησίν,> ἑορτὴ κυρίου. But, at the same time, he tells us nothing about Monoimus’ doctrine of the final Salvation. It is, however, difficult to imagine any Gnostic system without a doctrine of the salvation of the pneumatics, members of the respective Gnostic community. This fact cannot be explained by a negligence on the part of Hippolytus. The only possible explanation is that he had in his hands only *the first half* of Monoimus’ treatise (dealing with Creation), the second half (dealing with Salvation) being lost.

Armed with this summary knowledge of Monoimus’ doctrine we may now approach his Letter to Theophrastus. Its text, as restored by me, runs as follows.

8.15.1-2:

Τοιγαροῦν Μονοίμμος αὐτος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεόφραστον ἐπιστολῇ διαρρηθῆναι λέγει· “<Εἰ θέλεις ἐπιγνῶναι τὸ πᾶν,>¹² καταλιπὼν ζητεῖν θεὸν κατὰ¹³ κτίσιν καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, ζητήσον αὐτὸν¹⁴ ἀπὸ <σ>εαυτοῦ,¹⁵ καὶ μάθε τίς ἐστίν ὁ πάντα ἀπαξαπλῶς ἐν σοὶ ἐξιδιοποιούμενος καὶ λέγων· (2) {ὁ θεὸς μου,}¹⁶ ὁ νοῦς μου, ἡ διάνοιά μου, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ μάθε πόθεν ἐστὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαί <σε>¹⁷ καὶ τὸ χαίρειν, καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν καὶ τὸ μισεῖν· καὶ τὸ γρηγορεῖν <σε>¹⁷ μὴ θέλοντα καὶ τὸ

10.17.5:

“Εἰ δέ,” φησί, “θέλεις ἐπιγνῶναι τὸ πᾶν, ἐν σεαυτῷ ζήτησον τίς ὁ λέγων· ἡ ψυχὴ μου, ἡ σὰρξ μου, ὁ νοῦς μου· καὶ <τίς ὁ>²³ ἐν <σοί>²⁴ ἕκαστον κατιδιοποιούμενος ὡς ἕτερος <σε> αὐτοῦ·²⁵ τοῦτον <οὖν>²⁶ νοή<σεις>²⁷ τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, πάντα ἴδια ἡγούμενον, τὰ οὐκ ὄντα²⁸ καλούμενα καὶ τὰ {πάντα}<ς>²⁹ ὄντα.”

¹² Supplevi ex 10.17.5.

¹³ κατὰ scripsi : καὶ P.

¹⁴ αὐτὸν P : αὐτὸν Wendland.

¹⁵ σεαυτοῦ Schneidewin-Duncker (conl. 10.17.5) : εαυτοῦ P.

¹⁶ Seclusi.

¹⁷ σε addidi (conl. 8.15.1: ἐν σοί).

νυστάζειν μὴ θέλοντα, καὶ τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι
 μὴ θέλοντα καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν μὴ θέλοντα.
 Καὶ ἂν <πάντα>¹⁸ ταῦτα," φησίν,
 "ἐπιζητήσης ἀκριβῶς, εὐρήσεις αὐτὸν¹⁹
 ἐν (σ)εαυτῷ,²⁰ ἐν <ὄντα>²¹ καὶ πολλὰ,
 κατὰ τὴν κεραϊάν ἐκείνην <τὴν μίαν,>²²
 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διέξοδον εὐρών."

My impression is that in Book 8 Hippolytus *verbatim quotes* (compare διαρρήδην λέγει) Monoimus' Letter, but skips some clauses. In his Summary (Epitome, Book 10), he *freely paraphrases* the same passage from the Letter, while adding the clauses he had skipped in Book 8. Consequently, a combination of both versions would yield the following content of the Letter.

"If you want to learn to know the All stop searching for God in the *Creation* and similar things: search for Him starting from *yourself*. And learn who is this who had appropriated to himself absolutely everything in yourself, as somebody different from you, by saying: *my mind, my reason, my soul, my body*. And learn what is the cause of your feeling grief or joy, love or hatred; and what is the cause of your being awake against your wish or feeling sleepy against your wish; of your being angry against your wish or feeling affection against your wish.

And if you accurately examine all these things you will find Him [i.e., God] *in yourself*, the perfect One coming from the perfect One, considering everything as His own—both the so-called non-existent things and the existent ones—and being one and many, just as is that "One Stroke" [i.e., Iota]. And you will find the explanation from *yourself*."

(1) *Son-of-Man*. The first key-expression to the understanding of the Letter is: τέλειον ἐκ τελείου. From 8.14.2 (and 10.17.3 as well): ... ἐν ἐκείνη τῇ ἀπλῇ τοῦ Ἰῶτα κεραϊά, ἣτις ἐστὶν Ἰῶς Ἀνθρώπου, <ἐκ> τελείου

¹⁸ Addidi.

¹⁹ αὐτὸν (sc. θεόν) P : αὐτὸν Wendland.

²⁰ σεαυτῷ coniec. Schneidewin-Duncker : ἑαυτῷ P.

²¹ Addidi.

²² Addidi.

²³ Addidi.

²⁴ ἐν <σοὶ> Cruice ex 8.15.1 : ἐν P.

²⁵ <σε>αυτοῦ scripsi : αὐτῷ P : αὐτῷ Wendland.

²⁶ Addidi.

²⁷ νοή(σεις) scripsi (cf. 8.15.2: εὐρήσεις) : νόει P.

²⁸ οὐκ ὄντα τὰ P, transposui.

²⁹ Delevi.

τέλειος, it becomes clear that the God Monoimus refers to in the Letter is no other than the perfect Son-of-Man (or Jesus), coming from the perfect father, Man. It is He who is called “the perfect Iota or Decad,” “the One Stroke,” *par excellence*. And it is He who is the source of plurality and diversity of both this world and a man’s *inner self*.

(2) *The Introspection*. The second key to the understanding of the Letter is an undeniable *contrast* between the external Creation and the man’s internal self. The former is rejected by Monoimus (καταλιπὼν ζητεῖν θεὸν κατὰ κτίσιν καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια), the latter is recommended as the proper way of grasping the essence of the All (εἰ θέλεις ἐπιγνῶναι τὸ πᾶν).

As a kind of *Ringcomposition*, the Letter opens with the phrase, ἀπὸ (σ)εαυτοῦ, and closes with the same expression, ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διέξοδον εὐρών. The result of this careful self-analysis will be the discovery of the Son-of-Man in your own self (εὐρήσεις or νοήσεις) αὐτὸν ἐν (σ)εαυτῷ), who is present in every part of your mind and body.

One may now ask: If Son-of-Man is the only source of the entire Creation—both of Macrocosm and Microcosm—why could not He be discovered as easily in the external world, why is the introspection specially recommended? My answer would be: Of course, Son-of-Man is present in every particle of the external world, but it is *much easier* for a man to discover His presence in our inner self. Why so? Because, at present the external world is being dominated by the “evil ruler,” the Jewish imperfect and malevolent Demiurge, the Lord of Matter. It is his *hylic-choic* nature that makes the discovery of the *pneumatic* Son-of-Man (Jesus) more difficult.

In my view, the presence of the Jewish Creator may be discovered in the expression, καταλιπὼν ζητεῖν θεὸν κατὰ κτίσιν καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια. Here, the phrase, θεὸς κατὰ κτίσιν, says much the same as, χαίρει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τῆς κτίσεως τῇ μεταβολῇ at 8.14.8, while referring to the “third god,” the Demiurge of the Old Testament. At present, he may have power over the Matter (compare 8.14.8: <ή> τῶν στοιχείων εἰς σάρκα μεταβολή), but not over a man’s Spirit as well. And that is why the spiritual Jesus, the perfect Son-of-Man, the noetic Iota-Decad, may be discovered much easier in a man’s inner self, through the process of introspection and self-analysis.

(3) *Jesus is every part of your mind, soul and body*. The third keyword to the understanding of the Letter is a complete *expropriation* of a man’s entire mind, soul and body. Everything in our self without exception belongs actually to Jesus-I(esus)-Iota: mind, reason, soul and body. This *apropriation* of a man’s entire content by the Son-of-Man is clearly expressed by such terms as: ὁ πάντα ἀπαξάπλωσ ἐν σοὶ ἐξιδιοποιούμενος = <ὁ>

ἐν σοὶ) ἕκαστον κατιδιοποιοῦμενος ἢ πάντα ἴδια ἡγούμενος, in addition to the anaphora, “my mind, my reason, my soul, my body.”

The presence of an agent different than ourselves in our self is emphasized by the repetition (four times) of the phrase, μὴ θέλοντα, “against your own wish or will,” and by the telltaling expression, ὡς ἕτερος (σε)αυτοῦ.

In order to demonstrate the presence of an agent (God) different than “I,” Monoimus—at least in this part of the Letter—concentrates on *psychological* phenomena (feelings and emotions): grief-joy; love-hatred; anger-affection; being awake-feeling sleepy. They are arranged in pairs of opposites, maybe imitating Plato? Compare, e.g., *Republic*, 4, 437 b 1: τὸ ἐπινεύειν τῷ ἀνανεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐφίεσθαι τινος λαβεῖν τῷ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ προσάγεσθαι τῷ ἀπωθεῖσθαι, based on τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν and τὸ θυμοειδὲς μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς.

This special attention paid to ψυχή is puzzling. One would expect from a Gnostic to pay more attention to νοῦς and διάνοια. Anyway, these feelings and emotions seem to be understood in the expression of 10.17.5: τὰ οὐκ ὄντα καλούμενα, “the so-called non-existent things,” which Son-of-Man considers as His own property. In brief, Son-of-Man is present in everybody’s self in the form of that perfect and simple “One Stroke” or Iota, which is the source of every single feeling, emotion, affection or disposition (εὐρήσεις αὐτὸν ἐν (σ)εαυτῷ, ἐν ὄντα) καὶ πολλά, κατὰ τὴν κεραίαν ἐκείνην (τὴν μίαν)).

(4) *The Source*. One final question: what may be the source of inspiration for Monoimus in his Letter? The answer is not easy. My guess is: a *Stoic* source, similar to Marcus Aurelius. (a) God in man’s self: M.A. 3.5.2 ὁ ἐν σοὶ θεός. (b) God as the only owner of everything “ours”: 12.26.2 Ἐπελάθου δὲ καὶ τοῦ, ὅτι ὁ ἐκάστου νοῦς θεὸς καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐρρῦηκε τοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἴδιον οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τεχνίον καὶ τὸ σωματίον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ψυχάριον ἐκεῖθεν ἐλήλυθε. (c) Call to introspection: 4.3.2 ... ἐξόν, ἧς ἂν ὥρας ἐθελήσης, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναχωρεῖν; 7.28 Εἰς αὐτὸν συνειλοῦ. (d) Finally, the four parts of man: νοῦς, διάνοια, ψυχή, σῶμα (8.15.2). At 10.17.5, Hippolytus mentions only three parts: ψυχή, σάρξ, νοῦς. These three parts correspond to the terminology of M.A.: σῶμα (or σάρξ), ψυχή (or πνευμάτιον), νοῦς (or ἡγεμονικόν): 2.2.1; 3.16.1; 12.3.1; 12.14.5. Now, if διάνοια in Monoimus is genuine, it too may be Stoic in origin. For at M.A. 12.3.1, the source of A (= Vaticanus graecus 1950 saec. XIV) glosses πνευμάτιον with διάνοια, and at M.A. 6.32 διάνοια stands for ψυχή.³⁰

³⁰ Marcus Aurelius, ed. J. Dalden (Teubner, Leipzig, 1979).—Some Stoics explained διάνοια as τὸ ἡγεμονικόν: *SVF*, I, p. 50.6; III, pp. 75.9 and 111.19.—Monoimus employs the word διάνοια at 8.14.6.—Plato, e.g., *Republic* 6, 511 d 2-5, seems to be a less likely source for Monoimus’ διάνοια here.

THE ESSENES AS CHRISTIANS

In his account of the Essenes (*Refutatio* 9.18.2—28.2), Hippolytus is evidently dependent on Josephus (*Bellum Iud.* 2.119—161 Niese). This fact has been correctly recognized by Emmanuel Miller (1851) first,¹ by Christoph Burchard (1974) last.² After the exhaustive study of Burchard, “Die Essener bei Hippolyt,” I think the suggestion advanced by Kaufmann Kohler (1903),³ Matthew Black (1956),⁴ and particularly Morton Smith (1958)⁵—that both Josephus and Hippolytus go back to a lost common source—may be put to rest.

The question now arises, how to explain the *differences* between Josephus and Hippolytus. Burchard’s answer seems to be that Hippolytus alone is responsible for all the alterations of Josephus’ text and the additions to it. Burchard concludes his study as follows: “... für die Abweichungen ist niemand anders verantwortlich als Hippolyt selber” (p. 33). “*Hippolyt als Autor des Textes...* Grade die grossen Änderungen gehen sicher auf sein Konto, von den kleineren mindestens ein Teil. An der starken Christianisierung ist er an wichtigen Stellen beteiligt, so dass man ihm die übrigen auch zutrauen kann” (p. 38). Finally: “Eine Zwischenquelle bleibt theoretisch möglich; viel mehr spricht nicht für sie” (p. 39).

Judging by Hippolytus’ methodology throughout the *Refutatio*, however, I have the feeling that he is unable of *deliberately* altering his source so as to involve misrepresentation. As a rule, Hippolytus either verbatim copies whole pages from his source, or excerpts it. His occasional expansions are easily detectable as such: sometimes he is being car-

¹ In the Editio princeps of the *Refutatio*, Oxford, 1851.

² “Zur Nebenüberlieferung von Josephus’ Bericht über die Essener Bell. 2, 119-161 bei Hippolyt, Porphyrius, Josippus, Niketas Choniates und anderen,” in *Josephus-Studien*. Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament, herausgegeben von Otto Betz, Klaus Haacker und Martin Hengel, Göttingen, 1974, pp. 77-96, esp. 78-84, and particularly Idem, “Die Essener bei Hippolyt,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 8 (1977) 1-41, esp. 23-41.

³ In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 5 (1903), 224-232, esp. 228^b (s.v. Essenes).

⁴ “The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus,” in W.D. Davies and D. Daube, Eds., *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, Cambridge, 1956, 172-175 = Matthew Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, London-New York, 1961, Appendix B, pp. 187-191.

⁵ “The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 29 (1958), pp. 273-313.

ried away by his heresiological zeal, more often his additions are mere explanatory glosses. In brief, Hippolytus may well be called a *plagiarist*, but there is no solid evidence to accuse him of *forgery* as well.

Accordingly, I would like to suggest that the relationship between Josephus and Hippolytus, as far as the account of the Essenes is concerned, is not as simple as scholars seem to have assumed hitherto. In my opinion, the differences between Josephus and Hippolytus are best explained by a strange *combination* of the following four factors.

(1) Hippolytus uses a manuscript of Josephus which is *different* from the extant *textus receptus*. (2) In addition, Hippolytus copies not directly from Josephus but from an *Interpretatio Christiana* of Josephus' *Bellum* 2.119-161. This fact has been first recognized by Patrice Cruice (1860).⁶ Later on, A. Berendts and K. Grass (1925),⁷ and more recently Solomon Zeitlin (1958),⁸ have suggested Hegesippus as the most likely source of Hippolytus here. (3) Furthermore, Hippolytus uses a source *supplementing* Josephus—not only in the chapters dealing with the Essenes (9.25.2; 26.1-3; 27.1-2), but also in those speaking of the beliefs of the Pharisees (9.28.3-4), Sadducees (9.29.2-4), and of all the Jews in general (9.30.1-8). My guess is that this source coincides with that mentioned under (2), probably Hegesippus. (4) Finally, Hippolytus' own rhetorical embellishments and heresiological *remaniements* of his respective source can be easily recognized as such and, after Burchard's study,⁹ need no special attention. I shall now substantiate—as briefly as possible—the existence of each one of the four factors.

(1) *Hippolytus uses a different manuscript of Josephus*

(a) Josephus 2.137

Τοῖς δὲ ζηλοῦσιν τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἢ πάροδος...

Hippolytus 9.23.1¹⁰

Τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις τῇ αἵρεσει μαθητεύειν οὐκ εὐθέως τὰς παραδόσεις ποιοῦνται...

“Candidates who are anxious to join the sect of the Essenes are not immediately admitted,” states Josephus. “The Essenes do not immediately reveal (*or* hand over) their *doctrines* (*or traditions*) to those wishing to be in-

⁶ In his edition of the *Refutatio*, Paris, 1860, p. 460 f.

⁷ In their translation of the Old Slavonic version of Josephus into German: *Flavius Josephus, Vom jüdischen Kriege. Buch I-IV*, Dorpat, 1924-1927, pp. 31-34 and 252-264.

⁸ *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 49 (1958-59), 292-299, esp. 295-297.

⁹ *JSJ* 8 (1977), p. 25 and n. 190.

¹⁰ The text of Hippolytus is quoted from my edition of the *Refutatio*, PTS, Vol. 25, Berlin, 1986.

structed by the sect,” says Hippolytus instead. Obviously, the source of Hippolytus’ inspiration about “The Essene traditions” (αἱ παραδόσεις) is the wrong reading of two old MSS of Josephus—ἡ παράδοσις P A, for the correct ἡ πάροδος of the majority of MSS (i.e., M V L R C, and Porphyry, *De Abstemtia* 4.12 p. 248.9 Nauck²). Incidentally, it may be instructive to remark that the Old Slavonic version of Josephus (p. 254.6 Meščerskij),¹¹ and Georgius Monachus (*Chronicon* 8.5 p. 330.20 de Boor) presuppose a different text of Josephus here. For the former reads: *Xot-jaščemu že komu k’ žitiju ix pristupiti, ne skoro priemljut’...* (“If somebody wants to join their way of life, they will not admit him at once...”), while the latter has: Τῷ δὲ προσερχομένῳ ζηλωσαι τὸν βίον οὐκ εὐθὺς... παραδέχονται... .

(b) Josephus 2.140

(The oath of allegiance)

Κἄν αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, μηδέποτε ἐξυβρίσειν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μηδ’ ἐσθῆτι ἢ τινι πλείονι κόσμῳ τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ὑπερλαμπρυνε(ῖ)σθαι.

Hippolytus 9.23.4

Κἄν αὐτὸς ἄρχῃ, μηδέποτε ὑπερφανεύσασθαι ἐν (τῇ)¹² ἐξουσίᾳ, μηδὲ ἀγ(λαοῖς) ἐσθήσε(σ)ιν¹³ ἢ τινι κόσμῳ πλείον(ι)¹⁴ τοῦ (συν)ήθους¹⁵ χρήσασθαι.

The old Slavonic version has here (p. 254.23); ... *i ukrasitsja izlixia ođěždeju světloju, ni inoju krasotoju* (“... nor to adorn himself above the rest with a shining raiment or with any other ornament”). Hence my emendation in Hippolytus, ἀγ(λαοῖς) ἐσθήσε(σ)ιν, of the corruption, ἀπειθήσειν P. Hippolytus then seems to be in agreement here with the Slavonic version, but not with the *textus receptus* of Josephus.

(c) Josephus 2.143

Τοὺς δ’ ἐπ’ ἀξιοχρέοις ἀμαρτήμασιν ἀλόντας ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ τάγματος.

Hippolytus 9.24.1

Εἰ δέ τις ἐν ἀμαρτήματι τινι (μεγάλῳ ληφθ)ῆ,¹⁶ ἀποβάλλεται τοῦ δώματος.¹⁷

¹¹ N.A. Meščerskij, *Istorijsa iudejskoj vojny Iosifa Flavija v drevnerusskom perevode*, Moscow, 1958, pp. 252-257 and 492-494.

¹² τῇ addidi ex Iosepho.

¹³ ἀγ(λαοῖς) ἐσθήσε(σ)ιν scripsi ex versione Slavica: ἀπειθήσειν P.

¹⁴ scripsi ex Iosepho: πλείον P.

¹⁵ (συν)ήθους scripsi (cf., e.g., Georgii Monachi 8.5, p. 330.13 de Boor: καὶ δειπνήσαντες μετὰ τῆς συνήθους σιωπῆς [sc. the Essenes] = Jos. 2.132; Hippol. 9.21.5): ἔθους P.

¹⁶ (μεγάλῳ ληφθ)ῆ scripsi: (litterae evanidae 8)ῆ P: (καταγνωσθ)ῆ Miller: (καταληφθ)ῆ Wendland.

¹⁷ δώματος scripsi ex versione Slavica: δόγματος P: τάγματος ex Iosepho scripsit Miller omnium consensu. Compare already Burchard (*JSJ*, p. 13 n. 70): “τάγματος: δόγματος P; vgl. *iz domu* ‘aus (dem) Haus’ Altruss. (für τοῦ δώματος?). Wie lautete Hippolyt ursprünglich?”.

“Those who are convicted of serious crimes they expel from the order,” says Josephus. But Michael, the scribe of the Parisinus suppl. gr. 464 (the only extant MS of Hippolytus, Books IV-X), writes δόγματος for Josephus’ τάγματος. Now, all editors were quick to emend the meaningless δόγματος into τάγματος, but the Old Slavonic version has here (p. 254.31): ... *to izdenut’ iz domu* (“... they throw him out of the house *or* convent”). This fact indicates that Hippolytus’ source read δώματος for Josephus’ τάγματος.

I think this assumption is confirmed by two facts. First, two folios later, at *Ref.* 9.28.1, Michael correctly writes Ἐσ(σ)ηγῶν τάγμα (= Josephus 2.160). And second, eight folios earlier, at *Ref.* 9.11.1—in a passage in which Hippolytus says Callistus used to give bribes to the Pope Zephyrinus,—Michael again mistakenly writes δόγμασι for the correct δόμασι (Schneidein-Duncker): ὄν (*sc.* Zephyrinum) πείθων (*sc.* Callistus) δόμασι καὶ ἀπατιθήσεσιν ἀπειρημέναις ἤγεν εἰς ὃ (ἐ)βούλετο, ὄντα δωρολήπτην καὶ φιλάργυρον.¹⁸

As in the case (*b*), here again Hippolytus agrees with the Slavonic version, not with the extant text of Josephus. And since the Slavonic version does not depend on Hippolytus, the most natural conclusion is that both Hippolytus and the Version had used a manuscript of Josephus different from the extant *textus receptus*.

(2) *The “Christianization” of Josephus’ Essenes is prior to Hippolytus*

(a) Josephus 2.128

(The worship of the sun by the Essenes)

Πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖς ἰδίως· πρὶν γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν φθέγονται τῶν βεβήλων, πατρίους δὲ τινὰς εἰς αὐτὸν εὐχάς, ὥσπερ ἰκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι.

Hippolytus 9.21.1

Παραμένουσι δὲ εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐπιμόνως εὐχόμενοι ἕωθεν, μηδὲν πρότερον φθεγξάμενοι εἰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσωσι·

The phrase, εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐπιμόνως, is one of Hippolytus’ rhetorical embellishments (in view of *Ref.* 9.30.4, εὐτακτως καὶ παραμόνως ἔλειτούργουν, *sc.* all the Jews).¹⁹ So may be the words, εἰ μὴ τὸν θεὸν

¹⁸ There are two additional scribal errors in the cod. Par. suppl. gr. 464 saec. XIV, involving the Christian keyword δόγμα. But they seem to be due to wrong transliteration of the uncial script rather than to a “Christian” mistake on the part of the scribe Michael. At *Ref.* 5.6.4, P has διαφόροις δόγμασι for the correct διαφόροις ὀνόμασι (Usener, *conl.* 5.11.1), and at 9.9.1 we read in P δόγματος for the correct λόγου (Bernays = Heracliti Fr. 50 DK = 26 Marcovich).

¹⁹ Cf. Burchard, *supra*, n. 9.

ὕμνήσωσι as well (in view of *Ref.* 9.21.3, ὕμνοῦσι τὸν θεόν [sc. the Essenes], and Acts 16:25). As for the more substantial matter of the Essenes “entreating the sun to rise” (ὥσπερ ἰκετεύοντες ἀνατεῖλαι), Hippolytus is not the only author to get rid of it. For Georgius Monachus too omits it (pp. 329.22-330.2 de Boor): Καὶ πρὶν μὲν ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον οὐδὲν ἄργον φθέγγονται, προσευχὰς δὲ καὶ ψαλμωδίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς μέχρις αὐγῆς ἀναφέρουσι μετ’ εὐλαβείας καὶ σεμνότητος.

Now, while Georgius’ account of the Essenes is in part dependent on Porphyry as a *Zwischenquelle* between Josephus and Georgius,²⁰ there is no evidence that he knew of Hippolytus’ account as well.²¹ The most likely conclusion then is that both Hippolytus and Georgius go back to an *Interpretatio Christiana* of Josephus’ account of the Essenes which was careful enough to omit the Essenes prayers to the sun, entreating him to rise, by cleverly replacing Josephus’ εἰς αὐτόν [sc. τὸν ἥλιον] with τὸν θεόν [sc. the Judeo-Christian God].

But there seems to be more to it than that. Hippolytus’ phrase, παραμένουσι δὲ... εὐχόμενοι ἕωθεν, and Georgius’ wording, ψαλμωδίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς μέχρις αὐγῆς ἀναφέρουσι, seem to indicate that each had used a Greek text of Josephus different from the extant *textus receptus*. I think this is confirmed by the Old Slavonic version, which reads (p. 253.6-10): *I k’ božestvu blagoč’stivi sut’ pače vsěx. Malo že počivajut nošč’ju i v’stajut’ na pěnie, slavjaščě i moljaščě Boga. I prež s’ln’č’nago v’sxoda ničto že ne glagoljut’, no tokmo molitvy ot’č’skia k nemu vosylajut’, jako moljaščesja o vsianii ego.* (“To the divinity they are devout beyond anybody else. During night they sleep little, rising to sing, praising the Lord and praying to Him. Before the sun is up they would utter no other word, but only offer to him [i.e., to the sun] the prayers of their forefathers, as though praying him to shine.”).

The Slavonic version is independent of the Christian version of Josephus, since it preserves the Essene prayers to the sun to rise and shine. On the other hand, it shares with Georgius the prayers to the God starting at midnight, which are missing both in Josephus and Hippolytus. The conclusion is that Hippolytus cannot be held responsible for the Christianization of Josephus.

(b) *The Essene Superiors.* While at *Ref.* 9.19.2, Hippolytus retains the term οἱ ἐπιμεληταί, taken over from Josephus (2.123, οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταί, compare the Qumran *mebaqer*), elsewhere he either omits it

²⁰ On this relationship see Burchard, *Josephus-Studien*, p. 87.

²¹ Burchard’s stemma too shows no dependence of Georgius Monachus on Hippolytus: *Josephus-Studien*, p. 92.

(as at 9.21.1 = Jos. 2.129) or rather replaces it with a *Christian term*—ὁ προεστώς (9.22.1 = Jos. 2.134, οἱ ἐπιμεληταί), or ὁ ἄρχων (9.19.1). Josephus' term ὁ κηδεμών (2.125) also becomes a προεστώς in Hippolytus (9.20.2), as Burchard has convincingly shown (p. 34 f.).

Furthermore, a gross Christianization of the Essene congregation, present in Hippolytus, becomes obvious by the following comparison:

Josephus 2.146

Τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούειν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν (= *haräbbim*, cf. 1 QS 6.1 et alibi) ἐν καλῶ τίθενται.

Hippolytus 9.25.1

Τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσι καὶ πρεσβυτέροις (cf. Acts 4:5 4:8) ὑπακούειν διδάσκονται.²²

Now, my point is that Hippolytus is not the only one to replace Josephus' Jewish terms for the Essene superiors with Christian ones. For *Georgius too* replaces Josephus' term οἱ ἐπιμεληταί (2.129) with the Christian term ὁ προεστώς (p. 330.3 de Boor), and he is not dependent on Hippolytus. Consequently, there must have existed an *Interpretatio Christiana* of Josephus' account of the virtuous Essenes *prior* to Hippolytus: it served as a source for both Hippolytus and Georgius Monachus.

(c) *The "Christianized" Brahmins.* There is another similar case of "Christianization" of a pagan sect in *Refutatio* for which Hippolytus should not be blamed. Speaking of the sect of Brahmins in India (1.24.2), Hippolytus says that they call God both Light and Logos. The influence of John 1:1 and 1:4-5 on this report on the Brahmins seems to be evident. However, the same "Christianization" of the Brahmins we find in another source, independent of Hippolytus. It follows that Hippolytus is faithfully copying his source, where this Christianization was already accomplished. Compare:

Hippolytus 1.24.1

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς αἵρεσις φιλοσοφουμένων ἐν τοῖς Βραχμάναις. (2) Οὗτοι τὸν θεὸν φῶς εἶναι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὅποιόν τις ὄρα οὐδ' οἶον ἥλιος ἢ πῦρ, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς λόγος, οὐχ ὁ ἔναρθρος, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς γνώσεως, δι' οὗ τὰ

Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo p. 14.35 Pfister:

Deus... per Verbum exaudit orantem hominem, quia de Verbo tantummodo homo simile est Deo, ut Deus Verbum est. Et Verbum istum mundum creavit, et per Verbum vivunt omnia. Nos autem [sc.

²² The Old Slavonic version (p. 255.4) is of no avail here. It has only: *A staršišiny postuša jut'* ("And they obey the superiors"), which seems to correspond to the corrupt text of Josephus' codd. P A: Τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὑπακούουσιν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐν καλῶ, with the second clause being omitted probably as being incomprehensible to the translator.

κρυπτά τῆς φύσεως μυστήρια ὄραται
σοφοῖς. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ φῶς, ὃ φασὶ λόγον
καὶ θεόν, αὐτοὺς μόνους εἰδέναι
Βραχμᾶνες λέγουσιν...

Bragmani] hoc Verbum colimus ei
hoc adoramus et hoc amamus.

(3) *Hippolytus' material absent in Josephus derives from a source supplementing Josephus (probably Hegesippus)*

(a) Josephus 2.147

Hippolytus 9.25.2

(Strict observance of Sabbath by
the Essenes)

... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σκευὸς τι μετακινήσαι
θαροῦσιν οὐδὲ ἀποπατεῖν.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σκευὸς <τι>²³
μετατιθέασιν οὐδὲ ἀποπατήσουσι,²⁴
τινὲς δὲ οὐδὲ κλινιδίου χωρίζονται.

"Some of them do not even leave their couch on Sabbath," adds Hippolytus. This bit of information looks like a gloss, added by an expert in matters of Jewish customs.²⁵ Hippolytus was no such expert (and could not add this gloss), but Hegesippus—a *Jew* converted to Christianity and writing in Rome ca. A.D. 180—was such an expert and could provide this gloss (compare Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.22.7).

(b) Josephus 2.150

Hippolytus 9.26.1-3

Διήρηνται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον τῆς ἀσκήσεως
εἰς μοίρας τέσσαρας,

(1) Διήρηνται δὲ κατὰ χρόνον καὶ οὐχ
ὁμοίως τὴν ἄσκησιν φυλάττουσιν, εἰς
τέσσαρα μέρη διαχωρισθέντες.

"Ἐτεροι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον
ἀσκοῦσιν, ὡς μηδὲ νόμισμα βαστάζειν,
λέγοντες μὴ δεῖν εἰκόνα ἢ φέρειν ἢ ὄραν
ἢ ποιεῖν...²⁶

(2) "Ἐτεροι δέ, ἐπὶ ἀκούσασί τινος
περὶ θεοῦ διαλεγομένου καὶ τῶν τούτου
νόμων, εἰ ἀπερίτμητος εἴη, παρα-
φυλάξας <τις αὐτῶν>²⁷ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν
τόπῳ τινὶ μόνον, φονεύειν ἀπειλεῖ εἰ μὴ
περιτμηθεῖη· οὐ,²⁸ εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο
πεῖθεσθαι, οὐ φεῖδεται ἀλλὰ καὶ σφάζει·

²³ τι addidi ex Iosepho.

²⁴ ἀποπατήσουσι scripsi : ἀποπατίσουσι P. Compare 9.25.3 ἀποπατήσαι Miller : ἀποπατίσαι P.

²⁵ As for the custom itself, Kohler (supra, n. 3, p. 229^b) refers to *Targum ad Exod.* 16:27; *Mek.*, *Beshallah* 5. In his turn, Burchard (*JSJ*, p. 38 and n. 198) quotes Jerome, *Comm. in Esaiam*, 15 ad 56:2 (ed. M. Adriaen, *C. Chr.* 73A, p. 630.23 f.): *neque enim prodest sedere in sabbato, sive dormire, et epulis inhiare.*

²⁶ Compare Jos. *Bellum* 2.169-174 and *Exod.* 20:4.

²⁷ addidi conl. 9.26.1 et 4.

²⁸ οὐ scripsi : ὄς P.

καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τῶν προγενεστέρων ἐλαττοῦνται, ὥστ', εἰ ψάσειαν αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους ἀπολούεσθαι, καθάπερ ἄλλοφύλω συμφυρέντας.

ὅθεν ἐκ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος (καὶ)²⁹ τὸ ὄνομα προσέλαβον, Ζηλωταὶ καλούμενοι, ὑπὸ τινων δὲ Σικάριοι.

“Ἐτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδένα κύριον ὀνομάζουσι πλὴν τὸν θεόν, εἰ καὶ αἰκίζοιτο τις (αὐτῶν)³⁰ ἢ καὶ ἀναιροῖτο.

(3) Τοσοῦτον δὲ οἱ μετέπειτα ἐλάττους τῇ ἀσκήσει γεγένη(ν)ται, ὥστε τοὺς τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντας μηδὲ προσψάσειν αὐτῶν· ὧν εἰ ψάσειεν,³¹ εὐθέως ἀπολούονται, ὡς τινος ἄλλοφύλου ψάσαντες.

Hippolytus' account of the division of the Essenes into four classes is a *deliberate reinterpretation* of Josephus' account, as Burchard had shown (p. 29 f.). Most probably, Josephus here refers to the distinction of four classes within a given Essene congregation, such as Qumran. For instance, a division into “the priests,” “levites,” “laics” (“the Israelites”) and “the proselytes.”³²

Hippolytus, however, takes the Essenes described by Josephus in 2.119-149 to form the first class, adding in 9.26.1-3 three additional classes of Essene “fundamentalists” (ἕτεροι γὰρ αὐτῶν..., ἕτεροι δὲ..., ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν...), i.e., (1) those who shun any image; (2) the Zealots (or Sicarii), who do not tolerate any uncircumcised talking about God and His laws; (3) those who would call no one lord but God alone.

Again, Hippolytus is not likely to be the author of this considerable expansion, involving a specific knowledge about the Essenes-Sicarii and others. But the Jew Hegesippus is. Now, the phrase (9.26.3), τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη, recurs at *Ref.* 9.30.7, where Hippolytus speaks of the Messianic expectations of all the Jews: εἰς ἣν (sc. Jerusalem) ἐπισυνάξει (sc. the Messiah) ἅπαν τὸ ἔθνος (Ἰουδαίων)³³ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη ἀποκαταστήσει. Hippolytus' source for 9.30.5-8 is a *Christian* one (cf. 9.30.5), being well acquainted with the Jewish Messianism. Again, Hegesippus is the best candidate.³⁴

²⁹ addidi.

³⁰ addidi.

³¹ H. Sauppe : ψάσειεν P.

³² To mention only Otto Michel's interpretation of Josephus 2.150, based upon Qumran CD 14.3-6; 1 QS 2.19-23 et alibi. Compare A. Pelletier, in his edition of *Bellum II-III* (Paris, Budé, 1980), p. 36 n. 3.

³³ addidi ex Hippolyto.

³⁴ At *Ref.* 9.30.7, Hippolytus seems to refer to the restoration of the kingdom of David. I think Burchard (p. 30 and n. 157) is wrong when referring to 9.18.1 (Ἰουδαίων μὲν ἀρχῆθεν ἐν ἧν ἔθος· εἰς γὰρ ὁ τούτοις δοθεὶς παρὰ θεοῦ διδάσκαλος Μωσῆς...) or το ἡ ἀρχαῖα παράδοσις of the Pharisees (9.28.4), a completely different subject (cf. *Jos. Ant. Iud.* 13.297).

(c) Josephus 2.153-156
(The Essene Eschatology)

Hippolytus 9.27.1-3

(153) ... εὐθυμοὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠφίεσαν, ὡς πάλιν κομιούμενοι. (154) Καὶ γὰρ ἔρρωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ δεῖ ἢ δόξα· φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν... (155) ... ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνεθῶσι τῶν κατὰ σάρκα δεσμῶν, οἷα δὴ μακρᾶς δουλείας ἀπηλλαγμένους, τότε χαίρειν καὶ μετεώρους φέρεσθαι. Καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγαθαῖς, ὁμοδοξοῦντες παισὶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀποφαίνονται τὴν ὑπερὺν ὡκεανὸν δίκαιαν ἀποκεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρον οὔτε ὄμβροις οὔτε νιφετοῖς οὔτε καύμασι βαρυνόμενον, ἀλλ' ὃν ἐξ ὡκεανοῦ πραῦς ἀεὶ ζέφυρος ἐπιπνέων ἀναψύχει... (156) Δοκοῦσι δὲ μοι κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔνοϊαν Ἑλληνας τοῖς τε ἀνδρείοις αὐτῶν, οὓς ἤρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους καλοῦσιν, τὰς μακάρων νήσους ἀνατεθεικέναι,

ταῖς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν ψυχαῖς καθ' ἄδου τὸν ἄσειβον χῶρον, ἐνθα καὶ κολαζομένους τινὰς μυθολογοῦσιν...

(1) Ἐρρωται δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγος· ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀναστήσεσθαι καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθάνατον, ὃν τρόπον ἦδη ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή. Ἦν χωρισθεῖσαν (τοῦ σώματος)³⁵

νῦν {ἔστιν}³⁶ εἰς ἓνα χῶρον εὐπνοῦν καὶ φωτεινὸν (ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐκεῖ)³⁷ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἕως κρίσεως·

ὃν χῶρον Ἑλληνας (τούτων)³⁸ ἀκούσαντες μακάρων νήσους ὠνόμασαν.

(2) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα τούτων δόγματα πολλὰ οἷ³⁹ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (σοφοί)⁴⁰ σφετερισάμενοι ἰδίας δόξας συνεστήσαντο· ἔστι γὰρ ἡ κατὰ τούτους ἄσκησις περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀρχαιοτέρα πάντων ἔθνων, ὡς δεῖκνυσθαι πάντας τοὺς περὶ θεοῦ εἰπεῖν τετολημχότας ἢ περὶ τῆς⁴¹ τῶν ὄντων δημιουργίας μὴ ἐτέρωθεν παρεληφέναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς νομοθεσίας. (3) Ὡν μάλιστα Πυθαγόρας καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τούτοις μαθητευθέντες (τὰς ἀρχὰς)⁴² παρέλαβον· λέγουσι γὰρ⁴³ καὶ κρίσιν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ παντός ἐκπύρωσιν, καὶ τοὺς ἀδίκους κολασθήσεσθαι εἰς αἶε.

³⁵ τοῦ σώματος supplevi conlato Iosepho.

³⁶ ἔστιν delevi ut dittographiam.

³⁷ ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐκεῖ supplevi conlato Iosepho.

³⁸ τούτων addidi conlato Hippolyto.

³⁹ πολλὰ οἷ scripsi : πολλοὶ P.

⁴⁰ σοφοὶ addidi conlato Hippolyto.

⁴¹ τῆς περὶ P.

⁴² τὰς ἀρχὰς supplevi conlato Hippolyto.

⁴³ γὰρ scripsi : δὲ P.

Hippolytus' account of the Essene eschatology is a *pastiche* deriving from three sources—from Josephus (2.153-156), from a Christian supplement to Josephus (probably Hegesippus), and from Hippolytus himself. Now, what goes back to Josephus can be easily recognized as such by comparing the coinciding passages of both columns. The *Zwischenquelle* between Josephus and Hippolytus is responsible for the attribution to the Essenes of a belief in *the resurrection of the body*—(9.27.1) ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τὴν σάρκα ἀναστήσεσθαι καὶ ἔσσεσθαι ἀθάνατον, against Josephus' text (2.154) φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους αἰεὶ διαμένειν.

The suggestion advanced by Jean Carmignac⁴⁴—that Hippolytus had read in his text of Josephus ἄφθαρτα for φθαρτὰ—I think cannot stand criticism. For then we would have to assume that Hippolytus read μόνιμον for οὐ μόνιμον as well, and that he had missed the construction μὲν...δέ, which is highly unlikely. Hippolytus' addition at the end of 9.27.1—ἕως κρίσεως—attests to the fact that we have to do here with a *deliberate* alteration of the original text of Josephus.

The question now arises: Who is the author of this alteration? O. Michel-O. Bauernfeind (1962),⁴⁵ and especially Burchard (1977),⁴⁶ believe it is Hippolytus himself (“Das ist nun nicht die einzige Passage, die von Hippolyt selber ist,” says Burchard 32). I feel, however, that nowhere in the *Refutatio* did Hippolytus engage in a *deliberate* alteration of his source so as to involve misrepresentation. But Hegesippus, in his zeal to present the Jews as pre-Christians, may have engaged in such a misrepresentation.

I think that this *Zwischenquelle* (probably Hegesippus)⁴⁷ had *deduced* a belief in the resurrection of the body from Josephus' statements about *the eternal physical punishment* of the wicked in the hell, which he thought to take place only *after the Final Judgment*. Consider the following passages in Josephus and Hippolytus.

⁴⁴ “Le retour du Docteur de Justice à la fin des jours?,” *Revue de Qumran* 1 (1958), 235-248, esp. p. 238 f.

⁴⁵ *Flavius Josephus. De bello Iudaico. Der jüdische Krieg*, I (München, 1959), 2nd ed., 1962, p. 438 n. 82.

⁴⁶ *JSJ* 8 (1977) 31-33.

⁴⁷ An Essene belief in the resurrection of the body may be supported by Qumran 1 QH 6.34-35; 11.12-14 (in the same way in which their belief in a world-conflagration may be supported by 1 QH 3.24 ff., and their belief in the Final Judgment by 1 QS 4.11-14; 1 QM), but the point is that it is questionable whether Hegesippus knew of the Qumran community.

Josephus 2.155

Hippolytus 9.27.1

The Essenes

... ταῖς δὲ φαύλαις (sc. ψυχαῖς) ζοφώδη
καὶ χειμέριον ἀφορίζονται μυχόν, γέμον-
τα τιμωριῶν ἀδιαλείπτων.

ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ καὶ τὴν σάρκα
ἀναστήσεσθαι καὶ ἔσσεσθαι ἀθάνατον,
ὄν τρόπον ἦδη ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή.

Josephus 2.163

Hippolytus 9.28.5

The Pharisees

ψυχὴν τε πᾶσαν μὲν ἄφθαρτον,
μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν
ἀγαθῶν μόνην, τὰς δὲ τῶν φαύλων
ἀϊδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ κολάζεσθαι.

Οὗτοι καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν
ὁμολογοῦσι, καὶ ψυχὴν ἀθάνατον
(οὔσαν),⁴⁸ καὶ κρίσιν ἐσομένην
καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν, καὶ δικαίους μὲν
ἀφθάρτους ἔσσεσθαι, ἀδίκους δὲ εἰς αἰ-
κολαστήσεσθαι ἐν πυρὶ ἀσβέστω.

Josephus 2.165

Hippolytus 9.29.1

The Sadducees

Ψυχῆς δὲ τὴν διαμονὴν καὶ τὰς καθ'
ἄδου τιμωρίας καὶ τιμὰς ἀναιροῦσιν.

Ἄναστασιν δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀρνοῦνται⁴⁹
σαρκὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχὴν μὴ διαμένειν
νομίζουσι.

Each time Josephus mentions τὰς καθ' ἄδου τιμωρίας, the source of Hippolytus deduces from this a σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις, as he believes that there can be no punishment of the flesh before a resurrection of the flesh for the Final Judgment.

Finally we come to Hippolytus' own expansion of the text of Josephus at 9.27.2-3 (p. 152). It deals with the trite subject of both Greek philosophers and Barbarians borrowing their wisdom from Jewish theology and cosmology.⁵⁰ This expansion can be easily recognized as Hippolytus' own work thanks to two elements in it. First, it shifts from the Essenes to all Jews (μὴ ἐτέρωθεν παρειληφέναι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς νομοθεσίας). Compare Hippolytus 10.30.8: ...φανερῶς ἐπιδέδεικται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος (sc. the Jews) ἀρχαιότερον (ὄν) πάντων Χαλδαίων, Αἰγυπτίων, Ἑλλήνων. And second, it mentions the example of Pythagoras as a student of the Egyptians, being envisaged here only as *transmitters* of the Jewish wisdom: this example Hippolytus employs also at *Refut.* 1.2.18 and 9.17.2.⁵¹

⁴⁸ addidi.

⁴⁹ ἀρνοῦνται οὐ μόνον P, transposui.

⁵⁰ Cf. Burchard, p. 32 n. 165.

⁵¹ Hippolytus probably saw a connection between the Stoic and Jewish cosmology in their assumed common beliefs in Final Judgment and Ecpyrosis (world-conflagration):

In conclusion, we have tried to prove the existence of four factors responsible for the differences between Josephus' and Hippolytus' account of the Essenes: (1) fluctuations in the transmission of this extremely popular text of Josephus; (2) the author of an *Interpretatio Christiana* prior to Hippolytus; (3) the author of substantial alterations and expansions of the text of Josephus (probably identical with 2); (4) finally, Hippolytus' own expansions and embellishments. Now, it seems safe to conclude that Hippolytus had used Josephus' account of the Essenes through a *Zwischenquelle*, which is responsible for both the Christianization of the Essenes and for the alterations or expansions of the text of Josephus. Hegesippus seems to be the most likely candidate for the author of this *Interpretatio Christiana* of Josephus.⁵²

compare *Refut.* 1.3.1; 1.21.4, and especially 9.10.7, where Hippolytus copies a Stoic commentary on Heraclitus in an attempt to link this stoicized Heraclitus to the Christian Noetus.

⁵² I think Hegesippus is Hippolytus' source also for the chapters dedicated to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and the Jewish Messianism (*Refut.* 9.28-30), but to discuss this would go beyond the subject of relationship between Josephus and Hippolytus as far as the Essenes are concerned.

THE WEDDING HYMN OF ACTA THOMAE

The puzzling and elusive Wedding Hymn of the *Acts of Thomas* 6-7—first published back in 1823—has not yet found a satisfactory interpretation and assessment.¹ I assume that the lost original was written in East-Aramaic or Syriac: the Semitic *Doppeldreier* of the original—a distich with three beats in each line—still seems to be detectable in the extant Greek version. This couplet meter was popular in Aramaic and Syriac poetry, notably in the *Psalms of Thomas*.² Compare, for example, line 1 of our Hymn, “The Bride is the daughter of Light,” with *Ps. Thomae* 1.1, “My Father, the joyful Light.”

¹ The Greek version of the *Acts of Thomas* was first published by J.C. Thilo, *Acta S. Thomae Apostoli* (Lipsiae, 1823). Thilo’s Commentary (pp. 121 ff.) is still valuable. The best Greek edition so far is that of M. Bonnet, in R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II.2 (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 99-288.—The Syriac version was published by W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London-Edinburgh, 1871), I, pp. 171 ff. (Syriac text); II, pp. 146 ff. (English translation). A recent English translation of the Syriac version with a Commentary was provided by A.F.J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 5, Leiden, Brill, 1962).

Here is a select bibliography on the Wedding Hymn. K. Macke, “Syrische Lieder gnostischen Ursprungs,” *Tübinger Theol. Quartalschrift* 56 (1874) 1-70. R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (Braunschweig, 1883), I, 301-311. G. Hoffmann, “Zwei Hymnen der Thomasakten,” *Zeitschr. f. die neutestamentl. Wiss.* 4 (1903) 295-309. E. Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen* (Giessen, 1904). Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Forschungen zur Religion u. Lit. des Alten u. Neuen Testaments, 10, Göttingen, 1907), 68-70. Idem, “Manichäisches in den Thomasakten,” *ZNTW* 18 (1917), 10 f. and 20-23. Especially Günther Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende in den apokryphen Thomas-Akten* (FRLANT, N.F. 31, Göttingen, 1933), 68-81; 82-89 and 103-106. Idem, in: Edgar Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 3., völlig neubearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von Wilhelm Schneemelcher (Tübingen, Mohr, II, 1964), 297-372, esp. 302 f. = *New Testament Apocrypha*, English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, II, 1965), 425-531, esp. 432 f.

² *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, Part II, edited by C.R.C. Allberry (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Vol. II; Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1938), pp. 203-227.—For a list of Aramaic and Syriac poems composed in the *Doppeldreier* see T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book: Prosody and Mandaean Parallels* (Uppsala, 1949), 88-90.—Of course, I am aware of the fact that some couplets seem to indicate four beats (instead of three) in the lost Syriac original, notably 13 and 15. But the difference may well be explained by expansion on the part of the Greek translator. So in couplet 15, the Syriac original might well have read: “Her groomsmen surround-her,/ seven-of-them, elected by-her,” and in couplet 13 the phrase ὀσμὴ ἡδεῖα “sweet odor” may well mean the same as εὐωδία of couplet 3, while παμπόλλων in 13b could be an addition of the Greek translator. I trust that the Semitic *Doppeldreier* are visible enough in the rest of the couplets (with the exception of the last couplet, which is evidently spurious).

If so then the 4:4 beat in the last couplet (27) of the Hymn alone speaks against the authenticity of the closing distich. And Wilhelm Bousset was right in detecting *Manichaeian* theology in this couplet, notably in “the Living Spirit,”³ as was Günther Bornkamm—in seeing in this couplet a later Manichaeian addition (Zusatz).⁴ As a matter of fact, 27 ἐδόξασαν τὸν πατέρα is redundant in view of the presence of καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων in 23.

The translator of the Hymn into Greek sometimes uses two words to translate one single word of the original: 1 ἐνέστηχε καὶ ἔγκειται; 10 σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν; 18 τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα; 23 ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει.

As is known, the extant Syriac version departs considerably from the original text—due to its systematic *catholicizing effort*. It tries to remove every trace of Gnosticism from the Hymn. Accordingly, “the Bride” (1) is replaced with “my Church” (with far-reaching consequences).⁵ The aeons are eliminated: “the place of the blessed aeons” (10) is replaced with “the place of life;” the thirty-two (7) are replaced with the twelve apostles and the seventy-two envoys (borrowed from Luke 10:1, and being popular later among the Manichaeans);⁶ in 15-17, the figures twice seven and twelve are eliminated; finally, in 20 and 21, “the great ones (grandees, princes)” and “the eternal ones”—i.e., the Gnostics—are replaced with “the just ones” and “some,” respectively. In brief, the Syriac version must be used with extreme caution. But occasionally—where there is no reason to suspect its catholicizing zeal—it proves to be a helpful means in restoring the corrupt Greek text.

The Greek version of the Hymn is preserved in sixteen manuscripts. I retain Bonnet’s MSS sigla (p. 99). Here is the text of the Hymn as restored by me.

I. GREEK TEXT AND TRANSLATION

- Ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτὸς θυγάτηρ,
 ἧ ἐνέστηχε καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπόγαυσμα τῶν βασιλέων
- 2 τὸ γαῦρον, καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς ταύτης τὸ θέαμα,
 φαιδρῶ κάλλει καταυγάζουσα.

³ *ZNTW* 18 (1917) 10 f.

⁴ *Mythos und Legende*, 88.

⁵ Compare, e.g., Klijn’s Commentary, pp. 168-179.

⁶ Cf. *Manichaeian Psalm-Book*, pp. 22.24; 140.38 f. Allberry; *Kephalaia*, p. 12.27 f. H. J. Polotsky (*Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Band I*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1940); Augustine *De haeresibus* c. 46.

- 3 ἤς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἔαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν,
ἀποφορὰ δὲ εὐωδίας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαδίδοται.
- 4 καὶ ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ (αὐτῆς) ἴδρυται ὁ βασιλεύς,
τρέφων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμβροσίᾳ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἰδρυμένους.
- 5 ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀλήθεια,
χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει.
- 6 ἤς τὸ στόμα ἀνέωχται καὶ πρεπόντως αὐτῇ·
(*quoniam eo omnes laudes edit.*)
- 7 τριάκοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ (ἐν) ταύτῃ ὑμνολογοῦντες,
(- -.)
- 8 ἤς ἡ γλῶττα παραπετάσματι ἔοικεν τῆς θύρας,
ὃ ἐκτινάσσεται τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν.
- 9 ἤς ὁ αὐχὴν εἰς τύπον βαθμῶν ἔγκειται,
ὧν ὁ πρῶτος δημιουργὸς ἐδημιούργησεν.
- 10 αἱ δὲ δύο αὐτῆς χεῖρες σημαίνουσιν καὶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν,
τὸν χῶρον τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αἰώνων κηρύσσοντες.
- 11 οἱ δὲ (δέκα) δάκτυλοι αὐτῆς
τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως ἀνοιγνύουσιν.
- 12 ἤς ἡ παστὸς φωτεινός, ἀποφορὰν
ὀποβαλσάμου καὶ παντὸς ἀρώματος διαπνέων,
- 13 ἀναδιδούς τε ὀσμὴν ἠδεῖαν σμύρνης τε
καὶ φύλλου, καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἠδυπνῶων.
- 14 ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυρσίαι,
αἱ δὲ κλισιάδες ἐν καλάμοις κεκόσμηται.
- 15 περιεστοιχισμένην δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ταύτης (παρά)νυμφοι,
ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑβδομὸς ἐστίν, οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο·
- 16 αἱ δὲ ταύτης παράνυμφοί εἰσιν ἑπτὰ,
αἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς χορεύουσιν.
- 17 δώδεκα δὲ εἰσὶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς
ὑπηρετοῦντες καὶ αὐτῇ ὑποκείμενοι,
- 18 τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ θέαμα εἰς τὸν νυμφίον ἔχοντες,
ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θεάματος αὐτοῦ φωτισθῶσιν.
- 19 καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα σὺν αὐτῷ ἔσονται
εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χαρὰν τὴν αἰώνιον·

- 20 καὶ ἔσσονται ἐν τῷ γάμῳ ἐκείνῳ,
ἐν ᾧ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες συναθροίζονται·
- 21 καὶ παραμενοῦσιν τῇ εὐχαρίᾳ,
ἧς οἱ αἰώνιοι καταξιοῦνται·
- 22 καὶ ἐνδύσονται βασιλικά ἐνδύματα
καὶ ἀμφιάσσονται στολὰς λαμπράς·
- 23 καὶ ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσσονται ἀμφότεροι,
καὶ δοξάσουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων.
- 24 οὐ τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον ἐδέξαντο,
καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν ἐν τῇ θεᾷ τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ αὐτῶν·
- 25 οὐ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο
μηδὲν ὄλως ἀπουσίαν ἔχουσαν,
- 26 ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου (αὐτοῦ),
τοῦ μὴ δίψαν αὐτοῖς παρέχοντος καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν.
- 27 {ἐδόξασαν δὲ καὶ ὕμνησαν σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνεύματι
τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας.}

1 ἐνέστη et ἔνεστι codd. nonnulli // 4 αὐτῆς addidi ex versione Syr. / ὑπ' X et vers. Syr., coniec. Usener : ἐπ' codd. // 6 "Da sie lauter Loblieder (mit ihm) spricht" ex vers. Syr. add. Bornkamm // 7 (ἐν) ταύτῃ scripsi conlata vers. Syr. (in ea) : ταύτην codd. / totum versum delet Macke, vix recte : *XII apostoli filii et LXXII tonant in ea* vers. Syr. / 7b unum versum intercidisse vidit Lipsius : *exspectes δοξάζοντες τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων conl. v. 23b // 9 ἔγχειται : sunt scalae arduae* vers. Syr. // 10 χῶρον coniec. Bonnet (*locum* vers. Syr.) : χορὸν codd. (cf. c. 54, p. 171.9, et c. 57, p. 174.6 χῶρον codd. : χορὸν P; et praesertim c. 148, p. 257.6 χωρῶν *locus* vers. Syr. : χορῶν codd.; c. 156, p. 265.2 χωρῶν *in regionem* vers. Syr. : χορῶν codd.) / κηρύσσοντες codd. praeter A (cf. *Apocal.* 11:4) : κηρύσσουσαι A (ft. recte) // 11 δέκα ex vers. Syr. addi suad. Bonnet / ἀνοιγνύουσιν coniec. Hoffmann : ὑποδεικνύουσιν per dittographiam codd. (cf. v. 10a) // 12 ὀποβαλάμου Hoffmann : ἀπὸ βαλάμου codd. // 13b καὶ ἀνθέων παμπόλλων ἡδυπνόνων post v. 14 ὑπέστρωνται δὲ ἐντὸς μυσταῖναι codd., huc transtulit Hoffmann : "aliquid intercidisse videtur velut στέμματα" Bonnet // 14b κλισιάδες coniec. Thilo (*ianuae* vers. Syr.) : κλειστάδες codd. // 15 παρανύμφοι coniec. Thilo, *παράνυμφοι* coniec. Bonnet : *sponsi comites* ('groomsmen') vers. Syr. : νυμφίοι codd. // 16b αἱ Thilo : οἱ codd. // 26a αὐτοῦ addidi (cf. v.25 οὐ) // 27 delevi post G. Bornkamm, ut additamentum Manichaeorum

TRANSLATION

1. *The Bride*

- The Bride is the daughter of Light:
the majestic effulgence of kings stands upon her;
- 2 delightful is the sight of her,
radiant with cheerful beauty.

- 3 Her garments are like spring flowers:
sweet fragrance spreads around from them.
- 4 On the crown of her head sits the King,
feeding with his ambrosia those who sit beneath him.
- 5 Truth rests upon her head,
(the movement of) her feet makes joy appear.
- 6 Her mouth is open, and it becomes her:
(for she utters with it all songs of praise.)
- 7 Thirty-two are they who sing praises (in) her,
(e.g., glorifying the Father of all.)
- 8 Her tongue is like a door-curtain (cf. *Hebrews* 6:19; 9:3; 10:20)
that is moved aside for those who enter it.
- 9 Her neck is shaped like the (lofty) steps
that the first Demiurge created.
- 10 Her both hands make signs,
proclaiming the place of the blessed aeons.
- 11 Her (ten) fingers
open the gates of the City.

2. *Her Bridal Chamber*

- 12 Her bridal chamber (cf. *Matt.* 9:15; 22:10) is full of light,
breathing a scent of balsam and every spice;
- 13 giving off a sweet fragrance of myrrh and silphium,
and of all kinds of sweet-smelling flowers.
- 14 Its floor is covered with myrtle twigs
and the portals are adorned with wands of reed.

3. *Her Attendants*

- 15 Her groomsmen keep her surrounded,
seven in number, whom she herself had chosen.
- 16 And her bridesmaids are seven,
who dance before her in chorus.
- 17 Twelve in number are those
who serve before her and are subject to her.

4. *The Bridegroom and the Elect Ones*

- 18 They have their gaze toward the Bridegroom (cf. *Matt.* 9:15;
John 3:29),
so that by the sight of him they may be enlightened
(cf. *John* 1:7-9; 2 *Timothy* 1:10; *Hebrews* 6:4).

- 19 And they shall be with him forever
in that eternal bliss;
- 20 And they shall be present at that wedding (cf. Matt. 22:2)
at which the great ones are assembled (cf. Mark 6:21;
Apocal. 6:15; 18:23);
- 21 And they shall attend the banquet (cf. *Apocal.* 19:9)
of which the eternal ones are deemed worthy (cf. Matt. 22:14).
- 22 And they shall put on royal robes (cf. Matt. 22:11-12)
and be arrayed in shining cloaks (cf. *Apocal.* 3:4-5; 3:18; 4:4; 6:11;
7:9; 7:13-14; 1 *Cor.* 15:53; 2 *Cor.* 5:3-4; 1 *Enoch* 62:15-16; 71:1;
108:12; 2 *Enoch* 22:8-10).
- 23 And all of them shall be in joy and exultation,
and they shall glorify the Father of all.
- 24 (For) his majestic Light they have received,
by the vision of their Lord they have been enlightened.
- 25 His ambrosial food they have received,
which is free of all decay;
- 26 Of <his> wine they have drunk,
which causes them neither thirst nor desire.
- 27 {And they glorified and praised along with the Living Spirit
the Father of truth and the Mother of wisdom.}

II. INTERPRETATION

1. *The Structure of the Hymn.* The text of the Hymn, in the reconstruction offered above, easily falls into four parts: 11 + 3 + 3 + 9 couplets. The lion's share (couplets 1-11) belongs to the description of the Bride, i.e., of the *Lichtjungfrau* (1 τοῦ φωτός θυγάτηρ). She appears in the role of a *Mediator* between the Heaven (in 11 she opens the gates of the Heavenly City Jerusalem) and the pneumatics on earth. That is why her neck has been shaped by the first Demiurge (i.e., by the Father of all, cf. 7b and 23b) as "a lofty flight of steps" (9a), leading to that City.

Consequently, Part I (1-11) anticipates Part IV (18-26): the redemption of the pneumatics (Gnostics), "the great and eternal ones" (20-21). It also anticipates the description of the Bridegroom (in 18-26)—by indicating his place both at the wedding banquet and in the Pleroma: 4 "on the crown of her head sits the King." Here, by ὁ βασιλεύς the Bridegroom (Savior or Christ) must be meant (as already Thilo had suggested), and not "the Father" or "ein dominierender Stern" (as Lipsius 305 and Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 69 n. 1, respectively, had thought). For the ambrosia of this King is nothing else but the ambrosia provided by Christ (in the closing couplets 25-26), i.e., eucharist. Compare *Acta*

Thomae 25 (p. 140.13 Bonnet) and 36 (p. 154.2), where ἡ ἀμβροσιώδης πηγὴ of Jesus and ἡ ἀμβροσιώδης τροφή, along with τὸ ποτὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς ἀληθινῆς, clearly refer to eucharist.

Part II (12-14) briefly describes the Bridal Chamber. Such Bride, such her bride-chamber—full of light, sweet fragrance, spring flowers, myrtle twigs, chastity and purity. Add to this that her bridesmaids are cheerfully dancing in chorus before her (16), just as she herself seems to be cheerfully moving her feet (in 5).

Some of the wedding customs taken from the real life seem to be detectable in this *Interpretatio Gnostica*. For example, the place of the bridegroom at the wedding banquet was really “above the bride” (as Bousset, *ZNW* 18 [1917] 21 f., had correctly pointed out): that is why the King sits “on the crown” of the Bride’s head (in 4). Moreover, it was the duty of the groomsmen to serve as the groom’s “guardians of the bride:” that is why the seven groomsmen (i.e., the seven planets) keep the Bride “surrounded” (in 15). Furthermore, Miss E.S. Driver had drawn attention to the similarity between the bride-chamber of our Hymn and the bride-chamber of the modern Mandaean of Iraq: it is adorned with fresh flowers and myrtle, and with tree-twigs of every kind.⁷ Finally, the apotropaic decoration of the house entrance with myrtle twigs (dedicated to Aphrodite: Athenaeus XV, 767 AB) during a wedding ceremony was common enough in Greece (Plut. *Amatorius* 755 A; Stobaeus IV.22^a.24 [IV, p. 506.19 Hense]).⁸

Part III (15-17) resumes the spatial location of the Bride from couplet 4. She is totally encompassed by her seven groomsmen (i.e., by the seven planets), being entertained by her seven bridesmaids (i.e., by the seven *archons* of these planets).⁹ In addition, the twelve archons of the Zodiacal Circle serve before her (17).

Couplet 18 serves as a “bridge” between Parts III and IV: The attendants have their gaze fixed on the Bridegroom, who is probably seated above the Bride (cf. 4), in order to receive light from him and thus become “enlightened.” The aeons are the ἀπαρχή of the ultimate redemption, a guaranty for the redemption of the pneumatics, who are to be understood under “the great and eternal ones” of couplets 20-21.

⁷ E.S. Driver, *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran* (Oxford, 1937), 63, quoted by Geo Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, *Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift* 1946:3, p. 113.

⁸ Cf. J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu* (RGVV XIV.2, Giessen, 1914), 64 f.; R. Ganszynieć, in *PWRE*, XI (1922), 1594.40 ff. (s.v. Kranz); K. Baus, “Der Kranz in Antike u. Christentum,” *Theophaneia*, II (Bonn, 1940), 61-71.

⁹ Cf. Origen *Contra Celsum* 6.31. Thilo 144; Bornkamm 83 n. 1.

The nine couplets of Part IV (18-26), dealing with the Savior, serve as a counterbalance to the eleven couplets describing the Bride in Part I. The Savior is able to enlighten both the aeons and the pneumatics (18 and 24b) because he himself is Light, as Son of the Light (the Father of all). In 24, Light is best explained as a synonym of Lord, referring to the Savior-Christ (cf. John 1:9, Ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον). In brief, *Light* is the essence of all three divine persons—the Father of all (1, “the daughter of Light;” 24a, “his Light”), the Bride (1; 12), and the Bridegroom (18; 24).

Couplets 19-23 are strongly liturgical (or macaristic) in character (“And they shall...”). Their content is explained by the closing couplets 24-26. The redemption of the pneumatics will be achieved through the following sacraments, mysteries and Gnostic enlightenment: the eucharist (25-26); the enlightenment through Christ (18 and 24); the acquisition of the “royal raiment” (22); and, above all, through a Marcsonian sacrament (?) of the Bridal Chamber (20-21).

The elaborate structure of the Hymn is enhanced by the fact that the same keyword has been placed at different strategic points (including a kind of *Ringcomposition*). A few examples. The expression, 1-2 τὸ φῶς and τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τὸ γαῦρον, 12 φωτεινός, 18 ἵνα φωτισθῶσιν, 24 τὸ φῶς τὸ γαῦρον and ἐφωτίσθησαν, serves as a *thread* linking the Father of all, Bride and Bridegroom. Moreover, 10 οἱ εὐδαίμονες αἰῶνες, 19 εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα and αἰώνιος, lead to 21 οἱ αἰώνιοι, by implying, “the elect Gnostics as the partakers in that eternal bliss.” Furthermore, 2 ἐπιτεπέτες, 5 χαρά, 19 χαρά and 23 ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει ἔσονται (in addition to 16 χορεύουσιν) link the Bride with the pneumatics in the everlasting joy and exultation. Finally, 4 ἀμβροσία anticipates the eucharist of the closing lines (25-26), ἡ ἀμβροσία βρωσις, and the Father of all seems to be glorified by both the Bride (in 6b and 7b) and the pneumatics (in 23b; couplet 27 is a later Manichaean expansion).

2. *Exit Bardesanes and the Manichaeans.* The opening word of the Hymn, ἡ κόρη, means both “Maiden” and “Bride” (it means “bride” at *Odyssey* 18.279; Theopompus Com. 14 ap. Σ Aristoph. *Plut.* 768). Since bridal chamber (12) and Bridegroom (18) are mentioned in the Hymn, the sense “Bride” is the most natural. If so, then Klijn’s commentary: “She [i.e., the daughter of Light] is never called bride” (p. 177), must be wrong. Now, the key-problem of the Hymn seems to be to identify the Bride, since it may lead us to the very Gnostic system from which the Hymn originally had derived. Who is the Bride: the Near-Eastern “Maiden of Light” (παρθένος τοῦ φωτός); the Jewish Sophia-Achamoth; or rather a combination of both?

A. Dieterich¹⁰ brought our “daughter of Light” in connection with the *Lichtjungfrau* of the *Pistis Sophia* (pp. 126.14 ff.; 212.12 ff. ed. C. Schmidt³ et passim). She is accompanied by seven maidens (i.e., seven planets: pp. 138.26; 188.16 ff.; 211.33; 212.25; 216.7), and by twelve δίακονοι (i.e., by the twelve zodiacal signs: pp. 9.3; 126.18; 138.27; 148.24), just as is our Bride. Then Bousset enriched the picture in the classical opening chapters on “Die Sieben und die Μητήρ” of his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (pp. 9-91, esp. pp. 62 n. 1 and 69).

Lipsius (305 and 309 f.), Preuschen (75 f.), and especially Bornkamm (*Mythos* 85 f.) brought Bardesanes (Bardaisān, A.D. 154-222) into the picture. However, in my opinion, the enigmatic text of Bardesanes’ psalm ap. Ephraem the Syrian (*Psalms* 55.5 ed. Beck) is irrelevant to our Hymn. It reads:

‘When shall we see thy wedding feast, o youthful Spirit?’ [asks the mother, the Holy Spirit, her daughter, either Earth or Water]. She [i.e., the youthful Spirit] is the daughter whom she [i.e., her mother, the Holy Spirit] set upon her knees and sang to sleep.

To be sure, a “Bridal chamber of light” does appear in Bardesanes.¹¹ It is the *Crossing-place* at which the departed souls are being hindered because of the *sin of Adam* (“because the sin of Adam hindered them”)—until the coming of the Savior Christ: “Therefore, everyone that keeps my word [says Jesus: John 8:52] death forever he shall not taste,—that his soul is not hindered when it crosses at the Crossing-place, like the hindrance of old...” But, as H.J.W. Drijvers had pointed out in his dissertation on Bardesanes,¹² this idea is not Gnostic. For the souls are being stopped at the Crossing-place not because of a primordial Gnostic “fall” of the soul, but because of Adam’s original disobedience of God’s command. In conclusion, Bardesanes cannot help us in assessing the *Wedding Hymn*. His influence, however, seems to be detectable in the *Acts of Thomas*, but this is a different matter. For there is a strong possibility that our Hymn had been composed long before the *Acts of Thomas*: it was then inserted into the *Acts* by its author (Bornkamm 86 f. seems to confuse the two issues).

As for the Manichaeans, expressions like these: “Jesus Christ, receive me into Thy Bride-chambers of light” or “into Thy Aeons” do occur in Manichaean Psalms (e.g., on pp. 54.5; 63.3; 79.17-20; 80.18 and 20 f.;

¹⁰ *Abraxas* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 101 ff.; 104 ff.

¹¹ Ap. Ephraem the Syrian, *Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardesanes*, ed. C.W. Mitchell, vol. II (London, 1921), p. 164.32-40 (Syriac text), p. LXXVII (English translation), completed by A.A. Bevan and F.C. Burkitt.

¹² H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen, 1966), 155.

81.13 f.; 117.29 f.; 150.18?; 197.5 Allberry). But the point is that the Manichaean sources cannot help us in explaining our Hymn *for chronological reasons*—they are much later than our Hymn (*contra* the approach of, e.g., Geo Widengren¹³).

3. *Enter the Valentinian Vogue.* With the *ἱερός γάμος* between Sophia-Achamoth and Savior-Christ of the widespread Valentinianism we are on safer grounds (as already Thilo and Lipsius had recognized). The *locus classicus* is Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.7.1: ... τὴν μὲν Ἀχαμῶθ τὴν Μητέρα αὐτῶν μεταστῆναι τοῦ τῆς Μεσότητος τόπου λέγουσι καὶ ἐντὸς Πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν νυμφίον αὐτῆς τὸν Σωτῆρα..., ἵνα συζυγία γένηται τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς Σοφίας τῆς Ἀχαμῶθ. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι “νυμφίον καὶ νύμφην” (cf. John 3:29), “νυμφῶνα” δὲ (cf. Matt. 9:15; 22:10) τὸ πᾶν Πλήρωμα.¹⁴ (Compare Hippolyt. *Refut.* 6.34.4.)

There can be little doubt about the identity of the Bridegroom in our Wedding Hymn: the Savior-Christ *is* the Light and the Enlightener in couplets 18 and 24 (cf. John 1:4-5; 1:7-9), and certainly He is the giver of the holy eucharist in couplets 25-26. After all, the Father of all is ἄγνωστος and invisible, while the Savior-Christ is visible: “by the *vision* of their Lord they have been enlightened,” (24).

But the striking similarity between our Hymn, the *Acts of Thomas* and the Valentinianism is in the *sacramental character of the Bridal Chamber*. It is expressed in the closing liturgical formulas of the Hymn. There are no less than seven future-tenses (“and they shall...”) in couplets 19-23 (καὶ... ἔσονται; καὶ... ἔσονται; καὶ παραμενοῦσιν; καὶ ἐνδύσονται; καὶ ἀμφιάσονται; καὶ... ἔσονται; καὶ δοξάσουσιν), capped with four explanatory aorists in couplets 24-26 (τὸ φῶς... ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐφωτίσθησαν; τὴν βρῶσιν ἐδέξαντο; ἔπιον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου).

Doubtless, the redemption of the Aeons attending the sacrament of matrimony between Sophia and Christ serves as a guaranty for the future redemption of the pneumatics. This expectation is clearly expressed in the *Acts of Thomas* 12 (p. 118.7): προσδοκῶντες (sc. ὑμεῖς) ἀπολήψεσθαι ἐκεῖνον τὸν γάμον τὸν ἄφθορον καὶ ἀληθινόν, καὶ ἔσεσθε ἐν αὐτῷ παράνυμφοι συνεισερχόμενοι εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα ἐκεῖνον τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ φωτὸς πλήρη. Compare also c. 14 s.f. (p. 120.8), of the same Act 1, where the heavenly wedding is preferred to “this marriage that passes away from before my eyes” (Καὶ ὅτι ἐξουθένισα τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς γάμους τούτους τοὺς παρερχομένους ἀπ’ ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, ἐπειδὴ ἑτέρῳ γάμῳ

¹³ Especially in *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism* (supra, n. 7), pp. 109-112.

¹⁴ A solid critical edition of Irenaeus' *Adv. haereses* Book I has been provided recently by A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, S.J., in *Sources Chrétiennes*, Vols. 263-264 (Paris, 1979).

ἡρμόσθην); and especially the elaborate speech of Mygdonia in c. 124 (Act 10), rejecting her marriage to Karish (Charisius) and defending her wedding to Christ (p. 233.18):

... Εἶδες ἐκεῖνον τὸν παρελθόντα γάμον {ᾧδε καὶ μόνον seclusi, om. U habet P}, ὁ δὲ γάμος οὗτος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει· ἡ κοινωνία ἐκείνη διαφθορᾶς ἦν, αὕτη δὲ ζωῆς αἰώνιου· οἱ παράνομοι ἐκεῖνοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶν καὶ γυναῖκες πρόσκαιροι, οἱ δὲ νῦν εἰς τέλος παραμένουσιν· ἐκεῖνος ὁ γάμος ἐπὶ γῆς ἴστησιν, (ὅπου θλιψίς ἐστὶν ἄπαστος, οὗτος δὲ ἐπὶ γεφύρας πυρὸς¹⁵ ἴστησιν, explevi exempli gratia conlata versione Syriaca) φιλανθρωπίαν δροσιζῶν· ἐκεῖνος ὁ παστὸς λύεται πάλιν, οὗτος δὲ διὰ παντὸς μένει· ... σὺ [sc. Charisius] νυμφίος εἶ παριῶν καὶ λυόμενος, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς νυμφίος ἐστὶν ἀληθινός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα παραμένων ἀθάνατος (καὶ ἄφθαρτος)· ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἀνακαλυπτῆριον χρήματα ἦν καὶ πέπλα παλαιούμενα [cf. *Psalm* 102 (101):27; *Hebrews* 1:11], τοῦτο δὲ ζῶντες λόγοι μηδέποτε παρερχόμενοι.¹⁶

The renunciation of the carnal, earthly (choic and psychic) perishable marriage in favor of the spiritual (pneumatic) everlasting wedding in heaven is one of the key-motifs of the *Acts of Thomas*, as Bornkamm (68-81) had well pointed out. First the king's daughter in the city of Andrapolis¹⁷ renounces her earthly marriage in Act 1 (cc. 4-15). Then—and especially—Mygdonia does the same in Acts 9 and 10 (cc. 88; 93; 98; 117, culminating in the παράθεσις of c. 124, quoted above). Next, the queen Tertia (in Act 11, esp. c. 135), and finally the king's son Vīzan (Vazan) and his wife Mnasara (Manashar) follow the trend (in Acts 12 and 13, esp. c. 150). Most probably, this prevailing motif of the *Acts of Thomas*—the spiritual marriage to Jesus—was the reason for the author to insert our *Wedding Hymn in Act 1*.

The sacramental character of couplets 19-23, referring to the pneumatics (couplets 20-21) and being echoed in c. 12 s.f. of the *Acts*, is best explained by the sacrament of the “Bridal Chamber” as being practiced by the Marcosians:

¹⁵ Compare the Činvat-bridge of the Iranian religion—the way to heaven for the virtuous souls (*Vd.* 19.28-32): Geo Widengren, “Iranische Religionsgeschichte,” *Numen* 1 (1954), 35 f., and n. 99 (on the *Toten-Brücke*).

¹⁶ Cf. Lipsius 303 f.; Bornkamm 77 f.

¹⁷ For the identification of Ἀνδράπολις-Σεναδρωχ (Syriac SNDRWK, cf. pp. XXI and 104.4 app. Bonnet) with *Ḥatre d' Sanaṭrūk*, a “trading city in the desert between the Tigris and the Euphrates on the caravan route from the middle Tigris valley to Edessa,” compare George Huxley, “Geography in the *Acts of Thomas*,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 24 (1983) 71-80, esp. pp. 72 f.

“Εὐτρέπισον σεαυτὴν ὡς νύμφη ἐκδεχομένη τὸν νυμφίον ἑαυτῆς, ἵνα ἔσῃ ὁ ἐγὼ καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ σύ. Καθίδρυσον ἐν τῷ νυμφῶνί σου τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ φωτός. Λάβε παρ’ ἐμοῦ τὸν νυμφίον καὶ χώρησον αὐτὸν καὶ χωρήθητι ἐν αὐτῷ.” (Iren. 1.13.3). Οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν νυμφῶνα κατασκευάζουσι καὶ μυσταγωγίαν ἐπιτελοῦσι μετ’ ἐπιρρήσεών τινων τοῖς τελουμένοις καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον φάσκουσιν εἶναι τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν γινόμενον κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄνω συζυγιῶν (1.21.3).

The redemption of the pneumatics through the Bridal Chamber was well known to the Valentinians, as Irenaeus (1.7.1), Clement (*Exc. ex Theodoto* 63-65; 68; 79), and Heracleon (Fr. 12 Brooke) attest. The sacrament of the Bridal Chamber (or the spiritual marriage for the consecrated ones) is prominent also in the *Gospel of Philip* (Nag Hammadi II.3), Logia: 61; 66; 67; 68; 73; 76; 79; 80; 82; 87; 95; 102; 124-127. In Logion 76 (p. 69.23) we even read that the Bridal Chamber is the highest among the sacraments (“Redemption is ‘the Holy of the Holy.’ ‘The Holy of the Holies’ is the Bridal Chamber”). It also occurs in the *Exegesis on the Soul* (NH II.6), pp. 132.13 ff.; 132.25 ff. Both gnostic treatises are Valentinian in character.¹⁸

In conclusion, the Valentinian background of the Wedding Hymn seems to be undeniable. If so then the Hymn may be dated at the end of the second century A.D.

4. *Back to the Lichtjungfrau.* At the same time, there are differences of significance between the Hymn and the Valentinianism. Apparently, we are expected to envisage the Bride (Sophia) as restored to the Pleroma (Bridal Chamber). But it is disturbing to find the seven planets (and their seven archons) in her company, “keeping her surrounded” (15). In the Valentinian system, they belong to the Hebdomad (our world), along with the twelve zodiacs. Moreover, it is unthinkable of the Valentinians to call the invisible Father “the first Demiurge” (as our poet seems to do in couplet 9). In Valentinianism, the first Demiurge is the Savior: Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν δημιουργὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ γίνεται καθολικός (Clem. *Exc.* 46.2; cf. Iren. 1.5.1: ... τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος μαθήματα; ... τὸν Σωτῆρα δι’ αὐτῆς).

¹⁸ Also in Nag Hammadi VII.2 (*The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*), pp. 57.13 ff.; 66.1 ff. Cf. Kurt Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, II (Göttingen, 1961), pp. 317 f.; 318 n. 3.—The Valentinian ἱερὸς γάμος between Sophia and Christ may well have its source in the Ophitic system ap. Irenaeus 1.30.12: *Et descendente[m] Christum in hunc mundum induisse primum sororem suam Sophiam, et exultasse utrosque refrigerantes super invicem: et hoc esse “sponsum et sponsam”* (cf. John 3:29) *definiunt*. Now, it is not difficult to see how different this account is from the one in our Hymn: The union between Christ and Sophia in the Ophitic account forms part of Christ’s descent (*in <quem> [i.e. Iesum] Christum perplexum Sophiae descendisse, et sic factum esse Iesum Christum*), not of their ultimate redemption in the Pleroma (Bridal Chamber), as in the Valentinian account and in our Hymn.

In addition, Bornkamm 83 had remarked that our Bridegroom does not show the characteristics of the Valentinian *Σωτήρ*, nor is there in the Hymn any hint at the “fall” of Sophia. On the other hand, the presence of the seven attendants (and twelve servants) around the *Lichtjungfrau* (e.g., in the *Pistis Sophia*) is established. Hence I would assume that our poet is *combining* the Valentinian Sophia with the Near-Eastern Maiden of Light as a *Himmelsgöttin*. Manichaean *Kephalaia* p. 24.18 f. Polotsky explicitly state: “Wisdom (Σοφία) is the Maiden (παρθένος) of Light,” but, again, Manichaean sources are posterior to our Hymn.

5. *Enter Jewish Wisdom Poetry*. But there is more to it than that, when speaking of Gnostic syncretistic drive: our Bride displays some striking similarities with the Jewish Wisdom. Here are some of them.¹⁹

1. **ἀπαύγασμα**: In *Sap. Salom.* 7:26 Sophia is called ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς αἰδίου. In 7:29 she is described as being fairer than the sun, and above all the constellations of the stars; being compared with the light, she is found to be *before it* (φωτὶ συγκρινομένη εὐρίσκεται προτέρα). Compare Philo *De migrat. Abrahami* 40: σοφία... θεοῦ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον φέγγος, οὗ μίμημα καὶ εἰκὼν ἥλιος. Hence she is the enlightenment: Philo *De spec. legg.* 3.6: φωτὶ τῷ σοφίας ἐναυγάζομαι. 1.288: διανοίας δὲ φῶς ἐστὶ σοφία. *De congressu erudit. gratia* 47: Sophia is φῶς ψυχῆς.²⁰

1. **κόρη**: In *Sap. Sal.* 8:2 Sophia is compared to a beautiful bride. At 8:3 she lives with God (as a spouse?): συμβίωσιν θεοῦ ἔχουσα. In Philo *De Cherubim* 49, God is called Husband of Wisdom (σοφίας ἀνὴρ).

3. **ἀποφορὰ εὐωδίας**: In *Sirach* 24:15 Wisdom gives forth a scent of perfumes as cinnamon and aspalathus (sweet balm), and as a choice myrrh, galbanum, onyx and stacte. Compare couplets 12-13 of our Hymn.

5. **χαρά**: In *Sap. Sal.* 8:16 Sophia is the source of joy and gladness (cf. *Sirach* 6:28).—**ἀλήθεια**: cf. *Proverbs* 8:7 (Wisdom speaking): ὅτι ἀλήθειαν μελετήσῃ ὁ φάρυγξ μου, / ἐβδελυγμένα δὲ ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ χεῖλη ψευδῆ.

6. **ἦς τὸ στόμα ἀνέφωκται**: In *Sirach* 24:2 Wisdom opens her mouth in the assembly of the Most High, and is honored in the presence of His (heavenly) hosts. Cf. *Prov.* 8:4 ff.—As for the place of Wisdom (compare couplets 4; 9; 11 of the Hymn), in *Sap. Sal.* 9:4 (cf. *Iren.* 1.13.6), Sophia sits beside the God on His throne (δός μοι τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν). In *Sirach* 24:4, she dwells in the highest places, and her throne is on a pillar of cloud (i.e., in heaven).

¹⁹ Many of the parallels between our Hymn and *Sap. Sal.* and *Sirach* have been pointed out by Klijn, in his Commentary, pp. 170-178: I have enlarged the list within the allotted space.

²⁰ Cf. also Philo *De sacrif. Abelis et Caini* 78, and H. Leisegang, in *PW RE*, III A (1927), 1033.

15. οὗς αὐτὴ ἐξελέξατο: Sophia herself chooses her attendants (in our Hymn: her groomsmen): *Sap. Sal.* 6:16, ὅτι τοὺς ἀξιούς αὐτῆς αὐτὴ περιέρχεται ζητοῦσα κτλ. Cf. *Proverbs* 9:1-6, where Sophia is described as inviting people to her feast.

6. *Three Problems.*

(a) *The Shining Royal Raiment.* The elect ones—implying both the Aeons and the pneumatics—who are present at the heavenly Wedding Banquet shall put on *two* kinds of raiment: first, royal robes (βασιλικὰ ἐνδύματα); second, shining cloaks (togas, mantles, στολὰς λαμπράς, 22). And that reminds us at once of the *Hymn of the Pearl* in the same *Acts of Thomas* (cc. 108-113). For its poet seems to be insisting on the fact that the royal garment of the King's son consists of *two* pieces—ἐσθῆς plus στολή: c. 108 (p. 220.3 and 8 Bonnet); c. 110 (p. 222.1); c. 113 (p. 224.9 f.). Notice that the poet of the Wedding Hymn does not call the raiment of the wedding-guests ἐνδυμα γάμου (from Matt. 22:11-12), as one would expect him to do in view of the use of this phrase by the Gnostics—by the Valentinians (ap. Clem. *Exc. ex Theod.* 61.8, τὰ πνευματικὰ... σῶζεται, “ἐνδύματα γάμων” τὰς ψυχὰς λαβόντα; 63.1) and by the Naassenes (ap. Hippolyt. *Refut.* 5.8.44). Nor does he call it “robes that never grow old,” πέπλα μὴ παλαιούμενα, as the author of the *Acts of Thomas* does (c. 124, p. 234.3, inspired by *Psalms* 102:27; *Hebrews* 1:11); hence in *Manichaeian Psalms* 146.42 and 155.10 Allberry: “I have received my washed clothes [cf. *Gen.* 49:11; *Apocal.* 7:14; 22:14], my cloak (στολή) that grows not old.”

Our poet calls it *royal* raiment, and that links him with the *Hymn of the Pearl*, where the name ἐσθῆς βασιλική may be explained by the fact that the prince's raiment has the image of “the King of kings” (Parthian *šāhinšāh*) embroidered all over it (c. 112, p. 223.19 f.: καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων βασιλέως ὅλη δι' ὅλης; cf. c. 110, p. 221.19). In addition, the μεγιστᾶνες of our Hymn (20) may be paralleled by the μεγιστᾶνες, βασιλεῖς, οἱ ἐν τέλει, οἱ πρωτεύοντες and οἱ δυνάσται of the *Hymn of the Pearl*, c. 109 (p. 220.22); c. 110 (p. 221.16 ff.). Now, Geo Widengren has convincingly shown that the *Hymn of the Pearl* is best explained in the geographical, political and cultural background of the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids (whose fall was in A.D. 226).²¹ And I wonder whether the poet of the *Pearl Hymn* and the poet of the *Wedding Hymn* may well be *one and the same person*.

²¹ In “Der iranische Hintergrund der Gnosis,” *Zeitschr. f. Religions- u. Geistesgeschichte* 4 (1952) 105-114. Cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), 70 ff.—The same idea in Th. Nöldeke, *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 25 (1871) 676-679, and in F.C. Burkitt, *Urchristentum im Orient* (Tübingen, 1907), 152. Cf. Bornkamm, in Hennecke-Schneemelcher (supra, n. 1), II, 303-305 = English translation II, 433-437; Klijn (supra, n. 1), 273-281.

To the question about the nature and origin of the heavenly “royal garment” of the pneumatics in our Hymn I have no positive answer. However, if, on the one hand, *Light* dominates the entire Hymn (Father of all, Bride and Bridegroom are all light; both the Aeons and the pneumatics receive light from them, 24), and if, on the other hand, the “glittering robe of splendor” of the *Hymn of the Pearl* seems to be no other thing but the primordial *Lichtmantel der Seele*, then it is an educated guess to assume that the “royal robe” of our Hymn suggests the Gnostic ultimate return of the spirit to the everlasting realm of Light.

If so, then the Manichaeans have correctly understood the *Hymn of the Pearl*: compare the role of the “raiment of light” in *Kephalaia*, p. 36.24 Polotsky; *Manichaean Psalms* 50.25; 81.9; 193.10 et passim; probably also in the *Psalms of Thomas* 2.32; 2.37 and 11.7.²² Other possible parallels may be: “Kleider (ἔνδυματᾶ) des Lichtes” in *Pistis Sophia* pp. 227.5 and 11; 6.9 et passim; ἔνδυμα οὐράνιον of the Sethians (in Hippolyt. *Refut.* 5.19.21); *Gospel of Philip*, Logion 24 (p. 57.19): “In this world those who put on garments are better than the garments. In the Kingdom of heaven the garments are better than those who have put them on.”²³ The Ophites ap. Iren. 1.30.9: *Adam autem et Evam prius quidem habuisse levia et clara et velut spiritualia corpora, quemadmodum et plasmati sunt: venientes autem huc, demutasse in obscurius et pinguius et pigrius.*—The Qumran *Manuale disciplinae*, col. 4.7 f., “every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light.”. 1 *Enoch* 62:15-16 (Garments of glory and life from the Lord of spirits for the righteous and elect ones risen from the earth); 71:1; 108:12 (Those who love God’s holy name will be clad in shining light... “and they shall be resplendent for times without number”). 2 *Enoch* 22: 8-10 (The raiment of the blessed, composed of God’s glory and light, “shining like the rays of the sun”). 1 *Cor.* 15:53; 2 *Cor.* 5:3-4; *Apocal.* 3:4-5; 3:18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9; 7:13-14; *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:16; 7:22; 8:14 (about the spiritual bodies of the blessed); *Isaiah* 61:10; et alibi.

(b) *The Thirty-two*. The text as transmitted reads (7): τριάκοντα καὶ δύο εἰσὶν οἱ ταύτην ὑμνολογοῦντες. Lipsius (306) had suggested that the thirty-two Valentinian Aeons are meant, praising the Father of all through the

²² Cf. Alfred Adam, *Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis* (Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. die neutestamentl. Wiss., 24, Berlin, 1959), 66 f.; Peter Nagel, *Die Thomaspsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmenbuches* (Quellen, N.F., 1; Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1980), 102 f.; G. Widengren, *The Great Vohu Manah and the Apostle of God*, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1945:5, pp. 76 ff.

²³ Here ends Logion 24. Cf. Martin Krause, in *Die Gnosis*, II (Artemis Verlag, Zürich u. Stuttgart, 1971), p. 165 n. 28.

mouth of Sophia. Since then this interpretation has become the *communis opinio*. But, first of all, the Valentinian Pleroma consists of thirty—not thirty-two—Aeons: an Ogdoad, a Decad, and a Dodecad. The Valentinians supported their Triacontad by means of Luke 3:23 (Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὥσει ἑτῶν τριάκοντα): “That is why the Savior, they say, did nothing in public for years, thus setting forth the mystery of these Aeons” (Iren. 1.1.3; 1.3.1).

I think Lipsius’ number thirty-two is due to a misunderstanding of the text of Hippolytus (*Refut.* 6.31.3), which reads:

Καὶ γίνονται τριάκοντα (οἱ) Αἰῶνες μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· τινὲς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ταύτη (scripsi : ταύτην P) εἶναι θέλουσι τὴν τριακοντάδα τῶν Αἰώνων, τινὲς δὲ συνυπάρχειν τῷ Πατρὶ Σιγῆν καὶ οὖν αὐτοῖς καταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς Αἰῶνας θέλουσιν.

All Hippolytus seems to be saying here is that one Valentinian school of thought counted thirty Aeons by including the pair Christ-Holy Spirit (but excluding the pair Father-Sige), while another Valentinian school counted Father-Sige as one pair of Aeons (while excluding the pair Christ-Holy Spirit, probably as being an additional emanation outside the Pleroma): in each case the total number of Aeons is thirty, not thirty-two.

Back to the text of our couplet 7. In couplet 6 we read that the Bride’s *mouth* is open (because she utters all songs of praise, most probably of the Father of all). And in couplet 8 we learn that her *tongue* is like a door-curtain in a temple. Now, sandwiched between the Bride’s *mouth* and her *tongue* is our couplet 7. Therefore, it must refer to something *in her mouth*. Certainly, the Bride has not opened her mouth in order to *listen* to the praises of the Thirty-two—*contra* the translation of Werner Foerster: “Her mouth is opened and (it is) becoming to her. There are thirty-two who sing her praise.”²⁴ I think the Syriac version can help us in restoring the text; it reads: “The twelve apostles of the Son, and the seventy-two *thunder forth in her*.” “In her” (*in ea*) means “in her mouth.” Thus read: <ἐν> ταύτη for ταύτην.

Now, Thilo (p. 136) had suggested that thirty-two *teeth* are meant here. But if our Bride is Sophia, then the later Jewish speculation of *Sefer Yezirah* (“Book of Creation”) may be a closer parallel. The Book opens with the statement that God created the world by means of the thirty-two secret paths of *Wisdom*, which consist of the twenty-two elemental letters

²⁴ In Werner Foerster, *Die Gnosis*, I (Artemis Verlag, 1969), p. 441: “Ihr Mund is geöffnet und (steht) ihr auf geziemende Art. Zweiunddreissig sind es, die sie besingen.” English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson (Oxford, 1972), I, p. 345.

of the Hebrew alphabet plus ten *Sefirot beli mah*, total—thirty-two.²⁵ If so, then Sophia seems to be using all the sounds available in her mouth to praise the Father of all (cf. 6b; 7b), in the same way in which she is using all her ten fingers to open the gates of the heavenly city Jerusalem (in couplet 11).

(c) *Her neck is shaped like the lofty steps* (9). The comparison is puzzling and unparalleled. My guess is that this image should be brought in connection with the gates of the Heavenly City (in 11). The *vertebrae* of Sophia's neck are envisaged as the steps of a lofty stone-stairway leading to that City. Lipsius (p. 306 f.) referred to *Canticum* 4:4 (“Your neck is like David’s tower girt with battlements”) and 7:5 (“Your neck is like a tower of ivory”). A closer parallel may be found in the later *Acta Philippi* (composed ca. A.D. 400, referred to by Lipsius), c. 138 (p. 70.6 Bonnet), where the Savior’s cross of light, reaching down to the Abyss, has the shape of a *ladder provided with steps* (καὶ ἦν ὁ σταυρὸς ἐν ὁμοιωμάτι κλίμακος ἐχούσης βαθμούς), so that the masses of people may be saved and see again τὸ φῶς τοῦ θεοῦ. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* 68) thought that the steps of the Bride’s neck “sind nichts anderes als die etagenmässig übereinander gelagerten Himmelsphären.”

7. *Conclusions.* Starting from the assumption that the extant Greek version of the Wedding Hymn still reflects the meter—the Semitic *Doppeldreier*—of the lost Syriac original, and using the extant Syriac version wherever it seemed reliable, I was able to offer a reconstruction of the corrupt Greek version of the Hymn. It displays an elaborate structure (of 11 + 3 + 3 + 9 couplets), and attests to a skillful poet. As a matter of fact, our Hymn proves to be a *gem* of Gnostic poetry, comparable only to the Naassene Psalm in Hippolytus, *Refut.* 5.10.2.²⁶ The *Hymn of the Pearl* belongs to a rather different literary genre—a Hellenistic romance in verse, 105 couplets long.

The popular Valentinian *ἱερός γάμος* between Sophia-Achamoth and Savior-Christ makes the core of our Hymn. The Marcosian sacrament of the Bridal Chamber seems to have been known to our poet, while the influence of Bardesanes (and of Manichaeism) is not detectable in the

²⁵ Cf. G. Scholem, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 16 (1971) 783-786. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 69 n. 1) was the first to refer to *Sefer Yezirah* (cf. also Klijn 171). I am well aware of the fact that the “Book of Creation” is later than our Hymn (it may have been written somewhere between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D.), but its Pythagorean and other sources are much older. Cf. Franz Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Stoicheia, 7; Leipzig, 1922), pp. 35 and 140.—Compare also the thirty-two hermeneutic rules of the Talmud.

²⁶ See supra, No. 8, pp. 80-88.

Hymn. The very theme of the heavenly “spiritual marriage” which dominates the entire *Acts of Thomas* seems to have been the reason for its author to insert our Hymn in the *Acts*.

At the same time, the Wedding Hymn shows a certain influence of the Near-Eastern Maiden of Light (such as is present in, e.g., *Pistis Sophia*), and it reveals a strong inspiration coming from the Jewish Wisdom poetry. Finally, if I am right in seeing some common motifs in our Hymn and in the *Hymn of the Pearl*, we may posit one and the same poet for both Hymns.

In brief, the Wedding Hymn is a classical example of the Gnostic syncretism. Most probably, it belongs to the Syrian Judeo-Christian Gnosticism, and is slightly earlier than the *Acts of Thomas* (end of the second century A.D.).

The *Fortleben* of the Hymn is of interest, attesting to its importance and popularity. First, a Manichaean poet had added a clumsy couplet (27), trying to adapt the Hymn to the Manichaean creed. Then a Syriac redactor undertook major surgery and rewriting, in a futile effort to eliminate the Gnostic elements of the Hymn and convert it to Catholicism. Of course, he had replaced the Manichaean closing couplet with the orthodox Trinitarian dogma.

However, once restored to its original shape, the Wedding Hymn shines in its pristine beauty—as far as it is reflected in its Greek translation,—just as does the Bride the Hymn so vividly depicts—*φαιδρω κάλλει καταυγάζουσα* (2).

PYTHAGORAS AS COCK

Micyllus, the poor cobbler of Lucian's *Gallus*, has had the overwhelming desire of becoming rich since his boyhood (28). To acquire gold has become an obsession for him (6-7, with reference to Midas), and that is why he is told that he was an Indian ant in one of his previous lives (μύρμηξ Ἰνδικός, τῶν τὸ χρυσίον ἀνορυττόντων, 16: compare Herodotus 3.102).

But Pythagoras, the master of transmigrations, reincarnations and ἀναμνήσεις of his previous lives, appears to Micyllus in a dream in the shape of a cock, and succeeds in curing him of his obsession (ἐγὼ σε ἰάσομαι, ὦ Μίκυλλε, 28)—first, by telling Micyllus of his own former unhappy existence as a rich and powerful king, poisoned by his own son (21-25), then by showing him (by means of magic) the wretched way of life of his rich neighbors Simon, Gniphos, and Eucrates (who in reality proves to be an ἀκρατής) (28-33).

The question is now: Why did Lucian's Pythagoras choose the shape of a *cock* for his apparition and revelation? Why did he not appear as Pythagoras himself, or as the Cynic Crates (20), or else as a prophesying horse (for Pythagoras was that too: 20; 26; 27, with reference to Achilles' Xanthus in 2)?

Rudolf Helm (*Lucian und Menipp* [Leipzig, 1906] 334), after referring to Tereus of Aristophanes' *Birds* and to the dialogue *Jackdaw* of the Cynic Diogenes (Diog. Laert. 6.80) as examples of speaking birds, left the question unanswered. Pythagoras himself had been a jackdaw in one of his former lives (*Gallus* 20 and 27); nevertheless, he did not choose to appear as such to Micyllus.

Otto Skutsch ("Notes on Metempsychosis," *Class. Philol.* 54 [1959] 115b) first pointed out the link between Pythagoras and the peacock (cf. Ennius *Annals* 15; Persius 6.11 *pavone ex Pythagoreo* and Schol. ad loc.), and Lucian's allusion to a Samian peacock (i.e., Pythagoras) converted into a Boeotian rooster (ἀλεκτρυῶν φιλόσοφος... ἀντί μὲν ἀνθρώπου ὄρνις, ἀντί δὲ Σαμίου Ταναγραῖτος ἀναπέφηνας, 4); then he dismissed this possibility while stating: "This interpretation, however, seems entirely forced." With good reason, for Lucian certainly did not introduce the cock into his dialogue just for the sake of a pun.

Jacques Bompaigne, in his inspiring book *Lucien écrivain: imitation et création* (Paris, 1958) 697 n. 3, thought of the proverbial cock as prophet of evil (*oiseau de malheur*), while referring to Petronius' *Satyrikon* 74.1-4. This

is not likely either, for Micyllus respectfully calls his enlightening cock-teacher ὦ σοφώτατε ἀλεκτρυών (7).

The Socratic cock as a customary offering to Asclepius in gratitude for a cure (Plato *Phaedo* 118 a 7, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα; compare Herodas 4.11 ff.; Artemidorus 5.1.9; Aelian Fr. 186 Didot = 98 Teubner) is out of place here. For neither is Micyllus a patient, nor is the sage cock, a leading character in the dialogue, a simple sacrificial animal.¹

Furthermore, the link between the cock and Hermes cannot explain the leading role of the cock in the dialogue either. For this link is used by Lucian to explain only two secondary achievements of the cock: (1) the ability to speak (“I am a friend of Hermes, the most talkative and eloquent of all the gods,” 2); and (2), the magic power of the cock’s feather, given to him by Hermes (“Hermes, to whom I am consecrated, gave me this privilege,” 28).

As for (1), Lucian himself dismisses this explanation while stating that the real reason (ἡ ἀληθεστέρα αἰτία, 2) for the cock’s ability to speak consists in the fact that he was a man not long ago (οὔτοςί γὰρ ὁ νῦν σοὶ ἀλεκτρυών φαινόμενος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἄνθρωπος ἦν, says the cock in 3. Compare Stith Thompson, *A Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, D166.1.1 ‘Man transformed to Cock’).

As for (2), the cock’s right longest tail feather having the magic power of (a), Opening every door, and (b), Making a man invisible (ἀνοίγειν τε ὁ τοιοῦτος πᾶσαν θύραν δύναται καὶ ὄραν τὰ πάντα οὐχ ὀρώμενος αὐτός, 28), neither power is due to a cock’s tail exclusively, but rather belongs to the motif of magic feathers (Stith Thompson, D1021) or hair in general. Compare, e.g., D1562.2 ‘Hair from fox’s tail opens all doors;’ D1361.10 ‘Magic feather renders invisible;’ B172.4 ‘Bird with magic bones and feathers;’ D1313.10 ‘Magic feather indicates road;’ D1323.16 ‘Magic feather gives clairvoyance;’ D1380.22 ‘Magic feather protects.’²

Finally, one may think it only natural for a household rooster to engage in a dialogue with his master, being “a close comrade and messmate of men” (2). Perhaps so, but Lucian uses the cock’s close relation to men only as an opportunity for the cock to learn the human language without difficulty, no more (2). In addition, the dog is an even closer friend of man. Pythagoras himself was a dog in one of his previous

¹ Compare, e.g., Isidor Scheffelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer* (RGVV XIV.3, Giessen, 1914), 19.

² Compare H. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, II, 1282; III, 1327; Stith Thompson, D1400.1.19 ‘Magic feather defeats enemy.’—The examples adduced by Tadeusz Zielinski, “Die Märchenkomödie in Athen,” *Jahresbericht der St. Annen-Schule* (St. Petersburg, 1885), 22 and 58 n. 18, are irrelevant, since they deal with the motifs of the woodpecker’s mandrake (*Springwurzel*) opening every door (Bächtold-Stäubli VIII, 140 f.), and of the siskin’s stone rendering a man invisible (B.-St. IX, 888).

lives (20 and 26). And indeed the dog is the oldest Pythagorean reincarnation of a man in our sources (Fr. B 7 of Xenophanes, a contemporary of Pythagoras). And nevertheless, Pythagoras does not choose to appear to Micyllus in the shape of a dog, but prefers that of a cock instead.

Consequently, there must be a special reason for Lucian to make Pythagoras appear as a cock. Micyllus keeps addressing the cock as Pythagoras (4; 6; 7; 20), but Pythagoras prefers to be addressed as cock: “Of late I have often been a cock, for *I liked* that sort of life” (τὰ τελευταῖα δὲ ἀλεκτρυῶν πολλάκις ἤσθην γὰρ τῷ τοιούτῳ βίῳ), and “you had better call me a cock, so as *not to slight* a bird usually held in low esteem, though it has in itself so many souls” (... ἀλεκτρυόνα ὀνομάζων ἄμεινον ἂν ποιῶις, ὡς μὴ ἀτιμάζοις εὐτελὲς εἶναι δοκοῦν τὸ ὄρνεον, καὶ ταῦτα τοσαύτας ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὰς ἔχον, 20).

Accordingly, since the genre of the Cynic satire required *an animal* to serve as the leading character, I would like to suggest that the *cock* was the only such animal to serve as a link between Pythagoras and Apollo, all three of them being considered in antiquity as diviners by preference. Let me now substantiate this suggestion.

1. *Cock-Apollo*. It is only just lately that Pythagoras took the shape of a cock (καὶ πάνυ ἔναγχος εἰς ἀλεκτρυόνα σοι μεταβέβηκα, 4). His first life, however, was as the god Apollo: “How my soul originally left Apollo, flew down to earth and entered into a human body... would make a long story” (Ὡς μὲν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχὴ μοι καταπταμένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐνέδου ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα... μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, 16). Hence the ability of the cock to prophesy. He knows Micyllus’ past (“Formerly you were an Indian ant,” 16); he knows his future (“For you too will become a woman... many times,” 19). Cock is known as a prophetic animal by preeminence (cf., e.g., the ἀλεκτορομαντεία).

The link between Cock and Apollo-Helios is well established too. The cock is often represented as sitting on Apollo’s arm (shoulder or head): Plutarch *De Pythiae oraculis* 400 C, ὁ τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ποιήσας ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐωθινὴν ὑπεδήλωσεν ὥραν καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιούσης ἀνατολῆς. The cock is Apollo’s sacrificial animal: *A.G.* 6.155; 12.24; Pausanias 5.25.9; Aelian Fr. 98 Teubner.³

2. *Apollo-Pythagoras*. The identification of Pythagoras with the Hyperborean Apollo can be traced as far back as Aristotle’s *Περὶ τῶν*

³ Compare P. Boyancé, “Apollon solaire,” in *Mélanges J. Carcopino* (Paris, 1966) 149-170.

Πυθαγορείων Fr. 191 Rose ap. Aelian *V.H.* 2.26 ('Αριστοτέλης λέγει ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν τὸν Πυθαγόραν Ἐπόλλωνα Ὑπερβόρειον προσαγορεύεσθαι). Compare also Diog. Laert. 8.11 and 13; Porphyry *Vita Plotini* 2; Iamblichus *Vita Pyth.* 5; 8; 92; 135.⁴ As for Lucian, Pythagoras is being addressed as ὦ Ἐπόλλων at *Mortuorum dial.* 6 (20).3.

Pythagoras' renown as diviner is well established too (Diels-Kranz 14 A 7; 71 A 6). Aristippus of Cyrene (ap. Diog. Laert. 8.21) explained even the name of Pythagoras as deriving from Πύθ(ιος) and ἀγορ(εύειν): ὅτι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἠγόρευεν οὐχ ἤττον τοῦ Πυθίου. In Lucian's *Vitarum auctio* 2 Pythagoras is introduced as μάντις ἄκρος (so also in *Alexander* 4 and 40).

3. *Pythagoras-Cock*. This link may be due to the fact that a white cock was taboo for the Pythagoreans: ἀλεκτρύονος μὴ ἄπτεσθαι λευκοῦ, ὅτι ἱερός τοῦ Μηνῶς καὶ ἰκέτης Diog. Laert. 8.34; Aelian *V.H.* 4.17; Suda, s.v. 3124 Pythagoras [4.266.40 Adler].

In conclusion, the role of the cock in Lucian's *Gallus* seems to be of greater importance than hitherto believed. For the cock acts as a reincarnation of both Pythagoras and Apollo. In addition to possessing magic powers (28-33), the divine cock through his persuasion and revelations succeeds in converting Micyllus to a Cynic adept of the vow of poverty. So effective and lasting was this conversion that Micyllus remained faithful to his vow even *after* his death. For in Lucian's *Cataplus* 14-17 we find him appearing in Hades as a laughing scorners of the powerful and rich: ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ πένητες γελῶμεν, ἀνιῶνται δὲ καὶ οἰμῶζουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι (15); γελασόμεθα οἰμῶζοντας αὐτοὺς ὀρῶντες (17).

⁴ Compare I. Lévy, *Recherches sur les sources de la légende de Pythagore* (Paris, 1926) 10 ff.; W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft* (Nürnberg, 1962) 27 n. 77; 80; 117 n. 126.

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