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Ante-Nicene Fathers Volume 5

Philip Schaff



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Author(s): Schaff, Philip (1819-1893) (Editor)

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Description: Originally printed in 1885, the ten-volume set, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, brings together the work of early Christian thinkers. In particular, it brings together the writings of the early Church fathers prior to the fourth century Nicene Creed. These volumes are noteworthy for their inclusion of entire texts, and not simply fragments or excerpts from these great writings. The translations are fairly literal, providing both readers and scholars with a good approximation of the originals. This volume contains works by third century thinkers St. Hippolytus, St. Cyprian, Caius, and Novatian. These writings were heavily influential on the early Church, and for good reason, as they are inspirational and encouraging. These volumes also come with many useful notes, providing the reader with new levels of understanding. Overall, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, or any part of it, is a welcome addition to one's reading list.
Tim Perrine
CCEL Staff Writer

Subjects: Christianity
Early Christian Literature. Fathers of the Church, etc.

Contents

Title Pages.	1
Preface.	3
Hippolytus.	6
Title Page.	6
Introductory Notice.	7
The Refutation of All Heresies.	15
Book I.	15
Contents.	15
The Proœmium.--Motives for Undertaking the Refutation; Exposure of the Ancient Mysteries; Plan of the Work; Completeness of the Refutation; Value of the Treatise to Future Ages.	17
Thales; His Physics and Theology; Founder of Greek Astronomy.	20
Pythagoras; His Cosmogony; Rules of His Sect; Discoverer of Physiognomy; His Philosophy of Numbers; His System of the Transmigration of Souls; Zaratas on Demons; Why Pythagoras Forbade the Eating of Beans; The Mode of Living Adopted by His Disciples.	21
Empedocles; His Twofold Cause; Tenet of Transmigration.	25
Heraclitus; His Universal Dogmatism; His Theory of Flux; Other Systems.	26
Anaximander; His Theory of the Infinite; His Astronomic Opinions; His Physics.	27
Anaximenes; His System of "An Infinite Air;" His Views of Astronomy and Natural Phenomena.	28
Anaxagoras; His Theory of Mind; Recognises an Efficient Cause; His Cosmogony and Astronomy.	30
Archelaus; System Akin to that of Anaxagoras; His Origin of the Earth and of Animals; Other Systems.	32
Parmenides; His Theory of "Unity;" His Eschatology.	34
Leucippus; His Atomic Theory.	35

Democritus; His Duality of Principles; His Cosmogony.	36
Xenophanes; His Scepticism; His Notions of God and Nature; Believes in a Flood.	37
Ecphantus; His Scepticism; Tenet of Infinity.	38
Hippo; His Duality of Principles; His Psychology.	39
Socrates; His Philosophy Reproduced by Plato.	40
Plato; Threelfold Classification of Principles; His Idea of God; Different Opinions Regarding His Theology and Psychology; His Eschatology and System of Metempsychosis; His Ethical Doctrines; Notions on the Free-Will Question.	41
Aristotle; Duality of Principles; His Categories; His Psychology; His Ethical Doctrines; Origin of the Epithet "Peripatetic."	45
The Stoics; Their Superiority in Logic; Fatalists; Their Doctrine of Conflagrations.	47
Epicurus; Adopts the Democritic Atomism; Denial of Divine Providence; The Principle of His Ethical System.	48
The Academics; Difference of Opinion Among Them.	49
The Brachmans; Their Mode of Life; Ideas of Deity; Different Sorts Of; Their Ethical Notions.	50
The Druids; Progenitors of Their System.	52
Hesiod; The Nine Muses; The Hesiodic Cosmogony; The Ancient Speculators, Materialists; Derivative Character of the Heresies from Heathen Philosophy.	53
Book IV.	55
System of the Astrologers; Sidereal Influence; Configuration of the Stars.	55
Doctrines Concerning Æons; The Chaldean Astrology; Heresy Derivable from It.	56
The Horoscope the Foundation of Astrology; Indiscoverability of the Horoscope; Therefore the Futility of the Chaldean Art.	57
Impossibility of Fixing the Horoscope; Failure of an Attempt to Do This at the Period of Birth.	59
Another Method of Fixing the Horoscope at Birth; Equally Futile; Use of the Clepsydra in Astrology; The Predictions of the Chaldeans Not Verified.	61
Zodiacal Influence; Origin of Sidereal Names.	63
Practical Absurdity of the Chaldaic Art; Development of the Art.	64

Prodigies of the Astrologers; System of the Astronomers; Chaldean Doctrine of Circles; Distances of the Heavenly Bodies.	65
Further Astronomic Calculations.	67
Theory of Stellar Motion and Distance in Accordance with Harmony.	68
Theory of the Size of the Heavenly Bodies in Accordance with Numerical Harmonies.	70
Waste of Mental Energy in the Systems of the Astrologers.	71
Mention of the Heretic Colarbasus; Alliance Between Heresy and the Pythagorean Philosophy.	72
System of the Arithmeticians; Predictions Through Calculations; Numerical Roots; Transference of These Doctrines to Letters; Examples in Particular Names; Different Methods of Calculation; Prescience Possible by These.	73
Quibbles of the Numerical Theorists; The Art of the Frontispicists (Physiognomy); Connection of This Art with Astrology; Type of Those Born Under Aries.	77
Type of Those Born Under Taurus.	79
Type of Those Born Under Gemini.	80
Type of Those Born Under Cancer.	81
Type of Those Born Under Leo.	82
Type of Those Born Under Virgo.	83
Type of Those Born Under Libra.	84
Type of Those Born Under Scorpio.	85
Type of Those Born Under Sagittarius.	86
Type of Those Born Under Capricorn.	87
Type of Those Born Under Aquarius.	88
Type of Those Born Under Pisces.	89
Futility of This Theory of Stellar Influence.	90
System of the Magicians; Incantations of Demons; Secret Magical Rites.	91
Display of Different Eggs.	94
Self-Slaughter of Sheep.	95
Method of Poisoning Goats.	96
Imitations of Thunder, and Other Illusions.	97
The Burning Æsculapius; Tricks with Fire.	98

The Illusion of the Sealed Letters; Object in Detailing These Juggleries.	100
The Divination by a Cauldron; Illusion of Fiery Demons; Specimen of a Magical Invocation.	102
Mode of Managing an Apparition.	104
Illusive Appearance of the Moon.	105
Illusive Appearance of the Stars.	106
Imitation of an Earthquake.	107
Trick with the Liver.	108
Making a Skull Speak.	109
The Fraud of the Foregoing Practices; Their Connection with Heresy.	110
Recapitulation of Theologies and Cosmogonies; System of the Persians; Of the Babylonians; The Egyptian Notion of Deity; Their Theology Based on a Theory of Numbers; Their System of Cosmogony.	111
Egyptian Theory of Nature; Their Amulets.	114
Use of the Foregoing Discussions.	115
The Astrotheosophists; Aratus Imitated by the Heresiarchs; His System of the Disposition of the Stars.	116
Opinions of the Heretics Borrowed from Aratus.	117
Invention of the Lyre; Allegorizing the Appearance and Position of the Stars; Origin of the Phœnicians; The Logos Identified by Aratus with the Constellation Canis; Influence of Canis on Fertility and Life Generally.	118
Symbol of the Creature; And of Spirit; And of the Different Orders of Animals.	121
Folly of Astrology.	122
The Hebdomadarii; System of the Arithmeticians; Pressed into the Service of Heresy; Instances Of, in Simon and Valentinus; The Nature of the Universe Deducible from the Physiology of the Brain.	123
Note.	126
Book V.	127
Contents.	127
Recapitulation; Characteristics of Heresy; Origin of the Name Naasseni; The System of the Naasseni.	128
Naasseni Ascribe Their System, Through Mariamne, to James the Lord's Brother; Really Traceable to the Ancient Mysteries; Their Psychology as Given in the "Gospel According to Thomas;" Assyrian Theory of the Soul; The	130

Systems of the Naasseni and the Assyrians Compared; Support Drawn by the Naasseni from the Phrygian and Egyptian Mysteries; The Mysteries of Isis; These Mysteries Allegorized by the Naasseni.	
Further Exposition of the Heresy of the Naasseni; Profess to Follow Homer; Acknowledge a Triad of Principles; Their Technical Names of the Triad; Support These on the Authority of Greek Poets; Allegorize Our Saviour's Miracles; The Mystery of the Samothracians; Why the Lord Chose Twelve Disciples; The Name Corybas, Used by Thracians and Phrygians, Explained; Naasseni Profess to Find Their System in Scripture; Their Interpretation of Jacob's Vision; Their Idea of the "Perfect Man;" The "Perfect Man" Called "Papa" By the Phrygians; The Naasseni and Phrygians on the Resurrection; The Ecstasis of St. Paul; The Mysteries of Religion as Alluded to by Christ; Interpretation of the Parable of the Sower; Allegory of the Promised Land; Comparison of the System of the Phrygians with the Statements of Scripture; Exposition of the Meaning of the Higher and Lower Eleusinian Mysteries; The Incarnation Discoverable Here According to the Naasseni.	138
Further Use Made of the System of the Phrygians; Mode of Celebrating the Mysteries; The Mystery of the "Great Mother;" These Mysteries Have a Joint Object of Worship with the Naasseni; The Naasseni Allegorize the Scriptural Account of the Garden of Eden; The Allegory Applied to the Life of Jesus.	146
Explanation of the System of the Naasseni Taken from One of Their Hymns.	150
The Ophites the Grand Source of Heresy.	151
The System of the Peratæ; Their Tritheism; Explanation of the Incarnation.	152
The Peratæ Derive Their System from the Astrologers; This Proved by a Statement of the Astrological Theories of the Zodiac; Hence the Terminology of the Peratic Heretics.	154
System of the Peratæ Explained Out of One of Their Own Books.	157
The Peratic Heresy Nominally Different from Astrology, But Really the Same System Allegorized.	160
Why They Call Themselves Peratæ; Their Theory of Generation Supported by an Appeal to Antiquity; Their Interpretation of the Exodus of Israel; Their System of "The Serpent;" Deduced by Them from Scripture; This the Real Import of the Doctrines of the Astrologers.	161
Compendious Statement of the Doctrines of the Peratæ.	164
The Peratic Heresy Not Generally Known.	166
The System of the Sethians; Their Triad of Infinite Principles; Their Heresy Explained; Their Interpretation of the Incarnation.	167

The Sethians Support Their Doctrines by an Allegorical Interpretation of Scripture; Their System Really Derived from Natural Philosophers and from the Orphic Rites; Adopt the Homeric Cosmogony.	171
The Sethian Theory Concerning “Mixture” And “Composition;” Application of It to Christ; Illustration from the Well of Ampa.	174
The Sethian Doctrines to Be Learned from the “Paraphrase of Seth.”	176
The System of Justinus Antiscriptural and Essentially Pagan.	177
The Justinian Heresy Unfolded in the “Book of Baruch.”	178
The Cosmogony of Justinus an Allegorical Explanation of Herodotus' Legend of Hercules.	179
Justinus' Triad of Principles; His Angelography Founded on This Triad; His Explanation of the Birth, Life, and Death of Our Lord.	180
Oath Used by the Justinian Heretics; The Book of Baruch; The Repertory of Their System.	186
Subsequent Heresies Deducible from the System of Justinus.	188
Book VI.	189
Contents.	189
The Ophites the Progenitors of Subsequent Heresies.	190
Simon Magus.	191
Story of Apsethus the Libyan.	192
Simon's Forced Interpretation of Scripture; Plagiarizes from Heraclitus and Aristotle; Simon's System of Sensible and Intelligible Existences.	193
Simon Appeals to Scripture in Support of His System.	195
Simon's System Expounded in the Work, Great Announcement; Follows Empedocles.	196
Simon's System of a Threefold Emanation by Pairs.	197
Further Progression of This Threefold Emanation; Co-Existence with the Double Triad of a Seventh Existence.	198
Simon's Interpretation of the Mosaic Hexaëmeron; His Allegorical Representation of Paradise.	199
Simon's Explanation of the First Two Books of Moses.	201
Simon's Explanation of the Three Last Books of the Pentateuch.	202
Fire a Primal Principle, According to Simon.	203
His Doctrine of Emanation Further Expanded.	205

Simon Interprets His System by the Mythological Representation of Helen of Troy; Gives an Account of Himself in Connection with the Trojan Heroine; Immorality of His Followers; Simon's View of Christ; The Simonists' Apology for Their Vice.	206
Simon's Disciples Adopt the Mysteries; Simon Meets St. Peter at Rome; Account of Simon's Closing Years.	208
Heresy of Valentinus; Derived from Plato and Pythagoras.	210
Origin of the Greek Philosophy.	211
Pythagoras' System of Numbers.	212
Pythagoras' Duality of Substances; His "Categories."	213
Pythagoras' Cosmogony; Similar to that of Empedocles.	214
Other Opinions of Pythagoras.	215
The "Sayings" Of Pythagoras.	216
Pythagoras' Astronomic System.	218
Valentinus Convicted of Plagiarisms from the Platonic and Pythagoric Philosophy; The Valentinian Theory of Emanation by Duads.	219
The Tenet of the Duad Made the Foundation of Valentinus' System of the Emanation of Æons.	221
Valentinus' Explanation of the Existence of Christ and the Spirit.	223
Valentinus' Explanation of the Existence of Jesus; Power of Jesus Over Humanity.	225
The Valentinian Origin of the Creation.	227
The Other Valentinian Emanations in Conformity with the Pythagorean System of Numbers.	228
Valentinus' Explanation of the Birth of Jesus; Twofold Doctrine on the Nature of Jesus' Body; Opinion of the Italians, that Is, Heracleon and Ptolemæus; Opinion of the Orientals, that Is, Axionicus and Bardesanes.	230
Further Doctrines of Valentinus Respecting the Æons; Reasons for the Incarnation.	232
Valentinus Convicted of Plagiarisms from Plato.	233
Secundus' System of Æons; Epiphanes; Ptolemæus.	235
System of Marcus; A Mere Impostor; His Wicked Devices Upon the Eucharistic Cup.	237
Further Acts of Jugglery on the Part of Marcus.	238

The Heretical Practices of the Marcites in Regard of Baptism.	239
Marcus' System Explained by Irenæus; Marcus' Vision; The Vision of Valentinus Revealing to Him His System.	240
Marcus' System of Letters.	242
The Quaternion Exhibits "Truth."	243
The Name of Christ Jesus.	244
Marcus' Mystic Interpretation of the Alphabet.	245
His System Applied to Explain Our Lord's Life and Death.	247
Letters, Symbols of the Heavens.	248
Respecting the Generation of the Twenty-Four Letters.	249
Why Jesus is Called Alpha.	251
Marcus' Account of the Birth and Life of Our Lord.	252
The System of Marcus Shown to Be that of Pythagoras, by Quotations from the Writings of Marcus' Followers.	253
Their Cosmogony Framed According to These Mystic Doctrines of Letters.	255
The Work of the Demiurge Perishable.	257
Marcus and Colarbasus Refuted by Irenæus.	258
Book VII.	259
Contents.	259
Heresy Compared to (1) the Stormy Ocean, (2) the Rocks of the Sirens; Moral from Ulysses and the Sirens.	261
The System of Basilides Derived from Aristotle.	262
Sketch of Aristotle's Philosophy.	263
Aristotle's General Idea.	264
Nonentity as a Cause.	265
Substance, According to Aristotle; The Predicates.	266
Aristotle's Cosmogony; His "Psychology;" His "Entelecheia;" His Theology; His Ethics; Basilides Follows Aristotle.	268
Basilides and Isidorus Allege Apostolic Sanction for Their Systems; They Really Follow Aristotle.	270
Basilides Adopts the Aristotelian Doctrine of "Nonentity."	271
Origin of the World; Basilides' Account of the "Sonship."	272
The "Great Archon" Of Basilides.	275

Basilides Adopts the “Entelecheia” Of Aristotle.	276
Further Explanation of the “Sonship.”	277
Whence Came the Gospel; The Number of Heavens According to Basilides; Explanation of Christ's Miraculous Conception.	279
God's Dealings with the Creature; Basilides' Notion of (1) the Inner Man, (2) the Gospel; His Interpretation of the Life and Sufferings of Our Lord.	281
The System of Saturnilus.	284
Marcion; His Dualism; Derives His System from Empedocles; Sketch of the Doctrine of Empedocles.	286
Source of Marcionism; Empedocles Reasserted as the Suggester of the Heresy.	291
The Heresy of Prepon; Follows Empedocles; Marcion Rejects the Generation of the Saviour.	292
The Heresy of Carpocrates; Wicked Doctrines Concerning Jesus Christ; Practise Magical Arts; Adopt a Metempsychosis.	294
The System of Cerinthus Concerning Christ.	296
Doctrine of the Ebionæans.	297
The Heresy of Theodotus.	298
The Melchisedecians; The Nicolaitans.	299
The Heresy of Cerdon.	300
The Doctrines of Apelles; Philumene, His Prophetess.	301
Book VIII.	302
Contents.	302
Heresies Hitherto Refuted; Opinions of the Docetæ.	303
Docetic Notion of the Incarnation; Their Doctrines of Æons; Their Account of Creation; Their Notion of a Fiery God.	305
Christ Undoes the Work of the Demiurge; Docetic Account of the Baptism and Death of Jesus; Why He Lived for Thirty Years on Earth.	307
Docetic Doctrine Derived from the Greek Sophists.	310
Monoïmus; Man the Universe, According to Monoïmus; His System of the Monad.	311
Monoïmus' “Iota;” His Notion of the “Son of Man.”	312
Monoïmus on the Sabbath; Allegorizes the Rod of Moses; Notion Concerning the Decalogue.	313

Monoïmus Explains His Opinions in a Letter to Theophrastus; Where to Find God; His System Derived from Pythagoras.	315
Tatian.	316
Hermogenes; Adopts the Socratic Philosophy; His Notion Concerning the Birth and Body of Our Lord.	317
The Quartodecimans.	318
The Montanists; Priscilla and Maximilla Their Prophetesses; Some of Them Noetians.	319
The Doctrines of the Encratites.	320
Book IX.	322
Contents.	322
An Account of Contemporaneous Heresy.	323
Source of the Heresy of Noetus; Cleomenes His Disciple; Its Appearance at Rome During the Episcopates of Zephyrinus and Callistus; Noetianism Opposed at Rome by Hippolytus.	324
Noetianism an Offshoot from the Heraclitic Philosophy.	325
An Account of the System of Heraclitus.	326
Heraclitus' Estimate of Hesiod; Paradoxes of Heraclitus; His Eschatology; The Heresy of Noetus of Heraclitean Origin; Noetus' View of the Birth and Passion of Our Lord.	328
Conduct of Callistus and Zephyrinus in the Matter of Noetianism; Avowed Opinion of Zephyrinus Concerning Jesus Christ; Disapproval of Hippolytus; As a Contemporaneous Event, Hippolytus Competent to Explain It.	331
The Personal History of Callistus; His Occupation as a Banker; Fraud on Carpophorus; Callistus Absconds; Attempted Suicide; Condemned to the Treadmill; Re-Condemnation by Order of the Prefect Fuscianus; Banished to Sardinia; Release of Callistus by the Interference Of Marcion; Callistus Arrives at Rome; Pope Victor Removes Callistus to Antium; Return of Callistus on Victor's Death; Zephyrinus Friendly to Him; Callistus Accused by Sabellius; Hippolytus' Account of the Opinions of Callistus; The Callistian School at Rome, and Its Practices; This Sect in Existence in Hippolytus' Time.	333
Sect of the Elchasaites; Hippolytus' Opposition to It.	339
Elchasai Derived His System from Pythagoras; Practised Incantations.	340
Elchasai's Mode of Administering Baptism; Formularies.	341
Precepts of Elchasai.	342

The Heresy of the Elchasaites a Derivative One.	343
The Jewish Sects.	344
The Tenets of the Esseni.	345
The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.	346
The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.	347
The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.	348
The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.	349
The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.	350
The Tenets of the Esseni Concluded.	351
Different Sects of the Esseni.	352
Belief of the Esseni in the Resurrection; Their System a Suggestive One.	353
Another Sect of the Esseni: the Pharisees.	354
The Sadducees.	355
The Jewish Religion.	356
Conclusion to the Work Explained.	358
Book X.	359
Contents.	359
Recapitulation.	360
Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers.	361
Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers Continued.	362
Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers Continued.	364
The Naasseni.	365
The Peratæ.	366
The Sethians.	367
Simon Magus.	369
Valentinus.	370
Basilides.	371
Justinus.	373
The Docetæ.	374
Monoïmus.	375
Tatian.	376
Marcion and Cerdo.	377

Apelles.	378
Cerinthus.	379
The Ebionæans.	380
Theodotus.	381
Melchisedecians.	382
The Phrygians or Montanists.	383
The Phrygians or Montanists Continued.	384
Noetus and Callistus.	385
Hermogenes.	386
The Elchasaites.	387
Jewish Chronology.	388
Jewish Chronology Continued.	390
The Doctrine of the Truth.	392
The Doctrine of the Truth Continued.	394
The Author's Concluding Address.	398
Elucidations.	400
General Note.	412
The Extant Works and Fragments of Hippolytus.	413
Exegetical.	413
On the Hexaëmeron, Or Six Days' Work.	413
On Genesis.	414
On Genesis.	414
From the Commentary of the Holy Hippolytus of Rome Upon Genesis.	425
Quoted in Jerome, Epist. 36, ad Damasum, Num. xviii. (from Galland).	426
On Numbers.	428
On Kings.	429
On the Psalms.	430
The Argument Prefixed by Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, to His Exposition of the Psalms.	430
On Psalm II. From the Exposition of the Second Psalm, by the Holy Bishop Hippolytus.	431

On Psalm XXII. Or XXIII. From the Commentary by the Holy Bishop and Martyr Hippolytus, on “The Lord is My Shepherd.”	432
On Psalm XXIII. Or XXIV. From the Commentary by the Same, on Ps. xxiii.	433
On Psalm CIX. Or CX. From the Commentary by the Same on the Great Song.	434
On Psalm LXXVII. Or LXXVIII.	435
On Proverbs.	437
From the Commentary of St. Hippolytus on Proverbs.	437
Another Fragment. St. Hippolytus on Prov. ix. 1, “Wisdom Hath Buildd Her House.”	444
On the Song of Songs.	446
On Isaiah.	447
Hippolytus, (Bishop) of Rome on Hezekiah.	447
From the Discourse of St. Hippolytus on the beginning of Isaiah.	448
Section III.	449
On Jeremiah and Ezekiel.	450
On Daniel.	451
Preface by the most holy Hippolytus, (Bishop) of Rome.	451
The interpretation by Hippolytus, (bishop) of Rome, of the visions of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar, taken in conjunction.	453
Scholia on Daniel.	467
Other Fragments on Daniel.	477
On the Song of the Three Children.	478
On Susannah.	479
On Matthew.	484
On Luke.	485
Doubtful Fragments on the Pentateuch.	486
Preface.	486
The Law.	490
Of the Creation of Heaven and Earth. “In the Beginning God Created,” Etc.	491
And the Lord Said: “And I Will Bring the Waters of the Flood Upon the Earth to Destroy All Flesh,” Etc.	492
On Gen. vii. 6.	494
On Gen. viii. 1	496

On Deut. xxxiii. 2	497
On the Psalms.	499
The Argument of the Exposition of the Psalms by Hippolytus, (Bishop) of Rome.	499
On Psalm xxxi. 22. Of the Triumph of the Christian Faith.	505
On Psalm lv. 15.	506
On Psalm lviii. 11	507
On Psalm lix. 11. Concerning the Jews.	508
On Psalm lxii. 6.	509
On Psalm lxxviii. 18. Of the Enlargement of the Church.	510
On Psalm lxxxix. 4. Of the Gentiles.	511
On the Words in Psalm xcvi. 11: "Let the Sea Roar (Be Moved), and the Fulness Thereof."	512
On Psalm cxix. 30-32	513
On the Words in Psalm cxxvii. 7: "On the Wrath of Mine Enemies." Etc.	514
On the Words in Psalm cxxxix. 15: "My Substance or (Bones) Was Not Hid from Thee, Which Thou Madest in Secret."	515
Dogmatical and Historical.	516
Treatise on Christ and Antichrist.	516
Expository Treatise Against the Jews.	545
Against Plato, on the Cause of the Universe.	549
Against the Heresy of One Noetus.	553
Against Beron and Helix.	569
Fragment I.	569
Fragment II.	571
Fragment III.	572
Fragment IV.	574
Fragment V.	575
Fragment VI.	576
Fragment VII.	577
Fragment VIII.	578
The Discourse on the Holy Theophany.	580
Fragments of Discourses or Homilies.	587

From the Discourse of Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, on the Resurrection and Incorruption.	587
From the Discourse of St. Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, on the Divine Nature.	588
St. Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, in his Homily on the Paschal Supper.	589
Section IV.	590
Section V.	591
Section VI.	592
Section VII.	593
Section VIII.	594
Section IX.	595
Section X.	596
Section XI.	597
Fragments from Other Writings of Hippolytus.	598
Section I.	598
From the same.	599
Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, in a letter to a certain queen.	600
The story of a maiden of Corinth, and a certain Magistrinus.	601
Elucidation.	603
Appendix to the Works of Hippolytus. Containing Dubious and Spurious Pieces.	604
A discourse by the most blessed Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, on the end of the world, and on Antichrist, and on the second coming of our lord Jesus Christ.	604
Section I.	604
Section II.	605
Section III.	606
Section IV.	607
Section V.	608
Section VI.	609
Section VII.	610
Section VIII.	611
Section IX.	612
Section X.	613
Section XI.	614

Section XII.	615
Section XIII.	616
Section XIV.	617
Section XV.	618
Section XVI.	619
Section XVII.	620
Section XVIII.	621
Section XIX.	622
Section XX.	623
Section XXI.	624
Section XXII.	626
Section XXIII.	627
Section XXIV.	628
Section XXV.	629
Section XXVI.	630
Section XXVII.	631
Section XXVIII.	632
Section XXIX.	633
Section XXX.	634
Section XXXI.	635
Section XXXII.	636
Section XXXIII.	637
Section XXXIV.	638
Section XXXV.	639
Section XXXVI.	640
Section XXXVII.	641
Section XXXVIII.	642
Section XXXIX.	643
Section XL.	644
Section XLI.	645
Section XLII.	646
Section XLIII.	647
	xvii

Section XLIV.	648
Section XLV.	649
Section XLVI.	650
Section XLVII.	651
Section XLVIII.	652
Section XLIX.	653
Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles: Where each of them preached, and where he met his end.	654
The same Hippolytus on the Seventy Apostles.	656
Heads of the Canons of Abulide or Hippolytus, Which are used by the Æthiopian Christians.	659
Canons of the Church of Alexandria. Wrongly ascribed to Hippolytus.	662
Elucidations.	665
Cyprian.	667
Title Page.	667
Introductory Notice to Cyprian.	668
The Life and Passion of Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr. By Pontius the Deacon.	674
The Epistles of Cyprian.	687
To Donatus.	687
From the Roman Clergy to the Carthaginian Clergy, About the Retirement of the Blessed Cyprian.	697
To the Presbyters and Deacons Abiding at Rome. A.D. 250.	700
To the Presbyters and Deacons.	701
To the Presbyters and Deacons.	703
To Rogatianus the Presbyter, and the Other Confessors. A.D. 250.	706
To the Clergy, Concerning Prayer to God.	710
To the Martyrs and Confessors.	715
To the Clergy, Concerning Certain Presbyters Who Had Rashly Granted Peace to the Lapsed Before the Persecution Had Been Appeased, and Without the Privity of the Bishops.	719
To the Martyrs and Confessors Who Sought that Peace Should Be Granted to the Lapsed.	722
To the People.	725
	xviii

To the Clergy, Concerning the Lapsed and Catechumens, that They Should Not Be Left Without Superintendence.	727
To the Clergy, Concerning Those Who are in Haste to Receive Peace. A.D. 250.	729
To the Presbyters and Deacons Assembled at Rome.	731
To Moyses and Maximus, and the Rest of the Confessors.	733
The Confessors to Cyprian.	736
To the Presbyters and Deacons About the Foregoing and the Following Letters.	737
Caldonius to Cyprian.	738
Cyprian Replies to Caldonius.	739
Celerinus to Lucian.	740
Lucian Replies to Celerinus.	743
To the Clergy Abiding at Rome, Concerning Many of the Confessors, and Concerning the Forwardness of Lucian and the Modesty of Celerinus the Confessor.	745
To the Clergy, on the Letters Sent to Rome, and About the Appointment of Saturus as Reader, and Optatus as Sub-Deacon. A.D. 250.	748
To Moyses and Maximus and the Rest of the Confessors.	749
Moyes, Maximus, Nicostratus, and the Other Confessors Answer the Foregoing Letter. A.D. 250.	751
Cyprian to the Lapsed.	756
To the Presbyters and Deacons.	758
To the Presbyters and Deacons Abiding at Rome.	760
The Presbyters and Deacons Abiding at Rome, to Cyprian.	761
The Roman Clergy to Cyprian.	764
To the Carthaginian Clergy, About the Letters Sent to Rome, and Received Thence.	770
To the Clergy and People, About the Ordination of Aurelius as a Reader.	771
To the Clergy and People, About the Ordination of Celerinus as Reader.	773
To the Same, About the Ordination of Numidicus as Presbyter.	776
To the Clergy, Concerning the Care of the Poor and Strangers.	777
To the Clergy, Bidding Them Show Every Kindness to the Confessors in Prison.	778
To Caldonius, Herculanus, and Others, About the Excommunication of Felicissimus.	780

The Letter of Caldonius, Herculani, and Others, on the Excommunication of Felicissimus with His People.	782
To the People, Concerning Five Schismatic Presbyters of the Faction of Felicissimus.	783
To Cornelius, on His Refusal to Receive Novatian's Ordination.	788
To Cornelius, About Cyprian's Approval of His Ordination, and Concerning Felicissimus.	790
To the Same, on His Having Sent Letters to the Confessors Whom Novatian Had Seduced.	793
To the Roman Confessors, that They Should Return to Unity.	794
To Cornelius, Concerning Polycarp the Adrumetine.	795
Cornelius to Cyprian, on the Return of the Confessors to Unity.	797
Cyprian's Answer to Cornelius, Congratulating Him on the Return of the Confessors from Schism.	800
Cornelius to Cyprian, Concerning the Faction of Novatian with His Party.	802
Cyprian's Answer to Cornelius, Concerning the Crimes of Novatus.	803
Maximus and the Other Confessors to Cyprian, About Their Return from Schism.	806
From Cyprian to the Confessors, Congratulating Them on Their Return from Schism.	807
To Antonianus About Cornelius and Novatian.	809
To Fortunatus and His Other Colleagues, Concerning Those Who Had Been Overcome by Tortures.	824
To Cornelius, Concerning Granting Peace to the Lapsed.	826
To Cornelius, Concerning Fortunatus and Felicissimus, or Against the Heretics.	830
To the People of Thibaris, Exhorting to Martyrdom.	846
To Cornelius in Exile, Concerning His Confession.	853
To Lucius The Bishop of Rome, Returned from Banishment.	856
To Fidus, on the Baptism of Infants.	858
To the Numidian Bishops, on the Redemption of Their Brethren from Captivity Among the Barbarians.	861
To Euchratius, About an Actor.	864
To Pomponius, Concerning Some Virgins.	866
Cæcilius, on the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord.	870

To Epictetus and to the Congregation of Assuræ, Concerning Fortunatianus, Formerly Their Bishop.	880
To Rogatianus, Concerning the Deacon Who Contended Against the Bishop.	883
To the Clergy and People Abiding at Furni, About Victor, Who Had Made the Presbyter Faustinus a Guardian.	886
To Father Stephanus, Concerning Marcianus of Arles, Who Had Joined Himself to Novatian.	888
To the Clergy and People Abiding in Spain, Concerning Basilides and Martial.	892
To Florentius Pupianus, on Calumniators.	898
To Januarius and Other Numidian Bishops, on Baptizing Heretics.	904
To Quintus, Concerning the Baptism of Heretics.	908
To Stephen, Concerning a Council.	911
To Jubaianus, Concerning the Baptism of Heretics.	914
To Pompey, Against the Epistle of Stephen About the Baptism of Heretics.	927
Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, to Cyprian, Against the Letter of Stephen. A.D. 256.	935
To Magnus, on Baptizing the Novatians, and Those Who Obtain Grace on a Sick-Bed.	949
Cyprian to Nemesianus and Other Martyrs in the Mines.	959
The Reply of Nemesianus, Dativus, Felix, and Victor, to Cyprian.	964
The Reply to the Same of Lucius and the Rest of the Martyrs.	966
The Answer of Felix, Jader, Polianus, and the Rest of the Martyrs, to Cyprian.	968
Cyprian to Sergius, Rogatianus, and the Other Confessors in Prison.	969
To Successus on the Tidings Brought from Rome, Telling of the Persecution.	972
To the Clergy and People Concerning His Retirement, a Little Before His Martyrdom.	974
Elucidations.	976
The Treatises of Cyprian.	992
On the Unity of the Church.	992
On the Dress of Virgins.	1009
On the Lapsed.	1022
On the Lord's Prayer.	1042
An Address to Demetrianus.	1061

On the Vanity of Idols: Showing that the Idols are Not Gods, and that God is One, and that Through Christ Salvation is Given to Believers.	1076
On the Mortality.	1083
On Works and Alms.	1096
On the Advantage of Patience.	1111
On Jealousy and Envy.	1125
Exhortation to Martyrdom, Addressed to Fortunatus.	1135
Preface.	1135
Heads of the Following Book.	1137
That idols are not gods, and that the elements are not to be worshipped in the place of gods.	1139
That God alone must be worshipped.	1140
What is God's threatening against those who sacrifice to idols?	1141
That God does not easily pardon idolaters.	1142
That God is so angry against idolatry, that He has even enjoined those to be slain who persuade others to sacrifice and serve idols.	1143
That, being redeemed and quickened by the blood of Christ, we ought to prefer nothing to Christ.	1145
That those who are snatched from the jaws of the devil, and delivered from the snares of this world, ought not again to return to the world, lest they should lose the advantage of their withdrawal therefrom.	1146
That we must press on and persevere in faith and virtue, and in completion of heavenly and spiritual grace, that we may attain to the palm and the crown.	1147
That afflictions and persecutions arise for the sake of our being proved.	1149
That injuries and penalties of persecutions are not to be feared by us, because greater is the Lord to protect than the devil to assault.	1150
That it was before predicted that the world would hold us in abhorrence, and that it would stir up persecutions against us, and that no new thing is happening to the Christians, since from the beginning of the world the good have suffered, and the righteous have been oppressed and slain by the unrighteous.	1152
What hope and reward remains for the righteous and for martyrs after the conflicts and sufferings of this present time.	1158
That we receive more as the reward of our suffering than what we endure here in the suffering itself.	1160

Three Books of Testimonies Against the Jews.	1162
Preface.	1162
Book I.	1163
Heads.	1163
That the Jews have fallen under the heavy wrath of God because they have forsaken the Lord, and have followed idols.	1165
Also because they did not believe the prophets, and put them to death.	1166
That it was previously foretold that they would neither know the Lord, nor understand, nor receive Him.	1167
That the Jews would not understand the Holy Scriptures, but that they would be intelligible in the last times, after that Christ had come.	1169
That the Jews could understand nothing of the Scriptures unless they first believed in Christ.	1170
That the Jews should lose Jerusalem, and should leave the land which they had received.	1171
Also that they should lose the Light of the Lord.	1172
That the first circumcision of the flesh is made void, and the second circumcision of the spirit is promised instead.	1173
That the former law which was given by Moses was to cease.	1174
That a new law was to be given.	1175
That another dispensation and a new covenant was to be given.	1176
That the old baptism should cease, and a new one should begin.	1177
That the old yoke should be made void, and a new yoke should be given.	1178
That the old pastors should cease and new ones begin.	1179
That Christ should be the house and temple of God, and that the old temple should cease, and the new one should begin.	1180
That the ancient sacrifice should be made void, and a new one should be celebrated.	1181
That the old priesthood should cease, and a new priest should come, who should be for ever.	1182
That another Prophet such as Moses was promised, to wit, one who should give a new testament, and who rather ought to be heard.	1183
That two peoples were foretold, the elder and the younger; that is, the old people of the Jews, and the new one which should consist of us.	1184

That the Church which before had been barren should have more children from among the Gentiles than what the synagogue had had before.	1185
That the Gentiles should rather believe in Christ.	1186
That the Jews would lose while we should receive the bread and the cup of Christ and all His grace, and that the new name of Christians should be blessed in the earth.	1189
That the Gentiles rather than the Jews attain to the kingdom of heaven.	1190
That by this alone the Jews can receive pardon of their sins, if they wash away the blood of Christ slain, in His baptism, and, passing over into His Church, obey His precepts.	1191
Book II.	1192
Heads.	1192
That Christ is the First-born, and that He is the Wisdom of God, by whom all things were made.	1194
That Christ is the Wisdom of God; and concerning the sacrament of His incarnation and of His passion, and cup and altar; and of the apostles who were sent, and preached.	1196
That the same Christ is the Word of God.	1197
That Christ is the Hand and Arm of God.	1198
That Christ is at once Angel and God.	1199
That Christ is God.	1200
That Christ our God should come, the Enlightener and Saviour of the human race.	1202
That although from the beginning He had been the Son of God, yet He had to be begotten again according to the flesh.	1203
That this should be the sign of His nativity, that He should be born of a virgin--man and God--a son of man and a Son of God.	1204
That Christ is both man and God, compounded of both natures, that He might be a Mediator between us and the Father.	1205
That Christ was to be born of the seed of David, according to the flesh.	1206
That Christ should be born in Bethlehem.	1207
That Christ was to come in low estate in His first advent.	1208
That He is the righteous One whom the Jews should put to death.	1210
That Christ is called a sheep and a lamb who was to be slain, and concerning the sacrament (mystery) of the passion.	1211
That Christ also is called a Stone.	1213

That afterwards this Stone should become a mountain, and should fill the whole earth.	1215
That in the last times the same mountain should be manifested, and upon it the Gentiles should come, and on it all the righteous should go up.	1216
That Christ is the Bridegroom, having the Church as His bride, from which spiritual children were to be born.	1217
That the Jews would fasten Christ to the cross.	1219
That in the passion and the sign of the cross is all virtue and power.	1220
That in this sign of the Cross is salvation for all people who are marked on their foreheads.	1221
That at mid-day in His passion there should be darkness.	1222
That He was not to be overcome of death, nor should remain in Hades.	1223
That He should rise again from the dead on the third day.	1224
That after He had risen again He should receive from His Father all power, and His power should be everlasting.	1225
That it is impossible to attain to God the Father, except by His Son Jesus Christ.	1226
That Jesus Christ shall come as a Judge.	1227
That He will reign as a King for ever.	1229
That He Himself is both Judge and King.	1231
Book III.	1233
Preface.	1233
Heads.	1234
Of the benefit of good works and mercy.	1239
In works and alms, even if by smallness of power less be done, that the will itself is sufficient.	1244
That charity and brotherly affection are to be religiously and stedfastly practised.	1245
That we must boast in nothing, since nothing is our own.	1247
That humility and quietness are to be maintained in all things.	1248
That all good and righteous men suffer more, but ought to endure because they are proved.	1249
That we must not grieve the Holy Spirit, whom we have received.	1251
That anger must be overcome, lest it constrain us to sin.	1252
That brethren ought to support one another.	1253

That we must trust in God only, and in Him we must glory.	1254
That he who has attained to trust, having put off the former man, ought to regard only celestial and spiritual things, and to give no heed to the world which he has already renounced.	1255
That we must not swear.	1258
That we must not curse.	1259
That we must never murmur, but bless God concerning all things that happen.	1260
That men are tried by God for this purpose, that they may be proved.	1261
Of the benefits of martyrdom.	1262
That what we suffer in this world is of less account than is the reward which is promised.	1265
That nothing is to be preferred to the love of God and Christ.	1266
That we are not to obey our own will, but the will of God.	1267
That the foundation and strength of hope and faith is fear.	1268
That we must not rashly judge of another.	1272
That when we have received a wrong, we must remit and forgive it.	1273
That evil is not to be returned for evil.	1274
That it is impossible to attain to the Father but by His Son Jesus Christ.	1275
That unless a man have been baptized and born again, he cannot attain unto the kingdom of God.	1276
That it is of small account to be baptized and to receive the Eucharist, unless one profit by it both in deeds and works.	1277
That even a baptized person loses the grace that he has attained, unless he keep innocency.	1278
That remission cannot in the Church be granted unto him who has sinned against God (i.e., the Holy Ghost).	1279
That it was before predicted, concerning the hatred of the Name.	1280
That what any one has vowed to God, he must quickly repay.	1281
That he who does not believe is judged already.	1282
Of the benefit of virginity and of continency.	1283
That the Father judgeth nothing, but the Son; and that the Father is not glorified by him by whom the Son is not glorified.	1285
That the believer ought not to live like the Gentile.	1286

That God is patient for this end, that we may repent of our sin, and be reformed.	1287
That a woman ought not to be adorned in a worldly fashion.	1288
That the believer ought not to be punished for other offences, except for the name he bears.	1289
That the servant of God ought to be innocent, lest he fall into secular punishment.	1290
That there is given to us an example of living in Christ.	1291
That we must not labour noisily nor boastfully.	1292
That we must not speak foolishly and offensively.	1293
That faith is of advantage altogether, and that we can do as much as we believe.	1294
That he who believes can immediately obtain (i.e., pardon and peace).	1295
That believers who differ among themselves ought not to refer to a Gentile judge.	1296
That hope is of future things, and therefore that our faith concerning those things which are promised ought to be patient.	1297
That a woman ought to be silent in the church.	1298
That it arises from our fault and our desert that we suffer, and do not perceive God's help in everything.	1299
That we must not take usury.	1300
That even our enemies must be loved.	1301
That the sacrament of faith must not be profaned.	1302
That no one should be uplifted in his labour.	1303
That the liberty of believing or of not believing is placed in free choice.	1304
That the secrets of God cannot be seen through, and therefore that our faith ought to be simple.	1305
That no one is without filth and without sin.	1306
That we must not please men, but God.	1307
That nothing that is done is hidden from God.	1308
That the believer is amended and reserved.	1309
That no one should be made sad by death; since in living is labour and peril, in dying peace and the certainty of resurrection.	1310
Of the idols which the Gentiles think to be gods.	1312
That too great lust of food is not to be desired.	1315
That the lust of possessing, and money, are not to be sought for.	1316
That marriage is not to be contracted with Gentiles.	1317

That the sin of fornication is grievous.	1318
What are those carnal things which beget death, and what are the spiritual things which lead to life.	1319
That all sins are put away in baptism.	1320
That the discipline of God is to be observed in Church precepts.	1321
That it was foretold that men should despise sound discipline.	1322
That we must depart from him who lives irregularly and contrary to discipline.	1323
That the kingdom of God is not in the wisdom of the world, nor in eloquence, but in the faith of the cross, and in virtue of conversation.	1324
That we must obey parents.	1325
And that fathers also should not be harsh in respect of their children.	1326
That servants, when they have believed, ought to serve their carnal masters the better.	1327
Moreover, that masters should be the more gentle.	1328
That all widows that are approved are to be held in honour.	1329
That every person ought to have care rather of his own people, and especially of believers.	1330
That an elder must not be rashly accused.	1331
That the sinner must be publicly reprov'd.	1332
That we must not speak with heretics.	1333
That innocency asks with confidence, and obtains.	1334
That the devil has no power against man unless God have allowed it.	1335
That wages be quickly paid to the hireling.	1336
That divination must not be used.	1337
That a tuft of hair is not to be worn on the head.	1338
That the beard must not be plucked.	1339
That we must rise when a bishop or a presbyter comes.	1340
That a schism must not be made, even although he who withdraws should remain in one faith, and in the same tradition.	1341
That believers ought to be simple, with prudence.	1342
That a brother must not be deceived.	1343
That the end of the world comes suddenly.	1344

That a wife must not depart from her husband; or if she should depart, she must remain unmarried.	1345
That every one is tempted so much as he is able to bear.	1346
That not everything is to be done which is lawful.	1347
That it was foretold that heresies would arise.	1348
That the Eucharist is to be received with fear and honour.	1349
That we are to live with the good, but to avoid the evil.	1350
That we must labour not with words, but with deeds.	1351
That we must hasten to faith and to attainment.	1352
That the catechumen ought now no longer to sin.	1353
That judgment will be according to the times, either of equity before the law, or of law after Moses.	1354
That the grace of God ought to be without price.	1355
That the Holy Spirit has frequently appeared in fire.	1356
That all good men ought willingly to hear rebuke.	1357
That we must abstain from much speaking.	1358
That we must not lie.	1359
That they are frequently to be corrected who do wrong in domestic duty.	1360
That when a wrong is received, patience is to be maintained, and vengeance to be left to God.	1361
That we must not use detraction.	1362
That we must not lay snares against our neighbour.	1363
That the sick are to be visited.	1364
That tale-bearers are accursed.	1365
That the sacrifices of the wicked are not acceptable.	1366
That those are more severely judged, who in this world have had more power.	1367
That the widow and orphans ought to be protected.	1368
That one ought to make confession while he is in the flesh.	1369
That flattery is pernicious.	1370
That God is more loved by him who has had many sins forgiven in baptism.	1371
That there is a strong conflict to be waged against the devil, and that therefore we ought to stand bravely, that we may be able to conquer.	1372

Also of Antichrist, that he will come as a man.	1373
That the yoke of the law was heavy, which is cast off by us, and that the Lord's yoke is easy, which is taken up by us.	1374
That we are to be urgent in prayers.	1375
Elucidations.	1376
The Seventh Council of Carthage under Cyprian. Concerning the Baptism of Heretics.	1387
The Seventh Council of Carthage under Cyprian. Concerning the Baptism of Heretics.	1387
Elucidation.	1403
Treatises Attributed to Cyprian on Questionable Authority.	1404
Translator's Introduction.	1404
On the Public Shows.	1405
On the Glory of Martyrdom.	1412
Of the Discipline and Advantage of Chastity.	1428
Exhortation to Repentance.	1436
Elucidations.	1443
Caius.	1445
Title Page.	1445
Introductory Notice to Caius, Presbyter of Rome.	1446
Fragments of Caius.	1449
From a Dialogue or Disputation Against Proclus.	1449
Against the Heresy of Artemon.	1450
Canon Muratorianus.	1453
Elucidations.	1456
Novatian.	1457
Title Page.	1457
Introductory Notice to Novatian, a Roman Presbyter.	1458
A Treatise of Novatian Concerning the Trinity.	1462
Preface.	1462
Novatian, with the View of Treating of the Trinity, Sets Forth from the Rule of Faith that We Should First of All Believe in God the Father and Lord Omnipotent, the Absolute Founder of All Things. The Works of Creation are	1463

Beautifully Described. Man's Free-Will is Asserted; God's Mercy in Inflicting Penalty on Man is Shown; The Condition After Death of the Souls of the Righteous and Unrighteous is Determined.	
God is Above All Things, Himself Containing All Things, Immense, Eternal, Transcending the Mind of Man; Inexplicable in Discourse, Loftier Than All Sublimity.	1465
That God is the Founder of All Things, Their Lord and Parent, is Proved from the Holy Scriptures.	1467
Moreover, He is Good, Always the Same, Immutable, One and Only, Infinite; And His Own Name Can Never Be Declared, and He is Incorruptible and Immortal.	1469
If We Regard the Anger, and Indignation, and Hatred of God Described in the Sacred Pages, We Must Remember that They are Not to Be Understood as Bearing the Character of Human Vices.	1471
And That, Although Scripture Often Changes the Divine Appearance into a Human Form, Yet the Measure of the Divine Majesty is Not Included Within These Lineaments of Our Bodily Nature.	1472
Moreover, that When God is Called a Spirit, Brightness, and Light, God is Not Sufficiently Expressed by Those Appellations.	1474
It is This God, Therefore, that the Church Has Known and Adores; And to Him the Testimony of Things as Well Visible as Invisible is Given Both at All Times and in All Forms, by the Nature Which His Providence Rules and Governs.	1475
Further, that the Same Rule of Truth Teaches Us to Believe, After the Father, Also in the Son of God, Jesus Christ Our Lord God, Being the Same that Was Promised in the Old Testament, and Manifested in the New.	1478
That Jesus Christ is the Son of God and Truly Man, as Opposed to the Fancies of Heretics, Who Deny that He Took Upon Him True Flesh.	1480
And Indeed that Christ Was Not Only Man, But God Also; That Even as He Was the Son of Man, So Also He Was the Son of God.	1482
That Christ is God, is Proved by the Authority of the Old Testament Scriptures.	1484
That the Same Truth is Proved from the Sacred Writings of the New Covenant.	1486
The Author Prosecutes the Same Argument.	1488
Again He Proves from the Gospel that Christ is God.	1490
Again from the Gospel He Proves Christ to Be God.	1493
It Is, Moreover, Proved by Moses in the Beginning of the Holy Scriptures.	1496

Moreover Also, from the Fact that He Who Was Seen of Abraham is Called God; Which Cannot Be Understood of the Father, Whom No Man Hath Seen at Any Time; But of the Son in the Likeness of an Angel.	1498
That God Also Appeared to Jacob as an Angel; Namely, the Son of God.	1502
It is Proved from the Scriptures that Christ Was Called an Angel. But Yet It is Shown from Other Parts of Holy Scripture that He is God Also.	1505
That the Same Divine Majesty is Again Confirmed in Christ by Other Scriptures.	1507
That the Same Divine Majesty is in Christ, He Once More Asserts by Other Scriptures.	1510
And This is So Manifest, that Some Heretics Have Thought Him to Be God the Father, Others that He Was Only God Without the Flesh.	1512
That These Have Therefore Erred, by Thinking that There Was No Difference Between the Son of God and the Son of Man; Because They Have Ill Understood the Scripture.	1513
And that It Does Not Follow Thence, that Because Christ Died It Must Also Be Received that God Died; For Scripture Sets Forth that Not Only Was Christ God, But Man Also.	1515
Moreover, Against the Sabellians He Proves that the Father is One, the Son Another.	1517
He Skilfully Replies to a Passage Which the Heretics Employed in Defence of Their Own Opinion.	1519
He Proves Also that the Words Spoken to Philip Make Nothing for the Sabellians.	1521
He Next Teaches Us that the Authority of the Faith Enjoins, After the Father and the Son, to Believe Also on the Holy Spirit, Whose Operations He Enumerates from Scripture.	1525
In Fine, Notwithstanding the Said Heretics Have Gathered the Origin of Their Error from Consideration of What is Written: Although We Call Christ God, and the Father God, Still Scripture Does Not Set Forth Two Gods, Any More Than Two Lords or Two Teachers.	1528
But that God, the Son of God, Born of God the Father from Everlasting, Who Was Always in the Father, is the Second Person to the Father, Who Does Nothing Without His Father's Decree; And that He is Lord, and the Angel of God's Great Counsel, to Whom the Father's Godhead is Given by Community of Substance.	1531
Two Notes by the American Editor.	1534
On the Jewish Meats.	1535

Novatian, a Roman Presbyter, During His Retirement at the Time of the Decian Persecution, Being Urged by Various Letters from His Brethren, Had Written Two Earlier Epistles Against the Jews on the Subjects of Circumcision and the Sabbath, and Now Writes the Present One on the Jewish Meats.	1535
He First of All Asserts that the Law is Spiritual; And Thence, Man's First Food Was Only the Fruit Trees, and the Use of Flesh Was Added, that the Law that Followed Subsequently Was to Be Understood Spiritually.	1537
And Thus Unclean Animals are Not to Be Reproached, Lest the Reproach Be Thrown Upon Their Author; But When an Irrational Animal is Rejected on Any Account, It is Rather that that Very Thing Should Be Condemned in Man Who is Rational; And Therefore that in Animals the Character, the Doings, and the Wills of Men are Depicted.	1540
To These Things Also Was Added Another Reason for Prohibiting Many Kinds of Meats to the Jews; To Wit, for the Restraint of the Intemperance of the People, and that They Might Serve the One God.	1543
But There Was a Limit to the Use of These Shadows or Figures; For Afterwards, When the End of the Law, Christ, Came, All Things Were Said by the Apostle to Be Pure to the Pure, and the True and Holy Meat Was a Right Faith and an Unspotted Conscience.	1544
But, on the Ground that Liberty in Meats is Granted to Us, There is No Permission of Luxury, There is No Taking Away of Continence and Fasting: for These Things Greatly Become the Faithful,--To Wit, that They Should Pray to God, and Give Him Thanks, Not Only by Day, But by Night.	1546
Moreover, We Must Be Careful that No One Should Think that This Licence May Be Carried to Such an Extent as that He May Approach to Things Offered to Idols.	1548
Appendix.	1549
Title Page.	1549
Acts and Records of the Famous Controversy About the Baptism of Heretics.	1550
Anonymous Treatise Against the Heretic Novatian.	1552
Introductory Notice.	1552
A Treatise Against the Heretic Novatian by an Anonymous Bishop.	1553
Anonymous Treatise on Re-baptism.	1566
Introductory Notice.	1566
A Treatise on Re-Baptism by an Anonymous Writer.	1567
Note by the Edinburgh Translator.	1587

Indexes	1588
Index of Scripture References	1589
Greek Words and Phrases	1599
Hebrew Words and Phrases	1626
French Words and Phrases	1627
Index of Pages of the Print Edition	1628



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The Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325

ANTE-NICENE FATHERS

VOLUME 5.

Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.

Edited by

Alexander Roberts, D.D.

&

James Donaldson, LL.D.

Revised and chronologically arranged, with brief prefaces and occasional notes, by

A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D.

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Fathers of the Third Century:

Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix.

—————
AMERICAN EDITION.



Chronologically arranged, with brief notes and prefaces, by
A. Cleveland Coxe, D.D.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατεῖτω.

The Nicene Council

Preface.



This fifth volume will be found a work complete in itself, *simplex et unum*. At first, indeed, it might look otherwise. The formation of Latin Christianity in the school of North Africa seems interrupted by the interpolation, between Tertullian and his great pupil Cyprian, of a Western bishop and doctor, who writes in Greek. A little reflection, however, will suggest to the thoughtful student, that, even if our chronological plan admitted of it, we should divest the works of Cyprian of a very great advantage should we deprive them of the new and all-important light shed upon Cyprian and his conflicts with Stephen by the discovery of the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus. That discovery, as Dr. Bunsen reminds us, more than once, has *duplicated* our information concerning the Western Church of the ante-Nicene period. It gives us overwhelming evidence on many points heretofore imperfectly understood, and confirms the surmises of the learned and candid authors who have endeavoured to disentangle certain complications of history. It meets some questions of our own day with most conclusive testimony, and probably had not a little to do with the ultimate conclusions of Döllinger, and the rise of the Old Catholic school, among the Latins. We cannot fail to observe in all this the hand of a wise and paternal Providence, which is never wanting to the faithful in the day of trial. "I believe, with Niebuhr," says Dr. Bunsen, "that Providence always furnishes every generation with the necessary means of arriving at the truth and at the solution of its doubts." This consideration has inspired me with great hopes from the publication of this series in America, where the aggressions of an alien element are forcing us to renewed study of that virgin antiquity which is so fatal to its pretensions. I can adopt with a grateful heart the language of Bunsen, when he adds:¹ "I cannot help thinking it of importance that we have *just now* so unexpectedly got our knowledge of facts respecting early Christianity *doubled*."

To show some tokens of this new light on old difficulties, I shall be obliged to throw one or two of my *Elucidations* almost into the form of dissertations. It will appear, as we proceed, that we have reached a most critical point in the ante-Nicene history, and one on which that period itself depends for its complete exposition. Let me adduce conclusive evidence of this by reference to two fundamental facts, which need only to be mentioned to be admitted:—

1. The Council of Nice did not pretend to be setting forth a new creed, or making anything doctrine which was not doctrine before. Hence the period we are now studying is to be interpreted by the testimony of the Nicene Fathers, who were able to state historically, and with great felicity, in idioms gradually framed by the Alexandrian theologians, *the precise*

¹ *Hippol.*, vol. i. p. 7. Ed. London, 1851.

intent and purport of their teaching. The learned Bull has demonstrated this; demolishing alike the sophistry of Petavius the Jesuit, and the efforts of latitudinarians to make capital out of some of those *obiter dicta* of orthodox Fathers, which, like certain passages of Holy Scripture itself, may be wrested into contradictory and self-stultifying declarations. Note, therefore, that the Nicene Creed must be studied not so much in the controvertists of the fourth century as in the doctors of preceding ages, whom we are reviewing in these pages.

2. A like statement is true of the Nicene constitutions and discipline. The synodical rule, alike in faith and discipline, was τὰ ἄρχαῖα ἔθῃ κρατέιτο: “Let the (ancient) primitive examples prevail.” Observe, therefore, what they ruled as to Rome and other churches was already *ancient*. Now, the “duplicated” light thrown upon the position of the North-African churches, and others in the West, at this period, by the discovery of long-lost portions of Hippolytus, will be found to settle many groundless assertions of Roman controvertists as to what these ἄρχαῖα ἔθῃ were.

Bearing this in mind, let us return to the point with which this Preface starts. We are pausing for a moment, in the North-African history, to take a contemporary survey of Rome, and to mark just where it stands, and what it is, at this moment. The earliest of the great Roman Fathers now comes forward, but not as a Latin Father. He writes in Greek; he continues the Greek line of thought brought into the West by Irenæus; he maintains the Johannan rather than the Petrine traditions and idioms, which are distinct but not clashing; he stands only in the third generation from St. John himself, through Polycarp, and his master Irenæus; and, like his master, he confronts the Roman bishops of his time with a superior orthodoxy and with an authority more apostolic.² He illustrates in his own conduct the maxim of Irenæus, that “the Catholic faith is preserved in Rome by the testimony *imported into it* by those who visit it from every side;” that is, who thus keep alive in it the common faith, as witnessed in all the churches of Christendom.

Thus, Hippolytus, once “torn to pieces as by horses,” in his works, if not in his person, comes to life again in our times, to shed new light upon the history of Latin Christianity, and to show that Rome had no place nor hand in its creation. He appears as a Greek Father in a church which was yet a “Greek colony;”³ and he shows to what an estate of feebleness and humiliation the Roman Church had been brought, probably by the neglect of preaching, which is an anomaly in its history, and hardly less probably by its adherence to a Greek liturgy long after the Christians of Rome had ceased to understand Greek familiarly. At such a moment Hippolytus proves himself a reformer. His historical elucidations of the period, therefore, form an admirable introduction to Cyprian, and will explain the entire independ-

2 See this series, vol. iii. Elucid. II. p. 630.

3 See this series, vol. i. pp. 309, 360; also vol. ii. p. 166, and Milman (vol. i. pp. 28, 29), *Latin Christianity*.

ence of Roman dictation, with which he maintained his own opinions against that Church and its bishops.

And lastly we have Novatian as a sequel to the works of Cyprian; and truly, the light upon his sad history is “duplicated” by what Hippolytus shows us of the times and circumstances which made his schism possible, and which somewhat relieve his character from its darker shades.

Such, then, is the volume now given to the reader,—Hippolytus, Cyprian, Novatian,—affording the fullest information ever yet brought together in one volume, upon the rise of Latin Christianity, the decline of the Greek period of the Roman See, and the restricted limits of the Roman province not yet elevated to the technical position of a Nicene patriarchate.

HIPPOLYTUS.



Introductory Notice to Hippolytus.

[a.d. 170–236.]



The first great Christian Father whose history is Roman is, nevertheless, not a Roman, but a Greek. He is the disciple of Irenæus, and the spirit of his life-work rejects that of his master. In his personal character he so much resembles Irenæus risen again,⁴ that the great Bishop of Lyons must be well studied and understood if we would do full justice to the conduct of Hippolytus. Especially did he follow his master's example in withstanding contemporary bishops of Rome, who, like Victor, "deserved to be blamed," but who, much more than any of their predecessors, merited rebuke alike for error in doctrine and viciousness of life.

In the year 1551, while some excavations were in progress near the ancient Church of St. Lawrence at Rome, on the Tiburtine Road, there was found an ancient statue, in marble, of a figure seated in a chair, and wearing over the Roman tunic the *pallium* of Tertullian's eulogy. It was in 1851, just three hundred years after its discovery, and in the year of the publication of the newly discovered *Philosophumena* at Oxford, that I saw it in the Vatican. As a specimen of early Christian art it is a most interesting work, and possesses a higher merit than almost any similar production of a period subsequent to that of the Antonines.⁵ It represents a grave personage, of noble features and a high, commanding forehead, slightly bearded, his right hand resting over his heart, while under it his left arm crosses the body to reach a book placed at his side. There is no reason to doubt that this is, indeed, the statue of Hippolytus, as is stated in the inscription of Pius IV., who calls him "Saint Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus," and states that he lived in the reign of the Emperor Alexander; i.e., Severus.

Of this there is evidence on the chair itself, which represents his episcopal *cathedra*, and has a modest symbol of lions at "the stays," as if borrowed from the throne of Solomon. It is a work of later date than the age of Severus, no doubt; but Wordsworth, who admirably illustrates the means by which such a statue may have been provided, gives us good reasons for supposing that it may have been the grateful tribute of contemporaries, and all the more trustworthy as a portrait of the man himself. The chair has carved upon it, no doubt for use in the Church, a calendar indicating the Paschal full moons for seven cycles of sixteen years each; answering, according to the science of the period, to similar tables in the

4 In *pseudo-Chrysost.* called γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος. See Wordsworth, *St. Hippolytus*, etc., p. 92.

5 A very good representation of it may be seen in Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age*, as a frontispiece to vol. i. London, 1852.

Anglican Book of Common Prayer. It indicates the days on which Easter must fall, from a.d. 222 to a.d. 333. On the back of the chair is a list of the author's works.⁶

Not less interesting, and vastly more important, was the discovery, at Mount Athos, in 1842, of the long-lost *Philosophumena* of this author, concerning which the important facts will appear below. Its learned editor, Emmanuel Miller, published it at Oxford under the name of Origen, which was inscribed on the ms. Like the Epistle of Clement, its composition in the Greek language had given it currency among the Easterns long after it was forgotten in the West; and very naturally they had ascribed to Origen an anonymous treatise containing much in coincidence with his teachings, and supplying the place of one of his works of a similar kind. It is now sufficiently established as the work of Hippolytus, and has been providentially brought to light just when it was most needed.⁷ In fact, the statue rose from its grave as if to rebuke the reigning pontiff (Pius IV.), who just then imposed upon the Latin churches the novel "Creed" which bears his name; and now the *Philosophumena* comes forth as if to breathe a last warning to that namesake of the former Pius who, in the very teeth of its testimony, so recently forged and uttered the dogma of "papal infallibility" conferring this attribute upon himself, and retrospectively upon the very bishops of Rome whom St. Hippolytus resisted as heretics, and has transmitted to posterity, in his writings, branded with the shame alike of false doctrine and of heinous crimes. Dr. Döllinger, who for a time lent his learning and genius to an apologetic effort in behalf of the Papacy, was no doubt prepared, by this very struggle of his heart *versus* head, for that rejection of the new dogma which overloaded alike his intellect and his conscience, and made it impossible for him any longer to bear the lashes of Rehoboam⁸ in communion with modern Rome.

In the biographical *data* which will be found below, enough is supplied for the needs of the reader of the present series, who, if he wishes further to investigate the subject, will find the fullest information in the works to which reference has been made, or which will be hereafter indicated.⁹ But this is the place to recur to the much-abused passage of Irenæus which I have discussed in a former volume.¹⁰ Strange to say, I was forced to correct, from a Roman-Catholic writer, the very unsatisfactory rendering of our Edinburgh editors, and to elucidate at some length the palpable absurdity of attributing to Irenæus any other than

6 The learned Dr. Wordsworth deals with all the difficulties of the case with judicial impartiality, but enforces his conclusions with irrefragable cogency. See also Dr. Jarvis, learned *Introduction*, p. 339.

7 The valuable treatise of Dr. Bunsen must be compared with the luminous reviewal of Wordsworth, *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, London, 1853; enlarged 1880.

8 [1 Kings xii. 14.](#)

9 A *Bibliographical* account of all the ante-Nicene literature, from the learned pen of Dr. M. B. Riddle, will be given in the concluding volume of this series.

10 Vol. i. pp. 415, 460, this series.



a geographical and imperial reference to the importance of Rome, and its usefulness to the West, more especially, as its only see of apostolic origin. Quoting the Ninth Antiochian Canon, I gave good reasons for my conjecture that the Latin *convenire* represents συντρέχειν in the original; and now it remains to be noted how strongly the real meaning of Irenæus is illustrated in the life and services of his pupil Hippolytus.

1. That neither Hippolytus nor his master had any conception that the See of Rome possesses any pre-eminent authority, to which others are obliged to defer, is conspicuously evident from the history of both. Alike they convicted Roman bishops of error, and alike they rebuked them for their misconduct.

2. Hippolytus is the author of a work called the *Little Labyrinth*, which, like the recently discovered *Philosophumena*, attributes to the Roman See anything but the “infallibility” which the quotation from Irenæus is so ingeniously wrested to sustain.¹¹ How he did *not* understand the passage is, therefore, sufficiently apparent. Let us next inquire what appears, from his conduct, to be the true understanding of Irenæus.

3. I have shown, in the elucidation already referred to, how Irenæus affirms that Rome is the city which everybody visits from all parts, and that Christians, resorting thither, because it is the Imperial City, *carry into it* the testimony of all other churches. Thus it becomes a competent witness to the *quod ab omnibus*, because it cannot be ignorant of what all the churches teach with one accord. This argument, therefore, reverses the modern Roman dogma; primitive Rome *received* orthodoxy instead of prescribing it. She embosomed the Catholic testimony *brought into* it from all the churches, and gave it forth as reflected light; not primarily her own, but what she faithfully preserved in coincidence with older and more learned churches than herself. Doubtless she had been planted and watered by St. Paul and St. Peter; but doubtless, also, she had been expressly warned by the former of her liability to error and to final severance¹² from apostolic communion. Hippolytus lived at a critical moment, when this awful admonition seemed about to be realized.

4. Now, then, from Portus and from Lyons, Hippolytus brought into Rome the Catholic doctrine, and convicted two of its bishops of pernicious heresies and evil living. And thus, as Irenæus teaches, the faith was preserved in Rome by the testimony of those *from every side resorting thither*, not by any prerogative of the See itself. All this will appear clearly enough as the student proceeds in the examination of this volume. But it is now time to avail ourselves of the information given us by the translator in his Introductory Notice, as follows:—

The entire of *The Refutation of all Heresies*, with the exception of book i., was found in a ms. brought from a convent on Mount Athos so recently as the year 1842. The discoverer

11 See Eusebius, *Hist.*, v. 28; also Routh, *Script. Eccles. Opusc.*, vol. ii. pp. 153–160.

12 [Rom. xi. 17–21.](#)

of this treasure—for treasure it certainly is—was Minöides Mynas, an erudite Greek, who had visited his native country in search of ancient mss., by direction of M. Abel Villemain, Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe. The French Government have thus the credit of being instrumental in bringing to light this valuable work, while the University of Oxford shares the distinction by being its earliest publishers. *The Refutation* was printed at the Clarendon Press in 1851, under the editorship of M. Emmanuel Miller,¹³ whose labours have proved serviceable to all subsequent commentators. One generally acknowledged mistake was committed by Miller in ascribing the work to Origen. He was right in affirming that the discovered ms. was the continuation of the fragment, *The Philosophumena*, inserted in the Benedictine copy of Origen's works. In the volume, however, containing the *Philosophumena*, we have dissertations by Huet, in which he questions Origen's authorship in favour of Epiphanius. Heuman attributed the *Philosophumena* to Didymus of Alexandria, Gale to Aetius;¹⁴ and it, with the rest of *The Refutation*, Fessler and Baur ascribed to Caius, but the Abbe Jellabert to Tertullian. The last hypothesis is untenable, if for no other reason, because the work is in Greek. In many respects, Caius, who was a presbyter of Rome in the time of Victor and Zephyrinus, would seem the probable author; but a fatal argument—one applicable to those named above, except Epiphanius—against Caius is his not being, as the author of *The Refutation* in the *Proæmium* declares himself to be, a bishop. Epiphanius no doubt filled the episcopal office; but when we have a large work of his on the heresies, with a summary,¹⁵ it would seem scarcely probable that he composed likewise, on the same topic, an extended treatise like the present, with two abridgments. Whatever diversity of opinion, however, existed as to these claimants, most critics, though not all, now agree in denying the authorship of Origen. Neither the style nor tone of *The Refutation* is Origenian. Its compilatory process is foreign to Origen's plan of composition; while the subject matter itself, for many reasons, would not be likely to have occupied the pen of the Alexandrine Father. It is almost impossible but that Origen would have made some allusions in *The Refutation* to his other writings, or in them to it. Not only, however, is there no such allusion, but the derivation of the word "Ebionites," in *The Refutation*, and an expressed belief in the (orthodox) doctrine of eternal punishment, are at variance with Origen's authorship. Again, no work answering the description is awarded to Origen in catalogues of his extant or lost writings. These arguments are strengthened by the facts, that Origen was never a bishop, and that he did not reside for any length of time at Rome. He once paid a hurried visit to the capital of the West, whereas the author of *The Refutation* asserts his presence at Rome

13 In addition to Miller, the translator has made use of the Göttingen edition, by Duncker and Schneidewin, 1859; and the Abbe Cruice's edition, Paris, 1860.

14 An Arian bishop of the first half of the fourth century.

15 See pp. 126–157, tom. ii., of Epiphanius' collected works, edited by Dionysius Petavius.

during the occurrence of events which occupied a period of some twenty years. And not only was he a spectator, but took part in these transactions in such an official and authoritative manner as Origen could never have assumed, either at Rome or elsewhere.

In this state of the controversy, commentators turned their attention towards Hippolytus, in favour of whose authorship the majority of modern scholars have decided. The arguments that have led to this conclusion, and those alleged by others against it, could not be adequately discussed in a notice like the present. Suffice it to say, that such names as Jacobi, Gieseler, Duncker, Schneidewin, Bernays, Bunsen, Wordsworth, and Döllinger, support the claims of Hippolytus. The testimony of Dr. Döllinger, considering the extent of his theological learning, and in particular his intimate acquaintance with the apostolic period in church history, virtually, we submit, decides the question.¹⁶

For a biography of Hippolytus we have not much authentic materials. There can be no reasonable doubt but that he was a bishop, and passed the greater portion of his life in Rome and its vicinity. This assertion corresponds with the conclusion adopted by Dr. Döllinger, who, however, refuses to allow that Hippolytus was, as is generally maintained, Bishop of Portus, a harbour of Rome at the northern mouth of the Tiber, opposite Ostia. However, it is satisfactory to establish, and especially upon such eminent authority as that of Dr. Döllinger, the fact of Hippolytus' connection with the Western Church, not only because it bears on the investigation of the authorship of *The Refutation*, the writer of which affirms his personal observation of what he records as occurring in his own time at Rome, but also because it overthrows the hypothesis of those who contend that there were more Hippolytuses than one—Dr. Döllinger shows that there is only one historical Hippolytus—or that the East, and not Italy, was the sphere of his episcopal labours. Thus Le Moyne, in the seventeenth century, a French writer resident in Leyden, ingeniously argues that Hippolytus was bishop of *Portus Romanorum* (Aden), in Arabia. Le Moyne's theory was adopted by some celebrities, viz., Dupin, Tillemont, Spanheim, Basnage, and our own Dr. Cave. To this position are opposed, among others, the names of Nicephorus, Syncellus, Baronius, Bellarmine, Dodwell, Beveridge, Bull, and Archbishop Ussher. The judgment and critical accuracy of Ussher is, on a point of this kind, of the highest value. Wherefore the question of Hippolytus being bishop of Portus near Rome would also appear established, for the reasons laid down

¹⁶ Those who are desirous of examining it for themselves may consult Gieseler's paper on Hippolytus, etc., in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1853; Hergenröther, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, 1852; Bunsen's *Hippolytus and His Age*; Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus*; Dr. Döllinger's *Hippolytus und Kallistus: oder die Römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts*, 1853; and Cruice's *Études sur de Nouveaux Documents Historiques empruntés au livre des φιλοσοφούμενα*, 1853. See also articles in the *Quarterly Review*, 1851; *Ecclesiastic and Theologian*, 1852, 1853; the *Westminster Review*, 1853; the *Dublin Review*, 1853, 1854; *Le Correspondent*, t. xxxi.; and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1865.

in Bunsen's *Letters to Archdeacon Hare*, and Canon Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus*. The mind of inquirers appears to have been primarily unsettled in consequence of Eusebius' mentioning Hippolytus (*Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vi. 10) in company with Beryllus (of Bostra), an Arabian, expressing at the same time his uncertainty as to where Hippolytus was bishop. This indecision is easily explained, and cannot invalidate the tradition and historical testimony which assign the bishopric of Portus near Rome to Hippolytus, a saint and martyr of the Church. Of his martyrdom, though the fact itself is certain, the details, furnished in Prudentius' hymn, are not historic. Thus the mode of Hippolytus' death is stated by Prudentius to have been identical with that of Hippolytus the son of Theseus, who was torn limb from limb by being tied to wild horses. St. Hippolytus, however, is known on historical testimony to have been thrown into a canal and drowned; but whether the scene of his martyrdom was Sardinia, to which he was undoubtedly banished along with the Roman bishop Pontianus, or Rome, or Portus, has not as yet been definitively proved. The time of his martyrdom, however, is probably a year or two, perhaps less or more, after the commencement of the reign of Maximin the Thracian, that is, somewhere about a.d. 235–39. This enables us to determine the age of Hippolytus; and as some statements in *The Refutation* evince the work to be the composition of an old man, and as the work itself was written after the death of Callistus in a.d. 222, this would transfer the period of his birth to not very long after the last half of the second century.

The contents of *The Refutation*, as they originally stood, seem to have been arranged thus: The first book (which we have) contained an account of the different schools of ancient philosophers; the second (which is missing), the doctrines and mysteries of the Egyptians; the third (likewise missing), the Chaldean science and astrology; and the fourth (the beginning of which is missing), the system of the Chaldean horoscope, and the magical rites and incantations of the Babylonian Theurgists. Next came the portion of the work relating more immediately to the heresies of the Church, which is contained in books v.–ix. The tenth book is the *résumé* of the entire, together with the exposition of the author's own religious opinions. The heresies enumerated by Hippolytus comprehend a period starting from an age prior to the composition of St. John's Gospel, and terminating with the death of Callistus. The heresies are explained according to chronological development, and may be ranged under five leading schools: (1) The Ophites; (2) Simonists; (3) Basilidians; (4) Docetæ; (5) Noetians. Hippolytus ascends to the origin of heresy, not only in assigning heterodoxy a derivative nature from heathenism, but in pointing out in the *Gnosis* elements of abnormal opinions antecedent to the promulgation of Christianity. We have thus a most interesting account of the early heresies, which in some respects supplies many *desiderata* in the ecclesiastical history of this epoch.

We can scarcely over-estimate the value of *The Refutation*, on account of the propinquity of its author to the apostolic age. Hippolytus was a disciple of St. Irenæus, St. Irenæus of St.



Polycarp, St. Polycarp of St. John. Indeed, one fact of grave importance connected with the writings of St. John, is elicited from Hippolytus' *Refutation*. The passage given out of Basilides' work, containing a quotation by the heretic from St. [John i. 9](#), settles the period of the composition of the fourth Gospel, as of greater antiquity by at least thirty years than is allowed to it by the Tübingen school. It is therefore obvious that Basilides formed his system out of the prologue of St. John's Gospel; thus for ever setting at rest the allegation of these critics, that St. John's Gospel was written at a later date, and assigned an apostolic author, in order to silence the Basilidian Gnostics.¹⁷ In the case of Irenæus, too, *The Refutation* has restored the Greek text of much of his book *Against Heresies*, hitherto only known to us in a Latin version. Nor is the value of Hippolytus' work seriously impaired, even on the supposition of the authorship not being proved,—a concession, however, in no wise justified by the evidence. Whoever the writer of *The Refutation* be, he belonged to the early portion of the third century, formed his compilations from primitive sources, made conscientious preparation for his undertaking, delivered statements confirmed by early writers of note,¹⁸ and lastly, in the execution of his task, furnished indubitable marks of information and research, and of having thoroughly mastered the relations and affinities, each to other, of the various heresies of the first two and a quarter centuries. These heresies, whether deducible from attempts to Christianize the philosophy of Paganism, or to interpret the Doctrines and Life of our Lord by the tenets of Gnosticism and Oriental speculation generally, or to create a compromise with the pretensions of Judaism,—these heresies, amid all their complexity and diversity, St. Hippolytus¹⁹ reduces to one common ground of censure—antagonism to

17 It settles the period of the composition of St. John's Gospel only, of course, on the supposition that Hippolytus is giving a correct account as regards Basilides' work. The mode, however, in which Hippolytus introduces the quotation, appears to place its authenticity beyond reasonable doubt. He represents Basilides (see book vii. chap. 10) as notifying his reference to St. John's Gospel thus, "And this," he says, "is what has been stated in the Gospels: 'He was the true light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.'" Now this is precisely the mode of reference we should expect that Basilides would employ; whereas, if Hippolytus had either fabricated the passage or adduced it from hearsay, it is almost certain he would have said "in the Gospel of St. John," and not indefinitely "the Gospels." And more than this, the formulary "in the Gospels," adopted by Basilides, reads very like a recognition of an agreed collection of authorized accounts of our Lord's life and sayings. It is also remarkable that the word "stated" (λεγόμενον) Basilides has just used in quoting ([Gen. i. 3](#)) as interchangeable with "written" (γέγραπται), the word exclusively applied to what is included within the canon of Scripture.

18 For instance, St. Irenæus, whom Hippolytus professes to follow, Epiphanius, Theodoret, St. Augustine, etc.

19 The translator desires to acknowledge obligations to Dr. Lottner, Professor of Sanskrit and sub-librarian in Trinity College, Dublin,—a gentleman of extensive historical erudition as well as of accurate and comprehensive scholarship.

Holy Scripture. Heresy, thus branded, he leaves to wither under the condemnatory sentence of the Church.

The Refutation of All Heresies.

[Translated by the Rev. J. H. MacMahon, M.A.]



Book I.

Contents.

The following are the contents of the first book of *The Refutation of all Heresies*.²⁰

We propose to furnish an account of the tenets of natural philosophers, and who these are, as well as the tenets of moral philosophers, and who these are; and thirdly, the tenets of logicians, and who these logicians are.

Among natural philosophers²¹ may be enumerated Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Parmenides, Leucippus, Democritus, Xenophanes, Ecphantus, Hippo.

20 The four of the mss. of the first book extant prior to the recent discovery of seven out of the remaining nine books of *The Refutation*, concur in ascribing it to Origen. These inscriptions run thus: 1. "Refutation by Origen of all Heresies;" 2. "Of Origen's Philosophumena...these are the contents;" 3. "Being estimable (Dissertations) by Origen, a man of the greatest wisdom." The recently discovered ms. itself in the margin has the words, "Origen, and Origen's opinion." The title, as agreed upon by modern commentators, is: 1. "Book I. of Origen's Refutation of all Heresies" (Wolf and Gronovius); 2. "A Refutation of all Heresies;" 3. "Origen's Philosophumena, or the Refutation of all Heresies." The last is Miller's in his Oxford edition, 1851. The title might have been, "Philosophumena, and the Refutation (therefrom) of all Heresies." There were obviously two divisions of the work: (1) A *résumé* of the tenets of the philosophers (books i., ii., iii., iv.), preparatory to (2) the refutation of heresies, on the ground of their derivative character from Greek and Egyptian speculation. Bunsen would denominate the work "St. Hippolytus' (Bishop and Martyr) Refutation of all Heresies; what remains of the ten books."

21 Most of what follows in book i. is a compilation from ancient sources. The ablest *résumé* followed by Cicero in the *De Nat. Deor.*, of the tenets of the ancient philosophers, is to be found in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. The English reader is referred to the *Metaphysics*, book i. pp. 13–46 (Bohn's Classical Library), also to the translator's analysis prefixed to this work, pp. 17–25. See also Diogenes' *Lives of the Philosophers*, and Tenneman's *Manual of Philosophy* (translated in Bohn's Library); Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*; Lewes' *Biographical History of (Ancient) Philosophy*; and Rev. Dr. F. D. Maurice's *History of (Ancient) Metaphysical and Moral Philosophy*. The same subject is discussed in Ritter's *History of Philosophy* (translated by Morrison).

Among moral philosophers are Socrates, pupil of Archelaus the physicist, (and) Plato the pupil of Socrates. This (speculator) combined three systems of philosophy.

Among logicians is Aristotle, pupil of Plato. He systematized the art of dialectics. Among the Stoic (logicians) were Chrysippus (and) Zeno. Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all philosophers. Pyrrho was an Academic;²² this (speculator) taught the incomprehensibility of everything. The Brahmins among the Indians, and the Druids among the Celts, and Hesiod (devoted themselves to philosophic pursuits).

22 This word is variously given thus: Academican, Academeian, Academiaic, Academe, Cademian, and Cadi-mian. The two last would seem to indicate the character rather than the philosophy of Pyrrho. To favour this view, the text should be altered into καὶ ἄδημος, i.e., ἀπόδημος = from home, not domestic.

The Proœmium.—Motives for Undertaking the Refutation; Exposure of the Ancient Mysteries; Plan of the Work; Completeness of the Refutation; Value of the Treatise to Future Ages.

We must not overlook²³ any figment devised by those denominated philosophers among the Greeks. For even their incoherent tenets must be received as worthy of credit, on account of the excessive madness of the heretics; who, from the observance of silence, and from concealing their own ineffable mysteries, have by many been supposed worshippers of God.²⁴ We have likewise, on a former occasion,²⁵ expounded the doctrines of these briefly, not illustrating them with any degree of minuteness, but refuting them in coarse digest; not having considered it requisite to bring to light their secret²⁶ doctrines, in order that, when we have explained their tenets by enigmas, they, becoming ashamed, lest also, by our divulging their mysteries, we should convict them of atheism, might be induced to desist in some degree from their unreasonable opinion and their profane attempt.²⁷ But since I perceive that they have not been abashed by our forbearance, and have made no account of how God is long-suffering, though blasphemed by them, in order that either from shame they may repent, or should they persevere, be justly condemned, I am forced to proceed in my intention of exposing those secret mysteries of theirs, which, to the initiated, with a vast amount of plausibility they deliver who are not accustomed first to disclose (to any one), till, by keeping such in suspense during a period (of necessary preparation), and by rendering him blasphemous towards the true God they have acquired complete ascendancy over him, and perceive him eagerly panting after the promised disclosure. And then, when they have tested him to be enslaved by sin, they initiate him, putting him in possession of the perfection of wicked things. Previously, however, they bind him with an oath neither to divulge (the mysteries), nor to hold communication with any person whatsoever, unless he first undergo similar subjection, though, when the doctrine has been simply delivered (to any one), there was no longer any need of an oath. For he who was content to submit to the necessary purgation,²⁸ and so receive the perfect mysteries of these men, by the very act itself, as well as in reference



23 Some hiatus at the beginning of this sentence is apparent.

24 An elaborate defence of this position forms the subject of Cudworth's great work, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*.

25 This statement has been urged against Origen's authorship, in favour of Epiphanius, who wrote an extended treatise on the *Heresies*, with an abridgment.

26 That is, their esoteric mysteries, intended only for a favoured few, as contrasted with the exoteric, designed for more general diffusion.

27 One ms. has—"the profane opinion and unreasonable attempt."

28 "To learn" (Roeper).

to his own conscience, will feel himself sufficiently under an obligation not to divulge to others; for if he once disclose wickedness of this description to any man, he would neither be reckoned among men, nor be deemed worthy to behold the light, since not even irrational animals²⁹ would attempt such an enormity, as we shall explain when we come to treat of such topics.

Since, however, reason compels us to plunge³⁰ into the very depth of narrative, we conceive we should not be silent, but, expounding the tenets of the several schools with minuteness, we shall evince reserve in nothing. Now it seems expedient, even at the expense of a more protracted investigation, not to shrink from labour; for we shall leave behind us no trifling auxiliary to human life against the recurrence of error, when all are made to behold, in an obvious light, the clandestine rites of these men, and the secret orgies which, retaining under their management, they deliver to the initiated only. But none will refute these, save the Holy Spirit bequeathed unto the Church, which the Apostles, having in the first instance received, have transmitted to those who have rightly believed. But we, as being their successors, and as participators in this grace, high-priesthood, and office of teaching,³¹ as well as being reputed guardians of the Church, must not be found deficient in vigilance,³² or disposed to suppress correct doctrine.³³ Not even, however, labouring with every energy of body and soul, do we tire in our attempt adequately to render our Divine Benefactor a fitting return; and yet withal we do not so requite Him in a becoming manner, except we are not remiss in discharging the trust committed to us, but careful to complete the measure of our particular opportunity, and to impart to all without grudging whatever the Holy Ghost supplies, not only bringing to light,³⁴ by means of our refutation, matters foreign (to our subject), but also whatsoever things the truth has received by the grace of the Father,³⁵ and

29 "And those that are irrational animals do not attempt," (or) "because irrational," etc. The last is Sancroft's reading; that in the text, Roeper's.

30 "Ascend up to" (Roeper).

31 This passage is quoted by those who impugn the authorship of Origen on the ground of his never having been a bishop of the Church. It is not, however, quite certain that the words refer to the episcopal office exclusively.

32 The common reading is in the future, but the present tense is adopted by Richter in his *Critical Observations*, p. 77.

33 It might be, "any opinion that may be subservient to the subject taken in hand." This is Cruice's rendering in his Latin version. A different reading is, "we must not be silent as regards reasons that hold good," or, "as regards rational distinctions," or, "refrain from utterances through the instrument of reasoning." The last is Roeper's.

34 Another reading is, "bringing into a collection."

35 Or, "the Spirit."

ministered to men. These also, illustrating by argument and creating testimony³⁶ by letters, we shall unabashed proclaim.

In order, then, as we have already stated, that we may prove them atheists, both in opinion and their mode (of treating a question) and in fact, and (in order to show) whence it is that their attempted theories have accrued unto them, and that they have endeavoured to establish their tenets, taking nothing from the holy Scriptures—nor is it from preserving the succession of any saint that they have hurried headlong into these opinions;—but that their doctrines have derived their origin³⁷ from the wisdom of the Greeks, from the conclusions of those who have formed systems of philosophy, and from would-be mysteries, and the vagaries of astrologers,—it seems, then, advisable, in the first instance, by explaining the opinions advanced by the philosophers of the Greeks, to satisfy our readers that such are of greater antiquity than these (heresies), and more deserving of reverence in reference to their views respecting the divinity; in the next place, to compare each heresy with the system of each speculator, so as to show that the earliest champion of the heresy availing himself³⁸ of these attempted theories, has turned them to advantage by appropriating their principles, and, impelled from these into worse, has constructed his own doctrine. The undertaking admittedly is full of labour, and (is one) requiring extended research. We shall not, however, be wanting in exertion; for afterwards it will be a source of joy, just like an athlete obtaining with much toil the crown, or a merchant after a huge swell of sea compassing gain, or a husbandman after sweat of brow enjoying the fruits, or a prophet after reproaches and insults seeing his predictions turning out true. In the commencement, therefore, we shall declare who first, among the Greeks, pointed out (the principles of) natural philosophy. For from these especially have they furtively taken their views who have first propounded these heresies,³⁹ as we shall subsequently prove when we come to compare them one with another. Assigning to each of those who take the lead among philosophers their own peculiar tenets, we shall publicly exhibit these heresiarchs as naked and unseemly.



36 Or, “indicating a witness;” or, “having adduced testimony.”

37 Or, “a starting-point.”

38 Or, “devoting his attention to;” or, “having lighted upon.”

39 The chief writers on the early heresies are: Irenæus, of the second century; Hippolytus, his pupil, of the third; Philastrius, Epiphanius, and St. Augustine, of the fourth century. The learned need scarcely be reminded of the comprehensive digest furnished by Ittigius in the preface to his dissertation on the heresies of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. A book more within the reach of the general reader is Dr. Burton’s *Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age*.

Chapter I.—Thales; His Physics and Theology; Founder of Greek Astronomy.

It is said that Thales of Miletus, one of the seven⁴⁰ wise men, first attempted to frame a system of natural philosophy. This person said that some such thing as water is the generative principle of the universe, and its end;—for that out of this, solidified and again dissolved, all things consist, and that all things are supported on it; from which also arise both earthquakes and changes of the winds and atmospheric movements,⁴¹ and that all things are both produced⁴² and are in a state of flux corresponding with the nature of the primary author of generation;—and that the Deity⁴³ is that which has neither beginning nor end. This person, having been occupied with an hypothesis and investigation concerning the stars, became the earliest author to the Greeks of this kind of learning. And he, looking towards heaven, alleging that he was carefully examining supernal objects, fell into a well; and a certain maid, by name Thratta, remarked of him derisively, that while intent on beholding things in heaven, he did not know⁴⁴ what was at his feet. And he lived about the time of Cræsus.

40 [These were: Periander of Corinth, b.c. 585; Pittacus of Mitylene, b.c. 570; Thales of Miletus, b.c. 548; Solon of Athens, b.c. 540; Chilo of Sparta, b.c. 597; Bias of Priene; Cleobulus of Lindus, b.c. 564.]

41 Or, “motions of the stars” (Roeper).

42 Or, “carried along” (Roeper).

43 Or, “that which is divine.” See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, v. pp. 461, 463 (Heinsius and Sylburgius’ ed.). Thales, on being asked, “What is God?” “That,” replied he, “which has neither beginning nor end.”

44 Or, “see.”

Chapter II.—Pythagoras; His Cosmogony; Rules of His Sect; Discoverer of Physiognomy; His Philosophy of Numbers; His System of the Transmigration of Souls; Zaratas on Demons; Why Pythagoras Forbade the Eating of Beans; The Mode of Living Adopted by His Disciples.

But there was also, not far from these times, another philosophy which Pythagoras originated (who some say was a native of Samos), which they have denominated Italian, because that Pythagoras, flying from Polycrates the king of Samos, took up his residence in a city of Italy, and there passed the entire of his remaining years. And they who received in succession his doctrine, did not much differ from the same opinion. And this person, instituting an investigation concerning natural phenomena,⁴⁵ combined together astronomy, and geometry, and music.⁴⁶ And so he proclaimed that the Deity is a monad; and carefully acquainting himself with the nature of number, he affirmed that the world sings, and that its system corresponds with harmony, and he first resolved the motion of the seven stars into rhythm and melody. And being astonished at the management of the entire fabric, he required that at first his disciples should keep silence, as if persons coming into the world initiated in (the secrets of) the universe; next, when it seemed that they were sufficiently conversant with his mode of teaching his doctrine, and could forcibly philosophize concerning the stars and nature, then, considering them pure, he enjoins them to speak. This man distributed his pupils in two orders, and called the one esoteric, but the other exoteric. And to the former he confided more advanced doctrines, and to the latter a more moderate amount of instruction.

And he also touched on magic—as they say—and himself⁴⁷ discovered an art of physiognomy,⁴⁸ laying down as a basis certain numbers and measures, saying that they comprised the principle of arithmetical philosophy by composition after this manner. The first number became an originating principle, which is one, indefinable, incomprehensible, having in itself all numbers that, according to plurality, can go on *ad infinitum*. But the primary monad became a principle of numbers, according to substance,⁴⁹—which is a male monad, begetting after the manner of a parent all the rest of the numbers. Secondly, the duad is a female number, and the same also is by arithmeticians termed even. Thirdly, the

45 Or, “nature.”

46 “And arithmetic” (added by Roeper).

47 Or, “and he first.”

48 Or, “physiognomy.”

49 Or, “in conformity with his hypothesis.”

triad is a male number. This also has been classified by arithmeticians under the denomination uneven. And in addition to all these is the tetrad, a female number; and the same also is called even, because it is female. Therefore all the numbers that have been derived from the genus are four; but number is the indefinite genus, from which was constituted, according to them, the perfect⁵⁰ number, viz., the decade. For one, two, three, four, become ten, if its proper denomination be preserved essentially for each of the numbers. Pythagoras affirmed this to be a sacred quaternion, source of everlasting nature,⁵¹ having, as it were, roots in itself; and that from this number all the numbers receive their originating principle. For eleven, and twelve, and the rest, partake of the origin of existence⁵² from ten. Of this decade, the perfect number, there are termed four divisions,—namely, number, monad,⁵³ square, (and) cube. And the connections and blendings of these are performed, according to nature, for the generation of growth completing the productive number. For when the square itself is multiplied⁵⁴ into itself, a biquadratic is the result. But when the square is multiplied into the cube, the result is the product of a square and cube; and when the cube is multiplied into the cube, the product of two cubes is the result. So that all the numbers from which the production of existing (numbers) arises, are seven,—namely, number, monad, square, cube, biquadratic, quadratic-cube, cubo-cube.

This philosopher likewise said that the soul is immortal, and that it subsists in successive bodies. Wherefore he asserted that before the Trojan era he was Æthalides,⁵⁵ and during the Trojan epoch Euphorbus, and subsequent to this Hermotimus of Samos, and after him

50 Or, “the third.”

51 Or, “an everlasting nature;” or, “having the roots of an everlasting nature in itself,” the words “as it were” being omitted in some mss.

52 Or, “production.”

53 It should be probably, “monad, number.” The monad was with Pythagoras, and in imitation of him with Leibnitz, the highest generalization of number, and a conception in abstraction, commensurate with what we call essence, whether of matter or spirit.

54 Κοβισθη in text must be rendered “multiplied.” The formulary is self-evident: $(a^2)^2 = a^4$, $(a^2)^3 = a^6$, $(a^3)^3 = a^9$.

55 Or Thallis. Æthalides, a son of Hermes, was herald of the Argonauts, and said never to have forgotten anything. In this way his soul remembered its successive migrations into the bodies of Euphorbus, Hermotimus, Pyrrhus, and Pythagoras. (See Diogenes’ *Lives*, book viii. chap. i. sec. 4.)

Pyrrhus of Delos; fifth, Pythagoras. And Diodorus the Eretrian,⁵⁶ and Aristoxenus⁵⁷ the musician, assert that Pythagoras came to Zaratas⁵⁸ the Chaldean, and that he explained to him that there are two original causes of things, father and mother, and that father is light, but mother darkness; and that of the light the parts are hot, dry, not heavy, light, swift; but of darkness, cold, moist, weighty, slow; and that out of all these, from female and male, the world consists. But the world, he says, is a musical harmony;⁵⁹ wherefore, also, that the sun performs a circuit in accordance with harmony. And as regards the things that are produced from earth and the cosmical system, they maintain that Zaratas⁶⁰ makes the following statements: that there are two demons, the one celestial and the other terrestrial; and that the terrestrial sends up a production from earth, and that this is water; and that the celestial is a fire, partaking of the nature of air, hot and cold.⁶¹ And he therefore affirms that none of these destroys or sullies the soul, for these constitute the substance of all things. And he is reported to have ordered his followers not to eat beans, because that Zaratas said that, at the origin and concretion of all things, when the earth was still undergoing its process of

56 No name occurs more frequently in the annals of Greek literature than that of Diodorus. One, however, with the title “of Eretria,” as far as the translator knows, is mentioned only by Hippolytus; so that this is likely another Diodorus to be added to the long list already existing. It may be that Diodorus Eretriensis is the same as Diodorus Crotoniates, a Pythagorean philosopher. See Fabricius’ *Biblioth. Græc.*, lib ii. cap. iii., lib. iii. cap. xxxi.; also Meursius’ *Annotations*, p. 20, on Chalcidius’ *Commentary on Plato’s Timæus*. The article in *Smith’s Dictionary* is a transcript of these.

57 Aristoxenus is mentioned by Cicero in his *Tusculan Questions*, book i. chap. xviii., as having broached a theory in psychology, which may have suggested, in modern times, to David Hartley his hypothesis of sensation being the result of nerval vibrations. Cicero says of Aristoxenus, “that he was so charmed with his own harmonies, that he sought to transfer them into investigations concerning our corporeal and spiritual nature.”

58 Zaratas is another form of the name Zoroaster.

59 Or, “is a nature according to musical harmony” (preceding note); or, “The cosmical system is nature and a musical harmony.”

60 Zaratas, or Zoroaster, is employed as a sort of generic denomination for philosopher by the Orientals, who, whatever portions of Asia they inhabit, mostly ascribe their speculative systems to a Zoroaster. No less than six individuals bearing this name are spoken of. Arnobius (*Contr. Gentes.*, i. 52) mentions four—(1) a Chaldean, (2) Bactrian, (3) Pamphylian, (4) Armenian. Pliny mentions a fifth as a native of Proconnesus (*Nat. Hist.*, xxx. 1), while Apuleius (*Florida*, ii. 15) a sixth Zoroaster, a native of Babylon, and contemporary with Pythagoras, the one evidently alluded to by Hippolytus. (See translator’s *Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. ii.)

61 Or, “that it was hot and cold,” or “hot of moist.”

solidification,⁶² and that of putrefaction had set in, the bean was produced.⁶³ And of this he mentions the following indication, that if any one, after having chewed a bean without the husk, places it opposite the sun for a certain period,—for this immediately will aid in the result,—it yields the smell of human seed. And he mentions also another clearer instance to be this: if, when the bean is blossoming, we take the bean and its flower, and deposit them in a jar, smear this over, and bury it in the ground, and after a few days uncover it, we shall see it wearing the appearance, first of a woman's *pudendum*, and after this, when closely examined, of the head of a child growing in along with it. This person, being burned along with his disciples in Croton, a town of Italy, perished. And this was a habit with him, whenever one repaired to him with a view of becoming his follower, (the candidate disciple was compelled) to sell his possessions, and lodge the money sealed with Pythagoras, and he continued in silence to undergo instruction, sometimes for three, but sometimes for five years. And again, on being released, he was permitted to associate with the rest, and remained as a disciple, and took his meals along with them; if otherwise, however, he received back his property, and was rejected. These persons, then, were styled Esoteric Pythagoreans, whereas the rest, Pythagoristæ.

Among his followers, however, who escaped the conflagration were Lysis and Archippus, and the servant of Pythagoras, Zamolxis,⁶⁴ who also is said to have taught the Celtic Druids to cultivate the philosophy of Pythagoras. And they assert that Pythagoras learned from the Egyptians his system of numbers and measures; and being struck by the plausible, fanciful, and not easily revealed wisdom of the priests, he himself likewise, in imitation of them, enjoined silence, and made his disciples lead a solitary life in underground chapels.⁶⁵

62 Or it might be rendered, "a process of arrangement." The Abbe Cruice (in his edition of *Hippolytus*, Paris, 1860) suggests a different reading, which would make the words translate thus, "when the earth was an undigested and solid mass."

63 [See book vi. cap. xxii., *infra*, and note. But Clement gives another explanation. See vol. ii. p. 385, this series.]

64 Or, "Zametus."

65 Or, "leading them down into cells, made them," etc.; or, "made his disciples observe silence," etc.

Chapter III.—Empedocles; His Twofold Cause; Tenet of Transmigration.

But Empedocles, born after these, advanced likewise many statements respecting the nature of demons, to the effect that, being very numerous, they pass their time in managing earthly concerns. This person affirmed the originating principle of the universe to be discord and friendship, and that the intelligible fire of the monad is the Deity, and that all things consist of fire, and will be resolved into fire; with which opinion the Stoics likewise almost agree, expecting a conflagration. But most of all does he concur with the tenet of transition of souls from body to body, expressing himself thus:—

“For surely both youth and maid I was,
And shrub, and bird,⁶⁶ and fish, from ocean stray’d.”⁶⁷

This (philosopher) maintained the transmutation of all souls into any description of animal. For Pythagoras, the instructor of these (sages),⁶⁸ asserted that himself had been Euphorbus, who served in the expedition against Ilium, alleging that he recognised his shield. The foregoing are the tenets of Empedocles.

66 Or, “and beast,” more in keeping with the sense of the name; or “a lamb” has been suggested in the Gottingen edition of Hippolytus.

67 Or, “traveller into the sea;” or, “mute ones from the sea;” or, “from the sea a glittering fish.”

68 Or, “being the instructor of this (philosopher).”

Chapter IV.—Heraclitus; His Universal Dogmatism; His Theory of Flux; Other Systems.

But Heraclitus, a natural philosopher of Ephesus, surrendered himself to universal grief, condemning the ignorance of the entire of life, and of all men; nay, commiserating the (very) existence of mortals, for he asserted that he himself knew everything, whereas the rest of mankind nothing.⁶⁹ But he also advanced statements almost in concert with Empedocles, saying that the originating principle of all things is discord and friendship, and that the Deity is a fire endued with intelligence, and that all things are borne one upon another, and never are at a standstill; and just as Empedocles, he affirmed that the entire locality about us is full of evil things, and that these evil things reach as far as the moon, being extended from the quarter situated around the earth, and that they do not advance further, inasmuch as the entire space above the moon is more pure. So also it seemed to Heraclitus.

After these arose also other natural philosophers, whose opinions we have not deemed it necessary to declare, (inasmuch as) they present no diversity to those already specified. Since, however, upon the whole, a not inconsiderable school has sprung (from thence), and many natural philosophers subsequently have arisen from them, each advancing different accounts of the nature of the universe, it seems also to us advisable, that, explaining the philosophy that has come down by succession from Pythagoras, we should recur to the opinions entertained by those living after the time of Thales, and that, furnishing a narrative of these, we should approach the consideration of the ethical and logical philosophy which Socrates and Aristotle originated, the former ethical, and the latter logical.⁷⁰

69 Proclus, in his commentary on Plato's *Timæus*, uses almost the same words: "but Heraclitus, in asserting his own universal knowledge, makes out all the rest of mankind ignorant."

70 Or, "and among these, Socrates a moral philosopher, and Aristotle a logician, originated systems."

Chapter V.—Anaximander; His Theory of the Infinite; His Astronomic Opinions;
His Physics.

Anaximander, then, was the hearer of Thales. Anaximander was son of Praxiadas, and a native of Miletus. This man said that the originating principle of existing things is a certain constitution of the Infinite, out of which the heavens are generated, and the worlds therein; and that this principle is eternal and undecaying, and comprising all the worlds. And he speaks of time as something of limited generation, and subsistence, and destruction. This person declared the Infinite to be an originating principle and element of existing things, being the first to employ such a denomination of the originating principle. But, moreover, he asserted that there is an eternal motion, by the agency of which it happens that the heavens⁷¹ are generated; but that the earth is poised aloft, upheld by nothing, continuing (so) on account of its equal distance from all (the heavenly bodies); and that the figure of it is curved, circular,⁷² similar to a column of stone.⁷³ And one of the surfaces we tread upon, but the other is opposite.⁷⁴ And that the stars are a circle of fire, separated from the fire which is in the vicinity of the world, and encompassed by air. And that certain atmospheric exhalations arise in places where the stars shine; wherefore, also, when these exhalations are obstructed, that eclipses take place. And that the moon sometimes appears full and sometimes waning, according to the obstruction or opening of its (orbital) paths. But that the circle of the sun is twenty-seven times⁷⁵ larger than the moon, and that the sun is situated in the highest (quarter of the firmament); whereas the orbs of the fixed stars in the lowest. And that animals are produced (in moisture⁷⁶) by evaporation from the sun. And that man was, originally, similar to a different animal, that is, a fish. And that winds are caused by the separation of very rarified exhalations of the atmosphere, and by their motion after they have been condensed. And that rain arises from earth's giving back (the vapours which it receives) from the (clouds⁷⁷) under the sun. And that there are flashes of lightning when the wind coming down severs the clouds. This person was born in the third year of the xlii. Olympiad.⁷⁸

71 Or, "men."

72 Or, "moist."

73 Or, "congealed snow."

74 That is, Antipodes. Diogenes Laertius was of the opinion that Plato first indicated by name the Antipodes.

75 Or, "727 times," an improbable reading.

76 "In moisture" is properly added, as Plutarch, in his *De Placitis*, v. xix., remarks that "Anaximander affirms that primary animals were produced in moisture."

77 This word seems requisite to the sense of the passage.

78 b.c. 610. On *Olympiads*, see Jarvis, *Introd.*, p. 21.]

Chapter VI.—Anaximenes; His System of "An Infinite Air;" His Views of Astronomy and Natural Phenomena.

But Anaximenes, who himself was also a native of Miletus, and son of Eurystratus, affirmed that the originating principle is infinite air, out of which are generated things existing, those which have existed, and those that will be, as well as gods and divine (entities), and that the rest arise from the offspring of this. But that there is such a species of air, when it is most even, which is imperceptible to vision, but capable of being manifested by cold and heat, and moisture and motion, and that it is continually in motion; for that whatsoever things undergo alteration, do not change if there is not motion. For that it presents a different appearance according as it is condensed and attenuated, for when it is dissolved into what is more attenuated that fire is produced, and that when it is moderately condensed again into air that a cloud is formed from the air by virtue of the contraction;⁷⁹ but when condensed still more, water, (and) that when the condensation is carried still further, earth is formed; and when condensed to the very highest degree, stones. Wherefore, that the dominant principles of generation are contraries,—namely, heat and cold. And that the expanded earth is wafted along upon the air, and in like manner both sun and moon and the rest of the stars; for all things being of the nature of fire, are wafted about through the expanse of space, upon the air. And that the stars are produced from earth by reason of the mist which arises from this *earth*; and when this is attenuated, that fire is produced, and that the stars consist of the fire which is being borne aloft. But also that there are terrestrial natures in the region of the stars carried on along with them. And he says that the stars do not move under the earth, as some have supposed, but around the earth,⁸⁰ just as a cap is turned round our head; and that the sun is hid, not by being under the earth, but because covered by the higher portions of the earth, and on account of the greater distance that he is from us. But that the stars do not emit heat on account of the length of distance; and that the winds are produced when the condensed air, becoming rarified, is borne on; and that when collected and thickened still further, clouds are generated, and thus a change made into water. And that hail is produced when the water borne down from the clouds becomes congealed; and that snow is generated when these very clouds, being more moist, acquire congelation; and that lightning is caused when the clouds are parted by force of the winds; for when these are sundered there is produced a brilliant and fiery flash. And that a rainbow is produced by reason of the rays of the sun falling on the collected air. And that an earthquake takes place when the earth is altered into a larger (bulk) by heat and cold. These indeed, then,

79 Or, "revolutionary motion."

80 Plutarch, in his *De Placitis Philosophorum*, attributes both opinions to Anaximenes, viz., that the sun was moved both under and around the earth.

were the opinions of Anaximenes. This (philosopher) flourished about the first year of the
lviii. Olympiad.⁸¹

81 [b.c. 556.]

Chapter VII.—Anaxagoras; His Theory of Mind; Recognises an Efficient Cause; His Cosmogony and Astronomy.

After this (thinker) comes Anaxagoras,⁸² son of Hegesibulus,⁸³ a native of Clazomenæ. This person affirmed the originating principle of the universe to be mind and matter; mind being the efficient cause, whereas matter that which was being formed. For all things coming into existence simultaneously, mind supervening introduced order. And material principles, he says, are infinite; even the smaller of these are infinite.⁸⁴ And that all things partake of motion by being moved by mind, and that similar bodies coalesce. And that celestial bodies were arranged by orbicular motion. That, therefore, what was thick and moist, and dark and cold, and all things heavy, came together into the centre, from the solidification of which earth derived support; but that the things opposite to these—namely, heat and brilliancy, and dryness and lightness—hurried impetuously into the farther portion of the atmosphere. And that the earth is in figure plane; and that it continues suspended aloft, by reason of its magnitude, and by reason of there being no vacuum, and by reason of the air, which was most powerful, bearing along the wafted earth. But that among moist substances on earth, was the sea, and the waters in it; and when these evaporated (from the sun), or had settled under, that the ocean was formed in this manner, as well as from the rivers that from time to time flow into it. And that the rivers also derive support from the rains and from the actual waters in the earth; for that this is hollow, and contains water in its caverns. And that the Nile is inundated in summer, by reason of the waters carried down into it from the snows in northern (latitudes).⁸⁵ And that the sun and moon and all the stars are fiery stones, that were rolled round by the rotation of the atmosphere. And that beneath the stars are sun and moon, and certain invisible bodies that are carried along with us; and that we have no perception of the heat of the stars, both on account of their being so far away, and on account of their distance from the earth; and further, they are not to the same degree hot as the sun, on account of their occupying a colder situation. And that the moon, being lower than the sun, is nearer us. And that the sun surpasses the Peloponnesus in size. And that the moon has not light of its own, but from the sun. But that the revolution of the stars takes place under the earth. And that the moon is eclipsed when the earth is interposed, and oc-

82 Aristotle considers that Anaxagoras was the first to broach the existence of efficient causes in nature. He states, however, that Hermotimus received the credit of so doing at an earlier date.

83 Or, Hegeseiphontus.

84 Simplicius, in his *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*, where (book i. c. 2) Anaxagoras is spoken of, says that the latter maintained that "all things existed simultaneously—infinite things, and plurality, and diminutiveness, for even what was diminutive was infinite." (See Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, iii. 4, Macmahon's translation, p. 93.) This explains Hippolytus' remark, while it suggests an emendation of the text.

85 Or, "in the Antipodes;" or, "from the snow in Æthiopia."

casionally also those (stars) that are underneath the moon. And that the sun (is eclipsed) when, at the beginning of the month, the moon is interposed. And that the solstices are caused by both sun and moon being repulsed by the air. And that the moon is often turned, by its not being able to make head against the cold. This person was the first to frame definitions regarding eclipses and illuminations. And he affirmed that the moon is earthy, and has in it plains and ravines. And that the milky way is a reflection of the light of the stars which do not derive their radiance from the sun;⁸⁶ and that the stars, coursing (the firmament) as shooting sparks, arise out of the motion of the pole. And that winds are caused when the atmosphere is rarified by the sun, and by those burning orbs that advance under the pole, and are borne from (it). And that thunder and lightning are caused by heat falling on the clouds. And that earthquakes are produced by the air above falling on that under the earth; for when this is moved, that the earth also, being wafted by it, is shaken. And that animals originally came into existence⁸⁷ in moisture, and after this one from another; and that males are procreated when the seed secreted from the right parts adhered to the right parts of the womb, and that females are born when the contrary took place. This philosopher flourished in the first year of the lxxxviii. Olympiad,⁸⁸ at which time they say that Plato also was born. They maintain that Anaxagoras was likewise prescient.

86 Or, “overpowered by the sun,” that is, whose light was lost in the superior brilliancy of the sun.

87 Or, “were generated.”

88 [Died b.c. 428 or 429.]

Chapter VIII.—Archelaus; System Akin to that of Anaxagoras; His Origin of the Earth and of Animals; Other Systems.

Archelaus was by birth an Athenian, and son of Apollodorus.⁸⁹ This person, similarly with Anaxagoras, asserted the mixture of matter, and enunciated his first principles in the same manner. This philosopher, however, held that there is inherent immediately in mind a certain mixture; and that the originating principle of motion is the mutual separation of heat and cold, and that the heat is moved, and that the cold remains at rest. And that the water, being dissolved, flows towards the centre, where the scorched air and earth are produced, of which the one is borne upwards and the other remains beneath. And that the earth is at rest, and that on this account it came into existence; and that it lies in the centre, being no part, so to speak, of the universe, delivered from the conflagration; and that from this, first in a state of ignition, is the nature of the stars, of which indeed the largest is the sun, and next to this the moon; and of the rest some less, but some greater. And he says that the heaven was inclined at an angle, and so that the sun diffused light over the earth, and made the atmosphere transparent, and the ground dry; for that at first it was a sea, inasmuch as it is lofty at the horizon and hollow in the middle. And he adduces, as an indication of the hollowness, that the sun does not rise and set to all at the same time, which ought to happen if the earth was even. And with regard to animals, he affirms that the earth, being originally fire in its lower part, where the heat and cold were intermingled, both the rest of animals made their appearance, numerous and dissimilar,⁹⁰ all having the same food, being nourished from mud; and their existence was of short duration, but afterwards also generation from one another arose unto them; and men were separated from the rest (of the animal creation), and they appointed rulers, and laws, and arts, and cities, and the rest. And he asserts that mind is innate in all animals alike; for that each, according to the difference of their physical constitution, employed (mind), at one time slower, at another faster.⁹¹

Natural philosophy, then, continued from Thales until Archelaus. Socrates was the hearer of this (latter philosopher). There are, however, also very many others, introducing various opinions respecting both the divinity and the nature of the universe; and if we were disposed to adduce all the opinions of these, it would be necessary to compose a vast quantity of books. But, reminding the reader of those whom we especially ought—who are deserving of mention from their fame, and from being, so to speak, the leaders to those who have subsequently framed systems of philosophy, and from their supplying them with a

89 [b.c. 440.]

90 Or, “both many of the rest of the animal kingdom, and man himself.” (See Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives*, ii. 17.)

91 There is some confusion in the text here, but the rendering given above, though conjectural, is highly probable. One proposed emendation would make the passage run thus: “for that each body employed mind, sometimes slower, sometimes faster.”

starting-point towards such undertakings—let us hasten on our investigations towards what remains for consideration.

Chapter IX.—Parmenides; His Theory of "Unity;" His Eschatology.

For Parmenides⁹² likewise supposes the universe to be one, both eternal and unbegotten, and of a spherical form. And neither did he escape the opinion of the great body (of speculators), affirming fire and earth to be the originating principles of the universe—the earth as matter, but the fire as cause, even an efficient one. He asserted that the world would be destroyed, but in what way he does not mention.⁹³ The same (philosopher), however, affirmed the universe to be eternal, and not generated, and of spherical form and homogeneous, but not having a figure in itself, and immoveable and limited.

92 [b.c. 500.]

93 The next sentence is regarded by some as not genuine.

Chapter X.—Leucippus; His Atomic Theory.

But Leucippus,⁹⁴ an associate of Zeno, did not maintain the same opinion, but affirms things to be infinite, and always in motion, and that generation and change exist continuously. And he affirms plenitude and vacuum to be elements. And he asserts that worlds are produced when many bodies are congregated and flow together from the surrounding space to a common point, so that by mutual contact they made substances of the same figure and similar in form come into connection; and when thus intertwined,⁹⁵ there are transmutations into other bodies, and that created things wax and wane through necessity. But what the nature of necessity is, (Parmenides) did not define.

94 [b.c. 370.]

95 Or, “when again mutually connected, that different entities were generated.” (See Diogenes Laertius’ *Lives*, ix. 30–32.)

Chapter XI.—Democritus; His Duality of Principles; His Cosmogony.

And Democritus⁹⁶ was an acquaintance of Leucippus. Democritus, son of Damasippus, a native of Abdera,⁹⁷ conferring with many gymnosophists among the Indians, and with priests in Egypt, and with astrologers and magi in Babylon, (propounded his system). Now he makes statements similarly with Leucippus concerning elements, viz., plenitude and vacuum, denominating plenitude entity, and vacuum nonentity; and this he asserted, since existing things are continually moved in the vacuum. And he maintained worlds to be infinite, and varying in bulk; and that in some there is neither sun nor moon, while in others that they are larger than with us, and with others more numerous. And that intervals between worlds are unequal; and that in one quarter of space (worlds) are more numerous, and in another less so; and that some of them increase in bulk, but that others attain their full size, while others dwindle away and that in one quarter they are coming into existence, whilst in another they are failing; and that they are destroyed by clashing one with another. And that some worlds are destitute of animals and plants, and every species of moisture. And that the earth of our world was created before that of the stars, and that the moon is underneath; next (to it) the sun; then the fixed stars. And that (neither) the planets nor these (fixed stars) possess an equal elevation. And that the world flourishes, until no longer it can receive anything from without. This (philosopher) turned all things into ridicule, as if all the concerns of humanity were deserving of laughter.

96 [Died in his hundred and ninth year, b.c. 361.]

97 Or, "Audera."

Chapter XII.—Xenophanes; His Scepticism; His Notions of God and Nature; Believes in a Flood.



But Xenophanes, a native of Colophon,⁹⁸ was son of Orthomenes. This man survived to the time of Cyrus.⁹⁹ This (philosopher) first asserted that there is no possibility of comprehending anything, expressing himself thus:—

“For if for the most part of perfection man may speak,
Yet he knows it not himself, and in all attains surmise.”

And he affirms that nothing is generated or perishes, or is moved; and that the universe, being one, is beyond change. But he says that the deity is eternal, and one and altogether homogeneous and limited, and of a spherical form, and endued with perception in all parts. And that the sun exists during each day from a conglomeration of small sparks, and that the earth is infinite, and is surrounded neither by an atmosphere nor by the heaven. And that there are infinite suns and moons, and that all things spring from earth. This man affirmed that the sea is salt, on account of the many mixtures that flow into it. Metrodorus, however, from the fact of its being filtered through earth, asserts that it is on account of this that it is made salt. And Xenophanes is of opinion that there had been a mixture of the earth with the sea, and that in process of time it was disengaged from the moisture, alleging that he could produce such proofs as the following: that in the midst of earth, and in mountains, shells are discovered; and also in Syracuse he affirms was found in the quarries the print of a fish and of seals, and in Paros an image of a laurel¹⁰⁰ in the bottom of a stone, and in Melita¹⁰¹ parts of all sorts of marine animals. And he says that these were generated when all things originally were embedded in mud, and that an impression of them was dried in the mud, but that all men had perished¹⁰² when the earth, being precipitated into the sea, was converted into mud; then, again, that it originated generation, and that this overthrow occurred to all worlds.

98 [Born 556 b.c.]

99 [Incredible. Cyrus the younger, fell at Cunaxa b.c. 401. Cyrus the elder was a contemporary of Xenophanes.]

100 Or, “anchovy.”

101 Or, “Melitus.”

102 The textual reading is in the present, but obviously requires a past tense.

Chapter XIII.—Ecphantus; His Scepticism; Tenet of Infinity.

One Ecphantus, a native of Syracuse, affirmed that it is not possible to attain a true knowledge of things. He defines, however, as he thinks, primary bodies to be indivisible,¹⁰³ and that there are three variations of these, viz., bulk, figure, capacity, from which are generated the objects of sense. But that there is a determinable multitude of these, and that this is infinite.¹⁰⁴ And that bodies are moved neither by weight nor by impact, but by divine power, which he calls mind and soul; and that of this the world is a representation; wherefore also it has been made in the form of a sphere by divine power.¹⁰⁵ And that the earth in the middle of the cosmical system is moved round its own centre towards the east.¹⁰⁶

103 Some confusion has crept into the text. The first clause of the second sentence belongs probably to the first. The sense would then run thus: "Ecphantus affirmed the impossibility of dogmatic truth, for that every one was permitted to frame definitions as he thought proper."

104 Or, "that there is, according to this, a multitude of defined existences, and that such is infinite."

105 Or, "a single power."

106 [So far anticipating modern science.]

Chapter XIV.—Hippo; His Duality of Principles; His Psychology.

Hippo, a native of Rhegium, asserted as originating principles, coldness, for instance water, and heat, for instance fire. And that fire, when produced by water, subdued the power of its generator, and formed the world. And the soul, he said, is¹⁰⁷ sometimes brain, but sometimes water; for that also the seed is that which appears to us to arise out of moisture, from which, he says, the soul is produced.

So far, then, we think we have sufficiently adduced (the opinions of) these; wherefore, inasmuch as we have adequately gone in review through the tenets of physical speculators, it seems to remain that we now turn to Socrates and Plato, who gave especial preference to moral philosophy.

107 Or, “holds.”

Chapter XV.—Socrates; His Philosophy Reproduced by Plato.

Socrates, then, was a hearer of Archelaus, the natural philosopher; and he, reverencing the rule, “Know thyself,” and having assembled a large school, had Plato (there), who was far superior to all his pupils. (Socrates) himself left no writings¹⁰⁸ after him. Plato, however, taking notes¹⁰⁹ of all his (lectures on) wisdom, established a school, combining together natural, ethical, (and) logical (philosophy). But the points Plato determined are these following.

108 Or, “writing.” Still Socrates may be called the father of the Greek philosophy. “From the age of Aristotle and Plato, the rise of the several Greek sects may be estimated as so many successful or abortive efforts to carry out the principles enunciated by Socrates.”—*Translator’s Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. iii. p. 45.

109 This word signifies to take impressions from anything, which justifies the translation, historically correct, given above. Its literal import is “wipe clean,” and in this sense Hippolytus may intend to assert that Plato wholly appropriated the philosophy of Socrates. (See Diogenes Laertius, xi. 61, where the same word occurs.)

Chapter XVI.—Plato; Threefold Classification of Principles; His Idea of God; Different Opinions Regarding His Theology and Psychology; His Eschatology and System of Metempsychosis; His Ethical Doctrines; Notions on the Free-Will Question.

Plato (lays down) that there are three originating principles of the universe, (namely) God, and matter, and exemplar; God as the Maker and Regulator of this universe, and the Being who exercises providence over it; but matter, as that which underlies all (phenomena), which (matter) he styles both receptive and a nurse, out of the arrangement of which proceeded the four elements of which the world consists; (I mean) fire, air, earth, water, from which all the rest of what are denominated concrete substances, as well as animals and plants, have been formed. And that the exemplar, which he likewise calls ideas, is the intelligence of the Deity, to which, as to an image in the soul, the Deity attending, fabricated all things. God, he says, is both incorporeal and shapeless, and comprehensible by wise men solely; whereas matter is body potentially, but with potentiality not as yet passing into action, for being itself without form and without quality, by assuming forms and qualities, it became body. That matter, therefore, is an originating principle, and coeval with the Deity, and that in this respect the world is uncreated. For (Plato) affirms that (the world) was made out of it. And that (the attribute of) imperishableness necessarily belongs to (literally “follows”) that which is uncreated. So far forth, however, as body is supposed to be compounded out of both many qualities and ideas, so far forth it is both created and perishable. But some of the followers of Plato mingled both of these, employing some such example as the following: That as a waggon can always continue undestroyed, though undergoing partial repairs from time to time, so that even the parts each in turn perish, yet itself remains always complete; so after this manner the world also, although in parts it perishes, yet the things that are removed, being repaired, and equivalents for them being introduced, it remains eternal.

Some maintain that Plato asserts the Deity to be one, ingenerable and incorruptible, as he says in *The Laws*:¹¹⁰ “God, therefore, as the ancient account has it, possesses both the beginning, and end, and middle of all things.” Thus he shows God to be one, on account of His having pervaded all things. Others, however, maintain that Plato affirms the existence of many gods indefinitely, when he uses these words: “God of gods, of whom I am both the Creator and Father.”¹¹¹ But others say that he speaks of a definite number of deities in the following passage: “Therefore the mighty Jupiter, wheeling his swift chariot in heaven;” and

110 *De Legibus*, iv. 7 (p. 109, vol. viii. ed. Bekker).

111 *Timæus*, c. xvi. (p. 277, vol. vii. ed. Bekker). The passage runs thus in the original: “Gods of gods, of whom I am Creator and Father of works, which having been formed by Me, are indissoluble, through, at all events, My will.”

when he enumerates the offspring of the children of heaven and earth. But others assert that (Plato) constituted the gods as generable; and on account of their having been produced, that altogether they were subject to the necessity of corruption, but that on account of the will of God they are immortal, (maintaining this) in the passage already quoted, where, to the words, "God of gods, of whom I am Creator and Father," he adds, "indissoluble through the fiat of My will;" so that if (God) were disposed that these should be dissolved, they would easily be dissolved.

And he admits natures (such as those) of demons, and says that some of them are good, but others worthless. And some affirm that he states the soul to be uncreated and immortal, when he uses the following words, "Every soul is immortal, for that which is always moved is immortal;" and when he demonstrates that the soul is self-moved, and capable of originating motion. Others, however, (say that Plato asserted that the soul was) created, but rendered imperishable through the will of God. But some (will have it that he considered the soul) a composite (essence), and generable and corruptible; for even he supposes that there is a receptacle for it,¹¹² and that it possesses a luminous body, but that everything generated involves a necessity of corruption.¹¹³ Those, however, who assert the immortality of the soul are especially strengthened in their opinion by those passages¹¹⁴ (in Plato's writings), where he says, that both there are judgments after death, and tribunals of justice in Hades, and that the virtuous (souls) receive a good reward, while the wicked (ones) suitable punishment. Some notwithstanding assert, that he also acknowledges a transition of souls from one body to another, and that different souls, those that were marked out for such a purpose, pass into different bodies,¹¹⁵ according to the desert of each, and that after¹¹⁶ certain definite periods they are sent up into this world to furnish once more a proof of their choice. Others, however, (do not admit this to be his doctrine, but will have it that Plato affirms that the souls) obtain a place according to the desert of each; and they employ as a testimony the saying of his, that some good men are with Jove, and that others are ranging abroad (through heaven) with other gods; whereas that others are involved in eternal punishments, as many as during this life have committed wicked and unjust deeds.

112 The word is literally a cup or bowl, and, being employed by Plato in an allegorical sense, is evidently intended to signify the *anima mundi* (soul of the world), which constituted a sort of depository for all spiritual existences in the world.

113 Or, "that there exists a necessity for the corruption of everything created."

114 Or, "are confirmed by that (philosopher Plato), because he asserts," etc.; or, "those who assert the soul's immortality are especially confirmed in their opinion, as many as affirm the existence of a future state of retribution."

115 Or, "that he changes different souls," etc.

116 Or, "during."

And people affirm that Plato says, that some things are without a mean, that others have a mean, that others are a mean. (For example, that) waking and sleep, and such like, are conditions without an intermediate state; but that there are things that had means, for instance virtue and vice; and there are means (between extremes), for instance grey between white and black, or some other colour. And they say, that he affirms that the things pertaining to the soul are absolutely alone good, but that the things pertaining to the body, and those external (to it), are not any longer absolutely good, but reputed blessings. And that frequently he names these means also, for that it is possible to use them both well and ill. Some virtues, therefore, he says, are extremes in regard of intrinsic worth, but in regard of their essential nature means, for nothing is more estimable than virtue. But whatever excels or falls short of these terminates in vice. For instance, he says that there are four virtues—prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude—and that on each of these is attendant two vices, according to excess and defect: for example, on prudence, recklessness according to defect, and knavery according to excess; and on temperance, licentiousness according to defect, stupidity according to excess; and on justice, foregoing a claim according to defect, unduly pressing it according to excess; and on fortitude, cowardice according to defect, foolhardiness according to excess. And that these virtues, when inherent in a man, render him perfect, and afford him happiness. And happiness, he says, is assimilation to the Deity, as far as this is possible; and that assimilation to God takes place when any one combines holiness and justice with prudence. For this he supposes the end of supreme wisdom and virtue. And he affirms that the virtues follow one another in turn,¹¹⁷ and are uniform, and are never antagonistic to each other; whereas that vices are multiform, and sometimes follow one the other, and sometimes are antagonistic to each other. He asserts that fate exists; not, to be sure, that all things are produced according to fate, but that there is even something in our power, as in the passages where he says, “The fault is his who chooses, God is blameless;” and “the following law¹¹⁸ of Adrasteia.”¹¹⁹ And thus some (contend for his upholding) a system of fate, whereas others one of free-will. He asserts, however, that sins are involuntary. For into what is most glorious of the things in our power, which is the soul, no one would (deliberately) admit what is vicious, that is, transgression, but that from ignorance and an erroneous conception of virtue, supposing that they were achieving something honourable, they pass into vice. And his doctrine on this point is most clear in *The Republic*,¹²⁰ where he says, “But, again, you presume to assert that vice is disgraceful and abhorred of God; how then,

117 Diogenes Laertius, in describing the system of the Stoics, employs the same word in the case of their view of virtue.

118 This is supplied from the original; the passage occurs in the *Phædrus*, c. lx. (p. 86, vol. i. ed. Bekker).

119 The word Adrasteia was a name for Nemesis, and means here unalterable destiny.

120 The passage occurs in *Clitophon* (p. 244, vol. vi. ed. Bekker).

I may ask, would one choose such an evil thing? He, you reply, (would do so) who is worsted by pleasures.¹²¹ Therefore this also is involuntary, if to gain a victory be voluntary; so that, in every point of view, the committing an act of turpitude, reason proves¹²² to be involuntary.” Some one, however, in opposition to this (Plato), advances the contrary statement, “Why then are men punished if they sin involuntary?” But he replies, that he himself also, as soon as possible, may be emancipated from vice, and undergo punishment. For that the undergoing punishment is not an evil, but a good thing, if it is likely to prove a purification of evils; and that the rest of mankind, hearing of it, may not transgress, but guard against such an error. (Plato, however, maintains) that the nature of evil is neither created by the Deity, nor possesses subsistence of itself, but that it derives existence from contrariety to what is good, and from attendance upon it, either by excess and defect, as we have previously affirmed concerning the virtues. Plato unquestionably then, as we have already stated, collecting together the three departments of universal philosophy, in this manner formed his speculative system.

121 The text, as given by Miller, is scarcely capable of any meaning. The translation is therefore conjectural, in accordance with alterations proposed by Schneidewin.

122 Or, “declares.”

Chapter XVII.—Aristotle; Duality of Principles; His Categories; His Psychology; His Ethical Doctrines; Origin of the Epithet “Peripatetic.”

Aristotle, who was a pupil of this (Plato), reduced philosophy into an art, and was distinguished rather for his proficiency in logical science, supposing as the elements of all things substance and accident; that there is one substance underlying all things, but nine accidents,—namely, quantity, quality, relation, where, when, possession, posture, action, passion; and that substance is of some such description as God, man, and each of the beings that can fall under a similar denomination. But in regard of accidents, quality is seen in, for instance, white, black; and quantity, for instance two cubits, three cubits; and relation, for instance father, son; and where, for instance at Athens, Megara; and when, for instance during the tenth Olympiad; and possession, for instance to have acquired; and action, for instance to write, and in general to evince any practical powers; and posture, for instance to lie down; and passion, for instance to be struck. He also supposes that some things have means, but that others are without means, as we have declared concerning Plato likewise. And in most points he is in agreement with Plato, except the opinion concerning soul. For Plato affirms it to be immortal, but Aristotle that it involves permanence; and after these things, that this also vanishes in the fifth body,¹²³ which he supposes, along with the other four (elements),—viz., fire, and earth, and water, and air,—to be a something more subtle (than these), of the nature of spirit. Plato therefore says, that the only really good things are those pertaining to the soul, and that they are sufficient for happiness; whereas Aristotle introduces a threefold classification of good things, and asserts that the wise man is not perfect, unless there are present to him both the good things of the body and those extrinsic to it.¹²⁴ The former are beauty, strength, vigour of the senses, soundness; while the things extrinsic (to the body) are wealth, nobility, glory, power, peace, friendship.¹²⁵ And the inner qualities of the soul he classifies, as it was the opinion of Plato, under prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude. This (philosopher) also affirms that evils arise according to an opposition of the things that are good, and that they exist beneath the quarter around the moon, but reach no farther beyond the moon; and that the soul of the entire world is immortal, and that the world itself is eternal, but that (the soul) in an individual, as we have before stated, vanishes (in the fifth body). This (speculator), then holding discussions in the Lyceum, drew up from time to time his system of philosophy; but Zeno (held his school) in the porch called *Poecilé*. And the followers of Zeno obtained their name from the place—that is, from *Stoa*—(i.e., a

123 Or, “the fifth body, in which it is supposed to be, along with the other four (elements);” or, “the fifth body, which is supposed to be (composed) of the other four.”

124 Hippolytus expresses himself in the words of Stobæus, who says (*Eclog.*, ii. 274): “And among reputed external blessings are nobility, wealth, glory, peace, freedom, friendship.”

125 Or, “glory, the confirmed power of friends.”

porch), being styled Stoics; whereas Aristotle's followers (were denominated) from their mode of employing themselves while teaching. For since they were accustomed walking about in the Lyceum to pursue their investigations, on this account they were called Peripatetics. These indeed, then, were the doctrines of Aristotle.

Chapter XVIII.—The Stoics; Their Superiority in Logic; Fatalists; Their Doctrine of Conflagrations.

The Stoics themselves also imparted growth to philosophy, in respect of a greater development of the art of syllogism, and included almost everything under definitions, both Chrysippus and Zeno being coincident in opinion on this point. And they likewise supposed God to be the one originating principle of all things, being a body of the utmost refinement, and that His providential care pervaded everything; and these speculators were positive about the existence of fate everywhere, employing some such example as the following: that just as a dog, supposing him attached to a car, if indeed he is disposed to follow, both is drawn,¹²⁶ or follows voluntarily, making an exercise also of free power, in combination with necessity, that is, fate; but if he may not be disposed to follow, he will altogether be coerced to do so. And the same, of course, holds good in the case of men. For though not willing to follow, they will altogether be compelled to enter upon what has been decreed for them. (The Stoics), however, assert that the soul abides after death,¹²⁷ but that it is a body, and that such is formed from the refrigeration of the surrounding atmosphere; wherefore, also, that it was called *psyche* (i.e., soul). And they acknowledge likewise, that there is a transition of souls from one body to another, that is, for those souls for whom this migration has been destined. And they accept the doctrine, that there will be a conflagration, a purification of this world, some say the entire of it, but others a portion, and that (the world) itself is undergoing partial destruction; and this all but corruption, and the generation from it of another world, they term purgation. And they assume the existence of all bodies, and that body does not pass through body,¹²⁸ but that a refraction¹²⁹ takes place, and that all things involve plenitude, and that there is no vacuum. The foregoing are the opinions of the Stoics also.

126 One of the mss. elucidates the simile in the text thus: "But if he is not disposed, there is absolutely a necessity for his being drawn along. And in like manner men, if they do not follow fate, seem to be free agents, though the reason of (their being) fate holds assuredly valid. If, however, they do not wish to follow, they will absolutely be coerced to enter upon what has been fore-ordained."

127 Or, "is immortal." Diogenes Laertius (book vii.) notices, in his section on Zeno, as part of the Stoic doctrine, "that the soul abides after death, but that it is perishable."

128 Or, "through what is incorporeal;" that is, through what is void or empty space.

129 Or, "resurrection;" or, "resistance;" that is, a resisting medium.

Chapter XIX.—Epicurus; Adopts the Democritic Atomism; Denial of Divine Providence; The Principle of His Ethical System.

21

Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all. He supposed, as originating principles of all things, atoms and vacuity.¹³⁰ He considered vacuity as the place that would contain the things that will exist, and atoms the matter out of which all things could be formed; and that from the concourse of atoms both the Deity derived existence, and all the elements, and all things inherent in them, as well as animals and other (creatures); so that nothing was generated or existed, unless it be from atoms. And he affirmed that these atoms were composed of extremely small particles, in which there could not exist either a point or a sign, or any division; wherefore also he called them atoms. Acknowledging the Deity to be eternal and incorruptible, he says that God has providential care for nothing, and that there is no such thing at all as providence or fate, but that all things are made by chance. For that the Deity reposed in the intermundane spaces, (as they) are thus styled by him; for outside the world he determined that there is a certain habitation of God, denominated “the intermundane spaces,” and that the Deity surrendered Himself to pleasure, and took His ease in the midst of supreme happiness; and that neither has He any concerns of business, nor does He devote His attention to them.¹³¹ As a consequence on these opinions, he also propounded his theory concerning wise men, asserting that the end of wisdom is pleasure. Different persons, however, received the term “pleasure” in different acceptations; for some (among the Gentiles¹³² understood) the passions, but others the satisfaction resulting from virtue. And he concluded that the souls of men are dissolved along with their bodies, just as also they were produced along with them, for that they are blood, and that when this has gone forth or been altered, the entire man perishes; and in keeping with this tenet, (Epicurus maintained) that there are neither trials in Hades, nor tribunals of justice; so that whatsoever any one may commit in this life, that, provided he may escape detection, he is altogether beyond any liability of trial (for it in a future state). In this way, then, Epicurus also formed his opinions.

130 The atomic theory is, as already mentioned by Hippolytus, of more ancient date than Epicurus' age, being first broached by Leucippus and Democritus. This fact, however, has, as Cudworth argues, been frequently overlooked by those who trace the doctrine to no older a source than the founder of the Epicurean philosophy.

131 Or, “that neither has He business to do, nor does He attend to any. As a consequence of which fact,” etc.

132 “Among the Gentiles” seems a mistake. One reading proposed is, “some (intended) our sensuous passions;” or, “some understood the passions.” The words “among the Gentiles,” the French commentator, the Abbe Cruice, is of opinion, were added by Christian hands, in order to draw a contrast between the virtuous Christian and the vicious pagan.

Chapter XX.—The Academics; Difference of Opinion Among Them.

And another opinion of the philosophers was called that of the Academics,¹³³ on account of those holding their discussions in the Academy, of whom the founder Pyrrho, from whom they were called Pyrrhonean philosophers, first introduced the notion of the incomprehensibility of all things, so as to (be ready to) attempt an argument on either side of a question, but not to assert anything for certain; for that there is nothing of things intelligible or sensible true, but that they appear to men to be so; and that all substance is in a state of flux and change, and never continues in the same (condition). Some followers, then, of the Academics say that one ought not to declare an opinion on the principle of anything, but simply making the attempt to give it up; whereas others subjoined the formulary “not rather”¹³⁴ (this than that), saying that the fire is not rather fire than anything else. But they did not declare what this is, but what sort it is.¹³⁵

133 See Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*, x. 63 (Bohn's Library); Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, iv. 3.

134 Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, ix. 75; Sextus Empiricus, *Hypotyp.*, i. 188–192.

135 This is what the Academics called “the phenomenon” (Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hyp.*, i. 19–22).

Chapter XXI.—The Brachmans; Their Mode of Life; Ideas of Deity; Different Sorts Of; Their Ethical Notions.

But there is also with the Indians a sect composed of those philosophizing among the Brachmans. They spend a contented existence, abstain both from living creatures and all cooked food, being satisfied with fruits; and not gathering these from the trees, but carrying off those that have fallen to the earth. They subsist upon them, drinking the water of the river Tazabena.¹³⁶ But they pass their life naked, affirming that the body has been constituted a covering to the soul by the Deity. These affirm that God is light, not such as one sees, nor such as the sun and fire; but to them the Deity is discourse, not that which finds expression in articulate sounds, but that of the knowledge through which the secret mysteries of nature¹³⁷ are perceived by the wise. And this light which they say is discourse, their god, they assert that the Brachmans only know on account of their alone rejecting all vanity of opinion which is the soul's ultimate covering.¹³⁸ These despise death, and always in their own peculiar language¹³⁹ call God by the name which we have mentioned previously, and they send up hymns (to him). But neither are there women among them, nor do they beget children. But they who aim at a life similar to these, after they have crossed over to the country on the opposite side of the river, continue to reside there, returning no more; and these also are called Brachmans. But they do not pass their life similarly, for there are also in the place women, of whom those that dwell there are born, and in turn beget children. And this discourse which¹⁴⁰ they name God they assert to be corporeal, and enveloped in a body outside himself, just as if one were wearing a sheep's skin, but that on divesting himself of body that he would appear clear to the eye. But the Brachmans say that there is a conflict in the body that surrounds them, (and they consider that the body is for them full

136 This is a mistake in the manuscript for Ganges, according to Roeper.

137 Or, "knowledge." (See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, i., xv., lxxii.; Eusebius, *Præparat. Evang.*, ix. 6.)

138 Athenæus (*Deipn.*, book ix.) ascribes this opinion to Plato, who, he tells us, "asserted that the soul was so constituted, that it should reject its last covering, that of vanity."

139 Or, "they name light their god;" or, "they celebrate in their own peculiar language God, whom they name," etc.

140 The text here would seem rather confused. The above translation agrees with Cruice's and Schneidewin's Latin version. I have doubts about its correctness, however, and would render it thus: "...enveloped in a body extrinsic to the divine essence, just as if one wore a sheepskin covering; but that his body, on being divested of this (covering), would appear visible to the naked eye." Or, "This discourse whom they name God they affirm to be incorporeal, but enveloped in a body outside himself (or his own body) (just as if one carried a covering of sheepskin to have it seen); but having stripped off the body in which he is enveloped, that he no longer appears visible to the naked eye." (Roeper.) I am not very confident that this exactly conveys the meaning of Roeper's somewhat obscure Greek paraphrase.

of conflicts);¹⁴¹ in opposition to which, as if marshalled for battle against enemies, they contend, as we have already explained. And they say that all men are captive to their own congenital struggles, viz., sensuality and in chastity, gluttony, anger, joy, sorrow, concupiscence, and such like. And he who has reared a trophy over these, alone goes to God; wherefore the Brachmans deify Dandamis, to whom Alexander the Macedonian paid a visit, as one who had proved victorious in the bodily conflict. But they bear down on Calanus as having profanely withdrawn from their philosophy. But the Brachmans, putting off the body, like fishes jumping out of water into the pure air, behold the sun.

141 The parenthetical words Roeper considers introduced into the text from a marginal note.

Chapter XXII.—The Druids; Progenitors of Their System.

And the Celtic Druids investigated to the very highest point the Pythagorean philosophy, after Zamolxis,¹⁴² by birth a Thracian,¹⁴³ a servant of Pythagoras, became to them the originator of this discipline. Now after the death of Pythagoras, Zamolxis, repairing thither, became to them the originator of this philosophy. The Celts esteem these as prophets and seers, on account of their foretelling to them certain (events), from calculations and numbers by the Pythagorean art; on the methods of which very art also we shall not keep silence, since also from these some have presumed to introduce heresies; but the Druids resort to magical rites likewise.

142 Or “Zamalxis,” or “Zametris” (see Menagius on Diogenes Laertius, viii. 2).

143 Or, “of Thracian origin.” The words are omitted in two mss.

Chapter XXIII.—Hesiod; The Nine Muses; The Hesiodic Cosmogony; The Ancient Speculators, Materialists; Derivative Character of the Heresies from Heathen Philosophy.

But Hesiod the poet asserts himself also that he thus heard from the Muses concerning nature, and that the Muses are the daughters of Jupiter. For when for nine nights and days together, Jupiter, through excess of passion, had uninterruptedly lain with Mnemosyne, that Mnemosyne conceived in one womb those nine Muses, becoming pregnant with one during each night. Having then summoned the nine Muses from Pieria, that is, Olympus, he exhorted them to undergo instruction:—

“How first both gods and earth were made,¹⁴⁴
And rivers, and boundless deep, and ocean’s surge,
And glittering stars, and spacious heaven above;
How they grasped the crown and shared the glory,
And how at first they held the many-valed Olympus.
These (truths), ye Muses, tell me of, saith he,
From first, and next which of them first arose.
Chaos, no doubt, the very first, arose; but next
Wide-stretching Earth, ever the throne secure of all
Immortals, who hold the peaks of white Olympus;
And breezy Tartarus in wide earth’s recess;
And Love, who is most beauteous of the gods immortal,
Chasing care away from all the gods and men,
Quells in breasts the mind and counsel sage.
But Erebus from Chaos and gloomy Night arose;
And, in turn, from Night both Air and Day were born;
But primal Earth, equal to self in sooth begot
The stormy sky to veil it round on every side,
Ever to be for happy gods a throne secure.
And forth she brought the towering hills, the pleasant haunts
Of nymphs who dwell throughout the woody heights.

144 There are several verbal differences from the original in Hippolytus’ version. These may be seen on comparing it with Hesiod’s own text. The particular place which Hesiod occupies in the history of philosophy is pointed out by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*. The Stagyrite detects in the Hesiodic cosmogony, in the principle of “love,” the dawn of a recognition of the necessity of an efficient cause to account for the phenomena of nature. It was Aristotle himself, however, who built up the science of causation; and in this respect humanity owes that extraordinary man a deep debt of gratitude.

And also barren Sea begat the surge-tossed
Flood, apart from luscious Love; but next
Embracing Heaven, she Ocean bred with eddies deep,
And Cæus, and Crius, and Hyperion, and Iapetus,
And Thia, and Rhea, and Themis, and Mnemosyne,
And gold-crowned Phœbe, and comely Tethys.
But after these was born last¹⁴⁵ the wiley Cronus,
Fiercest of sons; but he abhorred his blooming sire,
And in turn the Cyclops bred, who owned a savage breast.”

And all the rest of the giants from Cronus, Hesiod enumerates, and somewhere afterwards that Jupiter was born of Rhea. All these, then, made the foregoing statements in their doctrine regarding both the nature and generation of the universe. But all, sinking below what is divine, busied themselves concerning the substance of existing things,¹⁴⁶ being astonished at the magnitude of creation, and supposing that it constituted the Deity, each speculator selecting in preference a different portion of the world; failing, however, to discern the God and maker of these.

The opinions, therefore, of those who have attempted to frame systems of philosophy among the Greeks, I consider that we have sufficiently explained; and from these the heretics, taking occasion, have endeavoured to establish the tenets that will be after a short time declared. It seems, however, expedient, that first explaining the mystical rites and whatever imaginary doctrines some have laboriously framed concerning the stars, or magnitudes, to declare these; for heretics likewise, taking occasion from them, are considered by the multitude to utter prodigies. Next in order we shall elucidate the feeble opinions advanced by these.

Books II. And III. Are Awaiting.

145 Or “youngest,” or “most vigorous.” This is Hesiod’s word, which signifies literally, “fittest for bearing arms” (for service, as we say).

146 “The majority of those who first formed systems of philosophy, consider those that subsist in a form of matter, to be alone the principle of all things.”—Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, book i. c. iii. p. 13 (Bohn’s ed.).

Book IV.



Chapter I.—System of the Astrologers; Sidereal Influence; Configuration of the Stars.

But in each zodiacal sign they call limits of the stars those in which each of the stars, from any one quarter to another, can exert the greatest amount of influence; in regard of which there is among them, according to their writings, no mere casual divergency of opinion. But they say that the stars are attended as if by satellites when they are in the midst of other stars, in continuity with the signs of the Zodiac; as if, when any particular star may have occupied the first portions of the same sign of the Zodiac, and another the last, and another those portions in the middle, that which is in the middle is said to be guarded by those holding the portions at the extremities. And they are said to look upon one another, and to be in conjunction with one another, as if appearing in a triangular or quadrangular figure. They assume, therefore, the figure of a triangle, and look upon one another, which have an intervening distance¹⁴⁷ extending for three zodiacal signs; and they assume the figure of a square those which have an interval extending for two signs. But as the underlying parts sympathize with the head, and the head with the underlying parts,¹⁴⁸ so also things terrestrial with superlunar objects.¹⁴⁹ But there is of these a certain difference and want of sympathy, so that they do not involve one and the same point of juncture.

147 Or, "interval."

148 Hippolytus gives the substance of Sextus Empiricus' remarks, omitting, however, a portion of the passage followed. (See Sextus Empiricus' *Mathem.*, v. 44.)

149 Or, "celestial."

Chapter II.—Doctrines Concerning Æons; The Chaldean Astrology; Heresy Derivable from It.

Employing these (as analogies), Euphrates the Peratic, and Acembes¹⁵⁰ the Carystian, and the rest of the crowd of these (speculators), imposing names different from the doctrine of the truth, speak of a sedition of Æons, and of a revolt of good powers over to evil (ones), and of the concord of good with wicked (Æons), calling them *Toparchai* and *Proastioi*, and very many other names. But the entire of this heresy, as attempted by them, I shall explain and refute when we come to treat of the subject of these (Æons). But now, lest any one suppose the opinions propounded by the Chaldeans respecting astrological doctrine to be trustworthy and secure, we shall not hesitate to furnish a brief refutation respecting these, establishing that the futile art is calculated both to deceive and blind the soul indulging in vain expectations, rather than to profit it. And we urge our case with these, not according to any experience of the art, but from knowledge based on practical principles. Those who have cultivated the art, becoming disciples of the Chaldeans, and communicating mysteries as if strange and astonishing to men, having changed the names (merely), have from this source concocted their heresy. But since, estimating the astrological art as a powerful one, and availing themselves of the testimonies adduced by its patrons, they wish to gain reliance for their own attempted conclusions, we shall at present, as it has seemed expedient, prove the astrological art to be untenable, as our intention next is to invalidate also the Peratic system, as a branch growing out of an unstable root.

150 Or, "Celbes," or "Ademes." The first is the form of the name employed in book v. c. viii.; the second in book x. c. vi.

Chapter III.—The Horoscope the Foundation of Astrology; Indiscoverability of the Horoscope; Therefore the Futility of the Chaldean Art.

The originating principle,¹⁵¹ and, as it were, foundation, of the entire art, is fixing¹⁵² the horoscope.¹⁵³ For from this are derived the rest of the cardinal points, as well as the declinations and ascensions, the triangles and squares, and the configurations of the stars in accordance with these; and from all these the predictions are taken. Whence, if the horoscope be removed, it necessarily follows that neither any celestial object is recognisable in the meridian, or at the horizon, or in the point of the heavens opposite the meridian; but if these be not comprehended, the entire system of the Chaldeans vanishes along with (them). But that the sign of the horoscope is indiscoverable by them, we may show by a variety of arguments. For in order that this (horoscope) may be found, it is first requisite that the (time of) birth of the person falling under inspection should be firmly fixed; and secondly, that the horoscope which is to signify this should be infallible; and thirdly, that the ascension¹⁵⁴ of the zodiacal sign should be observed with accuracy. For from¹⁵⁵ (the moment) of birth¹⁵⁶ the ascension of the zodiacal sign rising in the heaven should be closely watched,¹⁵⁷ since the Chaldeans, determining (from this) the horoscope, frame the configuration of the stars in accordance with the ascension (of the sign); and they term this—disposition, in accordance with which they devise their predictions. But neither is it possible to take the birth of persons, falling under consideration, as I shall explain, nor is the horoscope infallible, nor is the rising zodiacal sign apprehended with accuracy.

How it is, then, that the system of the Chaldeans¹⁵⁸ is unstable, let us now declare. Having, then, previously marked it out for investigation, they draw the birth of persons falling under consideration from, unquestionably, the depositing of the seed, and (from) conception or from parturition. And if one will attempt to take (the horoscope) from con-

151 This passage occurs in Sextus Empiricus.

152 Or, “the knowledge of.”

153 Horoscope (from ὥρα σκοπός) is the act of observing the aspect of the heavens at the moment of any particular birth. Hereby the astrologer alleged his ability of foretelling the future career of the person so born. The most important part of the sky for the astrologer’s consideration was that sign of the Zodiac which rose above the horizon at the moment of parturition. This was the “horoscope ascendant,” or “first house.” The circuit of the heavens was divided into twelve “houses,” or zodiacal signs.

154 Or, “difference.”

155 Or, “during.”

156 ἀποτέξεως; some would read ἀποτάξεως.

157 The passage is given more explicitly in Sextus Empiricus. (See *Adversus Astrol.*, v. 53.)

158 Sextus uses almost these words.

ception, the accurate account of this is incomprehensible, the time (occupied) passing quickly, and naturally (so). For we are not able to say whether conception takes place upon the transference¹⁵⁹ of the seed or not. For this can happen even as quick as thought, just also as leaven, when put into heated jars, immediately is reduced to a glutinous state. But conception can also (take place) after a lapse of duration. For there being an interval from the mouth of the womb to the fundament, where physicians¹⁶⁰ say conceptions take place, it is altogether the nature of the seed deposited to occupy some time in traversing¹⁶¹ this interval. The Chaldeans, therefore, being ignorant of the quantity of duration to a nicety, never will comprehend the (moment of) conception; the seed at one time being injected straight forward, and falling at one spot upon actual parts of the womb well disposed for conception, and at another time dropping into it dispersedly, and being collected into one place by uterine energies. Now, while these matters are unknown, (namely), as to when the first takes place, and when the second, and how much time is spent in that particular conception, and how much in this; while, I say, ignorance on these points prevails on the part of these (astrologers), an accurate comprehension of conception is put out of the question.¹⁶² And if, as some natural philosophers have asserted, the seed, remaining stationary first, and undergoing alteration in the womb, then enters the (womb's) opened blood-vessels, as the seeds of the earth¹⁶³ sink into the ground; from this it will follow, that those who are not acquainted with the quantity of time occupied by the change, will not be aware of the precise moment of conception either. And, moreover, as women¹⁶⁴ differ from one another in the other parts of the body, both as regards energy and in other respects, so also (it is reasonable to suppose that they differ from one another) in respect of energy of womb, some conceiving quicker, and others slower. And this is not strange, since also women, when themselves compared with themselves, at times are observed having a strong disposition towards conception, but at times with no such tendency. And when this is so, it is impossible to say with accuracy when the deposited seed coalesces, in order that from this time the Chaldeans may fix the horoscope of the birth.

159 Or "lodgment" (Sextus), or "deposition."

160 Or, "attendants of physicians."

161 Or, "make."

162 Or, "vanishes."

163 Not in Sextus Empiricus.

164 The passage is more clearly given in Sextus.

Chapter IV.—Impossibility of Fixing the Horoscope; Failure of an Attempt to Do This at the Period of Birth.

For this reason it is impossible to fix the horoscope from the (period of) conception. But neither can this be done from (that of) birth. For, in the first place, there exists the difficulty as to when it can be declared that there is a birth; whether it is when the foetus begins to incline towards the orifice,¹⁶⁵ or when it may project a little, or when it may be borne to the ground. Neither is it in each of these cases possible to comprehend the precise moment of parturition,¹⁶⁶ or to define the time. For also on account of disposition of soul, and on account of suitableness of body, and on account of choice of the parts, and on account of experience in the midwife, and other endless causes, the time is not the same at which the foetus inclines towards the orifice, when the membranes are ruptured, or when it projects a little, or is deposited on the ground; but the period is different in the case of different individuals. And when the Chaldeans are not able definitely and accurately to calculate this, they will fail, as they ought, to determine the period of emergence.

That, then, the Chaldeans profess to be acquainted with the horoscope at the periods of birth,¹⁶⁷ but in reality do not know it, is evident from these considerations. But that neither is their horoscope infallible, it is easy to conclude. For when they allege that the person sitting beside the woman in travail at the time of parturition gives, by striking a metallic rim, a sign to the Chaldean, who from an elevated place is contemplating the stars, and he, looking towards heaven, marks down the rising zodiacal sign; in the first place, we shall prove to them, that when parturition happens indefinitely, as we have shown a little before, neither is it easy¹⁶⁸ to signify this (birth) by striking the metallic rim. However, grant that the birth is comprehensible, yet neither is it possible to signify this at the exact time; for as the noise of the metallic plate is capable of being divided by a longer time and one protracted, in reference to perception, it happens that the sound is carried to the height (with proportionate delay). And the following proof may be observed in the case of those felling timber at a distance. For a sufficiently long time after the descent of the axe, the sound of the stroke is heard, so that it takes a longer time to reach the listener. And for this reason, therefore, it is not possible for the Chaldeans accurately to take the time of the rising zodiacal sign, and consequently the time when one can make the horoscope with truth. And not only does more time seem to elapse after parturition, when he who is sitting beside the woman in labour strikes the metallic plate, and next after the sound reaches the listener, that is, the person who has gone up to the elevated position; but also, while he is glancing around and

165 Or, "the cold atmosphere."

166 Or, "manifestation."

167 Or, "manifestation."

168 Or, "reasonable."

looking to ascertain in which of the zodiacal signs is the moon, and in which appears each of the rest of the stars, it necessarily follows that there is a different position in regard of the stars, the motion¹⁶⁹ of the pole whirling them on with incalculable velocity, before what is seen in the heavens¹⁷⁰ is carefully adjusted to the moment when the person is born.

169 Or, “but the motion...is whirled on with velocity.”

170 This rendering of the passage may be deduced from Sextus Empiricus.

Chapter V.—Another Method of Fixing the Horoscope at Birth; Equally Futile; Use of the Clepsydra in Astrology; The Predictions of the Chaldeans Not Verified.

In this way, the art practised by the Chaldeans will be shown to be unstable. Should any one, however, allege that, by questions put to him who inquires from the Chaldeans,¹⁷¹ the birth can be ascertained, not even by this plan is it possible to arrive at the precise period. For if, supposing any such attention on their part in reference to their art to be on record, even these do not attain—as we have proved—unto accuracy either, how, we ask, can an unsophisticated individual comprehend precisely the time of parturition, in order that the Chaldean acquiring the requisite information from this person may set¹⁷² the horoscope correctly? But neither from the appearance of the horizon will the rising star seem the same everywhere; but in one place its declination will be supposed to be the horoscope, and in another the ascension (will be thought) the horoscope, according as the places come into view, being either lower or higher. Wherefore, also, from this quarter an accurate prediction will not appear, since many may be born throughout the entire world at the same hour, each from a different direction observing the stars.

But the supposed comprehension (of the period of parturition) by means of clepsydras¹⁷³ is likewise futile. For the contents of the jar will not flow out in the same time when it is full as when it is half empty; yet, according to their own account, the pole itself by a single impulse is whirled along at an equable velocity. If, however, evading the argument,¹⁷⁴ they should affirm that they do not take the time precisely, but as it happens in any particular latitude,¹⁷⁵ they will be refuted almost by the sidereal influences themselves. For those who have been born at the same time do not spend the same life, but some, for example, have been made kings, and others have grown old in fetters. There has been born none equal, at all events, to Alexander the Macedonian, though many were brought forth along with him throughout the earth; (and) none equal to the philosopher Plato. Wherefore the Chaldean, examining the time of the birth in any particular latitude, will not be able to say accurately, whether a



171 The text is corrupt, but the above seems probably the meaning, and agrees with the rendering of Schneidewin and Cruice.

172 Or, “view.”

173 The clepsydra, an instrument for measuring duration, was, with the sun-dial, invented by the Egyptians under the Ptolemies. It was employed not only for the measurement of time, but for making astronomic calculations. Water, as the name imports, was the fluid employed, though mercury has been likewise used. The inherent defect of an instrument of this description is mentioned by Hippolytus.

174 Literally, “twisting, tergiversating.”

175 This seems the meaning, as deducible from a comparison of Hippolytus with the corresponding passage in Sextus Empiricus.

person born at this time will be prosperous. Many, I take it, born at this time, have been unfortunate, so that the similarity according to dispositions is futile.

Having, then, by different reasons and various methods, refuted the ineffectual mode of examination adopted by the Chaldeans, neither shall we omit this, namely, to show that their predictions will eventuate in inexplicable difficulties. For if, as the mathematicians assert, it is necessary that one born under the barb of Sagittarius' arrow should meet with a violent death, how was it that so many myriads of the Barbarians that fought with the Greeks at Marathon or Salamis¹⁷⁶ were simultaneously slaughtered? For unquestionably there was not the same horoscope in the case, at all events, of them all. And again, it is said that one born under the urn of Aquarius will suffer shipwreck: (yet) how is it that so many¹⁷⁷ of the Greeks that returned from Troy were overwhelmed in the deep around the indented shores of Eubœa? For it is incredible that all, distant from one another by a long interval of duration, should have been born under the urn of Aquarius. For it is not reasonable to say, that frequently, for one whose fate it was to be destroyed in the sea, all who were with him in the same vessel should perish. For why should the doom of this man subdue the (destinies) of all? Nay, but why, on account of one for whom it was allotted to die on land, should not all be preserved?

176 Omitted by Sextus.

177 The Abbe Cruice observes, in regard of some verbal difference here in the text from that of Sextus, that the ms. of *The Refutation* was probably executed by one who heard the extracts from other writers read to him, and frequently mistook the sound. The transcriber of the ms. was one Michael, as we learn from a marginal note at the end.

Chapter VI.—Zodiacal Influence; Origin of Sidereal Names.

But since also they frame an account concerning the action of the zodiacal signs, to which they say the creatures that are procreated are assimilated,¹⁷⁸ neither shall we omit this: as, for instance, that one born in Leo will be brave; and that one born in Virgo will have long straight hair,¹⁷⁹ be of a fair complexion, childless, modest. These statements, however, and others similar to them, are rather deserving of laughter than serious consideration. For, according to them, it is possible for no Æthiopian to be born in Virgo; otherwise he would allow that such a one is white, with long straight hair and the rest. But I am rather of opinion,¹⁸⁰ that the ancients imposed the names of received animals upon certain specified stars, for the purpose of knowing them better, not from any similarity of nature; for what have the seven stars, distant one from another, in common with a bear, or the five stars with the head of a dragon?—in regard of which Aratus¹⁸¹ says:—

“But two his temples, and two his eyes, and one beneath
Reaches the end of the huge monster’s jaw.”

178 This was the great doctrine of astrology, the forerunner of the science of astronomy. Astrology seems to have arisen first among the Chaldeans, out of the fundamental principle of their religion—the assimilation of the divine nature to light. This tenet introduced another, the worship of the stars, which was developed into astrology. Others suppose astrology to have been of Arabian or Egyptian origin. From some of these sources it reached the Greeks, and through them the Romans, who held the astrologic art in high repute. The art, after having become almost extinct, was revived by the Arabians at the verge of the middle ages. For the history of astrology one must consult the writings of Manilius, Julius Firmicus, and Ptolemy. Its greatest mediæval apologist is Cardan, the famous physician of Pavia (see his work, *De Astron. Judic.*, lib. vi.–ix. tom. v. of his collected works).

179 Sextus adds, “bright-eyed.”

180 Hippolytus here follows Sextus.

181 Aratus, from whom Hippolytus quotes so frequently in this chapter, was a poet and astronomer of antiquity, born at Soli in Cilicia. He afterwards became physician to Gonatus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedon, at whose court he rose high into favour. The work alluded to by Hippolytus is Aratus’ *Phænomena*,—a versified account of the motions of the stars, and of sidereal influence over men. This work seems to have been a great favourite with scholars, if we are to judge from the many excellent annotated editions of it that have appeared. Two of these deserve notice, viz., Grotius’ Leyden edition, 1600, in Greek and Latin; and Buhle’s edition, Leipsic, 1803. See also Dionysius Petavius’ *Uranologion*. Aratus must always be famous, from the fact that St. Paul ([Acts xiii. 28](#)) quotes the fifth line of the *Phænomena*. Cicero considered Aratus a noble poet, and translated the *Phænomena* into Latin, a fragment of which has been preserved, and is in Grotius’ edition. Aratus has been translated into English verse, with notes by Dr. Lamb, Dean of Bristol (London: J. W. Parker, 1858).

Chapter VII.—Practical Absurdity of the Chaldaic Art; Development of the Art.

In this manner also, that these points are not deserving so much labour, is evident to those who prefer to think correctly, and do not attend to the bombast of the Chaldeans, who consign monarchs to utter obscurity, by perfecting cowardice¹⁸² in them, and rouse private individuals to dare great exploits. But if any one, surrendering himself to evil, is guilty of delinquency, he who has been thus deceived does not become a teacher to all whom the Chaldeans are disposed to mislead by their mistakes. (Far from it); (these astrologers) impel the minds (of their dupes, as they would have them), into endless perturbation, (when) they affirm that a configuration of the same stars could not return to a similar position, otherwise than by the renewal of the Great Year, through a space of seven thousand seven hundred and seventy and seven years.¹⁸³ How then, I ask, will human observation for one birth be able to harmonize with so many ages; and this not once, (but oftentimes, when a destruction of the world, as some have stated, would intercept the progress of this Great Year; or a terrestrial convulsion, though partial, would utterly break the continuity of the historical tradition)?¹⁸⁴ The Chaldaic art must necessarily be refuted by a greater number of arguments, although we have been reminding (our readers) of it on account of other circumstances, not peculiarly on account of the art itself.

Since, however, we have determined to omit none of the opinions advanced by Gentile philosophers, on account of the notorious knavery of the heretics, let us see what they also say who have attempted to propound doctrines concerning magnitudes,—who, observing the fruitless labour of the majority (of speculators), where each after a different fashion coined his own falsehoods and attained celebrity, have ventured to make some greater assertion, in order that they might be highly magnified by those who mightily extol their contemptible lies. These suppose the existence of circles, and measures, and triangles, and squares, both in twofold and threefold array. Their argumentation, however, in regard of this matter, is extensive, yet it is not necessary in reference to the subject which we have taken in hand.

182 The Abbe Cruice suggests “freedom from danger,” instead of “cowardice,” and translates thus: “whereby kings are slain, by having impunity promised in the predictions of these seers.”

183 Sextus makes the number “nine thousand nine hundred and seventy and seven years.”

184 The parenthetical words are taken from Sextus Empiricus, as introduced into his text by the Abbe Cruice. Schneidewin alludes to the passage in Sextus as proof of some confusion in Hippolytus’ text, which he thinks is signified by the transcriber in the words, “I think there is some deficiency or omissions,” which occur in the ms. of *The Refutation*.

Chapter VIII.—Prodigies of the Astrologers; System of the Astronomers; Chaldean Doctrine of Circles; Distances of the Heavenly Bodies.

I reckon it then sufficient to declare the prodigies¹⁸⁵ detailed by these men. Wherefore, employing condensed accounts of what they affirm, I shall turn my attention to the other points (that remain to be considered). Now they make the following statements.¹⁸⁶ The Creator communicated pre-eminent power to the orbital motion of the identical and similar (circle), for He permitted the revolution of it to be one and indivisible; but after dividing this internally into six parts, (and thus having formed) seven unequal circles, according to each interval of a twofold and threefold dimension, He commanded, since there were three of each, that the circles should travel in orbits contrary to one another, three indeed (out of the aggregate of seven) being whirled along with equal velocity, and four of them with a speed dissimilar to each other and to the remaining three, yet (all) according to a definite principle. For he affirms that the mastery was communicated to the orbital motion of the same (circle), not only since it embraces the motion of the other, that, is, the erratic stars, but because also it possesses so great mastery, that is, so great power, that even it leads round, along with itself, by a peculiar strength of its own, those heavenly bodies—that is, the erratic stars—that are whirled along in contrary directions from west to east, and, in like manner, from east to west.

And he asserts that this motion was allowed to be one and indivisible, in the first place, inasmuch as the revolutions of all the fixed stars were accomplished in equal periods of time, and were not distinguished according to greater or less portions of duration. In the next place, they all present the same phase as that which belongs to the outermost motion; whereas the erratic stars have been distributed into greater and varying periods for the accomplishment of their movements, and into unequal distances from earth. And he asserts that the motion in six parts of the other has been distributed probably into seven circles. For as many as are sections of each (circle)—I allude to monads of the sections¹⁸⁷—become segments; for example, if the division be by one section, there will be two segments; if by two, three segments; and so, if anything be cut into six parts, there will be seven segments. And he says that the distances of these are alternately arranged both in double and triple

185 As regards astrological predictions, see Origen's *Comment. on Gen.*; Diodorus of Tarsus, *De Fato*; Photii *Biblioth.*, cod. ccxxiii.; and Bardesanis, *De Legibus Nationum*, in Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum*.

186 See Plato's *Timæus*.

187 Schneidewin, on Roeper's suggestion, amends the passage thus, though I am not sure that I exactly render his almost unintelligible Latin version: "For as many sections as there are of each, there are educible from the monad more segments than sections; for example, if," etc. The Abbe Cruice would seemingly adopt the following version: "For whatsoever are sections of each, now there are more segments than sections of a monad, will become; for example, if," etc.

order, there being three of each,—a principle which, he has attempted to prove, holds good of the composition of the soul likewise, as depending upon the seven numbers. For among them there are from the monad three double (numbers), viz., 2, 4, 8, and three triple ones, viz., 3, 9, 27. But the diameter of Earth is 80,108 stadii; and the perimeter of Earth, 250,543 stadii; and the distance also from the surface of the Earth to the lunar circle, Aristarchus the Samian computes at 8,000,178 stadii, but Apollonius 5,000,000, whereas Archimedes computes¹⁸⁸ it at 5,544,130. And from the lunar to solar circle, (according to the last authority,) are 50,262,065 stadii; and from this to the circle of Venus, 20,272,065 stadii; and from this to the circle of Mercury, 50,817,165 stadii; and from this to the circle of Mars, 40,541,108 stadii; and from this to the circle of Jupiter, 20,275,065 stadii; and from this to the circle of Saturn, 40,372,065 stadii; and from this to the Zodiac and the furthest periphery, 20,082,005 stadii.¹⁸⁹



188 Schneidewin, on mathematical authority, discredits the numerical calculations ascribed to Archimedes.

189 This is manifestly erroneous; the total could only be “four myriads!”

Chapter IX.—Further Astronomic Calculations.

The mutual distances of the circles and spheres, and the depths, are rendered by Archimedes. He takes the perimeter of the Zodiac at 447,310,000 stadii; so that it follows that a straight line from the centre of the Earth to the most outward superficies would be the sixth of the aforesaid number, but that the line from the surface of the Earth on which we tread to the Zodiac would be a sixth of the aforesaid number, less by four myriads of stadii, which is the distance from the centre of the Earth to its surface. And from the circle of Saturn to the Earth he says the distance is 2,226,912,711 stadii; and from the circle of Jupiter to Earth, 202,770,646 stadii; and from the circle of Mars to Earth, 132,418,581. From the Sun to Earth, 121,604,454; and from Mercury to the Earth, 526,882,259; and from Venus to Earth, 50,815,160.

Chapter X.—Theory of Stellar Motion and Distance in Accordance with Harmony.

Concerning the Moon, however, a statement has been previously made. The distances and profundities of the spheres Archimedes thus renders; but a different declaration regarding them has been made by Hipparchus; and a different one still by Apollonius the mathematician. It is sufficient, however, for us, following the Platonic opinion, to suppose twofold and threefold distances from one another of the erratic stars; for the doctrine is thus preserved of the composition of the universe out of harmony, on concordant principles¹⁹⁰ in keeping with these distances. The numbers, however, advanced by Archimedes,¹⁹¹ and the accounts rendered by the rest concerning the distances, if they be not on principles of symphony,—that is, the double and triple (distances) spoken of by Plato,—but are discovered independent of harmonies, would not preserve the doctrine of the formation of the universe according to harmony. For it is neither credible nor possible that the distances of these should be both contrary to some reasonable plan, and independent of harmonious and proportional principles, except perhaps only the Moon, on account of wanings and the shadow of the Earth, in regard also of the distance of which alone—that is, the lunar (planet) from earth—one may trust Archimedes. It will, however, be easy for those who, according to the Platonic dogma itself, adopt this distance to comprehend by numerical calculation (intervals) according to what is double and triple, as Plato requires, and the rest of the distances. If, then, according to Archimedes, the Moon is distant from the surface of the Earth 5,544,130 stadii, by increasing these numbers double and triple, (it will be) easy to find also the distances of the rest, as if subtracting one part of the number of stadii which the Moon is distant from the Earth.

But because the rest of the numbers—those alleged by Archimedes concerning the distance of the erratic stars—are not based on principles of concord, it is easy to understand—that is, for those who attend to the matter—how the numbers are mutually related, and on what principles they depend. That, however, they should not be in harmony and symphony—I mean those that are parts of the world which consists according to harmony—this is impossible. Since, therefore, the first number which the Moon is distant from the earth is 5,544,130, the second number which the Sun is distant from the Moon being 50,272,065, subsists by a greater computation than ninefold. But the higher number in ref-

190 The Abbe Cruice thinks that the word should be “tones,” supporting his emendation on the authority of Pliny, who states that Pythagoras called the distance of the Moon from the Earth a tone, deriving the term from musical science (see Pliny’s *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 20).

191 These numerical speculations are treated of by Archimedes in his work *On the Number of the Sand*, in which he maintains the possibility of counting the sands, even on the supposition of the world’s being much larger than it is (see Archimedes, τὰ μεχρὶ νῦν σωζόμενα ἅπαντα, *Treatise ψαμμίτης*, p. 120, ed. Eustoc. Ascalon., Basil, 1544).

erence to this, being 20,272,065, is (comprised) in a greater computation than half. The number, however, superior to this, which is 50,817,165, is contained in a greater computation than half. But the number superior to this, which is 40,541,108, is contained in a less computation than two-fifths. But the number superior to this, which is 20,275,065, is contained in a greater computation than half. The final number, however, which is 40,372,065, is comprised in a less computation than double.

Chapter XI.—Theory of the Size of the Heavenly Bodies in Accordance with Numerical Harmonies.

These (numerical) relations, therefore, the greater than ninefold, and less than half, and greater than double, and less than two-fifths, and greater than half, and less than double, are beyond all symphonies, from which not any proportionate or harmonic system could be produced. But the whole world, and the parts of it, are in all respects similarly framed in conformity with proportion and harmony. The proportionate and harmonic relations, however, are preserved—as we have previously stated—by double and triple intervals. If, therefore, we consider Archimedes reliable in the case of only the first distance, that from the Moon to the Earth, it is easy also to find the rest (of the intervals), by multiplying (them) by double and treble. Let then the distance, according to Archimedes, from Earth to Moon be 5,544,130 stadii; there will therefore be the double number of this of stadii which the Sun is distant from the Moon, viz. 11,088,260. But the Sun is distant from the Earth 16,632,390 stadii; and Venus is likewise distant from the Sun 16,632,390 stadii, but from the Earth 33,264,780 stadii; and Mercury is distant from Venus 22,176,520 stadii, but from Earth 55,441,300 stadii; and Mars is distant from Mercury 49,897,170 stadii, and from Earth 105,338,470 stadii; and Jupiter is distant from Mars 44,353,040 stadii, but from Earth 149,691,510 stadii; Saturn is distant from Jupiter 149,691,510 stadii, but from Earth 299,383,020 stadii.



Chapter XII.—Waste of Mental Energy in the Systems of the Astrologers.

Who will not feel astonishment at the exertion of so much deep thought with so much toil? This Ptolemy, however—a careful investigator of these matters—does not seem to me to be useless; but only this grieves (one), that being recently born, he could not be of service to the sons of the giants, who, being ignorant of these measures, and supposing that the heights of heaven were near, endeavoured in vain to construct a tower. And so, if at that time he were present to explain to them these measures, they would not have made the daring attempt ineffectually. But if any one profess not to have confidence in this (astronomer's calculations), let him by measuring be persuaded (of their accuracy); for in reference to those incredulous on the point, one cannot have a more manifest proof than this. O, pride of vain-toiling soul, and incredible belief, that Ptolemy should be considered pre-eminently wise among those who have cultivated similar wisdom!

Chapter XIII.—Mention of the Heretic Colarbasus; Alliance Between Heresy and the Pythagorean Philosophy.

Certain, adhering partly to these, as if having propounded great conclusions, and supposed things worthy of reason, have framed enormous and endless heresies; and one of these is Colarbasus,¹⁹² who attempts to explain religion by measures and numbers. And others there are (who act) in like manner, whose tenets we shall explain when we commence to speak of what concerns those who give heed to Pythagorean calculation as possible; and uttering vain prophecies, hastily assume¹⁹³ as secure the philosophy by numbers and elements. Now certain (speculators), appropriating¹⁹⁴ similar reasonings from these, deceive unsophisticated individuals, alleging themselves endued with foresight;¹⁹⁵ sometimes, after uttering many predictions, happening on a single fulfilment, and not abashed by many failures, but making their boast in this one. Neither shall I pass over the witless philosophy of these men; but, after explaining it, I shall prove that those who attempt to form a system of religion out of these (aforesaid elements), are disciples of a school¹⁹⁶ weak and full of knavery.

192 Colarbasus is afterwards mentioned in company with Marcus the heretic, at the beginning and end of book vi. of *The Refutation*.

193 This word (σχεδιάζουσι), more than once used by Hippolytus, is applied to anything done offhand, e.g., an *extempore* speech. It therefore might be made to designate immaturity of opinion. Σχεδιά means something hastily put together, viz., a raft; σκέδιος, sudden.

194 Schneidewin suggests ὅμως instead of οἰμοίως. The word (ἐρανισάμενοι) translated “appropriating” is derived from ἔρανος, which signifies a meal to which those who partake of it have each contributed some dish (pic-nic). The term, therefore, is an expressive one for Hippolytus’ purpose.

195 προγνώστικους. Some would read πρὸς γνωστικους.

196 Some propose δόξης, “opinion.” Hippolytus, however, used the word ῥίζης (translated “school”) in a similar way at the end of chap. i. of book iv. “Novelty” is read instead of “knavery;” and for ἀναπλέου, “full,” is proposed (1) ἀναπλέοντας, (a) ἀναπτεροῦντας.

Chapter XIV.—System of the Arithmeticians; Predictions Through Calculations; Numerical Roots; Transference of These Doctrines to Letters; Examples in Particular Names; Different Methods of Calculation; Prescience Possible by These.

Those, then, who suppose that they prophesy by means of calculations and numbers,¹⁹⁷ and elements and names, constitute the origin of their attempted system to be as follows. They affirm that there is a root of each of the numbers; in the case of thousands, so many monads as there are thousands: for example, the root of six thousand, six monads; of seven thousand, seven monads; of eight thousand, eight monads; and in the case of the rest, in like manner, according to the same (proportion). And in the case of hundreds, as many hundreds as there are, so many monads are the root of them: for instance, of seven hundred there are seven hundreds; the root of these is seven monads: of six hundred, six hundreds; the root of these, six monads. And it is similar respecting decades: for of eighty (the root is) eight monads; and of sixty, six monads; of forty, four monads; of ten, one monad. And in the case of monads, the monads themselves are a root: for instance, of nine, nine; of eight, eight; of seven, seven. In this way, also, ought we therefore to act in the case of the elements (of words), for each letter has been arranged according to a certain number: for instance, the letter *n* according to fifty monads; but of fifty monads five is the root, and the root of the letter *n* is (therefore) five. Grant that from some name we take certain roots of it. For instance, (from) the name Agamemnon, there is of the *a*, one monad; and of the *g*, three monads; and of the other *a*, one monad; of the *m*, four monads; of the *e*, five monads; of the *m*, four monads; of the *n*, five monads; of the (long) *o*, eight monads; of the *n*, five monads; which, brought together into one series, will be 1, 3, 1, 4, 5, 4, 5, 8, 5; and these added together make up 36 monads. Again, they take the roots of these, and they become three in the case of the number thirty, but actually six in the case of the number six. The three and the six, then, added together, constitute nine; but the root of nine is nine: therefore the name Agamemnon terminates in the root nine.

Let us do the same with another name—Hector. The name (H)ector has five letters—*e*, and *k*, and *t*, and *o*, and *r*. The roots of these are 5, 2, 3, 8, 1; and these added together make up 19 monads. Again, of the ten the root is one; and of the nine, nine; which added together make up ten: the root of ten is a monad. The name Hector, therefore, when made the subject of computation, has formed a root, namely a monad. It would, however, be easier¹⁹⁸ to

197 The subject of the numerical system employed by the Gnostics, and their occult mysteries, is treated of by the learned Kircher, *Œdipi Ægypt.*, tom. ii. part i., *de Cabalâ Hebræorum*; also in his *Arithmolog.* in the book *De Arithmomantia Gnosticor.*, cap. viii., *de Cabalâ Pythagoreâ*. See also Mersennes, *Comment. on Genes*.

198 This subject is examined by Cornelius Agrippa in his celebrated work, *De vanitate et incertitudine Scientiarum*, chap. xi., *De Sorte Pythagoricâ*. Terentius Maurus has also a versified work on *Letters and Syllables and Metres*, in which he alludes to similar interpretations educible from the names Hector and Patroclus.

conduct the calculation thus: Divide the ascertained roots from the letters—as now in the case of the name Hector we have found nineteen monads—into nine, and treat what remains over as roots. For example, if I divide 19 into 9, the remainder is 1, for 9 times 2 are 18, and there is a remaining monad: for if I subtract 18 from 19, there is a remaining monad; so that the root of the name Hector will be a monad. Again, of the name Patroclus these numbers are roots: 8, 1, 3, 1, 7, 2, 3, 7, 2; added together, they make up 34 monads. And of these the remainder is 7 monads: of the 30, 3; and of the 4, 4. Seven monads, therefore, are the root of the name Patroclus.

Those, then, that conduct their calculations according to the rule of the number nine,¹⁹⁹ take the ninth part of the aggregate number of roots, and define what is left over as the sum of the roots. They, on the other hand, (who conduct their calculations) according to the rule of the number seven, take the seventh (part of the aggregate number of roots); for example, in the case of the name Patroclus, the aggregate in the matter of roots is 34 monads. This divided into seven parts makes four, which (multiplied into each other) are 28. There are six remaining monads; (so that a person using this method) says, according to the rule of the number seven, that six monads are the root of the name Patroclus. If, however, it be 43, (six) taken seven times,²⁰⁰ he says, are 42, for seven times six are 42, and one is the remainder. A monad, therefore, is the root of the number 43, according to the rule of the number seven. But one ought to observe if the assumed number, when divided, has no remainder; for example, if from any name, after having added together the roots, I find, to give an instance, 36 monads. But the number 36 divided into nine makes exactly 4 eneads; for nine times 4 are 36, and nothing is over. It is evident, then, that the actual root is 9. And again, dividing the number forty-five, we find nine²⁰¹ and nothing over—for nine times five are forty-five, and nothing remains; (wherefore) in the case of such they assert the root itself to be nine. And as regards the number seven, the case is similar: if, for example we divide 28 into 7, we have nothing over; for seven times four are 28, and nothing remains; (wherefore) they say that seven is the root. But when one computes names, and finds the same letter occurring twice, he calculates it once; for instance, the name Patroclus has the *pa* twice,²⁰² and the *o* twice: they therefore calculate the *a* once and the *o* once. According to this, then, the roots will be 8, 1, 3, 1, 7, 2, 3, 2, and added together they make 27 monads;

199 That is, the division by nine.

200 That is, calculated according to the rule of a division by seven.

201 We should expect rather five instead of 9, if the division be by nine.

202 There is some confusion in the text. Miller conjectures that the reading should be: "As, for instance, the name Patroclus has the letter *o* occurring twice in it, they therefore take it into calculation once." Schneidewin suggests that the form of the name may be Papatroclus.

and the root of the name will be, according to the rule of the number nine, nine itself, but according to the rule of the number seven, six.

In like manner, (the name) Sarpedon, when made the subject of calculation, produces as a root, according to the rule of the number nine, two monads. Patroclus, however, produces nine monads; Patroclus gains the victory. For when one number is uneven, but the other even, the uneven number, if it is larger, prevails. But again, when there is an even number, eight, and five an uneven number, the eight prevails, for it is larger. If, however, there were two numbers, for example, both of them even, or both of them odd, the smaller prevails. But how does (the name) Sarpedon, according to the rule of the number nine, make two monads, since the letter (long) *o* is omitted? For when there may be in a name the letter (long) *o* and (long) *e*, they leave out the (long) *o*, using one letter, because they say both are equipollent; and the same must not be computed twice over, as has been above declared. Again, (the name) Ajax makes four monads; (but the name) Hector, according to the rule of the ninth number, makes one monad. And the tetrad is even, whereas the monad odd. And in the case of such, we say, the greater prevails—Ajax gains the victory. Again, Alexander and Menelaus (may be adduced as examples). Alexander has a proper name (Paris). But Paris, according to the rule of the number nine, makes four monads; and Menelaus, according to the rule of the number nine, makes nine monads. The nine, however, conquer the four (monads): for it has been declared, when the one number is odd and the other even, the greater prevails; but when both are even or both odd, the less (prevails). Again, Amycus and Polydeuces (may be adduced as examples). Amycus, according to the rule of the number nine, makes two monads, and Polydeuces, however, seven: Polydeuces gains the victory. Ajax and Ulysses contended at the funeral games. Ajax, according to the rule of the number nine, makes four monads; Ulysses, according to the rule of the number nine, (makes) eight.²⁰³ Is there, then, not any annexed, and (is there) not a proper name for Ulysses?²⁰⁴ for he has gained the victory. According to the numbers, no doubt, Ajax is victorious, but history hands down the name of Ulysses as the conqueror. Achilles and Hector (may be adduced as examples). Achilles, according to the rule of the number nine, makes four monads; Hector one: Achilles gains the victory. Again, Achilles and Asteropæus (are instances). Achilles makes four monads, Asteropæus three: Achilles conquers. Again, Menelaus and Euphorbus (may be adduced as examples). Menelaus has nine monads, Euphorbus eight: Menelaus gains the victory.

Some, however, according to the rule of the number seven, employ the vowels only, but others distinguish by themselves the vowels, and by themselves the semi-vowels, and by themselves the mutes; and, having formed three orders, they take the roots by themselves

203 Miller says there is an error in the calculation here.

204 This is as near the sense of the passage as a translation in some respects conjectural can make it.

of the vowels, and by themselves of the semi-vowels, and by themselves of the mutes, and they compare each apart. Others, however, do not employ even these customary numbers, but different ones: for instance, as an example, they do not wish to allow that the letter *p* has as a root 8 monads, but 5, and that the (letter) *x* (si) has as a root four monads; and turning in every direction, they discover nothing sound. When, however, they contend about the second (letter), from each name they take away the first letter; but when they contend about the third (letter), they take away two letters of each name, and calculating the rest, compare them.

Chapter XV.—Quibbles of the Numerical Theorists; The Art of the Frontispicists (Physiognomy); Connection of This Art with Astrology; Type of Those Born Under Aries.

I think that there has been clearly expounded the mind of arithmeticians, who, by means of numbers and of names, suppose that they interpret life. Now I perceive that these, enjoying leisure, and being trained in calculation, have been desirous that, through the art²⁰⁵ delivered to them from childhood, they, acquiring celebrity, should be styled prophets. And they, measuring the letters up (and) down, have wandered into trifling. For if they fail, they say, in putting forward the difficulty, Perhaps this name was not a family one, but imposed, as also lighting in the instance they argue in the case of (the names) Ulysses and Ajax. Who, taking occasion from this astonishing philosophy, and desirous of being styled “Heresiarch,” will not be extolled?

But since, also, there is another more profound art among the all-wise speculators of the Greeks—to whom heretical individuals boast that they attach themselves as disciples, on account of their employing the opinions of these (ancient philosophers) in reference to the doctrines attempted (to be established) by themselves, as shall a little afterwards be proved; but this is an art of divination, by examination of the forehead²⁰⁶ or rather, I should say, it is madness: yet we shall not be silent as regards this (system). There are some who ascribe to the stars figures that mould the ideas²⁰⁷ and dispositions of men, assigning the reason of this to births (that have taken place) under particular stars; they thus express themselves: Those who²⁰⁸ are born under Aries will be of the following kind: long head, red hair, contracted eyebrows, pointed forehead, eyes grey and lively,²⁰⁹ drawn cheeks, long-nosed, expanded nostrils, thin lips, tapering chin, wide mouth. These, he says, will partake of the following nature: cautious, subtle, perspicuous,²¹⁰ prudent, indulgent, gentle, over-anxious, persons of secret resolves fitted for every undertaking, prevailing more by prudence

205 The word θέλειν occurs in this sentence, but is obviously superfluous.

206 In the margin of the ms. is the note, “Opinion of the Metopiscopists.”

207 These words are out of place. See next note.

208 There is evidently some displacement of words here. Miller and Schneidewin suggest: “There are some who ascribe to the influence of the stars the natures of men: since, in computing the births of individuals, they thus express themselves as if they were moulding the species of men.” The Abbe Cruice would leave the text as it is, altering only τυποῦντες ἰδέας into τύπων τε ἰδέας.

209 Literally, “jumping;” others read “blackish,” or “expressive” (literally, “talking”). The vulgar reading, ὑπὸ ἄλλοις, is evidently untenable.

210 Or “cowardly,” or “cowards at heart;” or some read, χαροποιοί, i.e., “causative of gladness.”

than strength, deriders for the time being, scholars, trustworthy, contentious, quarrellers in a fray, concupiscent, inflamed with unnatural lust, reflective, estranged²¹¹ from their own homes, giving dissatisfaction in everything, accusers, like madmen in their cups, scorners, year by year losing something²¹² serviceable in friendship through goodness; they, in the majority of cases, end their days in a foreign land.



211 Or, “diseased with unnatural lust,” i.e., νοσοῦντες for νοοῦντες.

212 Or, κατ’ ἔπος, “verbally rejecting anything.”

Chapter XVI.—Type of Those Born Under Taurus.

Those, however, who are born in Taurus will be of the following description: round head, thick hair, broad forehead, square eyes, and large black eyebrows; in a white man, thin veins, sanguine, long eyelids, coarse huge ears, round mouths, thick nose, round nostrils, thick lips, strong in the upper parts, formed straight from the legs.²¹³ The same are by nature pleasing, reflective, of a goodly disposition, devout, just, uncouth, complaisant, labourers from twelve years, quarrelsome, dull. The stomach of these is small, they are quickly filled, forming many designs, prudent, niggardly towards themselves, liberal towards others, beneficent, of a slow²¹⁴ body: they are partly sorrowful, heedless as regards friendship, useful on account of mind, unfortunate.

213 Or better, “weak in the limbs.”

214 Or, “short.”

Chapter XVII.—Type of Those Born Under Gemini.

Those who are born in Gemini will be of the following description: red countenance, size not very large, evenly proportioned limbs,²¹⁵ black eyes as if anointed with oil, cheeks turned down,²¹⁶ and large mouth, contracted eyebrows; they conquer all things, they retain whatever possessions they acquire,²¹⁷ they are extremely rich, penurious, niggardly of what is peculiarly their own, profuse in the pleasures of women,²¹⁸ equitable, musical, liars. And the same by nature are learned, reflective, inquisitive, arriving at their own decisions, concupiscent, sparing of what belongs to themselves, liberal, quiet, prudent, crafty, they form many designs, calculators, accusers, importunate, not prosperous, they are beloved by the fair sex, merchants; as regards friendship, not to any considerable extent useful.

215 Or, "parts."

216 Some read καλῶ γεγεννημένων, or καλῶ τετεννημένων.

217 Or, "they are given to hoarding, they have possessions."

218 This is an amended reading of the text, which is obviously confused. The correction necessary is introduced lower down in the ms., which makes the same characteristic be twice mentioned. The Abbe Cruice, however, accounts for such a twofold mention, on the ground that the whole subject is treated by Hippolytus in such a way as to expose the absurdities of the astrologic predictions. He therefore quotes the opinions of various astrologers, in order to expose the diversities of opinion existing among them.

Chapter XVIII.—Type of Those Born Under Cancer.

Those born in Cancer are of the following description: size not large, hair like a dog, of a reddish colour, small mouth, round head, pointed forehead, grey eyes, sufficiently beautiful, limbs somewhat varying. The same by nature are wicked, crafty, proficient in plans, insatiable, stingy, ungracious, illiberal, useless, forgetful; they neither restore what is another's, nor do they ask back what is their own;²¹⁹ as regards friendship, useful.

219 Manilius maintains that persons born under Cancer are of an avaricious and usurious disposition. (See *Astronom.*, iv. 5.)

Chapter XIX.—Type of Those Born Under Leo.

Those born in Leo are of the following description: round head, reddish hair, huge wrinkled forehead, coarse ears, large development of neck, partly bald, red complexion, grey eyes, large jaws, coarse mouth, gross in the upper parts,²²⁰ huge breast, the under limbs tapering. The same are by nature persons who allow nothing to interfere with their own decision, pleasing themselves, irascible, passionate, scorners, obstinate, forming no design, not loquacious,²²¹ indolent, making an improper use of leisure, familiar,²²² wholly abandoned to pleasures of women, adulterers, immodest, in faith untrue, importunate, daring, penurious, spoliators, remarkable; as regards fellowship, useful; as regards friendship,²²³ useless.

220 Or, “having the upper parts larger than the lower.”

221 Some read ἀναλοι.

222 Schneidewin conjectures ἀσυνήθεις, i.e., inexperienced.

223 Or, “succour.”

Chapter XX.—Type of Those Born Under Virgo.

Those born in Virgo are of the following description: fair appearance, eyes not large, fascinating, dark, compact²²⁴ eyebrows, cheerful, swimmers; they are, however, slight in frame,²²⁵ beautiful in aspect, with hair prettily adjusted, large forehead, prominent nose. The same by nature are docile, moderate, intelligent, sportive, rational, slow to speak, forming many plans; in regard of a favour, importunate;²²⁶ gladly observing everything; and well-disposed pupils, they master whatever they learn; moderate, scornors, victims of unnatural lusts, companionable, of a noble soul, despisers, careless in practical matters, attending to instruction, more honourable in what concerns others than what relates to themselves; as regards friendship, useful.

224 Or, “straight, compact.”

225 Miller gives an additional sentence: “They are of equal measurement at the (same) age, and possess a body perfect and erect.”

226 Or, “careful observers.”

Chapter XXI.—Type of Those Born Under Libra.

Those born in Libra will be of the following description: hair thin, drooping, reddish and longish, forehead pointed (and) wrinkled, fair compact eyebrows, beautiful eyes, dark pupils, long thin ears, head inclined, wide mouth. The same by nature are intelligent, God-fearing, communicative to one another,²²⁷ traders, toilers, not retaining gain, liars, not of an amiable disposition, in business or principle true, free-spoken, beneficent, illiterate, deceivers, friendly, careless, (to whom it is not profitable to do any act of injustice);²²⁸ they are scorers, scoffers, satirical,²²⁹ illustrious, listeners, and nothing succeeds with these; as regards friendship, useful.



227 Or, “speaking falsehoods, they will be believed.”

228 The parenthetical words are obviously an interpolation.

229 Or, “spies.”

Chapter XXII.—Type of Those Born Under Scorpio.

Those born in Scorpio are of the following description: a maidenish countenance, comely, pungent, blackish hair, well-shaped eyes, forehead not broad, and sharp nostril, small contracted ears, wrinkled foreheads, narrow eyebrows, drawn cheeks. The same by nature are crafty, sedulous, liars, communicating their particular designs to no one, of a deceitful spirit, wicked, scorners, victims to adultery, well-grown, docile; as regards friendship, useless.

Chapter XXIII.—Type of Those Born Under Sagittarius.

Those born in Sagittarius will be of the following description: great length, square forehead, profuse eyebrows, indicative of strength, well-arranged projection of hair, reddish (in complexion). The same by nature are gracious, as educated persons, simple, beneficent; given to unnatural lusts, companionable, toil-worn, lovers, beloved, jovial in their cups, clean, passionate, careless, wicked; as regards friendship, useless; scorners, with noble souls, insolent, crafty; for fellowship, useful.

Chapter XXIV.—Type of Those Born Under Capricorn.

Those born in Capricorn will be of the following description: reddish body, projection of greyish hair, round mouth,²³⁰ eyes as of an eagle, contracted brows, open forehead, somewhat bald, in the upper parts of the body endued with more strength. The same by nature are philosophic, scorers, and scoffers at the existing state of things, passionate, persons that can make concessions, honourable, beneficent, lovers of the practice of music, passionate in their cups, mirthful, familiar, talkative, given to unnatural lusts, genial, amiable, quarrelsome lovers, for fellowship well disposed.

230 Or, "body."

Chapter XXV.—Type of Those Born Under Aquarius.

Those born in Aquarius will be of the following description: square in size, of a diminutive body; sharp, small, fierce eyes; imperious, ungenial, severe, readily making acquisitions, for friendship and fellowship well disposed; moreover, for maritime²³¹ enterprises they make voyages, and perish. The same by nature are taciturn, modest, sociable, adulterers, penurious, practised in business,²³² tumultuous, pure, well-disposed, honourable, large eyebrows; frequently they are born in the midst of trifling events, but (in after life) follow a different pursuit; though they may have shown kindness to any one, still no one returns them thanks.

231 Literally “moist,” or “difficult;” or, the Abbe Cruice suggests, “fortuitous.”

232 Or, “pragmatic, mild, not violent.”

Chapter XXVI.—Type of Those Born Under Pisces.

Those born in Pisces will be of the following description: of moderate dimensions, pointed forehead like fishes, shaggy hair, frequently they become soon grey. The same by nature are of exalted soul, simple, passionate, penurious, talkative; in the first period of life they will be drowsy; they are desirous of managing business by themselves, of high repute, venturesome, emulous, accusers, changing their locality, lovers, dancers; for friendship, useful.

Chapter XXVII.—Futility of This Theory of Stellar Influence.

Since, therefore, we have explained the astonishing wisdom of these men, and have not concealed their overwrought art of divination by means of contemplation, neither shall I be silent as regards (undertakings) in the case of which those that are deceived act foolishly. For, comparing the forms and dispositions of men with names of stars, how impotent their system is! For we know that those originally conversant with such investigations have called the stars by names given in reference to propriety of signification and facility for future recognition. For what similarity is there of these (heavenly bodies) with the likeness of animals, or what community of nature as regards conduct and energy (is there in the two cases), that one should allege that a person born in Leo should be irascible, and one born in Virgo moderate, or one born in Cancer wicked, but that those born in...

Chapter XXVIII.²³³—System of the Magicians; Incantations of Demons; Secret
Magical Rites.



... And (the sorcerer), taking (a paper), directs the inquirer²³⁴ to write down with water whatever questions he may desire to have asked from the demons. Then, folding up the paper, and delivering it to the attendant, he sends him away to commit it to the flames, that the ascending smoke may waft the letters to demons. While, however, the attendant is executing this order, (the sorcerer) first removes equal portions of the paper, and on some more parts of it he pretends that demons write in Hebrew characters. Then burning an incense of the Egyptian magicians, termed Cyphi, he takes these (portions of paper) away, and places them near the incense. But (that paper) which the inquirer happens to have written (upon), having placed on the coals, he has burned. Then (the sorcerer), appearing to be borne away under divine influence, (and) hurrying into a corner (of the house), utters a loud and harsh cry, and unintelligible to all, ... and orders all those present to enter, crying out (at the same time), and invoking Phryn, or some other demon. But after passing into the house, and when those that were present stood side by side, the sorcerer, flinging the attendant upon a bed,²³⁵ utters to him several words, partly in the Greek, and partly, as it were, the Hebrew language, (embodying) the customary incantations employed by the magicians. (The attendant), however, goes away²³⁶ to make the inquiry. And within (the house), into a vessel full of water (the sorcerer) infusing copperas mixture, and melting the drug, having with it sprinkled the paper that forsooth had (the characters upon it) obliterated, he forces the latent and concealed letters to come once more into light; and by these he ascertains what the inquirer has written down. And if one write with copperas mixture likewise, and having ground a gall nut, use its vapour as a fumigator, the concealed letters would become plain. And if one write with milk, (and) then scorch the paper, and scraping it, sprinkle and rub (what is thus scraped off) upon the letters traced with the milk, these will become plain. And urine likewise, and sauce of brine, and juice of euphorbia, and of a fig, produce a similar result. But when (the sorcerer) has ascertained the question in this mode, he makes provision for the manner in which he ought to give the reply. And next he orders those that are present to enter, holding laurel branches and shaking them, and uttering cries, and in-

233 Hippolytus, having exposed the system of sidereal influence over men, proceeds to detail the magical rites and operations of the sorcerers. This arrangement is in conformity with the technical divisions of astrology into (1) judiciary, (2) natural. The former related to the prediction of future events, and the latter of the phenomena of nature, being thus akin to the art of magic.

234 The text here and at the end of the last chapter is somewhat imperfect.

235 Or "cushion" (Cruice), or "couch," or "a recess."

236 Or "goes up," or "commences," or "enters in before the others, bearing the oblation" (Cruice).

voking the demon Phryn. For also it becomes these to invoke him;²³⁷ and it is worthy that they make this request from demons, which they do not wish of themselves to put forward, having lost their minds. The confused noise, however, and the tumult, prevent them directing attention to those things which it is supposed (the sorcerer) does in secret. But what these are, the present is a fair opportunity for us to declare.

Considerable darkness, then, prevails. For the (sorcerer) affirms that it is impossible for mortal nature to behold divine things, for that to hold converse (with these mysteries) is sufficient. Making, however, the attendant lie down (upon the couch), head foremost, and placing by each side two of those little tablets, upon which had been inscribed in, forsooth, Hebrew characters, as it were names of demons, he says that (a demon) will deposit the rest in their ears. But this (statement) is requisite, in order that some instrument may be placed beside the ears of the attendant, by which it is possible that he signify everything which he chooses. First, however, he produces a sound that the (attendant) youth may be terrified; and secondly, he makes a humming noise; then, thirdly, he speaks²³⁸ through the instrument what he wishes the youth to say, and remains in expectation of the issue of the affair; next, he makes those present remain still, and directs the (attendant) to signify, what he has heard from the demons. But the instrument that is placed beside his ears is a natural instrument, viz., the windpipe of long-necked cranes, or storks, or swans. And if none of these is at hand, there are also some different artificial instruments (employed); for certain pipes of brass, ten in number, (and) fitting into one another, terminating in a narrow point, are adapted (for the purpose), and through these is spoken into the ear whatsoever the (magician) wishes. And the youth hearing these (words) with terror as uttered by demons, when ordered, speaks them out. If any one, however, putting around a stick a moist hide, and having dried it and drawn it together, close it up, and by removing the rod fashion the hide into the form of a pipe, he attains a similar end. Should any of these, however, be not at hand, he takes a book, and, opening it inside, stretches it out as far as he think requisite, (and thus) achieves the same result.

But if he knows beforehand that one is present who is about to ask a question, he is the more ready for all (contingencies). If, however, he may also previously ascertain the question, he writes (it) with the drug, and, as being prepared, he is considered²³⁹ more skilful, on account of having clearly written out what is (about) being asked. If, however, he is ignorant of the question, he forms conjectures, and puts forth something capable of a doubtful and

237 Or, "deride."

238 The Abbe Cruice considers that this passage, as attributing all this jugglery to the artifice of sorcerers, militates against the authorship of Origen, who ascribes (Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. iii. p. 144, ed. Benedict.) the same results not to the frauds of magicians, but to demons.

239 Or, "denominated."

varied interpretation, in order that the oracular response, being originally unintelligible, may serve for numerous purposes, and in the issue of events the prediction may be considered correspondent with what actually occurs. Next, having filled a vessel with water, he puts down (into it) the paper, as if uninscribed, at the same time infusing along with it copperas mixture. For in this way the paper written upon floats²⁴⁰ upwards (to the surface), bearing the response. Accordingly there ensue frequently to the attendant formidable fancies, for also he strikes blows plentifully on the terrified (bystanders). For, casting incense into the fire, he again operates after the following method. Covering a lump of what are called “fossil salts” with Etruscan wax, and dividing the piece itself of incense into two parts, he throws in a grain of salt; and again joining (the piece) together, and placing it on the burning coals, he leaves it there. And when this is consumed, the salts, bounding upwards, create the impression of, as it were, a strange vision taking place. And the dark-blue dye which has been deposited in the incense produces a blood-red flame, as we have already declared. But (the sorcerer) makes a scarlet liquid, by mixing wax with alkanet, and, as I said, depositing the wax in the incense. And he makes the coals²⁴¹ be moved, placing underneath powdered alum; and when this is dissolved and swells up like bubbles, the coals are moved.

240 Or, “rises up.”

241 On the margin of the ms., we find the words, “concerning coals,” “concerning magical signs,” “concerning sheep.”

Chapter XXIX.—Display of Different Eggs.

But different eggs they display after this manner. Perforating the top at both ends, and extracting the white, (and) having again dipped it, throw in some minium and some writing ink. Close, however, the openings with refined scrapings of the eggs, smearing them with fig-juice.

Chapter XXX.—Self-Slaughter of Sheep.

By those who cause sheep to cut off their own heads, the following plan is adopted. Secretly smearing the throat (of the animal) with a cauterizing drug, he places a sword near, and leaves it there.²⁴² The sheep, desirous of scratching himself, rushes against the blade, and in the act of rubbing is slaughtered, while the head is almost severed from the trunk. There is, however, a compound of the drug, bryony and salt and squills, made up in equal parts. In order that the person bringing the drug may escape notice, he carries a box with two compartments constructed of horn, the visible one of which contains frankincense, but the secret one (the aforesaid) drug. He, however, likewise insinuates into the ears of the sheep about to meet death quicksilver; but this is a poisonous drug.

242 Or, παραδοθείς, “he delivers it a sword, and departs.”

Chapter XXXI.—Method of Poisoning Goats.

And if one smear²⁴³ the ears of goats over with cerate, they say that they expire a little afterwards, by having their breathing obstructed. For this to them is the way—as these affirm—of their drawing their breath in an act of respiration. And a ram, they assert, dies,²⁴⁴ if one bends back (its neck)²⁴⁵ opposite the sun. And they accomplish the burning of a house, by daubing it over with the juice of a certain fish called *dactylus*. And this effect, which it has by reason of the sea-water, is very useful. Likewise foam of the ocean is boiled in an earthen jar along with some sweet ingredients; and if you apply a lighted candle to this while in a seething state, it catches the fire and is consumed; and (yet though the mixture) be poured upon the head, it does not burn it at all. If, however, you also smear it over with heated resin,²⁴⁶ it is consumed far more effectually. But he accomplishes his object better still, if also he takes some sulphur.

243 Or, “close up.”

244 The words “death of a goat” occur on the margin of the ms.

245 A similar statement is made, on the authority of Alcmaëon, by Aristotle in his *Histor. Animal.*, i. 2.

246 Μάννη is the word in the text. But manna in the ordinary acceptation of the term can scarcely be intended. Pliny, however, mentions it as a proper name of grains of incense and resin. The Abbe Cruice suggests the very probable emendation of μάθη, which signifies a mixture of wax and resin for caulking ships.

Chapter XXXII.—Imitations of Thunder, and Other Illusions.

Thunder is produced in many ways; for stones very numerous and unusually large, being rolled downwards along wooden planks, fall upon plates of brass, and cause a sound similar to thunder. And also around the thin plank with which carders thicken cloth, they coil a thin rope; and then drawing away the cord with a whirr, they spin the plank round, and in its revolution it emits a sound like thunder. These farces, verily, are played off thus.

There are, however, other practices which I shall explain, which those who execute these ludicrous performances estimate as great exploits. Placing a cauldron full of pitch upon burning coals, when it boils up, (though) laying their hands down upon it, they are not burned; nay, even while walking on coals of fire with naked feet, they are not scorched. But also setting a pyramid of stone on a hearth, (the sorcerer) makes it get on fire, and from the mouth it disgorges a volume of smoke, and that of a fiery description. Then also putting a linen cloth upon a pot of water, throwing on (at the same time) a quantity of blazing coals, (the magician) keeps the linen cloth unconsumed. Creating also darkness in the house, (the sorcerer) alleges that he can introduce gods or demons; and if any requires him to show Æsculapius, he uses an invocation couched in the following words:—

“The child once slain, again of Phœbus deathless made,
I call to come, and aid my sacrificial rites;
Who, also, once the countless tribes of fleeting dead,
In ever-mournful homes of Tartarus wide,
The fatal billow breasting, and the inky²⁴⁷ flood
Surmounting, where all of mortal mould must float,
Torn, beside the lake, with endless²⁴⁸ grief and woe,
Thyself didst snatch from gloomy Proserpine.
Or whether the seat of Holy Thrace thou haunt, or lovely
Pergamos, or besides Ionian Epidaurus,
The chief of seers, O happy God, invites thee here.”

247 δίαυλον in the text has been altered into κελανόν. The translator has followed the latter.

248 Or “indissoluble,” or “inseparable.”

Chapter XXXIII.—The Burning Æsculapius; Tricks with Fire.

But after he discontinues uttering these jests, a fiery Æsculapius²⁴⁹ appears upon the floor. Then, placing in the midst a pot full of water, he invokes all the deities, and they are present. For any one who is by, glancing into the pot, will behold them all, and Diana leading on her baying hounds. We shall not, however, shrink from narrating the account (of the devices) of these men, how they attempt (to accomplish their jugglery). For (the magician) lays his hand upon the cauldron of pitch,²⁵⁰ which is in, as it were, a boiling state; and throwing in (at the same time) vinegar and nitre and moist pitch, he kindles a fire beneath the cauldron. The vinegar, however, being mixed along with the nitre, on receiving a small accession of heat, moves the pitch, so as to cause bubbles to rise to the surface, and afford the mere semblance of a seething (pot). The (sorcerer), however, previously washes his hands frequently in brine; the consequence being, that the contents of the cauldron do not in any wise, though in reality boiling, burn him very much. But if, having smeared his hands with a tincture of myrtle²⁵¹ and nitre and myrrh, along with vinegar, he wash them in brine frequently, he is not scorched: and he does not burn his feet, provided he smear them with isinglass and a salamander.

As regards, however, the burning like a taper of the pyramid, though composed of stone, the cause of this is the following. Chalky earth is fashioned into the shape of a pyramid, but its colour is that of a milk-white stone, and it is prepared after this fashion. Having anointed the piece of clay with plenty of oil, and put it upon coals, and baked it, by smearing it afresh, and scorching it a second and third time, and frequently, (the sorcerer) contrives that it can be burned, even though he should plunge it in water; for it contains in itself abundance of oil. The hearth, however, is spontaneously kindled, while the magician pours out²⁵² a libation, by having lime instead of ashes burning underneath, and refined frankincense and a large quantity of tow,²⁵³ and a bundle²⁵⁴ of anointed tapers and of gall nuts, hollow within, and supplied with (concealed) fire. And after some delay, (the sorcerer) makes (the pyramid) emit smoke from the mouth, by both putting fire in the gall nut, and encircling it with tow,

249 Marsilius Ficinus (in his *Commentary on Plotinus*, p. 504 et seq., vol. ii. Creuzer's edition), who here discusses the subject of demons and magical art, mentions, on the authority of Porphyry, that sorcerers had the power of evoking demons, and that a magician, in the presence of many, had shown to Plotinus his guardian demon (angel). This constitutes the Goetic department of magic.

250 Or, "full of pitch."

251 Μυροίνη. This word is evidently not the right one, for we have (σμύρνη) myrrh mentioned. Perhaps the word μάλθη, suggested in a previous passage, is the one employed here likewise.

252 Or, "makes speedy preparation;" or, "resorts to the contrivance of."

253 The words in italics are added by the Abbe Cruice. There is obviously some hiatus in the original.

254 Or, "the refuse of."

and blowing into the mouth. The linen cloth, however, that has been placed round the cauldron, (and) on which he deposits the coals, on account of the underlying brine, would not be burned; besides, that it has itself been washed in brine, and then smeared with the white of an egg, along with moist alum. And if, likewise, one mix in these the juice of house-leek along with vinegar, and for a long time previously smear it (with this preparation), after being washed in this drug, it continues altogether fire-proof.

Chapter XXXIV.—The Illusion of the Sealed Letters; Object in Detailing These Juggleries.

After, then,²⁵⁵ we have succinctly explained the powers of the secret arts practised among these (magicians), and have shown their easy plan for the acquisition of knowledge,²⁵⁶ neither are we disposed to be silent on the following point, which is a necessary one,—how that, loosing the seals, they restore the sealed letters, with the actual seals themselves. Melting pitch, resin, and sulphur, and moreover asphalt, in equal parts, (and) forming the ointment into a figure, they keep it by them. When, however, it is time to loose a small tablet, smearing with oil their tongue, next with the latter anointing the seal, (and) heating the drug with a moderate fire, (the sorcerers) place it upon the seal; and they leave it there until it has acquired complete consistence, and they use it in this condition as a seal. But they say, likewise, that wax itself with fir-wood gum possesses a similar potency, as well as two parts of mastich with one part of dry asphalt. But sulphur also by itself effects the purpose tolerably well, and flower of gypsum strained with water, and of gum. Now this (last mixture) certainly answers most admirably also for sealing molten lead. And that which is accomplished by the Tuscan wax, and refuse²⁵⁷ of resin, and pitch, and asphalt, and mastich, and powdered spar, all being boiled together in equal parts, is superior to the rest of the drugs which I have mentioned, while that which is effected by the gum is not inferior. In this manner, then, also, they attempt to loose the seals, endeavouring to learn the letters written within.

These contrivances, however, I hesitated to narrate²⁵⁸ in this book, perceiving the danger lest, perchance, any knavish person, taking occasion (from my account), should attempt (to practise these juggleries). Solicitude, however, for many young persons, who could be preserved from such practices, has persuaded me to teach and publish, for security's sake, (the foregoing statements). For although one person may make use of these for gaining instruction in evil, in this way somebody else will, by being instructed (in these practices), be preserved from them. And the magicians themselves, corrupters of life, will be ashamed in plying their art. And learning these points that have been previously elucidated²⁵⁹ by us,

255 In the margin of the ms. occur the words, “concerning the breaking of the seals.”

256 Or, “exposed their method of proceeding in accordance with the system of Gnosticism.” Schneidewin, following C. Fr. Hermann, is of opinion that what follows is taken from Celsus’ work on magic, to which Origen alludes in the *Contra Celsum*, lib. i. p. 53 (Spencer’s edition). Lucian (the well-known satirist), in his *Alexander*, or *Pseudomantis*, gives an account of the jugglery of these magicians. See note, chap. xlii. of this book.

257 Or, “ground”—φορυκτῆς, (*al.*) φορυτῆς, (*al.*) φρυκτῆς, (*al.*) φρικτῆς.

258 Or, “insert.”

259 Or “taught,” or “adduced,” or “delivered.”

they will possibly be restrained from their folly. But that this seal may not be broken, let me seal it with hog's lard and hair mixed with wax.²⁶⁰

260 This sentence is obviously out of place, and should properly come in probably before the words, "These contrivances, however, I hesitated to narrate," etc., a few lines above in this chapter. The Abbe Cruice conjectures that it may have been written on the margin by some reader acquainted with chemistry, and that afterwards it found its way into the text.

Chapter XXXV.—The Divination by a Cauldron; Illusion of Fiery Demons; Specimen of a Magical Invocation.

But neither shall I be silent respecting that piece of knavery of these (sorcerers), which consists in the divination by means of the cauldron. For, making a closed chamber, and anointing the ceiling with cyanus for present use,²⁶¹ they introduce certain vessels of cyanus,²⁶² and stretch them upwards. The cauldron, however, full of water, is placed in the middle on the ground; and the reflection of the cyanus falling upon it, presents the appearance of heaven. But the floor also has a certain concealed aperture, on which the cauldron is laid, having been (previously, supplied with a bottom of crystal, while itself is composed of stone.²⁶³ Underneath, however, unnoticed (by the spectators), is a compartment, into which the accomplices, assembling, appear invested with the figures of such gods and demons as the magician wishes to exhibit. Now the dupe, beholding these, becomes astonished at the knavery of the magician, and subsequently believes all things that are likely to be stated by him. But (the sorcerer) produces a burning demon, by tracing on the wall whatever figure he wishes, and then covertly smearing it with a drug mixed according to this manner, viz., of Laconian²⁶⁴ and Zacynthian asphalt,—while next, as if under the influence of prophetic frenzy, he moves the lamp towards the wall. The drug, however, is burned with considerable splendour. And that a fiery Hecate seems to career through air, he contrives in the mode following. Concealing a certain accomplice in a place which he wishes, (and) taking aside his dupes, he persuades them (to believe himself), alleging that he will exhibit a flaming demon riding through the air. Now he exhorts them immediately to keep their eyes fixed until they see the flame in the air, and that (then), veiling themselves, they should fall on their face until he himself should call them; and after having given them these instructions, he, on a moonless night, in verses speaks thus:—

“Infernal, and earthy, and supernal Bombo, come!
Saint of streets, and brilliant one, that strays by night;
Foe of radiance, but friend and mate of gloom;
In howl of dogs rejoicing, and in crimson gore,
Wading ’mid corpses through tombs of lifeless dust,
Panting for blood; with fear convulsing men.

261 Some read φανερόν for παρόν.

262 What cyanus was is not exactly known. It was employed in the Homeric age for the adornment of implements of war. Whatever the nature of the substance be, it was of a dark-blue colour. Some suppose it to have been blue steel, other, blue copper. Theophrastus’ account of it makes it a stone like a dark sapphire.

263 Or, “with the head downwards.”

264 There is some hiatus here.

Gorgo, and Mormo, and Luna,²⁶⁵ and of many shapes,
Come, propitious, to our sacrificial rites!"

265 Or, "memory."

Chapter XXXVI.—Mode of Managing an Apparition.

And while speaking these words, fire is seen borne through the air; but the (spectators) being horrified at the strange apparition, (and) covering their eyes, fling themselves speechless to earth. But the success of the artifice is enhanced by the following contrivance. The accomplice whom I have spoken of as being concealed, when he hears the incantation ceasing, holding a kite or hawk enveloped with tow, sets fire to it and releases it. The bird, however, frightened by the flame, is borne aloft, and makes a (proportionably) quicker flight, which these deluded persons beholding, conceal themselves, as if they had seen something divine. The winged creature, however, being whirled round by the fire, is borne whithersoever chance may have it, and burns now the houses, and now the courtyards. Such is the divination of the sorcerers.



Chapter XXXVII.—Illusive Appearance of the Moon.

And they make moon and stars appear on the ceiling after this manner. In the central part of the ceiling, having fastened a mirror, placing a dish full of water equally (with the mirror) in the central portion of the floor, and setting in a central place likewise a candle, emitting a faint light from a higher position than the dish,—in this way, by reflection, (the magician) causes the moon to appear by the mirror. But frequently, also, they suspend on high from the ceiling, at a distance, a drum,²⁶⁶ but which, being covered with some garment, is concealed by the accomplice, in order that (the heavenly body) may not appear before the (proper) time. And afterwards placing a candle (within the drum), when the magician gives the signal to the accomplice, he removes so much of the covering as may be sufficient for effecting an imitation representing the figure of the moon as it is at that particular time. He smears, however, the luminous parts of the drum with cinnabar and gum;²⁶⁷ and having pared around the neck and bottom of a flagon²⁶⁸ of glass ready behind, he puts a candle in it, and places around it some of the requisite contrivances for making the figures shine, which some one of the accomplices has concealed on high; and on receiving the signal, he throws down from above the contrivances, so to make the moon appear descending from the sky.

And the same result is achieved by means of a jar in sylvan localities.²⁶⁹ For it is by means of a jar that the tricks in a house are performed. For having set up an altar, subsequently is (placed upon it) the jar, having a lighted lamp; when, however, there are a greater number of lamps, no such sight is displayed. After then the enchanter invokes the moon, he orders all the lights to be extinguished, yet that one be left faintly burning; and then the light, that which streams from the jar, is reflected on the ceiling, and furnishes to those present a representation of the moon; the mouth of the jar being kept covered for the time which it would seem to require, in order that the representation of full moon should be exhibited on the ceiling.

266 Or, “suspending a drum, etc., covered with,” etc.; or “frequently placing on an elevated position a drum.” For πόρρωθεν, which is not here easy of explanation, some read τερνωθεν, others πορπωθεν, i.e., fastened with buckles; others, πόρρω τεθεν.

267 Schneidewin, but not the Abbe Cruice, thinks there is a hiatus here.

268 There are different readings: (1) ἐτυμολογικῆς; (2) ἔτι ὀλοκλήρου; (3) ὑαλουργικῆς, i.e., composed of glass. (See next note.)

269 The Abbe Cruice properly remarks that this has no meaning here. He would read ὑαλώδεσι τόποις, or by means of glass images.

Chapter XXXVIII.—Illusive Appearance of the Stars.

But the scales of fishes—for instance, the seahorse—cause the stars to appear to be; the scales being steeped in a mixture of water and gum, and fastened on the ceiling at intervals.

Chapter XXXIX.—Imitation of an Earthquake.

The sensation of an earthquake they cause in such a way, as that all things seem set in motion; ordure of a weasel burned with a magnet upon coals (has this effect).²⁷⁰

270 There is a hiatus here.

Chapter XL.—Trick with the Liver.

And they exhibit a liver seemingly bearing an inscription in this manner. With the left hand he writes what he wishes, appending it to the question, and the letters are traced with gall juice and strong vinegar. Then taking up the liver, retaining it in the left hand, he makes some delay, and then it draws away the impression, and it is supposed to have, as it were, writing upon it.

Chapter XLI.—Making a Skull Speak.

But putting a skull on the ground, they make it speak in this manner. The skull itself is made out of the caul of an ox;²⁷¹ and when fashioned into the requisite figure, by means of Etruscan wax and prepared gum,²⁷² (and) when this membrane is placed around, it presents the appearance of a skull, which seems to all²⁷³ to speak when the contrivance operates; in the same manner as we have explained in the case of the (attendant) youths, when, having procured the windpipe of a crane,²⁷⁴ or some such long-necked animal, and attaching it covertly to the skull, the accomplice utters what he wishes. And when he desires (the skull) to become invisible, he appears as if burning incense, placing around, (for this purpose,) a quantity of coals; and when the wax catches the heat of these, it melts, and in this way the skull is supposed to become invisible.



271 The Abbe Cruice suggests ἐπίπλεον βώλου, which he thinks corresponds with the material of which the pyramid mentioned in a previous chapter was composed. He, however, makes no attempt at translating ἐπίπλεον. Does he mean that the skull was filled with clay? His emendation is forced.

272 Or, “rubblings of” (Cruice).

273 Or, “they say.”

274 Some similar juggleries are mentioned by Lucian in his *Alexander*, or *Pseudomantis*, xxxii. 26,—a work of a kindred nature to Celsus’ *Treatise on Magic* (the latter alluded to by Origen, *Contr. Cels.*, lib. i. p. 53, ed. Spenc.), and dedicated by Lucian to Celsus.

Chapter XLII.—The Fraud of the Foregoing Practices; Their Connection with Heresy.

These are the deeds of the magicians,²⁷⁵ and innumerable other such (tricks) there are which work on the credulity of the dupes, by fair balanced words, and the appearance of plausible acts. And the heresiarchs, astonished at the art of these (sorcerers), have imitated them, partly by delivering their doctrines in secrecy and darkness, and partly by advancing (these tenets) as their own. For this reason, being desirous of warning the multitude, we have been the more painstaking, in order not to omit any expedient²⁷⁶ practised by the magicians, for those who may be disposed to be deceived. We have been however drawn, not unreasonably, into a detail of some of the secret (mysteries) of the sorcerers, which are not very requisite, to be sure, in reference to the subject taken in hand; yet, for the purpose of guarding against the villanous and incoherent art of magicians, may be supposed useful. Since, therefore, as far as delineation is feasible, we have explained the opinions of all (speculators), exerting especial attention towards the elucidation of the opinions introduced as novelties by the heresiarchs; (opinions) which, as far as piety is concerned, are futile and spurious, and which are not, even among themselves, perhaps²⁷⁷ deemed worthy of serious consideration. (Having pursued this course of inquiry), it seems expedient that, by means of a compendious discourse, we should recall to the (reader's) memory statements that have been previously made.

275 The word magic, or magician, at its origin, had no sinister meaning, as being the science professed by the Magi, who were an exclusive religious sect of great antiquity in Persia, universally venerated for their mathematical skill and erudition generally. It was persons who practised wicked arts, and assumed the name of Magi, that brought the term into disrepute. The origin of magic has been ascribed to Zoroaster, and once devised, it made rapid progress; because, as Pliny reminds us, it includes three systems of the greatest influence among men—(1) the art of medicine, (2) religion, (3) divination. This corresponds with Agrippa's division of magic into (1) natural, (2) celestial, (3) ceremonial, or superstitious. This last has been also called "goetic" (full of imposture), and relates to the invocation of devils. This originated probably in Egypt, and quickly spread all over the world.

276 Or, "topic discussed;" or, "not leave any place (subterfuge) for these," etc.

277 Or "you will suppose."

Chapter XLIII.—Recapitulation of Theologies and Cosmogonies; System of the Persians; Of the Babylonians; The Egyptian Notion of Deity; Their Theology Based on a Theory of Numbers; Their System of Cosmogony.

Among all those who throughout the earth, as philosophers and theologians, have carried on investigations, has prevailed diversity of opinion²⁷⁸ concerning the Deity, as to His essence or nature. For some affirm Him to be fire, and some spirit, and some water, while others say that He is earth. And each of the elements labours under some deficiency, and one is worsted by the other. To the wise men of the world, this, however, has occurred, which is obvious to persons possessing intelligence; (I mean) that, beholding the stupendous works of creation, they were confused respecting the substance of existing things, supposing that these were too vast to admit of deriving generation from another, and at the same time (asserting) that neither the universe itself is God. As far as theology was concerned, they declared, however, a single cause for things that fall under the cognizance of vision, each supposing the cause which he adjudged the most reasonable; and so, when gazing on the objects made by God, and on those which are the most insignificant in comparison with His overpowering majesty, not, however, being able to extend the mind to the magnitude of God as He really is, they deified these (works of the external world).

But the Persians,²⁷⁹ supposing that they had penetrated more within the confines of the truth, asserted that the Deity is luminous, a light contained in air. The Babylonians, however, affirmed that the Deity is dark, which very opinion also appears the consequence of the other; for day follows night, and night day. Do not the Egyptians, however,²⁸⁰ who suppose themselves more ancient than all, speak of the power of the Deity? (This power they estimate by) calculating these intervals of the parts (of the zodiac; and, as if) by a most divine inspiration,²⁸¹ they asserted that the Deity is an indivisible monad, both itself generating itself, and that out of this were formed all things. For this, say they,²⁸² being unbegotten, produces the succeeding numbers; for instance, the monad, superadded into itself, generates the duad; and in like manner, when superadded (into duad, triad, and so forth), produces

278 See Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, book i.; Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum*, book i. (both translated in Bohn's Classical Library); and Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*. lib. i.

279 The mention of the Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians shows the subject-matter of the lost books to have been concerning the speculative systems of these nations.

280 This rendering follows Miller's text. Schneidewin thinks there is a hiatus, which the Abbe Cruice fills up, the latter translating the passage without an interrogation: "The Egyptians, who think themselves more ancient than all, have formed their ideas of the power of the Deity by calculations and computing," etc.

281 Or, "meditation on the divine nature," or "godlike reflection."

282 The ms. has "says he."

the triad and tetrad, up to the decade, which is the beginning and end of numbers. Wherefore it is that the first and tenth monad is generated, on account of the decade being equipollent, and being reckoned for a monad, and (because) this multiplied ten times will become a hundred, and again becomes a monad, and the hundred multiplied ten times will produce a thousand, and this will be a monad. In this manner also the thousand multiplied ten times make up the full sum of a myriad; in like manner will it be a monad. But by a comparison of indivisible quantities, the kindred numbers of the monad comprehend 3, 5, 7, 9.²⁸³

There is also, however, a more natural relation of a different number to the monad, according to the arrangement of the orbit of six days' duration,²⁸⁴ (that is), of the duad, according to the position and division of even numbers. But the kindred number is 4 and 8. These, however, taking from the monad of the numbers²⁸⁵ an idea of virtue, progressed up to the four elements; (I allude), of course, to spirit, and fire, and water, and earth. And out of these having made the world, (God) framed it an hermaphrodite, and allocated two elements for the upper hemisphere, namely spirit and fire; and this is styled the hemisphere of the monad, (a hemisphere) beneficent, and ascending, and masculine. For, being composed of small particles, the monad soars into the most rarified and purest part of the atmosphere; and the other two elements, earth and water, being more gross, he assigned to the duad; and this is termed the descending hemisphere, both feminine and mischievous. And likewise, again, the upper elements themselves, when compared one with another, comprise in one another both male and female for fruitfulness and increase of the whole creation. And the fire is masculine, and the spirit feminine. And again the water is masculine, and the earth feminine. And so from the beginning fire consorted with spirit, and water with earth. For as the power of spirit is fire, so also that of earth is water;²⁸⁶ ...and the elements themselves, when computed and resolved by subtraction of enneads, terminate properly, some of them in the masculine number, and others of them in the feminine. And, again, the ennead is subtracted for this cause, because the three hundred and sixty parts of the entire (circle) consist of enneads, and for this reason the four regions of the world are circumscribed by ninety perfect parts. And light has been appropriated to the monad, and darkness to the

283 The Abbe Cruice suggests the elimination of 9, on account of its being a divisible number.

284 Miller considers some reference here to the six days' creation (Hexaëmeron), on account of the word φυσικωτέρα, i.e., more natural. The Abbe Cruice considers that there is an allusion to an astronomic instrument used for exhibiting harmonic combinations; see Ptolem., *Harmon.*, i. 2. Bunsen reads τοῦ ἑξακύκλου ὕλικου.

285 The text is obviously corrupt. As given by Schneidewin, it might be rendered thus: "These deriving from the monad a numerical symbol, a virtue, have progressed up to the elements." He makes no attempt at a Latin version. The Abbe Cruice would suggest the introduction of the word προστεθεῖσαν, on account of the statement already made, that "the monad, superadded into itself, produces a duad."

286 There is a hiatus here. Hippolytus has said nothing concerning enneads.

duad, and life to light, according to nature, and death to the duad. And to life (has been appropriated) justice; and to death, injustice. Wherefore everything generated among masculine numbers is beneficent, while that (produced) among feminine (numbers) is mischievous. For instance, they pursue their calculations thus: monad—that we may commence from this—becomes 361, which (numbers) terminate in a monad by the subtraction of the ennead. In like manner, reckon thus: Duad becomes 605; take away the enneads, it ends in a duad, and each reverts into its own peculiar (function).

Chapter XLIV.—Egyptian Theory of Nature; Their Amulets.

For the monad, therefore, as being beneficent, they assert that there are consequently²⁸⁷ names ascending, and beneficent, and masculine, and carefully observed, terminating in an uneven number;²⁸⁸ whereas that those terminating in the even number have been supposed to be both descending, and feminine and malicious. For they affirm that nature is made up of contraries, namely bad and good, as right and left, light and darkness, night and day, life and death. And moreover they make this assertion, that they have calculated the word “Deity,” (and found that it reverts into a pentad with an ennead subtracted). Now this name is an even number, and when it is written down (on some material) they attach it to the body, and accomplish cures²⁸⁹ by it. In this manner, likewise, a certain herb, terminating in this number, being similarly fastened around (the frame), operates by reason of a similar calculation of the number. Nay, even a doctor cures sickly people by a similar calculation. If, however, the calculation is contrary, it does not heal with facility.²⁹⁰ Persons attending to these numbers reckon as many as are homogeneous according to this principle; some, however, according to vowels alone; whereas others according to the entire number. Such also is the wisdom of the Egyptians, by which, as they boast, they suppose that they cognise the divine nature.

287 Or, “names have been allocated,” or “distributed.”

288 Miller thinks it should be “even number” (περιττόν). The Abbe Cruice would retain “uneven” (ἀπερίζυγον), on the ground that the duad being a περίζυξ ἀριθμός, the monad will be ἀπερίζυγος.

289 Servius on the *Eclogues of Virgil* (viii. 75) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxviii. 2) make similar statements.

290 This is Miller and Schneidewin’s emendation for “uneven” in the ms.

Chapter XLV.—Use of the Foregoing Discussions.

It appears, then, that these speculations also have been sufficiently explained by us. But since I think that I have omitted no opinion found in this earthly and grovelling Wisdom, I perceive that the solicitude expended by us on these subjects has not been useless. For we observe that our discourse has been serviceable not only for a refutation of heresies, but also in reference to those who entertain these opinions. Now these, when they encounter the extreme care evinced by us, will even be struck with admiration of our earnestness, and will not despise our industry and condemn Christians as fools when they discern the opinions to which they themselves have stupidly accorded their belief. And furthermore, those who, desirous of learning, addict themselves to the truth, will be assisted by our discourse to become, when they have learned the fundamental principles of the heresies, more intelligent not only for the easy refutation of those who have attempted to deceive them, but that also, when they have ascertained the avowed opinions of the wise men, and have been made acquainted with them, that they shall neither be confused by them as ignorant persons would, nor become the dupes of certain individuals acting as if from some authority; nay, more than this, they shall be on their guard against those that are allowing themselves to become victims to these delusions.



Chapter XLVI.—The Astrotheosophists; Aratus Imitated by the Heresiarchs; His System of the Disposition of the Stars.

Having sufficiently explained these opinions, let us next pass on to a consideration of the subject taken in hand, in order that, by proving what we have determined concerning heresies, and by compelling their (champions) to return to these several (speculators) their peculiar tenets, we may show the heresiarchs destitute (of a system); and by proclaiming the folly of those who are persuaded (by these heterodox tenets), we shall prevail on them to retrace their course to the serene haven of the truth. In order, however, that the statements about to follow may seem more clear to the readers, it is expedient also to declare the opinions advanced by Aratus concerning the disposition of the stars of the heavens. (And this is necessary), inasmuch as some persons, assimilating these (doctrines) to those declared by the Scriptures, convert (the holy writings) into allegories, and endeavour to seduce the mind of those who give heed to their (tenets), drawing them on by plausible words into the admission of whatever opinions they wish, (and) exhibiting a strange marvel, as if the assertions made by them were fixed among the stars. They, however, gazing intently on the very extraordinary wonder, admirers as they are of trifles, are fascinated like a bird called the owl, which example it is proper to mention, on account of the statements that are about to follow. The animal (I speak of) is, however, not very different from an eagle, either in size or figure, and it is captured in the following way:—The hunter of these birds, when he sees a flock of them lighting anywhere, shaking his hands, at a distance pretends to dance, and so by little and little draws near the birds. But they, struck with amazement at the strange sight, are rendered unobservant of everything passing around them. But others of the party, who have come into the country equipped for such a purpose, coming from behind upon the birds, easily lay hold on them as they are gazing on the dancer.

Wherefore I desire that no one, astonished by similar wonders of those who interpret the (aspect of) heaven, should, like the owl, be taken captive. For the knavery practised by such speculators may be considered dancing and silliness, but not truth. Aratus,²⁹¹ therefore, expresses himself thus:—

“Just as many are they; hither and thither they roll
Day by day o’er heav’n, endless, ever, (that is, every star),
Yet this declines not even little; but thus exactly
E’er remains with axis fixed and poised in every part
Holds earth midway, and heaven itself around conducts.”

291 Arat., *Phænomen.*, v. 19 et seq.

Chapter XLVII.—Opinions of the Heretics Borrowed from Aratus.

Aratus says that there are in the sky revolving, that is, gyrating stars, because from east to west, and west to east, they journey perpetually, (and) in an orbicular figure. And he says that there revolves towards²⁹² “The Bears” themselves, like some stream of a river, an enormous and prodigious monster, (the) Serpent; and that this is what the devil says in the book of Job to the Deity, when (Satan) uses these words: “I have traversed earth under heaven, and have gone around (it),”²⁹³ that is, that I have been turned around, and thereby have been able to survey the worlds. For they suppose that towards the North Pole is situated the Dragon, the Serpent, from the highest pole looking upon all (the objects), and gazing on all the works of creation, in order that nothing of the things that are being made may escape his notice. For though all the stars in the firmament set, the pole of this (luminary) alone never sets, but, careering high above the horizon, surveys and beholds all things, and none of the works of creation, he says, can escape his notice.

“Where chiefly
Settings mingle and risings one with other.”²⁹⁴

(Here Aratus) says that the head of this (constellation) is placed. For towards the west and east of the two hemispheres is situated the head of the Dragon, in order, he says, that nothing may escape his notice throughout the same quarter, either of objects in the west or those in the east, but that the Beast may know all things at the same time. And near the head itself of the Dragon is the appearance of a man, conspicuous by means of the stars, which Aratus styles a wearied image, and like one oppressed with labour, and he is denominated “Engonasis.” Aratus²⁹⁵ then affirms that he does not know what this toil is, and what this prodigy is that revolves in heaven. The heretics, however, wishing by means of this account of the stars to establish their own doctrines, (and) with more than ordinary earnestness devoting their attention to these (astronomic systems), assert that Engonasis is Adam, according to the commandment of God as Moses declared, guarding the head of the Dragon, and the Dragon (guarding) his heel. For so Aratus expresses himself:—

“The right-foot’s track of the Dragon fierce possessing.”²⁹⁶

292 *Ibid.*, v. 45, 46.

293 This refers to [Job i. 7](#), but is at once recognised as not a correct quotation.

294 Arat., *Phaenom.*, v. 61.

295 Arat., *Phaenom.*, v. 63 et seq.

296 Arat., *Phaenom.*, v. 70.

Chapter XLVIII.—Invention of the Lyre; Allegorizing the Appearance and Position of the Stars; Origin of the Phœnicians; The Logos Identified by Aratus with the Constellation Canis; Influence of Canis on Fertility and Life Generally.

And (Aratus) says that (the constellations) Lyra and Corona have been placed on both sides near him,—now I mean Engonasis,—but that he bends the knee, and stretches forth both hands, as if making a confession of sin. And that the lyre is a musical instrument fashioned by Logos while still altogether an infant, and that Logos is the same as he who is denominated Mercury among the Greeks. And Aratus, with regard to the construction of the lyre, observes:—

“Then, further, also near the cradle,²⁹⁷

Hermes pierced it through, and said, Call it Lyre.”²⁹⁸

It consists of seven strings, signifying by these seven strings the entire harmony and construction of the world as it is melodiously constituted. For in six days the world was made, and (the Creator) rested on the seventh. If, then, says (Aratus), Adam, acknowledging (his guilt) and guarding the head of the Beast, according to the commandment of the Deity, will imitate Lyra, that is, obey the Logos of God, that is, submit to the law, he will receive Corona that is situated near him. If, however, he neglect his duty, he shall be hurled downwards in company with the Beast that lies underneath, and shall have, he says, his portion with the Beast. And Engonasis seems on both sides to extend his hands, and on one to touch Lyra, and on the other Corona—and this is his confession;—so that it is possible to distinguish him by means of this (sidereal) configuration itself. But Corona nevertheless is plotted against, and forcibly drawn away by another beast, a smaller Dragon, which is the offspring of him who is guarded by the foot²⁹⁹ of Engonasis. A man also stands firmly grasping with both hands, and dragging towards the space behind the Serpent from Corona; and he does not permit the Beast to touch Corona, though making a violent effort to do so. And Aratus styles him Anguitenens, because he restrains the impetuosity of the Serpent in his attempt to reach Corona. But Logos, he says, is he who, in the figure of a man, hinders the Beast

297 “Pierced it through,” i.e., bored the holes for the strings, or, in other words, constructed the instrument. The Latin version in Buhle’s edition of Aratus is *ad cunam (cunabulam) compegit*, i.e., he fastened the strings into the shell of the tortoise near his bed. The tortoise is mentioned by Aratus in the first part of the line, which fact removes the obscurity of the passage as quoted by Hippolytus. The general tradition corresponds with this, in representing Mercury on the shores of the Nile forming a lyre out of a dried tortoise. The word translated bed might be also rendered fan, which was used as a cradle, its size and construction being suitable. [See note, p. 46, *infra*.]

298 Arat., *Phaenom.*, v. 268.

299 Or, “son of” (see Arat., *Phaenom.*, v. 70).

from reaching Corona, commiserating him who is being plotted against by the Dragon and his offspring simultaneously.

These (constellations), “The Bears,” however, he says, are two hebdomads, composed of seven stars, images of two creations. For the first creation, he affirms, is that according to Adam in labours, this is he who is seen “on his knees” (Engonasis). The second creation, however, is that according to Christ, by which we are regenerated; and this is Anguitenens, who struggles against the Beast, and hinders him from reaching Corona, which is reserved for the man. But “The Great Bear” is, he says, Helice,³⁰⁰ symbol of a mighty world towards which the Greeks steer their course, that is, for which they are being disciplined. And, wafted by the waves of life, they follow onwards, (having in prospect) some such revolving world or discipline or wisdom which conducts those back that follow in pursuit of such a world. For the term Helice seems to signify a certain circling and revolution towards the same points. There is likewise a certain other “Small Bear” (Cynosuris), as it were some image of the second creation—that formed according to God. For few, he says, there are that journey by the narrow path.³⁰¹ But they assert that Cynosuris is narrow, towards which Aratus³⁰² says that the Sidonians navigate. But Aratus has spoken partly of the Sidonians, (but means) the Phœnicians, on account of the existence of the admirable wisdom of the Phœnicians. The Greeks, however, assert that they are Phœnicians, who have migrated from (the shores of) the Red Sea into this country where they even at present dwell, for this is the opinion of Herodotus.³⁰³ Now Cynosura, he says, is this (lesser) Bear, the second creation; the one of limited dimensions, the narrow way, and not Helice. For he does not lead them back, but guides forward by a straight path, those that follow him being (the tail) of Canis. For Canis is the Logos,³⁰⁴ partly guarding and preserving the flock, that is plotted against by the wolves; and partly like a dog, hunting the beasts from the creation, and destroying them; and partly producing all things, and being what they express by the name “Cyon” (Canis), that is, generator. Hence it is said, Aratus has spoken of the rising of Canis, expressing himself thus: “When, however, Canis has risen, no longer do the crops miss.” This is what he says: Plants that have been put into the earth up to the period of Canis’ rising, frequently, though not having struck root, are yet covered with a profusion of leaves, and afford indications to



300 The Abbe Cruice considers that these interpretations, as well as what follows, are taken not from a Greek writer, but a Jewish heretic. No Greek, he supposes, would write, as is stated lower down, that the Greeks were a Phœnician colony. The Jewish heresies were impregnated by these silly doctrines about the stars (see Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.*, lib. i. *De Phariseis*).

301 Reference is here made to [Matt. vii. 14](#).

302 Arat., *Phænomena*, v. 44.

303 Herodotus, *Hist.*, i. 1.

304 Or, “for creation is the Logos” (see Arat., *Phænomena*, v. 332 et seq.).

spectators that they will be productive, and that they appear full of life, (though in reality) not having vitality in themselves from the root. But when the rising of Canis takes place, the living are separated from the dead by Canis; for whatsoever plants have not taken root, really undergo putrefaction. This Canis, therefore, he says, as being a certain divine Logos, has been appointed judge of quick and dead. And as (the influence of) Canis is observable in the vegetable productions of this world, so in plants of celestial growth—in men—is beheld the (power of the) Logos. From some such cause, then, Cynosura, the second creation, is set in the firmament as an image of a creation by the Logos. The Dragon, however, in the centre reclines between the two creations, preventing a transition of whatever things are from the great creation to the small creation; and in guarding those that are fixed in the (great) creation, as for instance Engonasis, observing (at the same time) how and in what manner each is constituted in the small creation. And (the Dragon) himself is watched at the head, he says, by Anguitenens. This image, he affirms, is fixed in heaven, being a certain wisdom to those capable of discerning it. If, however, this is obscure, by means of some other image, he says the creation teaches (men) to philosophize, in regard to which Aratus has expressed himself thus:—

“Neither of Cepheus Iasidas are we the wretched brood.”³⁰⁵

305 Arat., *Phænom.*, v. 179.

Chapter XLIX.—Symbol of the Creature; And of Spirit; And of the Different Orders of Animals.

But Aratus says, near this (constellation) is Cepheus, and Cassiopeia, and Andromeda, and Perseus, great lineaments of the creation to those who are able to discern them. For he asserts that Cepheus is Adam, Cassiopeia Eve, Andromeda the soul of both of these, Perseus the Logos, winged offspring of Jove, and Cetos³⁰⁶ the plotting monster. Not to any of these, but to Andromeda only does he repair, who slays the Beast; from whom, likewise taking unto himself Andromeda, who had been delivered (and) chained to the Beast, the Logos—that is, Perseus—achieves, he says, her liberation. Perseus, however, is the winged axle that pierces both poles through the centre of the earth, and turns the world round. The spirit also, that which is in the world, is (symbolized by) Cycnus, a bird—a musical animal near “The Bears”—type of the Divine Spirit, because that when it approaches the end itself of life,³⁰⁷ it alone is fitted by nature to sing, on departing with good hope from the wicked creation, (and) offering up hymns unto God. But crabs, and bulls, and lions, and rams, and goats, and kids, and as many other beasts as have their names used for denominating the stars in the firmament, are, he says, images, and exemplars from which the creation, subject to change, obtaining (the different) species, becomes replete with animals of this description.

306 i.e., literally a sea-monster (Cicero’s *Pistrix*); Arat., *Phaenom.*, v. 353 et seq.

307 πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς τέρμασι γινόμενον τοῦ βίου. Some read τοῖς σπέρμασι, which yields no intelligible meaning.

Chapter L.—Folly of Astrology.

Employing these accounts, (the heretics) think to deceive as many of these as devote themselves over-sedulously to the astrologers, from thence striving to construct a system of religion that is widely divergent from the thoughts of these (speculators). Wherefore, beloved, let us avoid the habit of admiring trifles, secured by which the bird (styled) the owl (is captured). For these and other such speculations are, (as it were), dancing, and not Truth. For neither do the stars yield these points of information; but men of their own accord, for the designation of certain stars, thus called them by names, in order that they might become to them easily distinguishable. For what similarity with a bear or lion, or kid, or waterman, or Cepheus, or Andromeda, or the spectres that have names given them in Hades, have the stars that are scattered over the firmament—for we must remember that these men, and the titles themselves, came into existence long after the origin of man,—(what, I say, is in common between the two), that the heretics, astonished at the marvel, should thus strive by means of such discourses to strengthen their own opinions?



Chapter LI.—The Hebdomadarii; System of the Arithmeticians; Pressed into the Service of Heresy; Instances Of, in Simon and Valentinus; The Nature of the Universe Deducible from the Physiology of the Brain.

But since almost every heresy (that has sprung up) through the arithmetical art has discovered measures of hebdomads and certain projections of Æons, each rending the art differently, while whatever variation prevailed was in the names merely; and (since) Pythagoras became the instructor of these, first introducing numbers of this sort among the Greeks from Egypt, it seems expedient not to omit even this, but, after we have given a compendious elucidation, to approach the demonstration of those things that we propose to investigate.

Arithmeticians and geometers arose, to whom especially Pythagoras first seems to have furnished principles. And from numbers that can continually progress *ad infinitum* by multiplication, and from figures, these derived their first principles,³⁰⁸ as capable of being discerned by reason alone; for a principle of geometry, as one may perceive, is an indivisible point. From that point, however, by means of the art, the generation of endless figures from the point is discovered. For the point being drawn into length becomes a line, after being thus continued, having a point for its extremity. And a line flowing out into breadth begets a surface, and the limits of the surface are lines; but a surface flowing out into breadth becomes body. And when what is solid has in this manner derived existence from, altogether, the smallest point, the nature of a huge body is constituted; and this is what Simon expresses thus: “The little will be great, being as a point, and the great illimitable.” Now this coincides with the geometrical doctrine of a point.

But of the arithmetical³⁰⁹ art, which by composition contains philosophy, number became a first principle, which is an indefinable and incomprehensible (entity), comprising in itself all the numbers that can go on *ad infinitum* by aggregation. But the first monad became a principle, according to substance, of the numbers, which (principle) is a male³¹⁰ monad, pro-creating paternally all the rest of the numbers. Secondly, the duad is a female number, which by the arithmeticians is also itself denominated even. Thirdly, the triad is a male number; this also it has been the usual custom of arithmeticians to style odd. In addition to all these, the tetrad is a female number; and this same, because it is feminine, is likewise denominated even. All the numbers therefore, taken generically, are four—number, however, as regards genus, is indefinite—from which, according to their system, is formed the perfect number—I mean the decade. For one, two, three, four, become ten—as has been previously proved—if the proper denomination be preserved, according to substance, for each of the

308 Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Geom.*, 29 et seq. (See book vi. chap. xviii. of *The Refutation*.)

309 The observations following have already been made in book i. of *The Refutation*.

310 Some read ἄρσις.

numbers. This is the sacred quaternion, according to Pythagoras, having in itself roots of an endless nature, that is, all other numbers; for eleven, and twelve, and the rest, derive the principle of generation from the ten. Of this decade—the perfect number—there are called four parts—number, monad, power, cube—whose connections and mixtures take place for the generation of increase, according to nature completing the productive number. For when the square is multiplied into itself, it becomes a biquadratic; but when the square is multiplied into a cube, it becomes the product of a quadratic and cube; but when a cube is multiplied into a cube, it becomes the product of cube multiplied by cube. Wherefore all the numbers are seven; so that the generation of things produced may be from the hebdomad—which is number, monad, power, cube, biquadratic, product of quadratic multiplied by cube, product of cube multiplied by cube.

Of this hebdomad Simon and Valentinus, having altered the names, detailed marvellous stories, from thence hastily adopting a system for themselves. For Simon employs his denominations thus: Mind, Intelligence, Name, Voice, Ratiocination, Reflection; and He who stood, stands, will stand. And Valentinus (enumerates them thus): Mind, Truth, Word, Life, Man, Church, and the Father, reckoned along with these, according to the same principles as those advanced by the cultivators of arithmetical philosophy. And (heresiarchs) admiring, as if unknown to the multitude, (this philosophy, and) following it, have framed heterodox doctrines devised by themselves.

Some indeed, then, attempt likewise to form the hebdomads from the medical³¹¹ (art), being astonished at the dissection of the brain, asserting that the substance of the universe and the power of procreation and the Godhead could be ascertained from the arrangement of the brain. For the brain, being the dominant portion of the entire body, reposes calm and unmoved, containing within itself the spirit. Such an account, then, is not incredible, but widely differs from the conclusions which these (heretics) attempt to deduce from it. For the brain, on being dissected, has within it what may be called a vaulted chamber. And on either side of this are thin membranes, which they term little wings. Now these are gently moved by the spirit, and in turn propel towards the cerebellum the spirit, which, careering through a certain blood-vessel like a reed, advances towards the pineal gland. And near this is situated the entrance of the cerebellum, which admits the current of spirit, and distributes it into what is styled the spinal marrow. But from them the whole frame participates in the spiritual energy, inasmuch as all the arteries, like a branch, are fastened on from this blood-vessel, the extremity of which terminates in the genital blood-vessels, whence all the (animal) seeds proceeding from the brain through the loin are secreted (in the seminal glands). The



311 The Abbe Cruice refers to Censorinus (*De Die Natali*, cap. vii. et xiv.), who mentions that two numbers were held in veneration, the seventh (hebdomad) and ninth (ennead). The former was of use in curing corporeal disease, and ascribed to Apollo; the latter healed the diseases of the mind, and was attributed to the Muses.

form, however, of the brain is like the head of a serpent, respecting which a lengthened discussion is maintained by the professors of knowledge, falsely so named, as we shall prove. Six other coupling ligaments grow out of the brain, which, traversing round the head, and having their termination in (the head) itself, hold bodies together; but the seventh (ligament) proceeds from the cerebellum to the lower parts of the rest of the frame, as we have declared.

And respecting this there is an enlarged discussion, whence both Simon and Valentinus will be found both to have derived from this source starting-points for their opinions, and, though they may not acknowledge it, to be in the first instance liars, then heretics. Since, then, it appears that we have sufficiently explained these tenets likewise, and that all the reputed opinions of this earthly philosophy have been comprised in four books; it seems expedient to proceed to a consideration of the disciples of these men, nay rather, those who have furtively appropriated their doctrines.³¹²

312 At foot of ms. occur the words, "Fourth Book of Philosophumena."

Note.

[On p. 43 *supra* I omitted to direct attention to the desirable enlargement of note 3 by a reference to Homer's Hymn of Mercury and its minute description of the invention of the Lyre. The passage is given in Henry Nelson Coleridge's *Introduction*, etc., p. 202. The versified translation of Shelley is inimitable; in *ottava rima*, but instinct with the *ethos* of the original.]

Book V.



Contents.

The following are the contents of the fifth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:³¹³—

What the assertions are of the Naasseni, who style themselves Gnostics, and that they advance those opinions which the Philosophers of the Greeks previously propounded, as well as those who have handed down mystical (rites), from (both of) whom *the Naasseni* taking occasion, have constructed their heresies.

And what are the tenets of the Perataë, and that their system is not framed by them out of the holy Scriptures, but from astrological *art*.

What is the doctrine of the Sethians,³¹⁴ and that, purloining³¹⁵ their theories from the wise men among the Greeks, they have patched together their own system out of shreds of opinion taken from Musæus, and Linus, and Orpheus.

What are the tenets of Justinus, and that his system is framed by him, not out of the holy Scriptures, but from the detail of marvels furnished by Herodotus the historian.

313 [Consult Bunsen, vol. i. p. 35, always interesting and ingeniously critical; nobody should neglect his work. But for a judicial mind, compare Dr. Wordsworth, p. 182.]

314 The ms. employs the form Sithians, which is obviously not the correct one.

315 This term κλεψίλογος is frequently applied by Hippolytus to the heretics.

Chapter I.—Recapitulation; Characteristics of Heresy; Origin of the Name Naasseni;
The System of the Naasseni.

I think that in the four preceding books I have very elaborately explained the opinions propounded by all the speculators among both Greeks and Barbarians, respecting the Divine Nature and the creation of the world; and not even have I omitted³¹⁶ the consideration of their systems of magic. So that I have for my readers undergone no ordinary amount of toil, in my anxiety to urge many forward into a desire of learning, and into steadfastness of knowledge in regard of the truth. It remains, therefore, to hasten on to the refutation of the heresies; but it is for the purpose of furnishing this (refutation) that we have put forward the statements already made by us. For from philosophers the heresiarchs deriving³¹⁷ starting-points, (and) like cobblers patching together, according to their own particular interpretation, the blunders of the ancients, have advanced them as novelties to those that are capable of being deceived, as we shall prove in the following books. In the remainder (of our work), the opportunity invites us to approach the treatment of our proposed subjects, and to begin from those who have presumed to celebrate a serpent,³¹⁸ the originator of the error (in question), through certain expressions devised by the energy of his own (ingenuity). The priests, then, and champions of the system, have been first those who have been called Naasseni,³¹⁹ being so denominated from the Hebrew language, for the serpent is called *naas*³²⁰ (in Hebrew). Subsequently, however, they have styled themselves Gnostics, alleging that they alone have sounded the depths of knowledge. Now, from the system of these (speculators), many, detaching parts, have constructed a heresy which, though with several subdivisions, is essentially one, and they explain precisely the same (tenets); though conveyed

316 Miller has ἀποκαλύψας for παραλείψας. This, however, can bear no intelligible meaning, except we add some other word, as thus: “not even have I failed to disclose.” Schneidewin’s correction of ἀποκαλύψας into παραλείψας is obviously an improvement.

317 Μεταλαμβάνοντες; some read μετασχόντες, which it is presumed might be rendered, “sharing in the opinions which gave occasion to these heterodox doctrines.”

318 i.e., ὄφεις. This term has created the title “Ophites,” which may be regarded as the generic denomination for all the advocates of this phase of Gnosticism.

319 The heresy of the Naasseni is adverted to by the other leading writers on heresy in the early age of the Church. See St. Irenæus, i. 34; Origen, *Contr. Cels.*, vi. 28 (p. 291 et seq. ed. Spenc.); Tertullian, *Præscr.*, c. 47; Theodoret, *Hæretic. Fabul.*, i. 14; Epiphanius, *Advers. Hæreses.*, xxv. and xxxvii.; St. Augustine, *De Hæres.*, xvii.; Jerome, *Comment. Epist. ad Galat.*, lib. ii. The Abbe Cruice reminds his readers that the Naasseni carried their doctrines into India, and refers to the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. x. p. 39).

320 The Hebrew word is נָחָשׁ (*nachash*).

under the guise of different opinions, as the following discussion, according as it progresses, will prove.

These (Naasseni), then, according to the system³²¹ advanced by them, magnify, (as the originating cause) of all things else, a man and a son of man. And this man is a hermaphrodite, and is denominated among them Adam; and hymns many and various are made to him. The hymns³²² however—to be brief—are couched among them in some such form as this: “From thee (comes) father, and through thee (comes) mother, two names immortal, progenitors of Æons, O denizen of heaven, thou illustrious man.” But they divide him as Geryon³²³ into three parts. For, say they, of this man one part is rational, another psychical, another earthly. And they suppose that the knowledge of him is the originating principle of the capacity for a knowledge of God, expressing themselves thus: “The originating principle of perfection is the knowledge³²⁴ of man, while the knowledge of God is absolute perfection.” All these qualities, however—rational, and psychical, and earthly—have, (the Naassene) says, retired and descended into one man simultaneously—Jesus,³²⁵ who was born of Mary. And these three men (the Naassene) says, are in the habit of speaking (through Jesus) at the same time together, each from their own proper substances to those peculiarly their own. For, according to these, there are three kinds of all existent things—angelic, psychical, earthly; and there are three churches—angelic, psychical, earthly; and the names of these are elect, called, captive.



321 παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον. Bernaysius suggests for these words, πατέρα τῶ αὐτῶ λόγῳ. Schneidewin regards the emendation as an error, and Bunsen partly so. The latter would read, πατέρα τὸν αὐτῶν Λόγον, i.e., “The Naasseni honour the Father of all existent things, the Logos, as man and the Son of Man.”

322 See Irenæus, *Hær.*, i. 1.

323 Geryon (see note, chap. iii.) is afterwards mentioned as a synonyme with Jordan, i.e., “flowing from earth” (γῆ ῥύων).

324 γνῶσις,—a term often alluded to by St. John, and which gives its name “Gnosticism” to the various forms of the Ophitic heresy. The aphorism in the text is one that embodies a grand principle which lies at the root of all correct philosophy. In this and other instances it will be found that the system, however wild and incoherent in its theology, of the Naasseni and of some of the other Gnostic sects, was one which was constructed by a subtle analysis of thought, and by observation of nature.

325 The Abbe Cruice remarks on this passage, that, as the statement here as regards Jesus Christ does not correspond with Origen’s remarks on the opinions of the Naasseni in reference to our Lord, the *Philosophumena* cannot be the work of Origen.

Chapter II.—Naasseni Ascribe Their System, Through Mariamne, to James the Lord's Brother; Really Traceable to the Ancient Mysteries; Their Psychology as Given in the "Gospel According to Thomas;" Assyrian Theory of the Soul; The Systems of the Naasseni and the Assyrians Compared; Support Drawn by the Naasseni from the Phrygian and Egyptian Mysteries; The Mysteries of Isis; These Mysteries Allegorized by the Naasseni.

These are the heads of very numerous discourses which (the Naassene) asserts James the brother of the Lord handed down to Mariamne.³²⁶ In order, then, that these impious (heretics) may no longer belie Mariamne or James, or the Saviour Himself, let us come to the mystic rites (whence these have derived their figment),—to a consideration, if it seems right, of both the Barbarian and Grecian (mysteries),—and let us see how these (heretics), collecting together the secret and ineffable mysteries of all the Gentiles, are uttering falsehoods against Christ, and are making dupes of those who are not acquainted with these orgies of the Gentiles. For since the foundation of the doctrine with them is the man Adam, and they say that concerning him it has been written, "Who shall declare his generation?"³²⁷ learn how, partly deriving from the Gentiles the undiscoverable and diversified³²⁸ generation of the man, they fictitiously apply it to Christ.

"Now earth,"³²⁹ say the Greeks, "gave forth a man, (earth) first bearing a goodly gift, wishing to become mother not of plants devoid of sense, nor beasts without reason, but of a gentle and highly favoured creature." "It, however, is difficult," (the Naassene) says, "to ascertain whether Alalcomeneus,³³⁰ first of men, rose upon the Bœotians over Lake Cephissus; or whether it were the Idæan Curetes, a divine race; or the Phrygian Corybantes, whom first the sun beheld springing up after the manner of the growth of trees; or whether Arcadia brought forth Pelasgus, of greater antiquity than the moon; or Eleusis (produced) Diaulus,

326 The Abbe Cruice observes that we have here another proof that the *Philosophumena* is not the work of Origen, who in his *Contra Celsum* mentions Mariamne, but professes not to have met with any of his followers (see *Contr. Cels.*, lib. v. p. 272, ed. Spenc.). This confirms the opinion mostly entertained of Origen, that neither the bent of his mind nor the direction of his studies justify the supposition that he would write a detailed history of heresy.

327 [Isa. liii. 8.](#)

328 Or ἀδιάφορον, equivocal.

329 This has been by the best critics regarded as a fragment of a hymn of Pindar's on Jupiter Ammon. Schneidewin furnishes a restored poetic version of it by Bergk. This hymn, we believe, first suggested to M. Miller an idea of the possible value and importance of the ms. of *The Refutation* brought by Minöides Mynas from Greece.

330 The usual form is Alalcomenes. He was a Bœoian Autochthon.

an inhabitant of Raria; or Lemnus begot Cabirus, fair child of secret orgies; or Pallene (brought forth) the Phlegræan Alcyoneus, oldest of the giants. But the Libyans affirm that Iarbas, first born, on emerging from arid plains, commenced eating the sweet acorn of Jupiter. But the Nile of the Egyptians," he says, "up to this day fertilizing mud, (and therefore) generating animals, renders up living bodies, which acquire flesh from moist vapour." The Assyrians, however, say that fish-eating Oannes³³¹ was (the first man, and) produced among themselves. The Chaldeans, however, say that this Adam is the man whom alone earth brought forth. And that he lay inanimate, unmoved, (and) still as a statue; being an image of him who is above, who is celebrated as the man Adam,³³² having been begotten by many powers, concerning whom individually is an enlarged discussion.



In order, therefore, that finally the Great Man from above may be overpowered, "from whom," as they say, "the whole family named on earth and in the heavens has been formed, to him was given also a soul, that through the soul he might suffer; and that the enslaved image may be punished of the Great and most Glorious and Perfect Man, for even so they call him. Again, then, they ask what is the soul, and whence, and what kind in its nature, that, coming to the man and moving him,³³³ it should enslave and punish the image of the Perfect Man. They do not, however, (on this point) institute an inquiry from the Scriptures, but ask this (question) also from the mystic (rites). And they affirm that the soul is very difficult to discover, and hard to understand; for it does not remain in the same figure or the same form invariably, or in one passive condition, that either one could express it by a sign, or comprehend it substantially.

But they have these varied changes (of the soul) set down in the gospel inscribed "according to the Egyptians."³³⁴ They are, then, in doubt, as all the rest of men among the Gentiles, whether (the soul) is at all from something pre-existent, or whether from the self-

331 Or, "Iannes." The Abbe Cruice refers to Berosus, *Chald. Hist.*, pp. 48, 49, and to his own dissertation (Paris, 1844) on the authority to be attached to Josephus, as regards the writers adduced by him in his treatise *Contr. Apion*.

332 The Rabbins, probably deriving their notions from the Chaldeans, entertained the most exaggerated ideas respecting the perfection of Adam. Thus Gerson, in his *Commentary on Abarbanel*, says that "Adam was endued with the very perfection of wisdom, and was chief of philosophers, that he was an immediate disciple of the Deity, also a physician and astrologer, and the originator of all the arts and sciences." This spirit of exaggeration passed from the Jews to the Christians (see *Clementine Homilies*, ii.). Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.*, pars i. 94) says of Adam, "Since the first man was appointed perfect, he ought to have possessed a knowledge of everything capable of being ascertained by natural means."

333 Or, "vanquishing him" (Roeper).

334 This is known to us only by some ancient quotations. The Naasseni had another work of repute among them, the "Gospel according to Thomas." Bunsen conjectures that the two "Gospels" may be the same.

produced (one),³³⁵ or from a widespread Chaos. And first they fly for refuge to the mysteries of the Assyrians, perceiving the threefold division of the man; for the Assyrians first advanced the opinion that the soul has three parts, and yet (is essentially) one. For of soul, say they, is every nature desirous, and each in a different manner. For soul is cause of all things made; all things that are nourished, (the Naassene) says, and that grow, require soul. For it is not possible, he says, to obtain any nourishment or growth where soul is not present. For even stones, he affirms, are animated, for they possess what is capable of increase; but increase would not at any time take place without nourishment, for it is by accession that things which are being increased grow, but accession is the nourishment of things that are nurtured. Every nature, then, (the Naassene) says, of things celestial, and earthly, and infernal, desires a soul. And an entity of this description the Assyrians call Adonis or Endymion;³³⁶ and when it is styled Adonis, Venus, he says, loves and desires the soul when styled by such a name. But Venus is production, according to them. But whenever Proserpine or Cora becomes enamoured with Adonis, there results, he says, a certain mortal soul separated from Venus (that is, from generation). But should the Moon pass into concupiscence for Endymion, and into love of her form, the nature,³³⁷ he says, of the higher beings requires a soul likewise. But if, he says, the mother of the gods emasculate Attis,³³⁸ and herself has this (person) as an object of affection, the blessed nature, he says, of the supernal and everlasting (beings) alone recalls the male power of the soul to itself.

For (the Naassene) says, there is the hermaphrodite man. According to this account of theirs, the intercourse of woman with man is demonstrated, in conformity with such teaching, to be an exceedingly wicked and filthy (practice).³³⁹ For, says (the Naassene), Attis has been emasculated, that is, he has passed over from the earthly parts of the nether world to the everlasting substance above, where, he says, there is neither female or male,³⁴⁰ but a new creature,³⁴¹ a new man, which is hermaphrodite. As to where, however, they use the expression “above,” I shall show when I come to the proper place (for treating this subject). But they assert that, by their account, they testify that Rhea is not absolutely isolated, but—for

335 αὐτογενεὺς. Miller has αὐτοῦ γένους, which Bunsen rejects in favour of the reading “self-begotten.”

336 Schneidewin considers that there have been left out in the ms. the words “or Attis” after Endymion. Attis is subsequently mentioned with some degree of particularity.

337 Or, “creation.”

338 Or, “Apis.” See Diodorus Siculus, iii. 58, 59. Pausanias, vii. 20, writes the word Attes. See also Minucius Felix, *Octav.*, cap. xxi.

339 Or, “forbidden.”

340 Gal. iii. 28, and Clement’s *Epist. ad Rom.*, ii. 12. [This is the apocryphal Clement reserved for vol. viii. of this series. See also same text, Ignatius, vol. i. p. 81.]

341 See 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi 15.

so I may say—the universal creature; and this they declare to be what is affirmed by the Word. “For the invisible things of Him are seen from the creation of the world, being understood by the things that are made by Him, even His eternal power and Godhead, for the purpose of leaving them without excuse. Wherefore, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, nor gave Him thanks; but their foolish heart was rendered vain. For, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into images of the likeness of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore also God gave them up unto vile affections; for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature.” What, however, the natural use is, according to them, we shall afterwards declare. “And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly”—now the expression that which is unseemly signifies, according to these (Naasseni), the first and blessed substance, figureless, the cause of all figures to those things that are moulded into shapes,—“and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet.”³⁴² For in these words which Paul has spoken they say the entire secret of theirs, and a hidden mystery of blessed pleasure, are comprised. For the promise of washing is not any other, according to them, than the introduction of him that is washed in, according to them, life-giving water, and anointed with ineffable³⁴³ ointment (than his introduction) into unfading bliss.

But they assert that not only is there in favour of their doctrine, testimony to be drawn from the mysteries of the Assyrians, but also from those of the Phrygians concerning the happy nature—concealed, and yet at the same time disclosed—of things that have been, and are coming into existence, and moreover will be,—(a happy nature) which, (the Naassene) says, is the kingdom of heaven to be sought for within a man.³⁴⁴ And concerning this (nature) they hand down an explicit passage, occurring³⁴⁵ in the Gospel inscribed according to Thomas,³⁴⁶ expressing themselves thus: “He who seeks me, will find me in children from seven years old; for there concealed, I shall in the fourteenth age be made manifest.” This,

342 [Rom. i. 20–27.](#)

343 ἀλάλῳ; some read ἄλλῳ.

344 [Luke xvii. 21.](#)

345 These words do not occur in the “Gospel of Thomas concerning the Saviour’s infancy,” as given by Fabricius and Thilo.

346 The Abbe Cruice mentions the following works as of authority among the Naasseni, and from whence they derived their system: *The Gospel of Perfection, Gospel of Eve, The Questions of Mary, Concerning the Offspring of Mary, The Gospel of Philip, The Gospel according to (1) Thomas, (2) the Egyptians.* (See Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, c. xxvi., and Origen, *Contr. Cels.*, vi. 30, p. 296, ed. Spenc.) These heretics likewise make use of the Old Testament, St. John’s Gospel, and some of the Pauline epistles.

however, is not (the teaching) of Christ, but of Hippocrates, who uses these words: “A child of seven years is half of a father.” And so it is that these (heretics), placing the originative nature of the universe in causative seed, (and) having ascertained the (aphorism) of Hippocrates,³⁴⁷ that a child of seven years old is half of a father, say that in fourteen years, according to Thomas, he is manifested. This, with them, is the ineffable and mystical Logos. They assert, then, that the Egyptians, who after the Phrygians,³⁴⁸ it is established, are of greater antiquity than all mankind, and who confessedly were the first to proclaim to all the rest of men the rites and orgies of, at the same time, all the gods, as well as the species and energies (of things), have the sacred and august, and for those who are not initiated, unspeakable mysteries of Isis. These, however, are not anything else than what by her of the seven dresses and sable robe was sought and snatched away, namely, the *pudendum* of Osiris. And they say that Osiris is water.³⁴⁹ But the seven-robed nature, encircled and arrayed with seven mantles of ethereal texture—for so they call the planetary stars, allegorizing and denominating them ethereal³⁵⁰ robes,—is as it were the changeable generation, and is exhibited as the creature transformed by the ineffable and unportrayable,³⁵¹ and inconceivable and figureless one. And this, (the Naassene) says, is what is declared in Scripture, “The just will fall seven times, and rise again.”³⁵² For these falls, he says, are the changes of the stars, moved by Him who puts all things in motion.

They affirm, then, concerning the substance³⁵³ of the seed which is a cause of all existent things, that it is none of these, but that it produces and forms all things that are made, expressing themselves thus: “I become what I wish, and I am what I am: on account of this I say, that what puts all things in motion is itself unmoved. For what exists remains forming all things, and nought of existing things is made.”³⁵⁴ He says that this (one) alone is good, and that what is spoken by the Saviour³⁵⁵ is declared concerning this (one): “Why do you say that am good? One is good, my Father which is in the heavens, who causeth His sun to rise upon the just and unjust, and sendeth rain upon saints and sinners.”³⁵⁶ But who the saintly ones are on whom He sends the rain, and the sinners on whom the same sends the

347 Miller refers to Littré, *Traduct. des Œuvres d'Hippocrate*, t. i. p. 396.

348 See Herodotus, ii. 2, 5.

349 See Origen, *Contr. Cels.*, v. 38 (p. 257, ed. Spenc.).

350 Or, “brilliant.”

351 Or, “untraceable.”

352 [Prov. xxiv. 16](#); [Luke xvii. 4](#).

353 Or, “spirit.”

354 See Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, xxvi. 8.

355 [Matt. xix. 17](#); [Mark x. 18](#); [Luke xviii. 19](#).

356 [Matt. v. 45](#).

rain, this likewise we shall afterwards declare with the rest. And this is the great and secret and unknown mystery of the universe, concealed and revealed among the Egyptians. For Osiris,³⁵⁷ (the Naassene) says, is in temples in front of Isis;³⁵⁸ and his *pudendum* stands exposed, looking downwards, and crowned with all its own fruits of things that are made. And (he affirms) that such stands not only in the most hallowed temples chief of idols, but that also, for the information of all, it is as it were a light not set under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, proclaiming its message upon the housetops,³⁵⁹ in all byways, and all streets, and near the actual dwellings, placed in front as a certain appointed limit and termination of the dwelling, and that this is denominated the good (entity) by all. For they style this good-producing, not knowing what they say. And the Greeks, deriving this mystical (expression) from the Egyptians, preserve it until this day. For we behold, says (the Naassene), statues of Mercury, of such a figure honoured among them.

Worshipping, however, Cyllenius with especial distinction, they style him Logios. For Mercury is Logos, who being interpreter and fabricator of the things that have been made simultaneously, and that are being produced, and that will exist, stands honoured among them, fashioned into some such figure as is the *pudendum* of a man, having an impulsive power from the parts below towards those above. And that this (deity)—that is, a Mercury of this description—is, (the Naassene) says, a conjurer of the dead, and a guide of departed spirits, and an originator of souls; nor does this escape the notice of the poets, who express themselves thus:—

“Cyllenian Hermes also called
The souls of mortal suitors.”³⁶⁰

Not Penelope’s suitors, says he, O wretches! but (souls) awakened and brought to recollection of themselves,

“From honour so great, and from bliss so long.”³⁶¹

That is, from the blessed man from above, or the primal man or Adam, as it seems to them, *souls* have been conveyed down here into a creation of clay, that they may serve the Demiurge of this creation, Ialdabaoth,³⁶² a fiery God, a fourth number; for so they call the Demiurge and father of the formal world:—

357 Miller has οὐδεὶς. See Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osirid.*, c. li. p. 371.

358 Or, εἰσόδου, i.e., entrance.

359 [Matt. v. 15; x. 27.](#)

360 *Odyssey*, xxiv. 1.

361 Empedocles, v. 390, Stein.

362 Esaldaius, Miller (see Origen, *Const. Cels.*, v. 76, p. 297, ed. Spenc.).

“And in hand he held a lovely
Wand of gold that human eyes enchants,
Of whom he will, and those again who slumber rouses.”³⁶³

This, he says, is he who alone has power of life and death. Concerning this, he says, it has been written, “Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron.”³⁶⁴ The poet, however, he says, being desirous of adorning the incomprehensible (potency) of the blessed nature of the Logos, invested him with not an iron, but golden wand. And he enchants the eyes of the dead, as he says, and raises up again those that are slumbering, after having been roused from sleep, and after having been suitors. And concerning these, he says, the Scripture speaks: “Awake thou that sleepest, and arise, and Christ will give thee light.”³⁶⁵

This is the Christ who, he says, in all that have been generated, is the portrayed Son of Man from the unportrayable Logos. This, he says, is the great and unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinian rites, Hye, Cye.³⁶⁶ And he affirms that all things have been subjected unto him, and this is that which has been spoken, “Their sound is gone forth unto all the earth,”³⁶⁷ just as it agrees with the expressions, “Mercury³⁶⁸ waving his wand, *guides the souls*, but they twittering follow.” I mean the disembodied spirits follow continuously in such a way as the poet by his imagery delineates, using these words:—

“And as when in the magic cave’s recess
Bats humming fly, and when one drops
From ridge of rock, and each to other closely clings.”³⁶⁹

The expression “rock,” he says, he uses of Adam. This, he affirms, is Adam: “The chief corner-stone become the head of the corner.”³⁷⁰ For that in the head the substance is the formative brain from which the entire family is fashioned.³⁷¹ “Whom,” he says, “I place as a rock at the foundations of Zion.” Allegorizing, he says, he speaks of the creation of the man. The rock is interposed (within) the teeth, as Homer³⁷² says, “enclosure of teeth,” that is, a wall and fortress, in which exists the inner man, who thither has fallen from Adam, the

363 *Odyssey*, xxiv. 2.

364 [Ps. ii. 9.](#)

365 [Eph. v. 14.](#)

366 See Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, c. xxxiv.

367 [Rom. x. 18.](#)

368 *Odyssey*, xxiv. 5.

369 *Ibid.*, xxiv. 6 et seq.

370 [Ps. cxviii. 22](#); [Isa. xxviii. 16.](#)

371 [Eph. iii. 15.](#)

372 *Iliad*, iv. 350, ἔρκος ὀδόντων:— “What word hath ’scaped the ivory guard that should Have fenced it in.”

primal man above. And he has been “severed without hands to effect the division,”³⁷³ and has been borne down into the image of oblivion, *being earthly and clayish*. And he asserts that the twittering spirits follow him, that is, the Logos:—

“Thus these, twittering, came together; and then the souls

That is, he guides them;

Gentle Hermes led through wide-extended paths.”³⁷⁴

That is, he says, into the eternal places separated from all wickedness. For whither, he says, did they come:—

“O’er ocean’s streams they came, and Leuca’s cliff,

And by the portals of the sun and land of dreams.”

This, he says, is ocean, “generation of gods and generation of men”³⁷⁵ ever whirled round by the eddies of water, at one time upwards, at another time downwards. But he says there ensues a generation of men when the ocean flows downwards; but when upwards to the wall and fortress and the cliff of Luecas, a generation of gods takes place. This, he asserts, is that which has been written: “I said, Ye are gods, and all children of the highest;”³⁷⁶ “If ye hasten to fly out of Egypt, and repair beyond the Red Sea into the wilderness,” that is, from earthly intercourse to the Jerusalem above, which is the mother of the living;³⁷⁷ “If, moreover, again you return into Egypt,” that is, into earthly intercourse,³⁷⁸ “ye shall die as men.” For mortal, he says, is every generation below, but immortal that which is begotten above, for it is born of water only, and of spirit, being spiritual, not carnal. But what (is born) below is carnal, that is, he says, what is written. “That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit.”³⁷⁹ This, according to them, is the spiritual generation. This, he says, is the great Jordan³⁸⁰ which, flowing on (here) below, and preventing the children of Israel from departing out of Egypt—I mean from terrestrial intercourse, for Egypt is with them the body,—Jesus drove back, and made it flow upwards.

373 [Dan. ii. 45.](#)

374 [Odyssey](#), xxiv. 9.

375 [Iliad](#), v. 246, xxiv. 201.

376 [Ps. lxxxii. 6](#); [Luke vi. 35](#); [John x. 34](#).

377 [Gal. iv. 26](#).

378 Philo Judæus adopts the same imagery (see his *De Agricult.*, lib. i.).

379 [John iii. 6](#).

380 [Josh. iii. 7–17](#).

Chapter III.—Further Exposition of the Heresy of the Naasseni; Profess to Follow Homer; Acknowledge a Triad of Principles; Their Technical Names of the Triad; Support These on the Authority of Greek Poets; Allegorize Our Saviour's Miracles; The Mystery of the Samothracians; Why the Lord Chose Twelve Disciples; The Name Corybas, Used by Thracians and Phrygians, Explained; Naasseni Profess to Find Their System in Scripture; Their Interpretation of Jacob's Vision; Their Idea of the "Perfect Man;" The "Perfect Man" Called "Papa" By the Phrygians; The Naasseni and Phrygians on the Resurrection; The Ecstasis of St. Paul; The Mysteries of Religion as Alluded to by Christ; Interpretation of the Parable of the Sower; Allegory of the Promised Land; Comparison of the System of the Phrygians with the Statements of Scripture; Exposition of the Meaning of the Higher and Lower Eleusinian Mysteries; The Incarnation Discoverable Here According to the Naasseni.

Adopting these and such like (opinions), these most marvellous Gnostics, inventors of a novel³⁸¹ grammatical art, magnify Homer as their prophet—as one, (according to them,) who, after the mode adopted in the mysteries, announces these truths; and they mock those who are not indoctrinated into the holy Scriptures, by betraying them into such notions. They make, however, the following assertion: he who says that all things derive consistence from one, is in error; but he who says that they are of three, is in possession of the truth, and will furnish a solution of the (phenomena of the) universe. For there is, says (the Naassene), one blessed nature of the Blessed Man, of him who is above, (namely) Adam; and there is one mortal nature, that which is below; and there is one kingless generation, which is begotten above, where, he says, is Mariam³⁸² the sought-for one, and Iothor the mighty sage, and Sephora the gazing one, and Moses whose generation is not in Egypt, for children were born unto him in Madian; and not even this, he says, has escaped the notice of the poets.

"Threefold was our partition; each obtained
His meed of honour due."³⁸³

For, says he, it is necessary that the magnitudes be declared, and that they thus be declared by all everywhere, "in order that hearing they may not hear, and seeing they may not see."³⁸⁴ For if, he says, the magnitudes were not declared, the world could not have obtained

381 Or, "empty."

382 The Abbe Cruice considers that this is taken from verses of Ezekiel, founding his opinion on fragments of these verses to be found in Eusebius' *Præparat. Evang.*, ix. 38.

383 *Iliad*, xv. 189.

384 [Matt. xiii. 13.](#)

consistence. These are the three tumid expressions (of these heretics), Caulacau,³⁸⁵ Saulasau, Zeesar, i.e., Adam, who is farthest above; Saulasau, that is, the mortal one below; Zeesar, that is, Jordan that flows upwards. This, he says, is the hermaphrodite man (present) in all. But those who are ignorant of him, call him Geryon with the threefold body—Geryon, i.e., as if (in the sense of) flowing from earth—but (whom) the Greeks by common consent (style) “celestial horn of the moon,” because he mixed and blended all things in all. “For all things,” he says, “were made by him, and not even one thing was made without him, and what was made in him is life.”³⁸⁶ This, says he, is the life, the ineffable generation of perfect men, which was not known by preceding generations. But the passage, “nothing was made without him,” refers to the formal world, for it was created without his instrumentality by the third and fourth (of the quaternion named above). For says he, this is the cup “Condy, out of which the king, while he quaffs, draws his omens.”³⁸⁷ This, he says, has been discovered hid in the beauteous seeds of Benjamin. And the Greeks likewise, he says, speak of this in the following terms:—

“Water to the raging mouth bring; thou slave, bring wine;
Intoxicate and plunge me into stupor.
My tankard tells me
The sort I must become.”³⁸⁸

This, says he, was alone sufficient for its being understood by men; (I mean) the cup of Anacreon declaring, (albeit) mutely, an ineffable mystery. For dumb, says he, is Anacreon’s cup; and (yet) Anacreon affirms that it speaks to himself, in language mute, as to what sort he must become—that is spiritual, not carnal—if he shall listen in silence to the concealed mystery. And this is the water in those fair nuptials which Jesus changing made into wine. This, he says, is the mighty and true beginning of miracles³⁸⁹ which Jesus performed in Cana of Galilee, and (thus) manifested the kingdom of heaven. This, says he, is the kingdom of heaven that reposes within us as a treasure, as leaven hid in the three measures of meal.³⁹⁰

This is, he says, the great and ineffable mystery of the Samothracians, which it is allowable, he says, for us only who are initiated to know. For the Samothracians expressly hand

385 The commentators refer to [Isa. xxviii. 10](#). Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, xxv., mentions these expressions, but assigns them a different meaning. *Saulasau* is tribulation, *Caulacau* hope, and *Zeesar* “hope, as yet, little.” [See my note on *Irenæus*, p. 350, this series, and see Elucidation II.]

386 [John i. 3, 4](#).

387 [Gen. xlv. 2–5](#).

388 Taken from Anacreon.

389 [John ii. 1–11](#).

390 [Matt. xiii. 33, 34](#); [Luke xvii. 21](#).

down, in the mysteries that are celebrated among them, that (same) Adam as the primal man. And habitually there stand in the temple of the Samothracians two images of naked men, having both hands stretched aloft towards heaven, and their *pudenda erecta*, as with the statue of Mercury on Mount Cyllene. And the aforesaid images are figures of the primal man, and of that spiritual one that is born again, in every respect of the same substance with that man. This, he says, is what is spoken by the Saviour: "If ye do not drink my blood, and eat my flesh, ye will not enter into the kingdom of heaven; but even though," He says, "ye drink of the cup which I drink of, whither I go, ye cannot enter there."³⁹¹ For He says He was aware of what sort of nature each of His disciples was, and that there was a necessity that each of them should attain unto His own peculiar nature. For He says He chose twelve disciples from the twelve tribes, and spoke by them to each tribe. On this account, He says, the preachings of the twelve disciples neither did all hear, nor, if they heard, could they receive. For the things that are not according to nature, are with them contrary to nature.

This, he says, the Thracians who dwell around Hæmus, and the Phrygians similarly with the Thracians, denominate Corybas, because, (though) deriving the beginning of his descent from the head above and from the unportrayed brain, and (though) permeating all the principles of the existing state of things, (yet) we do not perceive how and in what manner he comes down. This, says he, is what is spoken: "We have heard his voice, no doubt, but we have not seen his shape."³⁹² For the voice of him that is set apart³⁹³ and portrayed is heard; but (his) shape, which descends from above from the unportrayed one,—what sort it is, nobody knows. It resides, however, in an earthly mould, yet no one recognises it. This, he says, is "the god that inhabiteth the flood," according to the Psalter, "and who speaketh and crieth from many waters."³⁹⁴ The "many waters," he says, are the diversified generation of mortal men, from which (generation) he cries and vociferates to the unportrayed man, saying, "Preserve my only-begotten from the lions."³⁹⁵ In reply to him, it has, says he, been declared, "Israel, thou art my child: fear not; even though thou passest through rivers, they shall not drown thee; even though thou passest through fire, it shall not scorch thee."³⁹⁶ By rivers he means, says he, the moist substance of generation, and by fire the impulsive principle and desire for generation. "Thou art mine; fear not." And again, he says, "If a mother forget her children, so as not to have pity on them and give them food, I also will forget you."³⁹⁷

391 [John vi. 53; Mark x. 38.](#)

392 [John v. 37.](#)

393 ἀποτεταγμένου: some read ἀποτεταμένου.

394 [Ps. xxix. 3, 10.](#)

395 [Ps. xxii. 20, 21; xxxv. 17.](#)

396 [Isa. xli. 8; xliii. 1, 2.](#)

397 [Isa. xlix. 15.](#)

Adam, he says, speaks to his own men: “But even though a woman forget these things, yet I will not forget you. I have painted you on my hands.” In regard, however, of his ascension, that is his regeneration, that he may become spiritual, not carnal, the Scripture, he says, speaks (thus): “Open the gates, ye who are your rulers; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in,” that is a wonder of wonders.³⁹⁸ “For who,” he says, “is this King of glory? A worm, and not a man; a reproach of man, and an outcast of the people; himself is the King of glory, and powerful in war.”³⁹⁹

And by war he means the war that is in the body, because its frame has been made out of hostile elements; as it has been written, he says, “Remember the conflict that exists in the body.”⁴⁰⁰ Jacob, he says, saw this entrance and this gate in his journey into Mesopotamia, that is, when from a child he was now becoming a youth and a man; that is, (the entrance and gate) were made known unto him as he journeyed into Mesopotamia. But Mesopotamia, he says, is the current of the great ocean flowing from the midst of the Perfect Man; and he was astonished at the celestial gate, exclaiming, “How terrible is this place! it is nought else than the house of God, and this (is) the gate of heaven.”⁴⁰¹ On account of this, he says, Jesus uses the words, “I am the true gate.”⁴⁰² Now he who makes these statements is, he says, the Perfect Man that is imaged from the unportrayable one from above. The Perfect Man therefore cannot, he says, be saved, unless, entering in through this gate, he be born again. But this very one the Phrygians, he says, call also Papa, because he tranquillized all things which, prior to his manifestation, were confusedly and dissonantly moved. For the name, he says, of Papa belongs simultaneously to all creatures⁴⁰³—celestial, and terrestrial, and infernal—who exclaim, *Cause to cease, cause to cease the discord of the world, and make* “peace for those that are afar off,” that is, for material and earthly beings; and “peace for those that are near,”⁴⁰⁴ that is, for perfect men that are spiritual and endued with reason. But the Phrygians denominate this same also “corpse”—buried in the body, as it were, in a mausoleum and tomb. This, he says, is what has been declared, “Ye are whited sepulchres, full,” he says, “of dead men’s bones within,”⁴⁰⁵ because there is not in you the living man. And again he exclaims, “The dead shall start forth from the graves,”⁴⁰⁶ that is, from the

398 [Ps. xxiv. 7–9.](#)

399 [Ps. xxii. 6; xxiv. 8.](#)

400 This is a quotation from the Septuagint, [Job xl. 27](#). The reference to the authorized (English) version would be xli. 8.

401 [Gen. xxviii. 7, 17.](#)

402 [John x. 9; Matt. vii. 13.](#)

403 [A strange amplifying of the word, which is now claimed exclusively for one. Elucidation III.]

404 [Eph. ii. 17.](#)

405 [Matt. xxiii. 27.](#)

406 [Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.](#)

earthly bodies, being born again spiritual, not carnal. For this, he says, is the Resurrection that takes place through the gate of heaven, through which, he says, all those that do not enter remain dead. These same Phrygians, however, he says, affirm again that this very (man), as a consequence of the change, (becomes) a god. For, he says, he becomes a god when, having risen from the dead, he will enter into heaven through a gate of this kind. Paul the apostle, he says, knew of this gate, partially opening it in a mystery, and stating “that he was caught up by an angel, and ascended as far as the second and third heaven into paradise itself; and that he beheld sights and heard unspeakable words which it would not be possible for man to declare.”⁴⁰⁷

These are, he says, what are by all called the secret mysteries, “which (also we speak), not in words taught of human wisdom, but in those taught of the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him.”⁴⁰⁸ And these are, he says, the ineffable mysteries of the Spirit, which we alone are acquainted with. Concerning these, he says, the Saviour has declared, “No one can come unto me, except my heavenly Father draw some one unto me.”⁴⁰⁹ For it is very difficult, he says, to accept and receive this great and ineffable mystery. And again, it is said, the Saviour has declared, “Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.”⁴¹⁰ And it is necessary that they who perform this (will), not hear it merely, should enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again, he says, the Saviour has declared, “The publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before you.”⁴¹¹ For “the publicans,” he says, are those who receive the revenues⁴¹² of all things;⁴¹³ but we, he says, are the publicans, “unto whom the ends of the ages have come.”⁴¹⁴ For “the ends,” he says, are the seeds scattered from the unportrayable one upon the world, through which the whole cosmical system is completed; for through these also it began to exist. And this, he says, is what has been declared: “The sower went forth to sow. And some fell by the wayside, and was trodden down; and some on the rocky places, and sprang up,” he says, “and on account of its having no depth (of soil), it withered and died; and some,” he says, “fell on fair and good ground, and brought forth fruit, some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty fold. Who hath ears,”

407 [2 Cor. xii. 2.](#)

408 [1 Cor. ii. 13, 14.](#)

409 [John vi. 44.](#)

410 [Matt. vii. 21.](#)

411 [Matt. xxi. 31.](#)

412 The word translated “revenues” and “ends” is the same—τέλη

413 τῶν ὅλων: some read τῶν ὠνίων

414 [1 Cor. x. 11.](#)

he says, “to hear, let him hear.”⁴¹⁵ The meaning of this, he says, is as follows, that none becomes a hearer of these mysteries, unless only the perfect Gnostics. This, he says, is the fair and good land which Moses speaks of: “I will bring you into a fair and good land, into a land flowing with milk and honey.”⁴¹⁶ This, he says, is the honey and the milk, by tasting which those that are perfect become kingless, and share in the Pleroma. This, he says, is the Pleroma, through which all existent things that are produced⁴¹⁷ have from the ingenerable one been both produced and completed.

And this same (one) is styled also by⁴¹⁸ the Phrygians “unfruitful.” For he is unfruitful when he is carnal, and causes the desire of the flesh. This, he says, is what is spoken: “Every tree not producing good fruit, is cut down and cast into the fire.”⁴¹⁹ For these fruits, he says, are only rational living men, who enter in through the third gate. They say, forsooth, “Ye devour the dead, and make the living; (but) if ye eat the living, what will ye do?” They assert, however, that the living “are rational faculties and minds, and men—pearls of that unportrayable one cast before the creature below.”⁴²⁰ This, he says, is what (Jesus) asserts: “Throw not that which is holy unto the dogs, nor pearls unto the swine.”⁴²¹ Now they allege that the work of swine and dogs is the intercourse of the woman with a man. And the Phrygians, he says, call this very one “goat-herd” (Aipolis), not because, he says, he is accustomed to feed the goats female and male, as the natural (men) use the name, but because, he says, he is “Aipolis”—that is, always ranging over,—who both revolves and carries around the entire cosmical system by his revolutionary motion. For the word “Polein” signifies to turn and change things; whence, he says, they all call the twos centre of the heaven poles (Poloi). And the poet says:—

“What sea-born sinless sage comes hither,
Undying Egyptian Proteus?”⁴²²

He is not undone,⁴²³ he says,⁴²⁴ but revolves as it were, and goes round himself. Moreover, also, cities in which we dwell, because we turn and go round in them, are denom-

415 [Matt. xiii. 3–9; Mark iv. 3–9; Luke viii. 5–8.](#)

416 [Deut. xxxi. 20.](#)

417 Or, “genera.”

418 ὑπὸ: Miller reads ἀπὸ

419 [Matt. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.](#)

420 κάτω: some read κάρπου

421 [Matt. vii. 6.](#)

422 *Odyssey*, iv. 384.

423 *πιπράσκεται*; literally, bought and sold, i.e., ruined.

424 λέγει: some read ἀμέλει, i.e., doubtless, of course.

inated “Poleis.” In this manner, he says, the Phrygians call this one “Aipolis,” inasmuch as he everywhere ceaselessly turns all things, and changes them into their own peculiar (functions). And the Phrygians style him, he says, “very fruitful” likewise, “because,” says he, “more numerous are the children of the desolate one, than those of her which hath an husband;”⁴²⁵ that is, things by being born again become immortal and abide for ever in great numbers, even though the things that are produced may be few; whereas things carnal, he says, are all corruptible, even though very many things (of this type) are produced. For this reason, he says, “Rachel wept⁴²⁶ for her children, and would not,” says (the prophet), “be comforted; sorrowing for them, for she knew,” says he, “that they are not.”⁴²⁷ But Jeremiah likewise utters lamentation for Jerusalem below, not the city in Phœnicia, but the corruptible generation below. For Jeremiah likewise, he says, was aware of the Perfect Man, of him that is born again—of water and the Spirit not carnal. At least Jeremiah himself remarked: “He is a man, and who shall know him?”⁴²⁸ In this manner, (the Naassene) says, the knowledge of the Perfect Man is exceedingly profound, and difficult of comprehension. For, he says, the beginning of perfection is a knowledge of man, whereas knowledge of God is absolute perfection.

The Phrygians, however, assert, he says, that he is likewise “a green ear of corn reaped.” And after the Phrygians, the Athenians, while initiating people into the Eleusinian rites, likewise display to those who are being admitted to the highest grade at these mysteries, the mighty, and marvellous, and most perfect secret suitable for one initiated into the highest mystic truths: (I allude to) an ear of corn in silence reaped. But this ear of corn is also (considered) among the Athenians to constitute the perfect enormous illumination (that has descended) from the unportrayable one, just as the Hierophant himself (declares); not, indeed, emasculated like Attis,⁴²⁹ but made a eunuch by means of hemlock, and despising⁴³⁰ all carnal generation. (Now) by night in Eleusis, beneath a huge fire, (the Celebrant) enacting the great and secret mysteries, vociferates and cries aloud, saying, “August Brimo has brought forth a consecrated son, Brimus;” that is, a potent (mother has been delivered of) a potent child. But revered, he says, is the generation that is spiritual, heavenly, from above, and potent is he that is so born. For the mystery is called “Eleusin” and “Anactorium.” “Eleusin,”

425 [Isa. liv. 1](#); [Gal. iv. 27](#).

426 ἔκλαιε: this is in the margin; ἔλαβε is in the ms. The marginal reading is the proper correction of that of the ms.

427 [Jer. xxxi. 15](#); [Matt. ii. 18](#).

428 [Jer. xvii. 9](#).

429 [The Phrygian Atys (see cap. iv. *infra*), whose history should have saved Origen from an imitation of heathenism.]

430 παρητημένος: some read ἀπρητισμένος, i.e., perfecting.

because, he says, we who are spiritual come flowing down from Adam above; for the word “*eleusesthai*” is, he says, of the same import with the expression “to come.” But “Anactorium” is of the same import with the expression “to ascend upwards.” This, he says, is what they affirm who have been initiated in the mysteries of the Eleusinians. It is, however, a regulation of law, that those who have been admitted into the lesser should again be initiated into the Great Mysteries. For greater destinies obtain greater portions. But the inferior mysteries, he says, are those of Proserpine below; in regard of which mysteries, and the path which leads thither, which is wide and spacious, and conducts those that are perishing to Proserpine, the poet likewise says:—

“But under her a fearful path extends,
Hollow, miry, yet best guide to
Highly-honoured Aphrodite’s lovely grove.”⁴³¹

These, he says, are the inferior mysteries, those appertaining to carnal generation. Now, those men who are initiated into these inferior (mysteries) ought to pause, and (then) be admitted into the great (and) heavenly (ones). For they, he says, who obtain their shares (in this mystery), receive greater portions. For this, he says, is the gate of heaven; and this a house of God, where the Good Deity dwells alone. And into this (gate), he says, no unclean person shall enter, nor one that is natural or carnal; but it is reserved for the spiritual only. And those who come hither ought to cast off⁴³² their garments, and become all of them bridegrooms, emasculated through the virginal spirit. For this is the virgin⁴³³ who carries in her womb and conceives and brings forth a son, not animal, not corporeal, but blessed for evermore. Concerning these, it is said, the Saviour has expressly declared that “straight and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there are that enter upon it; whereas broad and spacious is the way that leadeth unto destruction, and many there are that pass through it.”⁴³⁴



431 These verses have been ascribed to Parmenides.

432 Or, “receive.”

433 [Isa. vii. 14.](#)

434 [Matt. vii. 13, 14.](#)

Chapter IV.—Further Use Made of the System of the Phrygians; Mode of Celebrating the Mysteries; The Mystery of the “Great Mother;” These Mysteries Have a Joint Object of Worship with the Naasseni; The Naasseni Allegorize the Scriptural Account of the Garden of Eden; The Allegory Applied to the Life of Jesus.

The Phrygians, however, further assert that the father of the universe is “Amygdalus,” not a tree, he says, but that he is “Amygdalus” who previously existed; and he having in himself the perfect fruit, as it were, throbbing and moving in the depth, rent his breasts, and produced his now invisible, and nameless, and ineffable child, respecting whom we shall speak. For the word “Amyxai” signifies, as it were, to burst and sever through, as he says (happens) in the case of inflamed bodies, and which have in themselves any tumour; and when doctors have cut this, they call it “Amychai.” In this way, he says, the Phrygians call him “Amygdalus,” from which proceeded and was born the Invisible (One), “by whom all things were made, and nothing was made without Him.”⁴³⁵ And the Phrygians say that what has been thence produced is “Syrictas” (piper), because the Spirit that is born is harmonious. “For God,” he says, “is Spirit; wherefore,” he affirms, “neither in this mountain do the true worshippers worship, nor in Jerusalem, but in spirit. For the adoration of the perfect ones,” he says, “is spiritual, not carnal.”⁴³⁶ The Spirit, however, he says, is there where likewise the Father is named, and the Son is there born from this Father. This, he says, is the many-named, thousand-eyed Incomprehensible One, of whom every nature—each, however, differently—is desirous. This, he says, is the word of God, which, he says, is a word of revelation of the Great Power. Wherefore it will be sealed, and hid, and concealed, lying in the habitation where lies the basis of the root of the universe, viz. Æons, Powers, Intelligences, Gods, Angels, delegated Spirits, Entities, Nonentities, Generables, Ingenerables, Incomprehensibles, Comprehensibles, Years, Months, Days, Hours, (and) Invisible Point from which⁴³⁷ what is least begins to increase gradually. That which is, he says, nothing, and which consists of nothing, inasmuch as it is indivisible—(I mean) a point—will become through its own reflective power a certain incomprehensible magnitude. This, he says, is the kingdom of heaven, the grain of mustard seed,⁴³⁸ the point which is indivisible in the body; and, he says, no one knows this (point) save the spiritual only. This, he says, is what has been spoken: “There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.”⁴³⁹

435 [John i. 3.](#)

436 [John iv. 21.](#)

437 $\epsilon\tilde{\xi} \tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ or $\epsilon\tilde{\xi}\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$, i.e., next.

438 [Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Mark iv. 31, 32; Luke xiii. 19.](#)

439 [Ps. xix. 3.](#)

They rashly assume in this manner, that whatsoever things have been said and done by all men, (may be made to harmonize) with their own particular mental view, alleging that all things become spiritual. Whence likewise they assert, that those exhibiting themselves in theatres,—not even these say or do anything without premeditation. Therefore, he says, when, on the people assembling in the theatres, any one enters clad in a remarkable robe, carrying a harp and playing a tune (upon it, accompanying it) with a song of the great mysteries, he speaks as follows, not knowing what he says: “Whether (thou art) the race of Saturn or happy Jupiter,⁴⁴⁰ or mighty Rhea, Hail, Attis, gloomy mutilation of Rhea. Assyrians style thee thrice-longed-for Adonis, and the whole of Egypt (calls thee) Osiris, celestial horn of the moon; Greeks denominate (thee) Wisdom; Samothracians, venerable Adam; Hæmōnians, Corybas; and them Phrygians (name thee) at one time Papa, at another time Corpse, or God, or Fruitless, or Aipolos, or green Ear of Corn that has been reaped, or whom the very fertile Amygdalus produced—a man, a musician.” This, he says, is multiform Attis, whom while they celebrate in a hymn, they utter these words: “I will hymn Attis, son of Rhea, not with the buzzing sounds of trumpets, or of Idæan pipers, which accord with (the voices of) the Curetes; but I will mingle (my song) with Apollo’s music of harps, ‘evoe, evan,’ inasmuch as thou art Pan, as thou art Bacchus, as thou art shepherd of brilliant stars.”

On account of these and such like reasons, these constantly attend the mysteries called those of the “Great Mother,” supposing especially that they behold by means of the ceremonies performed there the entire mystery. For these have nothing more than the ceremonies that are performed there, except that they are not emasculated: they merely complete the work of the emasculated. For with the utmost severity and vigilance they enjoin (on their votaries) to abstain, as if they were emasculated, from intercourse with a woman. The rest, however, of the proceeding (observed in these mysteries), as we have declared at some length, (they follow) just as (if they were) emasculated persons. And they do not worship any other object but Naas, (from thence) being styled Naasseni. But Naas is the serpent from whom, i.e., from the word Naas, (the Naassene) says, are all that under heaven are denominated temples (Naous). And (he states) that to him alone—that is, Naas—is dedicated every shrine and every initiatory rite, and every mystery; and, in general, that a religious ceremony could not be discovered under heaven, in which a temple (Naos) has no existence; and in the temple itself is Naas, from whom it has received its denomination of temple (Naos). And these affirm that the serpent is a moist substance, just as Thales also, the Milesian, (spoke of water as an originating principle,) and that nothing of existing things, immortal or mortal, animate or inanimate, could consist at all without him. And that all things are subject unto him, and that he is good, and that he has all things in himself, as in the horn of the one-

440 The passage following obviously was in verse originally. It has been restored to its poetic form by Schneidewin.

horned bull;⁴⁴¹ so as that he imparts beauty and bloom to all things that exist according to their own nature and peculiarity, as if passing through all, just as (“the river) proceeding forth from Edem, and dividing itself into four heads.”⁴⁴²

They assert, however, that Edem is the brain, as it were, bound and tightly fastened in encircling robes, as if (in) heaven. But they suppose that man, as far as the head only, is Paradise, therefore that “this river, which proceeds out of Edem,” that is, from the brain, “is divided into four heads,⁴⁴³ and that the name of the first river is called Phison; this is that which encompasseth all the land of Havilath: there is gold, and the gold of that land is excellent, and there is bdellium and the onyx stone.” This, he says, is the eye, which, by its honour (among the rest of the bodily organs), and its colours, furnishes testimony to what is spoken. “But the name of the second river is Gihon: this is that which compasseth the land of Ethiopia.” This, he says, is hearing, since Gihon is (a tortuous stream), resembling a sort of labyrinth. “And the name of the third is Tigris. This is that which floweth over against (the country of) the Assyrians.” This, he says,⁴⁴⁴ is smelling, employing the exceedingly rapid current of the stream (as an analogy of this sense). But it flows over against (the country of) the Assyrians, because in every act of respiration following upon expiration, the breath drawn in from the external atmosphere enters with swifter motion and greater force. For this, he says, is the nature of respiration. “But the fourth river is Euphrates.” This, they assert, is the mouth, through which are the passage outwards of prayer, and the passage inwards of nourishment. (The mouth) makes glad, and nurtures and fashions the Spiritual Perfect Man. This, he says, is “the water that is above the firmament,”⁴⁴⁵ concerning which, he says, the Saviour has declared, “If thou knewest who it is that asks, thou wouldst have asked from Him, and He would have given you to drink living, bubbling water.”⁴⁴⁶ Into this water, he says, every nature enters, choosing its own substances; and its peculiar quality comes to each nature from this water, he says, more than iron does to the magnet, and the gold to the backbone⁴⁴⁷ of the sea falcon, and the chaff to the amber.

441 [Deut. xxxiii. 17.](#)

442 [Gen. ii. 10.](#)

443 [Gen. ii. 11–14.](#)

444 Or, “they say.”

445 [Gen. i. 7.](#)

446 [John iv. 10.](#)

447 *κερκίς*. This word literally means the rod; or, in later times, the comb fixed into the *ἱστός* (i.e., the upright loom), for the purpose of driving the threads of the woof home, thus making the web even and close. It is, among other significations, applied to bones in the leg or arm. Cruice and Schneidewin translate *κερκίς* by *spina*, a rendering adopted above. The allusion is made again in chap. xii. and chap. xvi. In the last passage, *κέντρον* (spur) is used instead of *κερκίς*.

But if any one, he says, is blind from birth, and has never beheld the true light, “which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world,”⁴⁴⁸ by us let him recover his sight, and behold, as it were, through some paradise planted with every description of tree, and supplied with abundance of fruits, water coursing its way through all the trees and fruits; and he will see that from one and the same water the olive chooses for itself and draws the oil, and the vine the wine; and (so is it with) the rest of plants, according to each *genus*. That Man, however, he says, is of no reputation in the world, but of illustrious fame in heaven, being betrayed by those who are ignorant (of his perfections) to those who know him not, being accounted as a drop from a cask.⁴⁴⁹ We, however, he says, are spiritual, who, from the life-giving water of Euphrates, which flows through the midst of Babylon, choose our own peculiar quality as we pass through the true gate, which is the blessed Jesus. And of all men, we Christians alone are those who in the third gate celebrate the mystery, and are anointed there with the unspeakable chrism from a horn, as David (was anointed), not from an earthen vessel,⁴⁵⁰ he says, as (was) Saul, who held converse with the evil demon⁴⁵¹ of carnal concupiscence.



448 [John i. 9; ix. 1.](#)

449 [Isa. xl. 15.](#)

450 [1 Sam. x. 1; xvi. 13.](#)

451 [1 Sam. xvi. 14.](#)

Chapter V.—Explanation of the System of the Naasseni Taken from One of Their Hymns.

The foregoing remarks, then, though few out of many, we have thought proper to bring forward. For innumerable are the silly and crazy attempts of folly. But since, to the best of our ability, we have explained the unknown Gnosis, it seemed expedient likewise to adduce the following point. This psalm of theirs has been composed, by which they seem to celebrate all the mysteries of the error (advanced by) them in a hymn, couched in the following terms:—

The world's producing law was Primal Mind,⁴⁵²
And next was First-born's outpoured Chaos;
And third, the soul received its law of toil:
Encircl'd, therefore, with an aqueous⁴⁵³ form,
With care o'erpowered it succumbs to death.
Now holding sway, it eyes the light,
And now it weeps on misery flung;
Now it mourns, now it thrills with joy;
Now it wails, now it hears its doom;
Now it hears its doom, now it dies,
And now it leaves us, never to return.
It, hapless straying, treads the maze of ills.
But Jesus said, Father, behold,
A strife of ills across the earth
Wanders from thy breath (of wrath);
But bitter Chaos (man) seeks to shun,
And knows not how to pass it through.
On this account, O Father, send me;
Bearing seals, I shall descend;
Through ages whole I'll sweep,
All mysteries I'll unravel,
And forms of Gods I'll show;
And secrets of the saintly path,
Styled "Gnosis," I'll impart.

452 The text of this hymn is very corrupt. The Abbe Cruice explains the connection of the hymn with the foregoing exposition, and considers it to have a reference to the Metempsychosis, which forms part of the system of the Naasseni. [Bunsen, i. 36.]

453 Or, "nimble."

Chapter VI.—The Ophites the Grand Source of Heresy.

These doctrines, then, the Naasseni attempt to establish, calling themselves Gnostics. But since the error is many-headed and diversified, resembling, in truth, the hydra that we read of in history; when, at one blow, we have struck off the heads of this (delusion) by means of refutation, employing the wand of truth, we shall entirely exterminate the monster. For neither do the remaining heresies present much difference of aspect from this, having a mutual connection through (the same) spirit of error. But since, altering the words and the names of the serpent, they wish that there should be many heads of the serpent, neither thus shall we fail thoroughly to refute them as they desire.

Chapter VII.—The System of the Peratæ; Their Tritheism; Explanation of the Incarnation.

There is also unquestionably a certain other (head of the hydra,⁴⁵⁴ namely, the heresy) of the Peratæ,⁴⁵⁵ whose blasphemy against Christ has for many years escaped notice. And the present is a fitting opportunity for bringing to light the secret mysteries of such (heretics). These allege that the world is one, triply divided. And of the triple division with them, one portion is a certain single originating principle, just as it were a huge fountain, which can be divided mentally into infinite segments. Now the first segment, and that which, according to them, is (a segment) in preference (to others),⁴⁵⁶ is a triad, and it is called a Perfect Good, (and) a Paternal Magnitude. And the second portion of the triad of these is, as it were, a certain infinite crowd of potentialities that are generated⁴⁵⁷ from themselves, (while) the third is formal.⁴⁵⁸ And the first, which is good, is unbegotten, and the second is a self-producing good, and the third is created; and hence it is that they expressly declare that there are three Gods, three Logoi, three Minds, three Men. For to each portion of the world, after the division has been made, they assign both Gods, and Logoi, and Minds, and Men, and the rest; but that from unorigination and the first segment⁴⁵⁹ of the world, when afterwards the world had attained unto its completion, there came down from above, for causes that

454 Something is wanting after Περαιτική in the text. Miller supplies the deficiency, and his conjecture is adopted above. Literally, it should be rendered—"the Peratic heresy, the blasphemy of which (heretics)," etc.

455 Most of what is mentioned by Hippolytus concerning this sect is new, as the chief writers on the early heresies are comparatively silent concerning the Peratæ; indeed, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius completely so. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, vii.; (vol. ii. p. 555), mentions the Peratics, and Theodoret more fully than the rest speaks of them (*Hæret. fabul.*, i. 17). Theodoret, however, as the Abbe Cruice thinks, has appropriated his remarks from Hippolytus.

456 προεχέστέρα or προσεχέστέρα, contiguous. This is Miller's reading, but is devoid of sense. Προεχέστέρα, adopted by Schneidewin and Cruice, might bear the meaning of the expression *par excellence*.

457 γεγεννημένων: Miller reads γεγεννημένον, agreeing with πλῆθος. Bernays, in his *Epistola Critica* addressed to Bunsen, proposes the former reading.

458 εἰδικοῦ: some read ἰδικοῦ. This term, adopted from the Platonic philosophy, is translated *specialis* by logicians, and *transcendentalis* by metaphysicians. It expresses the pre-existent form in the divine mind, according to which material objects were fashioned. The term seems out of place as used by the Peratics to denominate a corruptible and perishing world. We should rather expect ὑλικοῦ, i.e., material. (See Aristotle's masterly exposition of the subject of the εἶδος and ὕλη in his *Metaphysics* book vi., and p. 64 of the analysis prefixed to the translation in Bohn's Library.)

459 πρώτης or πρὸ τῆς, "antecedent to the segment."

we shall afterwards declare, in the time of Herod a certain man called Christ, with a threefold nature, and a threefold body, and a threefold power, (and) having in himself all (species of) concretions and potentialities (derivable) from the three divisions of the world; and that this, says (the Peratic), is what is spoken: “It pleased him that in him should dwell all fulness bodily,”⁴⁶⁰ and in Him the entire Divinity resides of the triad as thus divided. For, he says, that from the two superjacent worlds—namely, from that (portion of the triad) which is unbegotten, and from that which is self-producing—there have been conveyed down into this world in which we are, seeds of all sorts of potentialities. What, however, the mode of the descent is, we shall afterwards declare.

(The Peratic) then says that Christ descended from above from unorigination, that by His descent all things triply divided might be saved. For some things, he says, being borne down from above, will ascend through Him, whereas whatever (beings) form plots against those which are carried down from above are cast off,⁴⁶¹ and being placed in a state of punishment, are renounced. This, he says, is what is spoken: “For the Son of man came not into the world to destroy the world, but that the world through Him might be saved.” The world, he says, he denominates those two parts that are situated above, viz., both the unbegotten (portion of the triad), and the self-produced one. And when Scripture, he says, uses the words, “that we may not be condemned with the world,” it alludes to the third portion of (the triad, that is) the formal world. For the third portion, which he styles the world (in which we are), must perish; but the two (remaining portions), which are situated above, must be rescued from corruption.

460 σωματικῶς, i.e., substantially. See Col. i. 19; ii. 9.

461 ἀφίεται: some read ἀφίει, i.e., dismisses; some ἀφίει εἰκῇ, i.e., heedlessly casts off. Hippolytus, in his *Summary of the Peratic Heresy* in book x., has ἀφίεται εἰκῇ, which Cruice translates *temere absolvuntur*. Schneidewin has in the same passage ἀφίεται merely, and translates it *abjiciuntur*. In both places Bernays suggests ὀφιοειδῆ, i.e., those of the nature of the Serpent.

Chapter VIII.—The Peratæ Derive Their System from the Astrologers; This Proved by a Statement of the Astrological Theories of the Zodiac; Hence the Terminology of the Peratic Heretics.

Let us, then, in the first place, learn how (the Peratists), deriving this doctrine from astrologers, act despitely towards Christ, working destruction for those who follow them in an error of this description. For the astrologers, alleging that there is one world, divide it into the twelve fixed portions of the zodiacal signs, and call the world of the fixed zodiacal signs one immoveable world; and the other they affirm to be a world of erratic (signs), both in power, and position, and number, and that it extends as far as the moon.⁴⁶² And (they lay down), that (one) world derives from (the other) world a certain power, and mutual participation (in that power), and that the subjacent obtain this participation from the superjacent (portions). In order, however, that what is (here) asserted may be perspicuous, I shall one by one employ those very expressions of the astrologers; (and in doing so) I shall only be reminding my readers of statements previously made in the department of the work where we have explained the entire art of the astrologers. What, then, the opinions are which those (speculators) entertain, are as follow:—

(Their doctrine is), that from an emanation of the stars the generations of the subjacent (parts) is consummated. For, as they wistfully gazed upward upon heaven, the Chaldeans asserted that (the seven stars)⁴⁶³ contain a reason for the efficient causes of the occurrence of all the events that happen unto us, and that the parts of the fixed zodiacal signs co-operate (in this influence). Into twelve (parts they divide the zodiacal circle), and each zodiacal sign into thirty portions, and each portion into sixty diminutive parts; for so they denominate the very smallest parts, and those that are indivisible. And of the zodiacal signs, they term some male, but others feminine; and some with two bodies, but others not so; and some tropical, whereas others firm. The male signs, then, are either feminine, which possess a co-operative nature for the procreation of males, (or are themselves productive of females.) For Aries is a male zodiacal sign, but Taurus female; and the rest (are denominated) according to the same analogy, some male, but others female. And I suppose that the Pythagoreans, being swayed from such (considerations), style the Monad male, and the Duad female; and, again, the Triad male, and analogically the remainder of the even and odd numbers. Some, however, dividing each zodiacal sign into twelve parts, employ almost the same method. For example, in Aries, they style the first of the twelve parts both Aries and a male, but the second both Taurus and a female, and the third both Gemini and a male; and the same plan is pursued in the case of the rest of the parts. And they assert that there are signs with two bodies, viz., Gemini and the signs diametrically opposite, namely Sagittarius, and Virgo,

462 Or, “is part of the moon.”

463 Some omissions here are supplied from Sextus Empiricus.

and Pisces, and that the rest have not two bodies. And (they state) that some are likewise tropical, and when the sun stands in these, he causes great turnings⁴⁶⁴ of the surrounding (sign). Aries is a sign of this description, and that which is diametrically opposite to it, just as Libra, and Capricorn, and Cancer. For in Aries is the vernal turning, and in Capricorn that of winter, and in Cancer that of summer, and in Libra that of autumn.

The details, however, concerning this system we have minutely explained in the book preceding this; and from it any one who wishes instruction (on the point), may learn how it is that the originators of this Peratic heresy, viz., Euphrates the Peratic, and Celbes the Carystian,⁴⁶⁵ have, in the transference (into their own system of opinions from these sources), made alterations in name only, while in reality they have put forward similar tenets. (Nay more), they have, with immoderate zeal, themselves devoted (their attention) to the art (of the astrologers). For also the astrologers speak of the limits of the stars, in which they assert that the dominant stars have greater influence; as, for instance, on some they act injuriously, while on others they act well. And of these they denominate some malicious, and some beneficent. And (stars) are said to look upon one another, and to harmonize with each other, so that they appear according to (the shape of) a triangle or square. The stars, looking on one another, are figured according to (the shape of⁴⁶⁶) a triangle, having an intervening distance of the extent of three zodiacal signs; whereas (those that have an interval of) two zodiacal signs are figured according to (the shape of) a square. And (their doctrine is), that as in the same way as in a man, the subjacent parts sympathize with the head, and the head likewise sympathizes with the subjacent parts, so all terrestrial (sympathize) with super-lunar⁴⁶⁷ objects. But (the astrologers go further than this⁴⁶⁸); for there exists (according to them) a certain difference and incompatibility⁴⁶⁹ between these, so as that they do not involve

464 Or, “produces alterations and causes turnings.”

465 Celbes, as observed in a former note, has two other forms in *The Refutation*, viz., Acembes and Ademes. He is called Carystius, and the other founder of the heresy Peraticus. As the latter term is frequently used to designate Eubœa, i.e., the country beyond (πέραν) the continent, it is inferred that Carystius has a similar import. This would seem placed beyond conjecture by a passage (*Strom.*, vii. vol. ii. p. 555) in Clemens Alexandrinus, already alluded to, who says that some heresies, e.g., those of the Marcionites and Basilidians, derived their denomination from the names, whereas others from the country, of their founders. As an instance of the latter, he mentions the Peratics (see note 4, p. 62, [and note 6, p. 58]).

466 Some deficiencies in the text are filled up from Sextus Empiricus.

467 Or, “celestial.”

468 This expression ἀλλὰ γάρ requires to have the ellipsis supplied as above. It may be freely rendered “nay more.” Miller reads ἄλλη γάρ, i.e. “There is some other difference,” etc.; but this does not agree with Sextus Empiricus.

469 Or, “sympathy:” συμπάθεια is, however, properly altered into ἀσυμπάθεια on the authority of Sextus.

one and the same union. This combination and divergence of the stars, which is a Chaldean (tenet), has been arrogated to themselves by those of whom we have previously spoken.

Now these, falsifying the name of truth, proclaim as a doctrine of Christ an insurrection of Æons and revolts of good into (the ranks of) evil powers; and they speak of the confederations of good powers with wicked ones. Denominating them, therefore, Toparchai and Proastioi,⁴⁷⁰ and (though thus) framing for themselves very many other names not suggested (to them from other sources), they have yet unskillfully systematized the entire imaginary doctrine of the astrologers concerning the stars. And since they have introduced a supposition pregnant with immense error, they shall be refuted through the instrumentality of our admirable arrangement. For I shall set down, in contrast with the previously mentioned Chaldaic art of the astrologers, some of the Peratic⁴⁷¹ treatises, from which, by means of comparison, there will be an opportunity of perceiving how the Peratic doctrines are those confessedly of the astrologers, not of Christ.

470 i.e., "Rulers of localities and suburbans."

471 The Peratic heresy both Hippolytus and Theodoret state to have originated from Euphrates. Origen, on the other hand, states (*Contr. Cels.*, vi. 28, [vol. iv. p. 586]) that Euphrates was founder of the Ophites. The inference from this is, that Origen was not author of *The Refutation*.

Chapter IX.—System of the Peratae Explained Out of One of Their Own Books.

It seems, then, expedient to set forth a certain one of the books held⁴⁷² in repute amongst them, in which the following passage⁴⁷³ occurs: “I am a voice of arousal from slumber in the age of night. Henceforward I commence to strip the power which is from chaos. The power is that of the lowest depth of mud, which uprears the slime of the incorruptible (and) humid expanse of space. And it is the entire power of the convulsion, which, ever in motion, and presenting the colour of water, whirls things on that are stationary, restrains things tremulous, sets things free as they proceed, lightens⁴⁷⁴ things as they abide, removes things on the increase, a faithful steward of the track of the breezes, enjoying the things disgorged from the twelve eyes of the law,⁴⁷⁵ (and) manifesting a seal⁴⁷⁶ to the power which along with itself distributes the downborne invisible waters, and has been called Thalassa. This power ignorance has been accustomed to denominate Cronus, guarded with chains because he tightly bound the fold of the dense and misty and obscure and murky Tartarus. According to the image of this were produced Cepheus, Prometheus, (and) Japetus. The Power to which has been entrusted Thalassa⁴⁷⁷ is hermaphrodite. And it fastens the hissing sound arising from the twelve mouths into twelve pipes, and pours it forth. And the power itself is subtle, and removes the controlling, boisterous, upward motion (of the sea), and seals the tracks of its paths, lest (any antagonistic power) should wage war or introduce any alteration. The tempestuous daughter of this one is a faithful protectress of all sorts of waters. Her



472 Hippolytus at the end of this chapter mentions the title of one of their books, Οἱ προάστειοι ἕως αἰθέρος, “The Suburbans up to the Air.” Bunsen suggests Περάται ἕως αἰθέρος, “The Transcendental Etherians.” (See note 1 *supra*.)

473 The Abbe Cruice considers that the following system of cosmogony is translated into Greek from some Chaldaic or Syriac work. He recognises in it likewise a Jewish element, to be accounted for from the fact that the Jews during the Babylonish captivity imbibed the principles of the Oriental philosophy. What, therefore, is given by Hippolytus may have a Judaistic origin.

474 Schneidewin considers the text here corrupt.

475 The Abbe Cruice observes that the reference here is to the second book of the law ([Ex. xv. 27](#)), where mention is made of the twelve fountains of Elim. The Hebrew word (עַי) stands for both an eye and a fountain. Hence the error by the Greek translator.

476 i.e., a poetic expression, as Cruice remarks, for closing the seal. (See [Job ix. 7](#).)

477 Schneidewin refers us to a passage from Berosus, who affirms that this person was styled Thalatta by the Greeks, Thalath by the Chaldeans; another denomination being Omorka, or Omoroka, or Marcaia. The Abbe Cruice, however, sets little value on these names, which, following the judgment of Scaliger, he pronounces spurious. It is unnecessary to remind scholars that the authenticity of Berosus has collapsed under the attacks of modern criticism.

name is Chorzar. Ignorance is in the habit of styling this (power) Neptune, according to whose image was produced Glaucus, Melicertes, Ino, Nebroë.⁴⁷⁸ He that is encircled with the pyramid of twelve angels,⁴⁷⁹ and darkens the gate into the pyramid with various colours, and completes the entire in the sable hues of Night: this one ignorance denominated Cronus.⁴⁸⁰ And his ministers were five,—first U, second Aoai, third Uo, fourth Uoab, fifth... Other trustworthy managers (there are) of his province of night and day, who repose in their own power. Ignorance denominated these the erratic stars, from whom depends a corruptible generation. Manager of the rising of the star⁴⁸¹ is Carphacasemeocheir, (and) Eccabbacara (is the same). Ignorance is in the habit of denominating these Curetes chief of the winds; third in order is Ariel, according to whose image was generated Æolus, Briares. And chief of the twelve-houred nocturnal (power) is Soclan, whom ignorance is accustomed to style Osiris; (and) according to the image of this one was born Admetus, Medea, Helen, Æthusa. Chief of the twelve-houred diurnal power is Euno. This is manager of the rising of the star Protocamarus and of the ethereal (region), but ignorance has denominated him Isis. A sign of this one is the Dog-star, according to whose image were born Ptolemæus son of Arsinoe, Didyma, Cleopatra, and Olympias. God's right-hand power is that which ignorance has denominated Rhea, according to whose image were produced Attis, Mygdon,⁴⁸² (and) CEnone. The left-hand power has lordship over sustenance, and ignorance is in the habit of styling this Ceres, (while) her name is Bena; and according to the image of this one were born Celeus, Triptolemus, Misyr, and Praxidica.⁴⁸³ The right-hand power has lordship over fruits. This one ignorance has denominated Mena, according to whose image were born Bumegas,⁴⁸⁴ Ostanes, Mercury Trismegistus, Curites, Petosiris, Zodarium, Berosus, As-trampsuchus, (and) Zoroaster. The left-hand power is (lord) of fire, (and) ignorance has denominated this one Vulcan, according to whose image were born Ericthonius, Achilles, Capaneus, Phaëthon,⁴⁸⁵ Meleager, Tydeus, Enceladus, Raphael, Suriel, (and) Omphale. There are three intermediate powers suspended from air, authors of generation. These ignorance has been in the habit of denominating Fates; and according to the image of these were produced the house of Priam, the house of Laius, Ino, Autonoe, Agave, Athamas, Procne, Danaides, and Peliades. A power (there is) hermaphrodite, always continuing in

478 Miller suggests Νεφέλη, Cruice Nebo.

479 Cruice thinks this may be a figure of the year and of twelve months.

480 Miller has Κόρην.

481 Or, "air."

482 Miller reads Μυγδώνη, others Μυγδόνη.

483 Miller has Ἀπραζία.

484 Miller suggests Βουζύγις.

485 Miller reads Φλέγων.

infancy, never waxing old, cause of beauty, pleasure, maturity, desire, and concupiscence; and ignorance has been accustomed to style this Eros, according to whose image were born Paris, Narcissus, Ganymede, Endymion, Tithonus, Icarius, Leda, Amymone, Thetis, Hesperides, Jason, Leander, (and) Hero.” These are Proastioi up to Æther, for with this title also he inscribes the book.

Chapter X.—The Peratic Heresy Nominally Different from Astrology, But Really the Same System Allegorized.

It has been easily made evident to all, that the heresy of the Perataë is altered in name only from the (art) of the astrologers. And the rest of the books of these (heretics) contain the same method, if it were agreeable to any one to wade through them all. For, as I said, they suppose that the causes of the generation of all begotten things are things unbegotten and superjacent, and that the world with us has been produced after the mode of emanation, which (world) they denominate formal. And (they maintain) that all those stars together which are beheld in the firmament have been causes of the generation of this world. They have, however, altered the name of these, as one may perceive from the Proastioi by means of a comparison (of the two systems). And secondly, according to the same method as that whereby the world was made from a supernal emanation, they affirm that in this manner objects here derive from the emanation of the stars their generation, and corruption, and arrangement. Since, then, astrologers are acquainted with the horoscope, and meridian, and setting, and the point opposite the meridian; and since these stars occupy at different times different positions⁴⁸⁶ in space, on account of the perpetual revolution of the universe, there are (necessarily) at different periods different declinations towards a centre, and (different) ascensions to centres.⁴⁸⁷ (Now the Peratic heretics), affixing an allegorical import to this arrangement of the astrologers, delineate the centre, as it were, a god and monad and lord over universal generation, whereas the declination (is regarded by them as a power) on the left, and ascension on the right. When any one, therefore, falling in with the treatises of these (heretics), finds mention among them of right or left power, let him recur to the centre, and the declination, and the ascension (of the Chaldean sages, and) he will clearly observe that the entire system of these (Perataë) consists of the astrological doctrine.



486 γινομένων; some read κινουμένων, i.e., have different motions.

487 κέντροις: Schneidewin suggests κέντρων.

Chapter XI.—Why They Call Themselves Perataë; Their Theory of Generation Supported by an Appeal to Antiquity; Their Interpretation of the Exodus of Israel; Their System of “The Serpent;” Deduced by Them from Scripture; This the Real Import of the Doctrines of the Astrologers.

They denominate themselves, however, Perataë, imagining that none of those things existing by generation can escape the determined lot for those things that derive their existence from generation. For if, says (the Peratic), anything be altogether begotten, it also perishes, as also is the opinion of the Sibyl.⁴⁸⁸ But we alone, he says, who are conversant with the necessity of generation, and the paths through which man has entered into the world, and who have been accurately instructed (in these matters), we alone are competent to proceed through and pass beyond destruction.⁴⁸⁹ But water, he says, is destruction; nor did the world, he says, perish by any other thing quicker than by water. Water, however, is that which rolls around among the Proastioi, (and) they assert (it to be) Cronus. For such a power, he says, is of the colour of water; and this power, he says—that is, Cronus—none of those things existent by generation can escape. For Cronus is a cause to every generation, in regard of succumbing under destruction, and there could not exist (an instance of) generation in which Cronus does not interfere. This, he says, is what the poets also affirm, and what even appals the gods:—

“For know, he says, this earth and spacious heaven above,
And Styx’ flooded water, which is the oath
That greatest is, and dreaded most by gods of happy life.”

And not only, he says, do the poets make this statement, but already also the very wisest men among the Greeks. And Heraclitus is even one of these, employing the following words: “For to souls water becomes death.” This death, (the Peratic) says, seizes the Egyptians in the Red Sea, along with their chariots. All, however, who are ignorant (of this fact), he says, are Egyptians. And this, they assert, is the departure from Egypt, (that is,) from the body. For they suppose little Egypt to be body, and that it crosses the Red Sea—that is, the water of corruption, which is Cronus—and that it reaches a place beyond the Red Sea, that is, generation; and that it comes into the wilderness, that is, that it attains a condition independent of generation, where there exist promiscuously all the gods of destruction and the God of salvation.

488 See *Oracula Sibyllina Fragm.*, ii. ver. 1.

489 περασται; hence their name Peratics, i.e., Transcendentalists. Bunsen considers, however, that such a derivation as this was not the true one (see note 1, p. 60), but merely an after-thought. The title of one of the Peratic treatises, as altered by Bunsen from Οἱ προάστειοι ἔως αἰθέρος into Οἱ Περάται ἔως αἰθέρος, i.e., “the Transcendental Etherians,” would agree with their subsequent assumption of this title. [Bunsen, i. p. 37.]

Now, he says, the stars are the gods of destruction, which impose upon existent things the necessity of alterable generation. These, he says, Moses denominated serpents of the wilderness, which gnaw and utterly ruin those who imagined that they had crossed the Red Sea. To those, then, he says, who of the children of Israel were bitten in the wilderness, Moses exhibited the real and perfect serpent; and they who believed on this serpent were not bitten in the wilderness, that is, (were not assailed) by (evil) powers. No one therefore, he says, is there who is able to save and deliver those that come forth from Egypt, that is, from the body and from this world, unless alone the serpent that is perfect and replete with fulness. Upon this (serpent), he says, he who fixes his hope is not destroyed by the snakes of the wilderness, that is, by the gods of generation. (This statement) is written, he says, in a book of Moses. This serpent, he says, is the power that attended Moses,⁴⁹⁰ the rod that was turned into a serpent. The serpents, however, of the magicians—(that is,) the gods of destruction—withstood the power of Moses in Egypt, but the rod of Moses reduced them all to subjection and slew them. This universal serpent is, he says, the wise discourse of Eve. This, he says, is the mystery of Edem, this the river of Edem; this the mark that was set upon Cain, that any one who findeth him might not kill him. This, he says,⁴⁹¹ is Cain,⁴⁹² whose sacrifice⁴⁹³ the god of this world did not accept. The gory sacrifice, however, of Abel he approved of; for the ruler of this world rejoices in (offerings of) blood. This, he says, is he who appeared in the last days, in form of a man, in the times of Herod, being born after the likeness of Joseph, who was sold by the hand of his brethren, to whom alone belonged the coat of many colours. This, he says, is he who is according to the likeness of Esau, whose garment—he not being himself present—was blessed; who did not receive, he says, the benediction uttered by him of enfeebled vision.⁴⁹⁴ He acquired, however, wealth from a source independent of this, receiving nothing from him whose eyes were dim; and Jacob saw his countenance,⁴⁹⁵ as a man beholds the face of God. In regard of this, he says, it has been written that “Nebrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord.”⁴⁹⁶ And there are, he says, many who closely imitate this (Nimrod): as numerous are they as the gnawing (serpents) which were seen in the wilderness by the children of Israel, from which that perfect serpent which Moses set up delivered those that were bitten. This, he says, is that which has been declared: “In the same manner as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so also must the Son



490 [Ex. iv. 2–4, 17; vii. 9–13.](#)

491 Or, “they say.”

492 [Gen. iv. 15.](#)

493 [Gen. iv. 5.](#)

494 [Gen. xxvii. 1.](#)

495 [Gen. xxxiii. 10.](#)

496 [Gen. x. 9.](#)

of man be lifted up.”⁴⁹⁷ According to the likeness of this was made in the desert the brazen serpent which Moses set up. Of this alone, he says, the image is in heaven, always conspicuous in light.

This, he says, is the great beginning respecting which Scripture has spoken. Concerning this, he says it has been declared: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God, all things were made by Him, and without Him was not one thing that was made. And what was formed in Him is life.”⁴⁹⁸ And in Him, he says, has been formed Eve; (now) Eve is life. This, however, he says, is Eve, mother of all living,⁴⁹⁹—a common nature, that is, of gods, angels, immortals, mortals, irrational creatures, (and) rational ones. For, he says, the expression “all” he uttered of all (existences). And if the eyes of any, he says, are blessed, this one, looking upward on the firmament, will behold at the mighty summit⁵⁰⁰ of heaven the beauteous image of the serpent, turning itself, and becoming an originating principle of every (species of) motion to all things that are being produced. He will (thereby) know that without him nothing consists, either of things in heaven, or things on earth. or things under the earth. Not night, not moon, not fruits, not generation, not wealth, not sustenance, not anything at all of existent things, is without his guidance. In regard of this, he says, is the great wonder which is beheld in the firmament by those who are able to observe it. For, he says, at this top of his head, a fact which is more incredible than all things to those who are ignorant, “are setting and rising mingled one with other.” This it is in regard of which ignorance is in the habit of affirming: in heaven

“Draco revolves, marvel mighty of monster dread.”⁵⁰¹

And on both sides of him have been placed Corona and Lyra; and above, near the top itself of the head, is visible the piteous man “Engonasis,”

“Holding the right foot’s end of Draco fierce.”⁵⁰²

And at the back of Engonasis is an imperfect serpent, with both hands tightly secured by Anguitenens, and being hindered from touching Corona that lies beside the perfect serpent.

⁴⁹⁷ [John iii. 14, 15.](#)

⁴⁹⁸ [John i. 1–4.](#)

⁴⁹⁹ The Abbe Cruise thinks that Hippolytus is here quoting from the *Gospel of Eve* (see Epiph., *Hær.*, xxvi. 2).

⁵⁰⁰ ἄκρον: this is a conjectural reading instead of ἀρχή.

⁵⁰¹ Aratus, *Phaenom.*, v. 62.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, v. 46.

Chapter XII.—Compendious Statement of the Doctrines of the Perataë.

This is the diversified wisdom of the Peratic heresy, which it is difficult to declare in its entirety, so intricate is it on account of its seeming to consist of the astrological art. As far forth, then, as this is possible, we shall briefly explain the whole force of this (heresy). In order, however, that we may by a compendious statement elucidate the entire doctrine of these persons, it appears expedient to subjoin the following observations. According to them, the universe is Father, Son, (and) Matter; (but) each of these three has endless capacities in itself. Intermediate, then, between the Matter and the Father sits the Son, the Word, the Serpent, always being in motion towards the unmoved Father, and (towards) Matter itself in motion. And at one time he is turned towards the Father, and receives the powers into his own person; but at another time takes up these powers, and is turned towards Matter. And Matter, (though) devoid of attribute, and being unfashioned, moulds (into itself) forms from the Son which the Son moulded from the Father.

But the Son derives shape from the Father after a mode ineffable, and unspeakable, and unchangeable; (that is,) in such a manner as Moses says that the colours of the conceived (kine) flowed from the rods⁵⁰³ which were fixed in the drinking-troughs. And in like manner, again, that capacities flowed also from the Son into Matter, similarly to the power in reference to conception which came from the rods upon the conceived (kine). And the difference of colours, and the dissimilarity which flowed from the rods through the waters upon the sheep, is, he says, the difference of corruptible and incorruptible generation. As, however, one who paints from nature, though he takes nothing away from animals, transfers by his pencil all forms to the canvas; so the Son, by a power which belongs to himself, transfers paternal marks from the Father into Matter. All the paternal marks are here, and there are not any more. For if any one, he says, of those (beings) which are here will have strength to perceive that he is a paternal mark transferred hither from above, (and that he is) incarnate—just as by the conception resulting from the rod a something white is produced,—he is of the same substance altogether with the Father in heaven, and returns thither. If, however, he may not happen upon this doctrine, neither will he understand the necessity of generation, just as an abortion born at night will perish at night. When, therefore, he says, the Saviour observes, “your Father which is in heaven,”⁵⁰⁴ he alludes to that one from whom the Son deriving his characteristics has transferred them hither. When, however, (Jesus) remarks, “Your father is a murderer from the beginning,”⁵⁰⁵ he alludes to the Ruler and Demiurge of matter, who, appropriating the marks delivered from the Son, generated him here who from the beginning was a murderer, for his work causes corruption and death.

503 [Gen. xxx. 37–39.](#)

504 [Matt. vii. 11.](#)

505 [John viii. 44.](#)

No one, then, he says, can be saved or return (into heaven) without the Son, and the Son is the Serpent. For as he brought down from above the paternal marks, so again he carries up from thence those marks roused from a dormant condition and rendered paternal characteristics, substantial ones from the unsubstantial Being, transferring them hither from thence. This, he says, is what is spoken: “I am the door.”⁵⁰⁶ And he transfers (those marks), he says,⁵⁰⁷ to those who close the eyelid, as the naphtha drawing the fire in every direction towards itself; nay rather, as the magnet (attracting) the iron and not anything else, or just as the backbone of the sea falcon, the gold and nothing else, or as the chaff is led by the amber. In this manner, he says, is the portrayed, perfect, and consubstantial genus drawn again from the world by the Serpent; nor does he (attract) anything else, as it has been sent down by him. For a proof of this, they adduce the anatomy⁵⁰⁸ of the brain, assimilating, from the fact of its immobility, the brain itself to the Father, and the cerebellum to the Son, because of its being moved and being of the form of (the head of) a serpent. And they allege that this (cerebellum), by an ineffable and inscrutable process, attracts through the pineal gland the spiritual and life-giving substance emanating from the vaulted chamber⁵⁰⁹ (in which the brain is embedded). And on receiving this, the cerebellum in an ineffable manner imparts the ideas, just as the Son does, to matter; or, in other words, the seeds and the genera of the things produced according to the flesh flow along into the spinal marrow. Employing this exemplar, (the heretics) seem to adroitly introduce their secret mysteries, which are delivered in silence. Now it would be impious for us to declare these; yet it is easy to form an idea of them, by reason of the many statements that have been made.

506 [John x. 7.](#)

507 There is a hiatus here. Miller, who also suggests διαφέρει instead of μεταφέρει supplies the deficiency as translated above. The Abbe Cruice fills up the hiatus by words taken from a somewhat similar passage in the third chapter of book viii., but the obscurity still remains. Miller thinks there is a reference to [Isa. vi. 10.](#)

508 This theory has been previously alluded to by Hippolytus in the last chapter of book iv.

509 καμαρίου: some would read μακαρίου [“the dome of thought, the palace of the soul”].

Chapter XIII.—The Peratic Heresy Not Generally Known.

But since I consider that I have plainly explained the Peratic heresy, and by many (arguments) have rendered evident (a system that hitherto) has always escaped notice, and is altogether⁵¹⁰ a tissue of fable, and one that disguises its own peculiar venom, it seems expedient to advance no further statement beyond those already put forward; for the opinions propounded by (the heretics) themselves are sufficient for their own condemnation.

510 παντάπασι: some read πάντα πᾶσι. Cruice suggests πᾶσιν ἐπιτιθειμένην, i.e., one that plots against all.

Chapter XIV.—The System of the Sethians; Their Triad of Infinite Principles; Their Heresy Explained; Their Interpretation of the Incarnation.

Let us then see what the Sithians⁵¹¹ affirm. To these it appears that there are three definite principles of the universe, and that each of these principles possesses infinite powers. And when they speak of powers⁵¹² let him that heareth take into account that they make this statement. Everything whatsoever you discern by an act of intelligence, or also omit (to discern) as not being understood, this by nature is fitted to become each of the principles, as in the human soul every art whatsoever which is made the subject of instruction. Just for instance, he says, this child will be a musician, having waited the requisite time for (acquiring a knowledge of) the harp; or a geometrician, (having previously undergone the necessary study for acquiring a knowledge) of geometry; (or) a grammarian, (after having sufficiently studied) grammar; (or) a workman, (having acquired a practical acquaintance) with a handicraftsman's business; and to one brought into contact with the rest of the arts a similar occurrence will take place. Now of principles, he says, the substances are light and darkness; and of these, spirit is intermediate without admixture. The spirit, however, is that which has its appointed place in the midst of darkness which is below, and light which is above. It is not spirit as a current of wind, or some gentle breeze that can be felt; but, as it were, some odour of ointment or of incense formed out of a compound. (It is) a subtle power, that insinuates itself by means of some impulsive quality in a fragrance, which is inconceivable and better than could be expressed by words. Since, however, light is above and darkness below, and spirit is intermediate in such a way as stated between these; and since light is so constituted, that, like a ray of the sun, it shines from above upon the underlying darkness; and again, since the fragrance of the spirit, holding an intermediate place, is extended and carried in every direction, as in the case of incense-offerings placed upon fire, we detect the fragrance that is being wafted in every direction: when, I say, there is a power of this description belonging unto the principles which are classified under three divisions, the power of spirit and light simultaneously exists in the darkness that is situated underneath them. But the darkness is a terrible water, into which light is absorbed and translated into a nature of the same description with spirit. The darkness, however, is not devoid of intelligence, but altogether reflective, and is conscious that, where the light has been abstracted from the darkness, the darkness remains isolated, invisible, obscure, impotent, inoperative, (and)

511 This is the form in which the name occurs in Hippolytus, but the correct one is Sethians. As regards this sect, see Irenæus, *Contr. Hæres.*, i. 30; Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. lxvii.; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabul.*, i. 14; Epiphanius, *Advers. Hæres.*, c. xxviii., xxxvii., and xxxix.; Augustine, *De Hæret.*, c. xix.; Josephus, *Antiq. Judaic.*, i. 2; Suidas on the word "Seth."

512 For δυνάμεις ...λογιζέσθω, Bernays reads δυνάται...λογίζεσθαι: "While these make (such) assertions, he is able to calculate," etc.

feeble. Wherefore it is constrained, by all its reflection and understanding, to collect into itself the lustre and scintillation of light with the fragrance of the spirit. And it is possible to behold an image of the nature of these in the human countenance; for instance, the pupil of the eye, dark from the subjacent humours, (but) illuminated with spirit. As, then, the darkness seeks after the splendour, that it may keep in bondage the spark, and may have perceptive power, so the light and spirit seek after the power that belongs to themselves, and strive to uprear, and towards each other to carry up their intermingled powers into the dark and formidable water lying underneath.

But all the powers of the three originating principles, which are as regards number indefinitely infinite, are each according to its own substance reflective and intelligent, unnumbered in multitude. And since what are reflective and intelligent are numberless in multitude, while they continue by themselves, they are all at rest. If, however, power approaches power, the dissimilarity of (what is set in) juxtaposition produces a certain motion and energy, which are formed from the motion resulting from the concourse effected by the juxtaposition of the coalescing powers. For the concourse of the powers ensues, just like any mark of a seal⁵¹³ that is impressed by means of the concourse correspondingly with (the seal) which prints the figure on the substances that are brought up (into contact with it). Since, therefore, the powers of the three principles are infinite in number, and from infinite powers (arise) infinite concourses, images of infinite seals are necessarily produced. These images, therefore, are the forms of the different sorts of animals. From the first great concourse, then, of the three principles, ensues a certain great form, a seal of heaven and earth. The heaven and the earth have a figure similar to the womb, having a navel in the midst; and if, he says, any one is desirous of bringing this figure under the organ of vision, let him artfully scrutinize the pregnant womb of whatsoever animal he wishes, and he will discover an image of the heaven and the earth, and of the things which in the midst of all are unalterably situated underneath.

(And so it is, that the first great concourse of the three principles) has produced such a figure of heaven and earth as is similar to a womb after the first coition. But, again, in the midst of the heaven and the earth have been generated infinite concourses of powers. And each concourse did not effect and fashion anything else than a seal of heaven and earth similar to a womb. But, again, in the earth, from the infinite seals are produced infinite crowds of various animals. But into all this infinity of the different animals under heaven is diffused and distributed, along with the light, the fragrance of the Spirit from above. From the water, therefore, has been produced a first-begotten originating principle, viz., wind, (which is) violent and boisterous, and a cause of all generation. For producing a sort of ferment in the waters, (the wind) uplifts waves out of the waters; and the motion⁵¹⁴ of the

513 Or, "form of a seal."

514 Or, "production."

waves, just as when some impulsive power of pregnancy is the origin of the production of a man or mind,⁵¹⁵ is caused when (the ocean), excited by the impulsive power of spirit, is propelled forward. When, however, this wave that has been raised out of the water by the wind, and rendered pregnant in its nature, has within itself obtained the power, possessed by the female, of generation, it holds together the light scattered from above along with the fragrance of the spirit—that is, mind moulded in the different species. And this (light) is a perfect God, who from the unbegotten radiance above, and from the spirit, is borne down into human nature as into a temple, by the impulsive power of Nature, and by the motion of wind. And it is produced from water being commingled⁵¹⁶ and blended with bodies as if it were a salt⁵¹⁷ of existent things, and a light of darkness. And it struggles to be released from bodies, and is not able to find liberation and an egress for itself. For a very diminutive spark, a severed splinter from above like the ray of a star, has been mingled in the much compounded waters of many (existences),⁵¹⁸ as, says he, (David) remarks in a psalm.⁵¹⁹ Every thought, then, and solicitude actuating the supernal light is as to how and in what manner mind may be liberated, by the death of the depraved and dark body, from the Father that is below, which is the wind that with noise⁵²⁰ and tumult uplifted the waves, and who generated a perfect mind his own Son; not, however, being his peculiar (offspring) substantially. For he was a ray (sent down) from above, from that perfect light, (and) was overpowered in the dark,⁵²¹ and formidable, and bitter, and defiled water; and he is a luminous spirit borne down over the water.⁵²² When, therefore, the waves that have been upreared from the waters have received within themselves the power of generation possessed by females, they contain, as a certain womb, in different species, the infused radiance, so as that



515 This is Cruice's mode of supplying the hiatus. Miller has "man or ox."

516 Or, "concealed."

517 ἄλας τῶν γενομένων: Miller reads ἀλάλων

518 The hiatus, as filled up by Miller, is adopted above. The Abbe Cruice suggests the following emendation: "For there has been intermingled a certain very diminutive spark from the light (subsisting) along with the supernal fragrance, from the spirit producing, like a ray, composition in things dissolved, and dissolution in things compounded."

519 Ps. xxix. 3.

520 βρόμῳ: some read βρασμῳ, i.e., agitation, literally a boiling up.

521 σκοτεινῳ: some read σκολῳ (which is of similar import), crooked, i.e., involved, obscure.

522 Or, "the light."

it is visible in the case of all animals.⁵²³ But the wind, at the same time fierce and formidable,⁵²⁴ whirling along, is, in respect of its hissing sound, like a serpent.⁵²⁵

First, then, from the wind—that is, from the serpent—has resulted the originating principle of generation in the manner declared, all things having simultaneously received the principle of generation. After, then, the light and the spirit had been received, he says, into the polluted and baneful (and) disordered womb, the serpent—the wind of the darkness, the first-begotten of the waters—enters within and produces man, and the impure womb neither loves nor recognises any other form. The perfect Word of supernal light being therefore assimilated (in form) to the beast, (that is,) the serpent, entered into the defiled womb, having deceived (the womb) through the similitude of the beast itself, in order that (the Word) may loose the chains that encircle the perfect mind which has been begotten amidst impurity of womb by the primal offspring of water, (namely,) serpent, wind, (and) beast.⁵²⁶ This, he says, is the form of the servant,⁵²⁷ and this the necessity of the Word of God coming down into the womb of a virgin. But he says it is not sufficient that the Perfect Man, the Word, has entered into the womb of a virgin, and loosed the pangs⁵²⁸ which were in that darkness. Nay, more than this was requisite; for after his entrance⁵²⁹ into the foul mysteries of the womb, he was washed, and drank of the cup of life-giving bubbling water.⁵³⁰ And it was altogether needful that he should drink who was about to strip off the servile form, and assume celestial raiment.

523 A hiatus occurs here. The deficiency is supplied by Cruice from previous statements of Hippolytus, and is adopted above.

524 Or, “strong.”

525 This passage is obscure. The translation above follows Schneidewin and Cruice. Miller’s text would seem capable of this meaning: “The wind, simultaneously fierce and formidable, is whirled along like a trailing serpent supplied with wings.” His text is, τῷ σύρματι ὄφει παραπλήσιος πτέρωτος, but suggests πτερωτῶ· ὡς ἀπὸ

526 Schneidewin has a full stop after “wind,” and begins the next sentence with θηρίου (beast).

527 [Phil. ii. 7.](#)

528 [Acts ii. 24.](#)

529 Miller would read μετὰ τὰ...ἐξελθὼν, “after the foul mysteries of the womb he went forth,” etc.

530 [John iv. 7–14.](#) For πειῖν some read ποιεῖν, “a course which he must pursue who,” etc.

Chapter XV.—The Sethians Support Their Doctrines by an Allegorical Interpretation of Scripture; Their System Really Derived from Natural Philosophers and from the Orphic Rites; Adopt the Homeric Cosmogony.

These are the statements which the patrons⁵³¹ of the Sethian doctrines make, as far as it is possible to declare in a few words. Their system, however, is made up (of tenets) from natural (philosophers), and of expressions uttered in reference to different other subjects; and transferring (the sense of) these to the Eternal⁵³² Logos, they explain them as we have declared. But they assert likewise that Moses confirms their doctrine when he says, “Darkness, and mist, and tempest.” These, (the Sethian) says, are the three principles (of our system); or when he states that three were born in paradise—Adam, Eve, the serpent; or when he speaks of three (persons, namely) Cain, Abel, Seth; and again of three (others)—Shem, Ham,⁵³³ Japheth; or when he mentions three patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; or when he speaks of the existence of three days before sun and moon; or when he mentions three laws—prohibitory, permissive, and adjudicatory of punishment. Now, a prohibitory law is as follows: “Of every tree that is in paradise thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou mayest not eat.”⁵³⁴ But in the passage, “Come forth from thy land and from thy kindred, and hither into a land which I shall show thee,”⁵³⁵ this law, he says, is permissive; for one who is so disposed may depart, and one who is not so disposed may remain. But a law adjudicatory of punishment is that which makes the following declaration: “Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal;”⁵³⁶ for a penalty is awarded to each of these acts of wickedness.

The entire system of their doctrine, however, is (derived) from⁵³⁷ the ancient theologians Musæus, and Linus, and Orpheus,⁵³⁸ who elucidates especially the ceremonies of initiation,

531 προστάται. This is a military expression applied to those placed in the foremost ranks of a battalion of soldiers; but it was also employed in civil affairs, to designate, for instance at Athens, those who protected the μέτοικοι (aliens), and others without the rights of citizenship. Προστάτης was the Roman *Patronus*.

532 Or, “their own peculiar.”

533 It is written Cham in the text.

534 [Gen. ii. 16, 17.](#)

535 [Gen. xii. 1.](#)

536 [Ex. xx. 13–15; Deut. v. 17–19.](#)

537 ὑπὸ, Miller.

538 These belong to the legendary period of Greek philosophy. Musæus flourished among the Athenians, Linus among the Thebans, and Orpheus among the Thracians. They weaved their physical theories into crude theological systems, which subsequently suggested the cosmogony and theogony of Hesiod. See the translator’s *Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. ii. pp. 33, 34.

as well as the mysteries themselves. For their doctrine concerning the womb is also the tenet of Orpheus; and the (idea of the) navel,⁵³⁹ which is harmony,⁵⁴⁰ is (to be found) with the same symbolism attached to it in the Bacchanalian orgies of Orpheus. But prior to the observance of the mystic rite of Celeus, and Triptolemus, and Ceres, and Proserpine, and Bacchus in Eleusis, these orgies have been celebrated and handed down to men in Phlium of Attica.⁵⁴¹ For antecedent to the Eleusinian mysteries, there are (enacted) in Phlium the orgies⁵⁴² of her denominated the “Great (Mother).” There is, however, a portico in this (city), and on the portico is inscribed a representation, (visible) up to the present day, of all the words which are spoken (on such occasions). Many, then, of the words inscribed upon that portico are those respecting which Plutarch institutes discussions in his ten books against⁵⁴³ Empedocles. And in the greater⁵⁴⁴ number of these books is also drawn the representation of a certain aged man, grey-haired, winged,⁵⁴⁵ having his *pudendum erectum*, pursuing a retreating woman of azure colour.⁵⁴⁶ And over the aged man is the inscription “phaos ruentes,” and over the woman “pereëphicola.”⁵⁴⁷ But “phaos ruentes”⁵⁴⁸ appears to be the light (which exists), according to the doctrine of the Sethians, and “*phicola*” the darkish water; while the space in the midst of these seems to be a harmony constituted from the spirit that is placed between. The name, however, of “phaos ruentes” manifests, as they allege, the flow from above of the light downwards. Wherefore one may reasonably assert

539 ὀμφαλος: some read with greater probability φαλλός, which means the figure, generally wooden, of a *membrum virile*. This harmonizes with what Hippolytus has already mentioned respecting Osiris. A figure of this description was carried in solemn procession in the orgies of Bacchus as a symbol of the generative power of nature. The worship of the Lingam among the Hindoos is of the same description.

540 ἄρμονία (Schneidewin). Cruise reads ἀνδρεία (manliness), which agrees with φαλλός (see preceding note). For φαλλός Schneidewin reads ὀμφαλός (navel).

541 “Of Achaia” (Meinekios, *Vindic. Strab.*, p. 242).

542 The reading in Miller is obviously incorrect, viz., λεγομένη μεγαληγορία, for which he suggests μεγάλη ἑορτή. Several other emendations have been proposed, but they scarcely differ from the rendering given above, which is coincident with what may be learned of these mysteries from other sources.

543 πρὸς, or it might be rendered “respecting.” A reference, however, to the catalogue of Empedocles’ works, given by Fabricius (t. v. p. 160), shows that for πρὸς we should read εἰς.

544 πλείοσι: Miller would read πυλεῶσι. i.e., gateways.

545 Or πετρωτός, intended for πετρώδης, “made of stone.” [A winged *phallus* was worn by the women of Pompeii as an ornament, for which Christian women substituted a cross. See vol. iii., this series, p. 104.]

546 κυανοειδῆ: some read κυνοειδῆ, i.e., like a dog.

547 Some read Persephone (Proserpine) Phlya.

548 For “phaos ruentes” some read “Phanes rueis,” which is the expression found in the Orphic hymn (see Cruise’s note).

that the Sethians celebrate rites among themselves, very closely bordering upon those orgies of the “Great (Mother)” which are observed among the Phliasians. And the poet likewise seems to bear his testimony to this triple division, when he remarks, “And all things have been triply divided, and everything obtains its (proper) distinction;”⁵⁴⁹ that is, each member of the threefold division has obtained (a particular) capacity. But now, as regards the tenet that the subjacent water below, which is dark, ought, because the light has set (over it), to convey upwards and receive the spark borne down from (the light) itself; in the assertion of this tenet, I say, the all-wise Sethians appear to derive (their opinion) from Homer:—

“By earth I swear, and yon broad Heaven above,
And Stygian stream beneath, the weightiest oath
Of solemn power, to bind the blessed gods.”⁵⁵⁰

That is, according to Homer, the gods suppose water to be loathsome and horrible. Now, similar to this is the doctrine of the Sethians, which affirms (water) to be formidable to the mind.⁵⁵¹

549 *Iliad*, xv. 189. (See the passage from Hesiod given at the end of book i. of *The Refutation*.)

550 *Iliad*, xv. 36–38 (Lord Derby’s translation); *Odyssey*, v. 185–187.

551 Miller reasonably proposes for τῷ ὡς the reading στοιχείο ν, “which affirms water to be a formidable element.”

Chapter XVI.—The Sethian Theory Concerning "Mixture" And "Composition;" Application of It to Christ; Illustration from the Well of Ampa.

These, and other assertions similar to these, are made (by the Sethians) in their interminable commentaries. They, however, persuade their disciples to become conversant with the theory respecting composition and mixture. But this theory has formed a subject of meditation to many, but (among others) also to Andronicus the Peripatetic. The Sethians, then, affirm that the theory concerning composition and mixture is constituted according to the following method: The luminous ray from above is intermingled, and the very diminutive spark is delicately blended in the dark waters beneath; and (both of these) become united, and are formed into one compound mass, just as a single savour (results) from the mixture of many incense-offerings in the fire, and (just as) an adept, by having a test in an acute sense of smell, ought to be able from the single odour of the incense to distinguish accurately each (ingredient) of the incense-offerings that have been mingled in the fire,—whether, for example, storax, and myrrh, and frankincense, or whatever other (ingredient) may be mixed (in the incense). They, however, employ also other examples, saying both that brass is mixed with gold, and that some art has been discovered which separates the brass from the gold. And, in like manner, if tin or brass, or any substance homogeneous with it, be discovered mixed with silver, these likewise, by some art superior to that of mixing, are distinguished. But already some one also distinguishes water mingled with wine.⁵⁵² So, say they, though all things are commingled, they are capable of being separated. Nay, but, he says, derive the same lesson from the case of animals. For when the animal is dead, each of its parts is separated; and when dissolution takes place, the animal in this way vanishes. This is, he says, what has been spoken: "I came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword,"⁵⁵³—that is, the division and separation of the things that have been commingled. For each of the things that have been commingled is separated and divided when it reaches its proper place. For as there is one place of mixture for all animals, so also has there been established one (locality) of separation. And, he says, no one is aware of this (place), save we alone that have been born again, spiritual, not carnal, whose citizenship is in heaven above.

In this manner insinuating themselves, they corrupt their pupils, partly by misusing the words spoken (by themselves), while they wickedly pervert, to serve any purpose they wish, what has been admirably said (in Scripture); and partly by concealing their nefarious conduct, by means of whatever comparisons they please. All these things, then, he says, that have

552 ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον οἷνῳ διακρίνει: Miller's text is ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον αἰνώδια κρήνη, which is obviously corrupt. His emendation of the passage may be translated thus: "And now some one observes water from a wayside fountain, mixed, so they say; and even though all things be intermingled, a separation is effected."

553 [Matt. x. 34.](#)

been commingled, possess, as has been declared, their own particular place, and hurry towards their own peculiar (substances), as iron towards the magnet, and the chaff to the vicinity of amber, and the gold to the spur⁵⁵⁴ of the sea falcon. In like manner, the ray⁵⁵⁵ of light which has been commingled with the water, having obtained from discipline and instruction its own proper locality, hastens towards the Logos that comes from above in servile form; and along with the Logos exists as a logos in that place where the Logos is still: (the light, I say, hastens to the Logos with greater speed) than the iron towards the magnet.

And that these things, he says, are so, and that all things that have been commingled are separated in their proper places, learn. There is among the Persians in a city Ampa,⁵⁵⁶ near the river Tigris, a well; and near the well, at the top, has been constructed a certain reservoir, supplied with three outlets; and when one pumps from this well, and draws off some of its contents in a vessel, what is thus pumped out of the well, whatever it is at all, he pours into the reservoir hard by. And when what is thus infused reaches the outlets, and when what is taken up (out of each outlet) in a single vessel is examined, a separation is observed to have taken place. And in the first of the outlets is exhibited a concretion of salt, and in the second of asphalt, and in the third of oil; and the oil is black, just as, he says, Herodotus⁵⁵⁷ also narrates, and it yields a heavy smell, and the Persians call this "rhadinace." The similitude of the well is, say the Sethians, more sufficient for the demonstration of their proposition than all the statements that have been previously made.

554 κέντρον. In other passages the word κερκίς is used, i.e., the backbone.

555 Or, "power."

556 Or, "Ama."

557 Herodotus, vi. 119.

Chapter XVII.—The Sethian Doctrines to Be Learned from the “Paraphrase of Seth.”

The opinion of the Sethians appears to us to have been sufficiently elucidated. If, however, any one is desirous of learning the entire doctrine according to them, let him read a book inscribed *Paraphrase of Seth*; for all their secret tenets he will find deposited there. But since we have explained the opinions entertained by the Sethians, let us see also what are the doctrines advanced by Justinus.

Chapter XVIII.—The System of Justinus Antiscriptural and Essentially Pagan.

Justinus⁵⁵⁸ was entirely opposed to the teaching of the holy Scriptures, and moreover to the written or oral teaching of the blessed evangelists, according as the Logos was accustomed to instruct His disciples, saying, “Go not into the way of the Gentiles;”⁵⁵⁹ and this signifies that they should not attend to the futile doctrine of the Gentiles. This (heretic) endeavours to lead on his hearers into an acknowledgment of prodigies detailed by the Gentiles, and of doctrines inculcated by them. And he narrates, word for word, legendary accounts prevalent among the Greeks, and does not previously teach or deliver his perfect mystery, unless he has bound his dupe by an oath. Then he brings forward (these) fables for the purpose of persuasion, in order that they who are conversant with the incalculable trifling of these books may have some consolation in the details of these legends. Thus it happens as when in like manner one making a long journey deems it expedient, on having fallen in with an inn, to take repose. And so it is that, when once more they are induced to turn towards studying the diffuse doctrine of these lectures, they may not abhor them while they, undergoing instruction unnecessarily prolix, rush stupified into the transgression devised by (Justinus); and previously he binds his followers with horrible oaths, neither to publish nor abjure these doctrines, and forces upon them an acknowledgment (of their truth). And in this manner he delivers the mysteries impiously discovered by himself, partly, according to the statements previously made, availing himself of the Hellenic legends, and partly of those pretended books which, to some extent, bear a resemblance to the foresaid heresies. For all, forced together by one spirit, are drawn into one profound abyss of pollution, inculcating the same tenets, and detailing the same legends, each after a different method. All those, however, style themselves Gnostics in this peculiar sense, that they alone themselves have imbibed the marvellous knowledge of the Perfect and Good (Being).

558 What Hippolytus here states respecting Justinus is quite new. No mention occurs of this heretic in ecclesiastical history. It is evident, however, that, like Simon Magus, he was contemporary with St. Peter and St. Paul. Justinus, however, and the Ophitic sect to which he belonged, are assigned by Hippolytus and Irenæus a prior position as regards the order of their appearance to the system of Simon, or its offshoot Valentinianism. The Ophites engrafted Phrygian Judaism, and the Valentinians Gentilism, upon Christianity; the former not rejecting the speculations and mysteries of Asiatic paganism, and the latter availing themselves of the cabalistic corruptions of Judaism. The Judaistic element soon became prominent in successive phases of Valentinianism, which produced a fusion of the sects of the old Gnostics and of Simon. Hippolytus, however, now places the Ophitic sect before us prior to its amalgamation with Valentinianism. Here, for the first time, we have an authentic delineation of the primitive Ophites. This is of great value. [See Irenæus, vol. i., this series, p. 354; also Bunsen (on Baur), vol. i. p. 42.]

559 [Matt. x. 5.](#)

Chapter XIX.—The Justinian Heresy Unfolded in the “Book of Baruch.”

But swear, says Justinus, if you wish to know “what eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and the things which have not entered into the heart;”⁵⁶⁰ that is, if you wish to know Him who is good above all, Him who is more exalted, (swear) that you will preserve the secrets (of the Justinian) discipline, as intended to be kept silent. For also our Father, on beholding the Good One, and on being initiated with Him, preserved the mysteries respecting which silence is enjoined, and sware, as it has been written, “The Lord sware, and will not repent.”⁵⁶¹ Having, then, in this way set the seal to these tenets, he seeks to inveigle (his followers) with more legends, (which are detailed) through a greater number of books; and so he conducts (his readers) to the Good One, consummating the initiated (by admitting them into) the unspeakable Mysteries.⁵⁶² In order, however, that we may not wade through more of their volumes, we shall illustrate the ineffable Mysteries (of Justinus) from one book of his, inasmuch as, according to his supposition, it is (a work) of high repute. Now this volume is inscribed *Baruch*; and one fabulous account out of many which is explained by (Justinus) in this (volume), we shall point out, inasmuch as it is to be found in Herodotus. But after imparting a different shape to this (account), he explains it to his pupils as if it were something novel, being under the impression that the entire arrangement of his doctrine (springs) out of it.

560 [Isa. lxiv. 4](#); [1 Cor. ii. 9](#).

561 [Ps. cx. 4](#); [Heb. vii. 21](#).

562 Or, “the rest of the Mysteries.”

Chapter XX.—The Cosmogony of Justinus an Allegorical Explanation of Herodotus' Legend of Hercules.

Herodotus,⁵⁶³ then, asserts that Hercules, when driving the oxen of Geryon from Erytheia,⁵⁶⁴ came into Scythia, and that, being wearied with travelling, he retired into some desert spot and slept for a short time. But while he slumbered his horse disappeared, seated on which he had performed his lengthened journey. On being aroused from repose, he, however, instituted a diligent search through the desert, endeavouring to discover his horse. And though he is unsuccessful in his search after the horse, he yet finds in the desert a certain damsel, half of whose form was that of woman, and proceeded to question her if she had seen the horse anywhere. The girl, however, replies that she had seen (the animal), but that she would not show him unless Hercules previously would come along with her for the purpose of sexual intercourse. Now Herodotus informs us that her upper parts as far as the groin were those of a virgin, but that everything below the body after the groin presented some horrible appearance of a snake. In anxiety, however, for the discovery of his horse, Hercules complies with the monster's request; for he knew her (carnally), and made her pregnant. And he foretold, after coition, that she had by him in her womb three children at the same time, who were destined to become illustrious. And he ordered that she, on bringing forth, should impose on the children as soon as born the following names: Agathyrus, Gelonus, and Scytha. And as the reward of this (favour) receiving his horse from the beast-like damsel, he went on his way, taking with him the cattle also. But after these (details), Herodotus has a protracted account; adieu, however, to it for the present.⁵⁶⁵ But what the opinions are of Justinus, who transfers this legend into (his account of) the generation of the universe, we shall explain.



563 Herodotus, iv. 8–10.

564 Erytheia (Eretheia) was the island which Geryon inhabited. Miller's text has Ἐρυθαῖς (i.e., sc. θαλάσσης), "the Red Sea." This, however, is a mistake.

565 Some read τὸν νοῦν, which has been properly altered into τὸ νῦν, as translated above.

Chapter XXI.—Justinus' Triad of Principles; His Angelography Founded on This Triad; His Explanation of the Birth, Life, and Death of Our Lord.

This (heresiarch) makes the following statement. There are three unbegotten principles of the universe, two male (and) one female. Of the male (principles), however, a certain one, is denominated good, and it alone is called after this manner, and possesses a power of prescience concerning the universe. But the other is father⁵⁶⁶ of all begotten things, devoid of prescience,⁵⁶⁷ and invisible. And the female (principle) is devoid of prescience, passionate, two-minded,⁵⁶⁸ two-bodied, in every respect answering (the description of) the girl in the legend of Herodotus, as far as the groin a virgin, and (in) the parts below (resembling) a snake, as Justinus says. But this girl is styled Edem and Israel. And these principles of the universe are, he says, roots and fountains from which existing things have been produced, but that there was not anything else. The Father, then, who is devoid of prescience, beholding that half-woman Edem, passed into a concupiscent desire for her. But this Father, he says, is called Elohim. Not less did Edem also long for Elohim, and the mutual passion brought them together into the one nuptial couch of love.⁵⁶⁹ And from such an intercourse the Father generates out of Edem unto himself twelve angels. And the names of the angels begotten by the Father are these: Michaël, Amen,⁵⁷⁰ Baruch, Gabriel, Esaddæus.... And of the maternal angels which Edem brought forth, the names in like manner have been subjoined, and they are as follows: Babel,⁵⁷¹ Achamoth, Naas, Bel, Belias, Satan, Saël, Adonæus, Leviathan,⁵⁷² Pharaoh, Carcamenos, (and) Lathen.

Of these twenty-four angels the paternal ones are associated with the Father, and do all things according to His will; and the maternal (angels are associated with) Edem the Mother. And the multitude of all these angels together is Paradise, he says, concerning which Moses speaks: "God planted a garden in Eden towards the east,"⁵⁷³ that is, towards the face of Edem, that Edem might behold the garden—that is, the angels—continually. Allegorically the angels are styled trees of this garden, and the tree of life is the third of the paternal angels—Baruch. And the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is the third of the

566 Or, "mother."

567 και ἄγνωστος, "and unknown," is added in Cruice's and Schneidewin's text, as this word occurs in Hippolytus' epitome of Justinus' heresy in book x. of *The Refutation*.

568 δῖγνωνμος: some read ἀγνώμων, i.e., devoid of judgment.

569 εὐνήν: some read εὐνοίαν, i.e., goodwill, but this seems pleonastic where φιλίας precedes.

570 See [Rev. iii. 14](#). [Bunsen, i. 39.]

571 Or, "Babelachamos," or "Babel, Achamos."

572 Or, "Kaviathan."

573 [Gen. ii. 8](#).

maternal angels—Naas. For so,⁵⁷⁴ says (Justinus), one ought to interpret the words of Moses, observing, “Moses said these things disguisedly, from the fact that all do not attain the truth.” And, he says, Paradise being formed from the conjugal joy of Elohim and Edem, the angels of Elohim receiving from the most beauteous earth, that is, not from the portion of Edem resembling a monster, but from the parts above the groin of human shape, and gentle—in aspect,—make man out of the earth. But out of the parts resembling a monster are produced wild beasts, and the rest of the animal creation. They made man, therefore, as a symbol of the unity and love (subsisting) between them; and they depute their own powers unto him, Edem the soul, but Elohim the spirit. And the man Adam is produced as some actual seal and memento of love, and as an everlasting emblem of the marriage of Edem and Elohim. And in like manner also Eve was produced, he says, as Moses has described, an image and emblem (as well as) a seal, to be preserved for ever, of Edem. And in like manner also a soul was deposited in Eve,—an image—from Edem, but a spirit from Elohim. And there were given to them commandments, “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth,”⁵⁷⁵ that is, Edem; for so he wishes that it had been written. For the entire of the power belonging unto herself, Edem conferred upon Elohim as a sort of nuptial dowry. Whence, he says, from imitation of that primary marriage up to this day, women bring a dowry to their husbands, complying with a certain divine and paternal law that came into existence on the part of Edem towards Elohim.

And when all things were created as has been described by Moses—both heaven and earth, and the things therein⁵⁷⁶—the twelve angels of the Mother were divided into four principles, and each fourth part of them is called a river—Phison, and Gehon, and Tigris, and Euphrates, as, he says, Moses states. These twelve angels, being mutually connected, go about into four parts, and manage the world, holding from Edem a sort of viceregal⁵⁷⁷ authority over the world. But they do not always continue in the same places, but move around as if in a circular dance, changing place after place, and at set times and intervals retiring to the localities subject to themselves. And when Phison holds sway over places, famine, distress, and affliction prevail in that part of the earth, for the battalion of these angels is niggardly. In like manner also there belong to each part of the four, according to the power and nature of each, evil times and hosts of diseases. And continually, according to the dominion⁵⁷⁸ of each fourth part, this stream of evil, just (like a current) of rivers, careers, according to the

574 Or, “this one.”

575 [Gen. i. 28.](#)

576 ἐν αὐτῇ: some read ἐν ἀρχῇ, i.e., in the beginning.

577 σατραπικὴν. The common reading ἀσραπικὴν is obviously corrupt.

578 Or, “mixture.”

will of Edem, uninterruptedly around the world. And from some cause of this description has arisen the necessity of evil.

When Elohim had prepared and created the world as a result from joint pleasure, He wished to ascend up to the elevated parts of heaven, and to see that not anything of what pertained to the creation laboured under deficiency. And He took His Own angels with Him, for His nature was to mount aloft, leaving Edem below:⁵⁷⁹ for inasmuch as she was earth, she was not disposed to follow upward her spouse. Elohim, then, coming to the highest part of heaven above, and beholding a light superior to that which He Himself had created, exclaimed, "Open me the gates, that entering in I may acknowledge the Lord; for I considered Myself to be Lord."⁵⁸⁰ A voice was returned to Him from the light, saying, "This is the gate of the Lord: through this the righteous enter in."⁵⁸¹ And immediately the gate was opened, and the Father, without the angels, entered, (advancing) towards the Good One, and beheld "what eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and what hath not entered into the heart of man to (conceive)."⁵⁸² Then the Good One says to him, "Sit thou on my right hand."⁵⁸³ And the Father says to the Good One, "Permit me, Lord, to overturn the world which I have made, for my spirit is bound to men."⁵⁸⁴ And I wish to receive it back (from them)." Then the Good One replies to him, "No evil canst thou do while thou art with me, for both thou and Edem made the world as a result of conjugal joy. Permit Edem, then, to hold possession of the world as long as she wishes; but do you remain with me." Then Edem, knowing that she had been deserted by Elohim, was seized with grief, and placed beside herself her own angels. And she adorned herself after a comely fashion, if by any means Elohim, passing into concupiscent desire, might descend (from heaven) to her.

When, however, Elohim, overpowered by the Good One, no longer descended to Edem, Edem commanded Babel, which is Venus, to cause adulteries and dissolutions of marriages among men. (And she adopted this expedient) in order that, as she had been divorced from Elohim, so also the spirit of Elohim, which is in men, being wrong with sorrow, might be punished by such separations, and might undergo precisely the sufferings which (were being endured by) the deserted Edem. And Edem gives great power to her third angel, Naas, that by every species of punishment she might chasten the spirit of Elohim which is in men, in order that Elohim, through the spirit, might be punished for having deserted his spouse, in violation of the agreements entered into between them. Elohim the father, seeing these

579 κάτω: some read κατώγη, i.e., κατώγαιος, earthly; some κατωφερής, with a downward tendency.

580 Ps. cxvii. 19.

581 Ps. cxviii. 20.

582 Isa. lxiv. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9.

583 Ps. cx. 1.

584 Or, "the heavens."

things, sends forth Baruch, the third angel among his own, to succour the spirit that is in all men.⁵⁸⁵ Baruch then coming, stood in the midst of the angels of Edem, that is, in the midst of paradise—for paradise is the angels, in the midst of whom he stood,—and issued to the man the following injunction: “Of every tree that is in paradise thou mayest freely eat, but thou mayest not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,”⁵⁸⁶ which is Naas. Now the meaning is, that he should obey the rest of the eleven angels of Edem, for the eleven possess passions, but are not guilty of transgression. Naas, however, has committed sin, for he went in unto Eve, deceiving her, and debauched her; and (such an act as) this is a violation of law. He, however, likewise went in unto Adam, and had unnatural intercourse with him; and this is itself also a piece of turpitude, whence have arisen adultery and sodomy.

Henceforward vice and virtue were prevalent among men, arising from a single source—that of the Father. For the Father having ascended to the Good One, points out from time to time the way to those desirous of ascending (to him likewise). After having, however, departed from Edem, he caused an originating principle of evil for the spirit of the Father that is in men.⁵⁸⁷ Baruch therefore was despatched to Moses, and through him spoke to the children of Israel, that they might be converted unto the Good One. But the third angel (Naas), by the soul which came from Edem upon Moses, as also upon all men, obscured the precepts of Baruch, and caused his own peculiar injunctions to be hearkened unto. For this reason the soul is arrayed against the spirit, and the spirit against the soul.⁵⁸⁸ For the soul is Edem, but the spirit Elohim, and each of these exists in all men, both females and males. Again, after these (occurrences), Baruch was sent to the Prophets, that through the Prophets the spirit that dwelleth in men⁵⁸⁹ might hear (words of warning), and might avoid Edem and the wicked fiction, just as the Father had fled from Elohim. In like manner also—by the prophets⁵⁹⁰—Naas, by a similar device, through the soul⁵⁹¹ that dwells in man, along with the spirit of the Father, enticed away the prophets, and all (of them) were allured after him, and did not follow the words of Baruch, which Elohim enjoined.

Ultimately Elohim selected Hercules, an uncircumcised prophet, and sent him to quell the twelve angels of Edem, and release the Father from the twelve angels, those wicked ones of the creation. These are the twelve conflicts of Hercules which Hercules underwent, in order, from first to last, viz., Lion, and Hydra, and Boar, and the others successively. For

585 ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν. Ἐλθὼν. Some read: ἀνθρώποις. Πάλιν ἐλθὼν.

586 [Gen. ii. 16, 17.](#)

587 Or, “in heaven.”

588 [Gal. v. 17.](#)

589 Or, “in heaven.”

590 These words are superfluous here, and are repeated from the preceding sentence by mistake.

591 ψυχῆς: some read εὐχῆς, i.e., prayer.

they say that these are the names (of them) among the Gentiles, and they have been derived with altered denominations from the energy of the maternal angels. When he seemed to have vanquished his antagonists, Omphale—now she is Babel or Venus—clings to him and entices away Hercules, and divests him of his power, viz., the commands of Baruch which Elohim issued. And in place (of this power, Babel) envelopes him in her own peculiar robe, that is, in the power of Edem, who is the power below; and in this way the prophecy of Hercules remained unfulfilled, and his works.

Finally, however, in the days of Herod the king, Baruch is despatched, being sent down once more by Elohim; and coming to Nazareth, he found Jesus, son of Joseph and Mary, a child of twelve years, feeding sheep. And he announces to him all things from the beginning, whatsoever had been done by Edem and Elohim, and whatsoever would be likely to take place hereafter, and spoke the following words: "All the prophets anterior to you have been enticed. Put forth an effort, therefore, Jesus, Son of man, not to be allured, but preach this word unto men, and carry back tidings to them of things pertaining to the Father, and things pertaining to the Good One, and ascend to the Good One, and sit there with Elohim, Father of us all." And Jesus was obedient unto the angel, saying that, "I shall do all things, Lord," and proceeded to preach. Naas therefore wished to entice this one also. (Jesus, however, was not disposed to listen to his overtures⁵⁹²), for he remained faithful to Baruch. Therefore Naas, being inflamed with anger because he was not able to seduce him, caused him to be crucified. He, however, leaving the body of Edem on the (accursed) tree, ascended to the Good One; saying, however, to Edem, "Woman, thou retainest thy son,"⁵⁹³ that is, the natural and the earthly man. But (Jesus) himself commending his spirit into the hands of the Father, ascended to the Good One. Now the Good One is Priapus, (and) he it is who antecedently caused the production of everything that exists. On this account he is styled Priapus, because he previously fashioned all things (according to his own design). For this reason, he says, in every temple is placed his statue, which is revered by every creature; and (there are images of him) in the highways, carrying over his head ripened fruits, that is, the produce of the creation, of which he is the cause, having in the first instance formed, (according to His own design), the creation, when as yet it had no existence. When, therefore, he says, you hear men asserting that the swan went in unto Leda, and begat a child from her, (learn that) the swan is Elohim, and Leda Edem. And when people allege that an eagle went in unto Ganymede, (know that) the eagle is Naas, and Ganymede Adam. And when they assert that gold (in a shower) went in unto Danaë and begat a child from her, (recollect that) the gold is Elohim, and Danaë is Edem. And similarly, in the same manner adducing all accounts of this description, which correspond with (the nature of) legends, they pursue the work of

592 Miller conjectures that the parenthetical words should be added to the text.

593 [John xix. 26.](#)

instruction. When, therefore, the prophet says, "Hearken, O heaven, and give ear, O earth; the Lord hath spoken," he means by heaven, (Justinus) says, the spirit which is in man from Elohim; and by earth, the soul which is in man along with the spirit; and by Lord, Baruch; and by Israel, Edem, for Israel as well as Edem is called the spouse of Elohim. "Israel," he says, "did not know me (Elohim); for had he known me, that I am with the Good One, he would not have punished through paternal ignorance the spirit which is in men."



Chapter XXII.—Oath Used by the Justinian Heretics; The Book of Baruch; The Repertory of Their System.

Hence⁵⁹⁴ also, in the first book inscribed “Baruch,” has been written the oath which they compel those to swear who are about to hear these mysteries, and be initiated with the Good One.⁵⁹⁵ And this oath, (Justinus) says, our Father Elohim swore when He was beside the Good One, and having sworn He did not repent (of the oath), respecting which, he says, it has been written, “The Lord swore, and will not repent.”⁵⁹⁶ Now the oath is couched in these⁵⁹⁷ terms: “I swear by that Good One who is above all, to guard these mysteries, and to divulge them to no one, and not to relapse from the Good One to the creature.” And when he has sworn this oath, he goes on to the Good One, and beholds “whatever things eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man;”⁵⁹⁸ and he drinks from life-giving water, which is to them, as they suppose, a bath,⁵⁹⁹ a fountain of life-giving, bubbling water.⁶⁰⁰ For there has been a separation made between water and water; and there is water, that below the firmament of the wicked creation, in which earthly and animal men are washed; and there is life-giving water, (that) above the firmament,⁶⁰¹ of the Good One, in which spiritual (and) living men are washed; and in this Elohim washed Himself. and having washed did not repent. And when, he says, the prophet affirms, “Take unto yourself a wife of whoredom, since the earth has abandoned itself to fornication, (departing) from (following) after the Lord;”⁶⁰² that is, Edem (departs) from Elohim. (Now) in these words, he says, the prophet clearly declares the entire mystery, and is not hearkened unto by reason of the wicked machinations of Naas. According to that same manner, they deliver other prophetic passages in a similar spirit of interpretation throughout numerous books. The volume, however, inscribed “Baruch,” is pre-eminently to them the one in which the reader⁶⁰³ will ascertain the entire explanation of their legendary

594 ἐντεῦθεν: this word stands at the end of the last chapter in the text of Miller, who suspects that there is here some hiatus. In this opinion the Abbe Cruice concurs. Schneidewin, however, transfers ἐντεῦθεν to the beginning of this chapter as above.

595 παρὰ τῷ ἀγαθῷ: or rather, we should expect, into a knowledge of the Good One.

596 Ps. cx. 4; Heb. vii. 21.

597 οὕτως: some read οὕτος.

598 1 Cor. ii. 9.

599 λουτρὸν: the ecclesiastical use of this word makes it stand for baptism.

600 John iv. 14.

601 Gen. i. 6, 7.

602 Hos. i. 2.

603 ἐντυχὼν: some read εὐτυχῶν, i.e., one who is fortunate enough to meet with the book.

system (to be contained). Beloved, though I have encountered many heresies, yet with no wicked (heresiarch) worse than this (Justinus) has it been my lot to meet. But, in truth, (the followers of Justinus) ought to imitate⁶⁰⁴ the example of his Hercules, and to cleanse, as the saying is, the cattle-shed of Augias, or rather I should say, a ditch,⁶⁰⁵ into which, as soon as the adherents of this (heresiarch) have fallen, they can never be cleansed; nay, they will not be able even to raise their heads.

604 Literally “ought, according to his Hercules, by imitating,” etc.

605 ἀμάραν. This word means a trench or channel in a field, for the purpose either of irrigation or drainage. Schneidewin and Cruice render it by the Latin *Sentinam*, an expression applied, for example, to bilge water.

Chapter XXIII.—Subsequent Heresies Deducible from the System of Justinus.

Since, then, we have explained the attempts (at a system) of the pseudo-gnostic Justinus, it appears likewise expedient in the following books to elucidate the opinions put forward in heresies following (in the way of consequence upon the doctrines of Justinus), and to leave not a single one of these (speculators) unrefuted. Our refutation will be accomplished by adducing the assertions made by them; such (at least of their statements) as are sufficient for making a public example (of these heretics). (And we shall attain our purpose), even though there should only be condemned⁶⁰⁶ the secret and ineffable (mysteries) practised amongst them, into which, silly mortals that they are, scarcely (even) with considerable labour are they initiated. Let us then see what also Simon affirms.

606 ἐκρηθείη, i.e., ἐκριθείη; some read ἐκκριθείη, which might be rendered, “even though, (for the purpose of holding these heretics up to public shame,) there should be made a selection only,” etc.

Book VI.



Contents.

The following are the contents of the sixth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

What the opinions are that are attempted (to be established) by Simon, and that his doctrine derives its force from the (lucubrations) of magicians and poets.

What are the opinions propounded by Valentinus, and that his system is not constructed out of the Scriptures, but out of the Platonic and Pythagorean tenets.

And what are the opinions of Secundus, and Ptolemæus, and Heracleon, as persons also who themselves advanced the same doctrines as the philosophers among the Greeks, but enunciated them in different phraseology.

And what are the suppositions put forward by Marcus and Colarbasus, and that some of them devoted their attention to magical arts and the Pythagorean numbers.

Chapter I.⁶⁰⁷—The Ophites the Progenitors of Subsequent Heresies.

Whatever opinions, then, were entertained by those who derived the first principles (of their doctrine) from the serpent, and in process of time⁶⁰⁸ deliberately⁶⁰⁹ brought forward into public notice their tenets, we have explained in the book preceding this, (and) which is the fifth of the *Refutation of Heresies*. But now also I shall not be silent as regards the opinions of (heresiarchs) who follow these (Ophites in succession); nay, not one (speculation) will I leave unrefuted, if it is possible to remember all (their tenets), and the secret orgies of these (heretics) which one may fairly style orgies,—for they who propagate such audacious opinions are not far distant from the anger (of God),—that I may avail myself of the assistance of etymology.

607 [Presuming that all who are disposed to study this work will turn to Dr. Bunsen's first volume (*Hippol.*), I have not thought it wise to load these pages with references to his interesting reviewal.]

608 κατὰ τελείωσιν τῶν χρόνων. This is Bunsen's emendation. The textual reading is μείωσιν.

609 ἔκουσίως; Bunsen suggests ἀνοσίως, i.e., profanely.

Chapter II.—Simon Magus.

It seems, then, expedient likewise to explain now the opinions of Simon,⁶¹⁰ a native of Gitta, a village of Samaria; and we shall also prove that his successors, taking a starting-point from him, have endeavoured (to establish) similar opinions under a change of name. This Simon being an adept in sorceries, both making a mockery of many, partly according to the art of Thrasymedes, in the manner in which we have explained above,⁶¹¹ and partly also by the assistance of demons perpetrating his villany, attempted to deify himself. (But) the man was a (mere) cheat, and full of folly, and the Apostles reprov'd him in the Acts.⁶¹² With much greater wisdom and moderation than Simon, did Apsethus the Libyan, inflamed with a similar wish, endeavour to have himself considered a god in Libya. And inasmuch as his legendary system does not present any wide divergence from the inordinate desire of that silly Simon, it seems expedient to furnish an explanation of it, as one worthy of the attempt made by this man.

610 See Irenæus, *Hæres.*, i. 19, 20; Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. xlvi.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, xxi.; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.*, i. 1; St. Augustine, *De Hæres.*, 1. See the apology of Justin Martyr (vol. i., this series, p. 171), who says, "There was a Samaritan, Simon, a native of the village called Gitto, who, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and in your royal city of Rome, did mighty acts of magic, by virtue of the art of the devils operating in him." Simon's history and opinions are treated of largely in the *Recognitions of Clement*. See vol. iii. of the Edinburgh series, pp. 156–271; [vol. viii. of this series].

611 In book iv. of *The Refutation*.

612 [Acts viii. 9–24.](#)

Chapter III.—Story of Apsethus the Libyan.

Apsethus⁶¹³ the Libyan inordinately longed to become a god; but when, after repeated intrigues, he altogether failed to accomplish his desire, he nevertheless wished to appear to have become *a god*; and he did at all events appear, as time wore on, to have in reality become a god. For the foolish Libyans were accustomed to sacrifice unto him as to some divine power, supposing that they were yielding credence to a voice that came down from above, from heaven. For, collecting into one and the same cage a great number of birds,—parrots,—he shut them up. Now there are very many parrots throughout Libya, and very distinctly these imitate the human voice. This man, having for a time nourished the birds, was in the habit of teaching them to say, “Apsethus is a god.” After, however, the birds had practised this for a long period, and were accustomed to the utterance of that which he thought, when said, would make it supposed that Apsethus was a god, then, opening the habitation (of the birds), he let forth the parrots, each in a different direction. While the birds, however, were on the wing, their sound went out into all Libya, and the expressions of these reached as far as the Hellenic country. And thus the Libyans, being astonished at the voice of the birds, and not perceiving the knavery perpetrated by Apsethus, held Apsethus to be a god. Some one, however, of the Greeks, by accurate examination, perceiving the trick of the supposed god, by means of those same parrots not only refutes, but also utterly destroys, that boastful and tiresome fellow. Now the Greek, by confining many of the parrots, taught them anew to say, “Apsethus, having caged us, compelled us to say, Apsethus is a god.” But having heard of the recantation of the parrots, the Libyans, coming together, all unanimously decided on burning Apsethus.



613 Miller refers us to Apostolius' *Proverb.*, s.v. ψαφῶν. Schneidewin remarks that Maximus Tyrius relates almost a similar story concerning one Psapho, a Libyan, in his *Dissert.* (xxxv.), and that Apostolius extracted this account and inserted it in his *Cent.*, xviii. p. 730, ed. Leutsch, mentioning at the same time a similar narrative from Ælian's *Hist.*, xiv. 30. See Justin., xxi. 4, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 16.

Chapter IV.—Simon's Forced Interpretation of Scripture; Plagiarizes from Heraclitus and Aristotle; Simon's System of Sensible and Intelligible Existences.

In this way we must think concerning Simon the magician, so that we may compare him unto the Libyan, far sooner than unto Him who, though made man,⁶¹⁴ was in reality God. If, however, the assertion of this likeness is in itself accurate, and the sorcerer was the subject of a passion similar to Apsethus, let us endeavour to teach anew the parrots of Simon, that Christ, who stood, stands, and will stand, (that is, was, is, and is to come,) was not Simon. But (Jesus) was man, offspring of the seed of a woman, born of blood and the will of the flesh, as also the rest (of humanity). And that these things are so, we shall easily prove as the discussion proceeds.

Now Simon, both foolishly and knavishly paraphrasing the law of Moses, makes his statements (in the manner following): For when Moses asserts that "God is a burning and consuming fire,"⁶¹⁵ taking what is said by Moses not in its correct sense, he affirms that fire is the originating principle of the universe. (But Simon) does not consider what the statement is which is made, namely, that it is not that God is a fire, but a burning and consuming fire, (thereby) not only putting a violent sense upon the actual law of Moses, but even plagiarizing from Heraclitus the Obscure. And Simon denominates the originating principle of the universe an indefinite power, expressing himself thus: "This is the treatise of a revelation of (the) voice and name (recognisable) by means of intellectual apprehension of the Great Indefinite Power. Wherefore it will be sealed, (and) kept secret, (and) hid, (and) will repose in the habitation, at the foundation of which lies the root of all things." And he asserts that this man who is born of blood is (the aforesaid) habitation, and that in him resides an indefinite power, which he affirms to be the root of the universe.

Now the indefinite power which is fire, constitutes, according to Simon, not any uncompounded (essence, in conformity with the opinion of those who) assert that the four elements are simple, and who have (therefore) likewise imagined that fire, (which is one of the four,) is simple. But (this is far from being the case): for there is, (he maintains,) a certain twofold nature of fire;⁶¹⁶ and of this twofold (nature) he denominates one part a something secret, and another a something manifest, and that the secret are hidden in the manifest portions of the fire, and that the manifest portions of the fire derive their being from its secret (portions). This, however, is what Aristotle denominates by (the expressions) "potentiality" and "energy," or (what) Plato (styles) "intelligible" and "sensible." And the manifest portion of the fire comprises all things in itself, whatsoever any one might discern, or even whatever

614 The text here is corrupt. The above is Miller's emendation. Cruice's reading may thus be rendered: "So that far sooner we may compare him unto the Libyan, who was a mere man, and not the true God."

615 [Deut. iv. 24.](#)

616 The Abbe Cruice considers that Theodoret has made use of this passage. (See *Hæret. Fab.*, i. 1.)

objects of the visible creation⁶¹⁷ he may happen to overlook. But the entire secret (portion of the fire) which one may discern is cognised by intellect, and evades the power of the senses; or one fails to observe it, from want of a capacity for that particular sort of perception. In general, however, inasmuch as all existing things fall under the categories, namely, of what are objects of Sense, and what are objects of Intellect, and as for the denomination of these (Simon) employs the terms secret and manifest; it may, (I say, in general,) be affirmed that the fire, (I mean) the super-celestial (fire), is a treasure, as it were a large tree, just such a one as in a dream was seen by Nabuchodonosor,⁶¹⁸ out of which all flesh is nourished. And the manifest portion of the fire he regards as the stem, the branches, the leaves, (and) the external rind which overlaps them. All these (appendages), he says, of the Great Tree being kindled, are made to disappear by reason of the blaze of the all-devouring fire. The fruit, however, of the tree, when it is fully grown, and has received its own form, is deposited in a granary, not (flung) into the fire. For, he says, the fruit has been produced for the purpose of being laid in the storehouse, whereas the chaff that it may be delivered over to the fire.⁶¹⁹ (Now the chaff) is stem, (and is) generated not for its own sake, but for that of the fruit.



617 Or, τὸν ἀόρατον, the invisible one.

618 [Dan. iv. 10–12.](#)

619 [Matt. iii. 12; Luke iii. 17.](#)

Chapter V.—Simon Appeals to Scripture in Support of His System.

And this, he says, is what has been written in Scripture: “For the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth is the house of Israel, and the man of Judah is His beloved plant.” If, however, the man of Judah (is) the beloved plant, it has been proved, he says, that there is not any other tree but that man. But concerning the secretion and dissolution of this (tree), Scripture, he says, has spoken sufficiently. And as regards instruction for those who have been fashioned after the image (of him), that statement is enough which is made (in Scripture), that “all flesh is grass, and all the glory of flesh, as it were, a flower of grass. The grass withereth, and its flower falleth; but the word of the Lord abideth for ever.”⁶²⁰ The word of the Lord, he says, is that word which is produced in the mouth, and (is) a Logos, but nowhere else exists there a place of generation.

620 [1 Pet. i. 24.](#)

Chapter VI.—Simon's System Expounded in the Work, Great Announcement; Follows Empedocles.

Now, to express myself briefly, inasmuch as the fire is of this description, according to Simon, and since all things are visible and invisible, (and) in like manner resonant and not resonant, numerable and not subjects of numeration; he denominates in the *Great Announcement* a perfect intelligible (entity), after such a mode, that each of those things which, existing indefinitely, may be infinitely comprehended, both speaks, and understands, and acts in such a manner as Empedocles⁶²¹ speaks of:—

“For earth, indeed, by earth we see, and water by water,
And air divine by air, and fire fierce by fire,
And love by love, and also strife by gloomy strife.”

621 Emped., ed. Karst. v. 324.

Chapter VII.—Simon's System of a Threefold Emanation by Pairs.

For, he says, he is in the habit of considering that all these portions of the fire, both visible and invisible, are possessed of perception and a share of intelligence.⁶²² The world, therefore, that which is generated, was produced from the unbegotten fire. It began, however, to exist, he says, according to the following manner. He who was begotten from the principle of that fire took six roots, and those primary ones, of the originating principle of generation. And, he says that the roots were made from the fire in pairs, which roots he terms "Mind" and "Intelligence," "Voice" and "Name," "Ratiocination" and "Reflection." And that in these six roots resides simultaneously the entire indefinite power potentially, (however) not actually. And this indefinite power, he says, is he who stood, stands, and will stand. Wherefore, whensoever he may be made into an image, inasmuch as he exists in the six powers, he will exist (there) substantially, potentially, quantitatively, (and) completely. (And he will be a power) one and the same with the unbegotten and indefinite power, and not labouring under any greater deficiency than that unbegotten and unalterable (and) indefinite power. If, however, he may continue only potentially in the six powers, and has not been formed into an image, he vanishes, he says, and is destroyed in such a way as the grammatical or geometrical capacity in man's soul. For when the capacity takes unto itself an art, a light of existent things is produced; but when (the capacity) does not take unto itself (an art), unskilfulness and ignorance are the results; and just as when (the power) was non-existent, it perishes along with the expiring man.

622 νόματος αἰσαν: Miller has γνώμην ἴσην, which yields but little sense.

Chapter VIII.—Further Progression of This Threefold Emanation; Co-Existence with the Double Triad of a Seventh Existence.

And of those six powers,⁶²³ and of the seventh which co-exists with them, the first pair, Mind and Intelligence, he calls Heaven and Earth. And that one of these, being of male sex, beholds from above and takes care of his partner, but that the earth receives below the rational fruits, akin to the earth, which are borne down from the heaven. On this account, he says, the Logos, frequently looking towards the things that are being generated from Mind and Intelligence, that is, from Heaven and Earth, exclaims, “Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, because the Lord has spoken. I have brought forth children, and exalted them; and these have rejected me.” Now, he who utters these words, he says, is the seventh power—he who stood, stands, and will stand; for he himself is cause of those beauteous objects of creation which Moses commended, and said that they were very good. But Voice and Name (the second of the three pairs) are Sun and Moon; and Ratiocination and Reflection (the third of the three pairs) are Air and Water. And in all these is intermingled and blended, as I have declared, the great, the indefinite, the (self-) existing power.



623 These powers are thus arranged: 1. Mind and Intelligence: termed also,—1. Heaven and Earth. 2. Voice and Name: termed also,—2. Sun and Moon. 3. Ratiocination and Reflection: termed also,—3. Air and Water.

Chapter IX.—Simon's Interpretation of the Mosaic Hexaëmeron; His Allegorical Representation of Paradise.

When, therefore, Moses has spoken of “the six days in which God made heaven and earth, and rested on the seventh from all His works,”⁶²⁴ Simon, in a manner already specified, giving (these and other passages of Scripture) a different application (from the one intended by the holy writers), deifies himself. When, therefore, (the followers of Simon) affirm that there are three days begotten before sun and moon, they speak enigmatically of Mind and Intelligence, that is, Heaven and Earth, and of the seventh power, (I mean) the indefinite one. For these three powers are produced antecedent to all the rest. But when they say, “He begot me prior to all the Ages,”⁶²⁵ such statements, he says, are alleged to hold good concerning the seventh power. Now this seventh power, which was a power existing in the indefinite power, which was produced prior to all the Ages, this is, he says, the seventh power, respecting which Moses utters the following words: “And the Spirit of God was wafted over⁶²⁶ the water;” that is, says (the Simonian), the Spirit which contains all things in itself, and is an image of the indefinite power about which Simon speaks,—“an image from an incorruptible form, that alone reduces all things into order.” For this power that is wafted over the water, being begotten, he says, from an incorruptible form alone, reduces all things into order. When, therefore, according to these (heretics), there ensued some such arrangement, and (one) similar (to it) of the world, the Deity, he says, proceeded to form man, taking clay from the earth. And He formed him not uncompounded, but twofold, according to (His own) image and likeness.⁶²⁷ Now the image is the Spirit that is wafted over the water; and whosoever is not fashioned into a figure of this, will perish with the world, inasmuch as he continues only potentially, and does exist actually. This, he says, is what has been spoken, “that we should not be condemned with the world.”⁶²⁸ If one, however, be made into the figure of (the Spirit), and be generated from an indivisible point, as it has been written in the *Announcement*, (such a one, albeit) small, will become great. But what is great will continue unto infinite and unalterable duration, as being that which no longer is subject to the conditions of a generated entity.

How then, he says, and in what manner, does God form man? In Paradise; for so it seems to him. Grant Paradise, he says, to be the womb; and that this is a true (assumption) the Scripture will teach, when it utters the words, “I am He who forms thee in thy mother’s

624 [Gen. ii. 2.](#)

625 [Prov. viii. 22–24.](#)

626 “Brooded over” (see [Gen. i. 2.](#)).

627 [Gen. ii. 7.](#)

628 [1 Cor. xi. 32.](#)

womb.”⁶²⁹ For this also he wishes to have been written so. Moses, he says, resorting to allegory, has declared Paradise to be the womb, if we ought to rely on his statement. If, however, God forms man in his mother’s womb—that is, in Paradise—as I have affirmed, let Paradise be the womb, and Edem the after-birth,⁶³⁰ “a river flowing forth from Edem, for the purpose of irrigating Paradise,”⁶³¹ (meaning by this) the navel. This navel, he says, is separated into four principles; for on either side of the navel are situated two arteries, channels of spirit, and two veins, channels of blood. But when, he says, the umbilical vessels⁶³² proceed forth from Edem, that is, the caul in which the foetus is enveloped grows into the (foetus) that is being formed in the vicinity of the epigastrium,—(now) all in common denominate this a navel,—these two veins through which the blood flows, and is conveyed from Edem, the after-birth, to what are styled the gates of the liver; (these veins, I say,) nourish the foetus. But the arteries which we have spoken of as being channels of spirit, embrace the bladder on both sides, around the pelvis, and connect it with the great artery, called the aorta, in the vicinity of the dorsal ridge. And in this way the spirit, making its way through the ventricles to the heart, produces a movement of the foetus. For the infant that was formed in Paradise neither receives nourishment through the mouth, nor breathes through the nostrils: for as it lay in the midst of moisture, at its feet was death, if it attempted to breathe; for it would (thus) have been drawn away from moisture, and perished (accordingly). But (one may go further than this); for the entire (foetus) is bound tightly round by a covering styled the caul, and is nourished by a navel, and it receives through the (aorta), in the vicinity of the dorsal ridge, as I have stated, the substance of the spirit.



629 [Jer. i. 5.](#)

630 *χωρίον* (i.e., locality) is the reading in Miller, which Cruice ingeniously alters into *χόριον*, the caul in which the foetus is enclosed, which is called the “after-birth.”

631 [Gen. ii. 10.](#)

632 This rendering follows Cruice, who has succeeded in clearing away the obscurity of the passage as given in Miller.

Chapter X.—Simon's Explanation of the First Two Books of Moses.

The river, therefore, he says, which proceeds out of Edem is divided into four principles, four channels—that is, into four senses, belonging to the creature that is being born, viz., seeing, smelling, taste, and touch; for the child formed in Paradise has these senses only. This, he says, is the law which Moses appointed; and in reference to this very law, each of his books has been written, as the inscriptions evince. The first book is Genesis. The inscription of the book is, he says, sufficient for a knowledge of the universe. For this is (equivalent in meaning with) generation, (that is,) vision, into which one section of the river is divided. For the world was seen by the power of vision. Again, the inscription of the second book is Exodus. For what has been produced, passing through the Red Sea, must come into the wilderness,—now they say he calls the Red (Sea) blood,—and taste bitter water. For bitter, he says, is the water which is (drunk) after (crossing) the Red Sea; which (water) is a path to be trodden, that leads (us) to a knowledge in (this) life of (our) toilsome and bitter lot. Altered, however, by Moses—that is, by the Logos—that bitter (water) becomes sweet. And that this is so we may hear in common from all who express themselves according to the (sentiments of the) poets:—

“Dark at the root, like milk, the flower,
Gods call it ‘Moly,’ and hard for mortal men
To dig, but power divine is boundless.”⁶³³

633 *Odyssey*, x. 304 et seq. [See Butcher and Lang, p. 163.]

Chapter XI.—Simon's Explanation of the Three Last Books of the Pentateuch.

What is spoken by the Gentiles is sufficient for a knowledge of the universe to those who have ears (capable) of hearing. For whosoever, he says, has tasted this fruit, is not the only one that is changed by Circe into a beast; but also, employing the power of such a fruit, he forms anew and moulds afresh, and re-entices into that primary peculiar character of theirs, those that already have been altered into beasts. But a faithful man, and beloved by that sorceress, is, he says, discovered through that milk-like and divine fruit. In like manner, the third book is Leviticus, which is smelling, or respiration. For the entire of that book is (an account) of sacrifices and offerings. Where, however, there is a sacrifice, a certain savour of the fragrance arises from the sacrifice through the incense-offerings; and in regard of this fragrance (the sense of) smelling is a test. Numbers, the fourth of the books, signifies taste, where the discourse is operative. For, from the fact of its speaking all things, it is denominated by numerical arrangement. But Deuteronomy, he says, is written in reference to the (sense of) touch possessed by the child that is being formed. For as touch, by seizing the things that are seen by the other senses, sums them up and ratifies them, testing what is rough, or warm, or clammy, (or cold); so the fifth book of the law constitutes a summary of the four books preceding this.

All things, therefore, he says, when unbegotten, are in us potentially, not actually, as the grammatical or geometrical (art). If, then, one receives proper instruction and teaching, and (where consequently) what is bitter will be altered into what is sweet,—that is, the spears into pruning-hooks, and the swords into plough-shares,⁶³⁴—there will not be chaff and wood begotten for fire, but mature fruit, fully formed, as I said, equal and similar to the unbegotten and indefinite power. If, however, a tree continues alone, not producing fruit fully formed, it is utterly destroyed. For somewhere near, he says, is the axe (which is laid) at the roots of the tree. Every tree, he says, which does not produce good fruit, is hewn down and cast into fire.⁶³⁵

634 [Isa. ii. 4.](#)

635 [Matt. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.](#)

Chapter XII.—Fire a Primal Principle, According to Simon.

According to Simon, therefore, there exists that which is blessed and incorruptible in a latent condition in every one—(that is,) potentially, not actually; and that this is He who stood, stands,⁶³⁶ and is to stand.⁶³⁷ He has stood above in unbegotten power. He stands below, when in the stream of waters He was begotten in a likeness. He is to stand above, beside the blessed indefinite power, if He be fashioned into an image. For, he says, there are three who have stood; and except there were three Æons who have stood, the unbegotten one is not adorned. (Now the unbegotten one) is, according to them, wafted over the water, and is re-made, according to the similitude (of an eternal nature), a perfect celestial (being), in no (quality of) intelligence formed inferior to the unbegotten power: that is what they say—I and you, one; you, before me; I, that which is after you. This, he says, is one power divided above (and) below, generating itself, making itself grow, seeking itself, finding itself, being mother of itself, father of itself, sister of itself, spouse of itself, daughter of itself, son of itself, mother, father, a unit, being a root of the entire circle of existence.

And that, he says, the originating principle of the generation of things begotten is from fire, he discerns after some such method as the following. Of all things, (i.e.) of whatsoever there is a generation, the beginning of the desire of the generation is from fire. Wherefore the desire after mutable generation is denominated “to be inflamed.” For when the fire is one, it admits of two conversions. For, he says, blood in the man being both warm and yellow, is converted as a figured flame into seed; but in the woman this same blood is converted into milk. And the conversion of the male becomes generation, but the conversion of the female nourishment for the foetus. This, he says, is “the flaming sword, which turned to guard the way of the tree of life.”⁶³⁸ For the blood is converted into seed and milk, and this power becomes mother and father—father of those things that are in process of generation, and the augmentation of those things that are being nourished; (and this power is) without further want, (and) self-sufficient. And, he says, the tree of life is guarded, as we have stated, by the brandished flaming sword. And it is the seventh power, that which (is produced)

636 In the *Recognitions of Clement* we have this passage: “He (Simon) wishes himself to be believed to be an exalted power, which is above God the Creator, and to be thought to be the Christ, and to be called the standing one” (Ante-Nicene Library, ed. Edinburgh, vol. iii. p. 196).

637 The expression *stans* (standing) was used by the scholastics as applicable to the divine nature. Interpreted in this manner, the words in the text would be equivalent with “which was, and is, and is to come” (Rev. i. 8). The *Recognitions of Clement* explain the term thus: “He (Simon) uses this name as implying that he can never be dissolved, asserting that his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity, that it can endure to eternity. Hence, therefore, he is called the *standing one*, as though he cannot fall by any corruption” (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. iii. p. 196). [To be found in vol. viii. of this series, with the other apocryphal Clementines.]

638 Gen. iii. 24.

from itself, (and) which contains all (powers, and) which reposes in the six powers. For if the flaming sword be not brandished, that good tree will be destroyed, and perish. If, however, these be converted into seed and milk, the principle that resides in these potentially, and is in possession of a proper position, in which is evolved a principle of souls, (such a principle,) beginning, as it were, from a very small spark, will be altogether magnified, and will increase and become a power indefinite (and) unalterable, (equal and similar) to an unalterable age, which no longer passes into the indefinite age.

Chapter XIII.—His Doctrine of Emanation Further Expanded.

Therefore, according to this reasoning, Simon became confessedly a god to his silly followers, as that Libyan, namely, Apsethus—begotten, no doubt, and subject to passion, when he may exist potentially, but devoid of propensions. (And this too, though born from one having propensions, and uncreated though born) from one that is begotten, when He may be fashioned into a figure, and, becoming perfect, may come forth from two of the primary powers, that is, Heaven and Earth. For Simon expressly speaks of this in the “Revelation” after this manner: “To you, then, I address the things which I speak, and (to you) I write what I write. The writing is this: there are two offshoots from all the Æons, having neither beginning nor end, from one root. And this is a power, viz., Sige, (who is) invisible (and) incomprehensible. And one of these (offshoots) appears from above, which constitutes a great power, (the creative) Mind of the universe, which manages all things, (and is) a male. The other (offshoot), however, is from below, (and constitutes) a great Intelligence, and is a female which produces all things. From whence, ranged in pairs opposite each other, they undergo conjugal union, and manifest an intermediate interval, namely, an incomprehensible air, which has neither beginning nor end. But in this is a father who sustains all things, and nourishes things that have beginning and end. This is he who stood, stands, and will stand, being an hermaphrodite power according to the pre-existent indefinite power, which has neither beginning nor end. Now this (power) exists in isolation. For Intelligence, (that subsists) in unity, proceeded forth from this (power), (and) became two. And that (father) was one, for having in himself this (power) he was isolated, and, however, He was not primal though pre-existent; but being rendered manifest to himself from himself, he passed into a state of duality. But neither was he denominated father before this (power) would style him father. As, therefore, he himself, bringing forward himself by means of himself, manifested unto himself his own peculiar intelligence, so also the intelligence, when it was manifested, did not exercise the function of creation. But beholding him, she concealed the Father within herself, that is, the power; and it is an hermaphrodite power, and an intelligence. And hence it is that they are ranged in pairs, one opposite the other; for power is in no wise different from intelligence, inasmuch as they are one. For from those things that are above is discovered power; and from those below, intelligence. So it is, therefore, that likewise what is manifested from these, being unity, is discovered (to be) duality, an hermaphrodite having the female in itself. This, (therefore,) is Mind (subsisting) in Intelligence; and these are separable one from the other, (though both taken together) are one, (and) are discovered in a state of duality.”

Chapter XIV.—Simon Interprets His System by the Mythological Representation of Helen of Troy; Gives an Account of Himself in Connection with the Trojan Heroine; Immorality of His Followers; Simon's View of Christ; The Simonists' Apology for Their Vice.

Simon then, after inventing these (tenets), not only by evil devices interpreted the writings of Moses in whatever way he wished, but even the (works) of the poets.⁶³⁹ For also he fastens an allegorical meaning on (the story of) the wooden horse and Helen with the torch, and on very many other (accounts), which he transfers to what relates to himself and to Intelligence, and (thus) furnishes a fictitious explanation of them. He said, however, that this (Helen) was the lost sheep. And she, always abiding among women, confounded the powers in the world by reason of her surpassing beauty. Whence, likewise, the Trojan war arose on her account. For in the Helen born at that time resided this Intelligence; and thus, when all the powers were for claiming her (for themselves), sedition and war arose, during which (this chief power) was manifested to nations. And from this circumstance, without doubt, we may believe that Stesichorus, who had through (some) verses reviled her, was deprived of the use of his eyes; and that, again, when he repented and composed recantations, in which he sung (Helen's) praises, he recovered the power of vision. But the angels and the powers below—who, he says, created the world—caused the transference from one body to another of (Helen's soul); and subsequently she stood on the roof of a house in Tyre, a city of Phoenicia, and on going down thither (Simon professed to have) found her. For he stated that, principally for the purpose of searching after this (woman), he had arrived (in Tyre), in order that he might rescue her from bondage. And after having thus redeemed her, he was in the habit of conducting her about with himself, alleging that this (girl) was the lost sheep, and affirming himself to be the Power above all things. But the filthy⁶⁴⁰ fellow, becoming enamoured of this miserable woman called Helen, purchased her (as his slave), and enjoyed her person.⁶⁴¹ He, (however,) was likewise moved with shame towards his disciples, and concocted this figment.

But, again, those who become followers of this impostor—I mean Simon the sorcerer—indulge in similar practices, and irrationally allege the necessity of promiscuous intercourse. They express themselves in the manner following: “All earth is earth, and there is

639 Homer, for instance (See Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, xxi. 3).

640 *μιαρὸς*, Bunsen's emendation for *ψυχρὸς*, the reading in Miller and Schneidewin. Some read *ψυδρὸς*, i.e., lying; others *ψευδόχριστος*, i.e., counterfeit Christ. Cruice considers Bunsen's emendation unnecessary, as *ψυχρὸς* may be translated “absurd fellow.” The word, literally meaning cold, is applied in a derived sense to persons who were heartless,—an import suitable to Hippolytus' meaning.

641 [See Irenæus, vol. i. p. 348, and Bunsen's ideas, p. 50 of his first volume.]

no difference where any one sows, provided he does sow.” But even they congratulate themselves on account of this indiscriminate intercourse, asserting that this is perfect love, and employing the expressions, “holy of holies,” and “sanctify one another.”⁶⁴² For (they would have us believe) that they are not overcome by the supposed vice, for that they have been redeemed. “And (Jesus), by having redeemed Helen in this way,” (Simon says,) “has afforded salvation to men through his own peculiar intelligence. For inasmuch as the angels, by reason of their lust for pre-eminence, improperly managed the world, (Jesus Christ) being transformed, and being assimilated to the rulers and powers and angels, came for the restoration (of things). And so (it was that Jesus) appeared as man, when in reality he was not a man. And (so it was) that likewise he suffered—though not actually undergoing suffering, but appearing to the Jews to do so⁶⁴³—in Judea as ‘Son,’ and in Samaria as ‘Father,’⁶⁴⁴ and among the rest of the Gentiles as ‘Holy Spirit.’” And (Simon alleges) that Jesus tolerated being styled by whichever name (of the three just mentioned) men might wish to call him. “And that the prophets, deriving their inspiration from the world-making angels, uttered predictions (concerning him).” Wherefore, (Simon said,) that towards these (prophets) those felt no concern up to the present, who believe on Simon and Helen, and that they do whatsoever they please, as persons free; for they allege that they are saved by grace. For that there is no reason for punishment, even though one shall act wickedly; for such a one is not wicked by nature, but by enactment. “For the angels who created the world made,” he says, “whatever enactments they pleased,” thinking by such (legislative) words to enslave those who listened to them. But, again, they speak of a dissolution⁶⁴⁵ of the world, for the redemption of his own particular adherents.

642 This rendering is according to Bunsen’s emendation of the text.

643 Cruice omits the word *δεδοικέναι*, which seems an interpolation. The above rendering adopts the proposed emendation.

644 Bunsen thinks that there is an allusion here to the conversation of our Lord with the woman of Samaria, and if so, that Menander, a disciple of Simon, and not Simon himself, was the author of *The Great Announcement*, as the heretic did not outlive St. Peter and Paul, and therefore died before the period at which St. John’s Gospel was written.

645 Miller reads *φύσιν*, which makes no sense. The rendering above follows Bunsen’s emendation of the text. [Here it is equally interesting to the student of our author or of Irenæus to turn to Bunsen (p. 51), and to observe his parallels.]

Chapter XV.—Simon's Disciples Adopt the Mysteries; Simon Meets St. Peter at Rome; Account of Simon's Closing Years.

The disciples, then, of this (Magus), celebrate magical rites, and resort to incantations. And (they profess to) transmit both love-spells and charms, and the demons said to be senders of dreams, for the purpose of distracting whomsoever they please. But they also employ those denominated Paredroi. "And they have an image of Simon (fashioned) into the figure of Jupiter, and (an image) of Helen in the form of Minerva; and they pay adoration to these." But they call the one Lord and the other Lady. And if any one amongst them, on seeing the images of either Simon or Helen, would call them by name, he is cast off, as being ignorant of the mysteries. This Simon, deceiving many⁶⁴⁶ in Samaria by his sorceries, was reproved by the Apostles, and was laid under a curse, as it has been written in the Acts. But he afterwards abjured the faith, and attempted these (aforesaid practices). And journeying as far as Rome,⁶⁴⁷ he fell in with the Apostles; and to him, deceiving many by his sorceries, Peter offered repeated opposition. This man, ultimately repairing to...(and) sitting under a plane tree, continued to give instruction (in his doctrines). And in truth at last, when conviction was imminent, in case he delayed longer, he stated that, if he were buried alive, he would rise the third day. And accordingly, having ordered a trench to be dug by his disciples,⁶⁴⁸ he directed himself to be interred there. They, then, executed the injunction given;

646 The Abbe Cruice considers that the statements made by Origen (*Contr. Celsum*, lib. i. p. 44, ed. Spenc.), respecting the followers of Simon in respect of number, militates against Origen's authorship of *The Refutation*.

647 This rendering follows the text of Schneidewin and Cruice. The *Clementine Recognitions* (Ante-Nicene Library, ed. Edinb., vol. iii. p. 273) represent Simon Magus as leaving for Rome, and St. Peter resolving to follow him thither. Miller's text is different and as emended by him, Hippolytus' account would harmonize with that given in the Acts. Miller's text may be thus translated: "And having been laid under a curse, as has been written in the Acts, he subsequently disapproved of his practices, and made an attempt to journey as far as Rome, but he fell in with the apostles," etc. The text of Cruice and Schneidewin seems less forced: while the statement itself—a new witness to this controverted point in ecclesiastical history concerning St. Peter—corroborates Hippolytus' authorship of *The Refutation*.

648 Justin Martyr mentions, as an instance of the estimation in which Simon Magus was held among his followers, that a statue was erected to him at Rome. Bunsen considers that the rejection of this fable of Justin Martyr's, points to the author of *The Refutation* being a Roman, who would therefore, as he shows himself in the case of the statue, be better informed than the Eastern writer of any event occurring in the capital of the West. [Bunsen's magisterial decision (p. 53) is very amusingly characteristic.] Hippolytus' silence is a presumption against the existence of such a statue, though it is very possible he might omit to mention it, supposing it to be at Rome. At all events, the very precise statement of Justin Martyr ought not to be rejected on slight or conjectural grounds. [See vol. i., this series, pp. 171, 172, 182, 187, and 193. But our author relies on Irenæus, same vol., p. 348. Why reject positive testimony?]

whereas he remained (in that grave) until this day, for he was not the Christ. This constitutes the legendary system advanced by Simon, and from this Valentinus derived a starting-point (for his own doctrine. This doctrine, in point of fact, was the same with the Simonian, though Valentinus) denominated it under different titles: for "Nous," and "Aletheia," and "Logos," and "Zoe," and "Anthropos," and "Ecclesia," and Æons of Valentinus, are confessedly the six roots of Simon, viz., "Mind" and "Intelligence," "Voice" and "Name," "Ratiocination" and "Reflection." But since it seems to us that we have sufficiently explained Simon's tissue of legends, let us see what also Valentinus asserts.

Chapter XVI.—Heresy of Valentinus; Derived from Plato and Pythagoras.

The heresy of Valentinus⁶⁴⁹ is certainly, then, connected with the Pythagorean and Platonic theory. For Plato, in the *Timæus*, altogether derives his impressions from Pythagoras, and therefore Timæus himself is his Pythagorean stranger. Wherefore, it appears expedient that we should commence by reminding (the reader) of a few points of the Pythagorean and Platonic theory, and that (then we should proceed) to declare the opinions of Valentinus.⁶⁵⁰ For even although in the books previously finished by us with so much pains, are contained the opinions advanced by both Pythagoras and Plato, yet at all events I shall not be acting unreasonably, in now also calling to the recollection of the reader, by means of an epitome, the principal heads of the favourite tenets of these (speculators). And this (recapitulation) will facilitate our knowledge of the doctrines of Valentinus, by means of a nearer comparison, and by similarity of composition (of the two systems). For (Pythagoras and Plato) derived these tenets originally from the Egyptians, and introduced their novel opinions among the Greeks. But (Valentinus took his opinions) from these, because, although he has suppressed the truth regarding his obligations to (the Greek philosophers), and in this way has endeavoured to construct a doctrine, (as it were,) peculiarly his own, yet, in point of fact, he has altered the doctrines of those (thinkers) in names only, and numbers, and has adopted a peculiar terminology (of his own). Valentinus has formed his definitions by measures, in order that he may establish an Hellenic heresy, diversified no doubt, but unstable, and not connected with Christ.



649 Valentinus came from Alexandria to Rome during the pontificate of Hyginus, and established a school there. His desire seems to have been to remain in communion with Rome, which he did for many years, as Tertullian informs us. Epiphanius, however, tells that Valentinus, towards the end of his life, when living in Cyprus, separated entirely from the Church. Irenæus, book i.; Tertullian on Valentinus, and chap. xxx. of his *Præscript.*; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, iv. 13, vi. 6; Theodore, *Hæret. Fab.*, i. 7; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxxi.; St. Augustine, *Hær.*, xi.; Philastrius, *Hist. Hærs.*, c. viii.; Photius, *Biblioth.*, cap. ccxxx.; Clemens Alexandrinus' *Epitome of Theodotus* (pp. 789–809, ed. Sylburg). The title is, Ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας, κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί. See likewise Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. Bohn's edition.

650 These opinions are mostly given in extracts from Valentinus' work *Sophia*, a book of great repute among Gnostics, and not named by Hippolytus, probably as being so well known at the time. The *Gospel of Truth*, mentioned by Irenæus as used among the Valentinians, is not, however, considered to be from the pen of Valentinus. In the extracts given by Hippolytus from Valentinus, it is important (as in the case of Basilides: see translator's introduction) to find that he quotes St. John's Gospel, and St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. The latter had been pronounced by the Tübingen school as belonging to the period of the Montanistic disputes in the middle of the second century, that is, somewhere about 25–30 years after Valentinus.

Chapter XVII.—Origin of the Greek Philosophy.

The origin, then, from which Plato derived his theory in the *Timæus*, is (the) wisdom of the Egyptians.⁶⁵¹ For from this source, by some ancient and prophetic tradition, Solon⁶⁵² taught his entire system concerning the generation and destruction of the world, as Plato says, to the Greeks, who were (in knowledge) young children, and were acquainted with no theological doctrine of greater antiquity. In order, therefore, that we may trace accurately the arguments by which Valentinus established his tenets, I shall now explain what are the principles of the philosophy of Pythagoras of Samos,—a philosophy (coupled) with that Silence so celebrated by the Greeks. And next in this manner (I shall elucidate) those (opinions) which Valentinus derives from Pythagoras and Plato, but refers with all solemnity of speech to Christ, and before Christ to the Father of the universe, and to Silence conjoined with the Father.

651 See *Timæus*, c. vii. ed. Bekker.

652 Or, “Solomon,” evidently a mistake.

Chapter XVIII.—Pythagoras' System of Numbers.

Pythagoras, then, declared the originating principle of the universe to be the unbegotten monad, and the generated duad, and the rest of the numbers. And he says that the monad is the father of the duad, and the duad the mother of all things that are being begotten—the begotten one (being mother) of the things that are begotten. And Zaratas, the pupil of Pythagoras, was in the habit of denominating unity a father, and duality a mother. For the duad has been generated from the monad, according to Pythagoras; and the monad is male and primary, but the duad female (and secondary). And from the duad, again, as Pythagoras states, (are generated) the triad and the succeeding numbers up to ten. For Pythagoras is aware that this is the only perfect number—I mean the decade—for that eleven and twelve are an addition and repetition of the decade; not, however, that what is added⁶⁵³ constitutes the generation of another number. And all solid bodies he generates from incorporeal (essences). For he asserts that an element and principle of both corporeal and incorporeal entities is the point which is indivisible. And from a point, he says, is generated a line, and from a line a surface; and a surface flowing out into a height becomes, he says, a solid body. Whence also the Pythagoreans have a certain object of adjuration, viz., the concord of the four elements. And they swear in these words:—

“By him who to our head quaternion gives,
A font that has the roots of everlasting nature.”⁶⁵⁴

Now the quaternion is the originating principle of natural and solid bodies, as the monad of intelligible ones. And that likewise the quaternion generates,⁶⁵⁵ he says, the perfect number, as in the case of intelligibles (the monad) does the decade, they teach thus. If any, beginning to number, says one, and adds two, then in like manner three, these (together) will be six, and to these (add) moreover four, the entire (sum), in like manner, will be ten. For one, two, three, four, become ten, the perfect number. Thus, he says, the quaternion in every respect imitated the intelligible monad, which was able to generate a perfect number.

653 Miller would read for προστιθέμενον, νομιστέον or νομίζει.

654 Respecting these lines, Miller refers us to Fabricius, in *Sextum Empiricum*, p. 332.

655 The Abbe Cruice adduces a passage from Suidas (on the word ἀριθμός) which contains a similar statement to that furnished by Hippolytus.

Chapter XIX.—Pythagoras' Duality of Substances; His "Categories."

There are, then, according to Pythagoras, two worlds: one intelligible, which has the monad for an originating principle; and the other sensible. But of this (latter) is the quaternion having the iota, the one tittle,⁶⁵⁶ a perfect number. And there likewise is, according to the Pythagoreans, the *i*, the one tittle, which is chief and most dominant, and enables us to apprehend the substance of those intelligible entities which are capable of being understood through the medium of intellect and of sense. (And in this substance inhere) the nine incorporeal accidents which cannot exist without substance, viz., "quality," and "quantity," and "relation," and "where," and "when," and "position," and "possession," and "action," and "passion." These, then, are the nine accidents (inhering in) substance, and when reckoned with these (substances), contains the perfect number, the *i*. Wherefore, the universe being divided, as we said, into the intelligible and sensible world, we have also reason from the intelligible (world), in order that by reason we may behold the substance of things that are cognised by intellect, and are incorporeal and divine. But we have, he says, five senses—smelling, seeing, hearing, taste, and touch. Now, by these we arrive at a knowledge of things that are discerned by sense; and so, he says, the sensible is divided from the intelligible world. And that we have for each of these an instrument for attaining knowledge, we perceive from the following consideration. Nothing, he says, of intelligibles can be known to us from sense. For he says neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor any whatsoever of the other senses known that (which is cognised by mind). Neither, again, by reason is it possible to arrive at a knowledge of any of the things discernible by sense. But one must see that a thing is white, and taste that it is sweet, and know by hearing that it is musical or out of tune. And whether any odour is fragrant or disagreeable, is the function of smell, not of reason. It is the same with objects of touch; for anything rough, or soft, or warm, or cold, it is not possible to know by hearing, but (far from it), for touch is the judge of such (sensations). Things being thus constituted, the arrangement of things that have been made and are being made is observed to happen in conformity with numerical (combinations). For in the same manner as, commencing from monad, by an addition of monads or triads, and a collection of the succeeding numbers, we make some one very large complex whole of number; (and) then, again, from an amassed number thus formed by addition, we accomplish, by means of a certain subtraction and re-calculation, a solution of the totality of the aggregate numbers; so likewise he asserts that the world, bound by a certain arithmetical and musical chain, was, by its tension and relaxation, and by addition and subtraction, always and for ever preserved incorrupt.



656 [Matt. v. 18.](#)

Chapter XX.—Pythagoras' Cosmogony; Similar to that of Empedocles.

The Pythagoreans therefore declare their opinion concerning the continuance of the world in some such manner as this:—

“For heretofore it was and will be; never, I ween,
Of both of these will void the age eternal be.”

“Of these;” but what are they? Discord and Love. Now, in their system, Love forms the world incorruptible (and) eternal, as they suppose. For substance and the world are one. Discord, however, separates and puts asunder, and evinces numerous attempts by subdividing to form the world. It is just as if one severs into small parts, and divides arithmetically, the myriad into thousands, and hundreds, and tens; and drachmæ into oboli and small farthings. In this manner, he says, Discord severs the substance of the world into animals, plants, metals and things similar to these. And the fabricator of the generation of all things produced is, according to them, Discord; whereas Love, on the other hand, manages and provides for the universe in such a manner that it enjoys permanence. And conducting together⁶⁵⁷ into unity the divided and scattered parts of the universe, and leading them forth from their (separate) mode of existence, (Love) unites and adds to the universe, in order that it may enjoy permanence; and it thus constitutes one system. They will not therefore cease,—neither Discord dividing the world, nor Love attaching to the world the divided parts. Of some such description as this, so it appears, is the distribution of the world according to Pythagoras. But Pythagoras says that the stars are fragments from the sun, and that the souls⁶⁵⁸ of animals are conveyed from the stars; and that these are mortal when they are in the body, just as if buried, as it were, in a tomb: whereas that they rise (out of this world) and become immortal, when we are separated from our bodies. Whence Plato, being asked by some one, “What is philosophy?” replied, “It is a separation of soul from body.”

657 Or, συνάγει, leads together.

658 The Abbe Cruice considers that the writer of *The Refutation* did not agree with Pythagoras' opinion regarding the soul,—a fact that negatives the authorship of Origen, who assented to the Pythagorean psychology. The question concerning the pre-existence of the soul is stated in a passage often quoted, viz., St. Jerome's *Letter to Marcellina* (Ep. 82).

Chapter XXI.—Other Opinions of Pythagoras.

Pythagoras, then, became a student of these doctrines likewise, in which he speaks both by enigmas and some such expressions as these: “When you depart from your own (tabernacle), return not;⁶⁵⁹ if, however, (you act) not (thus), the Furies, auxiliaries to justice, will overtake you,”—denominating the body one’s own (tabernacle), and its passions the Furies. When, therefore, he says, you depart, that is, when you go forth from the body, do not earnestly crave for this; but if you are eagerly desirous (for departure), the passions will once more confine you within the body. For these suppose that there is a transition of souls from one body to another, as also Empedocles, adopting the principles of Pythagoras, affirms. For, says he, souls that are lovers of pleasure, as Plato states,⁶⁶⁰ if, when they are in the condition of suffering incidental to man, they do not evolve theories of philosophy, must pass through all animals and plants (back) again into a human body. And when (the soul) may form a system of speculation thrice in the same body, (he maintains) that it ascends up to the nature of some kindred star. If, however, (the soul) does not philosophize, (it must pass) through the same (succession of changes once more). He affirms, then, that the soul sometimes may become even mortal, if it is overcome by the Furies, that is, the passions (of the body); and immortal, if it succeeds in escaping the Furies, which are the passions.

659 Cruice thinks that the following words are taken from Heraclitus, and refers to Plutarch, *De Exilio*, c. xi.

660 *Phædo*, vol. i. p. 89, ed. Bekker.

Chapter XXII.—The "Sayings" Of Pythagoras.



But since also we have chosen to mention the sayings darkly expressed by Pythagoras to his disciples by means of symbols, it seems likewise expedient to remind (the reader) of the rest (of his doctrines. And we touch on this subject) on account also of the heresiarchs, who attempt by some method of this description to converse by means of symbols; and these are not their own, but they have, (in propounding them,) taken advantage of expressions employed by the Pythagoreans.⁶⁶¹ Pythagoras then instructs his disciples, addressing them as follows: "Bind up the sack that carries the bedding." (Now,) inasmuch as they who intend going upon a journey tie their clothes into a wallet, to be ready for the road; so, (in like manner,) he wishes his disciples to be prepared, since every moment death is likely to come upon them by surprise.⁶⁶² (In this way Pythagoras sought to effect) that (his followers) should labour under no deficiency in the qualifications required in his pupils.⁶⁶³ Wherefore of necessity he was in the habit, with the dawn of day, of instructing the Pythagoreans to encourage one another to bind up the sack that carries the bedding, that is, to be ready for death. "Do not stir fire with a sword;"⁶⁶⁴ (meaning,) do not, by addressing him, quarrel with an enraged man; for a person in a passion is like fire, whereas the sword is the uttered expression. "Do not trample on a besom;"⁶⁶⁵ (meaning,) despise not a small matter. "Plant not a palm tree in a house;" (meaning,) foment not discord in a family, for the palm tree is a symbol of battle and slaughter.⁶⁶⁶ "Eat not from a stool;" (meaning,) do not undertake an ignoble art, in order that you may not be a slave to the body, which is corruptible, but make

661 These sayings (*Symbola Pythagorica*) have been collected by, amongst others, Thomas Stanley, and more recently by Gaspar Orellius. The meaning and the form of the proverbs given by Hippolytus do not always correspond with, e.g., Jamblichus (the biographer of Pythagoras), Porphyry, and Plutarch. The curious reader can see the *Proverbs*, in all their variety of readings and explanations, in the edition of L. Gyraldus.

662 This has been explained by Erasmus as a precept enjoining habits of tidiness and modesty.

663 Miller's text here yields a different but not very intelligible meaning.

664 Horace quotes this proverb (2 *Serm.*, iii. 274) with a somewhat different meaning. Porphyry considers it a precept against irreverent language towards the Deity, the fire being a symbol—for instance, the vestal fire—of the everlasting nature of God. Σκάλευε in Hippolytus is also read, e.g., by Basil, ζαίνοντες, that is, cleaving. This alludes to some ancient game in which fire was struck at and severed.

665 Σάρον. This word also signifies "sweepings" or "refuse." Some say it means a Chaldean or Babylonian measure. The meaning would then be: Neglect not giving good measure, i.e., practise fair dealing. This agrees with another form of the proverb, reading ζυγόν for σάρον—that is, overlook not the balance or scales.

666 Another meaning assigned to this proverb is, "Labour to no purpose." The palm, it is alleged, when it grows of itself, produces fruit, but sterility ensues upon transplantation. The proverb is also said to mean: Avoid what may seem agreeable, but really is injurious. This alludes to the quality of the wine (see Xenophon's *Anab.*, ii.), which, pleasant in appearance, produced severe headache in those partaking of it.

a livelihood from literature. For it lies within your reach both to nourish the body, and make the soul better.⁶⁶⁷ “Don’t take a bite out of an uncut loaf;” (meaning,) diminish not thy possessions, but live on the profit (of them), and guard thy substance as an entire loaf.⁶⁶⁸ “Feed not on beans; (meaning,) accept not the government of a city, for with beans they at that time were accustomed to ballot for their magistrates.⁶⁶⁹

667 “Eat not from a stool.” This proverb is also differently read and interpreted. Another form is, “Eat not from a chariot,” of which the import is variously given, as, Do not tamper with your health, because food swallowed in haste, as it must be when one is driving a team of horses, cannot be salutary or nutritive; or, Do not be careless, because one should attend to the business in hand; if that be guiding a chariot, one should not at the same time try to eat his meals.

668 The word “entire” Plutarch adds to this proverb. Its ancient form would seem to inculcate patience and courtesy, as if one should not, when at meals, snap at food before others. As read in Plutarch, it has been also interpreted as a precept to avoid creating dissension, the unbroken bread being a symbol of unity. It has likewise been explained as an injunction against greediness. The loaf was marked by two intersecting lines into four parts, and one was not to devour all of these. (See Horace, 1 *Epist.*, xvii. 49.)

669 This is the generally received import of the proverb. Ancient writers, however, put forward other meanings, connected chiefly with certain effects of beans, e.g., disturbing the mind, and producing melancholy, which Pythagoras is said to have noticed. Horace had no such idea concerning beans (see 2 *Serm.*, vi. 63), but evidently alludes to a belief of the magi that disembodied spirits resided in beans. (See Lucian, *Micyll.*; Plutarch, *Περὶ Παιδείας*. Ἀγωγή. 17; Aulus Gellius, iv. 11; and Guigniaut’s *Cruiser’s Symbolik*, i. 160.) [See p. 12 *supra*, and compare vol. ii., this series, p. 383, and *Elucidation* III. p. 403.]

Chapter XXIII.—Pythagoras' Astronomic System.

These, then, and such like assertions, the Pythagoreans put forward; and the heretics, imitating these, are supposed by some to utter important truths. The Pythagorean system, however, lays down that the Creator of all alleged existences is the Great Geometrician and Calculator—a sun; and that this one has been fixed in the whole world, just as in the bodies a soul, according to the statement of Plato. For the sun (being of the nature of) fire,⁶⁷⁰ resembles the soul, but the earth (resembles the) body. And, separated from fire, there would be nothing visible, nor would there be any object of touch without something solid; but not any solid body exists without earth. Whence the Deity, locating air in the midst, fashioned the body of the universe out of fire and earth. And the Sun, he says, calculates and geometrically measures the world in some such manner as the following: The world is a unity cognizable by sense; and concerning this (world) we now make these assertions. But one who is an adept in the science of numbers, and a geometrician, has divided it into twelve parts. And the names of these parts are as follow: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. Again, he divides each of the twelve parts into thirty parts, and these are days of the month. Again, he divides each part of the thirty parts into sixty small divisions, and (each) of these small (divisions) he subdivides into minute portions, and (these again) into portions still more minute. And always doing this, and not intermitting, but collecting from these divided portions (an aggregate), and constituting it a year; and again resolving and dividing the compound, (the sun) completely finishes the great and everlasting world.⁶⁷¹



670 The text seems doubtful. Some would read, “The sun is (to be compared with) soul, and the moon with body.”

671 Or, “completes the great year of the world” (see book iv. chap. vii. of *The Refutation*).

Chapter XXIV.—Valentinus Convicted of Plagiarisms from the Platonic and Pythagoric Philosophy; The Valentinian Theory of Emanation by Duads.

Of some such nature, as I who have accurately examined their systems (have attempted) to state compendiously, is the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato. And from this (system), not from the Gospels, Valentinus, as we have proved, has collected the (materials of) heresy—I mean his own (heresy)—and may (therefore) justly be reckoned a Pythagorean and Platonist, not a Christian. Valentinus, therefore, and Heracleon, and Ptolemæus, and the entire school of these (heretics), as disciples of Pythagoras and Plato, (and) following these guides, have laid down as a fundamental principle of their doctrine the arithmetical system. For, likewise, according to these (Valentinians), the originating cause of the universe is a Monad, unbegotten, imperishable, incomprehensible, inconceivable, productive, and a cause of the generation of all existent things. And the aforesaid Monad is styled by them Father. There is, however, discoverable among them some considerable diversity of opinion. For some of them, in order that the Pythagorean doctrine of Valentinus may be altogether free from admixture (with other tenets), suppose that the Father is unfeminine, and unwedded, and solitary. But others, imagining it to be impossible that from a male only there could proceed a generation at all of any of those things that have been made to exist, necessarily reckon along with the Father of the universe, in order that he may be a father, Sige as a spouse. But as to Sige, whether at any time she is united in marriage (to the Father) or not, this is a point which we leave them to wrangle about among themselves. We at present, keeping to the Pythagorean principle, which is one, and unwedded, unfeminine, (and) deficient in nothing, shall proceed to give an account of their doctrines, as they themselves inculcate them. There is, says (Valentinus), not anything at all begotten, but the Father is alone unbegotten, not subject to the condition of place, not (subject to the condition of) time, having no counsellor, (and) not being any other substance that could be realized according to the ordinary methods of perception. (The Father,) however, was solitary, subsisting, as they say, in a state of quietude, and Himself reposing in isolation within Himself. When, however, He became productive,⁶⁷² it seemed to Him expedient at one time to generate and lead forth the most beautiful and perfect (of those germs of existence) which He possessed within Himself, for (the Father) was not fond of solitariness. For, says he, He was all love, but love is not love except there may be some object of affection. The Father Himself, then, as He was solitary,

672 Valentinus' system, if purged of the glosses put upon it by his disciples, appears to have been constructed out of a grand conception of Deity, and evidences much power of abstraction. Between the essence of God, dwelling in the midst of isolation prior to an exercise of the creative energy, and the material worlds, Valentinus interposes an ideal world. Through the latter, the soul—of a kindred nature—is enabled to mount up to God. This is the import of the terms Bythus (depth) and Sige (silence, i.e., solitariness) afterwards used.

projected and produced Nous and Aletheia, that is, a duad which became mistress,⁶⁷³ and origin, and mother of all the Æons computed by them (as existing) within the Pleroma. Nous and Aletheia being projected from the Father,⁶⁷⁴ one capable of continuing generation, deriving existence from a productive being, (Nous) himself likewise, in imitation of the Father, projected Logos and Zoe; and Logos and Zoe project Anthropos and Ecclesia. But Nous and Aletheia, when they beheld that their own offspring had been born productive, returned thanks to the Father of the universe, and offer unto Him a perfect number, viz., ten Æons. For, he says, Nous and Aletheia could not offer unto the Father a more perfect (one) than this number. For the Father, who is perfect, ought to be celebrated by a perfect number, and ten is a perfect number, because this is first of those (numbers) that are formed by plurality, (and therefore) perfect.⁶⁷⁵ The Father, however, being more perfect, because being alone unbegotten, by means of the one primary conjugal union of Nous and Aletheia, found means of projecting all the roots of existent things.

673 κυρία: instead of this has been suggested the reading καὶ ῥίζα, i.e., “which is both the root,” etc.

674 In all this Valentinus intends to delineate the progress from absolute to phenomenal being. There are three developments in this transition. Absolute being (Bythus and Sige) is the same as the eternal thought and consciousness of God’s own essence. Here we have the primary emanation, viz., Nous, i.e., Mind (called also Monogenes, only-begotten), and Aletheia, i.e., Truth. Next comes the ideal manifestation through the Logos, i.e., Word (obviously borrowed from the prologue to St. John’s Gospel), and Zoe, i.e., Life (taken from the same source). We have then the passage from the ideal to the actual in Anthropos, i.e., Man, and Ecclesia, i.e., Church. These last are the phenomenal manifestations of the divine mind.

675 τέλειος: Bunsen would read τέλος, which Cruice objects to on account of the word τελειότερος occurring in the next sentence.

Chapter XXV.—The Tenet of the Duad Made the Foundation of Valentinus' System of the Emanation of Æons.

Logos himself also, and Zoe, then saw that Nous and Aletheia had celebrated the Father of the universe by a perfect number; and Logos himself likewise with Zoe wished to magnify their own father and mother, Nous and Aletheia. Since, however, Nous and Aletheia were begotten, and did not possess paternal (and) perfect uncreatedness, Logos and Zoe do not glorify Nous their father with a perfect number, but far from it, with an imperfect one.⁶⁷⁶ For Logos and Zoe offer twelve Æons unto Nous and Aletheia. For, according to Valentinus, these—namely, Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia—have been the primary roots of the Æons. But there are ten Æons proceeding from Nous and Aletheia, and twelve from Logos and Zoe—twenty and eight in all.⁶⁷⁷ And to these (ten) they give these following denominations:⁶⁷⁸ Bythus and Mixis, Ageratus and Henosis, Autophyes and Hedone, Acinetus and Syncrasis, Monogenes and Macaria.⁶⁷⁹ These are ten Æons whom some say (have been projected) by Nous and Aletheia, but some by Logos and Zoe. Others, however, affirm that the twelve (Æons have been projected) by Anthropos and Ecclesia, while others by Logos and Zoe. And upon these they bestow these following names:⁶⁸⁰ Paracletus and Pistis, Patricus and Elpis, Metricus and Agape, Æinous and Synesis, Ecclesiasticus and Macariotes, Theletus and Sophia. But of the twelve, the twelfth and youngest of all the twenty-eight Æons, being a female, and called Sophia, observed the multitude and power of the begetting Æons, and hurried back into the depth of the Father. And she perceived that all the rest of the Æons, as being begotten, generate by conjugal intercourse. The Father, on the other hand, alone, without copulation, has produced (an offspring). She

676 This follows the text as emended by Bernays.

677 The number properly should be thirty, as there were two tetrads: (1) Bythus, Sige, Nous, and Aletheia; (2) Logos, Zoe, Ecclesia, and Anthropos. Some, as we learn from Hippolytus, made up the number to thirty, by the addition of Christ and the Holy Ghost,—a fact which Bunsen thinks conclusively proves that the alleged generation of Æons was a subsequent addition to Valentinus' system.

678 There is some confusion in Hippolytus' text, which is, however, removeable by a reference to Irenæus (i. 1).

679 We subjoin the meanings of these names:— Ten Æons from Nous and Aletheia, (or) Logos and Zoe, viz.:— 1. Bythus = Profundity. 2. Mixis = Mixture. 3. Ageratos = Ever-young. 4. Henosis = Unification. 5. Autophyes = Self-grown. 6. Hedone = Voluptuousness. 7. Acinetus = Motionless. 8. Syncrasis = Composition. 9. Monogenes = Only-begotten. 10. Macaria = Blessedness.

680 The following are the meanings of these names:— Twelve Æons from Anthropos and Ecclesia, (or) Logos and Zoe:— 1. Paracletus = Comforter. 2. Pistis = Faith. 3. Patricus = Paternal. 4. Elpis = Hope. 5. Metricus = Temperate. 6. Agape = Love. 7. Æinous = Ever-thinking. 8. Synesis = Intelligence. 9. Ecclesiasticus = Ecclesiastical. 10. Makariotes = Felicity. 11. Theletus = Volition. 12. Sophia = Wisdom.

wished to emulate the Father,⁶⁸¹ and to produce (offspring) of herself without a marital partner, that she might achieve a work in no wise inferior⁶⁸² to (that of) the Father. (Sophia, however,) was ignorant that the Unbegotten One, being an originating principle of the universe, as well as root and depth and abyss, alone possesses the power of self-generation. But Sophia, being begotten, and born after many more (Æons), is not able to acquire possession of the power inherent in the Unbegotten One. For in the Unbegotten One, he says, all things exist simultaneously, but in the begotten (Æons) the female is projective of substance, and the male is formative of the substance which is projected by the female. Sophia, therefore, prepared to project that only which she was capable (of projecting), viz., a formless and undigested substance.⁶⁸³ And this, he says, is what Moses asserts: "The earth was invisible, and unfashioned." This (substance) is, he says, the good (and) the heavenly Jerusalem, into which God has promised to conduct the children of Israel, saying, "I will bring you into a land flowing with milk and honey."

681 [Rev. ii. 24. It belongs to the "depths of Satan" to create mythologies that caricature the Divine mysteries. Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 11.]

682 This Sophia was, so to speak, the bridge which spanned the abyss between God and Reality. Under an aspect of this kind Solomon (Prov. viii.) views Wisdom; and Valentinus introduces it into his system, according to the old Judaistic interpretation of Sophia, as the instrument for God's creative energy. But Sophia thought to pass beyond her function as the connecting link between limited and illimitable existence, by an attempt to evolve the infinite from herself. She fails, and an abortive image of the true Wisdom is procreated, while Sophia herself sinks into this nether world.

683 Miller's text has, "a well-formed and properly-digested substance." This reading is, however, obviously wrong, as is proved by a reference to what Epiphanius states (*Hær.*, xxxi.) concerning Valentinus.

Chapter XXVI.—Valentinus' Explanation of the Existence of Christ and the Spirit.

Ignorance, therefore, having arisen within the Pleroma in consequence of Sophia, and shapelessness in consequence of the offspring of Sophia, confusion arose in the Pleroma. (For all) the Æons that were begotten (became overwhelmed with apprehension, imagining) that in like manner formless and incomplete progenies of the Æons should be generated; and that some destruction, at no distant period, should at length seize upon the Æons. All the Æons, then, betook themselves to supplication of the Father, that he would tranquillize the sorrowing Sophia; for she continued weeping and bewailing on account of the abortion produced by her,—for so they term it. The Father, then, compassionating the tears of Sophia, and accepting the supplication of the Æons, orders a further projection. For he did not, (Valentinus) says, himself project, but Nous and Aletheia (projected) Christ and the Holy Spirit for the restoration of Form, and the destruction of the abortion, and (for) the consolation and cessation of the groans of Sophia. And thirty Æons came into existence along with Christ and the Holy Spirit. Some of these (Valentinians) wish that this should be a triad of Æons, whereas others desire that Sige should exist along with the Father, and that the Æons should be reckoned along with them.

Christ, therefore, being additionally projected, and the Holy Spirit, by Nous and Aletheia, immediately this abortion of Sophia, (which was) shapeless, (and) born of herself only, and generated without conjugal intercourse, separates from the entire of the Æons, lest the perfect Æons, beholding this (abortion), should be disturbed by reason of its shapelessness. In order, then, that the shapelessness of the abortion might not at all manifest itself to the perfect Æons, the Father also again projects additionally one Æon, viz., Staurus. And he being begotten great, as from a mighty and perfect father, and being projected for the guardianship and defence of the Æons, becomes a limit of the Pleroma, having within itself all the thirty Æons together, for these are they that had been projected. Now this (Æon) is styled Horos, because he separates from the Pleroma the Hysterema that is outside. And (he is called) Metocheus, because he shares also in the Hysterema. And (he is denominated) Staurus, because he is fixed inflexibly and inexorably, so that nothing of the Hysterema can come near the Æons who are within the Pleroma. Outside, then, Horos, (or) Metocheus,⁶⁸⁴ (or) Staurus, is the Ogdoad, as it is called, according to them, and is that Sophia which is outside the Pleroma, which (Sophia) Christ, who was additionally projected by Nous and Aletheia, formed and made a perfect Æon so that in no respect she should be inferior in power to any of the Æons within the Pleroma.⁶⁸⁵ Since, however, Sophia was formed outside, and it was not possible and equitable that Christ and the Holy Spirit, who were projected



⁶⁸⁴ Or, "Metagogeus" (see Irenæus, i. 1, 2, iii. 1).

⁶⁸⁵ Bunsen corrects the passage, "So that she should not be inferior to any of the Æons, or unequal (in power) to any (of them)."

from Nous and Aletheia, should remain outside the Pleroma, Christ hurried away, and the Holy Spirit, from her who had had shape imparted to her, unto Nous and Aletheia within the Limit, in order that with the rest of the Æons they might glorify the Father.

Chapter XXVII.—Valentinus' Explanation of the Existence of Jesus; Power of Jesus Over Humanity.

After, then, there ensued some one (treaty of) peace and harmony between all the Æons within the Pleroma, it appeared expedient to them not only by a conjugal union to have magnified the Son, but also that by an offering of ripe fruits they should glorify the Father. Then all the thirty Æons consented to project one Æon, joint fruit of the Pleroma, that he might be (an earnest) of their union,⁶⁸⁶ and unanimity, and peace. And he alone was projected by all the Æons in honour of the Father. This (one) is styled among them "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma." These (matters), then, took place within the Pleroma in this way. And the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma" was projected, (that is,) Jesus,—for this is his name,—the great High Priest. Sophia, however, who was outside the Pleroma in search of Christ, who had given her form, and of the Holy Spirit, became involved in great terror that she would perish, if he should separate from her, who had given her form and consistency. And she was seized with grief, and fell into a state of considerable perplexity, (while) reflecting who was he who had given her form, what the Holy Spirit was, whither he had departed, who it was that had hindered them from being present, who it was that had been envious of that glorious and blessed spectacle. While involved in sufferings such as these, she turns herself to prayer and supplication of him who had deserted her. During the utterance of her entreaties, Christ, who is within the Pleroma, had mercy upon (her), and all the rest of the Æons (were similarly affected); and they send forth beyond the Pleroma "the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma" as a spouse for Sophia, who was outside, and as a rectifier of those sufferings which she underwent in searching after Christ.

"The Fruit," then, arriving outside the Pleroma, and discovering (Sophia) in the midst of those four primary passions, both fear and sorrow, and perplexity and entreaty, he rectified her affections. While, however, correcting them, he observed that it would not be proper to destroy these, inasmuch as they are (in their nature) eternal, and peculiar to Sophia; and yet that neither was it seemly that Sophia should exist in the midst of such passions, in fear and sorrow, supplication (and) perplexity. He therefore, as an Æon so great, and (as) offspring of the entire Pleroma, caused the passions to depart from her, and he made these substantially-existent essences.⁶⁸⁷ He altered fear into animal desire,⁶⁸⁸ and (made) grief material, and (rendered) perplexity (the passion) of demons. But conversion,⁶⁸⁹ and entreaty, and supplication, he constituted as a path to repentance and power over the animal essence,

686 ἐνότητος: Miller has νεότητος, i.e., youth. The former is the emendation of Bernays.

687 This is Bunsen's text, ὑποστάτους. Duncker reads ὑποστατικᾶς, hypostatic.

688 Some read οὐσίαν (see Theodoret, *Hær.*, c. vii.).

689 ἐπιστροφήν; or it may be rendered "solicitude." Literally, it means a turning towards, as in this instance, for the purpose of prayer (see Irenæus, i. 5).

which is denominated right.⁶⁹⁰ The Creator⁶⁹¹ (acted) from fear; (and) that is what, he says, Scripture affirms: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."⁶⁹² For this is the beginning of the affections of Sophia, for she was seized with fear, next with grief, then with perplexity, and so she sought refuge in entreaty and supplication. And the animal essence is, he says, of a fiery nature, and is also termed by them the super-celestial Topos, and Hebdomad,⁶⁹³ and "Ancient of Days."⁶⁹⁴ And whatever other such statements they advance respecting this (Æon), these they allege to hold good of the animalish (one), whom they assert to be creator of the world. Now he is of the appearance of fire. Moses also, he says, expresses himself thus: "The Lord thy God is a burning and consuming fire."⁶⁹⁵ For he, likewise, wishes (to think) that it has been so written. There is, however, he says, a twofold power of the fire; for fire is all-consuming, (and) cannot be quenched. According, therefore, to this division, there exists, subject to death, a certain soul which is a sort of mediator, for it is a Hebdomad and Cessation.⁶⁹⁶ For underneath the Ogdoad, where Sophia is, but above Matter, which is the Creator, a day has been formed,⁶⁹⁷ and the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma." If the soul has been fashioned in the image of those above, that is, the Ogdoad, it became immortal and repaired to the Ogdoad, which is, he says, heavenly Jerusalem. If, however, it has been fashioned in the image of Matter, that is, the corporeal passions, the soul is of a perishable nature, and is (accordingly) destroyed.



690 Valentinus denominates what is psychical (natural) right, and what is material or pathematic left (see Irenæus, i. 5).

691 Cruice renders the passage thus: "which is denominated right, or Demiurge, while fear it is that accomplishes this transformation." The Demiurge is of course called "right," as being the power of the psychical essence (see Clemens Alexandrinus, *Hypot. excerpta e Theod.*, c. 43).

692 [Ps. cxi. 10](#); [Prov. i. 7](#); [ix. 10](#).

693 Schneidewin fills up the hiatus thus: "Place of Mediation." The above translation adopts the emendation of Cruice (see Irenæus, i. 5).

694 [Dan. vii. 9, 13, 22](#).

695 [Deut. ix. 3](#); [Ps. l. 3](#); [Heb. xii. 29](#).

696 [Gen. ii. 2](#).

697 See *Epistle of Barnabas*, chap. xv. vol. i. p. 146, and *Ignatius' Letter to the Magnesians*, chap. ix. p. 63, this series.

Chapter XXVIII.—The Valentinian Origin of the Creation.

As, therefore, the primary and greatest power⁶⁹⁸ of the animal essence came into existence, an image (of the only begotten Son); so also the devil, who is the ruler of this world, constitutes the power of the material essence, as Beelzebub is of the essence of demons which emanates from anxiety. (In consequence of this,) Sophia from above exerted her energy from the Ogdoad to the Hebdomad. For the Demiurge, they say, knows nothing at all, but is, according to them, devoid of understanding, and silly, and is not conscious of what he is doing or working at. But in him, while thus in a state of ignorance that even he is producing, Sophia wrought all sorts of energy, and infused vigour (into him). And (although Sophia) was really the operating cause, he himself imagines that he evolves the creation of the world out of himself: whence he commenced, saying, "I am God, and beside me there is no other."⁶⁹⁹

698 The opening sentence in this chapter is confused in Miller's text. The sense, however, as given above, is deducible from a reference to a corresponding passage in Irenæus (i. 5).

699 [Deut. iv. 35; Isa. xlv. 5, 14, 18, 21, 22.](#)

Chapter XXIX.—The Other Valentinian Emanations in Conformity with the Pythagorean System of Numbers.

The quaternion, then, advocated by Valentinus, is “a source of the everlasting nature having roots;”⁷⁰⁰ and Sophia (is the power) from whom the animal and material creation has derived its present condition. But Sophia is called “Spirit,” and the Demiurge “Soul,” and the Devil “the ruler of this world,” and Beelzebub “the (ruler) of demons.” These are the statements which they put forward. But further, in addition to these, rendering, as I have previously mentioned, their entire system of doctrine (akin to the) arithmetical (art), (they determine) that the thirty Æons within the Pleroma have again, in addition to these, projected other Æons, according to the (numerical) proportion (adopted by the Pythagoreans), in order that the Pleroma might be formed into an aggregate, according to a perfect number. For how the Pythagoreans divided (the celestial sphere) into twelve and thirty and sixty parts, and how they have minute parts of diminutive portions, has been made evident.

In this manner these (followers of Valentinus) subdivide the parts within the Pleroma. Now likewise the parts in the Ogdoad have been subdivided, and there has been projected Sophia, which is, according to them, mother of all living creatures, and the “Joint Fruit of the Pleroma,” (who is) the Logos,⁷⁰¹ (and other Æons,) who are celestial angels that have their citizenship in Jerusalem which is above, which is in heaven. For this Jerusalem is Sophia, she (that is) outside (the Pleroma), and her spouse is the “Joint Fruit of the Pleroma.” And the Demiurge projected souls; for this (Sophia) is the essence of souls. This (Demiurge), according to them, is Abraham, and these (souls) the children of Abraham. From the material and devilish essence the Demiurge fashioned bodies for the souls. This is what has been declared: “And God formed man, taking clay from the earth, and breathed upon his face the breath of life, and man was made into a living soul.”⁷⁰² This, according to them, is the inner man, the natural (man), residing in the material body: Now a material (man) is perishable, incomplete, (and) formed out of the devilish essence. And this is the material man, as it were, according to them an inn,⁷⁰³ or domicile, at one time of soul only, at another time of soul and demons, at another time of soul and Logoi.⁷⁰⁴ And these are the Logoi that have been dispersed from above, from the “Joint Fruit of the Pleroma” and (from) Sophia, into this world. And they dwell in an earthly body, with a soul, when demons do not take

700 These words are a line out of Pythagoras’ *Golden Verses*:—Πηγὴ τις ἀενάου φύσεως ῥιζώματ’ ἔχουσα—(48).

701 The Abbe Cruise thinks that a comparison of this passage with the corresponding one in Irenæus suggests the addition of οἱ δορυφόροι after Λόγος, i.e., the Logos and his satellites. [Vol. i. p. 381, this series.]

702 [Gen. ii. 7.](#)

703 Or, “subterranean” (Cruise).

704 Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxxi. sec. 7.

up their abode with that soul. This, he says, is what has been written in Scripture: “On this account I bend my knees to the God and Father and Lord of our Lord Jesus Christ, that God would grant you to have Christ dwelling in the inner man,”⁷⁰⁵—that is, the natural (man), not the corporeal (one),—“that you may be able to understand what is the depth,” which is the Father of the universe, “and what is the breadth,” which is Staurus, the limit of the Pleroma, “or what is the length,” that is, the Pleroma of the Æons. Wherefore, he says, “the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him;”⁷⁰⁶ but folly, he says, is the power of the Demiurge, for he was foolish and devoid of understanding, and imagined himself to be fabricating the world. He was, however, ignorant that Sophia, the Mother, the Ogdoad, was really the cause of all the operations performed by him who had no consciousness in reference to the creation of the world.

705 Eph. iii. 14–18.

706 1 Cor. ii. 14.

Chapter XXX.—Valentinus' Explanation of the Birth of Jesus; Twofold Doctrine on the Nature of Jesus' Body; Opinion of the Italians, that Is, Heracleon and Ptolemæus; Opinion of the Orientals, that Is, Axionicus and Bardesanes.

All the prophets, therefore, and the law, spoke by means of the Demiurge,—a silly god,⁷⁰⁷ he says, (and themselves) fools, who knew nothing. On account of this, he says, the Saviour observes: “All that came before me are thieves and robbers.”⁷⁰⁸ And the apostle (uses these words): “The mystery which was not made known to former generations.”⁷⁰⁹ For none of the prophets, he says, said anything concerning the things of which we speak; for (a prophet) could not but be ignorant of all (these) things, inasmuch as they certainly had been uttered by the Demiurge only. When, therefore, the creation received completion, and when after (this) there ought to have been the revelation of the sons of God—that is, of the Demiurge, which up to this had been concealed, and in which obscurity the natural man was hid, and had a veil upon the heart;—when (it was time), then, that the veil should be taken away, and that these mysteries should be seen, Jesus was born of Mary the virgin, according to the declaration (in Scripture), “The Holy Ghost will come upon thee”—Sophia is the Spirit—“and the power of the Highest will overshadow thee”—the Highest is the Demiurge,—“wherefore that which shall be born of thee shall be called holy.”⁷¹⁰ For he has been generated not from the highest alone, as those created in (the likeness of) Adam have been created from the highest alone—that is, (from) Sophia and the Demiurge. Jesus, however, the new man, (has been generated) from the Holy Spirit—that is, Sophia and the Demiurge—in order that the Demiurge may complete the conformation and constitution of his body, and that the Holy Spirit may supply his essence, and that a celestial Logos may proceed from the Ogdoad being born of Mary.

Concerning this (Logos) they have a great question amongst them—an occasion both of divisions and dissension. And hence the doctrine of these has become divided: and one doctrine, according to them, is termed Oriental, and the other Italian. They from Italy, of whom is Heracleon and Ptolemæus, say that the body of Jesus was (an) animal (one). And on account of this, (they maintain) that at his baptism the Holy Spirit as a dove came down—that is, the Logos of the mother above, (I mean Sophia)—and became (a voice) to the animal (man), and raised him from the dead. This, he says, is what has been declared: “He who raised Christ from the dead will also quicken your mortal and natural bodies.”⁷¹¹

707 Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxxi. 22.

708 [John x. 8.](#)

709 [Col. i. 26.](#)

710 [Luke i. 35.](#)

711 [Rom. viii. 11, 12.](#)

For loam has come under a curse; “for,” says he, “dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.”⁷¹² The Orientals, on the other hand, of whom is Axionicus⁷¹³ and Bardesianes,⁷¹⁴ assert that the body of the Saviour was spiritual; for there came upon Mary the Holy Spirit—that is, Sophia and the power of the highest. This is the creative art, (and was vouchsafed) in order that what was given to Mary by the Spirit might be fashioned.

712 [Gen. iii. 19.](#)

713 Axionicus is mentioned by Tertullian only (see Tertullian, *Contr. Valent.*, c. iv; [vol. iii. p. 505, this series]).

714 Bardesianes (or Ardesianes, as Miller’s text has it) is evidently the same with Bardesanes, mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerome.

Chapter XXXI.—Further Doctrines of Valentinus Respecting the Æons; Reasons for the Incarnation.

Let, then, those (heretics) pursue these inquiries among themselves, (and let others do so likewise,) if it should prove agreeable to anybody else to investigate (such points. Valentinus) subjoins, however, the following statement: That the trespasses appertaining to the Æons within (the Pleroma) had been corrected; and likewise had been rectified the trespasses appertaining to the Ogdoad, (that is,) Sophia, outside (the Pleroma); and also (the trespasses) appertaining to the Hebdomad (had been rectified). For the Demiurge had been taught by Sophia that He is not Himself God alone, as He imagined, and that except Himself there is not another (Deity). But when taught by Sophia, He was made to recognise the superior (Deity). For He was instructed⁷¹⁵ by her, and initiated and indoctrinated into the great mystery of the Father and of the Æons, and divulged this to none. This is, as he says, what (God) declares to Moses: “I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; and my name I have not announced to them;”⁷¹⁶ that is, I have not declared the mystery, nor explained who is God, but I have preserved the mystery which I have heard from Sophia in secrecy with myself. When, then, the trespasses of those above had been rectified, it was necessary, according to the same consequence, that the (transgressions) here likewise should obtain rectification. On this account Jesus the Saviour was born of Mary that he might rectify (the trespasses committed) here; as the Christ who, having been projected additionally from above by Nous and Aletheia, had corrected the passions of Sophia—that is, the abortion (who was) outside (the Pleroma). And, again, the Saviour who was born of Mary came to rectify the passions⁷¹⁷ of the soul. There are therefore, according to these (heretics), three Christs: (the first the) one additionally projected by Nous and Aletheia, along with the Holy Spirit; and (the second) the “Joint Fruit of the Pleroma,” spouse of Sophia, who was outside (the Pleroma). And she herself is likewise styled Holy Spirit, but one inferior to the first (projection). And the third (Christ is) He who was born of Mary for the restoration of this world of ours.

715 κατήχθη. Miller’s text has κατήχθη, which is properly corrected by Bunsen into the word as translated above.

716 Ex. vi. 2, 3.

717 Or, “the multitudes.”

Chapter XXXII.—Valentinus Convicted of Plagiarisms from Plato.

I think that the heresy of Valentinus which is of Pythagorean (origin), has been sufficiently, indeed more than sufficiently, delineated. It therefore seems also expedient, that having explained his opinions, we should desist from (further) refutation (of his system). Plato, then, in expounding mysteries concerning the universe, writes to Dionysius expressing himself after some such manner⁷¹⁸ as this: “I must speak to you by riddles,⁷¹⁹ in order that if the letter may meet with any accident in its leaves by either sea or land, he who reads (what falls into his hands) may not understand it. For so it is. All things are about the King of all, and on his account are all things, and he is cause of all the glorious (objects of creation). The second is about the second, and the third about the third. But pertaining to the King there is none of those things of which I have spoken. But after this the soul earnestly desires to learn what sort these are, looking upon those things that are akin to itself, and not one of these is (in itself) sufficient. This is, O son of Dionysius and Doris, the question (of yours) which is a cause of all evil things. Nay, but rather the solicitude concerning this is innate in the soul; and if one does not remove this, he will never really attain truth.⁷²⁰ But what is astonishing in this matter, listen. For there are men who have heard these things—(men) furnished with capacities for learning, and furnished with capacities of memory, and persons who altogether in every way are endued with an aptitude for investigation with a view to inference. (These are) at present aged speculators.⁷²¹ And they assert that opinions which at one time were credible are now incredible, and that things once incredible are now the contrary. While, therefore, turning the eye of examination towards these (inquiries), exercise caution, lest at any time you should have reason to repent in regard of those things should they happen in a manner unbecoming to your dignity. On this account I have written nothing concerning these (points); nor is there any treatise of Plato’s (upon them), nor ever shall there be. The observations, however, now made are those of Socrates, conspicuous for virtue even while he was a young man.”

Valentinus, falling in with these (remarks), has made a fundamental principle in his system “the King of all,” whom Plato mentioned, and whom this heretic styles Pater, and Bythos, and Proarche⁷²² over the rest of the Æons. And when Plato uses the words, “what

718 Cruice thinks that the following extract from Plato’s epistles has been added by a second hand. [Cf. vol. iii. p. 181, this series.]

719 There are some verbal diversities between the texts of Plato and Hippolytus, which a reference will show (see Plat., *Epist.*, t. ix. p. 76, ed. Bekker).

720 Some forty lines that follow in Plato’s letter are omitted here.

721 Here likewise there is another deficiency as compared with the original letter.

722 Miller’s text is, καὶ πᾶσι γῆν, etc. In the German and French edition of Hippolytus we have, instead of this, καὶ Προαρχὴν. The latter word is introduced on the authority of Epiphanius and Theodoret. Bernays proposes

is second about things that are second,” Valentinus supposes to be second all the Æons that are within the limit (of the Pleroma, as well as) the limit (itself). And when Plato uses the words, “what is third about what is third,” he has (constituted as third) the entire of the arrangement (existing) outside the limit⁷²³ and the Pleroma. And Valentinus has elucidated this (arrangement) very succinctly, in a psalm commencing from below, not as Plato does, from above, expressing himself thus: “I behold⁷²⁴ all things suspended in air by spirit, and I perceive all things wafted by spirit; the flesh (I see) suspended from soul, but the soul shining out from air, and air depending from Æther, and fruits produced from Bythus, and the foetus borne from the womb.” Thus (Valentinus) formed his opinion on such (points). Flesh, according to these (heretics), is matter which is suspended from the soul of the Demiurge. And soul shines out from air; that is, the Demiurge emerges from the spirit, (which is) outside the Pleroma. But air springs forth from Æther; that is, Sophia, which is outside (the Pleroma, is projected from the Pleroma) which is within the limit, and (from) the entire Pleroma (generally). And from Bythus fruits are produced; (that is,) the entire projection of the Æons is made from the Father. The opinions, then, advanced by Valentinus have been sufficiently declared. It remains for us to explain the tenets of those who have emanated from his school, though each adherent (of Valentinus) entertains different opinions.⁷²⁵



Σιγήν, and Scott Πλάστην. The Abbe Cruice considers Πλάστην an incongruous word as applied to the creation of spiritual beings.

723 The word “limit” occurs twice in this sentence, and Bunsen alters the second into “Pleroma,” so that the words may be rendered thus: “Valentinus supposes to be second all the Æons that are within the Pleroma.”

724 This is a Gnostic hymn, and is arranged metrically by Cruice, of which the following is a translation:—
All things whirled on by spirit I see, Flesh from soul depending, And soul from air forth flashing, And air from æther hanging, And fruits from Bythus streaming, And from womb the infant growing.

725 The text here is corrupt, but the above rendering follows the Abbe Cruice’s version. Bunsen’s emendation would, however, seem untenable.

Chapter XXXIII.—Secundus' System of Æons; Epiphanes; Ptolemæus.

A certain (heretic) Secundus,⁷²⁶ born about the same time with Ptolemæus, expresses himself thus: (he says) that there is a right tetrad and a left tetrad,—namely, light and darkness. And he affirms that the power which withdrew and laboured under deficiency, was not produced from the thirty Æons, but from the fruits of these. Some other (heretic), however—Epiphanes, a teacher among them—expresses himself thus: “The earliest originating principle was inconceivable, ineffable, and unnameable;” and he calls this Monotes. And (he maintains) that there co-exists with this (principle) a power which he denominates Henotes. This Henotes and this Monotes, not by projection (from themselves), sent forth a principle (that should preside) over all intelligibles; (and this was) both unbegotten and invisible, and he styles it a Monad. “With this power co-exists a power of the same essence, which very (power) I call Unity. These four powers sent forth the remainder of the projections of the Æons.” But others, again, denominate the chief and originating Ogdoad, (which is) fourth (and) invisible, by the following names: first, Proarche; next, Anennœtus; third, Arrhetus; and fourth, Aoratus. And that from the first, Proarche, was projected by a first and fifth place, Arche; and from Anennœtus, by a second and sixth place, Acataleptus; and from Arrhetus, by a third and seventh place, Anonomastus; and from Aoratus, Agennetus, a complement of the first Ogdoad. They wish that these powers should exist before Bythus and Sige. Concerning, however, Bythus himself, there are many different opinions. Some affirm him to be unwedded, neither male nor female; but others (maintain) that Sige, who is a female, is present with him, and that this constitutes the first conjugal union.

But the followers of Ptolemæus⁷²⁷ assert that (Bythus) has two spouses, which they call likewise dispositions, viz., Ennoia and Thelesis (conception and volition). For first the notion was conceived of projecting anything; next followed, as they say, the will to do so. Wherefore also these two dispositions and powers—namely, Ennoia and Thelesis—being, as it were, mingled one with the other, there ensued a projection of Monogenes and Aletheia by means of a conjugal union. And the consequence was, that visible types and images of those two dispositions of the Father came forth from the invisible (Æons), viz., from Thelema, Nous, and from Ennoia, Aletheia. And on this account the image of the subsequently generated Thelema is (that of a) male; but (the image) of the unbegotten Ennoia is (that of a) female, since volition is, as it were, a power of conception. For conception always cherished the idea of a projection, yet was not of itself at least able to project itself, but cherished the idea (of

726 Concerning Secundus and Epiphanes, see Irenæus, i. 11; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 5–9; Epiphanius, xxxii. 1, 3, 4; Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.*, c. xxxviii.; and St. Augustine, *Hær.*, xi. Hippolytus, in his remarks on Secundus and Epiphanes, borrows from St. Irenæus.

727 Concerning Ptolemæus, see Irenæus, i. 12; Tertullian, *De Præscript.*, c. xlix.; and *Advers. Valent.*, c. viii.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxxiii. 3–7; and Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.*, i. 8.

doing so). When, however, the power of volition (would be present), then it projects the idea which had been conceived. _____

Chapter XXXIV.—System of Marcus; A Mere Impostor; His Wicked Devices Upon the Eucharistic Cup.

A certain other teacher among them, Marcus,⁷²⁸ an adept in sorcery, carrying on operations⁷²⁹ partly by sleight of hand and partly by demons, deceived many from time to time. This (heretic) alleged that there resided in him the mightiest power from invisible and unnameable places. And very often, taking the Cup, as if offering up the Eucharistic prayer, and prolonging to a greater length than usual the word of invocation, he would cause the appearance of a purple, and sometimes of a red mixture, so that his dupes imagined that a certain Grace descended and communicated to the potion a blood-red potency. The knave, however, at that time succeeded in escaping detection from many; but now, being convicted (of the imposture), he will be forced to desist from it. For, infusing secretly into the mixture some drug that possessed the power of imparting such a colour (as that alluded to above), uttering for a considerable time nonsensical expressions, he was in the habit of waiting, (in expectation) that the (drug), obtaining a supply of moisture, might be dissolved, and, being intermingled with the potion, might impart its colour to it. The drugs, however, that possess the quality of furnishing this effect we have previously mentioned in the book on magicians.⁷³⁰ And here we have taken occasion to explain how they make dupes of many, and thoroughly ruin them. And if it should prove agreeable to them to apply their attention with greater accuracy to the statement made by us, they will become aware of the deceit of Marcus.



728 Concerning Marcus, see Irenæus, i. 12–18; Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. l.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxxiv.; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.*, i. 9; St. Augustine, *Hær.*, c. xiv.; and St. Jerome's 29th Epistle.

729 ἐνεργῶν: Bunsen reads δρῶν, which has the same meaning. Cruice reads αἰωρῶν, but makes no attempt at translation. Miller's reading is δώρων, which is obviously corrupt, but for which δόλων has been suggested, and with good show of reason.

730 [The lost book upon the Witch of Endor, possibly. "Against the Magi" is the title of the text, and is taken to refer to book iv. cap. xxviii. p. 35, *supra*: the more probable opinion.]

Chapter XXXV.—Further Acts of Jugglery on the Part of Marcus.

And this (Marcus), infusing (the aforesaid) mixture into a smaller cup, was in the habit of delivering it to a woman to offer up the Eucharistic prayer, while he himself stood by, and held (in his hand) another empty (chalice) larger than that. And after his female dupe had pronounced the sentence of Consecration,⁷³¹ having received (the cup from her), he proceeded to infuse (its contents) into the larger (chalice), and, pouring them frequently from one cup to the other, was accustomed at the same time to utter the following invocation: “Grant that the inconceivable and ineffable Grace which existed prior to the universe, may fill thine inner man, and make to abound in thee the knowledge of this (grace), as She disseminates the seed of the mustard-tree upon the good soil.” And simultaneously pronouncing some such words as these, and astonishing both his female dupe and those that are present, he was regarded as one performing a miracle; while the larger was being filled from the smaller chalice, in such a way as that (the contents), being superabundant, flowed over. And the contrivance of this (juggler) we have likewise explained in the aforesaid (fourth) book, where we have proved that very many drugs, when mingled in this way with liquid substances, are endued with the quality of yielding augmentation, more particularly when diluted in wine. Now, when (one of these impostors) previously smears, in a clandestine manner, an empty cup with any one of these drugs, and shows it (to the spectators) as if it contained nothing, by infusing into it (the contents) from the other cup, and pouring them back again, the drug, as it is of a flatulent nature, is dissolved⁷³² by being blended with the moist substance. And the effect of this was, that a superabundance of the mixture ensued, and was so far augmented, that what was infused was put in motion, such being the nature of the drug. And if one stow away (the chalice) when it has been filled, (what has been poured into it) will after no long time return to its natural dimensions, inasmuch as the potency of the drug becomes extinct by reason of the continuance of moisture. Wherefore he was in the habit of hurriedly presenting the cup to those present, to drink; but they, horrified at the same time, and eager (to taste the contents of the cup), proceeded to drink (the mixture), as if it were something divine, and devised by the Deity.⁷³³

731 Or, “had given thanks.”

732 ἀναλυομένου: some read ἀναδυομένου, which is obviously untenable.

733 [Here was an awful travesty of the heresy of a later day which introduced “the miracle of Bolsena” and the *Corpus-Christi* celebration. See Robertson, *Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 604.]

Chapter XXXVI.—The Heretical Practices of the Marcites in Regard of Baptism.

Such and other (tricks) this impostor attempted to perform. And so it was that he was magnified by his dupes, and sometimes he was supposed to utter predictions. But sometimes he tried to make others (prophecy), partly by demons carrying on these operations, and partly by practising sleight of hand, as we have previously stated. Hoodwinking therefore multitudes, he led on (into enormities) many (dupes) of this description who had become his disciples, by teaching them that they were prone, no doubt, to sin, but beyond the reach of danger, from the fact of their belonging to the perfect power, and of their being participators in the inconceivable potency. And subsequent to the (first) baptism, to these they promise another, which they call Redemption. And by this (other baptism) they wickedly subvert those that remain with them in expectation of redemption, as if persons, after they had once been baptized, could again obtain remission. Now, it is by means of such knavery as this that they seem to retain their hearers. And when they consider that these have been tested, and are able to keep (secret the mysteries) committed unto them, they then admit them to this (baptism). They, however, do not rest satisfied with this alone, but promise (their votaries) some other (boon) for the purpose of confirming them in hope, in order that they may be inseparable (adherents of their sect). For they utter something in an inexpressible (tone of) voice, after having laid hands on him who is receiving the redemption. And they allege that they could not easily declare (to another) what is thus spoken unless one were highly tested, or one were at the hour of death, (when) the bishop comes and whispers (it) into the (expiring one's) ear. And this knavish device (is undertaken) for the purpose of securing the constant attendance upon the bishop of (Marcus') disciples, as individuals eagerly panting to learn what that may be which is spoken at the last, by (the knowledge of) which the learner will be advanced to the rank of those admitted into the higher mysteries. And in regard of these I have maintained a silence for this reason, lest at any time one should suppose that I was guilty of disparaging these (heretics). For this does not come within the scope of our present work, only so far as it may contribute to prove from what source (the heretics) have derived the standing-point from which they have taken occasion to introduce the opinions advanced by them.⁷³⁴



734 [Bunsen (vol. i. p 72–75) makes useful comments.]

Chapter XXXVII.—Marcus' System Explained by Irenæus; Marcus' Vision; The Vision of Valentinus Revealing to Him His System.

For also the blessed presbyter Irenæus, having approached the subject of a refutation in a more unconstrained spirit, has explained such washings and redemptions, stating more in the way of a rough digest⁷³⁵ what are their practices. (And it appears that some of the Marcosians,) on meeting with (Irenæus' work), deny that they have so received (the secret word just alluded to), but they have learned that always they should deny. Wherefore our anxiety has been more accurately to investigate, and to discover minutely what are the (instructions) which they deliver in the case of the first bath, styling it by some such name; and in the case of the second, which they denominate Redemption. But not even has this secret of theirs escaped (our scrutiny). For these opinions, however, we consent to pardon Valentinus and his school.

But Marcus, imitating his teacher, himself also feigns a vision, imagining that in this way he would be magnified. For Valentinus likewise alleges that he had seen an infant child lately born; and questioning (this child), he proceeded to inquire who it might be. And (the child) replied, saying that he himself is the Logos, and then subjoined a sort of tragic legend; and out of this (Valentinus) wishes the heresy attempted by him to consist. Marcus, making a similar attempt⁷³⁶ with this (heretic), asserts that the Tetrad came to him in the form of a woman,—since the world could not bear, he says, the male (form) of this Tetrad, and that she revealed herself who she was, and explained to this (Marcus) alone the generation of the universe, which she never had revealed to any, either of gods or of men, expressing herself after this mode: When first the self-existent Father, He who is inconceivable and without substance, He who is neither male nor female, willed that His own ineffability should become realized in something spoken, and that His invisibility should become realized in form, He opened His mouth, and sent forth similar to Himself a Logos. And this (Logos) stood by Him, and showed unto Him who he was, viz., that he himself had been manifested as a (realization in) form of the Invisible One. And the pronunciation of the name was of

735 Hippolytus has already employed this word, ἄδρομέστερον, in the *Proæmium*. It literally means, of strong or compact parts. Hippolytus, however, uses it in contrast to the expression λεπτομέρης, in reference to his *Summary of Heresies*. Bunsen thinks that Hippolytus means to say that Irenæus expressed himself rather too strongly, and that the Marcosians, on meeting with Irenæus' assertions, indignantly repudiated them. Dr. Wordsworth translates ἄδρομερῶς (in the *Proæmium*), "with rude generality,"—a rendering scarcely in keeping with the passage above.

736 The largest extract from Irenæus is that which follows—the explanation of the heresy of Marcus. From this to the end of book vi. occurs in Irenæus likewise. Hippolytus' text does not always accurately correspond with that of his master. The divergence, however, is inconsiderable, and may sometimes be traceable to the error of the transcriber.

the following description. He was accustomed to utter the first word of the name itself, which was Arche, and the syllable of this was (composed) of four⁷³⁷ letters. Then he subjoined the second (syllable), and this was also (composed) of four letters. Next he uttered the third (syllable), which was (composed) of ten letters; and he uttered the fourth (syllable), and this was (composed) of twelve letters. Then ensued the pronunciation of the entire name, (composed) of thirty letters, but of four syllables. And each of the elements had its own peculiar letters, and its own peculiar form, and its own peculiar pronunciation, as well as figures and images. And not one of these was there that beholds the form of that (letter) of which this was an element. And of course none of them could know the pronunciation of the (letter) next to this, but (only) as he himself pronounces it, (and that in such a way) as that, in pronouncing the whole (word), he supposed that he was uttering the entire (name). For each of these (elements), being part of the entire (name), he denominates (according to) its own peculiar sound, as if the whole (of the word). And he does not intermit sounding until he arrived at the last letter of the last element, and uttered it in a single articulation. Then he said, that the restoration of the entire ensued when all the (elements), coming down into the one letter, sounded one and the same pronunciation, and an image of the pronunciation he supposed to exist when we simultaneously utter the word *Amen*.⁷³⁸ And that these sounds are those which gave form to the insubstantial and unbegotten Æon, and that those forms are what the Lord declared to be angels—the (forms) that uninterruptedly behold the face of the Father.



737 Hippolytus uses two words to signify letters, στοιχεῖον and γράμμα. The former strictly means an articulate sound as the basis of language or of written words, and the latter the sound itself when represented by a particular symbol or sign.

738 [Rev. iii. 14. A name of Christ. This word is travestied as the name *Logos* also, most profanely.]

Chapter XXXVIII.—Marcus' System of Letters.

But the generic and expressed names of the elements he called Æons, and Logoi, and Roots, and Seeds, and Pleromas, and Fruits. (And he maintains) that every one of these, and what was peculiar to each, is perceived as being contained in the name of "Ecclesia." And the final letter of the last element sent forth its own peculiar articulation. And the sound of this (letter) came forth and produced, in accordance with images of the elements, its own peculiar elements. And from these he says that things existing here were garnished, and the things antecedent to these were produced. The letter itself certainly, of which the sound was concomitant with the sound below, he says, was received up by its own syllable into the complement of the entire (name); but that the sound, as if cast outside, remained below. And that the element itself, from which the letter along with its own pronunciation descended below, he says, is (composed) of thirty letters, and that each one of the thirty letters contains in itself other letters, by means of which the title of the letter is named. And again, that the other (letters) are named by different letters, and the rest by different (ones still). So that by writing down the letters individually, the number would eventuate in infinity. In this way one may more clearly understand what is spoken. The element Delta, (he says,) has five letters in itself, (viz.), Delta, and Epsilon, and Lambda, and Tau, and Alpha; and these very letters are (written) by means of other letters. If, therefore, the entire substance of the Delta eventuates in infinity, (and if) different letters invariably produce different letters, and succeed one another, by how much greater than that element is the more enormous sea⁷³⁹ of the letters? And if one letter is thus infinite, behold the entire name's depth of the letters out of which the patient industry, nay, rather (I should say,) the vain toil of Marcus wishes that the Progenitor (of things) should consist! Wherefore also (he maintains) that the Father, who knew that He was inseparable from Himself, gave (this depth) to the elements, which he likewise denominates Æons. And he uttered aloud to each one of them its own peculiar pronunciation, from the fact that one could not pronounce the entire.

739 This is Duncker's emendation, suggested by Irenæus' text. Miller reads τὸν τόπον, which yields scarcely any meaning.

Chapter XXXIX.—The Quaternion Exhibits "Truth."

And (Marcus alleged) that the Quaternion, after having explained these things, spoke as follows: "Now, I wish also to exhibit to you Truth herself, for I have brought her down from the mansions above, in order that you may behold her naked, and become acquainted with her beauty; nay, also that you may hear her speak, and may marvel at her wisdom. Observe," says the Quaternion, "then, first, the head above, Alpha (and long) O; the neck, B and P[si]; shoulders, along with hands, G and C[hi]; breasts, Delta and P[hi]; diaphragm,⁷⁴⁰ Eu; belly, Z and T; *pudenda*, Eta and S; thighs, T[h] and R; knees, Ip; calves, Ko; ankles, Lx[si]; feet, M and N." This is in the body of Truth, according to Marcus. This is the figure of the element; this the character of the letter. And he styles this element Man, and affirms it to be the source of every word, and the originating principle of every sound, and the realization in speech of everything that is ineffable, and a mouth of taciturn silence. And this is the body of (Truth) herself. But do you, raising aloft the conceiving power of the understanding, hear from the mouths of Truth (of) the Logos, who is Self-generator⁷⁴¹ and Progenitor.⁷⁴²

740 Hippolytus' text has been here corrected from that of Irenæus.

741 This is a correction from Progenitor, on the authority of Irenæus and Epiphanius.

742 Προπάτορα: Irenæus reads Πατρόδορα, which is adopted by Schneidewin, and translated *patrium*.

Chapter XL.—The Name of Christ Jesus.

But, after uttering these words, (Marcus details) that Truth, gazing upon him, and opening her mouth, spoke the discourse (just-alluded to). And (he tells us) that the discourse became a name, and that the name was that which we know and utter, viz., Christ Jesus, and that as soon as she had named this (name) she remained silent. While Marcus, however, was expecting that she was about to say more, the Quaternion, again advancing into the midst, speaks as follows: “Thou didst regard as contemptible⁷⁴³ this discourse which you have heard from the mouth of Truth. And yet this which you know and seem long since to possess is not the name; for you have merely the sound of it, but are ignorant of the power. For Jesus is a remarkable name, having six letters,⁷⁴⁴ invoked⁷⁴⁵ by all belonging to the called (of Christ); whereas the other (name, that is, Christ,) consists of many parts, and is among the (five) Æons of the Pleroma. (This name) is of another form and a different type, and is recognised by those existences who are connate with him, and whose magnitudes subsist with him continually.



743 The reading is doubtful. The translator adopts Scott’s emendation.

744 [See note 1, p. 94 *supra*, on “Amen.” Comp. Irenæus, vol. i. p. 393, this series. This name of Jesus does, indeed, run through all Scripture, in verbal and other forms; [Gen. xlix. 18](#) and in *Joshua*, as a foreshadowing.]

745 Irenæus has “known.”

Chapter XLI.—Marcus' Mystic Interpretation of the Alphabet.

Know, (therefore,) that these letters which with you are (reckoned at) twenty-four, are emanations from the three powers, and are representative⁷⁴⁶ of those (powers) which embrace even the entire number of the elements. For suppose that there are some letters that are mute—nine of them—of Pater and Aletheia, from the fact that these are mute—that is, ineffable and unutterable. And (again, assume) that there are other (letters that are) semi-vowels—eight of them—of the Logos and of Zoe, from the fact that these are intermediate between consonants and vowels, and receive the emanation⁷⁴⁷ of the (letters) above them, but the reflux of those below them.⁷⁴⁸ And (likewise take for granted) that there are vowels—and these are seven—of Anthropos and Ecclesia, inasmuch as the voice of Anthropos proceeded forth, and imparted form to the (objects of the) universe. For the sound of the voice produced figure, and invested them with it. From this it follows that there are Logos and Zoe, which have eight (semi-vowels); and Anthropos and Ecclesia, which have seven (vowels); and Pater and Aletheia, which have nine (mutes). But from the fact that Logos wanted⁷⁴⁹ (one of being an ogdoad), he who is in the Father was removed (from his seat on God's right hand), and came down (to earth). And he was sent forth (by the Father) to him from whom he was separated, for the rectification of actions that had been committed. (And his descent took place) in order that the unifying process, which is inherent in Agathos, of the Pleromas might produce in all the single power that emanates from all. And thus he who is of the seven (vowels) acquired the power of the eight⁷⁵⁰ (semi-vowels); and there were produced three *topoi*, corresponding with the (three) numbers (nine, seven, and eight),—(these *topoi*) being ogdoads. And these three being added one to the other, exhibited the number of the twenty-four (letters). And (he maintains), of course, that the three elements,—(which he himself affirms to be (allied) with the three powers by conjugal union, and which (by this state of duality) become six, and from which have emanated the twenty-four elements,—being rendered fourfold by the Quaternion's ineffable word, produce the same number (twenty-four) with these. And these, he says, belong to Anonomastus. And (he asserts) that these are conveyed by the six powers into a similarity with Aoratus. And (he says) that there are six double letters of these elements, images of images, which, being

746 εἰκονικᾶς. This is Irenæus' reading. Miller has εἰκόνας (representations).

747 ἀπόρροϊαν: some read ἀπορίαν, which is obviously erroneous.

748 ὑπ' αὐτὰ: Irenæus reads ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν, and Massuet ὑπένερθεν.

749 The deficiency consisted in there not being three ogdoads. The sum total was twenty-four, but there was only one ogdoad—Logos and Zoe. The other two—Pater and Aletheia, and Anthropos and Ecclesia—had one above and one below an ogdoad.

750 τῶν ὀκτώ has been substituted for τῶ νοητῶ, an obviously corrupt reading. The correction is supplied by Irenæus.

reckoned along with the twenty-four letters, produce, by an analogical power, the number thirty.

Chapter XLII.—His System Applied to Explain Our Lord's Life and Death.

And he says, as the result of this computation and that proportion,⁷⁵¹ that in the similitude of an image He appeared who after the six days Himself ascended the mountain a fourth person, and became the sixth.⁷⁵² And (he asserts) that He (likewise) descended and was detained by the Hebdomad, and thus became an illustrious Ogdoad. And He contains in Himself of the elements the entire number which He manifested, as He came to His baptism. (And the symbol of manifestation was) the descent of the dove, which is O[mega] and Alpha, and which by the number manifested (by these is) 801.⁷⁵³ And for this reason (he maintains) that Moses says that man was created on the sixth day. And (he asserts) that the dispensation of suffering (took place) on the sixth day, which is the preparation; (and so it was) that on this (day) appeared the last man for the regeneration of the first man. And that the beginning and end of this dispensation is the sixth hour, at which He was nailed to the (accursed) tree. For (he says) that perfect Nous, knowing the sixfold number to be possessed of the power of production and regeneration, manifested to the sons of light the regeneration that had been introduced into this number by that illustrious one who had appeared. Whence also he says that the double letters⁷⁵⁴ involve the remarkable number. For the illustrious number, being intermingled with the twenty-four elements, produced the name (consisting) of the thirty letters.



751 Or, "economy."

752 Christ went up with the three apostles, and was therefore the fourth Himself; by the presence of Moses and Elias, He became the sixth: [Matt. xvii. 1](#); [Mark ix. 2](#).

753 The Greek word for dove is *περίστερα*, the letters of which represent 801, as may be seen thus:— $\pi = 80$
 $\epsilon = 5$ $\rho = 100$ $\iota = 10$ $\sigma = 200$ $\tau = 300$ $\epsilon = 5$ $\rho = 100$ $\alpha = 1$ ____ 801 This, therefore, is equipollent with Alpha and Omega, as α is equal to 1, and ω to 800. [Stuff! Bunsen, very naturally, exclaims.]

754 *γράμματα*: some read *πράγματα*.

Chapter XLIII—Letters, Symbols of the Heavens.

He has, however, employed the instrumentality of the aggregate of the seven numbers, in order that the result of the self-devised (counsel)⁷⁵⁵ might be manifested. Understand, he says, for the present, that remarkable number to be Him who was formed by the illustrious one, and who was, as it were, divided, and remained outside. And He, through both His Own power and wisdom, by means of the projection of Himself, imparted, in imitation of the seven powers,⁷⁵⁶ animation to this world, so as to make it consist of seven powers, and constituted (this world) the soul of the visible universe. And therefore this one has resorted to such all operation as what was spontaneously undertaken by Himself; and these minister,⁷⁵⁷ inasmuch as they are imitations of things inimitable, unto the intelligence of the Mother. And the first heaven sounds Alpha,⁷⁵⁸ and the one after that E[psilon], and the third Eta, and the fourth, even that in the midst of the seven (vowels, enunciates) the power of Iota, and the fifth of O[micron], and the sixth of U[psilon], and the seventh and fourth from the central⁷⁵⁹ one, O[mega]. And all the powers, when they are connected together in one, emit a sound, and glorify that (Being) from whom they have been projected. And the glory of that sound is transmitted upwards to the Progenitor. And furthermore, he says that the sound of this ascription of glory being conveyed to the earth, became a creator and producer of terrestrial objects. And (he maintains) that the proof of this (may be drawn) from the case of infants recently born, whose soul, simultaneously with exit from the womb utters similarly this sound of each one of the elements. As, then, he says, the seven powers glorify the Logos, so also does the sorrowing soul in babes (magnify Him).⁷⁶⁰ And on account of this, he says, David likewise has declared, “Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise.”⁷⁶¹ And again, “The heavens declare the glory of God.”⁷⁶² When,⁷⁶³ however, the soul is involved in hardships, it utters no other exclamation than the O[mega], inasmuch as it is afflicted in order that the soul above, becoming aware of what is akin to herself (below), may send down one to help this (earthly soul).

755 Supplied from Irenæus.

756 This should be altered into Hebdomad if we follow Irenæus.

757 τὰδε διακονεῖ. This is the text of Irenæus, and corrects the common reading, τὰ δὲ εἰκόνων.

758 φθέγγεται (Irenæus). The common reading is φαίνεται.

759 μέσου: in Irenæus we have μέρους.

760 Irenæus has the sentence thus: “so also the soul in babes, lamenting and bewailing Marcus, glorifies him.”

761 Ps. viii. 2.

762 Ps. xix. 1.

763 Hippolytus here omits some passages which are to be found in Irenæus.

Chapter XLIV.—Respecting the Generation of the Twenty-Four Letters.

And so far for these points. Respecting, however, the generation of the twenty-four elements, he expresses himself thus: that Henotes coexists with Monotes, and that from these issue two projections, viz., Monas and Hen, and that these being added together⁷⁶⁴ become four, for twice two are four. And again, the two and four (projections) being added together, manifested the number six; and these six made fourfold, produce the twenty-four forms.⁷⁶⁵ And these are the names of the first tetrad, and they are understood as Holy of Holies, and cannot be expressed and they are recognised by the Son alone. These the Father knows which they are. Those names which with Him are pronounced in silence and with faith, are Arrhetus and Sige, Pater and Aletheia. And of this tetrad the entire number is (that) of twenty-four letters. For Arrhetus has seven elements, Sige five, and Pater five, and Aletheia seven.⁷⁶⁶ And in like manner also (is it with) the second tetrad; (for) Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia, exhibited the same number of elements. And (he says) that the expressed name—(that is, Jesus)⁷⁶⁷—of the Saviour consists of six letters, but that His ineffable⁷⁶⁸ name, according to the number of the letters, one by one,⁷⁶⁹ consists of twenty-four elements, but Christ a Son of twelve. And (he says) that the ineffable (name) in Christ consists of thirty letters, and this exists, according to the letters which are in Him, the elements being counted one by one. For the (name) Christ⁷⁷⁰ consists of eight elements; for Chi⁷⁷¹ consists of three, and R[ho] of two, and EI of two, and I[ota], of four, S[igma] of five, and T[au] of three, and OU of two, and San of three. Thus the ineffable name in Christ consists, they allege, of thirty letters. And they assert that for this reason He utters the words,



764 Literally, “being twice two:” some for οὗσαι read οὐσαί. Irenæus has ἐπὶ δύο οὗσαι, i.e., “which being (added) into two.”

765 Hippolytus has only the word “twenty-four,” to which Schneidewin supplies “letters,” and Irenæus “forms,” as given above. Hippolytus likewise omits the word “produced,” which Irenæus supplies. The text of the latter is τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἀπεκύσαν μορφάς.

766 Irenæus adds, “which being added together, I mean the twice five and twice seven, complete the number of the twenty-four (forms).”

767 The parenthetical words had fallen into a wrong part of the sentence, and are placed here by Schneidewin.

768 This is a correction for “expressed” from Irenæus. Marcus observes the distinction afterwards.

769 κατὰ ἓν γραμμάτων. The ms. has ἐγγράμμάτων. Irenæus omits these words.

770 This entire sentence is wanting in Irenæus.

771 Corrected from Chri, which is in the ms.

“I am Alpha and Omega,” displaying the dove, which (symbolically) has this number, which is eight hundred and one.⁷⁷²

772 Irenæus has the passage thus: “And for this reason He says that He is Alpha and Omega, that He may manifest the dove, inasmuch as this bird (symbolically) involves this number (801).” See a previous note in chap. xlii. p. 95, *supra*.

Chapter XLV.—Why Jesus is Called Alpha.

Now Jesus possesses this ineffable generation. For from the mother of the universe, I mean the first tetrad, proceeded forth, in the manner of a daughter, the second tetrad. And it became an ogdoad, from which proceeded forth the decade; and thus was produced ten, and next eighteen. The decade, therefore, coming in along with the ogdoad, and rendering it tenfold, produced the number eighty; and again making eighty tenfold, generated the number eight hundred.⁷⁷³ And so it is that the entire number of letters that proceeded forth from ogdoad into decade is eight hundred and eighty-eight, which is Jesus; for the name Jesus, according to the number in letters, is eight hundred and eighty-eight. Now likewise the Greek alphabet has eight monads and eight decades, and eight hecatontads; and these exhibit the calculated sum of eight hundred and eighty-eight, that is, Jesus, who consists of all numbers. And that on this account He is called Alpha (and Omega), indicating His generation (to be) from all.⁷⁷⁴

773 Part of this sentence is supplied from Irenæus.

774 Hippolytus here omits the following sentence found in Irenæus: “And again thus—of the first quaternion, when added into itself, in accordance with a progression of number, appeared the number ten, and so forth.”

Chapter XLVI.—Marcus' Account of the Birth and Life of Our Lord.

But concerning the creation of this (Jesus), he expresses himself thus: That powers emanating from the second tetrad fashioned Jesus, who appeared on earth, and that the angel Gabriel⁷⁷⁵ filled the place of the Logos, and the Holy Spirit that of Zoe, and the "Power of the Highest"⁷⁷⁶ that of Anthropos, and the Virgin that of Ecclesia.⁷⁷⁷ And so it was, in Marcus' system, that the man (who appeared) in accordance with the dispensation was born through Mary.⁷⁷⁸ And when He came to the water, (he says) that He descended like a dove upon him who had ascended above and filled the twelfth number. And in Him resides the seed of these, that is, such as are sown along with Him, and that descend with (Him), and ascend with (Him). And that this power which descended upon Him, he says, is the seed of the Pleroma, which contains in itself both the Father and the Son, and the unnameable power of Sige, which is recognised through these and all the Æons. And that this (seed) is the spirit which is in Him and spoke in Him through the mouth of the Son, the confession of Himself as Son of man, and of His being one who would manifest the Father; (and that) when this spirit came down upon Jesus, He was united with Him. The Saviour, who was of the dispensation, he says, destroyed death, whereas He made known (as) the Father Christ (Jesus). He says that Jesus, therefore, is the name of the man of the dispensation, and that it has been set forth for the assimilation and formation of Anthropos, who was about to descend upon Him; and that when He had received Him unto Himself, He retained possession of Him. And (he says) that He was Anthropos, (that) He (was) Logos, (that) He (was) Pater, and Arrhetus, and Sige, and Aletheia, and Ecclesia, and Zoe.

775 [Luke i. 26–38.](#)

776 Or, "of the Son," an obvious mistake.

777 Irenæus has, "And the Virgin exhibited the place of Ecclesia."

778 Irenæus adds, "whom the Father of the universe selected, for passage through the womb, by means of the Logos, for recognition of Himself."

Chapter XLVII.—The System of Marcus Shown to Be that of Pythagoras, by Quotations from the Writings of Marcus' Followers.

I trust, therefore, that as regards these doctrines it is obvious to all possessed of a sound mind, that (these tenets) are unauthoritative, and far removed from the knowledge that is in accordance with Religion, and are mere portions of astrological discovery, and the arithmetical art of the Pythagoreans. And this assertion, ye who are desirous of learning shall ascertain (to be true, by a reference to the previous books, where,) amongst other opinions elucidated by us, we have explained these doctrines likewise. In order, however, that we may prove it a more clear statement, viz., that these (Marcosians) are disciples not of Christ but of Pythagoras, I shall proceed to explain those opinions that have been derived (by these heretics) from Pythagoras concerning the meteoric (phenomena) of the stars⁷⁷⁹ as far as it is possible (to do so) by an epitome.

Now the Pythagoreans make the following statements: that the universe consists of a Monad and Duad, and that by reckoning from a monad as far as four they thus generate a decade. And again,⁷⁸⁰ a duad coming forth as far as the remarkable (letter),—for instance, two and four and six,—exhibited the (number) twelve. And again, if we reckon from the duad to the decade, thirty is produced; and in this are comprised the ogdoad, and decade, and dodecade. And therefore, on account of its having the remarkable (letter), the dodecade has concomitant⁷⁸¹ with it a remarkable passion.⁷⁸² And for this reason (they maintain) that when an error had arisen respecting the twelfth number, the sheep skipped from the flock and wandered away;⁷⁸³ for that the apostasy took place, they say, in like manner from the decade. And with a similar reference to the dodecade, they speak of the piece of money

98

779 Cruice thinks that for stars we should read “numbers,” but gives no explanation of the meaning of μετέωρα. This word, as applied to numbers, might refer to “the astrological phenomena” deducible by means of numerical calculations.

780 A comparison of Hippolytus with Irenæus, as regards what follows, manifests many omissions in the former.

781 Following Irenæus, the passage would be rendered thus: “And therefore, on account of its having the remarkable (letter) concomitant with it, they style the dodecade a remarkable passion.” Massuet, in his *Annotations on Irenæus*, gives the following explanation of the above statement, which is made by Hippolytus likewise. From the twelfth number, by once abstracting the remarkable (number), which does not come into the order and number of the letters, eleven letters remain. Hence in the dodecade, the πάθος, or what elsewhere the heretics call the “Hysterema,” is a defect of one letter. And this is a symbol of the defect or suffering which, upon the withdrawal of one Æon, happened unto the last dodecade of Æons.

782 Hippolytus' statement is less copious and less clear than that of Irenæus, who explains the defect of the letter to be symbolical of an apostasy of one of the Æons, and that this one was a female.

783 [Luke xv. 4–10.](#)

which, on losing, a woman, having lit a candle, searched for diligently. (And they make a similar application) of the loss (sustained) in the case of the one sheep out of the ninety and nine; and adding these one into the other, they give a fabulous account of numbers. And in this way, they affirm, when the eleven is multiplied into nine, that it produces the number ninety and nine; and on this account that it is said that the word Amen embraces the number ninety-nine. And in regard of another number they express themselves in this manner: that the letter Eta along with the remarkable one constitutes an ogdoad, as it is situated in the eighth place from Alpha. Then, again, computing the number of these elements without the remarkable (letter), and adding them together up to Eta, they exhibit the number thirty. For any one beginning from the Alpha⁷⁸⁴ to the Eta will, after subtracting the remarkable (letter), discover the number of the elements to be the number thirty. Since, therefore, the number thirty is unified from the three powers; when multiplied thrice into itself it produced ninety, for thrice thirty is ninety, (and this triad when multiplied into itself produced nine). In this way the Ogdoad brought forth the number ninety-nine from the first Ogdoad, and Decade, and Dodecade. And at one time they collect the number of this (trio) into an entire sum, and produce a triacontad; whereas at another time they subtract twelve, and reckon it at eleven. And in like manner, (they subtract) ten and make it nine. And connecting these one into the other, and multiplying them tenfold, they complete the number ninety-nine. Since, however, the twelfth Æon, having left the eleven (Æons above), and departing downwards, withdrew, they allege that even this is correlative (with the letters). For the figure of the letters teaches (us as much). For L is placed eleventh of the letters, and this L is the number thirty. And (they say) that this is placed according to an image of the dispensation above; since from Alpha, irrespective of the remarkable (letter), the number of the letters themselves, added together up to L, according to the augmentation of the letters with the L itself, produces the number ninety-nine. But that the L, situated in the eleventh (of the alphabet), came down to search after the number similar to itself, in order that it might fill up the twelfth number, and that when it was discovered it was filled up, is manifest from the shape itself of the letter. For Lambda, when it attained unto, as it were, the investigation of what is similar to itself, and when it found such and snatched it away, filled up the place of the twelfth, the letter M, which is composed of two Lambdas. And for this reason (it was) that these (adherents of Marcus), through their knowledge, avoid the place of the ninety-nine, that is, the Hysterema, a type of the left hand,⁷⁸⁵ and follow after the one which, added to ninety-nine, they say was transferred to his own right hand.

784 Marcus' explanation of this, as furnished by Irenæus, is more copious than Hippolytus'.

785 The allusion here seems to be to the habit among the ancients of employing the fingers for counting, those of the left hand being used for all numbers under 100, and those of the right for the numbers above it. To this custom the poet Juvenal alludes, when he says of Nestor:— *Atque suos jam dextera computat annos*. That is, that he was one hundred years old.

Chapter XLVIII.—Their Cosmogony Framed According to These Mystic Doctrines of Letters.

And by the Mother, they allege, were created first the four elements, which, they say, are fire, water, earth, air; and these have been projected as an image of the tetrad above; and reckoning the energies of these—for instance, as hot, cold, moist, dry—they assert that they accurately portray the Ogdoad. And next they compute ten powers thus. (There are, they say,) seven orbicular bodies, which they likewise call heavens. There is next a circle containing these within its compass, and this also they name an eighth heaven: and in addition to these, they affirm the existence of both a sun and moon. And these being ten in number, they say, are images of the invisible decade that (emanated) from Logos and Zoe. (They affirm,) however, that the dodecade is indicated by what is termed the zodiacal circle. For these twelve zodiacal signs, they say, most evidently shadowed forth⁷⁸⁶ the daughter of Anthropos and Ecclesia, namely the Dodecade. And since, he says, the upper heaven has been united from an opposite direction to the revolutionary motion, which is most rapid, of the entire (of the signs); and since (this heaven) within its cavity retards, and by its slowness counterpoises, the velocity of those (signs), so that in thirty years it accomplishes its circuit from sign to sign,—they therefore assert that this (heaven) is an image of Horos, who encircles the mother of these, who has thirty names. And, again, (they affirm) that the moon, which traverses the heaven in thirty days, by reason of (these) days portrays the number of the Æons. And (they say) that the sun, performing its circuit, and terminating its exact return to its first position in its orbit in twelve months, manifests the dodecade. And also (they say) that the days themselves, involving the measure of twelve hours, constitute a type of the empty⁷⁸⁷ dodecade; and that the circumference of the actual zodiacal circle consists of three hundred and sixty degrees, and that each zodiacal sign possesses thirty divisions. In this way, therefore, even by means of the circle, they maintain that the image is preserved⁷⁸⁸ of the connection of the twelve with the thirty.⁷⁸⁹ But, moreover, alleging that the earth was divided into twelve regions, and that according to each particular region it receives one power by the latter's being sent down from the heavens, and that it produces children cor-

786 Or, "sketched out" (Irenæus).

787 Or, "radiant."

788 Or, "measured."

789 Massuet gives the following explanation: The sun each day describes a circle which is divided into twelve parts of 30 degrees each, and consists of 360 degrees. And as for each of the hours, where days and nights are equal, 15 degrees are allowed, it follows that in two hours, that is, in the twelfth part of a day, the sun completes a progress of 30 degrees.

responding in likeness⁷⁹⁰ unto the power which transmitted (the likeness) by emanation;
(for this reason) they assert that earth is a type of the Dodecade above.

790 Or, "of the same substance."

Chapter XLIX.—The Work of the Demiurge Perishable.

And in addition to these (points, they lay down) that the Demiurge of the supernal Ogdoad, desirous of imitating the indefinite, and everlasting, and illimitable (one), and (the one) not subject to the condition of time; and (the Demiurge) not being able to represent the stability⁷⁹¹ and eternity of this (Ogdoad), on account of his being the fruit of the Hysterema, to this end appointed times, and seasons, and numbers, measuring many years in reference to the eternity of this (Ogdoad), thinking by the multitude of times to imitate its indefiniteness. And here they say, when Truth eluded his pursuit, that Falsehood followed close upon him; and that on account of this, when the times were fulfilled, his work underwent dissolution.

791 Or, "blamelessness."

Chapter L.—Marcus and Colarbasus Refuted by Irenæus.

These assertions, then, those who are of the school of Valentinus advance concerning both the creation and the universe, in each case propagating opinions still more empty.⁷⁹² And they suppose this to constitute productiveness (in their system), if any one in like manner, making some greater discovery, will appear to work wonders. And finding, (as they insinuate,) each of the particulars of Scripture to accord with the aforesaid numbers, they (attempt to) criminate Moses and the prophets, alleging that these speak allegorically of the measures of the Æons. And inasmuch as these statements are trifling and unstable, it does not appear to me expedient to bring them before (the reader. This, however, is the less requisite,) as now the blessed presbyter⁷⁹³ Irenæus has powerfully and elaborately refuted the opinions of these (heretics). And to him we are indebted for a knowledge of their inventions, (and have thereby succeeded in) proving that these heretics, appropriating these opinions from the Pythagorean philosophy, and from over-spun theories of the astrologers, cast an imputation upon Christ, as though He had delivered these (doctrines). But since I suppose that the worthless opinions of these men have been sufficiently explained, and that it has been clearly proved whose disciples are Marcus and Colarbasus, who were successors of the school of Valentinus, let us see what statement likewise Basilides advances.

792 Or, “strange.”

793 [The Apostle John delights to call himself a presbyter, and St. Peter claims to be co-presbyter with the elders whom he exhorts. The Johannean school of primitive theologians seem to love this expression pre-eminently. It was almost as little specific in the primitive age as that of *pastor* or *minister* in our own.]

Book VII.



Contents.

The following are the contents of the seventh book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

What the opinion of Basilides is, and that, being struck with the doctrines of Aristotle, he out of these framed his heresy.⁷⁹⁴

And what are the statements of Saturnilus,⁷⁹⁵ who flourished much about the time of Basilides.

And how Menander advanced the assertion that the world was made by angels.

What is the folly of Marcion, and that his tenet is not new, nor (taken) out of the Holy Scriptures, but that he obtains it from Empedocles.

How Carpocrates acts sillily, in himself also alleging that existing things were made by angels.

That Cerinthus, in no wise indebted to the Scriptures, formed his opinion (not out of them), but from the tenets of the Egyptians.⁷⁹⁶

What are the opinions propounded by the Ebionæans, and that they in preference adhere to Jewish customs.

How Theodotus has been a victim of error, deriving contributions to his system partly from the Ebionæans, (partly from Cerinthus.)⁷⁹⁷

And what were the opinions of Cerdon,⁷⁹⁸ who both enunciated the doctrines of Empedocles, and who wickedly induced Marcion to step forward.

And how Lucian, when he had become a disciple of Marcion,⁷⁹⁹ having divested himself of all shame, blasphemed God from time to time.

And Apelles also, having become a disciple of this (heretic), was not in the habit of advancing the same opinions with his preceptor; but being actuated (in the formation of his

794 [Here our author's theory concerning the origin of heresy in heathen philosophy begins to be elaborated.]

795 Satronilus (Miller).

796 Or, "in no respect formed his system from the Scriptures, but from the tenets propounded by the Egyptians."

797 Cruice would prefer, "from the Gnostics," on account of Cerinthus being coupled with the Gnostics and Ebionæans by Hippolytus, when he afterwards indicates the source from which Theodotus derived his heretical notions of Christ.

798 Miller has "Sacerdon."

799 The word *μόνος* occurs in Miller's text, but ought obviously to be expunged. It has probably, as Cruice conjectures, crept into the ms. from the termination of *γενόμενος*. Duncker suggests *ὁμοίως*.

system) from the tenets of natural philosophers, assumed the substance of the universe as the fundamental principle of things.⁸⁰⁰

800 This rendering would ascribe Pantheism to Apelles. The passage might also be construed, “supposed there to exist an essence (that formed the basis) of the universe.”

Chapter I.—Heresy Compared to (1) the Stormy Ocean, (2) the Rocks of the Sirens;
Moral from Ulysses and the Sirens.

The pupils of these men, when they perceive the doctrines of the heretics to be like unto the ocean when tossed into waves by violence of the winds, ought to sail past in quest of the tranquil haven. For a sea of this description is both infested with wild beasts and difficult of navigation, like, as we may say, the Sicilian (Sea), in which the legend reports were Cyclops, and Charybdis, and Scylla, and the rock⁸⁰¹ of the Sirens. Now, the poets of the Greeks allege that Ulysses sailed through (this channel), adroitly using (to his own purpose) the terribleness of these strange monsters.⁸⁰² For the savage cruelty (in the aspect) of these towards those who were sailing through was remarkable. The Sirens, however, singing sweetly and harmoniously, beguiled the voyagers, luring, by reason of their melodious voice, those who heard it, to steer their vessels towards (the promontory). The (poets) report that Ulysses, on ascertaining this, smeared with wax the ears of his companions, and, lashing himself to the mast, sailed, free of danger, past the Sirens, hearing their chant distinctly. And my advice to my readers is to adopt a similar expedient, viz., either on account of their infirmity to smear their ears with wax, and sail (straight on) through the tenets of the heretics, not even listening to (doctrines) that are easily capable of enticing them into pleasure, like the luscious lay of the Sirens, or, by binding one's self to the Cross⁸⁰³ of Christ, (and) hearkening with fidelity (to His words), not to be distracted, inasmuch as he has reposed his trust in Him to whom ere this he has been firmly knit, and (I admonish that man) to continue steadfastly (in this faith).



801 A hiatus here has given rise to conjecture. Cruice suggests χορός (band) instead of ὄρος.

802 Or, “practices of the monsters,” or “inhospitable beasts.” Abbe Cruice suggests παροξέων, and Roeper ἐμπλάστων.

803 Literally, the (accursed) tree.

Chapter II.—The System of Basilides Derived from Aristotle.

Since, therefore, in the six books preceding this, we have explained previous (heretical opinions), it now seems proper not to be silent respecting the (doctrines) of Basilides,⁸⁰⁴ which are the tenets of Aristotle the Stagyrice, not (those) of Christ. But even though on a former occasion the opinions propounded by Aristotle have been elucidated, we shall not even now scruple to set them down beforehand in a sort of synopsis, for the purpose of enabling my readers, by means of a nearer comparison of the two systems, to perceive with facility that the doctrines advanced by Basilides are (in reality) the clever quibbles of Aristotle.

804 What Hippolytus now states in regard of the opinions of Basilides, is quite new (compare Irenæus, i. 24; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, iii. and vii.; Tertullian, *Præscript.*, xlvi.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxiv.; Theodoret, i. 4; Eusebius, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, iv. 7; and Philastrius, c. xxxii.). Abbe Cruice refers us to *Basilidis philosophi Gnostici Sententiæ*, by Jacobi (Berlin, 1852), and to *Das Basilidianische System*, etc., by Ullhorn (Göttingen, 1855).

Chapter III.—Sketch of Aristotle's Philosophy.

Aristotle, then, makes a threefold division of substance. For one portion of it is a certain genus, and another a certain species, as that (philosopher) expresses it, and a third a certain individual. What is individual, however, (is so) not through any minuteness of body, but because by nature it cannot admit of any division whatsoever. The genus, on the other hand, is a sort of aggregate, made up of many and different germs. And from this genus, just as (from) a certain heap, all the species of existent things derive their distinctions.⁸⁰⁵ And the genus constitutes a competent cause for (the production of) all generated entities. In order, however, that the foregoing statement may be clear, I shall prove (my position) through an example. And by means of this it will be possible for us to retrace our steps over the entire speculation of the Peripatetic (sage).

805 Or, "dispositions."

Chapter IV.—Aristotle's General Idea.

We affirm the existence of animal absolutely, not some animal. And this animal is neither ox, nor horse, nor man, nor god; nor is it significant of any of these at all, but is animal absolutely. From this animal the species of all particular animals derive their subsistence. And this animality, itself the *summum genus*,⁸⁰⁶ constitutes (the originating principle) for all animals produced in those (particular) species, and (yet is) not (itself any one) of the things generated. For man is an animal deriving the principle (of existence) from that animality, and horse is an animal deriving the principle of existence from that animality. The horse, and ox, and dog, and each of the rest of the animals, derive the principle (of existence) from the absolute animal, while animality itself is not any of these.

806 Compare Porphyry's *Isagoge*, c. ii., and Aristotle's *Categ.*, c. v.

Chapter V.—Nonentity as a Cause.

If, however, this animality is not any of these (species), the subsistence, according to Aristotle, of the things that are generated, derived its reality from non-existent entities. For animality, from whence these singly have been derived, is not any one (of them); and though it is not any one of them, it has yet become some one originating principle of existing things. But who it is that has established this substance as an originating cause of what is subsequently produced, we shall declare when we arrive at the proper place for entertaining a discussion of this sort.

Chapter VI.—Substance, According to Aristotle; The Predicates.

Since, however, as I have stated, substance is threefold, viz., genus, species, (and) individual; and (since) we have set down animality as being the genus, and man the species, as being already distinct from the majority of animals, but notwithstanding still to be identified (with animals of his own kind), inasmuch as not being yet moulded into a species of realized substance,—(therefore it is, that) when I impart form under a name to a man derived from the genus, I style him Socrates or Diogenes, or some one of the many denominations (in use). And since (in this way, I repeat,) I comprehend under a name the man who constitutes a species that is generated from the genus, I denominate a substance of this description individual. For genus has been divided into species, and species into individual. But (as regards) the individual, since it has been comprehended under a name, it is not possible that, according to its own nature, it could be divided into anything else, as we have divided each of the fore-mentioned (genus and species).⁸⁰⁷

Aristotle primarily, and especially, and preeminently entitles this—substance, inasmuch as it cannot either be predicated of any Subject, or exist in a Subject. He, however, predicates of the Subject, just as with the genus, what I said constituted animality, (and which is) predicated by means of a common name of all particular animals, such as ox, horse, and the rest that are placed under (this genus). For it is true to say that man is an animal, and horse an animal, and that ox is an animal, and each of the rest. Now the meaning of the expression “predicated of a Subject” is this, that inasmuch as it is one, it can be predicated in like manner of many (particulars), even though these happen to be diversified in species. For neither does horse nor ox differ from man so far forth as he is an animal, for the definition of animal is said to suit all animals alike. For what is an animal? If we define it, a general definition will comprehend all animals. For animal is an animated Substance, endued with Sensation. Such are ox, man, horse, and each of the rest (of the animal kingdom). But the meaning of the expression “in a Subject” is this, that what is inherent in anything, not as a part, it is impossible should exist separately from that in which it is. But this constitutes each of the accidents (resident) in Substance, and is what is termed Quality. Now, according to this, we say that certain persons are of such a quality; for instance, white, grey, black, just, unjust, temperate, and other (characteristics) similar to these. But it is impossible for any one of these to subsist itself by itself; but it must inhere in something else. If, however, neither animal which I predicate of all individual animals, nor accidents which are discoverable in all things of which they are nonessential qualities, can subsist themselves by themselves, and (yet if) individuals are formed out of these, (it follows, therefore, that) the triply divided Substance, which is not made up out of other things, consists of nonentities. If, then, what



807 Aristotle's *Categ.*, c. v.

is primarily, and pre-eminently, and particularly denominated Substance consists of these, it derives existence from nonentities, according to Aristotle.

Chapter VII.—Aristotle's Cosmogony; His "Psychology;" His "Entelecheia;" His Theology; His Ethics; Basilides Follows Aristotle.

But concerning Substance, the statements now made will suffice. But not only is Substance denominated genus, species, (and) individual, but also matter, and form, and privation. There is, however, (as regards the substance,) in these no difference, even though the division be allowed to stand. Now, inasmuch as Substance is of this description, the arrangement of the world has taken place according to some such plan as the following. The world is divided, according to Aristotle, into very numerous and diversified parts. Now the portion of the world which extends from the earth to the moon is devoid of foresight, guideless, and is under the sway⁸⁰⁸ of that nature alone which belongs to itself. But another (part of the world which lies) beyond the moon, and extends to the surface of heaven, is arranged in the midst of all order and foresight and governance. Now, the (celestial) superficies constitutes a certain fifth substance, and is remote from all those natural elements out of which the cosmical system derives consistence. And this is a certain fifth Substance, according to Aristotle,—as it were, a certain super-mundane essence. And (this essence) has become (a logical necessity) in his system, in order to accord with the (Peripatetic) division of the world. And (the topic of this fifth nature) constitutes a distinct investigation in philosophy. For there is extant a certain disquisition, styled *A Lecture on Physical (Phenomena)*, in which he has elaborately treated⁸⁰⁹ concerning the operations which are conducted by nature and not providence, (in the quarter of space extending) from the earth as far as the moon. And there is also extant by him a certain other peculiar treatise on the principles of things (in the region) beyond the moon, and it bears the following inscription: *Metaphysics*.⁸¹⁰ And another peculiar dissertation has been (written) by him, entitled *Concerning a Fifth Substance*, and in this work Aristotle unfolds his theological opinions.

There exists some such division of the universe as we have now attempted to delineate in outline, and (corresponding with it is the division) of the Aristotelian philosophy. His work, however, (styled) *Concerning the Soul*, is obscure. For in the entire three books (where he treats of this subject) it is not possible to say clearly what is Aristotle's opinion concerning the soul. For, as regards the definition which he furnishes of soul, it is easy (enough) to declare this; but what it is that is signified by the definition⁸¹¹ is difficult to discover. For soul, he says, is an *entelecheia* of a natural organic body; (but to explain) what this is at all, would require a very great number of arguments and a lengthened investigation. As regards,

808 Or, "is sufficient."

809 Or, "the question is discussed."

810 [This word, not yet technical, as with us, is thus noted as curious. Of its force see Professor Caird, *Encyc. Britannic.*, *sub voce* "Metaphysic."]

811 See Aristotle, *De Anim.*, ii. 1.

however, the Deity, the Originator of all those glorious objects in creation, (the nature of) this (First Cause)—even to one conducting his speculations by a more prolonged inquiry than that concerning (the soul)—is more difficult to know than the soul itself. The definition, however, which Aristotle furnishes of the Deity is, I admit, not difficult to ascertain, but it is impossible to comprehend the meaning of it. For, he says, (the Deity) is a “conception of conception;” but this is altogether a non-existent (entity). The world, however, is incorruptible (and) eternal, according to Aristotle. For it has in itself nothing faulty,⁸¹² inasmuch as it is directed by Providence and Nature. And Aristotle has laid down doctrines not only concerning Nature and a cosmical system, and Providence, and God,⁸¹³ but he has written (more than this); for there is extant by him likewise a certain treatise on ethical subjects, and these he inscribes *Books of Ethics*.⁸¹⁴ But throughout these he aims at rendering the habits of his hearers excellent from being worthless. When, therefore, Basilides has been discovered, not in spirit alone, but also in the actual expressions and names, transferring the tenets of Aristotle into our evangelical and saving doctrine, what remains, but that, by restoring what he has appropriated from others, we should prove to the disciples of this (heretic) that Christ will in no wise profit them, inasmuch as they are heathenish?



812 Literally, “out of tune.”

813 These works must be among Aristotle’s lost writings (see Fabricius’ *Bibl. Græc.*, t. iii. pp. 232, 404). We have no work of Aristotle’s expressly treating “of God.” However, the Stagyrte’s theology, such as it is, is unfolded in his *Metaphysics*. See Macmahon’s analysis prefixed to his translation of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, Bohn’s Classical Library.

814 Aristotle composed three treatises on ethical subjects: (1) *Ethics to Nicomachus*; (2) *Great Morals*; (3) *Morals to Eudemus*.

Chapter VIII.—Basilides and Isidorus Allege Apostolic Sanction for Their Systems;
They Really Follow Aristotle.

Basilides, therefore, and Isidorus, the true son and disciple of Basilides, say that Matthias⁸¹⁵ communicated to them secret discourses, which, I being specially instructed, he heard from the Saviour. Let us, then, see how clearly Basilides, simultaneously with Isidorus, and the entire band of these (heretics), not only absolutely belies Matthias, but even the Saviour Himself. (Time) was, says (Basilides), when there was nothing. Not even, however, did that nothing constitute anything of existent things; but, to express myself undisguisedly and candidly, and without any quibbling, it is altogether nothing. But when, he says, I employ the expression “was,” I do not say that it was; but (I speak in this way) in order to signify the meaning of what I wish to elucidate. I affirm then, he says, that it was “altogether nothing.” For, he says, that is not absolutely ineffable which is named (so),—although undoubtedly we call this ineffable,—but that which is “non-ineffable.” For that which is “non-ineffable” is not denominated ineffable, but is, he says, above every name that is named. For, he says, by no means for the world are these names sufficient, but so manifold are its divisions that there is a deficiency (of names). And I do not take it upon myself to discover, he says, proper denominations for all things. Undoubtedly, however, one ought mentally, not by means of names, to conceive, after an ineffable manner, the peculiarities (of things) denominated. For an equivocal terminology, (when employed by teachers,) has created for their pupils confusion and a source of error concerning objects. (The Basilidians), in the first instance, laying hold on this borrowed and furtively derived tenet from the Peripatetic (sage), play upon the folly of those who herd together with them. For Aristotle, born many generations before Basilides, first lays down a system in *The Categories* concerning homonymous words. And these heretics bring this (system) to light as if it were peculiarly their own, and as if it were some novel (doctrine), and some secret disclosure from the discourses of Matthias.⁸¹⁶

815 Miller erroneously reads “Matthew.”

816 (See Bunsen, i. v. 86. A fabulous reference may convey a truth. This implies that Matthias was supposed to have preached and left results of his teachings.)

Chapter IX.—Basilides Adopts the Aristotelian Doctrine of "Nonentity."

Since, therefore, "nothing" existed,—(I mean) not matter, nor substance, nor what is insubstantial, nor is absolute, nor composite,⁸¹⁷ (nor conceivable, nor inconceivable, (nor what is sensible,) nor devoid of senses, nor man, nor angel, nor a god, nor, in short, any of those objects that have names, or are apprehended by sense, or that are cognised by intellect, but (are) thus (cognised), even with greater minuteness, still, when all things are absolutely removed,—(since, I say, "nothing" existed,) God, "non-existent,"—whom Aristotle styles "conception of conception," but these (Basilidians) "non-existent,"—inconceivably, insensibly, indeterminately, involuntarily, impassively, (and) unactuated by desire, willed to create a world. Now I employ, he says, the expression "willed" for the purpose of signifying (that he did so) involuntarily, and inconceivably, and insensibly. And by the expression "world" I do not mean that which was subsequently formed according to breadth and division, and which stood apart; nay, (far from this,) for (I mean) the germ of a world. The germ, however, of the world had all things in itself. Just as the grain of mustard comprises all things simultaneously, holding them (collected) together within the very smallest (compass), viz., roots, stem, branches, leaves, and innumerable gains which are produced from the plant, (as) seeds again of other plants, and frequently of others (still), that are produced (from them). In this way, "non-existent" God made the world out of nonentities, casting and depositing some one Seed that contained in itself a conglomeration of the germs of the world. But in order that I may render more clear what it is those (heretics) affirm, (I shall mention the following illustration of theirs.) As an egg of some variegated and particoloured bird,—for instance the peacock, or some other (bird) still more manifold and particoloured,—being one in reality, contains in itself numerous forms of manifold, and particoloured, and much compounded substances; so, he says, the nonexistent seed of the world, which has been deposited by the non-existent God, constitutes at the same time the germ of a multitude of forms and a multitude of substances.

104

817 This emendation is made by Abbe Cruice. The ms. has "incomposite," an obviously untenable reading.

Chapter X.—Origin of the World; Basilides' Account of the "Sonship."

All things, therefore whatsoever it is possible to declare, and whatever, being not as yet discovered, one must omit, were likely to receive adaptation to the world which was about to be generated from the Seed. And this (Seed), at the requisite seasons, increases in bulk in a peculiar manner, according to accession, as through the instrumentality of a Deity so great, and of this description. (But this Deity) the creature can neither express nor grasp by perception. (Now, all these things) were inherent, treasured in the Seed, as we afterwards observe in a new-born child the growth of teeth, and paternal substance, and intellect, and everything which, though previously having no existence, accrues unto a man, growing little by little, from a youthful period of life. But since it would be absurd to say that any projection of a non-existent God became anything non-existent (for Basilides altogether shuns and dreads the Substances of things generated in the way of projection for, (he asks,) of what sort of projection is there a necessity, or of what sort of matter⁸¹⁸ must we assume the previous existence, in order that God should construct a world, as the spider his web; or (as) a mortal man, for the purpose of working it, takes a (piece of) brass or of wood, or some other of the parts of matter?),—(projection, I say, being out of the question,) certainly, says (Basilides), God spoke the word, and it was carried into effect. And this, as these men assert, is that which has been stated by Moses: "Let there be light, and there was light."⁸¹⁹ Whence he says, came the light? From nothing. For it has not been written, he says, whence, but this only, (that it came) from the voice of him who speaks the word. And he who speaks the word, he says, was non-existent; nor was that existent which was being produced.⁸²⁰ The seed of the cosmical system was generated, he says, from nonentities; (and I mean by the seed,) the word which was spoken, "Let there be light." And this, he says, is that which has been stated in the Gospels: "He was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."⁸²¹ He derives his originating principles from that Seed, and obtains from the same source his illuminating power. This is that seed which has in itself the entire conglomeration of germs. And Aristotle affirms this to be genius, and it is distributed by him into infinite species; just as from animal, which is non-existent, we sever ox, horse, (and) man. When, therefore, the cosmical Seed becomes the basis (for a subsequent development), those (heretics) assert, (to quote Basilides' own words:) "Whatsoever I affirm," he says, "to have been made after these, ask no question as to whence. For (the Seed) had all seeds treasured and reposing in itself, just as non-existent entities, and which were designed to be produced by a non-existent Deity."

818 Or, "of what sort of material substance," etc.

819 [Gen. i. 3.](#)

820 Or, "being declared."

821 [John i. 9.](#) [See translator's important note (1), p. 7, *supra*.]

Let us see, therefore, what they say is first, or what second, or what third, (in the development of) what is generated from the cosmical Seed. There existed, he says, in the Seed itself, a Sonship, threefold, in every respect of the same Substance with the non-existent God, (and) begotten from nonentities. Of this Sonship (thus) involving a threefold division, one part was refined, (another gross,) and another requiring purification. The refined portion, therefore, in the first place, simultaneously with the earliest deposition of the Seed by the non-existent one, immediately burst forth⁸²² and went upwards and hurried above from below, employing a sort of velocity described in poetry,—

“...As wing or thought,”⁸²³—

and attained, he says, unto him that is nonexistent. For every nature desires that (nonexistent one), on account of a superabundance of beauty and bloom. Each (nature desires this), however, after a different mode. The more gross portion, however, (of the Sonship) continuing still in the Seed, (and) being a certain imitative (principle), was not able to hurry upwards. For (this portion) was much more deficient in the refinement that the Sonship possessed, which through itself hurried upwards, (and so the more gross portion) was left behind. Therefore the more gross Sonship equipped itself with some such wing as Plato, the Preceptor of Aristotle, fastens on the soul in (his) *Phædrus*.⁸²⁴ And Basilides styles such, not a wing, but Holy Spirit; and Sonship invested in this (Spirit) confers benefits, and receives them in turn. He confers benefits, because, as a wing of a bird, when removed from the bird, would not of itself soar high up and aloft; nor, again, would a bird, when disengaged from its pinion, at any time soar high up and aloft; (so, in like manner,) the Sonship involved some such relation in reference to the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit in reference to the Sonship. For the Sonship, carried upwards by the Spirit as by a wing, bears aloft (in turn) its pinion, that is, the Spirit. And it approaches the refined Sonship, and the non-existent God,⁸²⁵ even Him who fabricated the world out of nonentities. He was not, (however,) able to have this (spirit) with (the Sonship) itself; for it was not of the same substance (with God), nor has it (any) nature (in common) with the Sonship. But as pure and dry air is contrary to (their) nature, and destructive to fishes; so, in contrariety to the nature of the Holy Spirit, was that place simultaneously of non-existent Deity and Sonship,—(a place) more ineffable than ineffable (entities), and higher up than all names.

822 Literally, “throbbed.”

823 *Odyssey*, vii. 36.

824 See Plato, vol. i. p. 75 et seq., ed. Bekker. Miller has “Phædo;” an obvious mistake.

825 [Foretaste of Cent. IV.] Miller’s text has, instead of τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος (non-existent), οἰκοῦντος (who dwells above).

Sonship, therefore, left this (spirit) near that Blessed Place, which cannot be conceived or represented by any expression. (He left the spirit) not altogether deserted or separated from the Sonship; nay, (far from it,) for it is just as when a most fragrant ointment is put into a vessel, that, even though (the vessel) be emptied (of it) with ever so much care, nevertheless some odour of the ointment still remains, and is left behind, even after (the ointment) is separated from the vessel; and the vessel retains an odour of ointment, though (it contain) not the ointment (itself). So the Holy Spirit has continued without any share in the Sonship, and separated (from it), and has in itself, similarly with ointment, its own power, a savour of Sonship. And this is what has been declared: "As the ointment upon the head which descended to the beard of Aaron."⁸²⁶ This is the savour from the Holy Spirit borne down from above, as far as formlessness, and the interval (of space) in the vicinity of our world. And from this the Son began to ascend, sustained as it were, says (Basilides), upon eagles' wings, and upon the back. For, he says, all (entities) hasten upwards from below, from things inferior to those that are superior. For not one of those things that are among things superior, is so silly as to descend beneath. The third Sonship, however, that which requires purification, has continued, he says, in the vast conglomeration of all germs conferring benefits and receiving them. But in what manner it is that (the third Sonship) receives benefits and confers them, we shall afterwards declare when we come to the proper place for discussing this question.

826 [Ps. cxxxiii. 2.](#)

Chapter XI.—The "Great Archon" Of Basilides.

When, therefore, a first and second ascension of the Sonship took place, and the Holy Spirit itself also remained after the mode mentioned, the firmament was placed between the super-mundane (spaces) and the world. For existing things were distributed by Basilides into two continuous and primary divisions, and are, according to him, denominated partly in a certain (respect) world, and partly in a certain (respect) super-mundane (spaces). But the spirit, a line of demarcation between the world and super-mundane (spaces), is that which is both holy, and has abiding in itself the savour of Sonship. While, therefore, the firmament which is above the heaven is coming into existence, there burst forth, and was begotten from the cosmical Seed, and the conglomeration of all germs, the Great Archon (and) Head of the world, (who constitutes) a certain (species of) beauty, and magnitude, and indissoluble power.⁸²⁷ For, says he, he is more ineffable than ineffable entities, and more potent than potent ones, and more wise than wise ones, and superior to all the beautiful ones whatever you could mention. This (Archon), when begotten, raised Himself up and soared aloft, and was carried up entire as far as the firmament. And there He paused, supposing the firmament to be the termination of His ascension and elevation, and considering that there existed nothing at all beyond these. And than all the subjacent (entities) whatsoever there were among them which remained mundane, He became more wise, more powerful, more comely, more lustrous, (in fact,) pre-eminent for beauty above any entities you could mention with the exception of the Sonship alone, which is still left in the (conglomeration of) all germs. For he was not aware that there is (a Sonship) wiser and more powerful, and better than Himself. Therefore imagining Himself to be Lord, and Governor, and a wise Master Builder, He turns Himself to (the work of) the creation of every object in the cosmical system. And first, he deemed it proper not to be alone, but made unto Himself, and generated from adjacent (entities), a Son far superior to Himself, and wiser. For all these things had the non-existent Deity previously determined upon, when He cast down the (conglomeration of) all germs. Beholding, therefore, the Son, He was seized with astonishment, and loved (Him), and was struck with amazement. For some beauty of this description appeared⁸²⁸ to the Great Archon to belong to the Son, and the Archon caused Him to sit on his right (hand). This is, according to these (heretics), what is denominated the Ogdoad, where the Great Archon has his throne. The entire celestial creation, then, that is, the Æther, He Himself, the Great Wise Demiurge formed. The Son, however, begotten of this (Archon), operates in Him, and offered Him suggestions, being endued with far greater wisdom than the Demiurge Himself.

827 Or, "unspeakable power."

828 Or, "was produced unto."

Chapter XII.—Basilides Adopts the “Entelecheia” Of Aristotle.

This, then, constitutes the *entelecheia* of the natural organic body, according to Aristotle, (viz.,) a soul operating in the body, without which the body is able to accomplish nothing; (I mean nothing) that is greater, and more illustrious, and more powerful, and more wise than the body.⁸²⁹ The account, therefore, which Aristotle has previously rendered concerning the soul and the body, Basilides elucidates as applied to the Great Archon and his Son. For the Archon has generated, according to Basilides, a son; and the soul as an operation and completion, Aristotle asserts to be an *entelecheia* of a natural organic body. As, therefore, the *entelecheia* controls the body, so the Son, according to Basilides, controls the God that is more ineffable than ineffable (entities). All things, therefore, have been provided for, and managed by the majesty⁸³⁰ of the Great Archon; (I mean) whatever objects exist in the æthereal region of space as far as the moon, for from that quarter onwards air is separated from æther. When all objects in the æthereal regions, then, were arranged, again from (the conglomeration of) all germs another Archon ascended, greater, of course, than all subjacent (entities), with the exception, however, of the Sonship that had been left behind, but far inferior to the First Archon. And this (second Archon) is called by them Rhetus.⁸³¹ And this Topos is styled Hebdomad, and this (Archon) is the manager and fabricator of all subjacent (entities). And He has likewise made unto Himself out (of the conglomeration of) all germs, a son who is more prudent and wise than Himself, similarly to what has been stated to have taken place in the case of the First Archon. That which exists in this quarter (of the universe) constitutes, he says, the actual conglomeration and collection of all seeds; and the things which are generated are produced according to nature, as has been declared already by Him who calculates on things future, when they ought⁸³² (to be), and what sort they ought (to be), and how they ought (to be). And of these no one is Chief, or Guardian, or Creator. For (a) sufficient (cause of existence) for them is that calculation which the Non-Existent One formed when He exercised the function of creation.

829 Miller's text has "the soul," which Duncker and Cruice properly correct into "body."

830 Μεγαλειότητος, a correction from μεγάλης.

831 A correction from "Arrhetus."

832 This passage is very obscure, and is variously rendered by the commentators. The above translation follows Schneidewin's version, which yields a tolerably clear meaning.

Chapter XIII.—Further Explanation of the "Sonship."

When, therefore, according to these (heretics), the entire world and super-mundane entities were finished, and (when) nothing exists labouring under deficiency, there still remains in the (conglomeration of) all germs the third Sonship, which had been left behind in the Seed to confer benefits and receive them. And it must needs be that the Sonship which had been left behind ought likewise to be revealed and reinstated above. And His place should be above the Conterminous Spirit, near the refined and imitative Sonship and the Non-Existent One. But this would be in accordance with what has been written, he says: "And the creation itself groaneth together, and travaileth in pain together, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God."⁸³³ Now, we who are spiritual are sons, he says, who have been left here to arrange, and mould, and rectify, and complete the souls which, according to nature, are so constituted as to continue in this quarter of the universe. "Sin, then, reigned from Adam unto Moses,"⁸³⁴ as it has been written. For the Great Archon exercised dominion and possesses an empire with limits extending as far as the firmament. And He imagines Himself alone to be God, and that there exists nothing above Him, for (the reason that) all things have been guarded by unrevealed Siope. This, he says, is the mystery which has not been made known to former generations; but in those days the Great Archon, the Ogdoad, was King and Lord, as it seemed, of the universe. But (in reality) the Hebdomad was king and lord of this quarter of the universe, and the Ogdoad is Arrhetus, whereas the Hebdomad is Rhetus. This, he says, is the Archon of the Hebdomad, who has spoken to Moses, and says: "I am the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and I have not manifested unto them the name of God"⁸³⁵ (for so they wish that it had been written)—that is, the God, Arrhetus, Archon of the Ogdoad. All the prophets, therefore, who were before the Saviour uttered their predictions, he says, from this source (of inspiration). Since, therefore, it was requisite, he says, that we should be revealed as the children of God, in expectation of whose manifestation, he says, the creation habitually groans and travails in pain, the Gospel came into the world, and passed through every Principality, and Power, and Dominion, and every Name that is named.⁸³⁶ And (the Gospel) came in reality, though nothing descended from above; nor did the blessed Sonship retire from that Inconceivable, and Blessed, (and) Non-Existent God. Nay, (far from it;) for as Indian naphtha, when lighted merely⁸³⁷ from a considerably long distance, nevertheless attracts fire (towards it), so from below, from the formlessness of the conglomeration (of all germs), the powers pass upwards as far as the

833 [Rom. viii. 19, 22.](#)

834 [Rom. v. 14.](#)

835 [Ex. vi. 2, 3.](#)

836 [Eph. i. 21.](#)

837 Or, "seen merely."

Sonship. For, according to the illustration of the Indian naphtha, the Son of the Great Archon of the Ogdoad, as if he were some (sort of) naphtha, apprehends and seizes conceptions from the Blessed Sonship, whose place of habitation is situated after that of the Conterminous (Spirit). For the power of the Sonship which is in the midst of the Holy Spirit, (that is,) in, the midst of the (Conterminous) Spirit, shares the flowing and rushing thoughts of the Sonship with the Son of the Great Archon.

Chapter XIV.—Whence Came the Gospel; The Number of Heavens According to Basilides; Explanation of Christ's Miraculous Conception.

The Gospel then came, says (Basilides), first from the Sonship through the Son, that was seated beside the Archon, to the Archon, and the Archon learned that He was not God of the universe, but was begotten. But (ascertaining that) He has above Himself the deposited treasure of that Ineffable and Unnameable (and) Non-existent One, and of the Sonship, He was both converted and filled with terror, when He was brought to understand in what ignorance He was (involved). This, he says, is what has been declared: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."⁸³⁸ For, being orally instructed by Christ, who was seated near, he began to acquire wisdom, (inasmuch as he thereby) learns who is the Non-Existent One, what the Sonship (is), what the Holy Spirit (is), what the apparatus of the universe (is), and what is likely to be the consummation of things. This is the wisdom spoken in a mystery, concerning which, says (Basilides), Scripture uses the following expressions: "Not in words taught of human wisdom, but in (those) taught of the Spirit."⁸³⁹ The Archon, then, being orally instructed, and taught, and being (thereby) filled with fear, proceeded to make confession concerning the sin which He had committed in magnifying Himself. This, he says, is what is declared: "I have recognised my sin, and I know my transgression, (and) about this I shall confess for ever."⁸⁴⁰ When, then, the Great Archon had been orally instructed, and every creature of the Ogdoad had been orally instructed and taught, and (after) the mystery became known to the celestial (powers), it was also necessary that afterwards the Gospel should come to the Hebdomad, in order likewise that the Archon of the Hebdomad might be similarly instructed and indoctrinated into the Gospel. The Son of the Great Archon (therefore) kindled in the Son of the Archon of the Hebdomad the light which Himself possessed and had kindled from above from the Sonship. And the Son of the Archon of the Hebdomad had radiance imparted to Him, and He proclaimed the Gospel to the Archon of the Hebdomad. And in like manner, according to the previous account, He Himself was both terrified and induced to make confession. When, therefore, all (beings) in the Hebdomad had been likewise enlightened, and had the Gospel announced to them (for in these regions of the universe there exist, according to these heretics, creatures infinite (in number), viz., Principalities and Powers and Rulers, in regard of which there is extant among the (Basilidians)⁸⁴¹ a very prolix and verbose treatise, where they allege that there

838 [Prov. i. 7.](#)

839 [1 Cor. ii. 13.](#)

840 [Ps. xxxii. 5; li. 3.](#)

841 κατ' αὐτοῦς. Ullhorn fills up the ellipsis thus: "And in reference to these localities of the Archons," etc.

are three hundred and sixty-five heavens, and that the great Archon of these is Abrasax,⁸⁴² from the fact that his name comprises the computed number 365, so that, of course, the calculation of the title includes all (existing) things, and that for these reasons the year consists of so many days);—but when, he says, these (two events, viz., the illumination of the Hebdomad and the manifestation of the Gospel) had thus taken place, it was necessary, likewise, that afterwards the Formlessness existent in our quarter of creation should have radiance imparted to it, and that the mystery should be revealed to the Sonship, which had been left behind in Formlessness, just like an abortion.

Now this (mystery) was not made known to previous generations, as he says, it has been written, “By revelation was made known unto me the mystery;”⁸⁴³ and, “I have heard inexpressible words which it is not possible for man to declare.”⁸⁴⁴ The light, (therefore,) which came down from the Ogdoad above to the Son of the Hebdomad, descended from the Hebdomad upon Jesus the son of Mary, and he had radiance imparted to him by being illuminated with the light that shone upon him. This, he says, is that which has been declared: “The Holy Spirit will come upon thee,”⁸⁴⁵ (meaning) that which proceeded from the Sonship through the conterminous spirit upon the Ogdoad and Hebdomad, as far as Mary; “and the power of the Highest will overshadow thee,” (meaning) the power of the anointing,⁸⁴⁶ (which streamed) from the (celestial) height above (through) the Demiurge, as far as the creation, which is (as far as) the Son. And as far as that (Son) he says the world consisted thus. And as far as this, the entire Sonship, which is left behind for benefiting the souls in Formlessness, and for being the recipient in turn of benefits,—(this Sonship, I say,) when it is transformed, followed Jesus, and hastened upwards, and came forth purified. And it becomes most refined, so that it could, as the first (Sonship), hasten upwards through its own instrumentality. For it possesses all the power that, according to nature, is firmly connected with the light which from above shone down (upon earth).



842 This is a more correct form than that occasionally given, viz., Abraxas. See Beausobre, *Hist. Manich.*, lib. ii. p. 51.

843 Eph. iii. 3–5.

844 2 Cor. xii. 4.

845 Luke i. 35.

846 Miller's text has “judgment,” which yields no meaning. Roeper suggests “Ogdoad.”

Chapter XV.—God's Dealings with the Creature; Basilides' Notion of (1) the Inner Man, (2) the Gospel; His Interpretation of the Life and Sufferings of Our Lord.

When, therefore, he says, the entire Sonship shall have come, and shall be above the conterminous spirit, then the creature will become the object of mercy. For (the creature) groans until now,⁸⁴⁷ and is tormented, and waits for the manifestation of the sons of God, in order that all who are men of the Sonship may ascend from thence. When this takes place, God, he says, will bring upon the whole world enormous ignorance, that all things may continue according to nature, and that nothing may inordinately desire anything of the things that are contrary to nature. But (far from it); for all the souls of this quarter of creation, as many as possess the nature of remaining immortal in this (region) only, continue (in it), aware of nothing superior or better (than their present state). And there will not prevail any rumour or knowledge in regions below, concerning beings whose dwelling is placed above, lest subjacent souls should be wrung with torture from longing after impossibilities. (It would be) just as if a fish were to crave to feed on the mountains along with sheep. (For) a wish of this description would, he says, be their destruction. All things, therefore, that abide in (this) quarter⁸⁴⁸ are incorruptible, but corruptible if they are disposed to wander and cross over from the things that are according to nature. In this way the Archon of the Hebdomad will know nothing of superjacent entities. For enormous ignorance will lay hold on this one likewise, in order that sorrow, and grief, and groaning may depart from him; for he will not desire aught of impossible things, nor will he be visited with anguish. In like manner, however, the same ignorance will lay hold also on the Great Archon of the Ogdoad, and similarly on all the creatures that are subject unto him, in order that in no respect anything may desire aught of those things that are contrary to nature, and may not (thus) be overwhelmed with sorrow. And so there will be the restitution of all things which, in conformity with nature, have from the beginning a foundation in the seed of the universe, but will be restored at (their own) proper periods. And that each thing, says (Basilides), has its own particular times, the Saviour is a sufficient (witness⁸⁴⁹) when He observes, "Mine hour is not yet come."⁸⁵⁰ And the Magi (afford similar testimony) when they gaze wistfully upon the (Saviour's) star.⁸⁵¹ For (Jesus) Himself was, he says, mentally preconceived at the time of the generation of the stars, and of the complete return to their starting-point of the seasons in the vast conglomeration (of all germs). This is, according to these (Basilidians), he who has been conceived as the inner spiritual man in what is natural (now this is the Sonship

847 [Rom. viii. 19–22.](#)

848 Or, "their own peculiar locality" (Bunsen).

849 This word is added by Bunsen.

850 [John ii. 4.](#)

851 [Matt. ii. 1, 2.](#)

which left there the soul, not (that it might be) mortal, but that it might abide here according to nature, just as the first Sonship left above in its proper locality the Holy Spirit, (that is, the spirit) which is conterminous),—(this, I say, is he who has been conceived as the inner spiritual man, and) has then been arrayed in his own peculiar soul.

In order, however, that we may not omit any of the doctrines of this (Basilides), I shall likewise explain whatever statements they put forward respecting a gospel. For gospel with them, as has been elucidated, is of super-mundane entities the knowledge which the Great Archon did not understand. As, then, it was manifested unto him that there are likewise the Holy Spirit—that is, the conterminous (spirit)—and the Sonship, and the Non-Existent God, the cause of all these, he rejoiced at the communications made to him, and was filled with exultation. According to them, this constitutes the gospel. Jesus, however, was born, according to these (heretics), as we have already declared. And when the generation which has been previously explained took place, all the events in our Lord's life occurred, according to them, in the same manner as they have been described in the Gospels. And these things happened, he says, in order that Jesus might become the first-fruits of a distinction of the different orders (of created objects) that had been confused together.⁸⁵² For when the world had been divided into an Ogdoad, which is the head of the entire world,—now the great Archon is head of the entire world,—and into a Hebdomad,—which is the head of the Hebdomad, the Demiurge of subjacent entities,—and into this order of creatures (that prevails) amongst us, where exists Formlessness, it was requisite that the various orders of created objects that had been confounded together should be distinguished by a separating process performed by Jesus. (Now this separation) that which was his corporeal part suffered, and this was (the part) of Formlessness and reverted into Formlessness. And that was resuscitated which was his psychical part, and this was (part) of the Hebdomad, and reverted into the Hebdomad. And he revived that (element in his nature) which was the peculiar property of the elevated region where dwells the Great Archon, and (that element) remained beside the Great Archon. And he carried upwards as far as (that which is) above that which was (the peculiar property) of the conterminous spirit, and he remained in the conterminous spirit. And through him there was purified the third Sonship, which had been left for conferring benefits, and receiving them. And (through Jesus) it ascended towards the blessed Sonship, and passed through all these. For the entire purpose of these was the blending together of, as it were, the conglomeration of all germs, and the distinction of the various orders of created objects, and the restoration into their proper component parts of things that had been blended together. Jesus, therefore, became the first-fruits of the distinction of the various orders of created objects, and his Passion took place for not any other reason than the distinction which was thereby brought about in the various orders of created objects

109

852 See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.*, ii. p. 375, ed. Sylburg. [Comp. cap. viii. vol. ii. p. 355, this series.]

that had been confounded together. For in this manner (Basilides) says that the entire Sonship, which had been left in Formlessness for the purpose of conferring benefits and receiving them, was divided into its component elements, according to the manner in which also the distinction of natures had taken place in Jesus. These, then, are the legends which likewise Basilides details after his sojourn in Egypt;⁸⁵³ and being instructed by the (sages of this country) in so great a system of wisdom, (the heretic) produced fruits of this description.

⁸⁵³ Bernays and Bunsen read τὸν Περίπατον, which Abbe Cruice and Duncker consider erroneous, referring us to Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iv. 7.

Chapter XVI.—The System of Saturnilus.

But one Saturnilus,⁸⁵⁴ who flourished about the same period with Basilides,⁸⁵⁵ but spent his time in Antioch, (a city) of Syria, propounded opinions akin to whatever (tenets) Menander (advanced). He asserts that there is one Father, unknown to all—He who had made angels, archangels, principalities, (and) powers; and that by certain angels, seven (in number), the world was made, and all things that are in it. And (Saturnilus affirms) that man was a work of angels. There had appeared above from (the Being of) absolute sway, a brilliant⁸⁵⁶ image; and when (the angels) were not able to detain this, on account of its immediately, he says, returning with rapidity upwards, they exhorted one another, saying, “Let us make man in our likeness and image.”⁸⁵⁷ And when the figure was formed, and was not, he says, able, owing to the impotence of the angels, to lift up itself, but continued writhing as a worm, the Power above, compassionating him on account of his having been born in its own image, sent forth a scintillation of life, which raised man up, and caused him to have vitality. (Saturnilus) asserts that this scintillation of life rapidly returns after death to those things that are of the same order of existence; and that the rest, from which they have been generated, are resolved into those. And the Saviour⁸⁵⁸ he supposed to be unbegotten and incorporeal, and devoid of figure. (Saturnilus,) however, (maintained that Jesus) was manifested as man in appearance only. And he says that the God of the Jews is one of the angels, and, on account of the Father’s wishing to deprive of sovereignty all the Archons, that Christ came for the overthrow of the God of the Jews, and for the salvation of those that believe upon Him; and that these have in them the scintillation of life. For he asserted that two kinds of men had been formed by the angels,—one wicked, but the other good. And, since demons from time to time assisted wicked (men, Saturnilus affirms) that the Saviour came for the overthrow of worthless men and demons, but for the salvation of good men. And he affirms that marriage and procreation are from Satan. The majority, however, of those who belong to this (heretic’s school) abstain from animal food likewise, (and) by this affectation of asceticism (make many their dupes). And (they maintain) that the prophecies have been uttered, partly by the world-making angels, and partly by Satan, who is also the very angel whom they

110

854 See [vol. i. p. 348, this series, where it is *Saturninus*]; Irenæus, i. 24; [vol. iii., this series, p. 649]; Tertullian, *Præscript.* xlv.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxiii.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 3; St. Augustine, *Hær.*, iii. Eusebius styles this heretic Saturninus.

855 Epiphanius makes Basilides and Saturnilus belong to the same school.

856 φαεινῆς; Miller reads φωνῆς.

857 [Gen. i. 26.](#)

858 Miller reads “the Father.”

suppose to act in antagonism to the cosmical⁸⁵⁹ (angels), and especially to the God of the Jews. These, then, are in truth the tenets of Saturnilus.

859 Or, "world-making."

Chapter XVII.—Marcion; His Dualism; Derives His System from Empedocles; Sketch of the Doctrine of Empedocles.

But Marcion,⁸⁶⁰ a native of Pontus, far more frantic than these (heretics), omitting the majority of the tenets of the greater number (of speculators), (and) advancing into a doctrine still more unabashed, supposed (the existence of) two originating causes of the universe, alleging one of them to be a certain good (principle), but the other an evil one. And himself imagining that he was introducing some novel (opinion), founded a school full of folly, and attended by men of a sensual mode of life, inasmuch as he himself was one of lustful propensities.⁸⁶¹ This (heretic) having thought that the multitude would forget that he did not happen to be a disciple of Christ, but of Empedocles,⁸⁶² who was far anterior to himself, framed and formed the same opinions,—namely, that there are two causes of the universe, discord and friendship. For what does Empedocles say respecting the plan of the world? Even though we have previously spoken (on this subject), yet even now also, for the purpose, at all events, of comparing the heresy of this plagiarist (with its source), we shall not be silent.

This (philosopher) affirms that all the elements out of which the world consists and derives its being, are six: two of them material, (viz.,) earth and water; and two of them instruments by which material objects are arranged and altered, (viz.,) fire and air; and two of them, by means of the instruments, operating upon matter and fashioning it, viz., discord and friendship. (Empedocles) expresses himself somehow thus:—

“The four roots of all things hear thou first:
Brilliant Jove, and life-giving Juno and Aidoneus,
And Nestis, who with tears bedews the mortal font.”⁸⁶³

Jupiter is fire, and life-giving Juno earth, which produces fruits for the support of existence; and Aidoneus air, because although through him we behold all things, yet himself alone we do not see. But Nestis is water, for this is a sole vehicle of (food), and thus becomes a cause of sustenance to all those that are being nourished; (but) this of itself is not able to afford nutriment to those that are being nourished. For if it did possess the power of affording nutriment, animal life, he says, could never be destroyed by famine, inasmuch as water is always superabundant in the world. For this reason he denominates Nestis water, because,

860 See [vol. i. p. 352, this series]; Irenæus i. 27; [vol. iii., this series especially p. 257], Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, and *Præscript.*, xxx.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlii.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 24; Eusebius., *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, v. 13, 16; and St. Augustine, *Hær.*, xxii.

861 Or, “quarrelsome,” or, “frantic.”

862 Hippolytus’ discussion respecting the heresy of Marcion is chiefly interesting from the light which it throws on the philosophy of Empedocles.

863 These are lines 55–57 in Karsten’s edition of a collection of the Empedoclean verses.

(though indirectly) being a cause of nutriment, it is not (of itself) competent to afford nutriment to those things that are being nourished. These, therefore—to delineate them as by way of outline—are the principles that comprise (Empedocles') entire theory of the world: (viz.,) water and earth, out of which (proceed) generated entities; fire and spirit, (which are) instruments and efficient (causes), but discord and friendship, which are (principles) artistically fabricating (the universe). And friendship is a certain peace, and unanimity, and love, whose entire effort is, that there should be one finished and complete world. Discord, however, invariably separates that one (world), and subdivides it, or makes many things out of one. Therefore discord is of the entire creation a cause which he styles "*oulomenon*," that is, destructive. For it is the concern of this (discord), that throughout every age the creation itself should continue to preserve its existing condition. And ruinous discord has been (thus) a fabricator and an efficient cause of the production of all generated entities; whereas friendship (is the cause) of the eduction, and alteration, and restoration of existing things into one system. And in regard of these (causes), Empedocles asserts that they are two immortal and unbegotten principles, and such as have not as yet received an originating cause of existence. (Empedocles) somewhere or other (expresses himself) in the following manner:—

"For if both once it was, and will be; never, I think,
Will be the age eternal void of both of these."⁸⁶⁴

(But) what are these (two)? Discord and Friendship; for they did not begin to come into being, but pre-existed and always will exist, because, from the fact of their being unbegotten, they are not able to undergo corruption. But fire, (and water,) and earth, and air, are (entities) that perish and revive. For when these generated (bodies), by reason of Discord, cease to exist, Friendship, laying hold on them, brings them forward, and attaches and associates them herself with the universe. (And this takes place) in order that the Universe may continue one, being always ordered by Friendship in a manner one and the same, and with (uninterrupted) uniformity.

When, however, Friendship makes unity out of plurality, and associates with unity separated entities, Discord, again, forcibly severs them from unity, and makes them many, that is, fire, water, earth, air, (as well as) the animals and plants produced from these, and whatever portions of the world we observe. And in regard of the form of the world, what sort it is, (as) arranged by Friendship, (Empedocles) expresses himself in the following terms:—

"For not from back two arms arise,
Not feet, not nimble knees, not genital groin,

864 These are lines 110, 111, in Stein's edition of *Empedocles*.

But a globe it was, and equal to itself it is.”⁸⁶⁵

An operation of this description Friendship maintains, and makes (one) most beautiful form of the world out of plurality. Discord, however, the cause of the arrangement of each of the parts (of the universe), forcibly severs and makes many things out of that one (form). And this is what Empedocles affirms respecting his own generation:—

“Of these I also am from God a wandering exile.”⁸⁶⁶

That is, (Empedocles) denominates as God the unity and unification of that (one form) in which (the world) existed antecedent to the separation and production (introduced) by Discord among the majority of those things (that subsisted) in accordance with the disposition (effected) by Discord. For Empedocles affirms Discord to be a furious, and perturbed, and unstable Demiurge, (thus) denominating Discord the creator of the world. For this constitutes the condemnation and necessity of souls which Discord forcibly severs from unity, and (which it) fashions and operates upon, (according to Empedocles,) who expresses himself after some such mode as, the following:—

“Who perjury piles on sin,
While demons gain a life prolonged,”⁸⁶⁷

meaning by demons long-lived souls, because they are immortal, and live for lengthened ages:—

“For thrice ten thousand years banished from bliss;”⁸⁶⁸

denominating as blissful, those that have been collected by Friendship from the majority of entities into the process of unification (arising out) of the intelligible world. He asserts that those are exiles, and that

“In lapse of time all sorts of mortal men are born,
Changing the irksome ways of life.”⁸⁶⁹

He asserts the irksome ways to be the alterations and transfigurations of souls into (successive) bodies. This is what he says:—

“Changing the irksome ways of life.”

865 Lines 360–362 (ed. Karst.).

866 Line 7 (Karsten), 381 (Stein).

867 Line 4 (Karsten), 372, 373 (Stein).

868 Line 5 (Karsten), 374 (Stein).

869 Line 6 (Karsten), 375, 376 (Stein).

For souls “change,” body after body being altered, and punished by Discord, and not permitted to continue in the one (frame), but that the souls are involved in all descriptions of punishment by Discord being changed from body to body. He says:—

“Æthereal force to ocean drives the souls,
And ocean spurts them forth on earth’s expanse,
And earth on beams of blazing sun, who flings
(The souls) on æther’s depths, and each from each
(A spirit) takes, and all with hatred burn.”⁸⁷⁰

This is the punishment which the Demiurge inflicts, just as some brazier moulding (a piece of) iron, and dipping it successively from fire into water. For fire is the æther whence the Demiurge transfers the souls into the sea; and land is the earth: whence he uses the words, from water into earth, and from earth into air. This is what (Empedocles) says:—

“And earth on beams
Of blazing sun, who flings (the souls)
On æther’s depths, and each from each
A (spirit) takes, and all with hatred burn.”

The souls, then, thus detested, and tormented, and punished in this world, are, according to Empedocles, collected by Friendship as being a certain good (power), and (one) that pities the groaning of these, and the disorderly and wicked device of furious Discord. And (likewise Friendship is) eager, and toils to lead forth little by little the souls from the world, and to domesticate them with unity, in order that all things, being conducted by herself, may attain unto unification. Therefore on account of such an arrangement on the part of destructive Discord of this divided world, Empedocles admonishes his disciples to abstain from all sorts of animal food. For he asserts that the bodies of animals are such as feed on the habitations of punished souls. And he teaches those who are hearers of such doctrines (as his), to refrain from intercourse with women. (And he issues this precept) in order that (his disciples) may not co-operate with and assist those works which Discord fabricates, always dissolving and forcibly severing the work of Friendship. Empedocles asserts that this is the greatest law of the management of the universe, expressing himself somehow thus:—

“There’s something swayed by Fate, the ancient,
Endless law of gods, and sealed by potent oaths.”⁸⁷¹

870 Lines 16–19 (Karsten), 377–380(Stein).

871 Lines 1, 2 (Karsten), 369, 370 (Stein).

He thus calls Fate the alteration from unity into plurality, according to Discord, and from plurality into unity, according to Friendship. And, as I stated, (Empedocles asserts) that there are four perishable gods, (viz.,) fire, water, earth, (and) air. (He maintains,) however, that there are two (gods) which are immortal, unbegotten, (and) continually hostile one to the other, (namely) Discord and Friendship. And (he asserts) that Discord always is guilty of injustice and covetousness, and forcible abduction of the things of Friendship, and of appropriation of them to itself. (He alleges,) however, that Friendship, inasmuch as it is always and invariably a certain good (power), and intent on union, recalls and brings towards (itself), and reduces to unity, the parts of the universe that have been forcibly severed, and tormented, and punished in the creation by the Demiurge. Some such system of philosophy as the foregoing is advanced for us by Empedocles concerning the generation of the world, and its destruction, and its constitution, as one consisting of what is good and bad. And he says that there is likewise a certain third power which is cognised by intellect, and that this can be understood from these, (viz., Discord and Friendship,) expressing himself somehow thus:—

“For if, ’neath hearts of oak, these truths you fix,
And view them kindly in meditations pure,
Each one of these, in lapse of time, will haunt you,
And many others, sprung of these, descend.
For into every habit these will grow, as Nature prompts;
But if for other things you sigh, which, countless, linger
Undisguised ’mid men, and blunt the edge of care,
As years roll on they’ll leave you fleetly,
Since they yearn to reach their own beloved race;
For know that all possess perception and a share of mind.”⁸⁷²

872 The text of these verses, as given by Hippolytus, is obviously corrupt, and therefore obscure. Schneidewin has furnished an emended copy of them (*Philol.*, vi. 166), which the translator has mostly adopted. (See Stein’s edition of the *Empedoclean Verses*, line 222 et seq.)

Chapter XVIII.—Source of Marcionism; Empedocles Reasserted as the Suggester of the Heresy.

When, therefore, Marcion or some one of his hounds barks against the Demiurge, and adduces reasons from a comparison of what is good and bad, we ought to say to them, that neither Paul the apostle nor Mark, he of the maimed finger,⁸⁷³ announced such (tenets). For none of these (doctrines) has been written in the Gospel according to Mark. But (the real author of the system) is Empedocles, son of Meto, a native of Agrigentum. And (Marcion) despoiled this (philosopher), and imagined that up to the present would pass undetected his transference, under the same expressions, of the arrangement of his entire heresy from Sicily into the evangelical narratives. For bear with me, O Marcion: as you have instituted a comparison of what is good and evil, I also to-day will institute a comparison following up your own tenets, as you suppose them to be. You affirm that the Demiurge of the world is evil—why not hide your countenance in shame, (as thus) teaching to the Church the doctrines of Empedocles? You say that there is a good Deity who destroys the works of the Demiurge: then do not you plainly preach to your pupils, as the good Deity, the Friendship of Empedocles. You forbid marriage, the procreation of children, (and) the abstaining from meats which God has created for participation by the faithful, and those that know the truth.⁸⁷⁴ (Thinkest thou, then,) that thou canst escape detection, (while thus) enjoining the purificatory rites of Empedocles? For in point of fact you follow in every respect this (philosopher of paganism), while you instruct your own disciples to refuse meats, in order not to eat any body (that might be) a remnant of a soul which has been punished by the Demiurge. You dissolve marriages that have been cemented by the Deity. And here again you conform to the tenets of Empedocles, in order that for you the work of Friendship may be perpetuated as one (and) indivisible. For, according to Empedocles, matrimony separates unity, and makes (out of it) plurality, as we have proved.

873 ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος. Bunsen [*more suo*, vol. i., p. 89] considers this a corrupt reading, and suggests καλῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος, i.e., “a teacher of good words,” i.e., an evangelist, which word, as just used, he does not wish to repeat. The Abbe Cruice denies the necessity for any such emendation, and refers us to an article in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (Cambridge, March, 1855), the writer of which maintains, on the authority of St. Jerome, that St. Mark had amputated his thumb, in order that he might be considered disqualified for the priesthood.

874 1 Tim. iv. 3.

Chapter XIX.—The Heresy of Prepon; Follows Empedocles; Marcion Rejects the Generation of the Saviour.

The principal heresy of Marcion, and (the one of his) which is most free from admixture (with other heresies), is that which has its system formed out of the theory concerning the good and bad (God). Now this, it has been manifested by us, belongs to Empedocles. But since at present, in our times, a certain follower of Marcion, (namely) Prepon, an Assyrian,⁸⁷⁵ has endeavoured to introduce something more novel, and has given an account of his heresy in a work inscribed to Bardesanes, an Armenian, neither of this will I be silent. In alleging that what is just constitutes a third principle, and that it is placed intermediate between what is good and bad, Prepon of course is not able to avoid (the imputation of inculcating) the opinion of Empedocles. For Empedocles asserts that the world is managed by wicked Discord, and that the other (world) which (is managed) by Friendship, is cognisable by intellect. And (he asserts) that these are the two different principles of good and evil, and that intermediate between these diverse principles is impartial reason, in accordance with which are united the things that have been separated by Discord, (and which,) in accordance with the influence of Friendship, are accommodated to unity. The impartial reason itself, that which is an auxiliary to Friendship, Empedocles denominates “Musa.” And he himself likewise entreats her to assist him, and expresses himself somehow thus:—

“For if on fleeting mortals, deathless Muse,
Thy care it be that thoughts our mind engross,
Calliope, again befriend my present prayer,
As I disclose a pure account of happy gods.”⁸⁷⁶

Marcion, adopting these sentiments, rejected altogether the generation of our Saviour. He considered it to be absurd that under the (category of a) creature fashioned by destructive Discord should have been the Logos that was an auxiliary to Friendship—that is, the Good Deity. (His doctrine,) however, was that, independent of birth, (the Logos) Himself descended from above in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, and that, as being intermediate between the good and bad Deity, He proceeded to give instruction in the synagogues. For if He⁸⁷⁷ is a Mediator, He has been, he says, liberated from the entire nature of the Evil Deity. Now, as he affirms, the Demiurge is evil, and his works. For this reason, he affirms, Jesus came down unbegotten, in order that He might be liberated from all (admixture of)

875 What Hippolytus communicates concerning Prepon is quite new. The only writer who mentions him is Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.*, i. 25), in his article on Apelles.

876 Schneidewin gives a restored version of these lines. They are found (at lines 338–341) in Stein’s edition of the *Empedoclean Verses*.

877 Tertullian combats these heretical notions in his *De Carne Christi* [vol. viii. p. 521, this series].

evil. And He has, he says, been liberated from the nature of the Good One likewise, in order that He may be a Mediator, as Paul states,⁸⁷⁸ and as Himself acknowledges: “Why call ye me good? there is one good.”⁸⁷⁹ These, then, are the opinions of Marcion, by means of which he made many his dupes, employing the conclusions of Empedocles. And he transferred the philosophy invented by that (ancient speculator) into his own system of thought, and (out of Empedocles) constructed his (own) impious heresy. But I consider that this has been sufficiently refuted by us, and that I have not omitted any opinion of those who purloin their opinions from the Greeks, and act despitefully towards the disciples of Christ, as if they had become teachers to them of these (tenets). But since it seems that we have sufficiently explained the doctrines of this (heretic), let us see what Carpocrates says.

878 [Gal. iii. 19.](#)

879 [Matt. xix. 17; Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19.](#)

Chapter XX.—The Heresy of Carpocrates; Wicked Doctrines Concerning Jesus Christ; Practise Magical Arts; Adopt a Metempsychosis.

Carpocrates⁸⁸⁰ affirms that the world and the things in it were made by angels, far inferior to the unbegotten Father; and that Jesus was generated of Joseph, and that, having been born similar to (other) men, He was more just than the rest (of the human race). And (Carpocrates asserts) that the soul (of Jesus), inasmuch as it was made vigorous and undefiled, remembered the things seen by it in its converse with the unbegotten God. And (Carpocrates maintains) that on this account there was sent down upon (Jesus) by that (God) a power, in order that through it He might be enabled to escape the world-making (angels). And (he says) that this power, having passed through all, and having obtained liberty in all, again ascended⁸⁸¹ to God (Himself). And (he alleges) that in the same condition with (the soul of Jesus are all the souls) that embrace similar objects of desire with the (power just alluded to). And they assert that the soul of Jesus, (though,) according to law, it was disciplined in Jewish customs, (in reality) despised them. And (he says) that on this account (Jesus) received powers whereby He rendered null and void the passions incidental to men for their punishment. And (he argues), therefore, that the (soul), which, similarly with that soul of Christ, is able to despise the world-making Archons, receives in like manner power for the performance of similar acts. Wherefore, also, (according to Carpocrates, there are persons who) have attained unto such a degree of pride as to affirm some of themselves to be equal to Jesus Himself, whereas others among them to be even still more powerful. But (they also contend) that some enjoy an excellence above the disciples of that (Redeemer), for instance Peter and Paul, and the rest of the Apostles, and that these are in no respect inferior to Jesus. And (Carpocrates asserts) that the souls of these have originated from that supernal power, and that consequently they, as equally despising the world-making (angels), have been deemed worthy of the same power, and (of the privilege) to ascend to the same (place). If, however, any one would despise earthly concerns more than did that (Saviour, Carpocrates says) that such a one would be able to become superior to (Jesus. The followers of this heretic) practise their magical arts and incantations, and spells and voluptuous feasts. And (they are in the habit of invoking the aid of) subordinate demons and dream-senders, and (of resorting to) the rest of the tricks (of sorcery), alleging that they possess power for now acquiring sway over the Archons and makers of this world, nay, even over all the works that are in it.

114

880 See [vol. i. p. 350] Irenæus, i. 25; [vol. iii. p. 203] Tertullian, *De Anima*, c. xxiii.–xxv., and *Præscript.*, c. xlviii.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iv. 7, Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxvii. sec. 2; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 5; and St. Augustine, *Hær.*, c. vii. The entire of this article is taken from Irenæus, and equally coincides with the account given of Carpocrates by Epiphanius.

881 Or, “came.”

(Now these heretics) have themselves been sent forth by Satan, for the purpose of slandering before the Gentiles the divine name of the Church. (And the devil's object is,) that men hearing, now after one fashion and now after another, the doctrines of those (heretics), and thinking that all of us are people of the same stamp, may turn away their ears from the preaching of the truth, or that they also, looking, (without abjuring,) upon all the tenets of those (heretics), may speak hurtfully of us. (The followers of Carpocrates) allege that the souls are transferred from body to body, so far as that they may fill up (the measure of) all their sins. When, however, not one (of these sins) is left, (the Carpocratians affirm that the soul) is then emancipated, and departs unto that God above of the world-making angels, and that in this way all souls will be saved. If, however, some (souls), during the presence of the soul in the body for one life, may by anticipation become involved in the full measure of transgressions, they, (according to these heretics,) no longer undergo metempsychosis. (Souls of this sort,) however, on paying off at once all trespasses, will, (the Carpocratians say,) be emancipated from dwelling any more in a body. Certain, likewise, of these (heretics) brand⁸⁸² their own disciples in the back parts of the lobe of the right ear. And they make counterfeit images of Christ, alleging that these were in existence at the time (during which our Lord was on earth, and that they were fashioned) by Pilate.⁸⁸³

882 Literally, "cauterize."

883 Epiphanius alludes in the same manner to these images.

Chapter XXI.—The System of Cerinthus Concerning Christ.

But a certain Cerinthus,⁸⁸⁴ himself being disciplined in the teaching of the Egyptians, asserted that the world was not made by the primal Deity, but by some virtue which was an offshoot from that Power which is above all things, and which (yet) is ignorant of the God that is above all. And he supposed that Jesus was not generated from a virgin, but that he was born son of Joseph and Mary, just in a manner similar with the rest of men, and that (Jesus) was more just and more wise (than all the human race). And (Cerinthus alleges) that, after the baptism (of our Lord), Christ in form of a dove came down upon him, from that absolute sovereignty which is above all things. And then, (according to this heretic,) Jesus proceeded to preach the unknown Father,⁸⁸⁵ and in attestation (of his mission) to work miracles. It was, however, (the opinion of Cerinthus,) that ultimately Christ departed from Jesus, and that Jesus suffered and rose again; whereas that Christ, being spiritual,⁸⁸⁶ remained beyond the possibility of suffering.

884 See [vol. i. pp. 351, 415] Irenæus, i. 26, iii. 2, 3; [vol. iii. p. 651] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. xlviii.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iii. 28, vii. 25; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxviii.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, ii. 3; St. Augustine, *Hær.*, c. viii.; and St. Jerome, *Ep.*, lxxxix. We have here, as in the preceding articles, Irenæus in the Greek, as Hippolytus' text corresponds with the Latin version of this portion of Irenæus' work.

885 [Acts xvii. 23.](#)

886 Or, "paternal."

Chapter XXII.—Doctrine of the Ebionæans.

The Ebionæans,⁸⁸⁷ however, acknowledge that the world was made by Him Who is in reality God, but they propound legends concerning the Christ similarly with Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They live conformably to the customs of the Jews, alleging that they are justified according to the law, and saying that Jesus was justified by fulfilling the law. And therefore it was, (according to the Ebionæans,) that (the Saviour) was named (the) Christ of God and Jesus,⁸⁸⁸ since not one of the rest (of mankind) had observed completely the law. For if even any other had fulfilled the commandments (contained) in the law, he would have been that Christ. And the (Ebionæans allege) that they themselves also, when in like manner they fulfil (the law), are able to become Christs; for they assert that our Lord Himself was a man in a like sense with all (the rest of the human family).

887 See [vol. i. p. 352] Irenæus, i. 26; [vol. iii. p. 651] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. xlviii.; [vol. iv. p. 429, this series] Origen, *Contr. Cels.* ii. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iii. 27; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxx.; and Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, ii. 2. Hippolytus is indebted in this article partly to Irenæus, and partly to original sources.

888 Or, "that the Christ of God was named Jesus" (Bunsen).

Chapter XXIII.—The Heresy of Theodotus.

But there was a certain Theodotus,⁸⁸⁹ a native of Byzantium, who introduced a novel heresy. He announces tenets concerning the originating cause of the universe, which are partly in keeping with the doctrines of the true Church, in so far as he acknowledges that all things were created by God. Forcibly appropriating, however, (his notions of) Christ from the school of the Gnostics, and of Cerinthus and Ebion, he alleges that (our Lord) appeared in some such manner as I shall now describe. (According to this, Theodotus maintains) that Jesus was a (mere) man, born of a virgin, according to the counsel of the Father, and that after he had lived promiscuously with all men, and had become pre-eminently religious, he subsequently at his baptism in Jordan received Christ, who came from above and descended (upon him) in form of a dove. And this was the reason, (according to Theodotus,) why (miraculous) powers did not operate within him prior to the manifestation in him of that Spirit which descended, (and) which proclaims him to be the Christ. But (among the followers of Theodotus) some are disposed (to think) that never was this man made God, (even) at the descent of the Spirit; whereas others (maintain that he was made God) after the resurrection from the dead.



889 See [vol. iii. p. 654, "two Theodoti"] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. liii.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, v. 27; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, liv.; and Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, ii. 5. Clemens Alexandrinus seems to have been greatly indebted to Theodotus, whose system he has explained and commented upon.

Chapter XXIV.—The Melchisedecians; The Nicolaitans.

While, however, different questions have arisen among them, a certain (heretic), who himself also was styled Theodotus, and who was by trade a banker,⁸⁹⁰ attempted to establish (the doctrine), that a certain Melchisedec constitutes the greatest power, and that this one is greater than Christ. And they allege that Christ happens to be according to the likeness (of this Melchisedec). And they themselves, similarly with those who have been previously spoken of as adherents of Theodotus, assert that Jesus is a (mere) man, and that, in conformity with the same account (already given), Christ descended upon him.

There are, however, among the Gnostics diversities of opinion; but we have decided that it would not be worth while to enumerate the silly doctrines of these (heretics), inasmuch as they are (too) numerous and devoid of reason, and full of blasphemy. Now, even those (of the heretics) who are of a more serious turn in regard of⁸⁹¹ the Divinity, and have derived their systems of speculation from the Greeks, must stand convicted⁸⁹² (of these charges). But Nicolaus⁸⁹³ has been a cause of the wide-spread combination of these wicked men. He, as one of the seven (that were chosen) for the diaconate,⁸⁹⁴ was appointed by the Apostles. (But Nicolaus) departed from correct doctrine, and was in the habit of inculcating indifference of both life and food.⁸⁹⁵ And when the disciples (of Nicolaus) continued to offer insult to the Holy Spirit, John reproveth them in the Apocalypse as fornicators and eaters of things offered unto idols.⁸⁹⁶

890 Concerning the younger Theodotus, see [vol. iii. p. 654] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. liii.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, lv.; and Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, ii. 6.

891 Or, “in reference to” (Bunsen).

892 Or, “have been adduced” (Miller).

893 See [*ut supra*] Irenæus, i. 26; [*ut supra*] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. xlv.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, c. xxv.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iii. 29; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 15; and St. Augustine, *Hær.*, c. v. [But see Clement, vol. ii. p. 373, this series.]

894 [He understands that the seven ([Acts vi. 5](#)) were deacons. Bunsen, i. p. 97.]

895 Or, “knowledge.” Bunsen suggests βρώσεως, as translated above.

896 [Rev. ii. 6.](#)

Chapter XXV.—The Heresy of Cerdon.

But one Cerdon⁸⁹⁷ himself also, taking occasion in like manner from these (heretics) and Simon, affirms that the God preached by Moses and the prophets was not Father of Jesus Christ. For (he contends) that this (Father) had been known, whereas that the Father of Christ⁸⁹⁸ was unknown, and that the former was just, but the latter good. And Marcion corroborated the tenet of this (heretic) in the work which he attempted to write, and which he styled *Antitheses*.⁸⁹⁹ And he was in the habit, (in this book,) of uttering whatever slanders suggested themselves to his mind against the Creator of the universe. In a similar manner likewise (acted) Lucian,⁹⁰⁰ the disciple of this (heretic).

897 Irenæus, i. 27; Eusebius (who here gives Irenæus' Greek), *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iv. 2; Epiphanius, c. xli.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 24; and Philastrius, c. xlv.

898 Hippolytus follows Irenæus but introduces some alterations.

899 Ἀντιθέσεις. This is the emendation proposed by the Abbe Cruice. The textual reading is ἀντιπαραθέσεις (comparisons).

900 See [*ut supra*, p. 353], Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. li., and Epiphanius, *Hær.*, c. xliii.

Chapter XXVI.—The Doctrines of Apelles; Philumene, His Prophetess.

But Apelles,⁹⁰¹ sprung from these, thus expresses himself, (saying) that there is a certain good Deity, as also Marcion supposed, and that he who created all things is just. Now he, (according to Apelles,) was the Demiurge of generated entities. And (this heretic also maintains) that there is a third (Deity), the one who was in the habit of speaking to Moses, and that this (god) was of a fiery nature, and that there was another fourth god, a cause of evils. But these he denominates angels. He utters, however, slanders against law and prophets, by alleging that the things that have been written are (of) human (origin), and are false. And (Apelles) selects from the Gospels or (from the writings of) the Apostle (Paul) whatever pleases himself. But he devotes himself to the discourses of a certain Philumene as to the revelations⁹⁰² of a prophetess. He affirms, however, that Christ descended from the power above; that is, from the good (Deity), and that he is the son of that good (Deity). And (he asserts that Jesus) was not born of a virgin, and that when he did appear he was not devoid of flesh. (He maintains,) however, that (Christ) formed his body by taking portions of it from the substance of the universe: that is, hot and cold, and moist and dry. And (he says that Christ), on receiving in this body cosmical powers, lived for the time he did in (this) world. But (he held that Jesus) was subsequently crucified by the Jews, and expired, and that, being raised up after three days, he appeared to his disciples. And (the Saviour) showed them, (so Apelles taught,) the prints of the nails and (the wound) in his side, desirous of persuading them that he was in truth no phantom, but was present in the flesh. After, says (Apelles), he had shown them his flesh, (the Saviour) restored it to earth, from which substance it was (derived. And this he did because) he coveted nothing that belonged to another. (Though indeed Jesus) might use for the time being (what belonged to another), he yet in due course rendered to each (of the elements) what peculiarly belonged to them. And so it was, that after he had once more loosed the chains of his body, he gave back heat to what is hot, cold to what is cold, moisture to what is moist, (and) dryness to what is dry. And in this condition (our Lord) departed to the good Father, leaving the seed of life in the world for those who through his disciples should believe in him.

It appears to us that these (tenets) have been sufficiently explained. Since, however, we have determined to leave unrefuted not one of those opinions that have been advanced by any (of the heretics), let us see what (system) also has been invented by the Docetæ.

901 See [vol. iii. p. 257] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. xxx.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, v. 13; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, c. xlv.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 25; and St. Augustine, *Hær.*, c. xxiv.

902 φανερώσει. Miller's text reads φανερώς, the error of which is obvious from Tertullian's *Præscript.*, c. xxx. Cruice considers the word to signify the title of a work written by Apelles.

Book VIII.⁹⁰³

Contents.

The following are the contents of the eighth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

What are the opinions of the Docetæ, and that they have formed the doctrines which they assert from natural philosophy.

How Monoïmus⁹⁰⁴ trifles, devoting his attention to poets, and geometricians, and arithmeticians.

How (the system of) Tatian has arisen from the opinions of Valentinus and Marcion, and how this heretic (from this source) has formed his own doctrines. Hermogenes, however, availed himself of the tenets of Socrates, not those of Christ.

How those err who contend for keeping Easter on the fourteenth day.

What the error is of the Phrygians, who suppose that Montanus, and Priscilla, and Maximilla, are prophets.

What the conceit is of the Encratites, and that their opinions have been formed not from the Holy Scriptures,⁹⁰⁵ but from themselves, and the Gymnosophists among the Indians.

903 Much that we have in this book is quite new. Hippolytus derives his article on Tatian, and in a measure that on the Encratites, from Irenæus. The rest is probably from original sources.

904 Or, "Noimus."

905 [Note the honour uniformly rendered to the Holy Scriptures by the Fathers.]

Chapter I.—Heresies Hitherto Refuted; Opinions of the Docetæ.

Since the great body of (the heretics) do not employ the counsel of the Lord, by having the beam in the eye,⁹⁰⁶ and announce that they see when in reality labouring under blindness, it seems to us expedient in no wise to be silent concerning the tenets of these. Our object is, that by the refutation accomplished by us, the (heretics), being of themselves ashamed, may be brought to know how the Saviour has advised (men) first to take away the beam, then to behold clearly the mote that is in thy brother's eye. Having therefore adequately and sufficiently explained the doctrines of the majority (of the heretics) in the seven books before this, we shall not now be silent as regards the (heterodox) opinions that follow (from these). We shall by this means exhibit the abundance of the grace of the Holy Spirit; and we shall refute those (who suppose) that they have acquired steadfastness of doctrine, when it is only in appearance. Now these have styled themselves Docetæ,⁹⁰⁷ and propound the following opinions:—

(The Docetæ maintain) that God is the primal (Being), as it were a seed of a fig-tree, which is altogether very diminutive in size, but infinite in power. (This seed constitutes, according to the Docetæ,) a lowly magnitude, incalculable in multitude,⁹⁰⁸ (and) labouring under no deficiency as regards generation. (This seed is) a refuge for the terror-stricken, a shelter of the naked, a veil for modesty, (and) the sought-for produce, to which He came in search (for fruit), he says, three times,⁹⁰⁹ and did not discover (any). Wherefore, he says, He cursed the fig-tree,⁹¹⁰ because He did not find upon it that sweet fruit—the sought-for produce. And inasmuch as the Deity is, according to them—to express myself briefly—of this description and so great, that is, small and minute, the world, as it seems to them, was made in some such manner as the following: When the branches of the fig-tree became tender, leaves budded (first), as one may (generally) see, and next in succession the fruit.

906 [Matt. vii. 3, 4](#); [Luke vi. 41, 42](#).

907 See [vol. i. p. 526] Irenæus v. 1; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, v. 12; and [vol. ii. p. 398, and Elucidation XIV. p. 407] Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.*, iii.), who informs us that Julius Cassianus—a pupil of Valentinus—was founder of the Docetic heresy.

908 Miller's text reads *ταπεινὸν* (lowly), but this is obviously untenable. Duncker alters it into *ἄπειρον* (infinite), and joins *ταπεινὸν* with the word following. He renders the passage thus: "but infinite in power—a lowly magnitude." Cruice strikes out the word *ταπεινὸν*, and renders the passage thus: "but infinite in power, a magnitude incalculable in bulk." The above rendering seems to convey Hippolytus' meaning.

909 Or, "the Lord came in search of fruit" (Roeper). The reading followed in the translation agrees with the scriptural account; see [Luke xiii. 7](#).

910 [Matt. xxi. 19, 20](#); [Mark xi. 13, 14, 20, 21](#).

Now, in this (fruit) is preserved treasured the infinite and incalculable seed of the fig-tree. We think, therefore, (say the Docetæ,) that there are three (parts) which are primarily produced by the seed of the fig-tree, (viz.,) stem, which constitutes the fig-tree, leaves, and fruit—the fig itself, as we have previously declared. In this manner, the (Docetic) affirms, have been produced three Æons, which are principles from the primal originating cause of the universe. And Moses has not been silent on this point, when he says, that there are three words of God, “darkness, gloom, tempest, and added no more.”⁹¹¹ For the (Docetic) says, God has made no addition to the three Æons; but these, in every respect, have been sufficient for (the exigencies of) those who have been begotten and are sufficient. God Himself, however, remains with Himself, far separated from the three Æons. When each of these Æons had obtained an originating cause of generation, he grew, as has been declared, by little and little, and (by degrees) was magnified, and (ultimately) became perfect. But they think that that is perfect which is reckoned at ten. When, therefore, the Æons had become equal in number and in perfection, they were, as (the Docetæ) are of opinion, constituted thirty Æons in all, while each of them attains full perfection in a decade. And the three are mutually distinct, and hold one (degree of) honour relatively to one another, differing in position merely, because one of them is first, and the other second, and the other of these third. Position, however, afforded them diversity of power. For he who has obtained a position nearest to the primal Deity—who is, as it were, a seed—possessed a more productive power than the rest, inasmuch as he himself who is the immeasurable one, measured himself tenfold in bulk. He, however, who in position is second to the primal Deity, has, inasmuch as he is the incomprehensible one, comprehended himself sixfold. But he who is now third in position is conveyed to an infinite distance, in consequence of the dilatation of his brethren. (And when this third Æon) had thrice realized himself in thought, he encircled himself with, as it were, some eternal chain of union.



911 [Deut. v. 22.](#)

Chapter II.—Docetic Notion of the Incarnation; Their Doctrines of Æons; Their Account of Creation; Their Notion of a Fiery God.

And these (heretics) suppose that this is what is spoken by the Saviour: “A sower went forth to sow; and that which fell on the fair and good ground produced, some a hundred-fold, and some sixty-fold, and some thirty-fold.”⁹¹² And for this reason, the (Docetic) says, (that the Saviour) has spoken the words, “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,” because these (truths) are not altogether rumours. All these Æons, both the three and all those infinite (Æons which proceed) from these indefinitely, are hermaphrodite Æons. All these, then, after they had been increased and magnified, and had sprung from that one primary seed, (were actuated by a spirit) of concord and union, and they all coalesced into one Æon. And in this manner they begot of a single virgin, Mary,⁹¹³ a joint offspring, who is a Mediator, (that is,) the Saviour of all who are in the (covenant of) mediation. (And this Saviour is,) in every respect, coequal in power with the seed of the fig-tree, with the exception that he was generated. Whereas that primary seed, from whence the fig-tree sprung, is unbegotten. When, therefore, those three Æons were adorned with all virtue and with all sanctity, so these teachers suppose, as well as that only begotten child—for he alone was begotten by those infinite Æons from three immediately concerned in his birth, for three immeasurable Æons being unanimous procreated him;—(after, I say, the Æons and only Son were thus adorned,) the entire nature, which is cognised by intellect, was fashioned free from deficiency. Now, all those intelligible and eternal (entities) constituted light. Light, however, was not devoid of form, nor inoperative, nor in want, as it were, of the assistance of any (other power). But (light) proportionately with the multitude of those infinite (Æons) indefinitely (generated) in conformity with the exemplar of the fig-tree, possesses in itself infinite species of various animals indigenous to that quarter of creation, and it shone down upon the underlying chaos. And when this (chaos) was simultaneously illuminated, and had form imparted to it by those diversified species from above, it derived (thereby) solidity, and acquired all those supernal species from the third Æon, who had made himself threefold.

This third Æon, however, beholding all his own distinctive attributes laid hold on collectively by the underlying darkness (which was) beneath, and not being ignorant of the power of darkness, and at the same time of the security⁹¹⁴ and profusion of light, did not allow his brilliant attributes (which he derived) from above for any length of time to be snatched away by the darkness beneath. But (he acted in quite a contrary manner), for he

912 Matt. xiii. 3–8; Mark iv. 3–8; Luke viii. 5–8.

913 The word Mary seems interpolated. Miller’s text reads it after ἐν μεσότητι. The passage would then be rendered thus: “that is, Him who through the intervention of Mary (has been born into the world) the Saviour of all.”

914 Τὸ ἀσφαλές: Cruice reads, on the authority of Bernays, ἀφελές, i.e., the simplicity.

subjected (darkness) to the Æons. After, then, he had formed the firmament over the nether world, “he both divided the darkness from the light, and called the light which was above the firmament day, and the darkness he called night.”⁹¹⁵ When all the infinite species, then, as I have said, of the third Æon were intercepted in this the lowest darkness, the figure also of the Æon himself, such as he has been described, was impressed (upon them) along with the rest (of his attributes). (Now this figure is) a life-giving fire, which is generated from light, from whence the Great Archon originated. And respecting this (Archon) Moses observes: “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.”⁹¹⁶ Moses mentions⁹¹⁷ this fiery God as having spoken from the bush,⁹¹⁸ (batos,) that is, from the darkish air. For the whole of the atmosphere that underlies the darkness is (batos, i.e.,) a medium for the transmission of light. Now Moses has employed, says (the Docetic), the expression batos, because all the species of light pass down from above by means of their having the atmosphere as a medium (batos) of transmission. And in no less degree is capable of being recognised the Word of Jehovah addressed to us from the bush (batos, i.e., an atmospheric medium); for voice, as significant (in language) of a meaning, is a reverberation of air, and without this (atmosphere) human speech is incapable of being recognised. And not only the Word (of Jehovah addressed) to us from the bush (batos), that is, the air, legislates and is a fellow-citizen with (us); but (it does more than this), for both odours and colours manifest to us, through the medium of air, their own (peculiar) qualities.

915 [Gen. i. 4, 5, 7.](#)

916 [Gen. i. 1.](#)

917 [Ex. iii. 2.](#)

918 The Docetæ here attempted to substantiate their system from Scripture by a play upon words.

Chapter III.—Christ Undoes the Work of the Demiurge; Docetic Account of the Baptism and Death of Jesus; Why He Lived for Thirty Years on Earth.

This fiery deity, then, after he became fire from light, proceeded to create the world in the manner which Moses describes. He himself, however, as devoid of subsistence, employs the darkness as (his) substance, and perpetually insults those eternal attributes of light which, (being) from above, had been laid hold on by (the darkness) beneath. Up to the time, therefore, of the appearance of the Saviour, there prevailed, by reason of the Deity of fiery light, (that is,) the Demiurge, a certain extensive delusion of souls. For the species are styled souls, because they are refrigerations⁹¹⁹ from the (Æons) above, and continue in darkness. But when (the souls) are altered from bodies to bodies, they remain under the guardianship of the Demiurge. And that these things are so, says (the Docetic), it is possible also to perceive from Job, when he uses the following words: “And I am a wanderer, changing both place after place, and house after house.”⁹²⁰ And (we may learn, according to the Docetæ, the same) from the expressions of the Saviour, “And if ye will receive it, this is Elias that was for to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”⁹²¹ But by the instrumentality of the Saviour this transference of souls from body to body was made to cease, and faith is preached for remission of sins. After some such manner, that only begotten Son, when He gazes upon the forms of the supernal Æons, which were transferred from above into darkish bodies, coming down, wished to descend and deliver them. When (the Son), however, became aware that the Æons, those (that subsist) collectively, are unable to behold the Pleroma of all the Æons, but that in a state of consternation they fear lest they may undergo corruption as being themselves perishable, and that they are overwhelmed by the magnitude and splendour of power;—(when the Son, I say, perceived this,) He contracted Himself—as it were a very great flash in a very small body, nay, rather as a ray of vision condensed beneath the eyelids, and (in this condition) He advances forth as far as heaven and the effulgent stars. And in this quarter of creation He again collects himself beneath the lids of vision according as He wishes it. Now the light of vision accomplishes the same effect; for though it is everywhere, and (renders visible) all things, it is yet imperceptible to us. We, however, merely see lids of vision, while corners (of the eye), a tissue which is broad, tortuous,⁹²² (and) exceedingly fibrous, a membrane of the cornea; and underneath this, the pupil, which is shaped as a

919 The Greek word for soul is derived from the same root as that for refrigeration.

920 These words are spoken of the wife of Job, as the feminine form, *πλανῆτις* and *λάτρις*, proves. They have been added from apocryphal sources to the Greek version (ii. 9), but are absent from the English translation. The passage stands thus: καὶ ἐγὼ πλανῆτις καὶ λάτρις τόπον ἐκ τόπου περιερχομένη καὶ οἰκίαν ἐξ οἰκίας. The Abbe Cruice refers to St. Chrysostom's *Hom. de Statuis* [vol. ii. p. 139, opp. ed. Migne, not textually quoted.]

921 [Matt. xi. 14, 15.](#)

922 Or, “a fleshly membrane.”

berry, is net-like and round. (And we observe) whatever other membranes there are that belong to the light of the eye, and enveloped in which it lies concealed.

Thus, says (the Docetic), the only-begotten (and) eternal Child from above arrayed Himself in a form to correspond with each individual Æon of the three Æons;⁹²³ and while he was within the triacontad of Æons, He entered into this world⁹²⁴ just as we have described Him, unnoticed, unknown, obscure, and disbelieved. In order, therefore, say the Docetæ, that He may be clad in the darkness that is prevalent in more distant quarters of creation—(now by darkness he means) flesh—an angel journeyed with Him from above, and announced the glad tidings to Mary, says (the Docetic), as it has been written. And the (child) from her was born, as it has been written. And He who came from above put on that which was born; and so did He all things, as it has been written (of Him) in the Gospels. He washed in Jordan, and when He was baptized He received a figure and a seal in the water of (another spiritual body beside) the body born of the Virgin. (And the object of this was,) when the Archon condemned his own peculiar figment (of flesh) to death, (that is,) to the cross, that that soul which had been nourished in the body (born of the Virgin) might strip off that body and nail it to the (accursed) tree. (In this way the soul) would triumph by means of this (body) over principalities and powers,⁹²⁵ and would not be found naked, but would, instead of that flesh, assume the (other) body, which had been represented in the water when he was being baptized. This is, says (the Docetic), what the Saviour affirms: “Except a man be born of water and spirit, he will not enter into the kingdom of heaven, because that which is born of the flesh is flesh.”⁹²⁶ From the thirty Æons, therefore, (the Son) assumed thirty forms. And for this reason that eternal One existed for thirty years on the earth, because each Æon was in a peculiar manner manifested during (his own) year. And the souls are all those forms that have been laid hold on by each of the thirty Æons; and each of these is so constituted as to discern Jesus, who is of a nature (similar to their own). (And it was the nature of this Jesus) which that only-begotten and eternal One assumed from everlasting places. These (places), however, are diverse. Consequently, a proportionate number of heresies, with the utmost emulation, seek Jesus. Now all these heresies have their own peculiar Jesus; but he is seen differently according as the place⁹²⁷ is different towards which, he says, each soul is borne and hastens. (Now each soul) supposes that (the Jesus seen from its particular place) is alone that (Jesus) who is its own peculiar kinsman and



923 Miller reads, “of the third Æon.”

924 The Abbe Cruice considers that the mention of the period of our Lord’s birth has accidentally dropt out of the ms. here. See book vii. chap. xix.

925 [Col. ii. 11, 14, 15.](#)

926 [John iii. 5, 6.](#)

927 Miller’s text has “type.”

fellow-citizen. And on first beholding (this Jesus, that soul) recognises Him as its own peculiar brother, but the rest as bastards. Those, then, that derive their nature from the places below, are not able to see the forms of the Saviour which are above them. Those, however, he says, who are from above, from the intermediate decade and the most excellent ogdoad—whence, say (the Docetæ), we are—have themselves known not in part, but entirely, Jesus the Saviour. And those, who are from above, are alone perfect, but all the rest are only partially so.

Chapter IV.—Docetic Doctrine Derived from the Greek Sophists.

These (statements), therefore, I consider sufficient to properly-constituted minds for the purpose of attaining unto a knowledge of the complicated and unstable heresy of the Docetæ. (But) those who have propounded attempted arguments about inaccessible and incomprehensible Matter, have styled themselves Docetæ. Now, we consider that some of these are acting foolishly, we will not say in appearance, but in reality. At all events, we have proved that a beam from such matter is carried in the eye, if by any means they may be enabled to perceive it. If, however, they do not (discern it, our object is) that they should not make others blind. But the fact is, that the sophists of the Greeks in ancient times have previously devised, in many particulars, the doctrines of these (Docetæ), as it is possible for my readers (who take the trouble) to ascertain. These, then, are the opinions propounded by the Docetæ. As to what likewise, however, are the tenets of Monoïmus, we shall not be silent.

Chapter V.—Monoïmus; Man the Universe, According to Monoïmus; His System of the Monad.

Monoïmus⁹²⁸ the Arabian was far removed from the glory of the high-sounding poet. (For Monoïmus) supposes that there is some such man as the poet (calls) Oceanus, expressing himself somehow thus:—

“Oceans, source of gods and source of men.”⁹²⁹

Changing these (sentiments) into other words, Monoïmus says that man is the universe. Now the universe is the originating cause of all things, unbegotten, incorruptible, (and) eternal. And (he says) that the son of (the) man previously spoken of is begotten, and subject to passion, (and) that he is generated independently of time, (as well as) undesignedly,⁹³⁰ (and) without being predestinated. For such, he says, is the power of that man. And he being thus constituted in power, (Monoïmus alleges) that the son was born quicker than thought and volition. And this, he says, is what has been spoken in the Scriptures, “He was, and was generated.”⁹³¹ And the meaning of this is: Man was, and his son was generated; just as one may say, Fire was, and, independently of time, and undesignedly, and without being predestinated, light was generated simultaneously with the existence of the fire. And this man constitutes a single monad, which is uncompounded and indivisible, (and yet at the same time) compounded (and) divisible. (And this monad is) in all respects friendly (and) in all respects peaceful, in all respects quarrelsome (and) in all respects contentious with itself, dissimilar (and) similar. (This monad is likewise,) as it were, a certain musical harmony, which comprises all things in itself, as many as one may express and may omit when not considering; and it manifests all things, and generates all things. This (is) Mother, this (is) Father—two immortal names. As an illustration, however, consider, he says, as a greatest image of the perfect man, the one jot—that one tittle. And this one tittle is an uncompounded, simple, and pure monad, which derives its composition from nothing at all. (And yet this tittle is likewise) compounded, multiform, branching into many sections, and consisting of many parts. That one indivisible tittle is, he says, one tittle of the (letter) iota, with many faces, and innumerable eyes, and countless names, and this (tittle) is an image of that perfect invisible man.

121

928 What is given here by Hippolytus respecting Monoïmus is quite new. The only writer that mentions him is Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 18. [See Bunsen, vol. i. p. 103.]

929 *Iliad*, xiv. 201, 246.

930 Or, “kinglessly,” which has no meaning here. Miller therefore alters ἀβασιλεύτως into ἀβουλήτως.

931 An allusion is evidently made to the opening chapter of St. John’s Gospel. Monoïmus, like Basilides, seems to have formed his system from the prologue to the fourth Gospel.

Chapter VI.—Monoïmus' "Iota;" His Notion of the "Son of Man."

The monad, (that is,) the one tittle, is⁹³² therefore, he says, also a decade. For by the actual power of this one tittle, are produced duad, and triad, and tetrad, and pentad, and hexad, and heptad, and ogdoad, and ennead, up to ten. For these numbers, he says, are capable of many divisions, and they reside in that simple and uncompounded single tittle of the iota. And this is what has been declared: "It pleased (God) that all fulness should dwell in the Son of man bodily."⁹³³ For such compositions of numbers out of the simple and uncompounded one tittle of the iota become, he says, corporeal realities. The Son of man, therefore, he says, has been generated from the perfect man, whom no one knew; every creature who is ignorant of the Son, however, forms an idea of Him as the offspring of a woman. And certain very obscure rays of this Son which approach this world, check and control alteration (and) generation. And the beauty of that Son of man is up to the present incomprehensible to all men, as many as are deceived in reference to the offspring of the woman. Therefore nothing, he says, of the things that are in our quarter of creation has been produced by that man, nor will aught (of these) ever be (generated from him). All things, however, have been produced, not from the entirety, but from some part of that Son of man. For he says the Son of man is a jot in one tittle, which proceeds from above, is full, and completely replenishes all (rays flowing down from above). And it comprises in itself whatever things the man also possesses (who is) the Father of the Son of man.

932 The iota with a little mark placed above, signifies ten; thus, ι = 10.

933 [Col. i. 19.](#)

Chapter VII.—Monoïmus on the Sabbath; Allegorizes the Rod of Moses; Notion Concerning the Decalogue.

The world, then, as Moses says, was made in six days, that is, by six powers, which (are inherent) in the one tittle of the iota. (But) the seventh (day, which is) a rest and Sabbath, has been produced from the Hebdomad, which is over earth, and water, and fire, and air. And from these (elements) the world has been formed by the one tittle. For cubes, and octahedrons, and pyramids, and all figures similar to these, out of which consist fire, air, water, (and) earth, have arisen from numbers which are comprehended in that simple tittle of the iota. And this (tittle) constitutes a perfect son of a perfect man. When, therefore, he says, Moses mentions that the rod was changeably brandished for the (introduction of the) plagues throughout Egypt⁹³⁴—now these plagues, he says, are allegorically expressed symbols of the creation⁹³⁵—he did not (as a symbol) for more plagues than ten shape the rod. Now this (rod) constitutes one tittle of the iota, and is (both) twofold (and) various. This succession of ten plagues is, he says, the mundane creation. For all things, by being stricken, bring forth and bear fruit, just like vines. Man, he says, bursts forth, and is forcibly separated from man by being severed by a certain stroke. (And this takes place) in order that (man) may be generated, and may declare the law which Moses ordained, who received (it) from God. Conformably⁹³⁶ with that one tittle, the law constitutes the series of the ten commandments which expresses allegorically the divine mysteries of (those) precepts. For, he says, all knowledge of the universe is contained in what relates to the succession of the ten plagues and the series of the ten commandments. And no one is acquainted with this (knowledge) who is (of the number) of those that are deceived concerning the offspring of the woman. If, however, you say that the Pentateuch constitutes the entire law, it is from the Pentad which is comprehended in the one tittle. But the entire is for those who have not been altogether perfected in understanding a mystery, a new and not antiquated feast, legal, (and) everlasting, a passover of the Lord God kept unto our generations, by those who are able to discern (this mystery), at the commencement of the fourteenth day, which is the beginning of a decade from which, he says, they reckon. For the monad, as far as fourteen, is the summary of that one (tittle) of the perfect number. For one, two, three, four, become ten; and this is the one tittle. But from fourteen until one-and-twenty, he asserts that there is an Hebdomad which inheres in the one tittle of the world, and constitutes an unleavened creature in all these. For in what respect, he says, would the one tittle require any substance

122

934 Ex. vii.; viii.

935 The plagues, being transformations, were no doubt considered symbols of creation, in accordance with the view of the ancient philosophers, that creation itself brought nothing into existence, but simply altered the disposition of already existing elements. [Gen. i. 2. See Dr. Chalmers' *Astronomical Discourses*.]

936 It is very much after this allegorical mode that Philo Judæus interprets the Mosaic law and history.

such as leaven (derived) from without for the Lord's Passover, the eternal feast, which is given for generation upon generation?⁹³⁷ For the entire world and all causes of creation constitute a passover, (i.e.,) a feast of the Lord. For God rejoices in the conversion of the creation, and this is accomplished by ten strokes of the one tittle. And this (tittle) is Moses' rod, which was given by God into the hand of Moses. And with this (rod Moses) smites the Egyptians, for the purpose of altering bodies,—as, for instance, water into blood; and the rest of (material) things similarly with these,—(as, for example,) the locusts, which is a symbol of grass. And by this he means the alteration of the elements into flesh; “for all flesh,” he says, “is grass.”⁹³⁸ These men, nevertheless receive even the entire law after some such manner; adopting very probably, as I think, the opinions of those of the Greeks who affirm that there are Substance, and Quality, and Quantity, and Relation, and Place, and Time, and Position, and Action, and Possession, and Passion.

937 [Exod. xii. 17. Comp. 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.]

938 Isa. xl. 6.

Chapter VIII.—Monoïmus Explains His Opinions in a Letter to Theophrastus;
Where to Find God; His System Derived from Pythagoras.

Monoïmus himself, accordingly, in his letter to Theophrastus, expressly makes the following statement: “Omitting to seek after God, and creation, and things similar to these, seek for Him from (out of) thyself, and learn who it is that absolutely appropriates (unto Himself) all things in thee, and says, ‘My God (is) my mind, my understanding, my soul, my body.’ And learn from whence are sorrow, and joy, and love, and hatred, and involuntary wakefulness, and involuntary drowsiness, and involuntary anger, and involuntary affection; and if,” he says, “you accurately investigate these (points), you will discover (God) Himself, unity and plurality, in thyself, according to that tittle, and that He finds the outlet (for Deity) to be from thyself.” Those (heretics), then, (have made) these (statements). But we are under no necessity of comparing such (doctrines) with what have previously been subjects of meditation on the part of the Greeks, inasmuch as the assertions advanced by these (heretics) evidently derive their origin from geometrical and arithmetical art. The disciples, however, of Pythagoras, expounded this (art) after a more excellent method,⁹³⁹ as our readers may ascertain by consulting those passages (of our work) in which we have previously furnished expositions of the entire wisdom of the Greeks. But since the heresy of Monoïmus has been sufficiently refuted, let us see what are the fictitious doctrines which the rest also (of these heretics) devise, in their desire to set up for themselves an empty name.

939 Literally, “nobly born.”

Chapter IX.—Tatian.

Tatian,⁹⁴⁰ however, although being himself a disciple of Justinus the Martyr, did not entertain similar opinions with his master. But he attempted (to establish) certain novel (tenets), and affirmed that there existed certain invisible Æons. And he framed a legendary account (of them), similarly to those (spoken of) by Valentinus. And similarly with Marcion, he asserts that marriage is destruction. But he alleges that Adam is not saved on account of his having been the author of disobedience. And so far for the doctrines of Tatian.

940 See [vol. i. pp. 353, 457. But see his works, vol. ii. p. 61, this series]; Irenæus, i. 28; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iv. 16, v. 13; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlvi.; Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.*, c. xxix.; and Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 20.

Chapter X.—Hermogenes; Adopts the Socratic Philosophy; His Notion Concerning the Birth and Body of Our Lord.

But a certain Hermogenes,⁹⁴¹ himself also imagining that he propounded some novel opinion, said that God made all things out of coeval and ungenerated matter. For that it was impossible that God could make generated things out of things that are not. And that God is always Lord, and always Creator, and matter always a subservient (substance), and that which is assuming phases of being—not, however, the whole of it. For when it was being continually moved in a rude and disorderly manner, He reduced (matter) into order by the following expedient. As He gazed (upon matter) in a seething condition, like (the contents of) a pot when a fire is burning underneath, He effected a partial separation. And taking one portion from the whole, He subdued it, but another He allowed to be whirled in a disorderly manner. And he asserts that what was (thus) subdued is the world, but that another portion remains wild, and is denominated chaotic⁹⁴² matter. He asserts that this constitutes the substance of all things, as if introducing a novel tenet for his disciples. He does not, however, reflect that this happens to be the Socratic discourse, which (indeed) is worked out more elaborately by Plato than by Hermogenes. He acknowledges, however, that Christ is the Son of the God who created all things; and along with (this admission), he confesses that he was born of a virgin and of (the) Spirit, according to the voice of the Gospels. And (Hermogenes maintains that Christ), after His passion, was raised up in a body, and that He appeared to His disciples, and that as He went up into heaven He left His body in the sun, but that He Himself proceeded on to the Father. Now (Hermogenes) resorts to testimony, thinking to support himself by what is spoken, (viz.) what the Psalmist David says: “In the sun he hath placed his tabernacle, and himself (is) as a bridegroom coming forth from his nuptial chamber, (and) he will rejoice as a giant to run his course.”⁹⁴³ These, then, are the opinions which also Hermogenes attempted to establish.



941 See [vol. iii. p. 257, also p. 477] Tertullian, *Præscript.*, c. xxx.; [vol. iv. p. 245, this series] Origen, *Περὶ ἀρχ.*, i. 2; Eusebius, *De Præp.*, vii. 8, 9; St. Augustine, *Hær.*, lix.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, i. 19; and Philastrius, *Hær.*, iv.

942 Literally, “unadorned.”

943 [Ps. xix. 4, 5.](#)

Chapter XI.—The Quartodecimans.

And certain other (heretics), contentious by nature, (and) wholly uninformed as regards knowledge, as well as in their manner more (than usually) quarrelsome, combine (in maintaining) that Easter should be kept on the fourteenth day⁹⁴⁴ of the first month, according to the commandment of the law, on whatever day (of the week) it should occur. (But in this) they only regard what has been written in the law, that he will be accursed who does not so keep (the commandment) as it is enjoined. They do not, however, attend to this (fact), that the legal enactment was made for Jews, who in times to come should kill the real Passover.⁹⁴⁵ And this (paschal sacrifice, in its efficacy,) has spread unto the Gentiles, and is discerned by faith, and not now observed in letter (merely). They attend to this one commandment, and do not look unto what has been spoken by the apostle: “For I testify to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to keep the whole law.”⁹⁴⁶ In other respects, however, these consent to all the traditions delivered to the Church by the Apostles.⁹⁴⁷

944 They were therefore called “Quartodecimans.” (See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, v. c. xxii. xxv.; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, i.; and Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, iii. 4.)

945 [Bunsen, i. p. 105.] The chapter on the Quartodecimans agrees with the arguments which, we are informed in an extract from Hippolytus’ *Chronicon Paschale*, as preserved in a quotation by Bishop Peter of Alexandria, were employed in his *Treatise against all Heresies*. This would seem irrefragable proof of the authorship of the *Refutation of all Heresies*.

946 [Gal. v. 3.](#)

947 [He regards the Christian Paschal as authorized. [1 Cor. v. 7, 8.](#)]

Chapter XII.—The Montanists; Priscilla and Maximilla Their Prophetesses; Some of Them Noetians.

But there are others who themselves are even more heretical in nature (than the foregoing), and are Phrygians⁹⁴⁸ by birth. These have been rendered victims of error from being previously captivated by (two) wretched women, called a certain Priscilla and Maximilla, whom they supposed (to be) prophetesses. And they assert that into these the Paraclete Spirit had departed; and antecedently to them, they in like manner consider Montanus as a prophet. And being in possession of an infinite number of their books, (the Phrygians) are overrun with delusion; and they do not judge whatever statements are made by them, according to (the criterion of) reason; nor do they give heed unto those who are competent to decide; but they are heedlessly swept onwards, by the reliance which they place on these (impostors). And they allege that they have learned something more through these, than from law, and prophets, and the Gospels. But they magnify these wretched women above the Apostles and every gift of Grace, so that some of them presume to assert that there is in them a something superior to Christ. These acknowledge God to be the Father of the universe, and Creator of all things, similarly with the Church, and (receive) as many things as the Gospel testifies concerning Christ. They introduce, however, the novelties of fasts,⁹⁴⁹ and feasts, and meals of parched food, and repasts of radishes, alleging that they have been instructed by women. And some of these assent to the heresy of the Noetians, and affirm that the Father himself is the Son, and that this (one) came under generation, and suffering, and death. Concerning these I shall again offer an explanation, after a more minute manner; for the heresy of these has been an occasion of evils to many. We therefore are of opinion, that the statements made concerning these (heretics) are sufficient, when we shall have briefly proved to all that the majority of their books are silly, and their attempts (at reasoning) weak, and worthy of no consideration. But it is not necessary for those who possess a sound mind to pay attention (either to their volumes or their arguments).



948 These heretics had several denominations: (1) Phrygians and Cataphrygians, from Phrygia; (2) Pepuzians, from a village in Phrygia of this name; (3) Priscillianists; (4) Quintillists. See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, iv. 27, v. 16, 18; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlviii.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, iii. 2; Philastrius, xlix.; and St. Augustine, *Hær.*, xxvi. [The “Tertullianists” were a class by themselves, which is a fact going far to encourage the idea that they did not share the worst of these delusions.]

949 Bunsen thinks that Hippolytus is rather meagre in his details of the heresy of the Phrygians or Montanists, but considers this, with other instances, a proof that parts of *The Refutation* are only abstracts of more extended accounts.

Chapter XIII.—The Doctrines of the Encratites.⁹⁵⁰

Others, however, styling themselves Encratites, acknowledge some things concerning God and Christ in like manner with the Church. In respect, however, of their mode of life, they pass their days inflated with pride. They suppose, that by meats they magnify themselves, while abstaining from animal food, (and) being water-drinkers, and forbidding to marry, and devoting themselves during the remainder of life to habits of asceticism. But persons of this description are estimated Cynics rather than Christians, inasmuch as they do not attend unto the words spoken against them through the Apostle Paul. Now he, predicting the novelties that were to be hereafter introduced ineffectually by certain (heretics), made a statement thus: “The Spirit speaketh expressly, In the latter times certain will depart from sound doctrine, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, uttering falsehoods in hypocrisy, having their own conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, to abstain from meats, which God has created to be partaken of with thanksgiving by the faithful, and those who know the truth; because every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.”⁹⁵¹ This voice, then, of the blessed Paul, is sufficient for the refutation of those who live in this manner, and plume themselves on being just;⁹⁵² (and) for the purpose of proving that also, this (tenet of the Encratites) constitutes a heresy. But even though there have been denominated certain other heresies—I mean those of the Cainites,⁹⁵³ Ophites,⁹⁵⁴ or Noachites,⁹⁵⁵ and of others of this description—I have not deemed it requisite to explain the things said or done by these, lest on this account they may consider themselves somebody, or deserving of consideration. Since, however, the statements concerning these appear to be sufficient, let us pass on to the cause of evils to all, (viz.,) the heresy of the Noetians. Now, after we have laid bare the root of this (heresy), and stigmatized openly the venom, as it

950 [See my Introductory Note to *Hermas*, vol. ii. p. 5, this series.]

951 1 Tim. iv. 1–5.

952 [This, Tertullian should have learned. How happily Keble, in his *Christian Year*, gives it in sacred verse:—
“We need not bid, for cloister’d cell, Our neighbour and our work farewell, Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky: “The trivial round, the common task, Would furnish all we ought to ask;
Room to deny ourselves; a road To bring us daily nearer God.”]

953 Those did homage to Cain.

954 The Ophites are not considered, as Hippolytus has already devoted so much of his work to the Naasseni. The former denomination is derived from the Greek, and the latter from the Hebrew, and both signify worshippers of the serpent.

955 Hippolytus seemingly makes this a synonyme with Ophites. Perhaps it is connected with the Hebrew word נחש

were, lurking within it, let us seek to deter from an error of this description those who have been impelled into it by a violent spirit, as it were by a swollen torrent.

Book IX.



Contents.

The following are the contents of the ninth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

What the blasphemous folly is of Noetus, and that he devoted himself to the tenets of Heraclitus the Obscure, not to those of Christ.

And how Callistus, intermingling the heresy of Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus, with that of Theodotus, constructed another more novel heresy, and what sort the life of this (heretic) was.

What was the recent⁹⁵⁶ arrival (at Rome) of the strange spirit Elchasai, and that there served as a concealment of his peculiar errors his apparent adhesion to the law, when in point of fact he devotes himself to the tenets of the Gnostics, or even of the astrologists, and to the arts of sorcery.

What the customs of the Jews are, and how many diversities of opinion there are (amongst them).

956 Or, “fruitless;” or “unmeaning.”

Chapter I.—An Account of Contemporaneous Heresy.⁹⁵⁷

A lengthened conflict, then, having been maintained concerning all heresies by us who, at all events, have not left any unrefuted, the greatest struggle now remains behind, viz., to furnish an account and refutation of those heresies that have sprung up in our own day, by which certain ignorant and presumptuous men have attempted to scatter abroad the Church, and have introduced the greatest confusion⁹⁵⁸ among all the faithful throughout the entire world. For it seems expedient that we, making an onslaught upon the opinion which constitutes the prime source of (contemporaneous) evils, should prove what are the originating principles⁹⁵⁹ of this (opinion), in order that its offshoots, becoming a matter of general notoriety, may be made the object of universal scorn.

957 [Elucidation IV.]

958 [1 Cor. xi. 19. These terrible confusions were thus foretold. Note the remarkable feeling, the impassioned tone, of the Apostle's warning in Acts xx. 28–31.]

959 [The *Philosophumena*, therefore, responds to the Apostle's warnings. Col. ii. 8; 1 Tim. vi. 20; Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.]

Chapter II.—Source of the Heresy of Noetus; Cleomenes His Disciple; Its Appearance at Rome During the Episcopates of Zephyrinus and Callistus; Noetianism Opposed at Rome by Hippolytus.

There has appeared one, Noetus⁹⁶⁰ by name, *and* by birth a native of Smyrna. This person introduced a heresy from the tenets of Heraclitus.⁹⁶¹ Now a certain man called Epigonus becomes his minister and pupil, and this person during his sojourn at Rome disseminated his godless opinion. But Cleomenes, who had become his disciple, an alien both in way of life and habits from the Church, was wont to corroborate the (Noetian) doctrine. At that time, Zephyrinus imagines that he administers the affairs of the Church⁹⁶²—an uninformed and shamefully corrupt man. And he, being persuaded by proffered gain, was accustomed to connive at those who were present for the purpose of becoming disciples of Cleomenes. But (Zephyrinus) himself, being in process of time enticed away, hurried headlong⁹⁶³ into the same opinions; and he had Callistus as his adviser, and a fellow-champion of these wicked tenets.⁹⁶⁴ But the life of this (Callistus), and the heresy invented by him, I shall after a little explain. The school of these heretics during the succession of *such bishops*, continued to acquire strength and augmentation, from the fact that Zephyrinus and Callistus helped them to prevail.⁹⁶⁵ Never at any time, however, have we been guilty of collusion with them; but we have frequently offered them opposition,⁹⁶⁶ and have refuted them, and have forced them reluctantly to acknowledge the truth. And they, abashed and constrained by the truth, have confessed *their errors* for a short period, but after a little, wallow once again in the same mire.⁹⁶⁷

960 See *Fragments of Hippolytus' Works* (p. 235 et seq.), edited by Fabricius; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, iii. 3; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, lvii.; and Philastrius, *Hæret.*, liv. Theodoret mentions Epigonus and Cleomenes, and his account is obviously adopted by Hippolytus.

961 [See Tatian, vol. ii. p. 66, this series.]

962 [See note 2, cap. iii. *infra.*, and Elucidation V.]

963 [See Elucidation VI.]

964 [See Elucidation VI.]

965 [Note the emphasis and repeated statement with which our author dwells on this painful charge.]

966 [Elucidation VI.]

967 2 Pet. ii. 22. [See book x. cap. xxiii., p. 148, *infra.*]

Chapter III.—Noetianism an Offshoot from the Heraclitic Philosophy.



But since we have exhibited the succession of their genealogy, it seems expedient next that we should also explain the depraved teaching involved in their doctrines. *For this purpose* we shall first adduce the opinions advanced by Heraclitus “the Obscure,”⁹⁶⁸ and we shall next make manifest what are the portions of these opinions that are of Heraclitean origin. *Such parts of their system* its present champions are not aware belong to the “Obscure” philosopher, but they imagine⁹⁶⁹ them to belong to Christ. But if they might happen to fall in with the following observations, perhaps they thus might be put out of countenance, and induced to desist from this godless blasphemy of theirs. Now, even though the opinion of Heraclitus has been expounded by us previously in the *Philosophumena*, it nevertheless seems expedient now also to set down side by side in contrast *the two systems*, in order that by this closer refutation they may be evidently instructed. *I mean* the followers of this (heretic), who imagine⁹⁷⁰ themselves to be disciples of Christ, when in reality they are not so, but of “the Obscure.”

968 [Ὁ Σκοτεινός, because he maintained the *darkest* system of sensual philosophy that ever shed night over the human intellect.—T. Lewis in *Plato against the Atheists*, p. 156; Elucidation VII.]

969 [Note the use of this phrase, “*imagine* themselves, etc.,” as a specialty of our author’s style. See cap. ii. *supra*; Elucidation VIII.]

970 [Note the use of this phrase, “*imagine* themselves, etc.,” as a specialty of our author’s style. See cap. ii. *supra*; Elucidation VIII.]

Chapter IV.—An Account of the System of Heraclitus.

Heraclitus then says that the universe is *one*,⁹⁷¹ divisible and indivisible; generated *and* ungenerated; mortal *and* immortal; reason, eternity; Father, Son, and justice, God.⁹⁷² “For those who hearken not to me, but the doctrine, it is wise that they acknowledge all things to be one,” says Heraclitus; and because all do not know or confess this, he utters a reproof somewhat in the following terms: “People do not understand how what is diverse (nevertheless) coincides with itself, just like the inverse harmony of a bow and lyre.”⁹⁷³ But that Reason always exists, inasmuch as it constitutes the universe, and as it pervades all things, he affirms in this manner. “But in regard of this Reason, which always exists, men are continually devoid of understanding,⁹⁷⁴ both before they have heard of it and in first hearing of it. For though all things take place according to this Reason, they seem like persons devoid of any experience regarding it. Still they attempt both words and works of such a description as I am giving an account of, by making a division according to nature, and declaring how things are.” And that a Son is the universe and throughout endless ages an eternal king of all things, he thus asserts: “A sporting child, playing at his dice, is eternity; the kingdom is that of a child.”⁹⁷⁵ And that the Father of all things that have been generated is an unbegotten creature who is creator, let us hear *Heraclitus* affirming in these words: “Contrariety is a progenitor of all things, and king of all; and it exhibited some as gods, but others as men, and made some slaves, whereas others free.” And (he likewise affirms) that there is “a harmony, as in a bow and lyre.” That obscure harmony (is better),⁹⁷⁶ though unknown and invisible to men, he asserts in these words: “An obscure harmony is preferable to an obvious one.” He commends and admires before what is known, that which is unknown and invisible *in regard* of its power. And that *harmony* visible to men, and not incapable of being dis-

971 This addition seems necessary from Stobæus’ account of Heraclitus. (See *Eclog. Phys.*, i. 47, where we have Heraclitus affirming that “unity is from plurality, and plurality from unity;” or, in other words, “that all things are one.”)

972 Dr. Wordsworth for δίκαιον suggests εἰκαῖον, i.e., “but that the Deity is by chance.” There is some difficulty in arriving at the correct text, and consequently at the meaning of Hippolytus’ extracts from Heraclitus. The Heraclitean philosophy is explained by Stobæus, already mentioned. See likewise Bernays’ “Critical Epistle” in Bunsen’s *Analect. Ante-Nicæn.* (vol. iii. p. 331 et seq. of *Hippolytus and his Age*), and Schleiermacher in *Museum der Alterthumswissenschaft*, t. i. p. 408 et seq.

973 παλίντροπος. Miller suggests παλίντονος, the word used by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osirid.*, p. 369, ed. Xyland) in recounting Heraclitus’ opinion. Παλίντονος, referring to the shape of the bow, means “reflex” or “unstrung,” or it may signify “clanging,” that is, as a consequence of its being well bent back to wing a shaft.

974 Compare Aristotle’s *Rhet.*, iii. 5, and Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.*, lib. vii. p. 152, ed. Aurel, 1621.

975 See Lucian, *Vit. Auct.*, vol. i. p. 554, ed. Hemsterh.

976 This word seems necessary, see Plutarch, *De Procreat. animæ*, c. xxvii.

covered, is better, he asserts in these words: “Whatever things are objects of vision, hearing, *and* intelligence, these I pre-eminently honour,” he says; that is, *he prefers* things visible to those that are invisible. From such expressions of his it is easy to understand *the spirit of his philosophy*. “Men,” he says, “are deceived in reference to the knowledge of manifest things similarly with Homer, who was wiser than all the Greeks. For even children⁹⁷⁷ killing vermin deceived him, when they said, ‘What we have seen and seized, these we leave behind; whereas what we neither have seen nor seized, these we carry away.’”

977 This is a well-known anecdote in the life of Homer. See Coleridge’s *Greek Poets*—Homer. [The unsavoury story is decently given by Henry Nelson Coleridge in this work, republished. Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1842.]

Chapter V.—Heraclitus' Estimate of Hesiod; Paradoxes of Heraclitus; His Eschatology; The Heresy of Noetus of Heraclitean Origin; Noetus' View of the Birth and Passion of Our Lord.

In this manner Heraclitus assigns to the visible an equality of position and honour with the invisible, as if what was visible and what was invisible were confessedly some one thing. For he says, "An obscure harmony is preferable to an obvious one;" and, "Whatsoever things are objects of vision, hearing, *and* intelligence," that is, of the (corporeal) organs,—“these,” he says, “I pre-eminently honour,” not (on this occasion, though previously), having pre-eminently honoured invisible things. Therefore neither darkness, nor light, nor evil, nor good, Heraclitus affirms, is different, but one and the same thing. At all events, he censures Hesiod⁹⁷⁸ because he knew *not* day and night. For day, he says, and night are one, expressing himself somehow thus: “The teacher, however, of a vast amount of information is Hesiod, and people suppose this *poet* to be possessed of an exceedingly large store of knowledge, and *yet* he did not know (the nature of) day and night, for they are one.” As regards both what is good and what is bad, (they are, according to Heraclitus, likewise) one. “Physicians, undoubtedly,” says Heraclitus, “when they make incisions and cauterize, *though* in every respect they wickedly torture the sick, complain that they do not receive fitting remuneration from their patients, notwithstanding that they perform these salutary operations upon diseases.” And both straight and twisted are, he says, the same. “The way is straight and curved of the carders of wool;”⁹⁷⁹ and the circular movement of an instrument in the fuller’s shop called “a screw” is straight and curved, for it revolves up and circularly at the same time. “One and the same,” he says, “*are, therefore, straight and curved.*” And upward and downward,⁹⁸⁰ he says, are one and the same. “The way up *and the way* down are the same.” And he says that what is filthy and what is pure are one and the same, and what is drinkable and unfit for drink are one and the same. “Sea,” he says, “is water very pure and very foul, drinkable to fishes no doubt, and salutary *for them*, but not fit to be used as drink by men, and (for them) pernicious.” And, confessedly, he asserts that what is immortal is mortal,⁹⁸¹ and that what is mortal is immortal, in the following expressions: “Immortals are mortal,

127

978 See *Theogon.*, v. 123 et seq., v. 748 et seq.

979 Γναφέων: some read γναφείω, i.e., a fuller’s soap. The proper reading, however, is probably γνάφω, i.e., a carder’s comb. Dr. Wordsworth’s text has γναφέων and ἐν τῷ γναφείω, and he translates the passage thus: “The path,” says he, “of the lines of the machine called the screw is both straight and crooked, and the revolution in the graving-tool is both straight and crooked.”

980 See Diogenes, *Laertius*, ix. 8.

981 Plato, Clemens Alexandrinus, [vol. ii. p. 384, this series], and Sextus Empiricus notice this doctrine of Heraclitus.

and mortals are immortal, *that is*, when the one derive life from death, and the other death from life.” And he affirms also that there is a resurrection of this palpable flesh in which we have been born; and he knows God to be the cause of this resurrection, expressing himself in this manner: “Those that are here⁹⁸² *will God enable* to arise and become guardians of quick and dead.” And he likewise affirms that a judgment of the world and all things in it takes place by fire, expressing himself thus: “Now, thunder pilots all things,” that is, directs *them*, meaning by the thunder everlasting fire. But he also asserts that this fire is endued with intelligence, and a cause of the management of the Universe, and he denominates it craving and satiety. Now craving is, according to him, the arrangement *of the world*, whereas satiety its destruction. “For,” says he, “the fire, coming upon *the earth*, will judge and seize all things.”

But in this chapter *Heraclitus* simultaneously explains the entire peculiarity of his mode of thinking, but at the same time the (characteristic quality) of the heresy of Noetus. And I have briefly demonstrated *Noetus* to be not a disciple of Christ, but of Heraclitus. For *this philosopher* asserts that the primal world is itself the Demiurge and creator of itself in the following passage: “God is day, night; winter, summer; war, peace; surfeit, famine.” All things are contraries—this appears his meaning—“but an alteration takes place, just as⁹⁸³ if incense were mixed with *other sorts of* incense, but denominated⁹⁸⁴ according to the pleasurable sensation produced by each *sort*. Now it is evident to all that the silly successors of Noetus, and the champions of his heresy, even though they have not been hearers of the discourses of Heraclitus, nevertheless, at any rate when they adopt the opinions of Noetus, undisguisedly acknowledge these (Heraclitean) tenets. For they advance statements after this manner—that one and the same God is the Creator and Father of all things; and that when it pleased Him, He *nevertheless* appeared, (though invisible,) to just men of old. For when He is not seen He is invisible; *and He is* incomprehensible when He does not wish to be comprehended, but comprehensible when he is comprehended. Wherefore it is that, according to the same account, He is invincible and vincible, unbegotten and begotten, immortal and mortal. How shall not persons holding this description of opinions be proved to be disciples of Heraclitus? Did not (Heraclitus) the Obscure anticipate *Noetus* in framing a system of philosophy, according to identical modes of expression?

982 Ἐνθαῶδε ἔοντα; some read, ἔνθα θεὸν δεῖ, i.e., “God must arise and become the guardian,” etc. The rendering in the text is adopted by Bernays and Bunsen.

983 Or, “as commingled kinds of incense *each* with different names, but denominated,” etc.

984 Dr. Wordsworth reads ὁ νομίζεται, and translates the passage thus: “But they undergo changes, as perfumes do, when whatever is thought agreeable to any individual is mingled with them.”

Now, that *Noetus* affirms that the Son and Father are the same, no one is ignorant. But he makes his statement thus: "When indeed, then, the Father had not been born, He *yet* was justly styled Father; and when it pleased Him to undergo generation, having been begotten, He Himself became His own Son, not another's." For in this manner he thinks to establish the sovereignty *of God*, alleging that Father and Son, *so* called, are one and the same (substance), not one individual produced from a different one, but Himself from Himself; and that He is styled by name Father and Son, according to vicissitude of times.⁹⁸⁵ But that He is one who has appeared (amongst us), both having submitted to generation from a virgin, and as a man having held converse among men. And, on account of the birth that had taken place, He confessed Himself to those beholding Him a Son, no doubt; yet He made no secret to those who could comprehend Him of His being a Father. That this person suffered by being fastened to the tree, and that He commended His spirit unto Himself, having died *to appearance*, and not being (in reality) dead. And He raised Himself up the third day, after having been interred in a sepulchre, and wounded with a spear, and perforated with nails. Cleomenes asserts, in common with his band *of followers*, that this person is God and Father of the universe, *and thus* introduces among many an obscurity (of thought) such as we find in the philosophy of Heraclitus.



985 Hippolytus repeats this opinion in his summary in book x. (See Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, iii. 3.)

Chapter VI.—Conduct of Callistus and Zephyrinus in the Matter of Noetianism; Avowed Opinion of Zephyrinus Concerning Jesus Christ; Disapproval of Hippolytus; As a Contemporaneous Event, Hippolytus Competent to Explain It.

Callistus attempted to confirm this heresy,—a man cunning in wickedness, and subtle where deceit was concerned, (and) who was impelled by restless ambition to mount the episcopal throne.⁹⁸⁶ *Now this man moulded to his purpose* Zephyrinus, an ignorant and illiterate individual, and one unskilled in ecclesiastical definitions.⁹⁸⁷ And inasmuch as *Zephyrinus* was accessible to bribes, and covetous, *Callistus*, by luring him through presents, and by illicit demands, was enabled to seduce him into whatever course of action he pleased. And so it was that Callistus succeeded in inducing Zephyrinus to create continually disturbances among the brethren, while he himself took care subsequently, by knavish words, to attach both factions in good-will to himself. And, at one time, to those who entertained true opinions, he would in private⁹⁸⁸ allege that they held similar doctrines (with himself), and thus make them his dupes; while at another time *he would act similarly towards* those (who embraced) the tenets of Sabellius. But *Callistus* perverted *Sabellius* himself, and this, too, though he had the ability of rectifying *this heretic's error*. For (at any time) during our admonition *Sabellius* did not evince obduracy; but as long as he continued alone with Callistus, he was wrought upon to relapse into the system of Cleomenes by this very *Callistus*, who alleges that he entertains similar opinions *to Cleomenes*. *Sabellius*, however, did not then perceive the knavery of *Callistus*; but he afterwards came to be aware of it, as I shall narrate presently.

Now *Callistus* brought forward Zephyrinus himself, and induced him publicly to avow *the following sentiments*: “I know that there is one God, Jesus Christ; nor except Him *do I know* any other that is begotten and amenable to suffering.” And on another occasion, when he would make the following statement: “The Father did not die, but the Son.” *Zephyrinus* would in this way continue to keep up ceaseless disturbance among the people. And we,⁹⁸⁹ becoming aware of his sentiments, did not give place to him, but reprov'd and withstood him for the truth's sake. And he hurried headlong into folly, from the fact that all consented to his hypocrisy—we,⁹⁹⁰ however, *did not do so*—and called us worshippers of two gods,

986 [Elucidation IX.]

987 [Elucidation X.]

988 The ms. reads κατ' ἡδὶαν, obviously corrupt. Dr. Wordsworth suggests κατ' ἰδίαν, i.e., “he, under pretext of arguing with them, deluded them.”

989 It is to be noticed how the plural number is observed in this account, as keeping before the reader's mind the episcopal office of him who was thus exercising high ecclesiastical authority. [Elucidation XI.]

990 It is to be noticed how the plural number is observed in this account, as keeping before the reader's mind the episcopal office of him who was thus exercising high ecclesiastical authority. [Elucidation XI.]

disgorging, independent of compulsion,⁹⁹¹ the venom lurking within him. It would seem to us desirable to explain the life of this *heretic*, inasmuch as he was born about the same time with ourselves, in order that, by the exposure of the habits of a person of this description, the heresy attempted to be established by him may be easily known, and may perchance be regarded as silly, by those endued with intelligence. This *Callistus* became a “martyr” at the period when Fuscianus was prefect of Rome, and the mode of his “martyrdom” was as follows.⁹⁹²

991 Or, “with violence.”

992 Hippolytus is obviously sneering at the martyrdom of Callistus, who did not in reality suffer or die for the truth. Nay, his condemnation before Fuscianus enabled Callistus to succeed entirely in his plans for worldly advancement. [The *martyrdom* of Callistus, so ludicrous in the eyes of our author, is *doctrine* in the Roman system. This heretic figures as a *saint*, and has his festival on the 14th of October. *Maxima veneratione colitur*, says the Roman Breviary.]

Chapter VII.—The Personal History of Callistus; His Occupation as a Banker; Fraud on Carpophorus; Callistus Absconds; Attempted Suicide; Condemned to the Treadmill; Re-Condemnation by Order of the Prefect Fuscianus; Banished to Sardinia; Release of Callistus by the Interference Of Marcion; Callistus Arrives at Rome; Pope Victor Removes Callistus to Antium; Return of Callistus on Victor's Death; Zephyrinus Friendly to Him; Callistus Accused by Sabellius; Hippolytus' Account of the Opinions of Callistus; The Callistian School at Rome, and Its Practices; This Sect in Existence in Hippolytus' Time.

129

Callistus happened to be a domestic of one Carpophorus, a man of the faith belonging to the household of Cæsar. To this *Callistus*, as being of the faith, Carpophorus committed no inconsiderable amount of money, and directed him to bring in profitable returns from the banking business. And he, receiving *the money*, tried (the experiment of) a bank in what is called the *Piscina Publica*.⁹⁹³ And in process of time were entrusted to him not a few deposits by widows and brethren, under the ostensive cause of *lodging their money with Carpophorus*. *Callistus*, however, made away with all (the moneys committed to him), and became involved in pecuniary difficulties. And after having practised such conduct as this, there was not wanting one to tell Carpophorus, and the latter stated that he would require an account from him. *Callistus*, perceiving these things, and suspecting danger from his master, escaped away by stealth, directing his flight towards the sea. And finding a vessel in Portus ready for a voyage, he went on board, intending to sail wherever she happened to be bound for. But not even in this way could he avoid detection, for there was not wanting one who conveyed to Carpophorus intelligence of what had taken place. But *Carpophorus*, in accordance with the information he had received, at once repaired to the harbour (Portus), and made an effort to hurry into the vessel *after Callistus*. The boat, however, was anchored in the middle of the harbour; and as the ferryman was slow in his movements, *Callistus*, who was in the ship, had time to descry his master at a distance. And knowing that himself would be inevitably captured, he became reckless of life; and, considering his affairs to be in a desperate condition, he proceeded to cast himself into the sea. But the sailors leaped into boats and drew him out, unwilling to come, while those on shore were raising a loud cry. And thus *Callistus* was handed over to his master, and brought to Rome, and his master lodged him in the *Pistrinum*.⁹⁹⁴

But as time wore on, as happens to take place *in such cases*, brethren repaired to Carpophorus, and entreated him that he would release the fugitive serf from punishment, on the

993 The Latin name is written by Hippolytus in Greek letters, and means "the public fish-market." The *Piscina*, one of the fourteen quarters of Rome, was the resort of money-dealers.

994 The *Pistrinum* was the domestic treadmill of the Roman slaveholders.

plea of their alleging that *Callistus* acknowledged himself to have money lying *to his credit* with certain persons. But *Carpophorus*, as a devout man, said he was indifferent regarding his own *property*, but that he felt a concern for the deposits; for many shed tears as they remarked to him, that they had committed what they had entrusted to *Callistus*, under the ostensive cause of *lodging the money with himself*.⁹⁹⁵ And *Carpophorus* yielded to their persuasions, and gave directions for the liberation of *Callistus*. The latter, however, having nothing to pay, and not being able again to abscond, from the fact of his being watched, planned an artifice by which he hoped to meet death. Now, pretending that he was repairing as it were to his creditors, he hurried on their Sabbath-day to the synagogue of the Jews, who were congregated, and took his stand, and created a disturbance among them. They, however, being disturbed by him, offered him insult, and inflicted blows upon him, and dragged him before *Fuscianus*, who was prefect of the city. And (on being asked the cause of such treatment), they replied in the following terms: "Romans have conceded to us"⁹⁹⁶ the privilege of publicly reading those laws of ours that have been handed down from our fathers. This person, however, by coming into (our place of worship), prevented (us so doing), by creating a disturbance among us, alleging that he is a Christian." And *Fuscianus* happens at the time to be on the judgment-seat; and on intimating his indignation against *Callistus*, on account of the statements made by the Jews, there was not wanting one to go and acquaint *Carpophorus* concerning these transactions. And he, hastening to the judgment-seat of the prefect, exclaimed, "I implore of you, my lord *Fuscianus*, believe not thou this *fellow*; for he is not a Christian, but seeks occasion of death, having made away with a quantity of my money, as I shall prove." The Jews, however, supposing that this was a stratagem, as if *Carpophorus* were seeking under this pretext to liberate *Callistus*, with the greater enmity clamoured *against him* in presence of the prefect. *Fuscianus*, however, was swayed by these *Jews*, and having scourged *Callistus*, he gave him *to be sent* to a mine in Sardinia.⁹⁹⁷

But after a time, there being in that place other martyrs, *Marcia*, a concubine of *Commodus*, who was a God-loving female, and desirous of performing some good work, invited

995 [An instance illustrative of the touching sense of moral obligation given in *2 Kings vi. 5*.]

996 See *Josephus, Antiq.*, xix. 10.

997 The air of Sardinia was unwholesome, if not pestilential; and for this reason, no doubt, it was selected as a place of exile for martyrs. *Hippolytus* himself, along with the Roman bishop *Pontianus*, was banished thither. See Introductory Notice.

into her presence⁹⁹⁸ the blessed Victor, who was at that time a bishop of the Church,⁹⁹⁹ and inquired of him what martyrs were in Sardinia. And he delivered to her the names of all, but did not give the *name* of Callistus, knowing the *villanous* acts he had ventured upon. Marcia,¹⁰⁰⁰ obtaining her request from Commodus, hands the letter of emancipation to Hyacinthus, a certain eunuch,¹⁰⁰¹ rather advanced in life. And he, on receiving *it*, sailed away into Sardinia, and having delivered *the letter* to the person who at that time was governor of the territory, he succeeded in having the martyrs released, with the exception of Callistus. But *Callistus* himself, dropping on his knees, and weeping, entreated that he likewise might obtain a release. Hyacinthus, therefore, overcome by *the captive's* importunity, requests the governor *to grant a release*, alleging that permission had been given to himself from Marcia¹⁰⁰² (to liberate Callistus), and that he would make arrangements that there should be no risk *in this* to him. Now (the governor) was persuaded, and liberated Callistus also. And when *the latter* arrived *at Rome*, Victor was very much grieved at what had taken place; but since he was a compassionate man, he took no action in the matter. Guarding, however, against the reproach (uttered) by many,—for the attempts made by *this Callistus* were not distant occurrences,—and because Carpophorus also still continued adverse, *Victor* sends *Callistus* to take up his abode in Antium, having settled on him a certain monthly allowance for food. And after *Victor's death*, *Zephyrinus*, *having had Callistus* as a fellow-worker in the management of his clergy, paid him respect to his own damage; and transferring this person from Antium, appointed him over the cemetery.¹⁰⁰³

And Callistus, who was in the habit of always associating with Zephyrinus, and, as I have previously stated, of paying him hypocritical service, disclosed, *by force of contrast*, *Zephyrinus to be* a person able neither to form a judgment of things said, nor discerning the design of Callistus, who was accustomed to converse with *Zephyrinus* on topics which yielded satisfaction *to the latter*. Thus, after the death of Zephyrinus, supposing that he had obtained

998 Marcia's connection with the emperor would not seem very consistent with the Christian character which Hippolytus gives her. Dr. Wordsworth supposes that Hippolytus speaks ironically in the case of Marcia, as well as of Hyacinthus and Carpophorus. [I do not see the evidence of this. Poor Marcia, afterwards poisoned by the wretch who degraded, was a heathen who under a little light was awakening to some sense of duty, like the woman of Samaria, [John iv. 19.](#)]

999 [Note this expression in contrast with subsequent claims to be the "Universal Bishop."]

1000 See Dio Cassius, lxxii. 4. [See vol. ii. p. 604, this series.]

1001 Or, "a presbyter, though an eunuch," thus indicating the decay of ecclesiastical discipline.

1002 Or, "that Marcia had been brought up by him." [See what Bunsen has to say (vol. i. pp. 126, 127, and note) upon this subject, about which we know very little.]

1003 The cemetery of Callistus was situated in the *Via Appia*. [The catacombs near the Church of St. Sebastian still bear the name of this unhappy man, and give incidental corroboration to the incident.]

(the position) after which he so eagerly pursued, he excommunicated Sabellius, as not entertaining orthodox opinions. He acted thus from apprehension of me, and imagining that he could in this manner obliterate the charge *against him* among the churches, as if he did not entertain strange opinions.¹⁰⁰⁴ He was then an impostor and knave, and in process of time hurried away many with him. And having even venom imbedded in his heart, and forming no correct opinion on any subject,¹⁰⁰⁵ and yet withal being ashamed to speak the truth, *this Callistus, not only* on account of his publicly saying in the way of reproach to us, “Ye are Ditheists,” but also on account of his being frequently accused by Sabellius, as one that had transgressed his first faith, devised some such heresy as the following. *Callistus* alleges that the Logos Himself is Son, and that Himself is Father; and that though denominated by a *different* title, yet that in reality He is one indivisible spirit. *And he maintains* that the Father is not one person and the Son another, but that they are one and the same; and that all things are full of the Divine Spirit, both those above and *those* below. *And he affirms* that the Spirit, which became incarnate in the virgin, is not different from the Father, but one and the same. *And he adds*, that this is what has been declared *by the Saviour*: “Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?”¹⁰⁰⁶ For that which is seen, which is man, *he considers* to be the Son; whereas the Spirit, which was contained in the Son, to be the Father. “For,” says (Callistus), “I will not profess belief in two Gods, Father and Son, but in one. For the Father, who subsisted in *the Son* Himself, after He had taken unto Himself our flesh, raised it to the nature of Deity, by bringing it into union with Himself, and made it one; so that Father and Son must be styled one God, and that this Person being one, cannot be two.” And in this way *Callistus contends* that the Father suffered along with the Son; for he does not wish to assert that the Father suffered, and is one Person, being careful to avoid blasphemy against the Father. (How careful he is!) senseless and knavish fellow, who improvises blasphemies in every direction, only that he may *not* seem to speak in violation of the truth, and is not abashed at being at one time betrayed into the tenet of Sabellius, whereas at another into the doctrine of Theodotus.

The impostor *Callistus*, having ventured on such opinions, established a school of *theology* in antagonism to the Church, adopting the foregoing system of instruction. And he first invented the device of conniving with men in regard of their indulgence in *sensual*

1004 [Here Wordsworth’s note is valuable, p. 80. Callistus had doubtless sent letters to announce his consecration to other bishops, as was customary, and had received answers demanding proofs of his orthodoxy. See my note on the intercommunion of primitive bishops, vol. ii. p. 12, note 9; also on the Provincial System, vol. iv. pp. 111, 114. Also Cyprian, this vol. *passim*.]

1005 εὐθέως μηδέν. Scott reads εὐθέως μηδέν. Dr. Wordsworth translates the words thus: “having no rectitude of mind.”

1006 [John xiv. 11.](#)

pleasures, saying that all had their sins forgiven by himself.¹⁰⁰⁷ For he who is in the habit of attending the congregation of any one else, and is called a Christian, should he commit any transgression; the sin, they say, is not reckoned unto him, provided only he hurries off *and attaches himself* to the school of Callistus. And many persons were gratified with his regulation, as being stricken in conscience, and at the same time having been rejected by numerous sects; while also some of them, in accordance with our condemnatory sentence, had been by us forcibly ejected from the Church.¹⁰⁰⁸ *Now such disciples as these* passed over to these *followers of Callistus*, and served to crowd his school. This one propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even *a sin* unto death,¹⁰⁰⁹ he ought not to be deposed. About the time of this man, bishops, priests, and deacons, who had been twice married, and thrice married, began *to be allowed* to retain their place among the clergy. If also, however, any one who is in holy orders should become married, *Callistus permitted* such a one to continue in holy orders as if he had not sinned.¹⁰¹⁰ And *in justification*, he alleges that what has been spoken by the Apostle has been declared in reference to this *person*: “Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant?”¹⁰¹¹ But he asserted that likewise *the* parable of the tares is uttered in reference to this *one*: “Let the tares grow along with the wheat;”¹⁰¹² or, in other words, let those who in the Church are guilty of sin *remain in it*. But also he affirmed that the ark of Noe was made for a symbol of the Church, in which were both dogs, and wolves, and ravens, and all things clean and unclean; and so he alleges that the case should stand in like manner with the Church. And as many *parts of Scripture* bearing on this *view of the subject* as he could collect, he so interpreted.

And the hearers *of Callistus* being delighted with his tenets, continue with him, *thus* mocking both themselves as well as many *others*, and crowds of these *dupes* stream together into his school. Wherefore also *his pupils* are multiplied, and they plume themselves upon *the* crowds (attending the school) for the sake of pleasures which Christ did not permit. But in contempt of Him, they place restraint on the commission of no sin, alleging that they pardon those who acquiesce (in Callistus’ opinions). For even also he permitted females, if they were unwedded,¹⁰¹³ and burned with passion at an age at all events unbecoming, or

1007 [Here is a very early precedent for the *Taxa Pœnitentiaria*, of which see Bramhall, vol. i. pp. 56, 180; ii. pp. 445, 446].

1008 [Elucidation XII.]

1009 [1 John v. 16.](#)

1010 [Elucidation XIII. And on marriage of the clergy, vol. iv. p. 49, this series.]

1011 [Rom. xiv. 4.](#)

1012 [Matt. xiii. 30.](#)

1013 This passage, of which there are different readings, has been variously interpreted. The rendering followed above does probably less violence to the text than others proposed. The variety of meaning generally turns on the word ἐναξία in Miller’s text. Bunsen alters it into ἐν ἄξίᾳ...ἡλικίᾳ, i.e., were inflamed at a proper age. Dr.

if they were not disposed to overturn their own dignity through a legal marriage, that they might have whomsoever they would choose as a bedfellow, whether a slave or free, and that *a woman*, though not legally married, might consider such *a companion* as a husband. Whence women, reputed believers, began to resort to drugs¹⁰¹⁴ for producing sterility, and to gird themselves round, so to expel what was being conceived on account of their not wishing to have a child either by a slave or by any paltry fellow, for the sake of their family and excessive wealth.¹⁰¹⁵ Behold, into how great impiety that lawless *one* has proceeded, by inculcating adultery and murder at the same time! And withal, after such audacious acts, they, lost to all shame, attempt to call themselves a Catholic Church!¹⁰¹⁶ And some, under the supposition that they will attain prosperity, concur with them. During the *episcopate* of this *one*, second baptism was for the first time presumptuously attempted by them. These, then, (are the practices and opinions which) that most astonishing Callistus established, whose school continues, preserving its customs and tradition, not discerning with whom they ought to communicate, *but* indiscriminately offering communion to all. And from him they have derived the denomination of their *cognomen*; so that, on account of Callistus being a foremost champion of such practices, they should be called Callistians.¹⁰¹⁷

Wordsworth reads ἡλικιώτη...ἀναξίω, i.e., an unworthy comrade. Roeper reads ἡλικία...ἀναξίου, i.e., in the bloom of youth were enamoured with one undeserving of their choice.

1014 Dr. Wordsworth places περιδεσμεῖσθαι in the first sentence, and translates thus: “women began to venture to bandage themselves with ligaments to produce abortion, and to deal with drugs in order to destroy what was conceived.”

1015 [The prescience of Hermas and Clement is here illustrated. See vol. ii. pp. 9, 32, 279, 597, etc.]

1016 [Elucidation XIV.]

1017 [Bunsen, i. 115. Elucidation XV.]

Chapter VIII.—Sect of the Elchasaites; Hippolytus' Opposition to It.

The doctrine of this *Callistus* having been noised abroad throughout the entire world, a cunning man, and full of desperation, one called Alcibiades, dwelling in Apamea, a city of Syria, examined carefully into this business. And considering himself a more formidable character, and more ingenious in *such* tricks, than Callistus, he repaired to Rome; and he brought some book, alleging that a certain just man, Elchasai,¹⁰¹⁸ had received this from Seræ, a town of Parthia, and that he gave it to one called Sobiaï. *And the contents of this volume*, he alleged, had been revealed by an angel whose height was 24 *schænoi*, which make 96 miles, and whose breadth is 4 *schænoi*, and from shoulder to shoulder 6 *schænoi*; and the tracks of his feet extend to the length of three and a half *schænoi*, which are equal to fourteen miles, while the breadth is one *schænos* and a half, and the height half a *schænos*. And *he alleges* that also there is a female with him, whose measurement, he says, is according to the *standards* already mentioned. And *he asserts* that the male (angel) is Son of God, but that the female is called Holy Spirit. By detailing these prodigies he imagines that he confounds fools, *while at the same time* he utters the following sentence: “that there was preached unto men a new remission of sins in the third year of Trajan’s reign.” And *Elchasai* determines the nature of baptism, and even this I shall explain. He alleges, *as to* those who have been involved in every description of lasciviousness, and filthiness, and *in* acts of wickedness, if only any of *them* be a believer, that he determines that such a one, on being converted, and obeying the book, and believing *its contents*, should by baptism receive remission of sins.

Elchasai, however, ventured to continue these knaveries, taking occasion from the aforesaid tenet of which Callistus stood forward as a champion. For, perceiving that many were delighted at this sort of promise, he considered that he could opportunely make the attempt *just alluded to*. And notwithstanding we offered resistance to this, and did not permit many for any length of time to become victims of the delusion.¹⁰¹⁹ For we carried conviction *to the people*, when we affirmed that this was *the* operation of a spurious spirit, and the invention of a heart inflated with pride, and that this *one* like a wolf had risen up against many wandering sheep, which Callistus, by his *arts of* deception, had scattered abroad. But since we have commenced, we shall not be silent as regards the opinions of this *man*. And, in the first place, we shall expose his life, and we shall prove that his supposed discipline is a mere pretence. And next, I shall adduce the principal heads of his assertions, in order that the reader, looking fixedly on the treatises of this (Elchasai), may be made aware what and what sort is the heresy which has been audaciously attempted by this man.

1018 See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.*, vi. 38; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xix.; and Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.*, ii. 7.

1019 For *πλανηθῆναι* Dr. Wordsworth reads *πλατυνθῆναι*, i.e., did not suffer the heresy to spread wide.

Chapter IX.—Elchasai Derived His System from Pythagoras; Practised Incantations.

This *Elchasai* puts forward as a decoy a polity (authorized in the) Law, alleging that believers ought to be circumcised and live according to *the* Law, (while at the same time) he forcibly rends certain *fragments* from the aforesaid heresies. And he asserts that Christ was born a man in the same way as common to all, and that *Christ* was not for the first time *on earth when* born of a virgin, but that both previously and that frequently again He had been born and would be born. *Christ* would thus appear and exist *among us from time to time*, undergoing alterations of birth, and having his soul transferred from body to body. Now *Elchasai* adopted that tenet of Pythagoras *to which I have already alluded*. But the *Elchasaites* have reached such an altitude of pride, that even they affirm themselves to be endued with a power of foretelling futurity, using as a starting-point, obviously, *the* measures and numbers of the aforesaid Pythagorean art. These also devote themselves to *the* tenets of mathematicians, and astrologers, and magicians, as if they were true. And *they* resort to these, so as to confuse silly people, *thus led* to suppose that *the heretics* participate in a doctrine of power. And *they* teach certain incantations and formularies for those who have been bitten by dogs, and possessed of demons, and seized with other diseases; and we shall not be silent respecting even such *practices* of these *heretics*. Having then sufficiently explained their principles, and the causes of their presumptuous attempts, I shall pass on to give an account of their writings, through which my readers will become acquainted with both the trifling and godless efforts of these *Elchasaites*.

Chapter X.—Elchasai's Mode of Administering Baptism; Formularies.

To those, then, that have been orally instructed by him, he dispenses baptism in this manner, addressing to his dupes some such words as the following: “If, therefore, (my) children,¹⁰²⁰ one shall have intercourse with any sort of animal whatsoever, or a male, or a sister, or a daughter, or hath committed adultery, or been guilty of fornication, and is desirous of obtaining remission of sins, from the moment that he hearkens to this book let him be baptized a second time in *the* name of the Great and Most High God, and in *the* name of His Son, the Mighty King. And *by baptism* let him be purified and cleansed, and let him adjure for himself those seven witnesses that have been described in this book—the heaven, and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels of prayer,¹⁰²¹ and the oil, and the salt, and the earth.” These constitute the astonishing mysteries of Elchasai, those ineffable and potent *secrets* which he delivers to deserving disciples. And with these that lawless *one* is not satisfied, but in the presence of two and three witnesses he puts the seal to his own wicked *practices*. Again expressing himself thus: “Again I say, O adulterers and adulteresses, and false prophets, if you are desirous of being converted, that your sins may be forgiven you, as soon as ever you hearken unto this book, and be baptized a second time along with your garments, shall peace be yours, and *your* portion with the just.” But since we have stated that these resort to incantations for those bitten by dogs and for other *mishaps*, we shall explain these. Now *Elchasai* uses the following formulary: “If a dog rabid and furious, in which inheres a spirit of destruction, bite any man, or woman, or youth, or girl, or may worry or touch *them*, in the same hour let such a one run with all their wearing apparel, and go down to a river or to a fountain wherever there is a deep spot. Let (him or her) be dipped with all their wearing apparel, and offer supplication to the Great and Most High God in faith of heart, and then let him *thus* adjure the seven witnesses described in this book: ‘Behold, I call to witness the heaven and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels of prayer, and the oil, and the salt, and the earth. I testify by these seven witnesses that no more shall I sin, nor commit adultery, nor steal, nor be guilty of injustice, nor be covetous, nor be actuated by hatred, nor be scornful, nor shall I take pleasure in any wicked *deeds*.’ Having uttered, therefore, these words, let such a one be baptized with the entire of his wearing apparel in *the* name of the Mighty and Most High God.”

1020 Roeper reads τέκνῳ, i.e., if any one is guilty of an unnatural crime.

1021 [Concerning angels of repentance, etc., see *Hermas*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 24, 26.]

Chapter XI.—Precepts of Elchasai.

But in very many other respects he talks folly, inculcating the use of these sentences also for those afflicted with consumption, and that they should be dipped in cold *water* forty times during seven days; and *he prescribes* similar treatment for those possessed of devils. Oh inimitable wisdom and incantations gorged with powers!¹⁰²² Who will not be astonished at such and such force of words? But since we have stated that they also bring into requisition astrological deceit, we shall prove *this* from their own formularies; for *Elchasai* speaks thus: “There exist wicked stars of impiety. This declaration has been now made by us, *O ye pious ones* and disciples: beware of the power of the days *of* the sovereignty of these *stars*, and engage not in the commencement of any undertaking during the *ruling* days of these. And baptize not man or woman during the days of the power of these *stars*, when the moon, (emerging) from among them, courses *the sky*, and travels along with them. Beware of the very day up to that on which *the moon* passes out from these *stars*, and then baptize and enter on every beginning of your works. But, moreover, honour the day of the Sabbath, since that day is one of those during which prevails (the power) of these *stars*. Take care, however, not to commence *your works* the third *day* from a Sabbath, since when three years *of the reign* of the emperor Trojan are again completed from the time that he subjected the Parthians to his own sway,—when, *I say*, three years have been completed, war rages between the impious angels of the northern *constellations*; and on this account all kingdoms of impiety are in a state of confusion.”

1022 Miller suggests the singular number (δυνάμεως).

Chapter XII.—The Heresy of the Elchasaites a Derivative One.

Inasmuch as (Elchasai) considers, then, that it would be an insult to reason that these mighty and ineffable mysteries should be trampled under foot, or that they should be committed to many, he advises that as valuable pearls¹⁰²³ they should be preserved, expressing himself thus: “Do not recite this account to all men, and guard carefully these precepts, because all men are not faithful, nor are all women straightforward.” *Books containing* these (tenets), however, neither the wise men of the Egyptians secreted in shrines, nor did Pythagoras, a sage of the Greeks, conceal *them there*. For if at that time Elchasai had happened to live, what necessity would there be that Pythagoras, or Thales, or Solon, or the wise Plato, or even the rest of the sages of the Greeks, should become disciples of the Egyptian priests, when they could obtain possession of such and such wisdom from Alcibiades, as the most astonishing interpreter of that wretched Elchasai? The statements, therefore, that have been made for the purpose of attaining a knowledge of the madness of these, would seem sufficient for those endued with sound mind. And so it is, that it has not appeared expedient to quote more of their formularies, seeing that these are very numerous and ridiculous. Since, however, we have not omitted those *practices* that have risen up in our own day, and have not been silent as regards those *prevalent* before our time, it seems proper, in order that we may pass through all *their systems*, and leave nothing untold, to state what also are the (customs) of the Jews, and what are the diversities of opinion among them, for I imagine that these as yet remain behind *for our consideration*. Now, when I have broken silence on these points, I shall pass on to the demonstration of the Doctrine of the Truth, in order that, after the lengthened argumentative struggle against all heresies, we, devoutly pressing forward towards the kingdom’s crown, and believing the truth, may not be unsettled.



1023 [Matt. vii. 6.](#)

Chapter XIII.—The Jewish Sects.

Originally there prevailed but one usage¹⁰²⁴ among the Jews; for one teacher was given unto them by God, *namely* Moses, and one law by this *same* Moses. And there *was* one desert region and one Mount Sinai, for one God it was who legislated for these *Jews*. But, again, after they had crossed the river Jordan, and had inherited by lot the conquered country, they in various ways rent in sunder the law of God, each devising *a different interpretation* of the declarations made *by* God. And in this way they raised up for themselves teachers, (and) invented doctrines of an heretical nature, and they continued to advance into (sectarian) divisions. Now it is the diversity of these *Jews* that I at present propose to explain. But though for even a considerable time they have been rent into very numerous sects, yet I intend to elucidate the more principal of them, while those who are of a studious turn will easily become acquainted with the rest. For there is a division amongst them into three sorts;¹⁰²⁵ and the adherents of the first are the Pharisees, but of the second the Sadducees, while the rest are Essenes. These practise a more devotional life, being filled with mutual love, and being temperate. And they turn away from every act of inordinate desire, being averse even to hearing of things of the sort. And they renounce matrimony, but they take the boys of others, and *thus* have an offspring begotten for them. And they lead *these adopted children* into an observance of their own peculiar customs, and in this way bring them up and impel them to learn the sciences. They do not, however, forbid them to marry, though themselves refraining from matrimony. Women, however, even though they may be disposed to adhere to the same course of life,¹⁰²⁶ they do not admit, inasmuch as in no way whatsoever have they confidence in women.

1024 Or, "nation."

1025 See Josephus, *De Bell. Judaic.* ii. 8, from whom Hippolytus seems to have taken his account of the Jewish sects, except, as Schneidewin remarks, we suppose some other writer whom Josephus and Hippolytus themselves followed. The Abbe Cruice thinks that the author followed by Hippolytus was not Josephus, but a Christian writer of the first century, who derived his materials from the Jewish historian. Hippolytus' text sometimes varies from the text of Josephus, as well as of Porphyry, who has taken excerpts from Josephus work.

1026 Or "choice."

Chapter XIV.—The Tenets of the Esseni.

And they despise wealth, and do not turn away from sharing *their goods* with those that are destitute. No one amongst them, however, enjoys a greater amount of riches than another. For a regulation with them is, that an individual coming forward *to join* the sect must sell his possessions, and present *the price of them* to the community. And on receiving *the money*, the head *of the order* distributes it to all according to their necessities. Thus there is no one among them in distress. And they do not use oil, regarding it as a defilement to be anointed. And there are appointed overseers, who take care of all things that belong to them in common, and they all appear always in white clothing.

Chapter XV.—The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.

But there is not one city of them, but many of them settle in every *city*. And if any of the adherents of the sect may be present from a strange *place*, they consider that all things are in common for him, and those whom they had not previously known they receive as if they belonged to their own household and kindred. And they traverse their native land, and on each occasion that they go on a journey they carry nothing except arms. And they have also in their cities a president, who expends the *moneys* collected for this *purpose* in procuring clothing and food for them. And their robe and its shape are modest. And they do not own two cloaks, or a double set of shoes; and when those that are in present use become antiquated, then they adopt others. And they neither buy nor sell anything at all; but whatever any one has he gives to him that has not, and that which one has not he receives.

Chapter XVI.—The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.

And they continue in an orderly manner, and with perseverance pray from early dawn, and they do not speak a word unless they have praised God in a hymn. And in this way they each go forth and engage in whatever employment they please; and after having worked up to the fifth hour they leave off. Then again they come together into one place, and encircle themselves with linen girdles, for the purpose of concealing their private parts. And in this manner they perform ablutions in cold water; and after being thus cleansed, they repair together into one apartment,—now no one who entertains a different opinion from themselves assembles in the house,—and they proceed to partake of breakfast. And when they have taken their seats in silence, they set down loaves in order, and next some one sort of food to eat along with *the bread*, and each receives from these a sufficient portion. No one, however, tastes these before the priest utters a blessing,¹⁰²⁷ and prays over *the food*. And after breakfast, when he has a second time offered up supplication, as at the beginning, so at the conclusion of their meal they praise God in hymns. Next, after they have laid aside as sacred the garments in which they have been clothed while together taking their repast within *the house*—(now *these garments* are linen)—and having resumed the *clothes which they had left* in the vestibule, they hasten to agreeable occupations until evening. And they partake of supper, doing all things in like manner to those already mentioned. And no one will at any time cry aloud, nor will any other tumultuous voice be heard. But they each converse quietly, and with decorum one concedes the conversation to the other, so that the stillness of those within *the house* appears a sort of mystery to those outside. And they are invariably sober, eating and drinking all things by measure.



1027 [The Essenes practised many pious and edifying rites; and this became Christian usage, after our Lord's example. [Matt. xiv. 19](#); [1 Tim. iv. 3–5](#).]

Chapter XVII.—The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.

All then pay attention to the president; and whatever injunctions he will issue, they obey as law. For they are anxious that mercy and assistance be extended to those that are burdened with toil. And especially they abstain from wrath and anger, and all such *passions*, inasmuch as they consider these to be treacherous to man. And no one amongst them is in the habit of swearing; but whatever any one says, this is regarded more binding than an oath. If, however, one will swear, he is condemned as one unworthy of credence. They are likewise solicitous about the readings of the law and prophets; and moreover also, if there is any treatise of the faithful, *about that likewise*. And they evince the utmost curiosity concerning plants and stones, rather busying themselves as regards the operative powers of these, saying that these *things* were not created in vain.

Chapter XVIII.—The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.

But to those who wish to become disciples of the sect, they do not immediately deliver their rules, unless they have previously tried *them*. Now for the space of a year they set before (the candidates) the same food, while the latter continue to live in a different house outside the *Essenes'* own place of meeting. And they give (to the probationists) a hatchet and the linen girdle, and a white robe. When, at the expiration of this period, one affords proof of self-control, he approaches nearer to the *sect's* method of living, and he is washed more purely than before. Not as yet, however, does he partake of food along with *the Essenes*. For, after having furnished evidence as to whether he is able to acquire self-control,—but for two years the habit of a person of this description is on trial,—and when he has appeared deserving, he is thus reckoned amongst the members *of the sect*. Previous, however, to his being allowed to partake of a repast along with them, he is bound under fearful oaths. First, that he will worship the Divinity; next, that he will observe just *dealings* with men, and that he will in no way injure any one, and that he will not hate a person who injures him, or is hostile to him, but pray for them. He likewise swears that he will always aid the just, *and* keep faith with all, especially those who are rulers. For, *they argue*, a position of authority does not happen to any one without God. And if *the Essene* himself be a ruler, *he swears* that he will not conduct himself at any time arrogantly in *the exercise of* power, nor be prodigal, nor resort to any adornment, or a greater *state of magnificence* than the usage *permits*. *He likewise swears*, however, to be a lover of truth, and to reprove him that is guilty of falsehood, neither to steal, nor pollute his conscience for the sake of iniquitous gain, nor conceal *ought* from those that are members of his sect, and to divulge nothing to others, though one should be tortured even unto death. And in addition to the foregoing *promises*, he swears to impart to no one a knowledge of the doctrines in a different manner from that in which he has received them himself.

Chapter XIX.—The Tenets of the Esseni Continued.

With oaths, then, of this description, they bind those who come forward. If, however, any one may be condemned for any sin, he is expelled from the order; but one that has been *thus* excommunicated sometimes perishes by an awful death. For, inasmuch as he is bound by the oaths and rites *of the sect*, he is not able to partake of the food in use among other people. *Those that are excommunicated*, occasionally, therefore, utterly destroy the body through starvation. And so it is, that when it comes to the last *the Essenes* sometimes pity many *of them* who are at the point of dissolution, inasmuch as they deem a punishment even unto death, *thus inflicted* upon these *culprits*, a sufficient *penalty*.

Chapter XX.—The Tenets of the Esseni Concluded.

But as regards judicial decisions, *the Essenes* are most accurate and impartial. And they deliver their judgments when they have assembled together, *numbering* at the very least one hundred; and the sentence delivered by them is irreversible. And they honour the legislator *next* after God; and if any one is guilty of blasphemy against this *framer of laws*, he is punished. And they are taught to yield obedience to rulers and elders; and if ten occupy seats in the same *room*, one *of them* will not speak unless it will appear expedient to the nine. And they are careful not to spit out into the midst of persons present, and to the right hand. They are more solicitous, however, about abstaining from work on the Sabbath-day than all *other* Jews. For not only do they prepare their victuals for themselves one day previously, so as not (on the Sabbath) to kindle a fire, but not even would they move a utensil from one place to another (on that day), nor ease nature; nay, some would not even rise from a couch. On other days, however, when they wish to relieve nature, they dig a hole a foot long with the mattock,—for of this description is the hatchet, which the president in the first instance gives those who come forward to gain admission as disciples,—and cover (this cavity) on all sides with their garment, alleging that they do not necessarily¹⁰²⁸ insult the sunbeams. They then replace the upturned soil into the pit; and this is their practice,¹⁰²⁹ choosing the more lonely spots. But after they have performed this operation, immediately they undergo ablution, as if the excrement pollutes them.



1028 [Query, *unnecessarily*? This seems the sense required.]

1029 [Deut. xxiii. 13. The very dogs scratch earth upon their ordure; and this ordinance of decency is in exquisite consistency with the *modesty of nature*, against which Christians should never offend.]

Chapter XXI.—Different Sects of the Esseni.

The Essenes have, however, in the lapse of time, undergone divisions, and they do not preserve their system of training after a similar manner, inasmuch as they have been split up into four parties. For some of them discipline themselves above the requisite *rules of the order*, so that even they would not handle a current coin of the country, saying that they ought not either to carry, or behold, or fashion an image:¹⁰³⁰ wherefore no one of those goes into a city, lest (by so doing) he should enter through a gate at which statues are *erected*, regarding it a violation of law to pass beneath images. But the adherents of another party, if they happen to hear any one maintaining a discussion concerning God and His laws—supposing such to be an uncircumcised person, they will closely watch him and when they meet a person of this description in any place alone, they will threaten to slay him if he refuses to undergo the rite of circumcision. Now, if the latter does not wish to comply with this request, *an Essene* spares not, but even slaughters. And it is from this occurrence that they have received their appellation, being denominated (by some) Zelotæ, but by others Sicarii. And the adherents of another party call no one Lord except the Deity, even though one should put them to the torture, or even kill them. But there are *others* of a later period, who have to such an extent declined from the discipline (of the order), that, as far as those are concerned who continue in the primitive customs, they would not even touch these. And if they happen to come in contact with them, they immediately resort to ablution, as if they had touched one belonging to an alien tribe. But here also there are very many of them of so great longevity, as even to live longer than a hundred years. They assert, therefore, that a cause of this arises from their extreme devotion to religion, and their condemnation of all excess in regard of what is served up (as food), and from their being temperate and incapable of anger. And so it is that they despise death, rejoicing when they can finish their course with a good conscience. If, however, any one would even put to the torture persons of this description, in order to induce any amongst them either to speak evil of the law, or eat what is offered in sacrifice to an idol, he will not effect his purpose; for *one of this party* submits to death and endures torment rather than violate his conscience.

1030 [This zeal for the *letter* of the Second Commandment was not shared by our Lord ([Matt. xxii. 20](#)).]

Chapter XXII.—Belief of the Esseni in the Resurrection; Their System a Suggestive One.

Now the doctrine of the resurrection has also derived support among *these*; for they acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable. *And they maintain* that the soul, when separated in the present life, (departs) into one place, which is well ventilated and lightsome, *where*, they say, *it* rests until judgment. And this locality the Greeks were acquainted with by hearsay, and called it “Isles of the Blessed.” And there are other tenets of these which many of the Greeks have appropriated, and thus have from time to time formed their own opinions.¹⁰³¹ For the disciplinary system in regard of the Divinity, according to these (Jewish sects), is of greater antiquity than *that of* all nations. And so it is that the proof is at hand, that all those (Greeks) who ventured to make assertions concerning God, or concerning the creation of existing things, derived their principles from no other source than from Jewish legislation. And among these *may be particularized* Pythagoras especially, and the Stoics, who derived (their systems) *while resident* among the Egyptians, by having become disciples of these *Jews*.¹⁰³² Now they affirm that there will be both a judgment and a conflagration of the universe, and that the wicked will be eternally punished. And among them is cultivated the practice of prophecy, and the prediction of future events.

137

1031 [Important corroborations of Justin and other Fathers, vol. i. p. 286; ii. p. 338, also 81, 117, 148.]

1032 Thus Plato’s “Laws” present many parallels to the writings of Moses. Some have supposed that Plato became acquainted with the Pentateuch through the medium of an ancient Greek version extant prior to that of the Septuagint.

Chapter XXIII.—Another Sect of the Esseni: the Pharisees.

There is then another order of the Essenes who use the same customs and prescribed method of living *with the foregoing sects*, but make an alteration from these in one respect, viz., marriage. Now they maintain that those who have abrogated matrimony commit some terrible *offence, which* is for the destruction of life, and that they ought not to cut off the succession of children; *for*, that if all entertained this opinion, the entire race of men would easily be exterminated. However, they make a trial of their betrothed women for a period of three years; and when they have been three times purified, with a view of proving their ability of bringing forth children, so then they wed. They do not, however, cohabit with pregnant women, evincing that they marry not from sensual motives, but from the advantage of children. And the women likewise undergo ablution in a similar manner (with their husbands), and are themselves also arrayed in a linen garment, after the mode in which the men *are* with their girdles. These *things*, then, *are the statements which I have to make respecting the Esseni.*

But there are also others who themselves practise the Jewish customs; and these, both in respect of caste and in respect of the laws, are called Pharisees. Now the greatest part of these *is to be found* in every locality, inasmuch as, though all are styled Jews, yet, on account of the peculiarity of the opinions advanced by them, they have been denominated by titles proper *to each*. These, then, firmly hold the ancient tradition, and continue to pursue in a disputative spirit a close investigation into the things *regarded* according to *the* Law as clean and not clean. And they interpret the *regulations* of the Law, and put forward teachers, *whom they qualify for giving instruction in such things*. These *Pharisees* affirm the existence of fate, and that some things are in our power, whereas others are under the control of destiny. In this way *they maintain* that some *actions* depend upon ourselves, whereas others upon fate. But (they assert) that God is a cause of all things, and that nothing is managed or happens without His will. These likewise acknowledge that there is a resurrection of flesh, and that soul is immortal, and that there will be a judgment and conflagration, and that the righteous will be imperishable, but that the wicked will endure everlasting punishment in unquenchable fire.

Chapter XXIV.—The Sadducees.

These, then, are the opinions even of the Pharisees. The Sadducees, however, are for abolishing fate, and they acknowledge that God does nothing that is wicked, nor exercises providence over (earthly concerns); but *they contend* that the choice between good and evil lies within the power of men. And they deny that there is a resurrection not only of flesh, but also they suppose that the soul does not continue *after death*. *The soul they consider nothing* but mere vitality, and that it is on account of this that man has been created. However, (they maintain) that the notion of the resurrection has been fully realized by the single circumstance, that we close our days after having left children upon earth. But (they still insist) that after death one expects to suffer nothing, either bad or good; for that there will be a dissolution both of soul and body, and that man passes into non-existence, similarly also with the *material* of the animal creation. But as regards whatever wickedness a man may have committed in life, provided he may have been reconciled *to the injured party*, he has been a gainer (by transgression), inasmuch as he has escaped the punishment (that otherwise would have been inflicted) by men. And whatever acquisitions a man may have made, and (in whatever respect), by becoming wealthy, he may have acquired distinction, he has so far been a gainer. But (they abide by their assertion), that God has no solicitude about the concerns of an individual *here*. And while the Pharisees are full of mutual affection, the Sadducees, on the other hand, are actuated by self-love. This sect had its stronghold especially in *the region* around Samaria. And these also adhere to the customs of the law, saying that one ought so to live, that he may conduct himself virtuously, and leave children behind him on earth. They do not, however, devote attention to prophets, but neither *do they* to any other sages, except to the law of Moses only, *in regard of which*, however, they frame no interpretations. These, then, are the opinions which also the Sadducees choose *to teach*.

Chapter XXV.—The Jewish Religion.

Since, therefore, we have explained even the diversities among the Jews, it seems expedient likewise not to pass over in silence the system of their religion. The doctrine, therefore, among all Jews on the subject of religion is fourfold—*theological, natural, moral, and ceremonial*. And they affirm that there is one God, and that He is Creator and Lord of the universe: that He has formed all these glorious works which had no previous existence; and this, too, not out of any coeval substance that lay ready at hand, but His Will—the efficient cause—was *to create*, and He did create. And (they maintain) that there are angels, and that these have been brought into being for ministering unto the creation; but also that there is a sovereign Spirit that always continues beside God, for glory and praise. And that all things in the creation are endued with sensation, and that there is nothing inanimate. And they earnestly aim at serious habits and a temperate life, as one may ascertain from their laws. Now these *matters* have long ago been strictly defined by those who in ancient times have received the divinely-appointed law;¹⁰³³ so that the reader will find himself astonished at the amount of temperance, and of diligence, *lavished* on customs legally enacted in reference to man. The ceremonial service, however, which has been adapted to divine *worship* in a manner befitting the dignity *of religion*, has been practised amongst them with the highest degree of elaboration. The superiority of their ritualism it is easy for those who wish it to ascertain, provided they read the book which furnishes information on these points. *They will thus perceive* how that with solemnity and sanctity the *Jewish priests* offer unto God the first-fruits of the gifts bestowed by Him for the use and enjoyment of men; *how* they fulfil their ministrations with regularity and stedfastness, in obedience to His commandments. There are, however, some (liturgical usages adopted) by these, which the Sadducees refuse to recognise, for they are not disposed to acquiesce in the existence of angels or spirits.

Still all *parties* alike expect Messiah, inasmuch as the Law certainly, and the prophets, preached beforehand that He was about to be present *on earth*. Inasmuch, however, as the Jews were not cognizant of the period of His advent, there remains the supposition that the declarations (of Scripture) concerning His coming have not been fulfilled. And so it is, that up to this day they continue in anticipation of the future coming of *the Christ*,—from the fact of their not discerning Him when He was present *in the world*. And (yet there can be little doubt but) that, on beholding the signs of the times of His having been already amongst us, *the Jews* are troubled; and that they are ashamed to confess that He has come, since they have with their own hands put Him to death, because they were stung with indignation in being convicted by Himself of not having obeyed the laws. And they affirm that He who was thus sent forth by God is not this Christ (whom they are looking for); but they confess that another *Messiah* will come, who as yet has no existence; and that he will usher in some

1033 Or, “the law not of yesterday,” οὐ νεωστὶ τὸν νόμον. Cruice reads θεόκτιστον, as rendered above.

of the signs which the law and the prophets have shown beforehand, whereas, regarding the rest (of these indications), they suppose that they have fallen into error. For they say that his generation will be from the stock of David, but not from a virgin and *the* Holy Spirit, but from a woman and a man, according as it is a rule for all to be procreated from seed. And they allege that this *Messiah* will be King over them,—a warlike and powerful individual, who, after having gathered together the entire people of the Jews, *and* having done battle with all the nations, will restore for them Jerusalem the royal city. And into this city He will collect together the entire *Hebrew* race, and bring it back once more into the ancient customs, that it may fulfil the regal and sacerdotal functions, and dwell in confidence for periods of time of sufficient duration. *After this repose, it is their opinion* that war would next be waged against them after being thus congregated; that in this conflict Christ would fall by the edge of the sword; *and* that, after no long time, would next succeed the termination and conflagration of the universe; and that in this way their opinions concerning the resurrection would receive completion, and a recompense be rendered to each man according to his works.

Chapter XXVI.—Conclusion to the Work Explained.

It now seems to us that the tenets of both all the Greeks and barbarians have been sufficiently explained by us, and that nothing has remained unrefuted either of the points about which philosophy has been busied, or of the allegations advanced by the heretics. And from these very explanations the condemnation of the heretics is obvious, for having either purloined their doctrines, or derived contributions to them from some of those tenets elaborately worked out by the Greeks, and for having advanced (these opinions) as if they originated from God. Since, therefore, we have hurriedly passed through all *the systems* of these, and with much labour have, in the nine books, proclaimed all their opinions, and have left behind us for all men a small viaticum in life, and to those who are our contemporaries have afforded a desire of learning (with) great joy and delight, we have considered it reasonable, as a crowning stroke to the entire *work*, to introduce the discourse (already mentioned) concerning the truth, and to furnish our delineation of this in one book, namely the tenth. *Our object is*, that the reader, not only when made acquainted with the overthrow of those who have presumed to establish heresies, may regard with scorn their idle *fancies*, but also, when brought to know the power of the truth, may be placed in the way of salvation, by reposing that faith in God which He so worthily deserves.



Book X.



Contents.

The following are the contents of the tenth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

An Epitome of all Philosophers.

An Epitome of all Heresies.

And, in conclusion to all, what the Doctrine of the Truth is.

Chapter I.—Recapitulation.

After we have, not with violence, burst through the labyrinth¹⁰³⁴ of heresies, but have unravelled (their intricacies) through a refutation merely, or, in other words, by the force of truth, we approach the demonstration of the truth *itself*. For then the artificial sophisms of error will be exposed in all their inconsistency, when we shall succeed in establishing whence it is that the definition of the truth *has been derived*. *The truth* has not taken its principles from the wisdom of the Greeks, nor borrowed its doctrines, as secret mysteries, from the tenets of the Egyptians, which, albeit silly, are regarded amongst them with religious veneration as worthy of reliance. Nor has it been formed out of the fallacies which enunciate the incoherent (conclusions arrived at through the) curiosity of the Chaldeans. Nor does the truth owe its existence to astonishment, through the operations of demons, for the irrational frenzy of the Babylonians. But *its definition* is constituted after the manner in which every true definition is, viz., as simple and unadorned. A definition such as this, provided it is made manifest, will *of itself* refute error. And although we have very frequently propounded demonstrations, and with sufficient fulness elucidated for those willing (to learn) the rule of the truth; yet even now, after having discussed all the opinions put forward by the Greeks and heretics, we have decided it not to be, at all events, unreasonable to introduce, as a sort of finishing stroke to the (nine) books *preceding*, this demonstration throughout the tenth book.

1034 [This word is an index of authenticity. See on the "Little Labyrinth," Bunsen, i. p. 243, and Wordsworth, pp. 100, 161, and his references to Routh, Lardner, etc.]

Chapter II.—Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers.

Having, therefore, embraced (a consideration of) the tenets of all the wise men among the Greeks in four books, and the doctrines propounded by the heresiarchs in five, we shall now exhibit the doctrine concerning the truth in one, having first presented in a summary the suppositions entertained *severally* by all. For the dogmatists of the Greeks, dividing philosophy into three parts, in this manner devised from time to time their speculative systems;¹⁰³⁵ some denominating their *system* Natural, and others Moral, but others Dialectical *Philosophy*. And *the ancient thinkers who called their science* Natural Philosophy, were those *mentioned in book i*. And the account which they furnished was after this mode: Some of them *derived* all things from one, whereas others from more things *than one*. And of those *who derived all things* from one, some *derived them* from what was devoid of quality, whereas others from what was endued with quality. And among those *who derived all things* from quality, some *derived them* from fire, and some from air, and some from water, and some from earth. And among those *who derived the universe* from more things *than one*, some *derived it* from numerable, but others from infinite quantities. And among those *who derived all things* from numerable quantities, some *derived them* from two, and others from four, and others from five, and others from six. And among those *who derived the universe* from infinite quantities, some *derived entities* from things similar to those generated, whereas others from things dissimilar. And among these some *derived entities* from things incapable of, whereas others from things capable of, passion. From a body devoid of quality and endued with unity, the Stoics, then, accounted for the generation of the universe. For, according to them, matter devoid of quality, and in all its parts susceptible of change, constitutes an originating principle of the universe. For, when an alteration of this ensues, there is generated fire, air, water, earth. The followers, however, of Hippasus, and Anaximander, and Thales the Milesian, are disposed *to think* that all things have been generated from one (an entity), endued with quality. Hippasus of Metapontum and Heraclitus the Ephesian declared the origin *of things to be* from fire, whereas Anaximander from air, but Thales from water, and Xenophanes from earth. “For from earth,” says he, “are all things, and all things terminate in the earth.”¹⁰³⁶



1035 Hippolytus in what follows is indebted to Sextus Empiricus.—*Adv. Phys.*, x.

1036 See Karst., *Fragm.*, viii. 45.

Chapter III.—Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers Continued.

But among those *who derive all entities* from more things than one, and from numerable quantities, the poet Homer asserts that the universe consists of two *substances*, namely earth and water; at one time expressing himself thus:—

“The source of gods was Sea and Mother Earth.”¹⁰³⁷

And on another occasion *thus*:—

“But indeed ye all might become water and earth.”¹⁰³⁸

And Xenophanes of Colophon seems to coincide with him, for he says:—

“We all are sprung from water and from earth.”¹⁰³⁹

Euripides, however, (derives the universe) from earth and air, as one may ascertain from the following assertion of his:—

“Mother of all, air and earth, I sing.”¹⁰⁴⁰

But Empedocles *derives the universe* from four principles, expressing himself thus:—

“Four roots of all things hear thou first:

Brilliant Jove, and life-giving Juno and Aidoneus,

And Nestis, that with tears bedews the Mortal Font.”¹⁰⁴¹

Ocellus, however, the Lucanian, and Aristotle, *derive the universe* from five *principles*; for, along with the four elements, they have assumed the *existence of a fifth*, and (that this is) a body with a circular motion; and they say that from this, things celestial have their being. But the disciples of Empedocles supposed the generation of the universe to have proceeded from six *principles*. For in the passage where he says, “Four roots of all things hear thou first,” he produces generation out of four *principles*. When, however, he subjoins,—

“Ruinous Strife apart from these, equal in every point,
And with them Friendship equal in length and breadth,”¹⁰⁴²—

1037 *Iliad*, xiv. 201.

1038 *Ibid.*, vii. 99.

1039 See Karst., *Fragm.*, ix. p. 46.

1040 Fabricius, in his Commentary on Sextus Empiricus, considers that this is a quotation from the Hymns of Euripides.

1041 V. 55–57, ed. Karst.

1042 V. 106, 107, ed. Karst.

he also delivers six principles of the universe, four of them material—earth, water, fire, *and* air; but two of them formative—Friendship and Discord. The followers, however, of Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, and of Democritus, and of Epicurus, and multitudes of others, have given it as their opinion that the generation of the universe *proceeds* from infinite *numbers of atoms*; and we have previously made partial mention of these philosophers. But Anaxagoras *derives the universe* from things similar to those that are being produced; whereas the followers of Democritus and Epicurus *derived the universe* from things both dissimilar (to the entities produced), and devoid of passion, that is, from atoms. But the followers of Heraclides of Pontus, and of Asclepiades, *derived the universe* from things dissimilar (to the entities produced), and capable of passion, as if from incongruous corpuscles. But the disciples of Plato affirm that these *entities* are from three principles—God, and Matter, and Exemplar. He divides matter, however, into four principles—fire, water, earth, *and* air. And (he says) that God is the Creator of this (matter), and that Mind is its exemplar.¹⁰⁴³

1043 [See *De Legibus*, lib. x., and note xii. p. 119, Tayler Lewis' *Plato against the Atheists*.]

Chapter IV.—Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers Continued.

Persuaded, then, that the principle of physiology is confessedly discovered to be encumbered with difficulties for all these philosophers, we ourselves also shall fearlessly declare concerning the examples of the truth, as to how they are, and *as* we have felt confident *that they are*. But we shall previously furnish an explanation, in the way of epitome, of the tenets of the heresiarchs, in order that, by our having set before our readers the tenets of all made well known by this (plan of treatment), we may exhibit the truth in a plain and familiar (form).

Chapter V.—The Naasseni.

But since it so appears expedient, let us begin first from the public worshippers of the serpent. The Naasseni call the first principle of the universe a Man, and that the same also is a Son of Man; and they divide this *man* into three portions. For they say one part of him is rational, and another psychical, but a third earthly. And they style him Adamas, and suppose that the knowledge *appertaining* to him is *the* originating cause of the capacity of knowing God. And *the Naassene asserts* that all these rational, and psychical, and earthly qualities have retired into Jesus, and that through Him these three substances simultaneously have spoken unto the three genera of the universe. These allege that there are three kinds *of existence*—angelic, psychical, *and* earthly; and that there are three churches—angelic, psychical, *and* earthly; and that the names for these *are*—chosen, called, *and* captive. These are the heads of doctrine advanced by them, as far as one may briefly comprehend them. They affirm that James, the brother of the Lord, delivered these tenets to Mariamne, *by such a statement* belying both.



Chapter VI.—The Perataë.

The Perataë, however, viz., Ademes the Carystian, and Euphrates the Peratic, say that there is some one world,—this is the denomination they use,—and affirming that it is divided into three parts. But of the threefold division, according to them, there is one principle, just like an immense fountain, capable of being by reason divided into infinite segments. And the first segment, and the one of more proximity, according to them, is the triad, and is called a perfect good, *and* a paternal magnitude. But the second portion of the triad is a certain multitude of, as it were, infinite powers. The third *part*, however, *is* formal. And the first is unbegotten;¹⁰⁴⁴ whence they expressly affirm that there are three Gods, three Logoi, three minds, (and) three men. For when the division has been accomplished, to each part of the world they assign both Gods, and Logoi, and men, and the rest. But from above, from uncreatedness and the first segment of the world, when afterwards the world had attained to its consummation, *the Peratic affirms* that there came down, in the times of Herod, a certain man with a threefold nature, and a threefold body, and a threefold power, named Christ, and that He possesses from the three parts of the world in Himself all the concretions and capacities of the world. And they are disposed *to think* that this is what has been declared, “in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.”¹⁰⁴⁵ And *they assert* that from the two worlds situated above—*namely*, both the unbegotten *one* and self-begotten *one*—there were borne down into this world in which we are, germs of all sorts of powers. And (they say) that Christ came down from above from uncreatedness, in order that, by His descent, all things that have been divided into three parts may be saved. For, says *the Peratic*, the things that have been borne down from above will ascend through Him; and the things that have plotted against those that have been borne down are heedlessly rejected,¹⁰⁴⁶ and sent away to be punished. And *the Peratic* states that there are two parts which are saved—*that is*, those that are situated above—by having been separated from corruption, and that the third is destroyed, which he calls a formal world. These also are the tenets of the Perataë.

1044 Cruice supplies from Theodoret: “and the second *which is* good is self-begotten, and the third is generated.”

1045 Col. ii. 9.

1046 ἀφίεται εἰκῆ; Bernays proposes ὀφιοειδῆ, i.e., being of the form of the serpent.

Chapter VII.—The Sethians.

But to the Sethians it seems that there exist three principles, which have been precisely defined. And each of the principles is fitted by nature for being able to be generated, as in a human soul every art whatsoever *is developed* which is *capable of being* learned. *The result is the same* as when a child, by being long conversant with a musical instrument, becomes a musician; or with geometry a geometrician, or with any *other* art, with a similar result. And the essences of the principles, *the Sethians* say, are light and darkness. And in the midst of these is pure spirit; and the spirit, they say, is that which is placed intermediate between darkness, which is below, and light, which is above. It is not spirit, as a current of wind or a certain gentle breeze which may be felt, but just as if some fragrance of ointment or incense made out of a refined mixture,—a power diffusing itself by some impulse of fragrance which is inconceivable and superior to what one can express. Since, therefore, the light is above and the darkness below, and the spirit is intermediate between these, the light, also, as a ray of sun, shines from above on the underlying darkness. And the fragrance of the spirit is wafted onwards, occupying an intermediate position, and proceeds forth, just as is diffused the odour of incense-offerings (laid) upon the fire. Now the power of the things divided threefold being of this description, the power simultaneously of the spirit and of the light is below, in the darkness that is situated beneath. The darkness, however, they say, is a horrible water, into which the light along with the spirit is absorbed, and thus translated into a nature of this description. The darkness being then endued with intelligence, and knowing that when the light has been removed from it the darkness continues desolate, devoid of radiance *and* splendour, power *and* efficiency, as well as impotent, (therefore,) by every effort of reflection and of reason, this makes an exertion to comprise in itself brilliancy, and a scintillation of light, along with the fragrance of the spirit. And of this they introduce the following image, expressing themselves thus: Just as the pupil of the eye appears dark beneath the underlying humours, but is illuminated by the spirit, so the darkness earnestly strives after the spirit, and has with itself all the powers which wish to retire and return. Now these are indefinitely infinite, from which, when commingled, all things are figured and generated like seals. For just as a seal, when brought into contact with wax, produces a figure, (and yet the seal) itself remains of itself what it was, so also the powers, by coming into communion (one with the other), form all the infinite kinds of animals. *The Sethians assert* that, therefore, from the primary concourse of the three principles was generated an image of *the great seal*, *namely* heaven and earth, having a form like a womb, possessing a navel in the midst. And so that the rest of the figures of all things were, like heaven and earth, fashioned similar to a womb.

And *the Sethians* say that from the water was produced a first-begotten principle, *namely* a vehement and boisterous wind, and that it is a cause of all generation, which creates a sort of heat and motion in the world from the motion of the waters. And *they maintain* that this

wind is fashioned like the hissing of a serpent into a perfect image. And on this the world gazes and hurries into generation, being inflamed as a womb; and from thence they are disposed *to think* that the generation of the universe has arisen. And they say that this wind constitutes a spirit, and that a perfect God has arisen from the fragrance of the waters, and that of the spirit, and *from* the brilliant light. And *they affirm* that mind exists after the mode of generation from a female—(meaning by mind) the supernal spark—and that, having been mingled beneath with the compounds of body, it earnestly desires to flee away, that escaping it may depart and not find dissolution on account of the deficiency in the waters. Wherefore it is in the habit of crying aloud from the mixture of the waters, according to the Psalmist, as they say, “For the entire anxiety of the light above is, that it may deliver the spark which is below from the Father beneath,”¹⁰⁴⁷ *that is, from wind*. And *the Father* creates heat and disturbance, and produces for Himself a Son, *namely* mind, which, *as* they allege, is not the peculiar *offspring* of Himself. And *these heretics affirm that the Son*, on beholding the perfect Logos of the supernal light, underwent a transformation, and in *the* shape of a serpent entered into a womb, in order that he might be able to recover that Mind *which is* the scintillation from the light. And that this is what has been declared, “Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant.”¹⁰⁴⁸ And the wretched and baneful Sethians are disposed *to think* that this constitutes the servile form *alluded to by the Apostle*. These, then, are the assertions which likewise these *Sethians* advance.

1047 The commentators refer us to [Ps. xxix. 3](#).

1048 [Phil. ii. 6, 7](#).

Chapter VIII.—Simon Magus.

But that very sapient *fellow* Simon makes his statement thus, that there is an indefinite power, *and* that this is the root of the universe. And this indefinite power, he says, which is fire, is in itself not anything which is simple, as the gross bulk of *speculators maintain*, when they assert that there are four incomposite elements, and have supposed fire, *as one of these*, to be uncompounded. *Simon, on the other hand, alleges* that the nature of fire is twofold; and one portion of this twofold (nature) he calls a something secret, and another (a something) manifest. And *he asserts* that the secret is concealed in the manifest *parts* of the fire, and that the manifest *parts* of the fire have been produced from the secret. And he says that all the parts of the fire, visible and invisible, have been supposed to be in possession of a capacity of perception. The world, therefore, he says, that is begotten, has been produced from the unbegotten fire. And it commenced, he says, to exist thus: The Unbegotten One took six primal roots of the principle of generation from the principle of that fire. For *he maintains* that these roots have been generated in pairs from the fire; and these he denominates Mind and Intelligence, Voice and Name, Ratiocination and Reflection. And *he asserts* that in the six roots, at the same time, resides the indefinite power, *which* he affirms to be Him that stood, stands, and will stand. And when this *one* has been formed into a figure, He will, *according to this heretic*, exist in the six powers substantially *and* potentially. *And He will be* in magnitude and perfection one and the same with that unbegotten and indefinite power, possessing no attribute in any respect more deficient than that unbegotten, and unalterable, and indefinite power. If, however, *He who stood, stands, and will stand*, continues to exist only potentially in the six powers, and has not assumed any definite figure, He becomes, says *Simon*, utterly evanescent, and perishes. *And this takes place* in the same manner as the grammatical or geometrical capacity, which, though it has been *implanted* in man's soul, *suffers extinction* when it does not obtain (the assistance of) a master of *either of these* arts, who would indoctrinate *that soul into its principles*. Now Simon affirms that he himself is He who stood, stands, *and* will stand, and that He is a power that is above all things. So far, then, for the opinions of Simon likewise.

Chapter IX.—Valentinus.

Valentinus,¹⁰⁴⁹ however, and the adherents of this school, though they agree in asserting that the originating principle of the universe is *the* Father, still they are impelled into the adoption of a contrary opinion *respecting Him*. For some of them *maintain* that (the Father) is solitary and generative; whereas others *hold* the impossibility, (in His as in other cases,) of procreation without a female. They therefore add Sige as *the* spouse of this *Father*, and style *the Father* Himself Bythus. From this *Father* and His spouse some *allege* that there have been six projections,—viz., Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia,—and that this constitutes the procreative Ogdoad. And *the Valentinians maintain* that those *are the first* projections which have taken place within the limit, *and* have been again denominated “*those within the Pleroma;*” and the second are “*those without the Pleroma;*” and the third, “*those without the Limit.*” Now the generation of these constitutes the Hysterema *Acamoth*. And he asserts that what has been generated from an *Æon*, *that exists in the Hysterema and* has been projected (beyond the Limit), is the Creator. But *Valentinus* is not disposed to *affirm what is thus generated* to be primal Deity, but speaks in detractive terms both of Him and the things made by Him. And (he asserts) that Christ came down from within the Pleroma for the salvation of the spirit who had erred. This spirit, (according to the Valentinians,) resides in our inner man; and they say that this *inner man* obtains salvation on account of this indwelling *spirit*. *Valentinus*, however, (to uphold the doctrine,) determines that the flesh is not saved, and styles it “a leathern tunic,” and the perishable *portion of man*. I have (already) declared these tenets in the way of an epitome, inasmuch as in their systems there exists enlarged matter for discussion, and a variety of opinions. In this manner, then, it seems proper also to the school of Valentinus to *propound their opinions*.

144

1049 This section differs considerably from what Hippolytus has already stated concerning Valentinus. [“Sige,” vol. i. p. 62, note 5.]

Chapter X.—Basilides.

But Basilides also himself affirms that there is a non-existent God, who, being non-existent, has made the non-existent world, that has been formed out of things that are not, by casting down a certain seed, as it were a grain of mustard-seed, having in itself stem, leaves, branches, *and* fruit. Or *this seed is* as a peacock's egg, comprising in itself the varied multitude of colours. And this, say *the Basilidians*, constitutes the seed of the world, from which all things have been produced. For *they maintain* that it comprises in itself all things, as it were those that *as yet* are non-existent, and which it has been predetermined to be brought into existence by the non-existent Deity. There was, then, he says, in the seed itself a threefold Sonship, in all respects of the same substance with the nonexistent God, which has been begotten from things that are not. And of this Sonship, divided into three parts, one portion of it was refined, and another gross, and another requiring purification. The refined portion, when first the earliest putting down of the seed was accomplished by the non-existent God, immediately burst forth, and ascended upwards, and proceeded towards the non-existent Deity. For every nature yearns after that God on account of the excess of *His* beauty, but different (creatures desire Him) from different causes. The more gross portion, however, still continues in the seed; and inasmuch as it is a certain imitative *nature*, it was not able to soar upwards, for it was more gross than the subtle part. *The more gross portion*, however, equipped itself with the Holy Spirit, as it were with wings; for the Sonship, *thus* arrayed, shows kindness to this Spirit, and *in turn* receives kindness. The third Sonship, however, requires purification, *and therefore* this continued in the conglomeration of all germs, and this displays and receives kindness. And (Basilides asserts) that there is something which is called "world," and something else (which is called) supra-mundane; for *entities* are distributed by him into two primary divisions. And what is intermediate between these he calls "Conterminous Holy Spirit," and (this Spirit) has *in itself* the fragrance of the Sonship.

From the conglomeration of all germs of the cosmical seed burst forth and was begotten the Great Archon, the head of the world, *an Aeon* of inexpressible beauty and size. This (Archon) having raised Himself as far as the firmament, supposed that there was not another above Himself. And *accordingly* He became more brilliant and powerful than all the underlying *Aeons*, with the exception of the Sonship that had been left beneath, but which He was not aware was more wise than Himself. This one having His attention turned to the creation of the world, first begat a son unto Himself, superior to Himself; and this *son* He caused to sit on His own right hand, and this these *Basilidians* allege is the Ogdoad. *The Great Archon* Himself, then, produces the entire celestial creation. And other Archon ascended from (the conglomeration of) all the germs, *who was* greater than all the underlying *Aeon*, except the Sonship that had been left behind, yet far inferior to the former one. And they style this *second Archon* a Hebdomad. He is Maker, and Creator, and Controller of all things *that*

are beneath Him, and this *Archon* produced for Himself a Son more prudent and wiser *than Himself*. Now they assert that all these things exist according to the predetermination of that non-existent *God*, and that there exist also worlds and intervals that are infinite. And *the Basilidians affirm* that upon Jesus, who was born of Mary, came the power of the Gospel, which descended and illuminated the Son both of the Ogdoad and of the Hebdomad. *And this took place* for the purpose of enlightening and distinguishing from the different orders of beings, and purifying the Sonship that had been left behind for conferring benefits on souls, and the receiving benefits in turn. And they say that themselves are sons, who are in the world for this cause, that by teaching they may purify souls, and along with the Sonship may ascend to the Father above, *from* whom proceeded the first Sonship. And they allege that the world endures until the period when all souls may have repaired thither along with the Sonship. These, however, are the opinions which Basilides, who detailed them as prodigies, is not ashamed to advance.



Chapter XI.—Justinus.

But Justinus also himself attempted to establish similar opinions with these, and expresses himself thus: That there are three unbegotten principles of the universe, two males *and* one female. And of the males one principle is denominated “Good.” Now this alone is called after this mode, *and is* endued with a foreknowledge of the universe. And the other *is* Father of all generated entities, *and is* devoid of foreknowledge, and unknown, and invisible, and is called Elohim. The female *principle is* devoid of foreknowledge, passionate, with two minds, *and* with two bodies, as we have minutely detailed in the *previous* discourses concerning this *heretic’s system*. *This female principle*, in her upper parts, as far as the groin, is, *the Justinians say*, a virgin, whereas from the groin downwards a snake. And such is denominated Edem and Israel. *This heretic* alleges that these are the principles of the universe, from which all things have been produced. And *he asserts* that Elohim, without foreknowledge, passed into inordinate desire for the half virgin, and that having had intercourse with her, he begot twelve angels; and the names of these he states *to be those already given*. And of *these* the paternal ones are connected with the father, and the maternal with the mother. And *Justinus maintains* that these are (the trees of Paradise), concerning which Moses has spoken in an allegorical sense the things written in the law. And *Justinus affirms* that all things were made by Elohim and Edem. And (he says) that animals, with the rest of *the creatures of this kind*, are from the a part resembling a beast, whereas man from the parts above the groin. And Edem (is supposed by Justinus) to have deposited in *man* himself the soul, which was her own power, (but Elohim the spirit.) And *Justinus* alleges that this Elohim, after having learned *his origin*, ascended to the Good *Being*, and deserted Edem. And *this heretic asserts that Edem*, enraged on account of such (treatment), concocted all this plot against the spirit of Elohim which he deposited in man. And (Justinus informs us) that for this reason the Father sent Baruch, and issued directions to the prophets, in order that the spirit of Elohim might be delivered, and that all might be seduced away from Edem. But (this heretic) alleges that even Hercules was a prophet, and that he was worsted by Omphale, that is, by Babel; and *the Justinians* call the latter Venus. And (they say) that afterwards, in the days of Herod, Jesus was born son of Mary and Joseph, to whom he alleges Baruch had spoken. And (Justinus asserts) that Edem plotted against this (Jesus), but could not deceive him; and for this reason, that she caused him to be crucified. And the spirit of Jesus, (says Justinus,) ascended to the Good *Being*. And (the Justinians maintain) that the spirits of all who thus obey those silly and futile discourses will be saved, and that the body and soul of Edem have been left behind. But the foolish Justinus calls this (Edem) Earth.

Chapter XII.—The Docetæ.

Now the Docetæ advance assertions of this description: that the primal Deity is as a seed of the fig-tree; and that from this proceeded three Æons as the stem, and the leaves and the fruit; and that these projected thirty Æons, each (of them) ten; and that they were all united in decades, but differed only in positions, as some were before others. And (the Docetæ assert) that infinite Æons were indefinitely projected, and that all these were hermaphrodites. And (they say) that these Æons formed a design of simultaneously going together into one Æon, and that from this the intermediate Æon *and* from *the* Virgin Mary they begot a Saviour of all. *And this Redeemer* was like in every respect to the first seed of the fig-tree, but inferior in this respect, from the fact of His having been begotten; for the seed whence the fig-tree springs is unbegotten. *This*, then, was the great light of the Æons—it was entirely radiance—which receives no adornment, and comprises in itself *the* forms of all animals. And the Docetæ maintain that this *light*, on proceeding into the underlying chaos, afforded a cause (of existence) to the things that were produced, and those actually existing, and that on coming down from above it impressed on chaos beneath the forms of everlasting species. For the third Æon, which had tripled itself, when he perceives that all his characteristic attributes were forcibly drawn off into the nether darkness, and not being ignorant both of the terror of darkness and the simplicity of light, proceeded to create heaven; and after having rendered firm what intervened, He separated the darkness from the light. As all the species of the third Æon were, he says, overcome by the darkness, the figure even of this Æon became a living fire, having been generated by light. And from this (source), they allege, was generated the Great Archon, regarding whom Moses converses, saying that He is a fiery Deity and Demiurge, who also continually alters the forms of all (Æons) into bodies. And the (Docetæ) allege that these are the souls for whose sake the Saviour was begotten, and that He points out the way through which the souls will escape that are (now) overpowered (by darkness). And (the Docetæ maintain) that Jesus arrayed Himself in that only-begotten power, and that for this reason He could not be seen by any, on account of the excessive magnitude of His glory. And they say that all the occurrences took place with Him as it has been written in the Gospels.



Chapter XIII.—Monoïmus.

But the followers of Monoïmus the Arabian assert that the originating principle of the universe is a primal man and son of man; and that, as Moses states, the things that have been produced were produced not by the primal man, but by the Son of that primal man, *yet* not by the entire *Son*, but by part of Him. And (Monoïmus asserts) that the Son of man is iota, which stands for ten, the principal number in which is (inherent) the subsistence of all number (in general, and) through which every number (in particular) consists, as well as the generation of the universe, fire, air, water, *and* earth. But inasmuch as this is one iota and one tittle, *and* what is perfect (emanates) from what is perfect, *or, in other words*, a tittle flows down from above, containing all things in itself; (therefore,) whatsoever things also the man possesses, the Father of the Son of man *possesses likewise*. Moses, therefore, says that the world was made in six days, that is, by six powers, out of which the world was made by the one tittle. For cubes, and octahedrons, and pyramids, and all figures similar to these, having equal superficies, out of which consist fire, air, water, *and* earth, have been produced from numbers comprehended in that simple tittle of the iota, which is Son of man. When, therefore, says (Monoïmus), Moses mentions the rod's being brandished for the purpose *of bringing* the plagues upon Egypt, he alludes allegorically to the (alterations of the) world of iota; nor did he frame more than ten plagues. If, however, says he, you wish to become acquainted with the universe, search within yourself who is it that says, "My soul, my flesh, *and* my mind," and who is it that appropriates each one thing unto himself, as another (would do) for himself. Understand that this is a perfect *one* arising from (one that is) perfect, and that he considers as his own all so-called nonentities and all entities. These, then, are the opinions of Monoïmus also.

Chapter XIV.—Tatian.

Tatian, however, similarly with Valentinus and the others, says that there are certain invisible Æons, and that by some one of these the world below has been created, and the things existing *in it*. And he habituates himself to a very cynical¹⁰⁵⁰ mode of life, and almost in nothing differs from Marcion, as appertaining both to his slanders, and the regulations enacted concerning marriage.

1050 The allusion here is to the shamelessness of the Cynics in regard to sexual intercourse.

Chapter XV.—Marcion and Cerdo.

But Marcion, of Pontus, and Cerdon,¹⁰⁵¹ his preceptor, themselves also lay down that there are three principles of the universe—good, just, *and* matter. Some disciples, however, of these add *a fourth*, saying, good, just, evil, *and* matter. But they all affirm that the good (Being) has made nothing at all, though some denominate the just one *likewise* evil, whereas others that his only title is that of just. And they allege that (the just Being) made all things out of subjacent matter, for that he made them not well, but irrationally. For it is requisite that the things made should be similar to the maker; wherefore also they thus employ the evangelical parables, saying, “A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit,”¹⁰⁵² and the rest of the passage. *Now Marcion* alleges that the conceptions badly devised by the (just one) himself constituted the allusion in this passage. And (he says) that Christ is the Son of the good Being, and was sent for the salvation of souls by him whom he styles the inner than. And he asserts that he appeared as a man *though* not being a man, and as incarnate *though* not being incarnate. *And he maintains* that his manifestation was only phantastic, and that he underwent neither generation nor passion except in appearance. And he will not allow that flesh rises again; but in affirming marriage to be destruction, he leads his disciples towards a very cynical life. And by these *means* he imagines that he annoys the Creator, if he should abstain from the things that are made or appointed by Him.

1051 The account here given of Cerdon and Marcion does not accurately correspond with that already furnished by Hippolytus of these heretics.

1052 [Matt. vii. 18.](#)

Chapter XVI.—Apelles.

But Apelles, a disciple of this *heretic*, was displeased at the statements advanced by his preceptor, as we have previously declared, and by another theory supposed that there are four gods. And the first of these he alleges to be the “Good Being,” whom the prophets did not know, and Christ to be His Son. And the second *God*, *he affirms* to be the Creator of the universe, and Him he does not wish to be a God. And the third *God*, *he states* to be the fiery one that was manifested; and the fourth to be an evil one. And *Apelles* calls these angels; and by adding (to their number) Christ likewise, he will assert Him to be a fifth *God*. But *this heretic* is in the habit of devoting his attention to a book which he calls “Revelations” of a certain Philumene, whom he considers a prophetess. And he affirms that Christ did not receive his flesh from the Virgin, but from the adjacent substance of the world. In this manner he composed his treatises against the law and the prophets, and attempts to abolish them as if they had spoken falsehoods, and had not known God. And *Apelles*, similarly with Marcion, affirms that the different sorts of flesh are destroyed.



Chapter XVII.—Cerinthus.

Cerinthus, however, himself having been trained in Egypt, determined that the world was not made by the first God, but by a certain angelic power. *And this power was* far separated and distant from that sovereignty which is above the entire circle of existence, and it knows not *the* God (that is) above all things. And he says that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but that He sprang from Joseph and Mary *as their* son, similar to the rest of men; and that He excelled in justice, and prudence, and understanding above all the rest *of mankind*. And *Cerinthus maintains* that, after Jesus' baptism, Christ came down in the form of a dove upon Him from the sovereignty that is above the whole circle of existence, and that then He proceeded to preach the unknown Father, and to work miracles. And *he asserts* that, at the conclusion of the passion, Christ flew away from Jesus,¹⁰⁵³ but that Jesus suffered, and that Christ remained incapable of suffering, being a spirit of *the* Lord.

1053 Or, "the Son;" or, "the Son of Mary" (Cruice).

Chapter XVIII.—The Ebionæans.

But the Ebionæans assert that the world is made by the true God, and *they speak of* Christ in a similar manner with Cerinthus. They live, however, in all respects according to the law of Moses, alleging that they are thus justified.

Chapter XIX.—Theodotus.¹⁰⁵⁴

But Theodotus of Byzantium introduced a heresy of the following description, alleging that all things were created by the true God; whereas that Christ, he states, in a manner similar to that advocated by the Gnostics already mentioned, made His appearance according to some mode of this description. And *Theodotus affirms* that Christ is a man of a kindred nature with all *men*, but that He surpasses them in this respect, that, according to the counsel of God, He had been born of a virgin, and the Holy Ghost had overshadowed *His mother*. *This heretic, however, maintained that Jesus* had not assumed flesh in *the womb of the Virgin*, but that afterwards Christ descended upon Jesus at His baptism in form of a dove. And from this circumstance, *the followers of Theodotus* affirm that at first miraculous powers did not acquire operating energy in *the Saviour* Himself. *Theodotus*, however, determines to deny the divinity of Christ. Now, opinions of this description were advanced by Theodotus.

1054 [Vol. iii. p. 654, this series, where it should have been noted that the *Appendix* to Tertullian is supposed by Waterland to be “little else but an extract from Hippolytus.” He pronounces it “ancient and of good value.” See Wordsworth’s remarks on the *bibliadarion*, p. 59.]

Chapter XX.—Melchisedecians.

And others also make all their assertions similarly with those which have been already specified, introducing one only alteration, viz., in respect of regarding Melchisedec as a certain power. But they allege that *Melchisedec* himself is superior to all powers; and according to his image, they are desirous of *maintaining* that Christ likewise is *generated*.

Chapter XXI.—The Phrygians or Montanists.

The Phrygians, however, derive the principles of their heresy from a certain Montanus, and Priscilla, and Maximilla, and regard these wretched women as prophetesses, and Montanus as a prophet. In respect, however, of what appertains to the origin and creation of the universe, *the Phrygians* are supposed to express themselves correctly; while in the tenets which they enunciate respecting Christ, they have not irrelevantly formed their opinions. But they are seduced into error in common with *the heretics* previously alluded to, and devote their attention to the discourses of these above the Gospels, thus laying down regulations concerning novel and strange fasts.¹⁰⁵⁵

1055 The ms. has the obviously corrupt reading παραδόσεις, which Duncker alters into παραδόξους (strange).

Chapter XXII.—The Phrygians or Montanists Continued.

But others of them, being attached to the heresy of the Noetians, entertain similar opinions to those relating to the silly women *of the Phrygians*, and to Montanus. As regards, however, the truths appertaining to the Father of the entire of existing things, they are guilty of blasphemy, because they assert that He is Son and Father, visible and invisible, begotten and unbegotten, mortal and immortal. These have taken occasion from a certain Noetus *to put forward their heresy*.



Chapter XXIII.—Noetus and Callistus.

But in like manner, also, Noetus, being by birth a native of Smyrna, and a fellow addicted to reckless babbling, as well as crafty withal, introduced (among us) this heresy which originated from one Epigonus. It reached *Rome*, and was adopted by Cleomenes, and so has continued to this day among his successors. *Noetus* asserts that there is one Father and God of the universe, and that He made all things, and was imperceptible to those that exist when He might so desire. *Noetus maintained that the Father* then appeared when He wished; and He is invisible when He is not seen, but visible when He is seen. And *this heretic also alleges that the Father* is unbegotten when He is not generated, but begotten when He is born of a virgin; as also that He is not subject to suffering, and is immortal when He does not suffer or die. When, however, His passion¹⁰⁵⁶ came upon Him, *Noetus allows that the Father* suffers and dies. And *the Noetians* suppose that this Father Himself is called Son, (and *vice versa*,) in reference to the events which at their own proper periods happen to them severally.

Callistus corroborated the heresy of these *Noetians*, but we have *already* carefully explained the details of his life. And *Callistus* himself produced likewise a heresy, and derived its starting-points from these *Noetians*,—namely, so far as he acknowledges that there is one Father and God, viz., the Creator of the universe, and that this (God) is spoken of, and called by the name of Son, yet that in substance He is one Spirit. For Spirit, *as the Deity*, is, he says, not any *being* different from the Logos, or the Logos from the Deity; therefore this one person, (according to Callistus,) is divided nominally, but substantially not so. He supposes this one Logos to be God, and affirms that there was *in the case of the Word* an incarnation. And he is disposed (to maintain), that He who was seen in the flesh and was crucified¹⁰⁵⁷ is Son, but that the Father it is who dwells in Him. *Callistus thus* at one time branches off into the opinion of Noetus, but at another into that of Theodotus, and holds no sure doctrine. These, then, are the opinions of Callistus.

1056 Cruice suggests the addition of the words “and death,” in order to correspond with the remainder of the sentence. The punctuation followed above is conjectural, but gives substantially the meaning of the text as settled by Duncker.

1057 σταυρούμενον . The ms. reads κρατούμενον, which would mean seized or vanquished. The former yields no meaning, and the latter conveys an erroneous conception regarding the Blessed Lord, who, in yielding to suffering and death, showed Himself more than conqueror of both ([John x. 17, 18](#)).

Chapter XXIV.—Hermogenes.

But one Hermogenes himself also being desirous of saying something, asserted that God made all things out of matter coeval *with Himself*, and subject *to His design*. For *Hermogenes*¹⁰⁵⁸ held it to be an impossibility that God should make the things that were made, except out of existent things.

1058 Cruice considers that Theodoret has taken his account (*Hær. Fab.*, i. 19) from this tenth book of *The Refutation*.

Chapter XXV.—The Elchasaites.

But certain others, introducing as it were some novel *tenet*, appropriated *parts of their system* from all heresies, and procured a strange volume, which bore on the title page the name of one Elchasai. These, in like manner, acknowledge that the principles of the universe were originated by the Deity. They do not, however, confess that there is but one Christ, but that there is one that is superior *to the rest*, and that He is transfused into many bodies frequently, and was now in Jesus. And, in like manner, *these heretics maintain* that at one time *Christ* was begotten of God, and at another time became the Spirit, and at another time *was born* of a virgin, and at another time not so. And *they affirm* that likewise this Jesus afterwards was continually being transfused into bodies, and was manifested in many (different bodies) at *different* times. And they resort to incantations and baptisms in their confession of elements. And they occupy themselves with bustling activity in regard of astrological and mathematical science, and of the arts of sorcery. But *also* they allege themselves to have powers of prescience.

Chapter XXVI.—Jewish Chronology.

...From Haran, a city of Mesopotamia, (Abraham, by the command)¹⁰⁵⁹ of God, transfers his residence into the country which is now called Palestine and Judea, but then the region of Canaan. Now, concerning this territory, we have in part, but still not negligently, rendered an account in other discourses. From the circumstance, then, (of this migration) is traceable the beginning of an increase (of population) in Judea, which obtained its name from Judah, fourth son of Jacob, whose *name* was also called *Israel*, from the fact that a race of kings would be descended from him.¹⁰⁶⁰ Abraham removes from Mesopotamia (when 75 years old, and) when 100 years old he begat Isaac. But Isaac, when 60 years of age, begat Jacob. And Jacob, when 86 years old, begat Levi; and Levi, at 40 years of age, begat Caath;¹⁰⁶¹ and Caath was four years of age when he went down with Jacob into Egypt. Therefore the entire period during which Abraham sojourned, and the entire family descended from him by Isaac, in the country then called Canaanitis, was 215 years. But the father of this *Abraham* is Thare,¹⁰⁶² and of this *Thare the father is Nachor*, and of this *Nachor the father is Serag*, and of this *Serag the father is Reu*, and of this *Reu the father is Peleg*, and of this *Peleg*¹⁰⁶³ *the father is Heber*. And so it comes to pass that *the Jews* are denominated by the name of Hebrews. *In the time of Phaleg*,¹⁰⁶⁴ however, arose the dispersion of nations. Now these nations were 72,¹⁰⁶⁵ corresponding with the number of Abraham's children. And the names of these nations we have likewise set down in other books, not even omitting this *point* in its own proper place. *And the reason of our particularity* is our desire to manifest to those who are of a studious disposition the love which we cherish towards the Divinity, and the indubitable

149

1059 There is here a hiatus, which Abbe Cruice thinks is caused by those portions of the ms. being lost, in which Hippolytus furnishes his Summary of the Jewish Sects. The object of introducing these genealogical and ethnic remarks might at first seem irrelevant; but they are intended to be subservient to Hippolytus' *Demonstration of the Truth*, by proving the superior antiquity, as coming down from Abraham, of revelation above all pagan philosophy. [See cap. xxvii. *infra*.] Abbe Cruice refers us to his work (pp. 72–77), *Études sur de Nouveaux Documents Historiques empruntés à L'Ouvrage des φιλοσοφουμενα*, Paris, 1853.

1060 [Vol. ii. p. 306, this series.]

1061 That is, Kohath (see [Gen. xlv. 11](#)).

1062 That is, Tera (see [Gen. xi. 26](#)).

1063 [Gen. xi. 16](#).

1064 [Possibly a *physical* catastrophe. [Gen. x. 25](#), and [1 Chron. i. 19](#).]

1065 The system of seventy-two nations here adopted by Hippolytus is that advanced by Jewish writers generally, and has been probably deduced from the tenth chapter of Genesis. Another historian of the heresies of the Church adopts it—Epiphanius. A chronographer, however, contemporary with Hippolytus—Julius Africanus—discarded this number, as is proved by the fragments of his work preserved by Eusebius and Syncellus.

knowledge respecting the Truth, which in the course of our labours¹⁰⁶⁶ we have acquired possession of. But of this Heber the father is Salah; and of this *Salah the father is Caïnan*; and of this *Caïnan the father is Arphaxad*, whose *father is Shem*; and of this *Shem the father is Noah*. And in *Noah's* time there occurred a flood throughout the entire world, which neither Egyptians, nor Chaldeans, nor Greeks recollect; for the inundations which took place in the age of Ogyges and Deucalion prevailed only in the localities where these dwelt.¹⁰⁶⁷ There are, then, in the case of these (patriarchs—that is, from Noah to Heber inclusive)—5 generations, *and* 495 years.¹⁰⁶⁸ This *Noah*, inasmuch as he was a most religious and God-loving man, alone, with wife and children, and the three wives of these, escaped the flood that ensued. And he owed his preservation to an ark; and both the dimensions and relics of this *ark* are, as we have explained, shown to this day in the mountains called Ararat, which are situated in the direction of the country of the Adiabeni.¹⁰⁶⁹ It is then possible for those who are disposed to investigate the subject industriously, to perceive how clearly has been demonstrated *the existence of* a nation of worshippers of *the true* God, more ancient than all *the* Chaldeans, Egyptians, *and* Greeks. What necessity, however, is there at present to specify those who, anterior to Noah, were both devout men, and permitted to hold converse with *the true* God, inasmuch as, so far as the subject taken in hand is concerned, this testimony in regard of the antiquity of the people of God is sufficient?

1066 The allusion here made constitutes a strong reason for ascribing *The Refutation* to Hippolytus, the author of which here states that he had written a *Chronicle*. But the fragment in our text corresponds with a Latin translation of a *Chronicon* given by Fabricius, and bearing the name of Hippolytus. The terms in which Hippolytus delivers himself above imply that he was the inventor of a chronological system, thus harmonizing with the fact that the Paschal Cycle, though ever so faulty, was selected out of all his writings for being inscribed on Hippolytus' statue, dug up on the road to Tivoli a.d. 1551, in the vicinity of Rome, near the Church of St. Lorenzo. [This modest note is of no slight importance to the case, as elucidated by Bunsen and Wordsworth.]

1067 [Hippolytus does not call in the Greek fables to support the biblical story; he dismisses them with indifference. Yet the *universality* of such traditions is unaccountable save as derived from the history of Noah.

1068 Cruice has 435 years.

1069 [That such relics were exhibited need not be doubted if the account of Berosus is credited. We may doubt as to their genuineness, of course.]

Chapter XXVII.—Jewish Chronology Continued.

But since it does not seem irrational to prove that these nations that had their attention engrossed with *the speculations* of philosophy are of more modern date than those that had habitually worshipped *the true God*,¹⁰⁷⁰ it is reasonable that we should state both whence the family of these *latter originated*; and that when they took up their abode in these countries, they did not receive a name from the actual localities, but claimed for themselves *names* from those who were primarily born, and had inhabited these. Noah had three sons—Shem, Ham, and Japheth. From these the entire family of man was multiplied, and every quarter of the earth owes its inhabitants *in the first instance to these*. For the word of God to them prevailed, when *the Lord* said, “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.” So great efficacy had *that* one word *that* from the three *sons of Noah* are begotten in *the family* 72 children,—(viz.,) from Shem, 25; from Japheth, 15; and from Ham, 32. Unto Ham, however, these 32 children are born in accordance with previous declarations. *And among Ham’s children are*: Canaan,¹⁰⁷¹ from whom came the Canaanites; Mizraim, from whom the Egyptians; Cush, from whom the Ethiopians; and Phut, from whom the Libyans. These, according to the language *prevalent* among them, are up to the present day styled by the appellation of their ancestors; nay, even in the Greek tongue they are called by the names by which they have been now denominated. But even supposing that neither these localities had been previously inhabited, nor that it could be proved that a race of men from the beginning existed there, nevertheless these sons of Noah, a worshipper of God, are *quite sufficient to prove the point at issue*. For it is evident that *Noah* himself must have been a disciple of devout people, for which reason he escaped the tremendous, though transient, threat of water.

How, then, should not the worshippers of *the true God* be of greater antiquity than all Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Greeks, for we must bear in mind that the father of these *Gentiles* was born from this Japheth,¹⁰⁷² and received the name Javan, and became the progenitor of Greeks and Ionians? Now, if the nations that devoted themselves to questions concerning philosophy are shown to belong to a period altogether more recent than the race of the worshippers of God as well as *the time of the deluge*, how would not the nations of the barbarians, and as many *tribes* as in the world are known and unknown, appear to belong to a more modern epoch than these? Therefore ye Greeks, Egyptians, Chaldeans, and the entire race of men, become adepts in this doctrine, and learn from us, who are the friends of God, what the nature of God is, and what His well-arranged creation. And we have cultivated

1070 [See note 4, p. 148, *supra*.]

1071 [The only son of Ham who did *not* go to Africa, vol. iii. p. 3.]

1072 [The fable of Iapetus cannot be explained away as a corroboration of the biblical narrative. Hor., *Od.*, i. 3, 27.]

this *system*, not expressing ourselves in mere pompous language, but executing our treatises in *terms that prove our* knowledge of truth and our practice of good sense, our object being the demonstration of His *Truth*.¹⁰⁷³

1073 [Here the Edinburgh has “nature.” The context seems to require the more comprehensive word “Truth.”]

Chapter XXVIII.—The Doctrine of the Truth.

The first and only (one God),¹⁰⁷⁴ both Creator and Lord of all, had nothing coeval *with Himself*; not infinite chaos, nor measureless water, nor solid earth, nor dense air, not warm fire, nor refined spirit, nor the azure canopy¹⁰⁷⁵ of the stupendous firmament. But He was One, alone in Himself. By an exercise of His will He created things that are, which antecedently had no existence, except that He willed to make them. For He is fully acquainted with whatever is about to take place, for foreknowledge also is present to Him. The different principles, however, of what will come into existence, He first fabricated, viz., fire and spirit, water and earth, from which diverse *elements* He proceeded to form His own creation. And some objects He formed of one essence, but others He compounded from two, and others from three, and others from four. And those *formed* of one *substance* were immortal, for *in their case* dissolution does not follow, for what is one will never be dissolved. Those, on the other hand, which are formed out of two, or three, or four *substances*, are dissoluble; wherefore also are they named mortal. For this has been denominated death; namely, the dissolution of *substances* connected. I now therefore think that I have sufficiently answered those endued with a sound mind, who, if they are desirous of additional instruction, and are disposed accurately to investigate the substances of these things, and the causes of the entire creation, will become acquainted with these points should they peruse a work of ours comprised (under the title), *Concerning the Substance of the Universe*.¹⁰⁷⁶ I consider, however,

1074 The margin of the ms. has the words “Origen and Origen’s opinion.” This seemed to confirm the criticism which ascribes *The Refutation* to Origen. But even supposing Origen not the author, the copyer of the ms. might have written Origen’s name on the margin, as indicating the transcriber’s opinion concerning the coincidence of creed between Origen and the author of *The Refutation*. The fact, however, is that the doctrine of eternal punishment, asserted in the concluding chapter of *The Refutation*, was actually controverted by Origen. See translator’s Introductory Notice. [See also Wordsworth (a lucid exposition), p. 20, etc., and *infra*, cap. xxix. note 5.]

1075 ὁροφήν (Scott). The ms. has μορφήν.

1076 Here we have another reference intimately bearing on the authorship of *The Refutation*. What follows corresponds with a fragment having a similar title to that stated above, first published by Le Moyne, and inserted in Fabricius (i. pp. 220–222) as the work of Hippolytus. Photius mentions this work, and gives an extract from it corresponding with what is furnished by Hippolytus. Photius, however, mentions that the book *On the Substance of the Universe* was said to be written by Josephus, but discovers in marginal notes the ascription of it to Caius. But Caius cannot be the writer, since Photius states that the author of *The Labyrinth* affirmed that he had written *On the Substance of the Universe*. Now Hippolytus informs us that he is author of *The Labyrinth*. Hippolytus thus refers to three of his works in *The Refutation*: (1) ἕτεροι βίβλοι, i.e., on Chronology; (2) *Concerning the Substance of the Universe*; (3) *Little Labyrinth*. Except Hippolytus and Photius refer to different works in

that at present it is enough to elucidate those causes of which the Greeks, not being aware, glorified, in pompous phraseology, the parts of creation, while they remained ignorant of the Creator. And from these the heresiarchs have taken occasion, and have transformed the statements previously made by those *Greeks* into similar doctrines, and thus have framed ridiculous heresies.

speaking of *The Labyrinth*, the foregoing settles the question of the authorship of *The Refutation*. [See the case of Caius stated, Wordsworth, cap. iv. p. 27, etc.]

Chapter XXIX.—The Doctrine of the Truth Continued.

Therefore this solitary and supreme Deity, by an exercise of reflection, brought forth the Logos first; not the word in the sense of *being articulated by voice*, but as a ratiocination of the universe, conceived and residing *in the divine mind*. Him alone He produced from existing things; for the Father Himself constituted existence, and the being born from Him was the cause of all things that are produced.¹⁰⁷⁷ The Logos was in *the Father* Himself, bearing the will of His progenitor, and not being unacquainted with the mind of the Father. For simultaneously¹⁰⁷⁸ with His procession from His Progenitor, inasmuch as He is this *Progenitor's* first-born, He has, as a voice in Himself, the ideas conceived in the Father. And so it was, that when the Father ordered the world to come into existence, the Logos one by one completed *each object of creation, thus* pleasing God. And some things which multiply by generation¹⁰⁷⁹ He formed male and female; but whatsoever beings were *designed* for service and ministration *He made* either male, or not requiring females, or neither male nor female. For even the primary substances of these, which were formed out of nonentities, viz., fire and spirit, water and earth, are neither male nor female; nor could male or female proceed from any one of these, were it not that God, who is the source of all authority, wished that *the Logos* might render assistance¹⁰⁸⁰ *in accomplishing a production of this kind*. I confess that angels are of fire, and I maintain that female spirits are not present with them. And I am of opinion that sun and moon and stars, in like manner, *are produced* from fire and spirit, and are neither male nor female. And the will of the Creator is, that swimming and winged animals are from water, male and female. For so God, whose will it was, ordered that there should exist a moist substance, endued with productive power. And in like manner *God commanded*, that from earth should arise reptiles and beasts, as well males and females of all sorts of animals; for so the nature of the things produced admitted. For as many things as He willed, God made from time to time. These things He created through *the Logos*, it not being possible for things to be generated otherwise than as they were produced. But when, according as He willed, He also formed (objects), He called them by names, and thus notified *His creative effort*.¹⁰⁸¹ And *making* these, He formed the ruler of all, and fashioned

151

1077 [Elucidation XVI.]

1078 This passage is differently rendered, according as we read $\phi\omega\nu\eta$ with Bunsen, or $\phi\omega\nu\eta\nu$ with Dr. Wordsworth. The latter also alters the reading of the ms. (at the end of the next sentence), $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}$, into $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$, "he carried into effect what was pleasing to the Deity."

1079 Dr. Wordsworth suggests for $\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, i.e., a continuous series of procreation.

1080 See Origen, in *Joann.*, tom. ii. sec. 8.

1081 [Rather, *His will*.]

him out of all composite substances.¹⁰⁸² *The Creator* did not wish to make him a god, and failed in His aim; nor an angel,—be not deceived,—but a man. For if He had willed to make thee a god, He could have done so. Thou hast the example of the Logos. His will, however, was, that you should be a man, *and* He has made thee a man. But if thou art desirous of also becoming a god, obey Him that has created thee, and resist not now, in order that, being found faithful in that which is small, you may be enabled to have entrusted to you also that which is great.¹⁰⁸³

The Logos alone of this *God* is from *God* himself; wherefore also *the Logos* is God, being *the* substance of God.¹⁰⁸⁴ Now the world was made from nothing; wherefore *it* is not God; *as also because* this *world* admits of dissolution whenever the Creator so wishes it. But God, who created *it*, did not, nor does not, make evil. He makes what is glorious and excellent; for He who makes *it* is good. Now man, that was brought into existence, was a creature endowed with a capacity of self-determination,¹⁰⁸⁵ yet not possessing a sovereign intellect,¹⁰⁸⁶ nor holding sway over all things by reflection, and authority, and power, but a slave *to his passions*, and comprising all *sorts of* contrarieties in himself. But man, from the fact of his possessing a capacity of self-determination, brings forth what is evil,¹⁰⁸⁷ that is, accidentally; which *evil* is not consummated except you actually commit some piece of wickedness. For it is in regard of our desiring anything that is wicked, or our meditating upon it, that what is evil is *so* denominated. Evil had no existence from the beginning, but came into being subsequently.¹⁰⁸⁸ Since man has free will, a law has been defined *for his guidance* by the Deity, not without answering a good purpose. For if man did not possess the power to will

1082 Compare Origen, *in Joann.*, sec. 2, where we have a similar opinion stated. A certain parallel in this and other portions of Hippolytus' concluding remarks, induces the transcriber, no doubt, to write "Origen's opinion" in the margin.

1083 Matt. xxv. 21, 23; Luke xvi. 10, 11, 12. [Also 2 Pet. i. 4, one of the king-texts of the inspired oracles.]

1084 [Nicene doctrine, ruling out all conditions of time from the idea of the generation of the Logos.]

1085 ἀντεξούσιος. Hippolytus here follows his master Irenæus (*Hær.*, iv. 9), and in doing so enunciates an opinion, and uses an expression adopted universally by patristic writers, up to the period of St. Augustine. This great philosopher and divine, however, shook the entire fabric of existing theology respecting the will, and started difficulties, speculative ones at least, which admit of no solution short of the annihilation of finite thought and volition. See translator's *Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. x. [Also compare Irenæus, vol. i. p. 518, and Clement, vol. ii. pp. 319 *passim* to 525; also vol. iii. 301, and vol. iv. Tertullian and Origen. See *Indexes on Free-will.*]

1086 Dr. Wordsworth translates the passage thus: "Endued with free will, but not dominant; having reason, but not able to govern," etc.

1087 [One of the most pithy of all statements as to the origin of *subjective* evil, i.e., evil in humanity.]

1088 See Origen, *in Joann.*, tom. ii. sec. 7.

and not to will, why should a law be established? For a law will not be laid down for an animal devoid of reason, but a bridle and a whip;¹⁰⁸⁹ whereas to man has been given a precept and penalty to perform, or for not carrying into execution what has been enjoined. For man thus constituted has a law been enacted by just men in primitive ages. Nearer our own day was there established a law, full of gravity and justice, by Moses, to whom allusion has been already made, a devout man, and one beloved of God.

Now the Logos of God controls all these; the first begotten Child of the Father, the voice of the Dawn antecedent to the Morning Star.¹⁰⁹⁰ Afterwards just men were born, friends of God; *and* these have been styled prophets,¹⁰⁹¹ on account of their foreshowing future events. And the word of *prophecy*¹⁰⁹² was committed unto them, not for one age *only*; but also the utterances of events predicted throughout all generations, were vouchsafed in perfect clearness. And this, too, not at the time merely when *seers* furnished a reply to those present;¹⁰⁹³ but also events that would happen throughout all ages, have been manifested beforehand; because, in speaking of incidents gone by, *the prophets* brought them back to the recollection of humanity; whereas, in showing forth present occurrences, they endeavoured to persuade men not to be remiss; while, by foretelling future events, they have rendered each one of us terrified on beholding events that had been predicted long before, *and* on expecting likewise those events *predicted as* still future. Such is our faith, O all ye men,—*ours, I say*, who are not persuaded by empty expressions, nor caught away by sudden impulses of *the* heart, nor beguiled by the plausibility of eloquent discourses, yet who do not refuse to obey words that have been uttered by divine power. And these injunctions has God given to the Word. But the Word, by declaring them, promulgated the divine commandments, thereby turning man from disobedience, not bringing him into servitude by force of necessity, but summoning him to liberty through a choice involving spontaneity.

This Logos the Father in the latter *days* sent forth, no longer to speak by a prophet, and not wishing that *the Word*, being obscurely proclaimed, should be made the subject of mere conjecture, but that He should be manifested, so that we could see Him with our own eyes.

1089 Ps. xxxii. 9.

1090 Ps. cx. 3; 2 Pet. i. 18, 19.

1091 In making the Logos a living principle in the prophets, and as speaking through them to the Church of God in all ages, Hippolytus agrees with Origen. This constitutes another reason for the marginal note “Origen’s opinion,” already mentioned. (See Origen, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, i. 1.)

1092 Hippolytus expresses similar opinions respecting the economy of the prophets, in his work, *De Antichristo*, sec. 2.

1093 Hippolytus here compares the ancient prophets with the oracles of the Gentiles. The heathen seers did not give forth their vaticinations spontaneously, but furnished responses to those only who made inquiries after them, says Dr. Wordsworth.

This *Logos*, I say, the Father sent forth, in order that *the* world, on beholding Him, might reverence Him who was delivering precepts not by *the* person of prophets, nor terrifying the soul by an angel, but who was Himself—He that had spoken—*corporally* present *amongst us*. This *Logos* we know to have received a body from a virgin, *and* to have remodelled the old man¹⁰⁹⁴ by a new creation. *And we believe the Logos* to have passed through every period in *this* life, in order that He Himself might serve as a law for every age,¹⁰⁹⁵ and that, by being present (amongst) us, He might exhibit His own manhood as an aim for all men. And that by Himself *in person* He might prove that God made nothing evil, and that man possesses the capacity of self-determination, inasmuch as he is able to will and not to will, *and* is endued with power to do both.¹⁰⁹⁶ This *Man* we know to have been made out of the compound *of our humanity*. For if He were not of the same *nature with ourselves*, in vain does He ordain that we should imitate the Teacher. For if that Man happened to be of a different substance *from us*, why does He lay injunctions similar *to those He has received* on myself, who am born weak; and how is this *the act of one that is* good and just? In order, however, that He might not be supposed to be different *from us*, He even underwent toil, and was willing to endure hunger, and did not refuse to feel thirst, and sunk into the quietude of slumber. He did not protest against His Passion, but became obedient unto death, and manifested His resurrection. Now in all these *acts* He offered up, as the first-fruits, His own manhood, in order that thou, when thou art in tribulation, mayest not be disheartened, but, confessing thyself to be a man (of like nature with the Redeemer), mayest dwell in expectation of also receiving what *the Father* has granted unto this *Son*.¹⁰⁹⁷

1094 πεφυρακότα. This is the reading adopted by Cruice and Wordsworth. The translator has followed Cruice's rendering, *refinxisse*, while Dr. Wordsworth construes the word "fashioned." The latter is more literal, as φυράω means to knead, though the sense imparted to it by Cruice would seem more coincident with the scriptural account (1 Cor. v. 7; 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15). Bunsen does not alter πεφορηκότα, the reading of the ms., and translates it, "to have put on the old man through a new formation." Sauppe reads πεφυρηκότα. See Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, sec. 26, in *Danielem* (p. 205, Mai); and Irenæus, v. 6.

1095 [See Irenæus (a very beautiful passage), vol. i. p. 391.]

1096 [See vol. iv. pp. 255 and 383.]

1097 This is the reading adopted by Cruice and Bunsen. Dr. Wordsworth translates the passage thus: "acknowledging thyself a man of like nature with Christ, and thou also waiting for the appearance of what thou gavest Him." The source of consolation to man which Hippolytus, according to Dr. Wordsworth, is here anxious to indicate, is the glorification of human nature in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. Dr. Wordsworth therefore objects to Bunsen's rendering, as it gives to the passage a meaning different from this.

Chapter XXX.—The Author's Concluding Address.

Such is the true doctrine in regard of the divine nature, O ye men, Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye Latins, who lead armies, and all ye that inhabit Europe, and Asia, and Libya.¹⁰⁹⁸ And to you I am become an adviser, inasmuch as I am a disciple of *the* benevolent Logos, and *hence* humane, in order that you may hasten and by us may be taught who the true God is, and *what* is His well-ordered creation. Do not devote your attention to the fallacies of artificial discourses, nor the vain promises of plagiarizing heretics,¹⁰⁹⁹ but to the venerable simplicity of unassuming truth. And by means of this knowledge you shall escape the approaching threat of *the* fire of judgment, and the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus,¹¹⁰⁰ where never shines a beam from the irradiating voice of the Word!

You shall escape the boiling flood of hell's¹¹⁰¹ eternal lake of fire and the eye ever fixed in menacing glare of *fallen* angels chained in Tartarus as punishment for their sins; *and you shall escape* the worm that ceaselessly coils for food around the body whose scum¹¹⁰² has bred *it*. Now such (torments) as these shalt thou avoid by being instructed in a knowledge of the true God. And thou shalt possess an immortal body, even one placed beyond the possibility of corruption, just like the soul. And thou shalt receive the kingdom of heaven, thou who, whilst thou didst sojourn in *this* life, didst know the Celestial King. And thou shalt be a companion of the Deity, and a co-heir with Christ, no longer enslaved by lusts or

1098 [The translator's excessive interpolations sometimes needlessly dilute the terse characteristics of the author. Thus, with confusing brackets, the Edinburgh reads: "who so often lead your armies to victory." This is not Hippolytus, and, in such instances, I feel bound to reduce a plethoric text.]

1099 [Here the practical idea of the *Philosophumena* comes out; and compare vol. iv. pp. 469 and 570.]

1100 Dr. Wordsworth justifies Hippolytus' use of the pagan word "Tartarus," by citing the passage (2 Pet. ii. 4), "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness (σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας), to be reserved unto judgment," etc. [Elucidation XVII. and vol. iv. 140.]

1101 Schneidewin suggests a comparison of this passage with Hippolytus' fragment, *Against Plato, concerning the Cause of the Universe* (p. 220, ed. Fabricii; p. 68, ed. de Lagarde).

1102 The different renderings of this passage, according to different readings, are as follow: "And the worm the scum of the body, turning to the Body that foamed it forth as to that which nourisheth it" (Wordsworth). "The worm which winds itself without rest round the mouldering body, to feed upon it" (Bunsen and Scott). "The worm wriggling as over the filth of the (putrescent) flesh towards the exhaling body" (Roeper). "The worm turning itself towards the substance of the body, towards, (I say,) the exhalations of the decaying frame, as to food" (Schneidewin). The words chiefly altered are: ἀπουσίαν, into (1) ἐπ' οὐσίαν, (2) ἐπ' ἀλουσία (3) ἀπαύστως; and ἐπιστρεφόμενον into (1) ἐπιστρέφον, (2) ἐπὶ τροφήν.

passions, and *never again* wasted by disease. For thou hast become God:¹¹⁰³ for whatever sufferings thou didst undergo while being a man, these He gave to thee, because thou wast of mortal mould, but whatever it is consistent with God *to impart*, these God has promised to bestow upon thee, because thou hast been deified, and begotten unto immortality.¹¹⁰⁴ This constitutes *the import of the proverb*, “Know thyself;” i.e., discover God *within thyself*, for He has formed thee *after His own image*. For with the knowledge of self is conjoined the being an object of God’s knowledge, for thou art called by *the Deity* Himself. Be not therefore inflamed, O ye men, with enmity one towards another, nor hesitate to retrace¹¹⁰⁵ with all speed your steps. For Christ is the God above all, and He has arranged to wash away sin from human beings,¹¹⁰⁶ rendering regenerate the old man. And God called man His likeness from the beginning, and has evinced in a figure His love towards thee. And provided thou obeyest His solemn injunctions, and becomest a faithful follower of Him who is good, thou shalt resemble Him, inasmuch as thou shalt have honour conferred upon thee by Him. For the Deity, (by condescension,) does not diminish aught of the divinity of His divine¹¹⁰⁷ perfection; having made thee even God unto His glory!¹¹⁰⁸

1103 [This startling expression is justified by such texts as [2 Pet. i. 4](#) compared with [John xvii. 22, 23](#), and [Rev. iii. 21](#). Thus, Christ overrules the Tempter ([Gen. iii. 5](#)), and gives more than was offered by the “Father of Lies.”]

1104 [Compare [John x. 34](#) with [Rev. v. 10](#). Kings of the earth may be called “gods,” in a sense; *ergo*, etc.]

1105 Bunsen translates thus: “Doubt not that you will exist again,” a rendering which Dr. Wordsworth controverts in favour of the one adopted above.

1106 Bunsen translates thus: “For Christ is He whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins,” etc. Dr. Wordsworth severely censures this rendering in a lengthened note.

1107 πτωχευει. Bunsen translates, “for God acts the beggar towards thee,” which is literal, though rather unintelligible. Dr. Wordsworth renders the word thus: “God has a longing for thee.”

1108 Hippolytus, by his argument, recognises the duty not merely of overthrowing error but substantiating truth, or in other words, the negative and positive aspect of theology. His brief statement (chap. xxviii.–xxx.) in the latter department, along with being eminently reflective, constitutes a noble specimen of patristic eloquence. [This is most just: and it must be observed, that having summed up his argument against the heresies derived from carnal and inferior sources, and shown the primal truth, he advances (in chap. xxviii.) to the Nicene position, and proves himself one of the witnesses on whose traditive testimony that sublime formulary was given to the whole Church as the κτῆμα ἐξ ἁεὶ of Christendom,—a formal countersign of apostolic doctrine.]

Elucidations.

I.

(Who first propounded these heresies, p. 11.)

Hippolytus seems to me to have felt the perils to the pure Gospel of many admissions made by Clement and other Alexandrian doctors as to the merits of some of the philosophers of the Gentiles. Very gently, but with prescient genius, he adopts this plan of tracing the origin and all the force of heresies to “philosophy falsely so called.” The existence of this “cloud of locusts” is (1) evidence of the antagonism of Satan; (2) of the prophetic spirit of the apostles; (3) of the tremendous ferment produced by the Gospel leaven as soon as it was hid in the “three measures of meal” by “the Elect Lady,” the *Ecclesia Dei*; (4) of the fidelity of the witnesses,—that grand, heroic glory of the Ante-Nicene Fathers,—who never suffered these heresies to be mistaken for the faith, or to corrupt the Scriptures; and (5) finally of the power of the Holy Spirit, who gave them victory over errors, and enabled them to define truth in all the crystalline beauty of that “Mountain of Light,” that true Koh-i-noor, the Nicene Symbol. Thus, also, Christ’s promises were fulfilled.



II.

(Caulacau, p. 52.)

See Irenæus, p. 350, vol. i., this series, where I have explained this jargon of heresy. But I think it worth while to make use here of two notes on the subject, which I made in 1845,¹¹⁰⁹ with little foresight of these tasks in 1885.

Fleury (tom. ii.) makes this statement: “Les Nicolaites donnaient une infinité de noms barbares aux princes et aux puissances qu’ils mettaient en chaque ciel. Ils en nommaient un *caulaucauch*, abusant d’un passage d’Isaïe, où se lisent ces mots hebreux: *cau-la-cau*, *cau-la-cau*, pour représenter l’insolence avec laquelle les impies se moquaient du prophète, en répétant plusieurs fois quelques-unes de ses paroles.” Compare Guerricus, thus: “Vox illa tædii et desperationis, quæ apud Isaiam (xxviii. 13) legitur, quia, viz., moram faciente Domino, frequentibus nuntiis ejus increduli et illusores insultare videntur: *manda remanda*,” etc. See the spurious *Bernardina*, “de Adventu Dom., serm. i.,” S. Bernard., opp. Paris (ed. Mabillon), vol. ii. p. 1799.

¹¹⁰⁹ I venture to state this to encourage young students to keep pen in hand in all their researches, and always to make notes.

III.

(The Phrygians call Papa, p. 54.)

Hippolytus had little idea, when he wrote this, what the word *Papa* was destined to signify in mediæval Rome. The *Abba* of Holy Writ has its equivalent in many Oriental languages, as well as in the Greek and Latin, through which it has passed into all the dialects of Europe. It was originally given to all *presbyters*, as implied in their name of *elders*, and was a title of humility when it became peculiar to the bishops, as (1 *Pet. v. 3*) *non Domini sed patres*. St. Paul (1 *Cor. iv. 15*) shows that “in Christ”—that is, under Him—we may have such “fathers;” and thus, while he indicates the true sense of the precept, he leads us to recognise a *prophetic force* and admonition in our Saviour’s words (*Matt. xxiii.*), “Call no man your father upon the earth.” Thus interpreted, these words seem to be a warning against the sense to which this name, *Papa*, became, long afterwards, restricted, in Western Europe: *Notre St. Père, le Pape*, as they say in France. This was done by the decree of the ambitious Hildebrand, Gregory VII. (who died a.d. 1085), when, in a synod held at Rome, he defined that “the title *Pope* should be peculiar to one only in the Christian world.” The Easterns, of course, never paid any respect to this novelty and dictation, and to this day their patriarchs are popes; and not only so, for the parish priests of the Greek churches are called by the same name. I was once cordially invited to take a repast “with the *pope*,” on visiting a Greek church on the shores of the Adriatic. It is said, however, that a distinction is made between the words *πάπας* and *παπᾶς*; the latter being peculiar to inferiors, according to the refinements of Goar, a Western critic. *Valeat quantum*. But I must here note, that as “words are things,” and as infinite damage has been done to history and to Christian truth by tolerating this empiricism of Rome, I have restored scientific accuracy, in this series, whenever reference is made to the primitive bishops of Rome, who were no more “Popes” than Cincinnatus was an emperor. It is time that theological science should accept, like other sciences, the language of truth and the terminology of demonstrated fact. The early bishops of Rome were geographically important, and were honoured as sitting in the only apostolic see of the West; but they were almost inconsiderable in the structural work of the ante-Nicene ages, and have left no appreciable impress on its theology. After the Council of Nice they were recognised as patriarchs, though equals among brethren, and nothing more. The ambition of Boniface III. led him to name himself “universal bishop.” This was at first a mere name “of intolerable pride,” as his predecessor Gregory had called it, but Nicholas I. (a.d. 858) tried to make it real, and, by means of the false decretals, created himself the first “Pope” in the modern sense, imposing his despotism on the West, and identifying it with the polity of Western churches, which alone submitted to it. Thus, it was never Catholic, and came into existence only by nullifying the Nicene Constitutions, and breaking away from Catholic communion with the parent churches of the East. Compare Casaubon (*Exercit.*, xiv. p. 280,

etc.) in his comments on Baronius. I have thus stated with scientific precision what all candid critics and historians, even the Gallicans included, enable us to prove. Why, then, keep up the language of fiction and imposture,¹¹¹⁰ so confusing to young students? I believe the youthful Oxonians whom our modern Tertullian carried with him into the papal schism, could never have been made dupes but for the persistent empiricism of orthodox writers who practically adopt in words what they refute in argument, calling all bishops of Rome “Popes,” and even including St. Peter’s blessed name in this fallacious designation.¹¹¹¹ In this series I adhere to the logic of facts, calling (1) all the bishops of Rome from Linus to Sylvester simply bishops; and (2) all their successors to Nicholas I. “patriarchs” under the Nicene Constitutions, which they *professed* to honour, though, after Gregory the Great, they were ever vying with Constantinople to make themselves greater. (3) Nicholas, who trampled on the Nicene Constitutions, and made the false decretals the canon law of the Western churches, was therefore the first “Pope” who answers to the Tridentine definitions. Even these, however, were never able to make dogmatic¹¹¹² the claim of “supremacy,” which was first done by Pius IX. in our days. A canonical *Primacy* is one thing: a self-asserted *Supremacy* is quite another, as the French doctors have abundantly demonstrated.

IV.

(Contemporaneous heresy, p. 125.)

Here begins that “duplicating of our knowledge” of primitive Rome of which Bunsen speaks so justly. A thorough mastery of this book will prepare us to understand the great Cyprian in all his relations with the Roman Province, and not less to comprehend the affairs of Novatian.

Bunsen, with all respect, does not comprehend the primitive system, and *reads it backward*, from the modern system, which travesties antiquity even in its *apparent* conformities. These conformities are only the borrowing of old names for new contrivances. Thus, he reads the cardinals of the eleventh century into the simple presbytery of comprovincial

1110 Pompey and others were called *imperatores* before the Cæsars, but who includes them with the Roman emperors?

1111 How St. Peter would regard it, see [1 Pet. v. 1–3](#). I am sorry to find Dr. Schaff, in his useful compilation, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. ii. p 166, dropping into the old ruts of fable, after sufficiently proving just before, what I have maintained. He speaks of “the insignificance of *the first Popes*,”—meaning the early Bishops of Rome, men who minded their own business, but could not have been “insignificant” had they even imagined themselves “Popes.”

1112 See Bossuet, *passim*, and all the Gallican doctors down to our own times. In England the “supremacy” was never acknowledged, nor in France, until now.

bishops of the third century,¹¹¹³ just as he elsewhere lugs in the *Ave Maria* of modern Italy to expound the *Evening Hymn to the Trinity*.¹¹¹⁴ In a professed Romanist, like De Maistre, this would be resented as jugglery. But let us come to facts. Bunsen's preliminary remarks¹¹¹⁵ are excellent. But when he comes to note an "exceptional system" in the Roman "presbytery," he certainly confuses all things. Let us recur to Tertullian.¹¹¹⁶ See how much was already established in his day, which the Council of Nicæa recognised a century later as (τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη) old primitive institutions. In all things the Greek churches were the exemplar and the model for other churches to follow. "Throughout *the provinces of Greece*," he says, "there are held, in definite localities, those councils," etc. "If we also, in *our diverse provinces*, observe," etc. Now, these councils, or "meetings," in spite of the emperors or the senate who issued mandates against them, as appears from the same passage, were, in the Roman Province, made up of the comprovincial bishops: and their gatherings seem to have been called "the Roman presbytery;" for, as is evident, the bishops and elders were alike called "presbyters," the word being as common to both orders as the word *pastors* or *clergymen* in our days. According to the thirty-fourth of the "Canons Apostolical," as Bunsen remarks, "the bishops of the suburban towns, including Portus, also formed at that time an integral part of the Roman presbytery." This word *also* refers to all the presbyters of the diocese of Rome itself; and I doubt not originally the laity had their place, as they did in Carthage: "the apostles, elders, and brethren" being the formula of Scripture; or, "with the whole Church," which includes them,—*omni plebe adstante*.¹¹¹⁷ Now, all this accounts, as Bunsen justly observes, for the fact that one of the "presbytery" should be thus repeatedly called presbyter and "at the same time have the charge of the church at Portus, for which (office) there was no other title than the old one of *bishop*; for such was the title of every man who presided *over the congregation* in any city,—at Ostia, at Tusculum, or in the other suburban cities.

Now let us turn to the thirty-fourth¹¹¹⁸ "Apostolical Canon" (so called), and note as follows: "It is necessary that the bishops of every nation should know who is chief among them, and should recognise him as their head by doing nothing of great moment without his consent; and that each of them should do such things only as pertain to his own parish and *the districts under him*. *And neither let him do any thing* without the consent of all, for thus shall there be unity of heart, and thus shall God be glorified through our Lord Jesus

1113 See his Hippol., vol. i. pp. 209, 311.

1114 See vol. ii. p. 298, this series.

1115 p. 207.

1116 Vol. iv. p. 114, Elucidation II., this series.

1117 Even Quinet notes this. See his *Ultramontanism*, p. 40, ed. 1845.

1118 Bunsen gives it as the thirty-fifth, vol. i. p. 311.

Christ.” I do not pause to expound this word *parish*, for I am elucidating Hippolytus by Bunsen’s aid, and do not intend to interpolate my own theory of the primitive episcopate.

Let the “Apostolical Constitutions” go for what they are worth.¹¹¹⁹ I refer to them only under lead of Dr. Bunsen. But now turn to the Nicene Council (Canon VI.) as follows: “*Let the ancient customs prevail in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, so that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these provinces, since the like is customary in Rome also.* Likewise in Antioch and *the other provinces*, let the churches retain their privileges.” Here the Province of Rome is recognised as an *ancient* institution, while its jurisdiction and privileges are equalized with those of other churches. Now, Rufinus, interpreting this canon, says it means, “the ancient custom of Alexandria and Rome shall still be observed; that the one shall have the care or government of the Egyptian, and the other that of the *suburbicary churches*.” Bunsen refers us to Bingham, and from him we learn that *the suburbicary region*, as known to the Roman magistrates, included only “a hundred miles about Rome.”¹¹²⁰ This seems to have been canonically extended even to Sicily on the south, but certainly not to Milan on the north. Suffice it, Hippolytus was one of those *suburbicarian bishops* who sat in the Provincial Council of Rome; without consent of which the Bishop of Rome could not, canonically, do anything of importance, as the canon above cited ordains. Such are the facts necessary to a comprehension of conflicts excited by “the contemporaneous heresy,” here noted.

V.

(Affairs of the Church, p. 125.)

“Zephyrinus *imagines* that he administers the affairs of the Church—an uninformed and shamefully corrupt man.” This word *imagines* is common with Hippolytus in like cases, and Dr. Wordsworth gives an ingenious explanation of this usage. But it seems to me to be based upon the relations of Hippolytus as one of the synod or “presbytery,” without consent of which the bishop could do nothing important. Zephyrinus, on the contrary, *imagined* himself competent to decide as to the orthodoxy of a tenet or of a teacher, without his comprovincials. This, too, relieves our author from the charge of *egotism* when he exults in the defeat of such a bishop.¹¹²¹ He says, it is true, “Callistus threw off Sabellius through fear of *me*,” and we may readily believe that; but he certainly means to give honour to others in the Province when he says, “*We* resisted Zephyrinus and Callistus;” “*We* nearly converted Sabellius;” “All were carried away by the hypocrisy of Callistus, except *ourselves*.” This man cried out to his episcopal brethren, “*Ye* are Ditheists,” apparently in open council. His

1119 Of which we shall learn in vol. viii., this series.

1120 See Bingham, book ix. cap. i. sec. 9.

1121 Wordsworth, chap. viii. p. 93.

council prevailed over him by the wise leadership of Hippolytus, however; and he says of the two guilty bishops, "Never, at any time, *have we been guilty of collusion with them.*" They only *imagined*, therefore, that they were managing the "affairs of the Church." The fidelity of their comprovincials preserved the faith of the Apostles in apostolic Rome.

VI.

(We offered them opposition, p. 125.)

Here we see that Hippolytus had no idea of the sense some put upon the *convenire* of his master Irenæus.¹¹²² It was not "necessary" for them to *conform* their doctrines to that of the *Bishop* of Rome, evidently; nor to "the Church of Rome" as represented by him. To the church which presided over a province, indeed, recourse was to be had by all belonging to that province; but it is our author's grateful testimony, that to the *council of comprovincials*, and not to any one bishop therein, Rome owed its own adhesion to orthodoxy at this crisis.

All this illustrates the position of Tertullian, who never thinks of ascribing to Rome any other jurisdiction than that belonging to other provinces. As seats of testimony, the apostolic sees, indeed, are *all to be honoured*. "In Greece, go to Corinth; in Asia Minor, to Ephesus; if you are adjacent to Italy, you have Rome; whence also (an apostolic) authority is at hand for us in Africa." Such is his view of "contemporaneous affairs."

VII.

(Heraclitus the Obscure, p. 126.)

"Well might he weep," says Tayler Lewis, "as Lucian represents him, over his overflowing universe of perishing phenomena, where *nothing stood*;...nothing was fixed, but, as in a mixture, all things were confounded." He was "the weeping philosopher."

Here let me add Henry Nelson Coleridge's remarks on the Greek seed-plot of those philosophies which were begotten of the Egyptian mysteries, and which our author regards as, in turn, engendering "all heresies," when once their leaders felt, like Simon Magus, a power in the Gospel of which they were jealous, and of which they wished to make use without submitting to its yoke. "Bishop Warburton," says Henry Nelson Coleridge, "discovered, perhaps, more ingenuity than sound judgment in his views of the nature of the Greek mysteries; entertaining a general opinion that their ultimate object was to teach the initiated a pure theism, and to inculcate the certainty and the importance of a future state of rewards and punishments. I am led by the arguments of Villoison and Ste. Croix to doubt

1122 See vol. i. pp. 415, 460, this series.

the accuracy of this.” In short, he supposes a “pure pantheism,” or *Spinosism*, the substance of their teaching.¹¹²³

VIII.

(Imagine themselves to be disciples of Christ, p. 126.)

This and the foregoing chapter offer us a most overwhelming testimony to the independence of councils. In the late “Council of Sacristans” at the Vatican, where truth perished, Pius IX. refused to all the bishops of what he accounted “the Catholic universe” what the seven suburbicarian bishops were able to enforce as a right, in the primitive age, against two successive Bishops of Rome, who were patrons of heresy. These heretical prelates persisted; but the Province remained in communion with the other apostolic provinces, while rejecting all communion with them. All this will help us in studying Cyprian’s treatise *On Unity*, and it justifies his own conduct.

IX.

(The episcopal throne, p. 128.)

The simple primitive *cathedra*,¹¹²⁴ of which we may learn something from the statue of Hippolytus, was, no doubt, “a throne” in the eyes of an ambitious man. Callistus is here charged, by one who knew him and his history, with obtaining this position by knavish words and practices. The question may well arise, in our Christian love for antiquity, How could such things be, even in the age of martyrdoms? Let us recollect, that under the good Bishop Pius, when his brother wrote the *Hermas*, the peril of wealth and love of money began to be imminent at Rome. Tertullian testifies to the lax discipline of that see when he was there. Minucius Felix lets us into the impressions made by the Roman Christians upon surrounding heathen: they were a set of conies burrowing in the earth; a “light-shunning people,” lurking in the catacombs. And yet, while this fact shows plainly that good men were not ambitious to come forth from these places of exile and suffering, and expose themselves needlessly to death, it leads us to comprehend how ambitious men, *studiosi novarum rerum*, could remain above ground, conforming very little to the discipline of Christ, making friends with the world, and yet using their nominal religion on the principle that “gain is godliness.” There were some wealthy Christians; there were others, like Marcia in the palace, sufficiently awakened to perceive their own wickedness, and anxious to do favours to the persecuted flock, by way, perhaps, of compounding for sins not renounced. And

1123 *Introduction to Greek Classics*, p. 228.

1124 See vol. ii. p. 12, also iv. 210.

when we come to the Epistles of Cyprian,¹¹²⁵ we shall see what opportunities were given to desperate men to make themselves a sort of brokers to the Christian community; for selfish ends helping them in times of peril, and rendering themselves, to the less conscientious, a medium for keeping on good terms with the magistrates. Such a character was Callistus, one of “the grievous wolves” foreseen by St. Paul when he exhorted his brethren night and day, with tears, to beware of them. How he made himself Bishop of Rome, the holy Hippolytus sufficiently explains.

X.

(Unskilled in ecclesiastical definitions, p. 128.)

It has been sufficiently demonstrated by the learned Döllinger, than whom a more competent and qualified witness could not be named, that the late pontiff, Pius IX., was in this respect, as a bishop, very much like Callistus. Moreover, his chief adviser and prime minister, Antonelli, was notoriously Callistus over again; standing towards him in the same relations which Callistus bore to Zephyrinus. Yet, by the bull *Ineffabilis*, that pontiff has retrospectively clothed the definitions of Zephyrinus and Callistus with *infallibility*; thus making himself also a partaker in their heresies, and exposing himself to the *anathemas* with which the Catholic councils overwhelmed his predecessor Honorius and others. That at such a crisis the testimony of Hippolytus should come to light, and supply a *reductio ad absurdum* to the late papal definitions, may well excite such a recognition of divine providence as Dr. Bunsen repeatedly suggests.



XI.

(All consented—we did not, p. 128.)

The Edinburgh editor supposes that the use of the plural *we*, in this place, is the official plural of a bishop. It has been already explained, however, that he is speaking of the provincial bishops with whom he withstood Callistus when the *plebs* were carried away by his hypocrisy. In England, bishops in certain cases, are a “corporation sole;” and, as such, the plural is legal phraseology. All bishops, however, use the plural in certain documents, as identifying themselves with the universal episcopate, on the Cyprianic principle—*Episcopatus unus est*, etc.

In [Acts v. 13](#) is a passage which may be somewhat explained, perhaps, by this: “All consented...*we* did not.” The *plebs* joined themselves to the apostles; “but of the rest durst no man join himself to them: howbeit, the *plebs* magnified them, and believers were added,”

1125 See *Treatise on the Lapsed*, *infra*.

etc. “The rest” (τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν) here means the priests, the Pharisees, and Sadducees, the classes who were not the *plebs*, as appears by what immediately follows.¹¹²⁶

XII.

(Our condemnatory sentence, p. 131.)

Again: Hippolytus refers to the action of the *suburbicarian* bishops in provincial council. And here is the place to express dissatisfaction with the apologetic tone of some writers, who seem to think Hippolytus too severe, etc. As if, in dealing with such “wolves in sheep’s clothing,” this faithful leader could show himself a true shepherd without emphasis and words of abhorrence. Hippolytus has left to the Church the impress of his character¹¹²⁷ as “superlatively sweet and amiable.” Such was St. John, the beloved disciple; but he was not less a “son of thunder.” Our Divine Master was “the Lamb,” and “the Lion;” the author of the *Beatitudes*, and the author of those terrific *woes*; the “meek and gentle friend of publicans and sinners,” and the “lash of small cords” upon the backs of those who made His Father’s house a “den of thieves.” Such was Chrysostom, such was Athanasius, such was St. Paul, and such have ever been the noblest of mankind; tender and considerate, gentle and full of compassion; but not less resolute, in the *crises* of history, in withstanding iniquity in the persons of arch-enemies of truth, and setting the brand upon their foreheads. Good men, who hate strife, and love study and quiet, and to be friendly with others; men who never permit themselves to indulge a personal enmity, or to resent a personal affront; men who forgive injuries to the last farthing when they only are concerned,—may yet crucify their natures in withstanding evil when they are protecting Christ’s flock, or fulfilling the command to “contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.” What the Christian Church owes to the loving spirit of Hippolytus in the awful emergencies of his times, protecting the poor sheep, and grappling with wolves for their sake, the Last Day will fully declare. But let us who know nothing of such warfare concede nothing, in judging of his spirit, to the spirit of our unbelieving age, which has no censures except for the defenders of truth:—

“Eternal smiles its emptiness betray,
As shallow streams run dimpling all the way.”

Bon Dieu, bon diable, as the French say, is the creed of the times. Every one who insults the faith of Christians, who betrays truths he was sworn to defend, who washes his hands

1126 Ver. 17.

1127 See p. v. *supra*.

but then gives Christ over to be crucified, must be treated with especial favour. Christ is good: so is Pilate; and Judas must not be censured. My soul be with Hippolytus when the great Judge holds his assize. His eulogy is in the psalm:¹¹²⁸ “Then stood up Phinehas, and executed judgment: and so the plague was stayed. And that was counted unto him for righteousness unto all generations, for evermore.”



XIII.

(As if he had not sinned, p. 131.)

There is an ambiguity in the facts as given in the Edinburgh edition, of which it is hard to relieve the text. The word καθίστασθαι is rendered *to retain* (their places) in the first instance, as if the case were all one with the second instance, where μένειν is justly rendered *to continue*. The second case seems, then, to cover all the ground. What need to speak of men “twice or thrice married,” if a man *once* married, after ordination is not to be retained? The word *retained* is questionable in the first instance; and I have adopted Wordsworth’s reading, *to be enrolled*, which is doubtless the sense.

This statement of our author lends apparent countenance to the antiquity of the “Apostolic Constitutions,” so called. Perhaps Hippolytus really supposed them to be apostolic. By Canon XVII. of that collection, a man twice married, after baptism cannot be “on the sacerdotal list at all.” By Canon XXVI., an unmarried person once admitted to the clergy cannot be permitted to marry. These are the two cases referred to by our author. In the Greek churches this rule holds to this day; and the Council of Nice refused to prohibit the married clergy to live in that holy estate, while allowing the *traditional discipline* which Hippolytus had in view in speaking of a violation of the twenty-sixth *traditional* canon as a sin. As Bingham has remarked, however, canons of discipline may be relaxed when not resting on fundamental and scriptural laws.

XIV.

(Attempt to call themselves a Catholic Church, p. 131.)

The *Callistians*, it seems, became a heretical sect, and yet presumed to call themselves a “Catholic Church.” Yet this sect, while Callistus lived, was in full communion with the Bishop of Rome. Such communion, then, was no test of Catholicity. Observe the enormous crimes of which this *lawless one* was guilty; he seems to antedate the age of Theodora’s popes and Marozia’s, and what Hippolytus would have said of them is not doubtful. It is remarkable that he employed St. Paul’s expression, however, ὁ ἄνομος,¹¹²⁹ “that wicked” or that “lawless

1128 Ps. cvi. 30–31.

1129 2 Thess. ii. 8.

one,” seeing, in such a bishop, what St. Gregory did in another,—“a forerunner of the Anti-christ.”

XV.

(*Callistians*, p. 131.)

Bunsen remarks that Theodoret speaks of this sect¹¹³⁰ under the head of the “Noetians.” Wordsworth quotes as follows: “Callistus *took the lead* in propagating this heresy after Noetus, and *devised certain additions* to the impiety of the doctrine.” In other words, he was not merely a heretic, but himself a *heresiarch*. He gives the whole passage textually,¹¹³¹ and institutes interesting parallelisms between the *Philosophumena* and Theodoret, who used our author, and boldly borrowed from him.

XVI.

(The cause of all things, p. 150.)



When one looks at the infinite variety of opinions, phrases, ideas, and the like, with which the heresies of three centuries threatened to obscure, defile, and destroy the revelations of Holy Scripture, who can but wonder at the miracle of orthodoxy? Note with what fidelity the good fight of faith was maintained, the *depositum* preserved, and the Gospel epitomized at last in the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan definitions, which Professor Shedd, as I have previously noted, declares to be the accepted confession of all the reformed, reputed orthodox, as well as of Greeks and Latins. Let us not be surprised, that, during these conflicts, truth on such mysterious subjects was reflected from good men’s minds with slight variations of expression. Rather behold the *miracle* of their essential agreement, and of their entire harmony in the *Great Symbol*, universally accepted as the testimony of the ante-Nicene witnesses. The Word was Himself the cause of all created things; Himself increate; His eternal generation implied in the eternity of His existence and His distinct personality.

XVII.

(Tartarus, p. 153.)

I am a little surprised at the innocent statement of the learned translator, that “Dr. Wordsworth justifies Hippolytus’ use of this word.” It must have occurred to every student of the Greek Testament that *St. Peter* justifies this use in the passage quoted by Wordsworth, which one would think must be self-suggested to any theologian reading our author’s text.

1130 Bunsen, p. 134; Theodor., tom. iv. pt. i. p. 343, ed. Hal. 1772.

1131 *St. Hippol.*, p. 315.

In short, Hippolytus *quotes* the second Epistle of St. Peter¹¹³² (ii. 4) when he uses this otherwise startling word. Josephus also employs it;¹¹³³ it was familiar to the Jews, and the apostle had no scruple in adopting a word which proves the Gentile world acquainted with a Gehenna as well as a Sheol.

XVIII.

(For Christ is the God, p. 153.)

Dr. Wordsworth justly censures Bunsen for his rendering of this passage,¹¹³⁴ also for manufacturing for Hippolytus a “Confession of Faith” out of his tenth book.¹¹³⁵ I must refer the student to that all-important chapter in Dr. Wordsworth’s work (cap. xi.) on the “Development of Christian Doctrine.” It is masterly, as against Dr. Newman, as well; and the respectful justice which he renders at the same time to Dr. Bunsen is worthy of all admiration. Let it be noted, that, while one must be surprised by the ready command of literary and theological materials which the learned doctor and chevalier brings into instantaneous use for his work, it is hardly less surprising, in spite of all that, that he was willing to throw off his theories and strictures, without any delay, during the confusions of that memorable year 1851, when I had the honour of meeting him among London notabilities. He says to his “dearest friend, Archdeacon Hare, . . . Dr. Tregelles informed me *last week* of the appearance of the work (of Hippolytus). . . I procured a copy in consequence, and perused it *as soon as I could*; and I have already arrived at conclusions which seem to me so evident that I feel no hesitation in expressing them to you at once.” These conclusions were creditable to his *acumen* and learning in general; eminently so. But the theories he had so hastily conceived, in other particulars, crop out in so many crudities of theological caprice, that nobody should try to study his theoretical opinions without the aid of that calm reviewal they have received from Dr. Wordsworth’s ripe and sober scholarship and well-balanced intellect.



1132 ταραρώσας, 2 Pet. ii. 4. A sufficient answer to Dr. Bunsen, vol. iv. p. 33, who says this Epistle was not known to the primitive Church.

1133 See *Speaker’s Comm.*, *ad loc.*

1134 *St. Hippol.*, p. 301, with original text.

1135 Vol. i. p. 141, etc.

General Note.

I avail myself of a little spare space to add, from Michelet's friend, E. Quinet,¹¹³⁶ the passage to which I have made a reference on p. 156. Let me say, however, that Quinet and Michelet are specimens of that intellectual revolt against Roman dogma which is all but universal in Europe in our day, and of which the history of M. Renan is a melancholy exposition. To Quinet, with all his faults, belongs the credit of having more thoroughly understood than any theological writer the absolute revolution created by the Council of Trent; and he justly remarks that the Jesuits showed their address "in making this revolution, *without anywhere speaking of it.*" Hence a dull world has not observed it. Contrasting this pseudo-council with the free councils of antiquity, M. Quinet says: "The Council of Trent has not its roots in all nations; it does not assemble about it the representatives of all nations...*omni plebe adstante*, according to the ancient formula... The East and the North are, almost equally, wanting; and *this is why the king of France refused it the title of a council.*" He quotes noble passages from Bossuet.¹¹³⁷

1136 A translation of Quinet, on *Ultramontanism*, appeared in London in a semi-infidel series, 1845.

1137 See pp. 40, 47.



The Extant Works and Fragments

of

Hippolytus.

[Translated by the Rev. S. D. F. Salmond.]

Part I.—Exegetical.

Fragments from Commentaries on Various Books of Scripture.

On the Hexaëmeron,¹¹³⁸ Or Six Days' Work.

Now these things we are under the necessity of setting forth at length, in order to disprove the supposition of others. For some choose to maintain that paradise is in heaven, and forms no part of the system of creation. But since we see with our eyes the rivers that go forth from it which are open, indeed, even in our day, to the inspection of any who choose, let every one conclude from this that it did not belong to heaven, but was in reality planted in the created system. And, in truth, it is a locality in the east, and a place select.

1138 In John Damasc., *Sacr. Parall.*, *Works*, ii. p. 787. That Hippolytus wrote on the *Hexaëmeron* is noticed by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 22, and by Jerome, Syncellus, Honorius, etc.

On Genesis.¹¹³⁹

Gen. i. 5 And it was evening, and it was morning, one day.

Hippolytus. He did not say¹¹⁴⁰ “night and day,” but “one day,” with reference to the name of the light. He did not say the “first day,” for if he had said the “first” day, he would also have had to say that the “second” day was made. But it was right to speak not of the “first day,” but of “one day,” in order that by saying “one,” he might show that it returns on its orbit and, while it remains one, makes up the week.

Gen. i. 6 And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the water.

Hipp. On the first day God made what He made out of nothing. But on the other days He did not make out of nothing, but out of what He had made on the first day, by moulding it according to His pleasure.

Gen. i. 6, 7. And let it divide between water and water: and it was so. And God made the firmament; and God divided between the water which was under the firmament, and the water above the firmament: and it was so.

Hipp. As the excessive volume of water bore along over the face of the earth, the earth was by reason thereof “invisible” and “formless.” When the Lord of all designed to make the invisible visible, He fixed then a third part of the waters in the midst; and another third part He set by itself on high, raising it together with the firmament by His own power; and the remaining third He left beneath, for the use and benefit of men. Now at¹¹⁴¹ this point we have an asterisk. The words are found in the Hebrew, but do not occur in the Septuagint.

Gen. iii. 8 And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden at even.

Hipp. Rather they discerned the approach of the Lord by a certain breeze. As soon, therefore, as they had sinned, God appeared to them, producing consciousness of their sin, and calling them to repentance.

Gen. xlix. 3 Reuben, my first-born, thou art my strength, and the first of my children; hard to bear with, and hard and self-willed: thou hast waxed wanton as water; boil not over.¹¹⁴²

1139 These fragments are excerpts from a *Commentary on Genesis*, compiled from eighty-eight fathers, which is extant in manuscript in the Vienna library. They are found also in a *Catena* on Matthew, issued at Leipsic in 1772.

1140 i.e., νυχθήμερον.

1141 This must refer, I suppose, to the words, “And it was so.”

1142 μὴ ἐκζέσης.

Aquila. Reuben, my first-born, thou art my strength, and the sum of my sorrow: excelling in dignity and excelling in might: thou hast been insensate as water; excel not.¹¹⁴³

Symmachus. Reuben, my first-born, and beginning of my¹¹⁴⁴ pain: above measure grasping, and above measure hot as water, thou shalt not more excel.¹¹⁴⁵

Hipp. For there was a great display of strength made by God in behalf of His first-born people from Egypt. For in very many ways was the land of the Egyptians chastised. That first people of the circumcision is meant by “my strength, and the first of my children:” even as God gave the promise to Abraham and to his seed. But “hard to bear with,” because the people hardened itself against the obedience of God. And “hard, self-willed,” because it was not only hard against the obedience of God, but also self-willed so as to set upon the Lord. “Thou hast waxed wanton,” because in the instance of our Lord Jesus Christ the people waxed wanton against the Father. But “boil not over,” says the Spirit, by way of comfort, that it might not, by boiling utterly over, be spilt abroad,—giving it hope of salvation. For what has boiled over and been spilt is lost.

[Gen. xlix. 4](#) For thou wentest up to thy father’s bed.

Hipp. First he mentions the event,—that in the last days the people will assault the bed of the Father, that is, the bride,¹¹⁴⁶ the Church, with intent to corrupt her; which thing, indeed, it does even at this present day, assaulting her by blasphemies.

[Gen. xlix. 5](#). Simeon and Levi, brethren.

Hipp. Since from Simeon sprang the scribes, and from Levi the priests. For the scribes and priests fulfilled iniquity¹¹⁴⁷ of their own choice, and with one mind they slew the Lord.

[Gen. xlix. 5](#) Simeon and Levi, brethren, fulfilled iniquity of their own choice. Into their counsel let not my soul enter, and in their assembly let not my heart contend; for in their anger they slew men, and in their passion they houghed a bull.

Hipp. This he says regarding the conspiracy into which they were to enter against the Lord. And that he means this conspiracy, is evident to us. For the blessed David sings, “Rulers have taken counsel together against the Lord,”¹¹⁴⁸ and so forth. And of this conspiracy the Spirit prophesied, saying, “Let not my soul contend,” desiring to draw them off, if possible, so that that future crime might not happen through them. “They slew men, and

1143 μὴ περισσευῆς .

1144 “My” (μου) is wanting in Origen’s *Hexapla*.

1145 οὐκ ἔσῃ περισσότερος.

1146 [He makes the curse of Reuben applicable to the Church’s truth and purity.]

1147 ἐξαίρέσεως αὐτῶν, “of set purpose.”

1148 [Ps. ii. 2](#).

houghed the bull;” by the “strong bull” he means Christ. And “they houghed,” since, when He was suspended on the tree, they pierced through His sinews. Again, “in their anger they houghed a bull.” And mark the nicety of the expression: for “they slew men, and houghed a bull.” For they killed the saints, and they remain dead, awaiting the time of the resurrection. But as a young bull, so to speak, when houghed, sinks down to the ground, such was Christ in submitting voluntarily to the death of the flesh; but He was not overcome of death. But though as man He became one of the dead, He remained alive in the nature of divinity. For Christ is the bull,—an animal, above all, strong and neat and devoted to sacred use. And the Son is Lord of all power, who did no sin, but rather offered Himself for us, a savour of a sweet smell to His God and Father. Therefore let those hear who houghed this august bull: “Cursed be their anger, for it was stubborn; and their wrath, for it was hardened.”¹¹⁴⁹ But this people of the Jews dared to boast of houghing the bull: “Our hands shed this.”¹¹⁵⁰ For this is nothing different, I think, from the word of folly: “His blood” (be upon us), and so forth.¹¹⁵¹ Moses recalls¹¹⁵² the curse against Levi, or, rather converts it into a blessing, on account of the subsequent zeal of the tribe, and of Phinehas in particular, in behalf of God. But that against Simeon he did not recall. Wherefore it also was fulfilled in deed.¹¹⁵³ For Simeon did not obtain an inheritance like the other tribes, for he dwelt in the midst of Judah. Yet his tribe was preserved, although it was small in number.¹¹⁵⁴

[Gen. xlix. 11](#) Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass’s colt to the choice vine,—the tendril of the vine,—he will wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grape.

Hipp. By the “foal” he means the calling of the Gentiles; by the other, that of the circumcision: “one ass,” moreover, that is to signify that the two colts are of one faith; in other words, the two callings. And one colt is bound to the “vine,” and the other to the “vine tendril,” which means that the Church of the Gentiles is bound to the Lord, but he who is of the circumcision to the oldness of the law. “He will wash his garment in wine;” that is, by the Holy Spirit and the word of truth, he will cleanse the flesh, which is meant by the garment. And “in the blood of the grape,” trodden and giving forth blood, which means the flesh of the Lord, he cleanses the whole calling of the Gentiles.



¹¹⁴⁹ [Gen. xlix. 7.](#)

¹¹⁵⁰ After “this” (τοῦτο) the word “blood” (τὸ αἷμα) seems to have been dropped.

¹¹⁵¹ [Matt. xxvii. 25.](#)

¹¹⁵² [Deut. xxxiii. 8.](#)

¹¹⁵³ [By the sin of Annas and Caiaphas, with others, the tribe of Levi became *formally* subject to this curse again, and with Simeon (absorbed into Judah) inherited it. But compare [Acts iv. 36](#) and [vi. 7.](#)]

¹¹⁵⁴ [[Luke ii. 25.](#)]

[Gen. xlix. 12–15](#) His eyes are gladsome with wine, and his teeth white as milk. Zabulun shall dwell by the sea, and he shall be by a haven of ships, and he shall extend to Sidon. Issachar desired the good part, resting in the midst of the lots. And seeing that rest was good, and that the land was fat, he set his shoulder to toil, and became a husbandman.

Hipp. That is, his eyes are brilliant as with the word of truth; for they regard all who believe upon him. And his teeth are white as milk;—that denotes the luminous power of his words: for this reason he calls them white, and compares them to milk, as that which nourishes the flesh and the soul. And Zabulun is, by interpretation, “*fragrance*” and “*blessing*.”

Then, after something from Cyril:—

Hipp. Again, I think, it mystically signifies the¹¹⁵⁵ sacraments of the New Testament of our Saviour; and the words, “his teeth are white as milk,” denote the excellency and purity of the sacramental food. And again, these words, “his teeth are white as milk,” we take in the sense that His words give light to those who believe on Him.

And in saying, moreover, that Zabulun will dwell by the sea, he speaks prophetically of his territory as bordering on the sea, and of Israel as mingling with the Gentiles, the two nations being brought as it were into one flock. And this is manifest in the Gospel. “The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephtholim,” etc. And you will mark more fully the richness of his lot as having both inland territory and seaboard.

“And he is by a haven of ships;” that is, as in a safe anchorage, referring to Christ, the anchor of hope. And this denotes the calling of the Gentiles—that the grace of Christ shall go forth to the whole earth and sea. For he says, “And (he is) by a haven of ships, and shall extend as far as Sidon.” And that this is said prophetically of the Church of the Gentiles, is made apparent to us in the Gospel: “The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephtholim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light.”¹¹⁵⁶ In saying, then, that he, namely Zabulun, would inhabit a territory bordering on the sea, he plainly confirmed that, just as if he had said that in the future Israel would mingle with the Gentiles, the two peoples being brought together into one fold and under the hand of one chief Shepherd, the good (Shepherd) by nature, that is, Christ. In blessing him Moses said, “Zabulun shall rejoice.”¹¹⁵⁷ And Moses prophesies, that in the allocation of the land he should have abundance ministered of the good things both of land and sea, under the hand of One. “By a haven of ships;” that is, as in an anchorage that proves safe, referring to Christ, the anchor of hope. For by His grace he shall come forth out of many a tempest, and shall be brought hereafter to land, like ships secure in harbours. Besides, he said that “he extends as far even as Sidon,” indicating, as it seems, that so complete a

1155 τὰ μυστήρια.

1156 [Matt. iv. 15, 16.](#)

1157 [Deut. xxxiii. 18.](#)

unity will be effected in the spirit's course between the two peoples, that those of the blood of Israel shall occupy those very cities which once were exceeding guilty in the sight of God.¹¹⁵⁸

After something from Cyril:—

Hipp. And “that the land was fat;” that is, the flesh of our Lord: “fat,” that is, “rich;” for it flows with honey and milk. The parts of the land are marked off for an inheritance and possession to him—that means the doctrine of the Lord. For this is a pleasant rest, as He says Himself: “Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden,”¹¹⁵⁹ etc. For they who keep the commandments, and do not disclaim the ordinances of the law, enjoy rest both in them and in the doctrine of our Lord; and that is the meaning of “in the midst of the lots.” As the Lord says, “I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them.”¹¹⁶⁰ For even our Lord, in the fact that He keeps the commandments, does not destroy the law and the prophets, but fulfils them, as He says in the Gospels. “He set his shoulder to toil, and became a husbandman.” This the apostles did. Having received power from God, and having set themselves to labour, they became husbandmen of the Lord, cultivating the earth—that is, the human race—with the preaching of our Lord.

[Gen. xlix. 16–20](#) Dan shall judge his people, as himself also one tribe in Israel. And let Dan become a serpent by the way, lying on the path, stinging the horse's heel; and the horseman shall fall backward, waiting for the salvation of the Lord. Gad—a robber's troop shall rob him; and he shall spoil it¹¹⁶¹ at the heels. Aser—his bread shall be fat, and he shall furnish dainties to princes.

After something from Cyril, Apollinaris, and Diodorus:—

Hipp. The Lord is represented to us as a horseman; and the “heel” points us to the “last times.” And His “falling” denotes His death; as it is written in the Gospel: “Behold, this (child) is set for the fall and rising again of many.”¹¹⁶² We take the “robber” to be the traitor. Nor was there any other traitor to the Lord save the (Jewish) people. “Shall rob him,” i.e., shall plot against him. At the heels: that refers to the help of the Lord against those who lie in wait against Him. And again, the words “at the heels” denote that the Lord will take vengeance swiftly. He shall be well armed in the foot¹¹⁶³ (heel), and shall overtake and rob the robber's troop.



1158 [In thus spiritualizing, the Fathers do not deny a literal sense also, as in “Aser,” p. 166, *infra*; only they think that geography, history, etc., should pay tribute to a higher meaning.]

1159 [Matt. xi. 28.](#)

1160 [Matt. v. 17.](#)

1161 κατὰ πόδας, “quickly,” “following close.”

1162 [Luke ii. 34.](#)

1163 [An important hint that by “heel,” in [Gen. iii. 15](#), the “foot” is understood, by rhetorical figure.]

Aquila. “Girded, he shall gird himself;” that means that as a man of arms and war he shall arm himself. “And he shall be armed in the heel:” he means this rather, that Gad shall follow behind his brethren in arms. For though his lot was beyond Jordan, yet they (the men of that tribe) were enjoined to follow their brethren in arms until they too got their lots. Or perhaps he meant this, that Gad’s tribesmen were to live in the manner of robbers, and that he was to take up a confederacy of freebooters, which is just a “robber’s troop,” and to follow them, practising piracy, which is robbery, along with them.

Whereas, on the abolition of the shadow in the law, and the introduction of the worship in spirit and truth, the world had need of greater light, at last, with this object, the inspired disciples were called, and put in possession of the lot of the teachers of the law. For thus did God speak with regard to the mother of the Jews—that is to say, Jerusalem—by the voice of the Psalmist: “Instead of thy fathers were thy sons;”¹¹⁶⁴ that is, to those called thy sons was given the position of fathers. And with regard to our Lord Jesus Christ in particular: “Thou wilt appoint them rulers over all the earth.” Yet presently their authority will not be by any means void of trouble to them. Nay rather, they were to experience unnumbered ills and they were to be in perplexity; and the course of their apostleship they were by no means to find free of peril, as he intimated indeed by way of an example, when he said, “Let (Dan) be,” meaning by that, that there shall be a multitude of persecutors in Dan like a “serpent lying by the way on the path, stinging the horse’s heel,” i.e., giving fierce and dangerous bites; for the bites of snakes are generally very dangerous. And they were “in the heel” in particular, for “he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.”¹¹⁶⁵ And some did persecute the holy apostles in this way even to the death of the flesh. And thus we may say that their position was something like that when a horse stumbles and flings out his heels. For in such a case the horseman will be thrown, and, falling to the ground, I suppose, he waits¹¹⁶⁶ thus for some one alive. And thus, too, the inspired apostles survive and wait for the time of their redemption, when they shall be called into a kingdom which cannot be moved, when Christ addresses them with the word, “Come, ye blessed of my Father,”¹¹⁶⁷ etc.

And again, if any one will take the words as meaning, not that there will be some lying in wait against Dan like serpents, but that this Dan himself lies in wait against others, we may say that those meant thereby are the scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites who, while in possession of the power of judgment and instruction among the people, fastened like snakes

1164 Ps. xlv. 17 (English, xlv. 16).

1165 Gen. iii 15. [The rhetoric here puts the heel for the foot to emphasize the other part of the prophecy, i.e., the wounded heel coming down on the biter’s head.]

1166 περιμένει τὸν ζῶντα.

1167 Matt. xxv. 34.

upon Christ, and strove impiously to compass His fall, vexing Him with their stings as He held on in His lofty and gentle course. But if that horseman did indeed fall, He fell at least of His own will, voluntarily enduring the death of the flesh. And, moreover, it was destined that He should come to life again, having the Father as His helper and conductor. For the Son, being the power of God the Father, endued the temple of His own body again with life. Thus is He said to have been saved by the Father, as He stood in peril as a man, though by nature He is God, and Himself maintains the whole creation, visible and invisible, in a state of wellbeing. In this sense, also, the inspired Paul says of Him: “Though He was crucified in weakness, yet He liveth by the power of God.”¹¹⁶⁸

Aser obtained the parts about Ptolemais and Sidon. Wherefore he says, “His bread shall be fat, and he shall furnish dainties to princes.” This we take to be a figure of our calling; for “fat” means “rich.” And whose bread is rich, if not ours? For the Lord is our bread, as He says Himself: “I am the bread of life.”¹¹⁶⁹ And who else will furnish dainties to princes but our Lord Jesus Christ?—not only to the believing among the Gentiles, but also to those of the circumcision, who are first in the faith, to wit, to the fathers, and the patriarchs, and the prophets, and to all who believe in His name and passion.

Gen. xlix. 21–26 Nephthalim is a slender¹¹⁷⁰ thing, showing beauty in the shoot. Joseph is a goodly son; my goodly, envied son; my youngest son. Turn back to me. Against him the archers took counsel together, and reviled him, and pressed him sore. And their bows were broken with might, and the sinews of the arms of their hands were relaxed by the hand of the Mighty One of Jacob. Thence is he who strengthened Israel from the God of thy father. And my God helped thee, and blessed thee with the blessing of heaven above, and with the blessing of the earth which possesseth all things, with the blessing of the breasts and womb, with the blessing of thy father and thy mother. It prevailed above the blessings of abiding mountains, and above the blessings of everlasting hills; which (blessings) shall be upon the head of Joseph, and upon the temples of his brothers, whose chief he was.

Hipp. Who is the son goodly and envied, even to this day, but our Lord Jesus Christ? An object of envy is He indeed to those who choose to hate Him, yet He is not by any means to be overcome. For though He endured the cross, yet as God He returned to life, having trampled upon death, as His God and Father addresses Him, and says, “Sit Thou at my right hand.”¹¹⁷¹ And that even those are brought to nought who strive with the utmost possible madness against Him, he has taught us, when he says, “Against Him the archers took counsel together, and reviled Him.” For the “archers”—that is, the leaders of the people—did

1168 [2 Cor. xiii. 4.](#)

1169 [John vi. 35.](#)

1170 στέλεχος ἀνειμένον.

1171 [Ps. cx. 1.](#)

convene their assemblies, and take bitter counsel. “But their bows were broken, and the sinews of their arms were relaxed, by the hand of the Mighty One of Jacob,” that is to say, by God the Father, who is the Lord of power, who also made His Son blessed in heaven and on earth. And he (Naphtali) is adopted as a figure of things pertaining to us, as the Gospel shows: “The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan,”¹¹⁷² etc.; and, “To them that sat in darkness light has arisen.”¹¹⁷³ And what other light was this but the calling of the Gentiles, which is the trunk, i.e., the tree of the Lord, in whom engrafted it bears fruit? And the word, “giving increase of beauty in the case of the shoot,” expresses the excellency of our calling. And if the words, “giving increase of beauty in the case of the shoot,” are understood, as perhaps they may, with reference to us, the clause is still quite intelligible. For, by progressing in virtue, and attaining to better things, “reaching forth to those things which are before,”¹¹⁷⁴ according to the word of the blessed Paul, we rise ever to the higher beauty. I mean, however, of course, spiritual beauty, so that to us too it may be said hereafter, “The King greatly desired thy beauty.”¹¹⁷⁵

After something from Apollinaris:—

Hipp. The word of prophecy passes again to Immanuel Himself. For, in my opinion, what is intended by it is just what has been already stated in the words, “giving increase of beauty in the case of the shoot.” For he means that He increased and grew up into that which He had been from the beginning, and indicates the return to the glory which He had by nature.¹¹⁷⁶ This, if we apprehend it correctly, is (we should say) just “restored” to Him. For¹¹⁷⁷ as the only begotten Word of God, being God of God,¹¹⁷⁸ emptied Himself, according to the Scriptures, humbling Himself of His own will to that which He was not before, and took unto Himself this vile flesh, and appeared¹¹⁷⁹ in the “form of a servant,” and “became obedient to God the Father, even unto death,” so hereafter He is said to be “highly exalted;” and as if well-nigh He had it not by reason of His humanity, and as if it were in the way of grace, He “receives the name which is above every name,”¹¹⁸⁰ according to the word of the

1172 [Matt. iv. 15.](#)

1173 [Matt. iv. 17.](#)

1174 [Phil. iii. 15.](#)

1175 [Ps. xlv. 11.](#)

1176 The text is τοῦτο πάντως κατάγεται ὁρθῶς ἔχειν ὑπειλημμένον.

1177 This passage, down to the word “inseparably,” was transcribed by Isaac Vossius at Rome, and first edited by Grabe in the *Annotations to Bull’s Defens. fid. Nic.*, p. 103.

1178 “God of God,” Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ. Hippolytus uses here the exact phrase of the Nicene Council. So, too, in his *Contra Noetum*, chap. x., he has the exact phrase, “light of light” (φῶς ἐκ φωτός). [See my concluding remarks (note 9) on the last chapters of the *Philosophumena*, p. 153, *supra*.]

1179 The words from “and appeared” down to “so hereafter” are given by Grebe, but omitted in Fabricius.

1180 [Phil. ii. 7–9.](#)

blessed Paul. But the matter, in truth, was not a “giving,” as for the first time, of what He had not by nature; far otherwise. But rather we must understand a return and restoration to that which existed in Him at the beginning, essentially and inseparably. And it is for this reason that, when He had assumed, by divine arrangement,¹¹⁸¹ the lowly estate of humanity, He said, “Father, glorify me with the glory which I had,”¹¹⁸² etc. For He who was co-existent with His Father before all time, and before the foundation of the world, always had the glory proper to Godhead. “He” too may very well be understood as the “youngest (son).” For He appeared in the last times, after the glorious and honourable company of the holy prophets, and simply once, after all those who, previous to the time of His sojourn, were reckoned in the number of sons by reason of excellence. That Immanuel, however, was an “object of envy,”¹¹⁸³ is a somewhat doubtful phrase. Yet He is an “object of envy” or “emulation” to the saints, who aspire to follow His footsteps, and conform themselves to His divine beauty, and make Him the pattern of their conduct, and win thereby their highest glory. And again, He is an “object of envy” in another sense,—an “object of ill-will,” namely, to those who are declared not to love Him. I refer to the leading parties among the Jews,—the scribes, in sooth, and the Pharisees,—who travailed with bitter envy against Him, and made the glory of which He could not be spoiled the ground of their slander, and assailed Him in many ways. For Christ indeed raised the dead to life again, when they already stank and were corrupt; and He displayed other signs of divinity. And these should have filled them with wonder, and have made them ready to believe, and to doubt no longer. Yet this was not the case with them; but they were consumed with ill-will, and nursed its bitter pangs in their mind.

After something from Cyril:—

Hipp. Who else is this than as is shown us by the apostle, “the second man, the Lord from heaven?”¹¹⁸⁴ And in the Gospel,¹¹⁸⁵ He said that he who did the will of the Father was “the last.”¹¹⁸⁶ And by the words, “Turn back to me,” is meant His ascension to His Father in heaven after His passion. And in the phrase, “Against Him they took counsel together, and reviled Him,” who are intended but just the people in their opposition to our

1181 οἰκονομικῶς.

1182 [John xvii. 5.](#)

1183 ζηλωτός.

1184 [1 Cor. xv. 47.](#)

1185 [Matt. xxi. 31.](#)

1186 ὁ ἔσχατος. Several manuscripts and versions and Fathers read ἔσχατος with Hippolytus instead of πρῶτος. Jerome *in loc.* remarks on the fact, and observes that with that reading the interpretation would be quite intelligible; the sense then being, that “the Jews understand the truth indeed, but evade it, and refuse to acknowledge what they perceive.” Wetstein, in his *New Test.*, i. p. 467, also cites this reading, and adds the conjecture,

Lord? And as to the words, “they pressed Him sore,” who pressed Him, and to this day still press Him sore? Those—these “archers,” namely—who think to contend against the Lord. But though they prevailed to put Him to death, yet “their bows were broken with might.” This plainly means, that “after the resurrection” their bows were broken with might. And those intended are the leaders of the people, who set themselves in array against Him, and, as it were, sharpened the points of their weapons. But they failed to transfix Him, though they did what was unlawful, and dared to assail Him even in the manner of wild beasts.

“Thou didst prevail above the blessings of abiding mountains.” By “eternal and abiding mountains and everlasting hills,” he means the saints, because they are lifted above the earth, and make no account of the things that perish, but seek the things that are above, and aspire earnestly to rise to the highest virtues. After the glory of Christ, therefore, are those of the Fathers who were most illustrious, and reached the greatest elevation in virtue. These, however, were but servants; but the Lord, the Son, supplied them with the means by which they became illustrious. Wherefore also they acknowledge (the truth of this word), “Out of His fulness have all we received.”¹¹⁸⁷

“And my God helped thee.” This indicates clearly that the aid and support of the Son came from no one else but our God and Father in heaven. And by the word “my God,” is meant that the Spirit speaks by Jacob.¹¹⁸⁸

Euseb. “The sinews of the arms.” He could not say, of “the hands” or “shoulders;” but since the broad central parts of the bow are termed “arms,” he says appropriately “arms.”

Hipp. “Blessings of the breasts and womb.” By this is meant that the true blessing from heaven is the Spirit descending through the Word upon flesh. And by “breasts and womb” he means the blessings of the Virgin. And by that of “thy father and thy mother,”¹¹⁸⁹ he means also the blessing of the Father which we have received in the Church through our Lord Jesus Christ.

that “some, remembering what is said in [Matt. xx. 16](#), viz., ‘the last shall be first,’ thought that the ‘publican’ would be called more properly ‘the last,’ and that then some one carried out this emendation so far as to transpose the replies too.”

1187 [John i. 16](#).

1188 [Gen. xlviii. 3, 4](#).

1189 Grabe adduces another fragment of the comments of Hippolytus on this passage, found in some leaves deciphered at Rome. It is to this effect: Plainly and evidently the generation of the Only-begotten, which is at once from God the Father, and through the holy Virgin, is signified, even as He is believed and manifested to be a man. For being by nature and in truth the Son of God the Father, on our account He submitted to birth by woman and the womb, and sucked the breast. For He did not, as some fancy, become man only in appearance, but He manifested Himself as in reality that which we are who follow the laws of nature, and supported Himself by food, though Himself giving life to the world.

Gen. xlix. 27 “Benjamin is a ravening wolf; in the morning he shall devour still, and till evening he apportions food.”

Hipp. This thoroughly suits Paul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin. For when he was young, he was a ravening wolf; but when he believed, he “apportioned” food. This also is shown us by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the tribe of Benjamin is among the first persecutors, which is the sense of “in the morning.” For Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, persecuted David, who was appointed to be a type of the Lord.

II.

From the Commentary of the Holy Hippolytus of Rome Upon Genesis.¹¹⁹⁰

[Gen. ii. 7](#) “And God formed man of the dust of the ground.” And what does this import? Are we to say, according to the opinion of some, that there were three men made, one spiritual, one animal, and one earthy? Not such is the case, but the whole narrative is of one man. For the word, “Let us make,” is about the man that was to be; and then comes the word, “God made man of the dust of the ground,” so that the narrative is of one and the same man. For then He says, “Let him be made,” and now He “makes him,” and the narrative tells “how” He makes him.

1190 From the Second Book of the *Res Sacrae* of Leontius and Joannes, in Mai, *Script. vet.*, vii. p. 84.

III.

Quoted in Jerome, Epist. 36, *ad Damasum*, Num. xviii. (from Galland).

¹¹⁹¹Isaac conveys a figure of God the Father; Rebecca of the Holy Spirit; Esau of the first people and the devil; Jacob of the Church, or of Christ. That Isaac was *old*, points to the end of the world; that his eyes were dim, denotes that faith had perished from the world, and that the light of religion was neglected before him; that the elder son is called, expresses the Jews' possession of the law; that the father loves his meat and venison, denotes the saving of men from error, whom every righteous man seeks to gain (lit. *hunt for*) by doctrine. The word of God here is the promise anew of the blessing and the hope of a kingdom to come, in which the saints shall reign with Christ, and keep the true Sabbath. Rebecca is full of the Holy Spirit, as understanding the word which she heard before she gave birth, "For the elder shall serve the younger."¹¹⁹² As a figure of the Holy Spirit, moreover, she cares for Jacob in preference. She says to her younger son, "Go to the flock and fetch me two kids,"¹¹⁹³ prefiguring the Saviour's advent in the flesh to work a mighty deliverance for them who were held liable to the punishment of sin; for indeed in all the Scriptures kids are taken for emblems of sinners. His being charged to bring "two," denotes the reception of two peoples: by the "tender and good," are meant teachable and innocent souls. The robe or raiment of Esau denotes the faith and Scriptures of the Hebrews, with which the people of the Gentiles were endowed. The skins which were put upon his arms are the sins of both peoples, which Christ, when His hands were stretched forth on the cross, fastened to it along with Himself. In that Isaac asks of Jacob why he came so soon,¹¹⁹⁴ we take him as admiring the quick faith of them that believe. That savoury meats are offered, denotes an offering pleasing to God, the salvation of sinners. After the eating follows the blessing, and he delights in his smell. He announces with clear voice the perfection of the resurrection and the kingdom, and also how his brethren who believe in Israel adore him and serve him. Because iniquity is opposed to righteousness, Esau is excited to strife, and meditates death deceitfully, saying in his heart, "Let the days of the mourning for my father come on, and I will slay my brother Jacob."¹¹⁹⁵ The devil, who previously exhibited the fratricidal Jews by anticipation in Cain, makes the

1191 Jerome introduces this citation from the Commentary of Hippolytus on Genesis in these terms: "Since, then, we promised to add what that (concerning Isaac and Rebecca, [Gen. xxvii.](#)) signifies figuratively, we may adduce the words of the martyr Hippolytus, with whom our Victorinus very much agrees: not that he has made out everything quite fully, but that he may give the reader the means for a broader understanding of the passage."

1192 [Gen. xxv. 23.](#)

1193 [Gen. xxvii. 9.](#)

1194 [Gen. xxvii. 20.](#)

1195 [Gen. xxvii. 41.](#)

most manifest disclosure of them now in Esau, showing also the time of the murder: “Let the days,” says he, “of the mourning for my father come on, that I may slay my brother.” Wherefore Rebecca—that is, patience—told her husband of the brother’s plot: who, summoning Jacob, bade him go to Mesopotamia and thence take a wife of the family of Laban the Syrian, his mother’s brother. As therefore Jacob, to escape his brother’s evil designs, proceeds to Mesopotamia, so Christ, too, constrained by the unbelief of the Jews, goes into Galilee, to take from thence to Himself a bride from the Gentiles, His Church.

On Numbers. By the Holy Bishop and Martyr Hippolytus, from *Balaam's Blessings*.¹¹⁹⁶

Now, in order that He might be shown to have together in Himself at once the nature of God and that of man,—as the apostle, too, says: “Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.”¹¹⁹⁷ Now a mediator is not of one man,¹¹⁹⁸ but two,”¹¹⁹⁹—it was therefore necessary that Christ, in becoming the Mediator between God and men, should receive from both an earnest of some kind, that He might appear as the Mediator between two distinct persons.

1196 In Leontius Byzant., book i. *Against Nestorius and Eutyches* (from Galland). The same fragment is found in Mai, *Script. vet.*, vii. p. 134. [Galiand was a French Orientalist, a.d. 1646–1715.]

1197 [1 Tim. ii. 5.](#)

1198 This word “man” agrees ill, not only with the text in Galatians, but even with the meaning of the writer here; for he is treating, not of a mediator between “two” men, but between “God and men.”—Migne.

1199 [Gal. iii. 20.](#)

On Kings.¹²⁰⁰

The question is raised, whether Samuel rose by the hand of the sorceress or not. And if, indeed, we were to allow that he did rise, we should be propounding what is false. For how could a demon call back the soul, I say not of a righteous man merely, but of any one whatever, when it had gone, and was tarrying one knew not where? But he says, how then was the woman dismayed, and how did she see in an extraordinary way men ascending? For if her vision had not been of an extraordinary kind, she would not have said, "I see gods¹²⁰¹ ascending out of the earth." She invoked one, and how did there ascend many? What then? Shall we say that the souls of all who appeared ascended, and those, too, not invoked by the woman,¹²⁰² or that what was seen was merely phantasms of them? Even this, however, will not suffice. How, he urges further, did Saul recognise (what appeared), and do obeisance? Well, Saul did not actually see, but only, on being told by the woman that the figure of one of those who ascended was the figure he desired, and taking it to be Samuel, he consulted it as such, and did it obeisance. And it could be no difficult matter for the demon to conjure up the form of Samuel, as it was known to him. How then, says he, did he foretell the calamities that were to befall Saul and Jonathan at the same time? He did foretell indeed the end of the war, and how Saul would be overcome, drawing that as an inference from the wrath of God against him. Just as a physician, who has no exact knowledge of the science, might yet, seeing a patient past cure, tell of his death, though he made an error as to the hour, so, too, the demon, knowing the wrath of God by Saul's deeds, and by this very attempt to consult the sorceress, foretells his defeat and his death at the same time, though in error as to the day of his death.

170

1200 A fragment from the tractate of Hippolytus, *On the Sorceress (ventriloquist)*, or *On Saul and the Witch*, 1 Sam. xxviii. From the Vatican ms. cccxxx, in Allat., *De Engastr.*, edited by Simon, in the *Acts of the Martyrs of Ostia*, p. 160, Rome, 1795.

1201 [Rather "god," the plural of excellence, Elohim.]

1202 [This passage is the scandal of commentators. As I read it, *the Lord interfered*, surprising the woman and horrifying her. The soul of the prophet came back from Sheol, and prophesied by the power of God. Our author misunderstands the Hebrew plural.]

On the Psalms. The Argument Prefixed by Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, to His *Exposition of the Psalms*.¹²⁰³

The book of Psalms contains new doctrine after the law of Moses. And after the writing of Moses, it is the second book of doctrine. Now, after the death of Moses and Joshua, and after the judges, arose David, who was deemed worthy of bearing the name of father of the Saviour himself; and he first gave to the Hebrews a new style of psalmody, by which he abrogates the ordinances established by Moses with respect to sacrifices, and introduces the new hymn and a new style of jubilant praise in the worship of God; and throughout his whole ministry he teaches very many other things that went beyond the law of Moses.¹²⁰⁴

1203 From Gallandi.

1204 [i.e., Samuel prepares for the Christian era, introducing the “schools of the prophets,” and the synagogue service, which God raised up David to complete, by furnishing the Psalter. Compare [Acts iii. 24](#), where Samuel’s position in the “goodly fellowship” is marked. See Payne Smith’s *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*.]

On [Psalm II](#).¹²⁰⁵ From the Exposition of the Second Psalm, by the Holy Bishop Hippolytus.

When he came into the world, He was manifested as God and man. And it is easy to perceive the man in Him, when He hungers and shows exhaustion, and is weary and athirst, and withdraws in fear, and is in prayer and in grief, and sleeps on a boat's pillow, and entreats the removal of the cup of suffering, and sweats in an agony, and is strengthened by an angel, and betrayed by a Judas, and mocked by Caiaphas, and set at nought by Herod, and scourged by Pilate, and derided by the soldiers, and nailed to the tree by the Jews, and with a cry commits His spirit to His Father, and drops His head and gives up the ghost, and has His side pierced with a spear, and is wrapped in linen and laid in a tomb, and is raised by the Father on the third day. And the divine in Him, on the other hand, is equally manifest, when He is worshipped by angels, and seen by shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and testified of by Anna, and inquired after by wise men, and pointed out by a star, and at a marriage makes wine of water, and chides the sea when tossed by the violence of winds, and walks upon the deep, and makes one see who was blind from birth, and raises Lazarus when dead for four days, and works many wonders, and forgives sins, and grants power to His disciples.

1205 i.e., in our version the third. From Theodoret, Dialogue Second, entitled 'Ασύγχυτος, p. 167.

On [Psalm XXII. Or XXIII.](#) From the Commentary by the Holy Bishop and Martyr Hippolytus, on “The Lord is My Shepherd.”¹²⁰⁶

And, moreover, the ark made of imperishable wood was the Saviour Himself. For by this was signified the imperishable and incorruptible tabernacle of (the Lord) Himself, which gendered no corruption of sin. For the sinner, indeed, makes this confession: “My wounds stank, and were corrupt, because of my foolishness.”¹²⁰⁷ But the Lord was without sin, made of imperishable wood, as regards His humanity; that is, of the virgin and the Holy Ghost inwardly, and outwardly of the word of God, like an ark overlaid with purest gold.

1206 Theodoret, in his First Dialogue.

1207 [Ps. xxxviii. 6.](#)

On [Psalm XXIII. Or XXIV](#). From the Commentary by the Same, on [Ps. xxiii](#).¹²⁰⁸

He comes to the heavenly gates: angels accompany Him: and the gates of heaven were closed. For He has not yet ascended into heaven. Now first does He appear to the powers of heaven as flesh ascending. Therefore to these powers it is said by the angels, who are the couriers of the Saviour and Lord: "Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be lifted up, ye everlasting doors: and the King of glory shall come in."¹²⁰⁹

1208 Theodoret, in his First Dialogue.

1209 [Ps. xxiv. 7](#).

On [Psalm CIX. Or CX.](#) From the Commentary by the Same on the Great Song.¹²¹⁰

1. He who delivered from the lowest hell the man first made of earth, when lost and bound by the chains of death; He who came down from above, and exalted earth-born man on high; He who is become the preacher of the Gospel to the dead, the redeemer of souls, and the resurrection of the buried;—He became the helper of man in his defeat, and appeared in his likeness, the first-born Word, and took upon Himself the first Adam in the Virgin; and though spiritual Himself, He made acquaintance with the earthy in the womb; though Himself the ever-living One, He made acquaintance with the dead in transgressions; Himself the heavenly One, He bore the terrestrial on high; Himself of lofty extraction, He chose, by His own subjection, to set the slave free; and making man, who turns to dust, and forms food for the serpent, unconquerable as adamant, and that, too, when hung upon the tree, He declared him lord over his victor, and is thus Himself proved conqueror by the tree.

2. Those, indeed, who do not acknowledge the incarnate Son of God now, shall have to acknowledge Him as Judge, when He who is now despised in His inglorious body, comes in His glory.

3. And when the apostles came to the sepulchre on the third day, they did not find the body of Jesus; just as the children of Israel went up the mount to seek the tomb of Moses, and did not find it.



¹²¹⁰ Theodoret, in his Second Dialogue.

On Psalm LXXVII. Or LXXVIII.¹²¹¹

45. He sent the dog-fly among them, and consumed them; and the frog, and destroyed them.

46. He gave also their fruits to the mildew, and their labours to the locust.

47. He destroyed their vine with hail, and their sycamines with frost.

Now, just as, in consequence of an irregular mode of living, a deadly bilious humour may be formed in the inwards, which the physician by his art may bring on to be a sick-vomiting, without being himself chargeable with producing the sick humour in the man's body; for excess in diet was what produced it, while the physician's science only made it show itself; so, although it may be said that the painful retribution that falls upon those who are by choice wicked comes from God, it would be only in accordance with right reason, to think that ills of that kind find both their beginnings and their causes in ourselves. For to one who lives without sin there is no darkness, no worm, no hell (Gehenna), no fire, nor any other of these words or things of terror; just as the plagues of Egypt were not for the Hebrews,—those fine lice annoying with invisible bites, the dog-fly fastening on the body with its painful sting, the hurricanes from heaven falling upon them with hailstones, the husbandman's labours devoured by the locusts, the darkened sky, and the rest. It is God's counsel, indeed, to tend the true vine, and to destroy the Egyptian, while sparing those who are to "eat the grape of gall, and drink the deadly venom of asps."¹²¹² And the sycamine of Egypt is utterly destroyed; not, however, that one which Zaccheus climbed that he might be able to see my Lord. And the fruits of Egypt are wasted, that is, the works of the flesh, but not the fruit of the Spirit, love, joy, and peace.¹²¹³

48. He gave up their cattle also to the hail, and their substance to the fire.

Symmachus renders it: "Who gave up their cattle to the plague, and their possessions to birds." For, having met an overwhelming overthrow, they became a prey for carnivorous birds. But, according to the Seventy, the sense is not that the hail destroyed their cattle, and the fire the rest of their substance, but that hail, falling in an extraordinary manner along with fire, destroyed utterly their vines and sycamines first of all, which were entirely unable to stand out against the first attack; then the cattle which grazed on the plains; and then every herb and tree, which the fire accompanying the hail consumed; and the affair was altogether portentous, as fire ran with the water, and was commingled with it. "For fire ran in the hail," he says; and it was thus hail, and fire burning in the hail. David also calls the cattle and the fruit of the trees "substance," or "riches." And it should be observed that, though the hail is recorded to have destroyed every herb and every tree, yet there were left

1211 Bandini, *Catalog. Codd. Græc. Biblioth. Mediceo-Laurent.*, i. p. 91.

1212 *Deut. xxxii. 33.*

1213 *Gal. v. 22.*

some which the locust, as it came upon them after the fiery hail, consumed; of which it is said, that it eats up every herb, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail left behind it. Now, in a spiritual sense, there are some sheep belonging to Christ, and others belonging to the Egyptians. Those, however, which once belonged to others may become His, as the sheep of Laban became Jacob's; and contrariwise. Whichever of the sheep, moreover, Jacob rejected, he made over to Esau. Beware, then, lest, being found in the flock of Jesus, you be set apart when gifts are sent to Esau, and be given over to Esau as reprobate and unworthy of the spiritual Jacob. The single-minded are the sheep of Christ, and these God saves according to the word: "O Lord, Thou preservest man and beast."¹²¹⁴ They who in their folly attach themselves to godless doctrine, are the sheep of the Egyptians, and these, too, are destroyed by the hail. And whatsoever the Egyptians possess is given over to the fire, but Abraham's substance is given to Isaac.

49. He discharged upon them the wrath of His anger;—anger, and wrath, and tribulation, a visitation by evil angels.

Under anger, wrath, and tribulation, he intended bitter punishments; for God is without passion. And by anger you will understand the lesser penalties, and by wrath the greater, and by tribulation the greatest.¹²¹⁵ The angels also are called evil, not because they are so in their nature, or by their own will, but because they have this office, and are appointed to produce pains and sufferings,—being so called, therefore, with reference to the disposition of those who endure such things; just as the day of judgment is called the evil day, as being laden with miseries and pains for sinners. To the same effect is the word of Isaiah, "I, the Lord, make peace, and create evil;"¹²¹⁶ meaning by that, I maintain peace, and permit war.



1214 [Ps. xxxvi. 6.](#)

1215 Theodoret also, following Hippolytus, understood by "evil angels" here, not "demons," but the ministers of temporal punishment. See on [Ps. lxxviii. 54](#), and on [Jer. xlix. 14](#). So, too, others, as may be seen in *Poli Synops.*, ii. col. 1113.

1216 [Isa. xlv. 7.](#)

On Proverbs. From the Commentary of St. Hippolytus on Proverbs.¹²¹⁷

Proverbs, therefore, are words of exhortation serviceable for the whole path of life; for to those who seek their way to God, these serve as guides and signs to revive them when wearied with the length of the road. These, moreover, are the proverbs of “Solomon,” that is to say, the “peacemaker,” who, in truth, is Christ the Saviour. And since we understand the words of the Lord without offence, as being the words of the Lord, that no one may mislead us by likeness of name, he tells us who wrote these things, and of what people he was king, in order that the credit of the speaker may make the discourse acceptable and the hearers attentive; for they are the words of that Solomon to whom the Lord said: “I will give thee a wise and an understanding heart; so that there has been none like thee upon the earth, and after thee there shall not arise any like unto thee,”¹²¹⁸ and as follows in what is written of him. Now he was the wise son of a wise father; wherefore there is added the name of David, by whom Solomon was begotten. From a child he was instructed in the sacred Scriptures, and obtained his dominion not by lot, nor by force, but by the judgment of the Spirit and the decree of God.

“To know wisdom and instruction.” He who knows the wisdom of God, receives from Him also instruction, and learns by it the mysteries of the Word; and they who know the true heavenly wisdom will easily understand the words of these mysteries. Wherefore he says: “To understand the difficulties of words;”¹²¹⁹ for things spoken in strange language by the Holy Spirit become intelligible to those who have their hearts right with God.

¹²²⁰These things he understands of the people of the Jews, and their guilt in the blood of Christ; for they thought that He had His conversation (citizenship) on earth only.

¹²²¹They will not simply obtain, but inherit. The wicked, again, even though they are exalted, are exalted only so as to have greater dishonour. For as one does not honour an ugly and misshapen fellow, if he exalts him, but only dishonours him the more, by making his shame manifest to a larger number; so also God exalts the wicked, in order that He may make their disgrace patent. For Pharaoh was exalted, but only to have the world as his accuser.

¹²²²It must be noted, that he names the law a good gift, on account of the man who takes gifts into his bosom unrighteously. And he forsakes the law who transgresses it; the law, namely, of which he speaks, or which he has kept.

1217 Mai, *Bibliotheca nova Patrum*, vii. ii. 71, Rome, 1854.

1218 1 Kings iii. 12.

1219 Prov. i. 3.

1220 Ch. i. 11.

1221 Ch. iii. 35.

1222 Prov. iv. 2.

¹²²³And what is meant by “exalt (fortify) her?” Surround her with holy thoughts; for you have need of large defence, since there are many things to imperil such a possession. But if it is in our power to fortify her, and if there are virtues in our power which exalt the knowledge of God, these will be her bulwarks,—as, for example, practice, study, and the whole chain of other virtues; and the man who observes these, honours wisdom; and the reward is, to be exalted to be with her, and to be embraced by her in the chamber of heaven.

¹²²⁴The heterodox are the “wicked,” and the transgressors of the law are “evil men,” whose “ways”—that is to say, their deeds—he bids us not enter.

¹²²⁵He “looks right on” who has thoughts free of passion; and he has true judgments, who is not in a state of excitement about external appearances. When he says, “Let thine eyes look right on,” he means the vision of the soul; and when he gives the exhortation, “Eat honey, my son, that it may be sweet to thy palate,” he uses “honey” figuratively, meaning divine doctrine, which restores the spiritual knowledge of the soul. But wisdom embraces the soul also; for, says he, “love her, that she may embrace thee.” And the soul, by her embrace being made one with wisdom, is filled with holiness and purity. Yea more, the fragrant ointments of Christ are laid hold of by the soul’s sense of smell.

¹²²⁶Virtue occupies the middle position; whence also he says, that manly courage is the mean between boldness and cowardice. And now he mentions the “right,” not meaning thereby things which are right by nature, such as the virtues, but things which seem to thee to be right on account of their pleasures. Now pleasures are not simply sensual enjoyments, but also riches and luxury. And the “left” indicates envy, robberies, and the like. For “Boreas,” says he, “is a bitter wind, and yet is called by name right.”¹²²⁷ For, symbolically, under Boreas he designates the wicked devil by whom every flame of evil is kindled in the earth. And this has the name “right,” because an angel is called by a right (propitious) name. Do thou, says he, turn aside from evil, and God will take care of thine end; for He will go before thee, scattering thine enemies, that thou mayest go in peace.

¹²²⁸He shows also, by the mention of the creature (the hind), the purity of that pleasure; and by the roe he intimates the quick responsive affection of the wife. And whereas he knows many things to excite, he secures them against these, and puts upon them the indissoluble bond of affection, setting constancy before them. And as for the rest, wisdom, figuratively speaking, like a stag, can repel and crush the snaky doctrines of the heterodox. Let her

1223 [Ch. iv. 8.](#)

1224 [Ch. iv. 14.](#)

1225 [Ch. iv. 25.](#)

1226 [Ch. iv. 27.](#)

1227 This is the Septuagint translation of [ch. xxvii. 16.](#)

1228 [Prov. v. 19.](#)

therefore, says he, be with thee, like a roe, to keep all virtue fresh. And whereas a wife and wisdom are not in this respect the same, let her rather lead thee; for thus thou shalt conceive good thoughts.

¹²²⁹That thou mayest not say, What harm is there in the eyes, when there is no necessity that he should be perverted who looks? he shows thee that desire is a fire, and the flesh is like a garment. The latter is an easy prey, and the former is a tyrant. And when anything harmful is not only taken within, but also held fast, it will not go forth again until it has made an exit for itself. For he who looks upon a woman, even though he escape the temptation, does not come away pure of all lust. And why should one have trouble, if he can be chaste and free of trouble? See what Job says: "I made a covenant with mine eyes, that I should not think of another's wife."¹²³⁰ Thus well does he know the power of abuse. And Paul for this reason kept "under his body, and brought it into subjection." And, figuratively speaking, he keeps a fire in his breast who permits an impure thought to dwell in his heart. And he walks upon coals who, by sinning in act, destroys his own soul.

The "cemphus"¹²³¹ is a kind of wild sea-bird, which has so immoderate an impulse to sexual enjoyment, that its eyes seem to fill with blood in coition; and it often blindly falls into snares, or into the hands of men.¹²³² To this, therefore, he compares the man who gives himself up to the harlot on account of his immoderate lust; or else on account of the insensate folly of the creature, for he, too, pursues his object like one senseless. And they say that this bird is so much pleased with foam, that if one should hold foam in his hand as he sails, it will sit upon his hand. And it also brings forth with pain.

¹²³³You have seen her mischief. Wait not to admit the rising of lust; for her death is everlasting. And for the rest, by her words, her arguments in sooth, she wounds, and by her sins she kills those who yield to her. For many are the forms of wickedness that lead the foolish down to hell. And the chambers¹²³⁴ of death mean either its depths or its treasure. How, then, is escape possible?

1229 Ch. vi. 27.

1230 Job xxxi. 1.

1231 Prov. vii. 22. The Hebrew word, rendered "straightway" in our version, is translated *κεπρωθείς* in the Septuagint, i.e., "ensnared like a cepphus." [*Quasi agnus lasciviens*, according to the Vulgate.]

1232 [If the "cemphus" of the text equals "cepphus" of note, then "cepphus" equals "cebus" or "cepus," which equals *κῆβος*, a sort of monkey. The "Kophim" of 1 Kings x. 22 seems to supply the root of the word. The *κέπφος*, however, is said to be a sea-bird "driven about by every wind," so that it is equal to a fool. So used by Aristophanes.]

1233 Prov. vii. 26.

1234 *ταμεῖα*, "magazines."

¹²³⁵He intends the new Jerusalem, or the sanctified flesh. By the seven pillars he means the sevenfold unity of the Holy Spirit resting upon it; as Isaiah testifies, saying, “She has slain” her “victims.”

¹²³⁶Observe that the wise man must be useful to many; so that he who is useful only to himself cannot be wise. For great is the condemnation of wisdom if she reserves her power simply for the one possessing her. But as poison is not injurious to another body, but only to that one which takes it, so also the man who turns out wicked will injure himself, and not another. For no man of real virtue is injured by a wicked man.

¹²³⁷The fruit of righteousness and the tree of life is Christ. He alone, as man, fulfilled all righteousness. And with His own underived life¹²³⁸ He has brought forth the fruits of knowledge and virtue like a tree, whereof they that eat shall receive eternal life, and shall enjoy the tree of life in paradise, with Adam and all the righteous. But the souls of the unrighteous meet an untimely expulsion from the presence of God, by whom they shall be left to remain in the flame of torment.

¹²³⁹Not from men, but with the Lord, will he obtain favour.

¹²⁴⁰He asks of wisdom, who seeks to know what is the will of God. And he will show himself prudent who is sparing of his words on that which he has come to learn. If one inquires about wisdom, desiring to learn something about wisdom, while another asks nothing of wisdom, as not only wishing to learn nothing about wisdom himself, but even keeping back his neighbours from so doing, the former certainly is deemed to be more prudent than the latter.

¹²⁴¹As to the horse-leech. There were three daughters fondly loved by sin—fornication, murder,¹²⁴² and idolatry. These three did not satisfy her, for she is not to be satisfied. In destroying man by these actions, sin never varies, but only grows continually. For the fourth, he continues, is never content to say “enough,” meaning that it is universal lust. In naming the “fourth,” he intends lust in the universal. For as the body is one, and yet has many members; so also sin, being one, contains within it many various lusts by which it lays its snares for men. Wherefore, in order to teach us this, he uses the examples of Sheol (Hades), and the love of women, and hell¹²⁴³ (Tartarus), and the earth that is not filled with water.

1235 [Ch. ix. 1.](#)

1236 [Ch. ix. 12.](#)

1237 [Ch. xi. 30.](#)

1238 ὡς αὐτοζωή.

1239 [Ch. xii. 2.](#)

1240 [Ch. xvii. 27.](#)

1241 [Ch. xxx. 15.](#)

1242 Other reading (φθόνος) = “envy.”

1243 [The place of torment ([2 Pet. ii. 4.](#)) Vol. iv. 140.]

And water and fire, indeed, will never say, "It is enough." And the grave¹²⁴⁴ (Hades) in no wise ceases to receive the souls of unrighteous men; nor does the love of sin, in the instance of the love of women, cease to be given to fornication, and it becomes the betrayer of the soul. And as Tartarus, which is situated in a doleful and dark locality, is not touched by a ray of light, so is every one who is the slave of sin in all the passions of the flesh. Like the earth not filled with water he is never able to come to confession, and to the laver of regeneration, and like water and fire, never says, "It is enough."

¹²⁴⁵For as a serpent cannot mark its track upon a rock, so the devil could not find sin in the body of Christ. For the Lord says, "Behold, the prince of this world cometh, and will find nothing in me."¹²⁴⁶—For as a ship, sailing in the sea, leaves no traces of her way behind her, so neither does the Church, which is situate in the world as in a sea, leave her hope upon the earth, because she has her life reserved in heaven; and as she holds her way here only for a short time, it is not possible to trace out her course.—As the Church does not leave her hope behind in the world, her hope in the incarnation of Christ which bears us all good, she did not leave the track of death in Hades.—Of whom but of Him who is born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin?—who, in renewing the perfect man in the world, works miracles, beginning from the baptism of John, as the Evangelist also testifies: And Jesus was then beginning to be about thirty years of age. This, then, was the youthful and blooming period of the age of Him who, in journeying among the cities and districts, healed the diseases and infirmities of men.

¹²⁴⁷"The eye that mocketh at his father, and dishonours the old age of his mother." That is to say, one that blasphemes God and despises the mother of Christ, the wisdom of God,—his eyes may ravens from the caves tear out, i.e., him may unclean and wicked spirits deprive of the clear eye of gladness; and may the young eagles devour him: and such shall be trodden under the feet of the saints.

¹²⁴⁸"There be three things which I cannot understand, and the fourth I know not: the tracks of an eagle flying," i.e., Christ's ascension; "and the ways of a serpent upon a rock," i.e., that the devil did not find a trace of sin in the body of Christ; "and the ways of a ship crossing the sea," i.e., the ways of the Church, which is in this life as in a sea, and which is directed by her hope in Christ through the cross; "and the ways of a man in youth,"¹²⁴⁹—the

1244 [Sheol, rather,—the receptacle of departed spirits. See vol. iii. pp. 59 and 595; also vol. iv. p. 194.]

1245 [Prov. xxx. 19.](#)

1246 [John xiv. 30.](#)

1247 [Ch. xxx. 17.](#)

1248 [Prov. xxx. 18, 19.](#)

1249 [The Authorized Version reads very differently; but our author follows the Sept., with which agrees the Vulgate.]

ways of Him, namely, who is born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. For behold, says the Scripture, a man whose name is the Rising.¹²⁵⁰

¹²⁵¹“Such is the way of an adulterous woman, who, when she has done the deed of sin, wipeth herself, and will say that no wickedness has been done.” Such is the conduct of the Church that believes on Christ, when, after committing fornication with idols, she renounces these and the devil, and is cleansed of her sins and receives forgiveness, and then asserts that she has done no wickedness.

¹²⁵²“By three things the earth is moved,” viz., by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. “And the fourth it cannot bear,” viz., the last appearing of Christ. “When a servant reigneth:” Israel was a slave in Egypt, and in the land of promise became a ruler. “And a fool when he is filled with meat:” i.e., getting the land in possession readily, and eating its fruit, and being filled, it (the people) kicked. “And a handmaid when she casts out her mistress:” i.e., the synagogue which took the life of the Lord, and crucified the flesh of Christ.

¹²⁵³“There be four things which are least upon the earth, and these are wiser than the wise: The ants have no strength, yet they prepare their meat in the summer.” And in like manner, the Gentiles by faith in Christ prepare for themselves eternal life through good works. “And the conies,¹²⁵⁴ a feeble folk, have made their houses in the rocks.” The Gentiles, that is to say, are built upon Christ, the spiritual rock, which is become the head of the corner. “The spider,¹²⁵⁵ that supports itself upon its hands, and is easily caught, dwells in the strongholds of kings.” That is, the thief with his hands extended (on the cross), rests on the cross of Christ and dwells in Paradise, the stronghold of the three Kings—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

“The locust has no king, and yet marches out in array as by one command.” The Gentiles had no king, for they were ruled by sin; but now, believing God, they engage in the heavenly warfare.

¹²⁵⁶“There be three things which go well,¹²⁵⁷ and the fourth which is comely in going;” that is, the angels in heaven, the saints upon earth, and the souls of the righteous under the earth. And the fourth, viz. God, the Word Incarnate, passed in honour through the Virgin’s

1250 The reference probably is to [Zech. vi. 12](#), where the word is rendered “Branch.” The word in the text is ἀνατολή.

1251 [Ch. xxx. 20](#).

1252 [Ch. xxx. 21–23](#).

1253 [Ch. xxx. 24–28](#).

1254 χοιρογρύλλοι, i.e., “grunting hogs.”

1255 ἀσκαλαβώτης, i.e., a “lizard.”

1256 [Prov. xxx. 29](#), etc. [As in Vulgate.]

1257 [Prov. xxx. 29](#), etc. [As in Vulgate.]

womb; and creating our Adam anew, he passed through the gates of heaven, and became the first-fruits of the resurrection and of the ascension for all.

“The whelp of the lion is stronger than the beasts:” i.e., Christ as prophesied of by Jacob in the person of Judah. “A cock walking with high spirit among his dames:” such was Paul, when preaching boldly among the churches the word of the Christ of God. “A goat heading the herd:” such is He who was offered for the sins of the world. “And a king speaking among the people:” so Christ reigns over the nations, and speaks by prophets and apostles the word of truth.

¹²⁵⁸That is one confirmed in wickedness.¹²⁵⁹ The apostle, too, says, “Them that sin, rebuke before all;”¹²⁶⁰ that is to say, all but reprobate. Who are meant by the “conies,”¹²⁶¹ but we ourselves, who once were like hogs, walking in all the filthiness of the world; but now, believing in Christ, we build our houses upon the holy flesh of Christ as upon a rock?

¹²⁶²The shaking (of the earth) signifies the change of things upon earth.—Sin, then, which in its own nature is a slave, has reigned in the mortal body of men: once, indeed, at the time of the flood; and again in the time of the Sodomites, who, not satisfied with what the land yielded, offered violence to strangers; and a third time in the case of hateful Egypt, which, though it obtained in Joseph a man who distributed food to all, that they might not perish of famine, yet did not take well with his prosperity, but persecuted the children of Israel. “The handmaid casting out her mistress:” i.e., the Church of the Gentiles, which, though itself a slave and a stranger to the promises, cast out the free-born and lordly synagogue, and became the wife and bride of Christ. By Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the whole earth is moved. The “fourth it cannot bear:” for He came first by lawgivers, and secondly by prophets, and thirdly by the Gospel, manifesting Himself openly; and in the fourth instance He shall come as the Judge of the living and the dead, whose glory the whole creation will not be able to endure.

1258 Cf. [xxvii. 22](#), the Septuagint rendering being: “Though thou shouldest disgrace and scourge a fool in the midst of the council, thou wilt not strip him of his folly.” [What version did our author use?]

1259 Cf. [xxvii. 22](#), the Septuagint rendering being: “Though thou shouldest disgrace and scourge a fool in the midst of the council, thou wilt not strip him of his folly.” [What version did our author use?]

1260 [1 Tim. v. 30](#).

1261 Literally, “grunting hogs.”

1262 [Ch. xxx. 21](#), etc. [As to version, see Burgon, *Lett. from Rome*, p. 34.]

Another Fragment.¹²⁶³ St. Hippolytus¹²⁶⁴ on [Prov. ix. 1](#), "Wisdom Hath Buildded Her House."

Christ, he means, the wisdom and power of God the Father, hath buildded His house, i.e., His nature in the flesh derived from the Virgin, even as he (John) hath said beforetime, "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us."¹²⁶⁵ As likewise the wise prophet¹²⁶⁶ testifies: Wisdom that was before the world, and is the source of life, the infinite "Wisdom of God, hath buildded her house" by a mother who knew no man,—to wit, as He assumed the temple of the body. "And hath raised¹²⁶⁷ her seven pillars;" that is, the fragrant grace of the all-holy Spirit, as Isaiah says: "And the seven spirits of God shall rest upon Him."¹²⁶⁸ But others say that the seven pillars are the seven divine orders which sustain the creation by His holy and inspired teaching; to wit, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the hierarchs, the hermits, the saints, and the righteous. And the phrase, "She hath killed her beasts," denotes the prophets and martyrs who in every city and country are slain like sheep every day by the unbelieving, in behalf of the truth, and cry aloud, "For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we were counted as sheep for the slaughter."¹²⁶⁹ And again, "She hath mingled her wine" in the bowl, by which is meant, that the Saviour, uniting his Godhead, like pure wine, with the flesh in the Virgin, was born of her at once God and man without confusion of the one in the other. "And she hath furnished her table:" that denotes the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity; it also refers to His honoured and undefiled body and blood, which day by day are administered and offered sacrificially at the spiritual divine table, as a memorial of that first and ever-memorable table of the spiritual divine supper. And again, "She hath sent forth her servants:" Wisdom, that is to say, has done so—Christ, to wit—summoning them with lofty announcement. "Whoso is simple, Let him turn to me," she says, alluding manifestly to the holy apostles, who traversed the whole world, and called the nations to the knowledge of Him in truth, with their lofty and divine preaching. And again, "And to those that want understanding she said"—that is, to those who have not yet obtained the power of the Holy Ghost—"Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have



1263 From Gallandi.

1264 [I omit here the suffix "Pope of Rome," for obvious reasons. He was *papa* of Portus at a time when all bishops were so called but this is a misleading absurdity, borrowed from the Galland ms., where it could hardly have been placed earlier. A mere mediaeval blunder.]

1265 [John i. 14](#).

1266 i.e., Solomon.

1267 Other reading, "hewn out."

1268 [Isa. xi. 2](#).

1269 [Ps. xlv. 2](#); [Rom. viii. 36](#).

mingled for you;" by which is meant, that He gave His divine flesh and honoured blood to us, to eat and to drink it for the remission of sins.

On the Song of Songs.¹²⁷⁰

1. Arise, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out ([Canticles iv. 16](#)). As Joseph was delighted with these spices, he is designated the King's son by God; as the Virgin Mary was anointed with them, she conceived the Word: then new secrets, and new truth, and a new kingdom, and also great and inexplicable mysteries, are made manifest.

2. And where is all this rich knowledge? and where are these mysteries? and where are the books? For the only ones extant are Proverbs, and Wisdom, and Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. What then? Does the Scripture speak falsely? God forbid. But the matter of his writings was various, as is shown in the phrase "Song of Songs;" for that indicates that in this one book he digested the contents of the 5,000 songs.¹²⁷¹ In the days moreover of Hezekiah, there were some of the books selected for use, and others set aside. Whence the Scripture says, "These are the mixed¹²⁷² Proverbs of Solomon, which the friends of Hezekiah the king copied out."¹²⁷³ And whence did they take them, but out of the books containing the 3,000 parables and the 5,000 songs? Out of these, then, the wise friends of Hezekiah took those portions which bore upon the edification of the Church. And the books of Solomon on the "Parables" and "Songs," in which he wrote of the physiology of plants, and all kinds of animals belonging to the dry land, and the air, and the sea, and of the cures of disease, Hezekiah did away with, because the people looked to these for the remedies for their diseases, and neglected to seek their healing from God.¹²⁷⁴

1270 Simon de Magistris, in his *Acta Martyr. Ostiens.*, p. 274 adduces the following fragment in Latin and Syriac, from a Vatican codex, and prefaces it with these words: Hippolytus wrote on the Song of Solomon, and showed that thus early did God the Word seek His pleasure in the Church gathered from among the Gentiles, and especially in His most holy mother the Virgin; and thus the Syrians, who boasted that the Virgin was born among them, translated the Commentary of Hippolytus at a very early period from the Greek into their own tongue, of which some fragments still remain,—as, for example, one to this effect on the above words.

1271 [1 Kings iv. 32](#).

1272 ἀδιάκριτοι, "mixed," or "dark."

1273 [Prov. xxv. 1](#).

1274 In Gallandi, from *Anastasius Sinaita*, quæst. 41, p. 320.

On the Prophet Isaiah.¹²⁷⁵

I.

Hippolytus, (Bishop) of Rome on Hezekiah.¹²⁷⁶

When Hezekiah, king of Judah, was still sick and weeping, there came an angel, and said to him: "I have seen thy tears, and I have heard thy voice. Behold, I add unto thy time fifteen years. And this shall be a sign to thee from the Lord: Behold, I turn back the shadow of the degrees of the house of thy father, by which the sun has gone down, the ten degrees by which the shadow has gone down,"¹²⁷⁷ so that day be a day of thirty-two hours. For when the sun had run its course to the tenth hour, it returned again. And again, when Joshua the son of Nun was fighting against the Amorites, when the sun was now inclining to its setting, and the battle was being pressed closely, Joshua, being anxious lest the heathen host should escape on the descent of night, cried out, saying, "Sun, stand thou still in Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon,"¹²⁷⁸ until I vanquish this people. And the sun stood still, and the moon, in their places, so that day was one of twenty-four hours. And in the time of Hezekiah the moon also turned back along with the sun, that there might be no collision between the two elemental bodies, by their bearing against each other in defiance of law. And Merodach the Chaldean, king of Babylon, being struck with amazement at that time—for he studied the science of astrology, and measured the courses of these bodies carefully—on learning the cause, sent a letter and gifts to Hezekiah, just as also the wise men from the east did to Christ.

1275 In Gallandi, from a codex of the Coislin Library, [Num. 193](#), fol. 36.

1276 [Here we have the blunder (noted *supra*, p. 175) repeated as to Rome, which must be here taken as meaning the *Roman Province*, not the See. The word "Bishop," which avoids the ambiguity above noted, I have therefore put into parenthesis.]

1277 [Isa. xxxviii. 5, 7, 8.](#)

1278 [Josh. x. 12.](#)

II.

From the Discourse of St. Hippolytus on the beginning of Isaiah.¹²⁷⁹

Under Egypt he meant the world, and under things made with hands its idolatry, and under the shaking its subversion and dissolution.¹²⁸⁰ And the Lord, the Word, he represented as upon a light cloud, referring to that most pure tabernacle, in which setting up His throne, our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world to shake error.

1279 [Theodoret, in his First Dialogue.]

1280 The text is evidently corrupt: Κύριον δὲ τὸν Λόγον, νεφέλῃν δὲ κούφην τὸ καθαρώτατον σκῆνος, etc. The reference must be to [ch. xix. 1.](#)

III.

We find in the commentaries, written by our predecessors, that day had thirty-two hours. For when the sun had run its course, and reached the tenth hour, and the shadow had gone down by the ten degrees in the house of the temple, the sun turned back again by the ten degrees, according to the word of the Lord, and there were thus twenty hours. And again, the sun accomplished its own proper course, according to the common law, and reached its setting. And thus there were thirty-two hours.¹²⁸¹



¹²⁸¹ Hippolytus wrote on Isaiah with the view of making the most of the favourable disposition entertained by the Emperor Alexander Severus towards the Christians, and particularly on that part where the retrogression of the sun is recorded as a sign of an extension of life to Hezekiah.

On Jeremiah and Ezekiel.¹²⁸²

What were the dimensions, then, of the temple of Solomon? Its length was sixty cubits, and its breadth twenty. And it was not turned to the east, that the worshippers might not worship the rising sun, but the Lord of the sun. And let no one marvel if, when the Scripture gives the length at forty cubits, I have said sixty. For a little after it mentions the other twenty, in describing the holy of holies, which it also names Dabir. Thus the holy place was forty cubits, and the holy of holies other twenty. And Josephus says that the temple had two storeys,¹²⁸³ and that the whole height was one hundred and twenty cubits. For so also the book of Chronicles indicates, saying, “And Solomon began to build the house of God. In length its first measure was sixty cubits, and its breadth twenty cubits, and its height one hundred and twenty; and he overlaid it within with pure gold.”¹²⁸⁴

1282 That Hippolytus wrote on Jeremiah is recorded, so far as I know, by none of the ancients; for the quotation given in the *Catena* of Greek fathers on [Jer. xvii. 11](#) is taken from his book *On Antichrist*, chap. lv. Rufinus mentions that Hippolytus wrote on a certain part of the prophet Ezekiel, viz., on those chapters which contain the description of the temple of Jerusalem; and of that commentary the following fragments are preserved.—*De Magistris*.

1283 διόροφον.

1284 [2 Chron. iii. 1, 3, 4.](#)

On Daniel.

I.

Preface by the most holy Hippolytus, (Bishop) of Rome.¹²⁸⁵

As I wish to give an accurate account of the times of the captivity of the children of Israel in Babylon, and to discuss the prophecies contained in the visions of the blessed Daniel, (as well as) his manner of life from his boyhood in Babylon, I too shall proceed to bear my testimony to that holy and righteous man, a prophet and witness of Christ, who not only declared the visions of Nebuchadnezzar the king in those times, but also trained youths of like mind with himself, and raised up faithful witnesses in the world. He is born, then, in the time of the prophetic ministry of the blessed Jeremiah, and in the reign of Jehoiakim or Eliakim. Along with the other captives, he is carried off a prisoner to Babylon. Now there are born to the blessed Josiah these five sons—Jehoahaz, Eliakim, Johanan, Zedekiah, or Jeconiah, and Sadum.¹²⁸⁶ And on his father's death, Jehoahaz is anointed as king by the people at the age of twenty-three years. Against him comes up Pharaoh-Necho, in the third month of his reign; and he takes him (Jehoahaz) prisoner, and carries him into Egypt, and imposes tribute on the land to the extent of one hundred talents of silver and ten talents of gold. And in his stead he sets up his brother Eliakim as king over the land, whose name also he changed to Jehoiakim, and who was then eleven years old. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,¹²⁸⁷ and carries him off prisoner to Babylon, taking with him also some of the vessels of the house in Jerusalem. Thrown into prison as a friend of Pharaoh, and as one set up by him over the kingdom,¹²⁸⁸ he is released at length in the thirty-seventh year by Evil-Merodach king of Babylon; and he cut his hair short, and was counsellor to him, and ate at his table until the day that he died. On his removal, his son Jehoiakim¹²⁸⁹ reigns three years.¹²⁹⁰ And against him came up Nebuchadnezzar, and transports him and ten thousand of the men of his people to Babylon, and sets up in his stead his father's brother, whose name he changed also to Zedekiah; and after making agreement with him by oath and treaty, he returns to Babylon. This (Zedekiah), after a reign of eleven years, revolted from him and went over to Pharaoh king of Egypt. And in the tenth

1285 Simon de Magistris, *Daniel secundum Septuaginta*, from the *Codex Chisianus*, Rome, 1772; and Mai, *Script. vet. collectio nova*, i. iii. ed. 1831, pp. 29–56.

1286 Shallum. See [1 Chron. iii. 15](#).

1287 [2 Kings xxiv. 10](#).

1288 [2 Kings xxv. 27](#). Note the confusion between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin in what follows.

1289 i.e., Jehoiachin.

1290 Others τριμήνιον = three months.

year Nebuchadnezzar came against him from the land of the Chaldeans, and surrounded the city with a stockade, and environed it all round, and completely shut it up. In this way the larger number of them perished by famine, and others perished by the sword, and some were taken prisoners, and the city was burned with fire, and the temple and the wall were destroyed. And the army of the Chaldeans seized all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and all the vessels of gold and silver; and all the brass, Nebuzaradan, chief of the slaughterers,¹²⁹¹ stripped off, and carried it to Babylon. And the army of the Chaldeans pursued Zedekiah himself as he fled by night along with seven hundred men, and surprised him in Jericho, and brought him to the king of Babylon at Reblatha. And the king pronounced judgment upon him in wrath, because he had violated the oath of the Lord, and the agreement he had made with him; and he slew his sons before his face, and put out Zedekiah's eyes. And he cast him into chains of iron, and carried him to Babylon; and there he remained grinding at the mill until the day of his death. And when he died, they took his body and cast it behind the wall of Nineveh. In his case is fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, saying, "(As) I live, saith the Lord, though Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim king of Judah should become the signet upon my right hand, yet will I pluck thee thence; and I will give thee into the hands of them that seek thy life, of them whose face thou fearest, even into the hands of the Chaldeans. And I will cast thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into a country where thou wast not born; and there ye shall die. But to the land which they desire in their souls, I will not send thee back. Dishonoured is Jeconias, like an unserviceable vessel, of which there is no use, since he is cast out and expelled into a land which he knew not. O earth, hear the word of the Lord. Write this man, a man excommunicate; for no man of his seed shall prosper (grow up), sitting upon the throne of David, ruling any more in Judah."¹²⁹² Thus the captivity in Babylon befell them after the exodus from Egypt. When the whole people, then, was transported, and the city made desolate. and the sanctuary destroyed, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which He spake by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, saying, "The sanctuary shall be desolate seventy years;"¹²⁹³ then we find that the blessed Daniel prophesied in Babylon, and appeared as the vindicator of Susanna.



1291 ἀρχιμάγειρος, "chief cook."

1292 [Jer. xxii. 24](#), etc.

1293 [Jer. xxv. 11](#).

II.

The interpretation by Hippolytus, (bishop) of Rome, of the visions of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar, taken in conjunction.¹²⁹⁴

1. In speaking of a “lioness from the sea,”¹²⁹⁵ he meant the rising of the kingdom of Babylon, and that this was the “golden head of the image.” And in speaking of its “eagle wings,” he meant that king Nebuchadnezzar was exalted and that his glory was lifted up against God. Then he says “its wings were plucked off,” i.e., that his glory was destroyed; for he was driven out of his kingdom. And the words, “A man’s heart was given it, and it was made stand upon the feet of a man,” mean that he came to himself again, and recognised that he was but a man, and gave the glory to God. Then after the lioness he sees a second beast, “like a bear,” which signified the Persians. For after the Babylonians the Persians obtained the power. And in saying that “it had three ribs in its mouth,” he pointed to the three nations, Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, which were expressed in the image by the silver after the gold. Then comes the third beast, “a leopard,” which means the Greeks; for after the Persians, Alexander of Macedon had the power, when Darius was overthrown, which was also indicated by the brass in the image. And in saying that the beast “had four wings of a fowl, and four heads,” he showed most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was parted into four divisions. For in speaking of four heads, he meant the four kings that arose out of it. For Alexander, when dying, divided his kingdom into four parts. Then he says, “The fourth beast (was) dreadful and terrible: it had iron teeth, and claws of brass.” Who, then, are meant by this but the Romans, whose kingdom, the kingdom that still stands, is expressed by the iron? “for,” says he, “its legs are of iron.”

2. After this, then, what remains, beloved, but the toes of the feet of the image, in which “part shall be of iron and part of clay mixed together?” By the toes of the feet he meant, mystically, the ten kings that rise out of that kingdom. As Daniel says, “I considered the beast; and, lo, (there were) ten horns behind, among which shall come up another little horn springing from them;” by which none other is meant than the antichrist that is to rise; and he shall set up the kingdom of Judah. And in saying that “three horns” were “plucked up by the roots” by this one, he indicates the three kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, whom this one will slay in the array of war. And when he has conquered all, he will prove himself a terrible and savage tyrant, and will cause tribulation and persecution to the saints, exalting

1294 The same method of explaining the two visions is also adopted by Jacobus Nisibenus, *serm. v.*, and by his illustrious disciple Ephraem Syrus on [Dan. vii. 4](#). [Let me again refer to Dr. Pusey’s work on Daniel, as invaluable in this connection. The comments of our author on this book and on “the Antichrist,” *infra*, deserve special attention, as from a disciple of the disciples of St. John himself.]

1295 [Dan. vii.](#)

himself against them. And after him, it remains that “the stone” shall come from heaven which “smote the image” and shivered it, and subverted all the kingdoms, and gave the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This “became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.”

3. As these things, then, are destined to come to pass, and as the toes of the image turn out to be democracies,¹²⁹⁶ and the ten horns of the beast are distributed among ten kings, let us look at what is before us more carefully, and scan it, as it were, with open eye. The “golden head of the image” is identical with the “lioness,” by which the Babylonians were represented. “The golden shoulders and the arms of silver” are the same with the “bear,” by which the Persians and Medes are meant. “The belly and thighs of brass” are the “leopard,” by which the Greeks who ruled from Alexander onwards are intended. The “legs of iron” are the “dreadful and terrible beast,” by which the Romans who hold the empire now are meant. The “toes of clay and iron” are the “ten horns” which are to be. The “one other little horn springing up in their midst” is the “antichrist.” The stone that “smites the image and breaks it in pieces,” and that filled the whole earth, is Christ, who comes from heaven and brings judgment on the world.

4. But that we may not leave our subject at this point undemonstrated, we are obliged to discuss the matter of the times, of which a man should not speak hastily, because they are a light to him. For as the times are noted from the foundation of the world, and reckoned from Adam, they set clearly before us the matter with which our inquiry deals. For the first appearance of our Lord in the flesh took place in Bethlehem, under Augustus, in the year 5500; and He suffered in the thirty-third year. And 6,000 years must needs be accomplished, in order that the Sabbath may come, the rest, the holy day “on which God rested from all His works.”¹²⁹⁷ For the Sabbath is the type and emblem of the future kingdom of the saints, when they “shall reign with Christ,” when He comes from heaven, as John says in his Apocalypse: for “a day with the Lord is as a thousand years.”¹²⁹⁸ Since, then, in six days God made all things, it follows that 6,000 years must be fulfilled. And they are not yet fulfilled, as John says: “five are fallen; one is,” that is, the sixth; “the other is not yet come.”¹²⁹⁹

5. In mentioning the “other,” moreover, he specifies the seventh, in which there is rest. But some one may be ready to say, How will you prove to me that the Saviour was born in the year 5500? Learn that easily, O man; for the things that took place of old in the wilderness,

1296 [True in a.d. 1885. A very pregnant testimony to our own times.]

1297 This is what Photius condemned in Hippolytus. Irenæus, however, held the same opinion (book v. c. 28 and 29). The same view is expressed yet earlier in the Epistle of Barnabas (sec. 15). It was an opinion adopted from the rabbis.

1298 [Ps. xc. 4.](#)

1299 [Apoc. xvii. 10.](#)

under Moses, in the case of the tabernacle, were constituted types and emblems of spiritual mysteries, in order that, when the truth came in Christ in these last days, you might be able to perceive that these things were fulfilled. For He says to him, "And thou shalt make the ark of imperishable wood, and shalt overlay it with pure gold within and without; and thou shalt make the length of it two cubits and a half, and the breadth thereof one cubit and a half, and a cubit and a half the height;"¹³⁰⁰ which measures, when summed up together, make five cubits and a half, so that the 5500 years might be signified thereby.

6. At that time, then, the Saviour appeared and showed His own body to the world, (born) of the Virgin, who was the "ark overlaid with pure gold," with the Word within and the Holy Spirit without; so that the truth is demonstrated, and the "ark" made manifest. From the birth of Christ, then, we must reckon the 500 years that remain to make up the 6000, and thus the end shall be. And that the Saviour appeared in the world, bearing the imperishable ark, His own body, at a time which was the fifth and half, John declares: "Now it was the sixth hour,"¹³⁰¹ he says, intimating by that, one-half of the day. But a day with the Lord is 1000 years; and the half of that, therefore, is 500 years. For it was not meet that He should appear earlier, for the burden of the law still endured, nor yet when the sixth day was fulfilled (for the baptism is changed), but on the fifth and half, in order that in the remaining half time the gospel might be preached to the whole world, and that when the sixth day was completed He might end the present life.

7. Since, then, the Persians held the mastery for 330 years,¹³⁰² and after them the Greeks, who were yet more glorious, held it for 300 years, of necessity the fourth beast, as being strong and mightier than all that were before it, will reign 500 years. When the times are fulfilled, and the ten horns spring from the beast in the last (times), then Antichrist will appear among them. When he makes war against the saints, and persecutes them, then may we expect the manifestation of the Lord from heaven.

8. The prophet having thus instructed us with all exactness as to the certainty of the things that are to be, broke off from his present subject, and passed again to the kingdom of the Persians and Greeks, recounting to us another vision which took place, and was fulfilled in its proper time; in order that, by establishing our belief in this, he might be able to present us to God as readier believers in the things that are to be. Accordingly, what he had narrated in the first vision, he again recounts in detail for the edification of the faithful. For by the

1300 [Ex. xxv. 10.](#)

1301 [John xix. 14.](#)

1302 Migne thinks we should read διακόσια τριάκοντα, i.e., 230, as it is also in Julius Africanus, who was contemporary with Hippolytus. As to the duration of the Greek empire, Hippolytus and Africanus make it both 300 years, if we follow Jerome's version of the latter in his comment on [Dan. ix. 24](#). Eusebius makes it seventy years longer in his *Demonstr. Evang.*, viii. 2.

“ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward,” he means Darius, the king of the Persians, who overcame all the nations; “for,” says he, “these beasts shall not stand before him.” And by the “he-goat that came from the west,” he means Alexander the Macedonian, the king of the Greeks; and in that he “came against that very ram, and was moved with choler, and smote him upon the face, and shivered him, and cast him upon the ground, and stamped upon him,” this expresses just what has happened.

9. For Alexander waged war against Darius, and overcame him, and made himself master of the whole sovereignty, after routing and destroying his camp. Then, after the exaltation of the he-goat, his horn—the great one, namely—was broken; and there arose four horns under it, toward the four winds of heaven. For, when Alexander had made himself master of all the land of Persia, and had reduced its people into subjection, he thereupon died, after dividing his kingdom into four principalities, as has been shown above. And from that time “one horn was exalted, and waxed great, even to the power of heaven; and by him the sacrifice,” he says, “was disturbed, and righteousness cast down to the ground.”

10. For Antiochus arose, surnamed Epiphanes, who was of the line of Alexander. And after he had reigned in Syria, and brought under him all Egypt, he went up to Jerusalem, and entered the sanctuary, and seized all the treasures in the house of the Lord, and the golden candlestick, and the table, and the altar, and made a great slaughter in the land; even as it is written: “And the sanctuary shall be trodden under foot, unto evening and unto morning, a thousand and three hundred days.” For it happened that the sanctuary remained desolate during that period, three years and a half, that the thousand and three hundred days might be fulfilled; until Judas Maccabæus arose after the death of his father Matthias, and withstood him, and destroyed the encampment of Antiochus, and delivered the city, and recovered the sanctuary, and restored it in strict accordance with the law.

11. Since, then, the angel Gabriel also recounted these things to the prophet, as they have been understood by us, as they have also taken place, and as they have been all clearly described in the books of the Maccabees, let us see further what he says on the other weeks. For when he read the book of Jeremiah the prophet, in which it was written that the sanctuary would be desolate seventy years, he made confession with fastings and supplications, and prayed that the people might return sooner from their captivity to the city Jerusalem. Thus, then, he speaks in his account: “In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who was king over the realm of the Chaldeans, I Daniel understood in the books the number of the years, as the word of the Lord had come to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishment of the desolation of Jerusalem in seventy years,” etc.

12. After his confession and supplication, the angel says to him, “Thou art a man¹³⁰³ greatly beloved:” for thou desirest to see things of which thou shalt be informed by me; and

1303 Literally, “a man of *desires*.” [Our author plays on this word, as if the desire of knowledge were referred to. Our Authorized Version is better, and the rendering might be “a man of loves.”]

in their own time these things will be fulfilled; and he touched me, saying, “Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon the holy city, to seal up sins and to blot out transgressions, and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint the Most Holy; and thou shalt know and understand, that from the going forth of words for the answer, and for the building of Jerusalem, unto Christ the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks.”

13. Having mentioned therefore seventy weeks, and having divided them into two parts, in order that what was spoken by him to the prophet might be better understood, he proceeds thus, “Unto Christ the Prince shall be seven weeks,” which make forty-nine years. It was in the twenty-first year that Daniel saw these things in Babylon. Hence, the forty-nine years added to the twenty-one, make up the seventy years, of which the blessed Jeremiah spake: “The sanctuary shall be desolate seventy years from the captivity that befell them under Nebuchadnezzar; and after these things the people will return, and sacrifice and offering will be presented, when Christ is their Prince.”¹³⁰⁴

14. Now of what Christ does he speak, but of Jesus the son of Josedech, who returned at that time along with the people, and offered sacrifice according to the law, in the seventieth year, when the sanctuary was built? For all the kings and priests were styled Christs, because they were anointed with the holy oil, which Moses of old prepared. These, then, bore the name of the Lord in their own persons, showing aforetime the type, and presenting the image until the perfect King and Priest appeared from heaven, who alone did the will of the Father; as also it is written in Kings: “And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do all things according to my heart.”¹³⁰⁵

15. In order, then, to show the time when He is to come whom the blessed Daniel desired to see, he says, “And after seven weeks there are other threescore and two weeks,” which period embraces the space of 434 years. For after the return of the people from Babylon under the leadership of Jesus the son of Josedech, and Ezra the scribe, and Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of David, there were 434 years unto the coming of Christ, in order that the Priest of priests might be manifested in the world, and that He who taketh away the sins of the world might be evidently set forth, as John speaks concerning Him: “Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!”¹³⁰⁶ And in like manner Gabriel says: “To blot out transgressions, and make reconciliation for sins.” But who has blotted out our transgressions? Paul the apostle teaches us, saying, “He is our peace who made both one;”¹³⁰⁷ and then, “Blotting out the handwriting of sins that was against us.”¹³⁰⁸

1304 [Jer. xxv. 11.](#)

1305 [1 Sam. ii. 35.](#)

1306 [John i. 29.](#)

1307 [Eph. ii. 14.](#)

1308 [Col. ii. 14.](#)

16. That transgressions, therefore, are blotted out, and that reconciliation is made for sins, is shown by this. But who are they who have reconciliation made for their sins, but they who believe on His name, and propitiate His countenance by good works? And that after the return of the people from Babylon there was a space of 434 years, until the time of the birth of Christ, may be easily understood. For, since the first covenant was given to the children of Israel after a period of 434 years, it follows that the second covenant also should be defined by the same space of time, in order that it might be expected by the people and easily recognised by the faithful.

17. And for this reason Gabriel says: "And to anoint the Most Holy." And the Most Holy is none else but the Son of God alone, who, when He came and manifested Himself, said to them, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me;"¹³⁰⁹ and so forth. Whosoever, therefore, believed on the heavenly Priest, were cleansed by that same Priest, and their sins were blotted out. And whosoever believed not on Him, despising Him as a man, had their sins sealed, as those which could not be taken away; whence the angel, foreseeing that not all should believe on Him, said, "To finish sins, and to seal up sins." For as many as continued to disbelieve Him, even to the end, had their sins not finished, but sealed to be kept for judgment. But as many as will believe on Him as One able to remit sins, have their sins blotted out. Wherefore he says: "And to seal up vision and prophet."

18. For when He came who is the fulfilling of the law and of the prophets (for the law and the prophets were till John), it was necessary that the things spoken by them should be confirmed (sealed), in order that at the coming of the Lord all things loosed should be brought to light, and that things bound of old should now be loosed by Him, as the Lord said Himself to the rulers of the people, when they were indignant at the cure on the Sabbath-day: "Ye hypocrites, doth not each one of you loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? and ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound these eighteen years, be loosed on the Sabbath-day?"¹³¹⁰ Whomsoever, therefore, Satan bound in chains, these did the Lord on His coming loose from the bonds of death, having bound our strong adversary and delivered humanity. As also Isaiah says: "Then will He say to those in chains, Go forth; and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves."¹³¹¹

19. And that the things spoken of old by the law and the prophets were all sealed, and that they were unknown to men, Isaiah declares when he says: "And they will deliver the book that is sealed to one that is learned, and will say to him, Read this; and he will say, I cannot read it, for it is sealed."¹³¹² It was meet and necessary that the things spoken of old

1309 [Isa. lxi. 1](#); [Luke iv. 18](#).

1310 [Luke xiii. 15, 16](#).

1311 [Isa. xlix. 9](#).

1312 [Isa. xxix. 11](#).

by the prophets should be sealed to the unbelieving Pharisees, who thought that they understood the letter of the law, and be opened to the believing. The things, therefore, which of old were sealed, are now by the grace of God the Lord all open to the saints.

20. For He was Himself the perfect Seal, and the Church is the key: "He who openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth,"¹³¹³ as John says. And again, the same says: "And I saw, on the right hand of Him that sat on the throne, a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals; and I saw an angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?" and so forth. "And I beheld in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, a Lamb standing slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. And He came and took the book out of the right hand of Him that sat upon the throne. And when He had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having harps and golden vials full of incense, which is the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood."¹³¹⁴ He took the book, therefore, and loosed it, in order that the things spoken concerning Him of old in secret, might now be proclaimed with boldness upon the house-tops.¹³¹⁵

21. For this reason, then, the angel says to Daniel, "Seal the words, for the vision is until the end of the time." But to Christ it was not said "seal," but "loose" the things bound of old; in order that, by His grace, we might know the will of the Father, and believe upon Him whom He has sent for the salvation of men, Jesus our Lord. He says, therefore, "They shall return, and the street shall be built, and the wall;" which in reality took place. For the people returned and built the city, and the temple, and the wall round about. Then he says: "After threescore and two weeks the times will be fulfilled, and one week will make a covenant with many; and in the midst (half) of the week sacrifice and oblation will be removed, and in the temple will be the abomination of desolations."

22. For when the threescore and two weeks are fulfilled, and Christ is come, and the Gospel is preached in every place, the times being then accomplished, there will remain only one week, the last, in which Elias will appear, and Enoch, and in the midst of it the abomination of desolation will be manifested,¹³¹⁶ viz., Antichrist, announcing desolation to the world. And when he comes, the sacrifice and oblation will be removed, which now are offered to God in every place by the nations. These things being thus recounted, the

1313 [Apoc. iii. 7.](#)

1314 [Apoc. v.](#)

1315 Cf. [Matt. x. 27.](#)

1316 In the text, the word ἕως, "until," is introduced, which seems spurious.

prophet again describes another vision to us. For he had no other care save to be accurately instructed in all things that are to be, and to prove himself an instructor in such.

23. He says then: "In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, a word was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was Belshazzar; and the word was true, and great power and understanding were given him in the vision. In those days I Daniel was mourning three weeks of days. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine into my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three weeks of days were fulfilled. On the fourth day of the first month I humbled myself," says he, "one and twenty days," praying to the living God, and asking of Him the revelation of the mystery. And the Father in truth heard me, and sent His own Word, to show what should happen by Him. And that took place, indeed, by the great river. For it was meet that the Son should be manifested there, where also He was to remove sins.

24. "And I lifted up mine eyes," he says, "and, behold, a man clothed in linen."¹³¹⁷ In the first vision he says, "Behold, the angel Gabriel (was) sent." Here, however, it is not so; but he sees the Lord, not yet indeed as perfect man, but with the appearance and form of man, as he says: "And, behold, a man clothed in linen." For in being clothed in a various-coloured coat, he indicated mystically¹³¹⁸ the variety of the graces of our calling. For the priestly coat was made up of different colours, as various nations waited for Christ's coming, in order that we might be made up (as one body) of many colours. "And his loins were girded with the gold of Ophaz."

25. Now the word "Ophaz," which is a word transferred from Hebrew to Greek, denotes pure gold. With a pure girdle, therefore, he was girded round the loins. For the Word was to bear us all, binding us like a girdle round His body, in His own love. The complete body was His,¹³¹⁹ but we are members in His body, united together, and sustained by the Word Himself. "And his body was like Tharses."¹³²⁰ Now "Tharses," by interpretation, is "Ethiopians." For that it would be difficult to recognise Him, the prophet had thus already announced beforehand, intimating that He would be manifested in the flesh in the world, but that many would find it difficult to recognise Him. "And his face as lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire;" for it was meet that the fiery and judicial power of the Word should be signified aforetime, in the exercise of which He will cause the fire (of His judgment) to light with justice upon the impious, and consume them.

1317 βαδδίν.

1318 In the text, μυστηρίων (of "mysteries"), for which μυστηριωδῶς or μυστικῶς, "mystically," is proposed.

1319 The Latin translation renders: His body was perfect.

1320 "Thares" (Θαρσεῖς) in Hippolytus. The Septuagint gives Θαρσίς as the translation of the Hebrew תַּרְשִׁישׁ, rendered in our version as "beryl" ([Dan. x. 6](#)).

26. He added also these words: “And his arms and his feet like polished brass;” to denote the first calling of men, and the second calling like unto it, viz. of the Gentiles.¹³²¹ “For the last shall be as the first; for I will set thy rulers as at the beginning, and thy leaders as before. And His voice was as the voice of a great multitude.”¹³²² For all we who believe on Him in these days utter things oracular, as speaking by His mouth the things appointed by Him.

27. And after a little He says to him: “Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? And now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia. But I will show thee that which is noted in the Scripture of truth: and there is none that holdeth with me in these things but Michael your prince, and I left him there. For from the day that thou didst give thy countenance to be afflicted before the Lord thy God, thy prayer was heard, and I was sent to fight with the prince of Persia:” for a certain counsel was formed not to send the people away: “that therefore thy prayer might be speedily granted, I withstood him, and left Michael there.”

28. And who was he that spake, but the angel who was given to the people, as he says in the law of Moses: “I will not go with you, because the people is stiff-necked; but my angel shall go before along with you?”¹³²³ This (angel) withstood Moses at the inn, when he was bringing the child uncircumcised into Egypt. For it was not allowed Moses, who was the elder (or legate) and mediator of the law, and who proclaimed the covenant of the fathers, to introduce a child uncircumcised, lest he should be deemed a false prophet and deceiver by the people. “And now,” says he, “will I show the truth to thee.” Could the Truth have shown anything else but the truth?

29. He says therefore to him: “Behold, there shall stand up three kings in Persia: and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and when he has got possession of his riches, he shall stand up against all the realms of Grecia. And a mighty king shall stand up, and shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will; and when his kingdom stands, it shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven.” These things we have already discussed above, when we discoursed upon the four beasts. But since Scripture now again sets them forth explicitly, we must also discourse upon them a second time, that we may not leave Scripture unused and unexplained.

30. “There shall stand up yet three kings,” he says, “in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all.” This has been fulfilled. For after Cyrus arose Darius, and then Artaxerxes. These were the three kings; (and) the Scripture is fulfilled. “And the fourth shall be far richer than they all.” Who is that but Darius, who reigned and made himself glorious,—who was rich, and assailed all the realms of Greece? Against him rose Alexander of Macedon, who destroyed his kingdom; and after he had reduced the Persians, his own kingdom was

1321 [Isa. i. 26.](#)

1322 [Apoc. xix. 6.](#)

1323 [Ex. xxxii. 4; xxxiii. 3.](#)

divided toward the four winds of heaven. For Alexander at his death divided his kingdom into four principalities. “And a king shall stand up, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of Egypt.”

31. For Antiochus became king of Syria. He held the sovereignty in the 107th year of the kingdom of the Greeks. And in those same times indeed he made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt, and conquered him, and won the power. On returning from Egypt he went up to Jerusalem, in the 103d year, and carrying off with him all the treasures of the Lord’s house, he marched to Antioch. And after two years of days the king sent his raiser of taxes¹³²⁴ into the cities of Judea, to compel the Jews to forsake the laws of their fathers, and submit to the decrees of the king. And he came, and tried to compel them, saying, “Come forth, and do the commandment of the king, and ye shall live.”

32. But they said, “We will not come forth: neither will we do the king’s commandment; we will die in our innocency: and he slew of them a thousand souls.”¹³²⁵ The things, therefore, which were spoken to the blessed Daniel are fulfilled: “And my servants shall be afflicted, and shall fall by famine, and by sword, and by captivity.”¹³²⁶ Daniel, however, adds: “And they shall be holpen with a little help.” For at that time Matthias arose, and Judas Maccabæus, and helped them, and delivered them from the hand of the Greeks.

33. That therefore was fulfilled which was spoken in the Scripture. He proceeds then thus: “And the (king’s) daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement with him; and the arms of him that bringeth her shall not stand; and she, too, shall be smitten, and shall fall, and he that bringeth her.” For this was a certain Ptolemaïs,¹³²⁷ queen of Egypt. At that time indeed she went forth with her two sons, Ptolemy and Philometor, to make an agreement with Antiochus king of Syria; and when she came to Scythopolis, she was slain there. For he who brought her betrayed her. At that same time, the two brothers made war against each other, and Philometor was slain, and Ptolemy gained the power.

34. War, then, was again made by Ptolemy against Antiochus, (and) Antiochus met him. For thus saith the Scripture: “And the king of the South shall stand up against the king of the North, and her seed shall stand up against him.” And what seed but Ptolemy, who made war with Antiochus? And Antiochus having gone forth against him, and having failed to overcome him, had to flee, and returned to Antioch, and collected a larger host. Ptolemy accordingly took his whole equipment, and carried it into Egypt. And the Scripture is fulfilled,

1324 φορολόγον.

1325 1 Macc. ii. 33.

1326 Dan. xi. 33.

1327 He seems to refer to Cleopatra, wife and niece of Physco. For Lathyrus was sometimes called Philometor in ridicule (ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ), as Pausanias says in the *Attica*.

as Daniel says: And he shall carry off into Egypt their gods, and their cast-works, and all their precious (vessels of) gold.

35. And after these things Antiochus went forth a second time to make war against him, and overcome Ptolemy. And after these events Antiochus commenced hostilities again against the children of Israel, and despatched one Nicanor with a large army to subdue the Jews, at the time when Judas, after the death of Matthias, ruled the people; and so forth, as is written in the Maccabees. These events having taken place, the Scripture says again: “And there shall stand up another king, and he shall prevail upon the earth; and the king of the South shall stand up, and he shall obtain his daughter to wife.”

36. For it happened that there arose a certain Alexander,¹³²⁸ son of Philip. He withstood Antiochus¹³²⁹ at that time, and made war upon him, and cut him off, and gained possession of the kingdom. Then he sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt, saying, Give me thy daughter Cleopatra to wife. And he gave her to Alexander to wife. And thus the Scripture is fulfilled, when it says: “And he shall obtain his daughter to wife.” And it says further: “And he shall corrupt her, and she shall not be his wife.” This also has been truly fulfilled. For after Ptolemy had given him his daughter, he returned, and saw the mighty and glorious kingdom of Alexander. And coveting its possession, he spoke falsely to Alexander, as the Scripture says: “And the two kings shall speak lies at (one) table.” And, in sooth, Ptolemy betook himself to Egypt, and collected a great army, and attacked the city at the time when Alexander had marched into Cilicia.

37. Ptolemy then invaded the country, and established garrisons throughout the cities; and on making himself master of Judea, set out for his daughter, and sent letters to Demetrius in the islands, saying, Come and meet me here, and I will give thee my daughter Cleopatra to wife, for Alexander has sought to kill me. Demetrius came accordingly, and Ptolemy received him, and gave him her who had been destined for Alexander. Thus is fulfilled that which is written: “And he shall corrupt her, and she shall not be his wife.” Alexander was slain. Then Ptolemy wore two crowns, that of Syria and that of Egypt, and died the third day after he had assumed them. Thus is fulfilled that which is written in Scripture: “And they shall not give him the glory of the kingdom.” For he died, and received not honour from all as king.

1328 He refers to Alexander I. king of Syria, of whom we read in [1 Macc. x](#). He pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and even gained a decree of the senate of Rome in his favour as such. Yet he was a person of unknown origin, as indeed he acknowledged himself in his choice of the designation *Theopator*. Livy calls him “a man unknown, and of uncertain parentage” (*homo ignotus et incertae stirpis*). So Hippolytus calls him here, “a certain Alexander” (τινα). He had also other surnames, e.g., Euergetes, Balas, etc.

1329 For “Antiochus” in the text, read “Demetrius.”

38. The prophet then, after thus recounting the things which have taken place already, and been fulfilled in their times, declares yet another mystery to us, while he points out the last times. For he says: "And there shall rise up another shameless king; and he shall exalt himself above every god, and shall magnify himself, and shall speak marvellous things, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished;" and so forth. "And these shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief (or principality) of the children of Ammon. And he shall stretch forth his hand upon the land; and the land of Egypt shall not escape. And he shall have power over the secret treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt and of the Libyans, and the Ethiopians in their strongholds."

39. Thus, then, does the prophet set forth these things concerning the Antichrist, who shall be shameless, a war-maker, and despot, who, exalting himself above all kings and above every god, shall build the city of Jerusalem, and restore the sanctuary. Him the impious will worship as God, and will bend to him the knee, thinking him to be the Christ. He shall cut off the two witnesses and forerunners of Christ, who proclaim His glorious kingdom from heaven, as it is said: "And I will give (power) unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth."¹³³⁰ As also it was announced to Daniel: "And one week shall confirm a covenant with many; and in the midst of the week it shall be that the sacrifice and oblation shall be removed"—that the one week might be shown to be divided into two. The two witnesses, then, shall preach three years and a half; and Antichrist shall make war upon the saints during the rest of the week, and desolate the world, that what is written may be fulfilled: "And they shall make the abomination of desolation for a thousand two hundred and ninety days."

40. Daniel has spoken, therefore, of two abominations; the one of destruction, and the other of desolation. What is that of destruction, but that which Antiochus established there at the time? And what is that of desolation, but that which shall be universal when Antichrist comes? "And there shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon." For these are they who ally themselves with him on account of their kinship, and first address him as king. Those of Edom are the sons of Esau, who inhabit Mount Seir. And Moab and Ammon are they who are descended from his two daughters, as Isaiah also says: "And they shall fly (extend themselves) in the ships of strangers, and they shall also plunder the sea; and those from the east, and from the west, and the north, shall give them honour: and the children of Ammon shall first obey them."¹³³¹ He shall be proclaimed king by them, and shall be magnified by all, and shall prove himself an abomination

1330 [Apoc. xi. 3.](#)

1331 [Isa. xi. 14.](#)

of desolation to the world, and shall reign for a thousand two hundred and ninety days. "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days;" for when the abomination cometh and makes war upon the saints, whosoever shall survive his days, and reach the forty-five days, while the other period of fifty days advances, to him the kingdom of heaven comes. Antichrist, indeed, enters even into part of the fifty days, but the saints shall inherit the kingdom along with Christ.

41. These things being thus narrated, Daniel proceeds: "And, behold, there stood two men, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side; and they made answer to the man that stood upon the bank of the river, and said to him, How long shall it be to the end of these wonderful words which thou hast spoken? And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was upon the water of the river; and he lifted up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and swore by Him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and they shall know all these things when the dispersion is accomplished."

42. Who, then, were the two men who stood on the bank of the river, but the law and the prophets? And who was he who stood upon the water, but He concerning whom they prophesied of old, who in the last times was to be borne witness to by the Father at the Jordan, and to be declared to the people boldly by John, "who wore the casty¹³³² of the scribe about his loins, and was clothed with a linen coat of various colours?" These, therefore, interrogate Him, knowing that to Him were given all government and power, in order to learn accurately of Him when He will bring the judgment on the world, and when the things spoken by Him will be fulfilled. And He, desiring by all means to convince them, lifted His right hand and His left hand to heaven, and swore by Him that liveth for ever. Who is He that swore, and by whom swore He? Manifestly the Son by the Father, saying, The Father liveth for ever, but in a time, and times, and an half, when the dispersion is accomplished, they shall know all these things.

43. By the stretching forth of His two hands He signified His passion; and by mentioning "a time, and times, and an half, when the dispersion is accomplished," He indicated the three years and a half of Antichrist. For by "a time" He means a year, and by "times" two years, and by an "half time" half a year. These are the thousand two hundred and ninety days of which Daniel prophesied for the finishing of the passion, and the accomplishment of the dispersion when Antichrist comes. In those days they shall know all these things. And from the time of the removal of the continuous sacrifice there are also reckoned one thousand two hundred and ninety days. (Then) iniquity shall abound, as the Lord also says: "Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold."¹³³³

1332 Girdle.

1333 [Matt. xxiv. 12.](#)

44. And that divisions will arise when the falling away takes place, is without doubt. And when divisions arise, love is chilled. The words, “Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days,” have also their value, as the Lord said: “But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.” Wherefore let us by no means admit the falling away, lest iniquity abound, and the abomination of desolation—that is, the adversary—overtake us. And He said to him, “unto evening”—that is, unto the consummation—“and morning.” What is “morning?” The day of resurrection. For that is the beginning of another age, as the morning is the beginning of the day. And the thousand and four hundred days are the light of the world. For on the appearing of the light in the world (as He says, “I am the light of the world”), the sanctuary shall be purged, as he said,¹³³⁴ (of) the adversary. For it cannot by any means be purged but by his destruction.

1334 The text gives ὁ ἀντικείμενος, which is corrupt.

III.

Scholia on Daniel.¹³³⁵

Chap. i. 1 “In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim.” The Scripture narrates these things, with the purpose of intimating the second captivity of the people, when Jehoiakim and the three youths with him, together with Daniel, were taken captive and carried off.

2. “And the Lord gave,” etc. These words, “and the Lord gave,” are written, that no one, in reading the introduction to the book, may attribute their capture to the strength of the captors and the slackness of their chief. And it is well said, “with part,” for the deportation was for the correction, not the ruin, of the whole nation, that there might be no misapplication of the cause.

8. “And Daniel purposed in his heart.” Oh, blessed are they who thus kept the covenant of the fathers, and transgressed not the law given by Moses, but feared the God proclaimed by him. These, though captives in a strange land, were not seduced by delicate meats, nor were they slaves to the pleasures of wine, nor were they caught by the bait of princely glory. But they kept their mouth holy and pure, that pure speech might proceed from pure mouths, and praise with such (mouths) the heavenly Father.

12. “Prove now thy servants.” They teach that it is not earthly meats that give to men their beauty and strength, but the grace of God bestowed by the Word. “And after a little.” Thou hast seen the incorruptible faith of the youths, and the unalterable fear of God. They asked an interval of ten days, to prove therein that man cannot otherwise find grace with God than by believing the word preached by the Lord.

19. “And among them all, was found none like Daniel.” These men, who were proved faithful witnesses in Babylon, were led by the Word in all wisdom, that by their means the idols of the Babylonians should be put to shame, and that Nebuchadnezzar should be overcome by three youths, and that by their faith the fire in the furnace should be kept at bay, and the desire of the wicked elders (or chiefs) proved vain.

Chap. ii. 3 “I have dreamed a dream.” The dream, then, which was seen by the king was not an earthly dream, so that it might be interpreted by the wise of the world; but it was a heavenly dream, fulfilled in its proper times, according to the counsel and foreknowledge of God. And for this reason it was kept secret from men who think of earthly things, that to those who seek after heavenly things heavenly mysteries might be revealed. And, indeed, there was a similar case in Egypt in the time of Pharaoh and Joseph.

5. “The thing is gone from me.” For this purpose was the vision concealed from the king, that he who was chosen of God., viz., Daniel, might be shown to be a prophet. For



¹³³⁵ Mai, *Script. vet. collectio nova*, i. p. iii. pp. 29–56.

when things concealed from some are revealed by another, he who tells them is of necessity shown to be a prophet.

10. "And they say, There is not a man." Whereas, therefore, they declared it to be impossible that what was asked by the king should be told by man; God showed them, that what is impossible with man is possible with God.

14. "Arioch, the captain of the king's guard" (literally, "the chief slaughterer or cook"). For as the cook slays all animals and cooks them, of a similar nature was his occupation. And the rulers of the world slay men, butchering them like brute beasts.

23. "Because Thou hast given me wisdom and might." We ought therefore to mark the goodness of God, how He straightway reveals and shows (Himself) to the worthy, and to those that fear Him, fulfilling their prayers and supplications, as the prophet says: "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? and prudent, and he shall know them?"¹³³⁶

27. "Cannot the wise men, the magicians." He instructs the king not to seek an explanation of heavenly mysteries from earthly men, for they shall be accomplished in their due time by God.

29. "As for thee, O king, thy thoughts." For the king, on making himself master of the land of Egypt, and getting hold of the country of Judea, and carrying off the people, thought upon his bed what should be after these things; and He who knows the secrets of all, and searcheth the thoughts of the hearts, revealed to him by means of the image the things that were to be. And He hid from him the vision, in order that the counsels of God might not be interpreted by the wise men of Babylon, but that by the blessed Daniel, as a prophet of God, things kept secret from all might be made manifest.

31. "Behold a great image." How, then, should we not mark the things prophesied of old in Babylon by Daniel, and now yet in the course of fulfilment in the world? For the image shown at that time to Nebuchadnezzar furnished a type of the whole world. In these times the Babylonians were sovereign over all, and these were the golden head of the image. And then, after them, the Persians held the supremacy for 245 years, and they were represented by the silver. Then the Greeks had the supremacy, beginning with Alexander of Macedon, for 300 years, so that they were the brass. After them came the Romans, who were the iron legs of the image, for they were strong as iron. Then (we have) the toes of clay and iron, to signify the democracies that were subsequently to rise, partitioned among the ten toes of the image, in which shall be iron mixed with clay.

31. "Thou sawest," etc. Apollinaris on this: He looked, and behold, as it were, an image. For it did not appear to him as an actual object, presented to the view of an onlooker, but as an image or semblance. And while it contains in it many things together, that is in such a way that it is not really one, but manifold. For it comprised a summary of all kingdoms;

1336 [Hos. xiv. 9.](#)

and its exceeding splendour was on account of the glory of the kings, and its terrible appearance on account of their power. Eusebius Pamphili, and Hippolytus the most holy bishop of Rome, compare the dream of Nebuchadnezzar now in question with the vision of the prophet Daniel. Since these have given a different interpretation of this vision now before us in their expositions, I deemed it necessary to transcribe what is said by Eusebius of Cæsarea, who bears the surname Pamphili, in the 15th book of his *Gospel Demonstration*;¹³³⁷ for he expounds the whole vision in these terms: “I think that this (i.e., the vision of Nebuchadnezzar) differs in nothing from the vision of the prophet. For as the prophet saw a great sea, so the king saw a great image. And again, as the prophet saw four beasts, which he interpreted as four kingdoms, so the king was given to understand four kingdoms under the gold, and silver, and brass, and iron. And again, as the prophet saw the division of the ten horns of the last beast, and three horns broken by one; so the king, in like manner, saw in the extremities of the image one part iron and another clay. And besides this, as the prophet, after the vision of the four kingdoms, saw the Son of man receive dominion, and power, and a kingdom; so also the king thought he saw a stone smite the whole image, and become a great mountain and fill the sea. And rightly so. For it was quite consistent in the king, whose view of the spectacle of life was so false, and who admired the beauty of the mere sensible colours, so to speak, in the picture set up to view, to liken the life of all men to a great image; but (it became) the prophet to compare the great and mighty tumult of life to a mighty sea. And it was fitting that the king, who prized the substances deemed precious among men, gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, should liken to these substances the kingdoms that held the sovereignty at different times in the life of men; but that the prophet should describe these same kingdoms under the likeness of beasts, in accordance with the manner of their rule. And again, the king—who was puffed up, as it seems, in his own conceit, and plumed himself on the power of his ancestors—is shown the vicissitude to which affairs are subject, and the end destined for all the kingdoms of earth, with the view of teaching him to lay aside his pride in himself, and understand that there is nothing stable among men, but only that which is the appointed end of all things—the kingdom of God. For after the first kingdom of the Assyrians, which was denoted by the gold, there will be the second kingdom of the Persians, expressed by the silver; and then the third kingdom of the Macedonians, signified by the brass; and after it, the fourth kingdom of the Romans will succeed, more powerful than those that went before it; for which reason also it was likened to iron. For of it is said: “And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; as iron breaketh and subdueth all things, so shall it break and subdue all things.” And after all these kingdoms which have been mentioned, the kingdom of God is represented by the stone that breaks the whole image. And the prophet, in conformity with this, does not see the kingdom



1337 This book is not now extant, the first ten alone having reached our time.

which comes at the end of all these things, until he has in order described the four dominions mentioned under the four beasts. And I think that the visions shown, both to the king and to the prophet, were visions of these four kingdoms alone, and of none others, because by these the nation of the Jews was held in bondage from the times of the prophet.”

33. “His feet,” etc. Hippolytus: In the vision of the prophet, the ten horns are the things that are yet to be.

34. “Thou sawest till that a stone was cut.” Thou sawest, as it were, a stone cut without hands, and smiting the image upon its feet. For the human kingdom was decisively separated from the divine; with reference to which it is written, “as it were cut.” The stroke, however, smites the extremities, and in these it broke all dominion that is upon earth.

45. “And the dream is certain.” That no one, therefore, may have any doubt whether the things announced shall turn out so or not, the prophet has confirmed them with the words, “And the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure;” I have not erred in the interpretation of the vision.

46. “Then king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face.” Nebuchadnezzar hearing these things, and being put in remembrance of his vision, knew that what was spoken by Daniel was true. How great is the power of the grace of God, beloved, that one who a little before was doomed to death with the other wise men of Babylon, should now be worshipped by the king, not as man, but as God! “He commanded that they should offer manaa”¹³³⁸ (i.e., in Chaldee, “oblation”) “and sweet odours unto him.” Of old, too, the Lord made a similar announcement to Moses, saying, “See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh;”¹³³⁹ in order that, on account of the signs wrought by him in the land of Egypt, Moses might no longer be reckoned a man, but be worshipped as a god by the Egyptians.

48. “Then the king made Daniel a great man.” For as he had humbled himself, and presented himself as the least among all men, God made him great, and the king established him as ruler over the whole land of Babylon. Just as also Pharaoh did to Joseph, appointing him then to be ruler over the whole land of Egypt.

49. “And Daniel requested,” etc. For as they had united with Daniel in prayer to God that the vision might be revealed to him, so Daniel, when he obtained great honour from the king, made mention of them, explaining to the king what had been done by them, in order that they also should be deemed worthy of some honour as fellow-seers and worshippers of God. For when they asked heavenly things from the Lord, they received also earthly things from the king.

[Chap. iii. 1](#) “In the eighteenth year,” etc. (These words are wanting in the Vulgate, etc.) A considerable space of time having elapsed, therefore, and the eighteenth year being now

1338 [The *minchah*, that is.]

1339 [Ex. vii. 1.](#)

in its course, the king, calling to mind his vision, “made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits.” For as the blessed Daniel, in interpreting the vision, had answered the king, saying, “Thou art this head of gold in the image,” the king, being puffed up with this address, and elated in heart, made a copy of this image, in order that he might be worshipped by all as God.

7. “All the people fell.” Some (did so) because they feared the king himself; but all (or “most”), because they were idolaters, obeyed the word commanded by the king.

16. “Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered,” etc. These three youths are become an example to all faithful men, inasmuch as they did not fear the crowd of satraps, neither did they tremble when they heard the king’s words, nor did they shrink when they saw the flame of the blazing furnace, but deemed all men and the whole world as nought, and kept the fear of God alone before their eyes. Daniel, though he stood at a distance and kept silence, encouraged them to be of good cheer as he smiled to them. And he rejoiced also himself at the witness they bore, understanding, as he did, that the three youths would receive a crown in triumph over the devil.

19. “And commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more.” He bids the vast furnace be heated one seven times more, as if he were already overcome by them. In earthly things, then, the king was superior; but in faith toward God the three youths were superior. Tell me, Nebuchadnezzar, with what purpose you order them to be cast into the fire bound? Is it lest they might escape, if they should have their feet unbound, and thus be able to extinguish the fire? But thou doest not these things of thyself, but there is another who worketh these things by thy means.

47.¹³⁴⁰ “And the flame streamed forth.” The fire, he means, was driven from within by the angel, and burst forth outwardly. See how even the fire appears intelligent, as if it recognised and punished the guilty. For it did not touch the servants of God, but it consumed the unbelieving and impious Chaldeans. Those who were within were besprinkled with a (cooling) dew by the angel, while those who thought they stood in safety outside the furnace were destroyed by the fire. The men who cast in the youths were burned by the flame, which caught them on all sides, as I suppose, when they went to bind the youths.

92 (i.e., 25). “And the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.” Tell me, Nebuchadnezzar, when didst thou see the Son of God, that thou shouldst confess that this is the Son of God? And who pricked thy heart, that thou shouldst utter such a word? And with what eyes wert thou able to look into this light? And why was this manifested to thee alone, and to none of the satraps about thee? But, as it is written, “The heart of a king is in the hand of God:” the hand of God is here, whereby the Word pricked his heart, so that he might recog-

1340 The verses are numbered according to the Greek translation, which incorporates the apocryphal “song of the three holy children.”

nise Him in the furnace, and glorify Him. And this idea of ours is not without good ground. For as the children of Israel were destined to see God in the world, and yet not to believe on Him, the Scripture showed beforehand that the Gentiles would recognise Him incarnate, whom, while not incarnate, Nebuchadnezzar saw and recognised of old in the furnace, and acknowledged to be the Son of God.

93 (i.e., 26). "And he said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego." The three youths he thus called by name. But he found no name by which to call the fourth. For He was not yet that Jesus born of the Virgin.

97 (i.e., 30). "Then the king promoted," etc. For as they honoured God by giving themselves up to death, so, too, they were themselves honoured not only by God, but also by the king. And they taught strange and foreign nations also to worship God.

Chap. vii. 1 "And he wrote the dream." The things, therefore, which were revealed to the blessed prophet by the Spirit in visions, these he also recounted fully for others, that he might not appear to prophesy of the future to himself alone, but might be proved a prophet to others also, who wish to search the divine Scriptures.

2. "And behold the four winds." He means created existence in its fourfold division.

3. "And four great beasts." As various beasts then were shown to the blessed Daniel, and these different from each other, we should understand that the truth of the narrative deals not with certain beasts, but, under the type and image of different beasts, exhibits the kingdoms that have risen in this world in power over the race of man. For by the great sea he means the whole world.

4. "Till the wings thereof were plucked." For this happened in reality in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, as has been shown in the preceding book. And he bears witness directly that this very thing was fulfilled in himself; for he was driven out of the kingdom, and stripped of his glory, and of the greatness which he formerly possessed. "And after a little:" the words, "It was made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it," signify that Nebuchadnezzar, when he humbled himself, and acknowledged that he was but a man, in subjection under the power of God, and made supplication to the Lord, found mercy with Him, and was restored to his own kingdom and honour.

5. "A second beast like to a bear." To represent the kingdom of the Persians. "And it had three ribs." The three nations he calls three ribs. The meaning, therefore, is this: that beast had the dominion, and these others under it were the Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians. "And they said thus to it, Arise, devour." For the Persians arising in these times, devastated every land, and made many men subject to them, and slew them. For as this beast, the bear, is a foul animal, and carnivorous, tearing with claws and teeth, such also was the kingdom of the Persians, who held the supremacy for two hundred and thirty years.

6. "And, lo, another beast like a leopard." In mentioning a leopard, he means the kingdom of the Greeks, over whom Alexander of Macedon was king. And he likened them to a leopard,

because they were quick and inventive in thought, and bitter in heart, just as that animal is many-coloured in appearance, and quick in wounding and in drinking man's blood.

"The beast had also four heads." When the kingdom of Alexander was exalted, and grew, and acquired a name over the whole world, his kingdom was divided into four principalities. For Alexander, when near his end, partitioned his kingdom among his four comrades of the same race, viz., "Seleucus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, and Philip;" and all these assumed crowns, as Daniel prophesies, and as it is written in the first book of Maccabees.

7. "And behold a fourth beast." Now, that there has arisen no other kingdom after that of the Greeks except that which stands sovereign at present, is manifest to all. This one has iron teeth, because it subdues and reduces all by its strength, just as iron does. And the rest it did tread with its feet, for there is no other kingdom remaining after this one, but from it will spring ten horns.

"And it had ten horns." For as the prophet said already of the leopard, that the beast had four heads, and that was fulfilled, and Alexander's kingdom was divided into four principalities, so also now we ought to look for the ten horns which are to spring from it, when the time of the beast shall be fulfilled, and the little horn, which is Antichrist, shall appear suddenly in their midst, and righteousness shall be banished from the earth, and the whole world shall reach its consummation. So that we ought not to anticipate the counsel of God, but exercise patience and prayer, that we fall not on such times. We should not, however, refuse to believe that these things will come to pass. For if the things which the prophets predicted in former times have not been realized, then we need not look for these things. But if those former things did happen in their proper seasons, as was foretold, these things also shall certainly be fulfilled.

8. "I considered the horns." That is to say, I looked intently at the beast, and was astonished at everything about it, but especially at the number of the horns. For the appearance of this beast differed from that of the other beasts in kind.

13. "And came to the Ancient of days." By the Ancient of days he means none other than the Lord and God and Ruler of all, and even of Christ Himself, who maketh the days old, and yet becometh not old Himself by times and days.

14. "His dominion is an everlasting dominion." The Father, having put all things in subjection to His own Son, both things in heaven and things on earth, showed Him forth by all as the first-begotten of God, in order that, along with the Father, He might be approved the Son of God before angels, and be manifested as the Lord also of angels: (He showed Him forth also as) the first-begotten of a virgin, that He might be seen to be in Himself the Creator anew of the first-formed Adam, (and) as the first-begotten from the dead, that He might become Himself the first-fruits of our resurrection.

"Which shall not pass away." He exhibited all the dominion given by the Father to His own Son, who is manifested as King of all in heaven and on earth, and under the earth, and

as Judge of all: of all in heaven, because He was born the Word, of the heart of the Father before all; and of all in earth, because He was made man, and created Adam anew of Himself; and of all under the earth, because He was also numbered among the dead, and preached to the souls of the saints, (and) by death overcame death.

17. “Which shall arise.” For when the three beasts have finished their course, and been removed, and the one still stands in vigour,—if this one, too, is removed, then finally earthly things (shall) end, and heavenly things begin; that the indissoluble and everlasting kingdom of the saints may be brought to view, and the heavenly King manifested to all, no longer in figure, like one seen in vision, or revealed in a pillar of cloud upon the top of a mountain, but amid the powers and armies of angels, as God incarnate and man, Son of God and Son of man—coming from heaven as the world’s Judge.

19. “And I inquired about the fourth beast.” It is to the fourth kingdom, of which we have already spoken, that he here refers: that kingdom, than which no greater kingdom of like nature has arisen upon the earth; from which also ten horns are to spring, and to be apportioned among ten crowns. And amid these another little horn shall rise, which is that of Antichrist. And it shall pluck by the roots the three others before it; that is to say, he shall subvert the three kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, with the view of acquiring for himself universal dominion. And after conquering the remaining seven horns, he will at last begin, inflated by a strange and wicked spirit, to stir up war against the saints, and to persecute all everywhere, with the aim of being glorified by all, and being worshipped as God.

22. “Until the Ancient of days come.” That is, when at length the Judge of judges and the King of kings comes from heaven, who shall subvert the whole dominion and power of the adversary, and shall consume all with the eternal fire of punishment. But to His servants, and prophets, and martyrs, and to all who fear Him, He will give an everlasting kingdom; that is, they shall possess the endless enjoyment of good.

25. “Until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.” This denotes three years and a half.

Chap. ix. 21 “And, behold, the man Gabriel...flying.” You see how the prophet likens the speed of the angels to a winged bird, on account of the light and rapid motion with which these spirits fly so quickly in discharge of orders.

Chap. x. 6 “And the voice of His words.” For all we who now believe on Him declare the words of Christ, as if we spake by His mouth the things enjoined by Him.

7. “And I saw,” etc. For it is to His saints that fear Him, and to them alone, that He reveals Himself. For if any one seems to be living now in the Church, and yet has not the fear of God, his companionship with the saints will avail him nothing.

12. “Thy words were heard.” Behold how much the piety of a righteous man availeth, that to him alone, as to one worthy, things not yet to be manifested in the world should be revealed.



13. “And lo, Michael.” Who is Michael but the angel assigned to the people? As (God) says to Moses, “I will not go with you in the way, because the people are stiff-necked; but my angel shall go with you.”

16. “My inwards are turned” (A.V., “my sorrows are turned upon me”). For it was meet that, at the appearing of the Lord, what was above should be turned beneath, in order that also what was beneath might come above.—I require time, he says, to recover myself, and to be able to endure the words and to make reply to what is said.—But while I was in this position, he continues, I was strengthened beyond my hope. For one unseen touched me, and straightway my weakness was removed, and I was restored to my former strength. For whenever all the strength of our life and its glory pass from us, then are we strengthened by Christ, who stretches forth His hand and raises the living from among the dead, and as it were from Hades itself, to the resurrection of life.

18. “And he strengthened me.” For whenever the Word has made us of good hope with regard to the future, we are able also readily to hear His voice.

20. “To fight with the prince of Persia.” For from the day that thou didst humble thyself before the Lord thy God thy prayer was heard, and I was sent “to fight with the prince of Persia.” For there was a design not to let the people go. Therefore, that thy prayer might be speedily answered, “I stood up against him.”

Chap. xii. 1 “There shall be a time of trouble.” For at that time there shall be great trouble, such as has not been from the foundation of the world, when some in one way, and others in another, shall be sent through every city and country to destroy the faithful; and the saints shall travel from the west to the east, and shall be driven in persecution from the east to the south, while others shall conceal themselves in the mountains and caves; and the abomination shall war against them everywhere, and shall cut them off by sea and by land by his decree, and shall endeavour by every means to destroy them out of the world; and they shall not be able any longer to sell their own property, nor to buy from strangers, unless one keeps and carries with him the name of the beast, or bears its mark upon his forehead. For then they shall all be driven out from every place, and dragged from their own homes and haled into prison, and punished with all manner of punishment, and cast out from the whole world.

2. “These shall awake to everlasting life.” That is, those who have believed in the true life, and who have their names written in the book of life. “And these to shame.” That is, those who are attached to Antichrist, and who are cast with him into everlasting punishment.

3. “And they that be wise shall shine.” And the Lord has said the same thing in the Gospel: “Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun.”¹³⁴¹

1341 [Matt. xiii. 43.](#)

7. “For a time, times, and an half.” By this he indicated the three and a half years of Antichrist. For by a time he means a year; and by times, two years; and by an half time, half a year. These are the “one thousand two hundred and ninety days” of which Daniel prophesied.

9. “The words are closed up and sealed.” For as a man cannot tell what God has prepared for the saints; for neither has eye seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man (to conceive) these things, into which even the saints, too, shall then eagerly desire to look; so He said to him, “For the words are sealed until the time of the end; until many shall be chosen and tried with fire.” And who are they who are chosen, but those who believe the word of truth, so as to be made white thereby, and to cast off the filth of sin, and put on the heavenly, pure, and glorious Holy Spirit, in order that, when the Bridegroom comes, they may go in straightway with Him?

11. “The abomination of desolation shall be given (set up).” Daniel speaks, therefore, of two abominations: the one of destruction, which Antiochus set up in its appointed time, and which bears a relation to that of desolation, and the other universal, when Antichrist shall come. For, as Daniel says, he too shall be set up for the destruction of many.¹³⁴²



¹³⁴² “By the most holy Hippolytus, (bishop) of Rome: The Exact Account of the Times,” etc. From Gallandi. This fragment seems to have belonged to the beginning or introduction to the commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel.

IV.

Other Fragments on Daniel.¹³⁴³

For when the iron legs that now hold the sovereignty have given place to the feet and the toes, in accordance with the representation of the terrible beast, as has also been signified in the former times, then from heaven will come the stone that smites the image, and breaks it; and it will subvert all the kingdoms, and give the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This is the stone which becomes a great mountain, and fills the earth, and of which it is written: "I saw in the night-visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; and all peoples, nations, and languages shall serve Him: His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed."¹³⁴⁴

1343 In *Anastasius Sinaita*, quæst. xlviii. p. 327.

1344 [Dan. vii. 13.](#)

V.

On the Song of the Three Children.¹³⁴⁵

“O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord; O ye apostles, prophets, and martyrs of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise Him, and exalt Him above all, for ever.”

We may well marvel at the words of the three youths in the furnace, how they enumerated all created things, so that not one of them might be reckoned free and independent in itself; but, summing up and naming them all together, both things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, they showed them to be all the servants of God, who created all things by the Word, that no one should boast that any of the creatures was without birth and beginning.

1345 From the *Catena Patrum in Psalmos et Cantica*, vol. iii. ed. Corderianæ, pp. 951, ad v. 87.

VI.

On Susannah.¹³⁴⁶

What is narrated here, happened at a later time, although it is placed before the first book (at the beginning of the book). For it was a custom with the writers to narrate many things in an inverted order in their writings. For we find also in the prophets some visions recorded among the first and fulfilled among the last; and again, on the other hand, some recorded among the last and fulfilled first. And this was done by the disposition of the Spirit, that the devil might not understand the things spoken in parables by the prophets, and might not a second time lay his snares and ruin man.

Ver. 1. “Called Joacim.” This Joacim, being a stranger in Babylon, obtains Susannah in marriage. And she was the daughter of Chelcias the priest,¹³⁴⁷ who found the book of the law in the house of the Lord, when Josiah the king commanded him to purify the holy of holies. His brother was Jeremiah the prophet, who was carried, with the remnant that was left after the deportation of the people to Babylon, into Egypt, and dwelt in Taphnæ;¹³⁴⁸ and, while prophesying there, he was stoned to death by the people.

“A very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord,” etc. For by the fruit produced, the tree also is easily known. For men who are pious and zealous for the law, bring into the world children worthy of God; such as he was who became a prophet and witness of Christ, and she who was found chaste and faithful in Babylon, whose honour and chastity were the occasion of the manifestation of the blessed Daniel as a prophet.

4. “Now Joacim was a great rich man,” etc. We must therefore seek the explanation of this. For how could those who were captives, and had been made subject to the Babylonians, meet together in the same place, as if they were their own masters? In this matter, therefore, we should observe that Nebuchadnezzar, after their deportation, treated them kindly, and permitted them to meet together, and do all things according to the law.

7. “And at noon Susannah went into (her husband’s garden).” Susannah prefigured the Church; and Joacim, her husband, Christ; and the garden, the calling of the saints, who are planted like fruitful trees in the Church. And Babylon is the world; and the two elders are set forth as a figure of the two peoples that plot against the Church—the one, namely, of the circumcision, and the other of the Gentiles. For the words, “were appointed rulers of



1346 This apocryphal story of Susannah is found in the Greek texts of the LXX. and Theodotion, in the old Latin and Vulgate, and in the Syriac and Arabic versions. But there is no evidence that it ever formed part of the Hebrew, or of the original Syriac text. It is generally placed at the beginning of the book, as in the Greek mss. and the old Latin, but is also sometimes set at the end, as in the Vulgate, ed. Compl.

1347 [2 Kings xxii. 8.](#)

1348 [Jer. xliii. 8.](#)

the people and judges,” (mean) that in this world they exercise authority and rule, judging the righteous unrighteously.

8. “And the two elders saw her.” These things the rulers of the Jews wish now to expunge from the book, and assert that these things did not happen in Babylon, because they are ashamed of what was done then by the elders.

9. “And they perverted their own mind.” For how, indeed, can those who have been the enemies and corruptors of the Church judge righteously, or look up to heaven with pure heart, when they have become the slaves of the prince of this world?

10. “And they were both wounded with her (love).” This word is to be taken in truth; for always the two peoples, being wounded (instigated) by Satan working in them, strive to raise persecutions and afflictions against the Church, and seek how they may corrupt her, though they do not agree with each other.

12. “And they watched diligently.” And this, too, is to be noted. For up to the present time both the Gentiles and the Jews of the circumcision watch and busy themselves with the dealings of the Church, desiring to suborn false witnesses against us, as the apostle says: “And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus.”¹³⁴⁹

It is a kind of sin to be anxious to give the mind to women.

14. “And when they were gone out, they parted the one from the other.” As to their parting the one from the other at the hour of dinner (luncheon), this signifies that in the matter of earthly meats the Jews and the Gentiles are not at one; but in their views, and in all worldly matters, they are of one mind, and can meet each other.

14. “And asking one another, they acknowledged their lust.” Thus, in revealing themselves to each other, they foreshadow the time when they shall be proved by their thoughts, and shall have to give account to God for all the sin which they have done, as Solomon says: “And scrutiny shall destroy the ungodly.”¹³⁵⁰ For these are convicted by the scrutiny.

15. “As they watched a fit time.” What fit time but that of the passover, at which the laver is prepared in the garden for those who burn, and Susannah washes herself, and is presented as a pure bride to God?

“With two maids only.” For when the Church desires to take the laver according to use, she must of necessity have two handmaids to accompany her. For it is by faith on Christ and love to God that the Church confesses and receives the laver.

18. “And she said to her maids, Bring me oil.” For faith and love prepare oil and unguents to those who are washed. But what were these unguents, but the commandments of the holy Word? And what was the oil, but the power of the Holy Spirit, with which believers are

1349 [Gal. ii. 4.](#)

1350 [Prov. i. 32](#); in our version given as, “The prosperity of fools shall destroy them.”

anointed as with ointment after the laver of washing? All these things were figuratively represented in the blessed Susannah, for our sakes, that we who now believe on God might not regard the things that are done now in the Church as strange, but believe them all to have been set forth in figure by the patriarchs of old, as the apostle also says: “Now these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they were written for our instruction, on whom the ends of the world are come.”¹³⁵¹

18. “And they went out at privy doors;” showing thus by anticipation, that he who desires to partake of the water in the garden must renounce the broad gate, and enter by the strait and narrow.¹³⁵²

“And they saw not the elders.” For as of old the devil was concealed in the serpent in the garden, so now too, concealed in the elders, he fired them with his own lust, that he might again a second time corrupt Eve.

20. “Behold, the garden doors are shut.” O wicked rulers, and filled with the workings of the devil, did Moses deliver these things to you? And while ye read the law yourselves, do ye teach others thus? Thou that sayest, “Thou shalt not kill,” dost thou kill? Thou that sayest, “Thou shalt not covet,” dost thou desire to corrupt the wife of thy neighbour?

“And we are in love with thee.” Why, ye lawless, do ye strive to gain over a chaste and guileless soul by deceitful words, in order to satisfy your own lust?

21. “If thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee.” This wicked audacity with which you begin, comes of the deceitfulness that lurks in you from the beginning. And there was in reality a young man with her, that one¹³⁵³ of yours; one from heaven, not to have intercourse with her, but to bear witness to her truth.

22. “And Susannah sighed.” The blessed Susannah, then, when she heard these words, was troubled in her heart, and set a watch upon her mouth, not wishing to be defiled by the wicked elders. Now it is in our power also to apprehend the real meaning of all that befell Susannah. For you may find this also fulfilled in the present condition of the Church. For when the two peoples conspire to destroy any of the saints, they watch for a fit time, and enter the house of God while all there are praying and praising God, and seize some of them, and carry them off, and keep hold of them, saying, Come, consent with us, and worship our Gods; and if not, we will bear witness against you. And when they refuse, they drag them before the court and accuse them of acting contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, and condemn them to death.

“I am straitened on every side.” Behold the words of a chaste woman, and one dear to God: “I am straitened on every side.” For the Church is afflicted and straitened, not only by

1351 [1 Cor. x. 11.](#)

1352 [Matt. vii. 13, 14.](#)

1353 That is, Daniel, present in the spirit of prophecy.—Combef.

the Jews, but also by the Gentiles, and by those who are called Christians, but are not such in reality. For they, observing her chaste and happy life, strive to ruin her.

“For if I do this thing, it is death to me.” For to be disobedient to God, and obedient to men, works eternal death and punishment.

“And if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands.” And this indeed is said with truth. For they who are brought into judgment for the sake of God’s name, if they do what is commanded them by men, die to God, and shall live in the world. But if they refuse to do what is commanded them by men, they escape not the hands of their judges, but are condemned by them.

23. “It is better for me not to do it.” For it is better to die by the hand of wicked men and live with God, than, by consenting to them, to be delivered from them and fall into the hands of God.

24. “And Susannah cried with a loud voice.” And to whom did Susannah cry but to God? as Isaiah says: “Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer thee; whilst thou art yet speaking, He shall say, Lo, here I am.”¹³⁵⁴

“And the two elders cried out against her.” For the wicked never cease to cry out against us, and to say: Away with such from off the earth, for it is not fit that they should live. In an evangelical sense, Susannah despised them who kill the body, in order that she might save her soul from death. Now sin is the death of the soul, and especially (the sin of) adultery. For when the soul that is united with Christ forsakes its faith, it is given over to perpetual death, viz., eternal punishment. And in confirmation of this, in the case of the transgression and violation of marriage unions in the flesh, the law has decreed the penalty of death.

25. “Then ran the one and opened the gates;” pointing to the broad and spacious way on which they who follow such persons perish.

31. “Now Susannah was a very delicate woman.” Not that she had meretricious adornments about her person, as Jezebel had, or eyes painted with divers colours; but that she had the adornment of faith, and chastity, and sanctity.

34. “And laid their hands upon her head;” that at least by touching her they might satisfy their lust.

35. “And she was weeping.” For by her tears she attracted the (regard of) the Word from heaven, who was with tears to raise the dead Lazarus.

41. “Then the assembly believed them.” It becomes us, then, to be steadfast in every duty, and to give no heed to lies, and to yield no obsequious obedience to the persons of rulers, knowing that we have to give account to God; but if we follow the truth, and aim at the exact rule of faith, we shall be well-pleasing to God.

1354 [Isa. lviii. 9.](#)

44. “And the Lord heard her voice.” For those who call upon Him from a pure heart, God heareth. But from those who (call upon Him) in deceit and hypocrisy, God turneth away His face.

52. “O thou that art waxen old in wickedness.” Now, since at the outset, in the introduction, we explained that the two elders are to be taken as a type of the two peoples, that of the circumcision and that of the Gentiles, which are always enemies of the Church; let us mark the words of Daniel, and learn that the Scripture deals falsely with us in nothing. For, addressing the first elder, he censures him as one instructed in the law; while he addresses the other as a Gentile, calling him “the seed of Chanaan,” although he was then among the circumcision.

55. “For even now the angel of God.” He shows also, that when Susannah prayed to God, and was heard, the angel was sent then to help her, just as was the case in the instance of Tobias¹³⁵⁵ and Sara. For when they prayed, the supplication of both of them was heard in the same day and the same hour, and the angel Raphael was sent to heal them both.

61. “And they arose against the two elders;” that the saying might be fulfilled, “Whoso diggeth a pit for his neighbour, shall fall therein.”¹³⁵⁶

To all these things, therefore, we ought to give heed, beloved, fearing lest any one be overtaken in any transgression, and risk the loss of his soul, knowing as we do that God is the Judge of all; and the Word¹³⁵⁷ Himself is the Eye which nothing that is done in the world escapes. Therefore, always watchful in heart and pure in life, let us imitate Susannah.



1355 [Tobit iii. 17.](#)

1356 [Prov. xxvi. 27.](#)

1357 Cotelierius reads ὅλος instead of ὁ λόγος, and so = and He is Himself the whole or universal eye.

On Matthew.¹³⁵⁸

[Matt. vi. 11.](#)¹³⁵⁹

For this reason we are enjoined to ask what is sufficient for the preservation of the substance of the body: not luxury, but food, which restores what the body loses, and prevents death by hunger; not tables to inflame and drive on to pleasures, nor such things as make the body wax wanton against the soul; but bread, and that, too, not for a great number of years, but what is sufficient for us to-day.

1358 De Magistris, *Acta Martyrum Ostiens.*, p. 405.

1359 He is giving his opinion on the ἐπιούσιον, i.e., the “daily bread.”

On Luke.¹³⁶⁰

Chap. ii. 7 And if you please, we say that the Word was the first-born of God, who came down from heaven to the blessed Mary, and was made a first-born man in her womb, in order that the first-born of God might be manifested in union with a first-born man.

22. When they brought Him to the temple to present Him to the Lord, they offered the oblations of purification. For if the gifts of purification according to the law were offered for Him, in this indeed He was made under the law. But the Word was not subject to the law in such wise as the sycophants¹³⁶¹ fancy, since He is the law Himself; neither did God need sacrifices of purification, for He purifieth and sanctifieth all things at once in a moment. But though He took to Himself the frame of man as He received it from the Virgin, and was made under the law, and was thus purified after the manner of the first-born, it was not because He needed this ceremonial that He underwent its services, but only for the purpose of redeeming from the bondage of the law those who were sold under the judgment of the curse.

Chap. xxiii For this reason the warders of Hades trembled when they saw Him; and the gates of brass and the bolts of iron were broken. For, lo, the Only-begotten entered, a soul among souls, God the Word with a (human) soul. For His body lay in the tomb, not emptied of divinity; but as, while in Hades, He was in essential being with His Father, so was He also in the body and in Hades.¹³⁶² For the Son is not contained in space, just as the Father; and He comprehends all things in Himself. But of His own will he dwelt in a body animated by a soul, in order that with His soul He might enter Hades, and not with His pure divinity.

1360 Mai, *Script. vet. collectio nova*, vol. ix. p. 645, Rome, 1837.

1361 οἱ συκοφάνται.

1362 Pearson *On the Creed*, art. iv. p. 355.

Doubtful Fragments on the Pentateuch.¹³⁶³

Preface.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. This is a transcript of the excellent law. But before beginning to give the transcript of the book of the law, it will be worth while to instruct you, O brother, as to its excellence, and the dignity of its disposition. Its first excellence is, that God delivered it by the hand of our most blessed ruler, the chief of the prophets, and first of the apostles, or those who were sent to the children of Israel, viz., Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, of the sons of Levi. Now he was adorned with all manner of wisdom, and endowed with the best genius. Illustrious in dignity, remarkable for the integrity of his disposition, distinguished for power of reason, he talked with God. And He chose him as an instrument of value. By His leader and prophet, God Most High sent it down to us, and committed it to us (blessed be His name) in the Syriac tongue of the Targum, which the Seventy translated into the Hebrew tongue, to wit, into the tongue of the nation, and the idiom of the common people. Moses. therefore, received it from the eternal Lord, and was the first to whom it was entrusted, and who obeyed its rules and ordinances. Then he taught it to the children of Israel, who also embraced it. And he explained to them its profound mysteries and dark places. And he expounded to them those things which were less easy, as God permitted him, and concealed from them those secrets of the law, as God forbade him (to reveal them). Nor did there rise among them one who was better practised in His judgments and decrees, and who communicated more clearly the mysteries of His doctrine, until God translated him to Himself, after He had made him perfect by forty whole years in the wilderness.

And these following are the names of the teachers who handed down the law in continuous succession after Moses the prophet, until the advent of Messiah:—

Know, then, my brother, whom may God bless, that God delivered the most excellent law into the hands of Moses the prophet, the son of Amram.

And Moses delivered it to Joshua the son of Nun.

And Joshua the son of Nun delivered it Anathal.

And Anathal delivered it to Jehud.

And Jehud delivered it to Samgar.

And Samgar delivered it to Baruk.

And Baruk delivered it to Gideon.

And Gideon delivered it to Abimelech.

And Abimelech delivered it to Taleg.



1363 These are edited in Arabic and Latin by Fabricius, *Opp. Hippol.*, ii. 33. That these are spurious is now generally agreed. The translation is from the Latin version, which alone is given by Migne.

And Taleg delivered it to Babin the Gileadite.

And Babin delivered it to Jiphtach.

And Jiphtach delivered it to Ephran.

And Ephran delivered it to Elul of the tribe Zebulon.

And Elul delivered it to Abdan.

And Abdan delivered it to Shimshon the brave.

And Shimshon delivered it to Helkanah, the son of Jerachmu, the son of Jehud. Moreover, he was the father of Samuel the prophet. Of this Helkanah mention is made in the beginning of the first book of Kings (Samuel).

And Helkanah delivered it to Eli the priest. And Eli delivered it to Samuel the prophet.

And Samuel delivered it to Nathan the prophet.

And Nathan delivered it to Gad the prophet.

And Gad the prophet delivered it to Shemaiah the teacher. And Shemaiah delivered it to Iddo the teacher. And Iddo delivered it to Achia.

And Achia delivered it to Abihu.

And Abihu delivered it to Elias the prophet.

And Elias delivered it to his disciple Elisæus.

And Elisæus delivered it to Malachia the prophet.

And Malachia delivered it to Abdiahu.

And Abdiahu delivered it to Jehuda.

And Jehuda delivered it to Zacharias the teacher. In those days came Bachthansar king of Babel, and laid waste the house of the sanctuary, and carried the children of Israel into captivity to Babel.

And after the captivity of Babel, Zacharia the teacher delivered it to Esaia the prophet, the son of Amos.

And Esaia delivered it to Jeremia the prophet.

And Jeremia the prophet delivered it to Chizkiel.

And Chizkiel the prophet delivered it to Hosea the prophet, the son of Bazi.

And Hosea delivered it to Joiel the prophet.

And Joiel delivered it to Amos the prophet.

And Amos delivered it to Obadia.

And Obadia delivered it to Jonan the prophet, the son of Mathi, the son of Armelah, who was the brother of Elias the prophet.

And Jonan delivered it to Micha the Morasthite, who delivered it to Nachum the Alcusite. And Nachum delivered it to Chabakuk the prophet.

And Chabakuk delivered it to Sophonia the prophet.

And Sophonia delivered it to Chaggæus the prophet.

And Chaggæus delivered it to Zecharia the prophet, the son of Bershia.

And Zecharia, when in captivity, delivered it to Malachia. And Malachia delivered it to Ezra the teacher.

¹³⁶⁴And Ezra delivered it to Shamaï the chief priest, and Jada to Samean, (and) Samean delivered it to Antigonus.

And Antigonus delivered it to Joseph the son of Johezer, (and) Joseph the son of Gjuchanan.

And Joseph delivered it to Jehosua, the son of Barachia.

And Jehosua delivered it to Nathan the Arbelite.

And Nathan delivered it to Shimeon, the elder son of Shebach. This is he who carried the Messiah in his arms.

Simeon delivered it to Jehuda.

Jehuda delivered it to Zecharia the priest.

And Zecharia the priest, the father of John the Baptist, delivered it to Joseph, a teacher of his own tribe.

And Joseph delivered it to Hanan and Caiaphas. Moreover, from them were taken away the priestly, and kingly, and prophetic offices.

These were teachers at the advent of Messiah; and they were both priests of the children of Israel. Therefore the whole number of venerable and honourable priests put in trust of this most excellent law was fifty-six, Hanan (i.e., Annas) and Caiaphas being excepted.

And those are they who delivered it in the last days to the state of the children of Israel; nor did there arise any priests after them.

This is the account of what took place with regard to the most excellent law.

Armîus, author of the book of *Times*, has said: In the nineteenth year of the reign of King Ptolemy, He ordered the elders of the children of Israel to be assembled, in order that they might put into his hands a copy of the law, and that they might each be at hand to explain its meaning.

The elders accordingly came, bringing with them the most excellent law. Then he commanded that every one of them should interpret the book of the law to him.

But he dissented from the interpretation which the elders had given. And he ordered the elders to be thrust into prison and chains. And seizing the book of the law, he threw it into a deep ditch, and cast fire and hot ashes upon it for seven days. Then afterwards he ordered them to throw the filth of the city into that ditch in which was the book of the law. And the ditch was filled to the very top.

The law remained seventy years under the filth in that ditch, yet did not perish, nor was there even a single leaf of it spoilt.

1364 See Tsemach David, and Maimon. Præfat. ad Seder Zeraim, in Pocockii *Porta Moses*, p. 36.

In the twenty-first year of the reign of King Apianutus they took the book of the law out of the ditch, and not one leaf thereof was spoilt.

And after the ascension of Christ into heaven, came King Titus, son of Aspasianus king of Rome, to Jerusalem, and besieged and took it. And he destroyed the edifice of the second house, which the children of Israel had built. Titus the king destroyed the house of the sanctuary, and slew all the Jews who were in it, and built Tsion (*sic*) in their blood. And after that deportation the Jews were scattered abroad in slavery. Nor did they assemble any more in the city of Jerusalem, nor is there hope anywhere of their returning.

After Jerusalem was laid waste, therefore, Shemaia and Antalia (Abtalion) delivered the law,—kings of Baalbach,¹³⁶⁵ a city which Soliman, son of King David, had built of old, and which was restored anew in the days of King Menasse, who sawed Esaia the prophet asunder.

King Adrian, of the children of Edom, besieged Baalbach, and took it, and slew all the Jews who were in it, (and) as many as were of the family of David he reduced to slavery. And the Jews were dispersed over the whole earth, as God Most High had foretold: “And I will scatter you among the Gentiles, and disperse you among the nations.”

And these are the things which have reached us as to the history of that most excellent book. The Preface is ended.

1365 Heliopolis of Syria.

The Law.

In the name of God eternal, everlasting, most mighty, merciful, compassionate.

By the help of God we begin to describe the book of the law, and its interpretation, as the holy, learned, and most excellent fathers have interpreted it.

The following, therefore, is the interpretation of the first book, which indeed is the book of the creation (and) of created beings.

Section I.

Of the Creation of Heaven and Earth. "In the Beginning God Created," Etc.

An exposition of that which God said.

And the blessed prophet, indeed, the great Moses, wrote this book, and designated and marked it with the title, *The Book of Being*, i.e., "of created beings," etc.

Sections II., III.

And the Lord Said: "And I Will Bring the Waters of the Flood Upon the Earth to Destroy All Flesh," Etc.

Hippolytus, the Targumist expositor, said: The names of the wives of the sons of Noah are these: the name of the wife of Sem, Nahalath Mahnuk; and the name of the wife of Cham, Zedkat Nabu; and the name of the wife of Japheth, Arathka. These, moreover, are their names in the Syriac Targum.¹³⁶⁶ The name of the wife of Sem was Nahalath Mahnuk; the name of the wife of Cham, Zedkat Nabu; the name of the wife of Japheth, Arathka.

Therefore God gave intimation to Noah, and informed him of the coming of the flood, and of the destruction of the ruined (wicked).

And God Most High ordered him to descend from the holy mount, him and his sons, and the wives of his sons, and to build a ship of three storeys. The lower storey was for fierce, wild, and dangerous beasts. Between them there were stakes or wooden beams, to separate them from each other, and prevent them from having intercourse with each other. The middle storey was for birds, and their different genera. Then the upper storey was for Noah himself and his sons—for his own wife and his sons' wives.

Noah also made a door in the ship, on the east side. He also constructed tanks of water, and store-rooms of provisions.

When he had made an end, accordingly, of building the ship, Noah, with his sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth, entered the cave of deposits.¹³⁶⁷

And on their first approach, indeed, they happily found the bodies of the fathers, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kainan, Mahaliel, Jared, Mathusalach, and Lamech. Those eight bodies were in the place of deposits, viz., those of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kainan, Mahaliel, Jared, Mathusalach, and Lamech.

Noah, moreover, took the body of Adam. And his sons took with them offerings. Sem carried gold, Cham myrrh, and Japheth frankincense. Then, leaving the cave of deposits, they transferred the offerings and the body of Adam to the holy mount.¹³⁶⁸

And when they sat down by the body of Adam, over against paradise, they began to lament and weep for the loss of paradise.

Then, descending from the holy mount, and lifting up their eyes towards paradise, they renewed their weeping and wailing, (and) uttered an eternal farewell in these terms: Farewell! peace to thee, O paradise of God! Farewell, O habitation of religion and purity! Farewell, O seat of pleasure and delight!

1366 What follows was thus expressed probably in Syriac in some Syriac version.

1367 Cavernam thesaurorum. [*Cant. iv. 6*, i.e., Paradise.]

1368 Cavernam thesaurorum. [*Cant. iv. 6*, i.e., Paradise.]

Then they embraced the stones and trees of the holy mount, and wept, and said: Farewell, O habitation of the good! Farewell, O abode of holy bodies!

Then, after three days, Noah, with his sons and his sons' wives, came down from the holy mount to the base of the holy mount, to the ship's place. For the (ark) was under the projecting edge of the holy mount.

And Noah entered the ship, and deposited the body of Adam, and the offerings, in the middle of the ship, upon a bier of wood, which he had prepared for the reception of the body.

And God charged Noah, saying: Make for thyself rattles¹³⁶⁹ of boxwood (or cypress). Now שמשאר is the wood called Sagh, i.e., Indian plane.

Make also the hammer (bell) thereof of the same wood. And the length of the rattle shall be three whole cubits, and its breadth one and a half cubit.

And God enjoined him to strike the rattles three times every day, to wit, for the first time at early dawn, for the second time at mid-day, and for the third time at sunset.

And it happened that, as soon as Noah had struck the rattles, the sons of Cain and the sons of Vahim ran up straightway to him, and he warned and alarmed them by telling of the immediate approach of the flood, and of the destruction already hasting on and impending.

Thus, moreover, was the pity of God toward them displayed, that they might be converted and come to themselves again. But the sons of Cain did not comply with what Noah proclaimed to them. And Noah brought together pairs, male and female, of all birds of every kind; and thus also of all beasts, tame and wild alike, pair and pair.

1369 Crepitacula.

Section IV.

On [Gen. vii. 6](#)

Hippolytus, the Syrian expositor of the Targum, has said: We find in an ancient Hebrew copy that God commanded Noah to range the wild beasts in order in the lower floor or storey, and to separate the males from the females by putting wooden stakes between them.

And thus, too, he did with all the cattle, and also with the birds in the middle storey. And God ordered the males thus to be separated from the females for the sake of decency and purity, lest they should perchance get intermingled with each other.

Moreover, God said to Moses: Provide victuals for yourself and your children. And let them be of wheat, ground, pounded, kneaded with water, and dried. And Noah there and then bade his wife, and his sons' wives, diligently attend to kneading dough and laying it in the oven. They kneaded dough accordingly, and prepared just about as much as might be sufficient for them, so that nothing should remain over but the very least.

And God charged Noah, saying to him: Whosoever shall first announce to you the approach of the deluge, him you shall destroy that very moment. In the meantime, moreover, the wife of Cham was standing by, about to put a large piece of bread into the oven. And suddenly, according to the word of the Lord, water rushed forth from the oven, and the flow of water penetrated and destroyed the bread. Therefore the wife of Cham exclaimed, addressing herself to Noah: Oh, sir, the word of God is come good: "that which God foretold is come to pass;" execute, therefore, that which the Lord commanded. And when Noah heard the words of the wife of Chain, he said to her: Is then the flood already come? The wife of Cham said to him: Thou hast said it. God, however, suddenly charged Noah, saying: Destroy not the wife of Cham; for from thy mouth is the beginning of destruction—"thou didst first say, The flood is come." At the voice of Noah the flood came, and suddenly the water destroyed that bread. And the floodgates of heaven were opened, and the rains broke upon the earth. And that same voice, in sooth, which had said of old, "Let the waters be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear,"¹³⁷⁰ gave permission to the fountain of waters and the floods of the seas to break forth of their own accord, and brought out the waters.

Consider what God said about the world: Let all its high places be brought low, and they were brought low; and let its low places be raised from its depths.

And the earth was made bare and empty of all existence, as it was at the beginning.

And the rain descended from above, and the earth burst open beneath. And the frame of the earth was destroyed, and its primitive order was broken. And the world became such

1370 [Gen. i. 9.](#)

as it was when desolated at the beginning by the waters which flowed over it. Nor was any one of the existences upon it left in its integrity.

Its former structure went to wreck, and the earth was disfigured by the flood of waters that burst upon it, and by the magnitude of its inundations, and the multitude of showers, and the eruption from its depths, as the waters continually broke forth. In fine, it was left such as it was formerly¹³⁷¹.

1371 [Gen. i. 9.](#)

Section V.

On Gen. viii. I



Hippolytus, the expositor of the Targum, and my master, Jacobus Rohaviensis, have said: On the twenty-seventh day of the month Jiar, which is the second Hebrew month, the ark rose from the base of the holy mount; and already the waters bore it, and it was carried upon them round about towards the four cardinal points of the world. The ark accordingly held off from the holy mount towards the east, then returned towards the west, then turned to the south, and finally, bearing off eastwards, neared Mount Kardu on the first day of the tenth month. And that is the second month Kanun.

And Noah came out of the ark on the twenty-seventh day of the month Jiar, in the second year: for the ark continued sailing five whole months, and moved to and fro upon the waters, and in a period of fifty-one days neared the land. Nor thereafter did it float about any longer. But it only moved successively toward the four cardinal points of the earth, and again finally stood toward the east. We say, moreover, that that was a sign of the cross. And the ark was a symbol of the Christ who was expected. For that ark was the means of the salvation of Noah and his sons, and also of the cattle, the wild beasts, and the birds. And Christ, too, when He suffered on the cross, delivered us from accusations and sins, and washed us in His own blood most pure.

And just as the ark returned to the east, and neared Mount Kardu, so also Christ, when the work was accomplished and finished which He had proposed to Himself, returned to heaven to the bosom of His Father, and sat down upon the throne of His glory at the Father's right hand.

As to Mount Kardu, it is in the east, in the land of the sons of Raban, and the Orientals call it Mount Godash;¹³⁷² the Arabians and Persians call it Ararat.¹³⁷³

And there is a town of the name Kardu, and that hill is called after it, which is indeed very lofty and inaccessible, whose summit no one has ever been able to reach, on account of the violence of the winds and the storms which always prevail there. And if any one attempts to ascend it, there are demons that rush upon him, and cast him down headlong from the ridge of the mountain into the plain, so that he dies. No one, moreover, knows what there is on the top of the mountain, except that certain relics of the wood of the ark still lie there on the surface of the top of the mountain.¹³⁷⁴

1372 Gordyæum.

1373 See Fuller, *Misc. Sacr.*, i. 4; and Bochart, *Phaleg.*, p. 22.

1374 [See p. 149, note 10, *supra*.]

Section X.

On Deut. xxxiii. II

Hippolytus, the expositor of the Targum, has said that Moses, when he had finished this prophecy, also pronounced a blessing upon all the children of Israel, by their several tribes, and prayed for them. Then God charged Moses, saying to him, Go up to Mount Nebo, which indeed is known by the name of the mount of the Hebrews, which is in the land of Moab over against Jericho.

And He said to him: View the land of Chanaan, which I am to give to the children of Israel for an inheritance. Thou, however, shalt never enter it; wherefore view it well from afar off. When Moses therefore viewed it, he saw that land,—a land green, and abounding with all plenty and fertility, planted thickly with trees; and Moses was greatly moved, and wept.

And when Moses descended from Mount Nebo, he called for Joshua the son of Nun, and said to him before the children of Israel: Prevail, and be strong; for thou art to bring the children of Israel into the land which God promised to fathers that He would give their them for an inheritance. Fear not, therefore, the people, neither be afraid of the nations: for God will be with thee.

And Moses wrote that Senna¹³⁷⁵ (Hebr. מִנְשָׁה = "secondary law," or "Deuteronomy"), and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi, and commanded them, saying: For seven years keep this Senna hid, and show it not within the entire course of seven years. ("And then") in the feast of tabernacles, the priests the sons of Levi will read this law before the children of Israel, that the whole people, men and women alike, may observe the words of God: Command them to keep the word of God, which is in that law. And whosoever shall violate one of its precepts, let him be accursed.

Accordingly, when Moses had finished the writing of the law, he gave it to Joshua the son of Nun, and enjoined him to give it to the sons of Levi, the priests. Moses also enjoined and charged them to place the book of the law again within the ark of the covenant of the Lord, that it might remain there for a testimony for ever.

And when Moses had made an end of his injunctions, God bade him go up Mount Nebo, which is over against Jericho. The Lord showed him the whole land of promise in its four quarters, from the wilderness to the sea, and from sea to sea. And the Lord said to him, Thou hast seen it indeed with thine eyes, but thou shalt never enter it. There accordingly

¹³⁷⁵ That is the name the Mohammedans give to their *Traditions*.

Moses died, the servant of God, by the command of God. And the angels buried him on Mount Nebo, which is over against Beth-Phegor. And no one knows of his sepulchre, even to this day. For God concealed his grave.

And Moses lived 120 years; nor was his eye dim, nor was the skin of his face wrinkled.

Moses died on a certain day, at the third hour of the day, on the seventh day of the second month, which is the month Jiar.

And the children of Israel wept for him in the plains of Moab three days.

And Joshua the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hand upon him. And all the children of Israel obeyed him. And God charged Joshua the son of Nun on a certain day,—namely, the seventh day of the month Nisan.

And Joshua the son of Nun lived 110 years, and died on the fourth day, which was the first day of the month Elul. And they buried him in the city Thamnatserach, on Mount Ephraim.

Praise be to God for the completion *of the work*.



On the Psalms.¹³⁷⁶

I.

The Argument of the Exposition of the Psalms by Hippolytus, (Bishop) of Rome.

1. The book of Psalms contains new doctrine after the law which was given by Moses; and thus it is the second book of doctrine after the Scripture of Moses. After the death, then of Moses and Joshua, and after the judges, David arose, one deemed worthy to be called the father of the Saviour, and he was the first to give the Hebrews a new style of psalmody, by which he did away with the ordinances established by Moses with respect to sacrifice, and introduced a new mode of the worship of God by hymns and acclamations; and many other things also beyond the law of Moses he taught through his whole ministry. And this is the sacredness of the book, and its utility. And the account to be given of its inscription is this: (for) as most of the brethren who believe in Christ think that this book is David's, and inscribe it "Psalms of David," we must state what has reached us with respect to it. The Hebrews give the book the title "Sephra Thelim,"¹³⁷⁷ and in the "Acts of the Apostles" it is called the "Book of Psalms" (the words are these, "as it is written in the Book of Psalms"), but the name (of the author) in the inscription of the book is not found there. And the reason of that is, that the words written there are not the words of one man, but those of several together; Esdra, as tradition says, having collected in one volume, after the captivity, the psalms of several, or rather their words, as they are not all psalms. Thus the name of David is prefixed in the case of some, and that of Solomon in others, and that of Asaph in others. There are some also that belong to Idithum (Jeduthun); and besides these there are others that belong to the sons of Core (Korah), and even to Moses. As they are therefore the words of so many thus collected together, they could not be said by any one who understands the matter to be by David alone.

2. As regards those which have no inscription, we must also inquire to whom we ought to ascribe them. For why is it that even the simplest inscription is wanting in them—such as the one which runs thus, "A psalm of David," or "Of David," without any addition? Now, my idea is, that wherever this inscription occurs alone, what is written is neither a psalm nor a song, but some sort of utterance under guidance of the Holy Spirit, recorded for the behoof of him who is able to understand it. But the opinion of a certain Hebrew on these last matters has reached me, who held that, when there were many without any inscription, but preceded by one with the inscription "Of David," all these should be reckoned also to be by David. And if this be the case, it follows that those without any inscription are by

1376 Simon de Magistris, *Acta Martyrum Ostiensium*, Append., p. 439.

1377 That is an attempt to express in Greek letters the Hebrew title, viz., סֵפֶר הַתְּהִלִּים = Book of Praises

those (writers) who are rightly reckoned, according to the titles, to be the authors of the psalms preceding these. This book of Psalms before us has also been called by the prophet the “Psalter,” because, as they say, the psaltery alone among musical instruments gives back the sound from above when the brass is struck, and not from beneath, after the manner of others. In order, therefore, that those who understand it may be zealous to carry out the analogy of such an appellation, and may also look above, from which direction its melody comes—for this reason he has styled it the Psalter. For it is entirely the voice and utterance of the most Holy Spirit.

3. Let us inquire, further, why there are one hundred and fifty psalms. That the number fifty is sacred, is manifest from the days of the celebrated festival of Pentecost, which indicates release from labours, and (the possession of) joy. For which reason neither fasting nor bending the knee is decreed for those days.¹³⁷⁸ For this is a symbol of the great assembly that is reserved for future times. Of which times there was a shadow in the land of Israel in the year called among the Hebrews “Jobel” (Jubilee), which is the fiftieth year in number, and brings with it liberty for the slave, and release from debt, and the like. And the holy Gospel knows also the remission of the number fifty, and of that number which is cognate with it, and stands by it, viz., five hundred;¹³⁷⁹ for it is not without a purpose that we have given us there the remission of fifty pence and of five hundred. Thus, then, it was also meet that the hymns to God on account of the destruction of enemies, and in thanksgiving for the goodness of God, should contain not simply one set of fifty, but three such, for the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.

4. The number fifty, moreover, contains seven sevens, or a Sabbath of Sabbaths; and also over and above these full Sabbaths, a new beginning, in the eight, of a really new rest that remains above the Sabbaths. And let any one who is able, observe this (as it is carried out) in the Psalms with more, indeed, than human accuracy, so as to find out the reasons in each case, as we shall set them forth. Thus, for instance, it is not without a purpose that the eighth psalm has the inscription, “On the wine-presses,” as it comprehends the perfection of fruits in the eight; for the time for the enjoyment of the fruits of the true vine could not be before the eight. And again, the second psalm inscribed “On the wine-presses,” is the eightieth, containing another eighth number, viz., in the tenth multiple. The eighty-third, again, is made up by the union of two holy numbers, viz., the eight in the tenth multiple, and the three in the first multiple. And the fiftieth psalm is a prayer for the remission of sins, and a confession. For as, according to the Gospel, the fiftieth obtained remission, confirming thereby that understanding of the jubilee, so he who offers up such petitions in full confession hopes to gain remission in no other number than the fiftieth. And again,

1378 [See vol. iii. pp. 94, 103.]

1379 [Luke vii. 41.](#) [[Dan. viii. 13,](#) (*Margin.*) “Palmoni,” etc.]

there are also certain others which are called “Songs of degrees,” in number fifteen, as was also the number of the steps of the temple, and which show thereby, perhaps, that the “steps” (or “degrees”) are comprehended within the number seven and the number eight. And these songs of degrees begin after the one hundred and twentieth psalm, which is called simply “a psalm,” as the more accurate copies give it. And this is the number¹³⁸⁰ of the perfection of the life of man. And the hundredth¹³⁸¹ psalm, which begins thus, “I will sing of mercy and judgment, O Lord,” embraces the life of the saint in fellowship with God. And the one hundred and fiftieth ends with these words, “Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.”

5. But since, as we have already said, to do this in the case of each, and to find out the reasons, is very difficult, and too much for human nature to accomplish, we shall content ourselves with these things by way of an outline. Only let us add this, that the psalms which deal with historical matter are not found in regular historical order. And the only reason for this is to be found in the numbers according to which the psalms are arranged. For instance, the history in the fifty-first is antecedent to the history in the fiftieth. For everybody acknowledges that the matter of Doeg the Idumean calumniating David to Saul is antecedent to the sin with the wife of Urias; yet it is not without good reason that the history which should be second is placed first, since, as we have before said, the place regarding remission has an affinity with the number fifty. He, therefore, who is not worthy of remission, passes the number fifty, as Doeg the Idumean. For the fifty-first is the psalm that treats of him. And, moreover, the third is in the same position, since it was written when David fled from the face of Absalom his son; and thus, as all know who read the books of Kings, it should come properly after the fifty-first and the fiftieth.

And if any one desires to give further attention to these and such like matters, he will find more exact explanations of the history for himself, as well as of the inscriptions and the order of the psalms.

6. It is likely, also, that a similar account is to be given of the fact, that David alone of the prophets prophesied with an instrument, called by the Greeks the “psaltery,”¹³⁸² and by the Hebrews the “nabla,” which is the only musical instrument that is quite straight, and has no curve. And the sound does not come from the lower parts, as is the case with the lute and certain other instruments, but from the upper. For in the lute and the lyre the brass when struck gives back the sound from beneath. But this psaltery has the source of its musical numbers above, in order that we, too, may practise seeking things above, and not suffer ourselves to be borne down by the pleasure of melody to the passions of the flesh. And I

1380 [Gen. vi. 3.](#)

1381 i.e., in our version the 101st.

1382 [See learned remarks of Pusey, p. 27 of his *Lectures on Daniel*.]

think that this truth, too, was signified deeply and clearly to us in a prophetic way in the construction of the instrument, viz., that those who have souls well ordered and trained, have the way ready to things above. And again, an instrument having the source of its melodious sound in its upper parts, may be taken as like the body of Christ and His saints—the only instrument that maintains rectitude; “for He did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth.”¹³⁸³ This is indeed an instrument, harmonious, melodious, well-ordered, that took in no human discord, and did nothing out of measure, but maintained in all things, as it were, harmony towards the Father; for, as He says: “He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: He that cometh from heaven, testifies of what He has seen and heard.”¹³⁸⁴



7. As there are “psalms,” and “songs,” and “psalms of song,” and “songs of psalmody,”¹³⁸⁵ it remains that we discuss the difference between these. We think, then, that the “psalms” are those which are simply played to an instrument, without the accompaniment of the voice, and (which are composed) for the musical melody of the instrument; and that those are called “songs” which are rendered by the voice in concert with the music; and that they are called “psalms of song” when the voice takes the lead, while the appropriate sound is also made to accompany it, rendered harmoniously by the instruments; and “songs of psalmody,” when the instrument takes the lead, while the voice has the second place, and accompanies the music of the strings. And thus much as to the letter of what is signified by these terms. But as to the mystical interpretation, it would be a “psalm” when, by smiting the instrument, viz., the body, with good deeds we succeed in good action though not wholly proficient in speculation; and a “song,” when, by revolving the mysteries of the truth, apart from the practical, and assenting fully to them, we have the noblest thoughts of God and His oracles, while knowledge enlightens us, and wisdom shines brightly in our souls; and a “song of psalmody,” when, while good action takes the lead, according to the word, “If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee,”¹³⁸⁶ we understand wisdom at the same time, and are deemed worthy by God to know the truth of things, till now kept hid from us; and a “psalm of song,” when, by revolving with the light of wisdom some of the more abstruse questions pertaining to morals, we first become prudent in action, and then also able to tell what, and when, and how action is to be taken. And perhaps this is the reason why the first inscriptions nowhere contain the word “songs,” but only “psalm” or “psalms;” for the saint does not begin with speculation; but when he has become in a simple way a believer, according to orthodoxy, he devotes himself to the

1383 [Isa. liii. 9.](#) [Vol. i. cap. iv. p. 50.]

1384 [John iii. 31.](#)

1385 The Greek is: ὄντων ψαλμῶν, καὶ οὐσῶν ᾠδῶν, καὶ ψαλμῶν ᾠδῆς, καὶ ᾠδῶν ψαλμοῦ.

1386 [Ecclus. i. 26.](#)

actions that are to be done. For this reason, also, are there many “songs” at the end; and wherever there is the word “degrees,” there we do not find the word “psalm,” whether by itself alone or with any addition, but only “songs.” For in the “degrees” (or “ascents”), the saints will be engaged in nothing but in speculation alone. And let the account which we have offered, following the indications given in the interpretation of the Seventy, suffice for this subject in general.

8. But again, as we found in the Seventy, and in Theodotion, and in Symmachus, in some psalms, and these not a few, the word διάψαλμα inserted,¹³⁸⁷ we endeavoured to make out whether those who placed it there meant to mark a change at those places in rhythm or melody, or any alteration in the mode of instruction, or in thought, or in force of language. It is found, however, neither in Aquila nor in the Hebrew; but there, instead of διάψαλμα (= an intervening musical symphony), we find the word αἰεί (= ever). And further, let not this fact escape thee, O man of learning, that the Hebrews also divided the Psalter into five books, so that it might be another Pentateuch. For from Ps. i. to xl. they reckoned one book; and from xli. to lxxi. they reckoned a second; and from lxxii. to lxxxviii. they counted a third book; and from lxxxix. to cv. a fourth; and from cvi. to cl. they made up the fifth. For they judged that each psalm closing with the words, “Blessed be the Lord, Amen, amen,” formed the conclusion of a book. And in them we have “prayer,” viz., supplication offered to God for anything requisite; and the “vow,” i.e., engagement; and the “hymn,” which is the song of blessing to God for benefits enjoyed; and “praise” or “extolling,” which is the laudation of the wonders of God. For laudation is nothing else but just the superlative of praise.

9. However it may be with the “time when and the manner” in which this idea of the Psalms has hit upon by the inspired David, he at least seems to have been the first, and indeed the only one, concerned in it, and that, too, at the earliest period, when he taught his fingers to tune the psaltery. For if any other before him showed the use of the psaltery and lute, it was at any rate in a very different way that such an one did it, only putting together some rude and clumsy contrivance, or simply employing the instrument, without singing either to melody or to words, but only amusing himself with a rude sort of pleasure. But after such he was the first to reduce the affair to rhythm, and order, and art, and also to wed the singing of the song with the melody. And, what is of greater importance, this most inspired of men sang to God, or of God, beginning in this wise even at the period when he was among the shepherds and youths in a simpler and humbler style, and afterwards when he became a man and a king, attempting something loftier and of more public interest. And he is said

1387 [Our author throws no great light on this vexed word, but the article *Selah* in Smith’s *Dict. of the Bible* is truly valuable.]

to have made this advance, especially after he had brought back the ark into the city. At that time he often danced before the ark, and often sang songs of thanksgiving and songs to celebrate its recovery. And then by and by, allocating the whole tribe of the Levites to the duty, he appointed four leaders of the choirs, viz., Asaph, Aman (Heman), Ethan, and Idithum (Jeduthun), inasmuch as there are also in all things visible four primal principles. And he then formed choirs of men, selected from the rest. And he fixed their number at seventy-two, having respect, I think, to the number of the tongues that were confused, or rather divided, at the time of the building of the tower. And what was typified by this, but that hereafter all tongues shall again unite in one common confession, when the Word takes possession of the whole world?



Other Fragments on the Psalms.¹³⁸⁸

II.

On [Psalm xxxi. 22.](#) Of the Triumph of the Christian Faith.

The mercy of God is not so “marvellous” when it is shown in humbler cities as when it is shown in “a strong city,”¹³⁸⁹ and for this reason “God is to be blessed.”

1388 De Magistris, *Acta Martyrum Ostien.*, p. 256.

1389 The allusion probably is to the seat of imperial power itself.

III.

On [Psalm lv. 15](#)

One of old used to say that those only descend alive into Hades who are instructed in the knowledge of things divine; for he who has not tasted of the words of life is dead.

IV.

On Psalm lviii. 11

But since there is a time when the righteous shall rejoice, and sinners shall meet the end foretold for them, we must with all reason fully acknowledge and declare that God is inspector and overseer of all that is done among men, and judges all who dwell upon earth. It is proper further to inquire whether the prophecy in hand, which quite corresponds and fits in with those preceding it, may describe the end.

When Hippolytus dictated these words,¹³⁹⁰ the grammarian asked him why he hesitated about that prophecy, as if he mistrusted the divine power in that calamity of exile.

The learned man calls attention to the question why the word διαγράφη (= may describe) was used by me in the subjunctive mood, as if silently indicating doubt.

Hippolytus accordingly replied:—

You know indeed quite well, that words of that form are used as conveying by implication a rebuke to those who study the prophecies about Christ, and talk righteousness with the mouth, while they do not admit His coming, nor listen to His voice when He calls to them, and says, “He that hath ears to hear let him hear;” who have made themselves like the serpent and have made their ears like those of a deaf viper, and so forth. God then does, in truth, take care of the righteous, and judges their cause when injured on the earth; and He punishes those who dare to injure them.

1390 He is addressing his amanuensis, a man not without learning, as it seems. Hippolytus dictates these words.

V.

On [Psalm lix. 11](#). Concerning the Jews.

For this reason, even up to our day, though they see the boundaries (of their country), and go round about them, they stand afar off. And therefore have they no longer king or high priest or prophet, nor even scribes and Pharisees and Sadducees among them. He does not, however, say that they are to be cut off; wherefore their race still subsists, and the succession of their children is continued. For they have not been cut off nor consumed from among men—but they are and exist still—yet only as those who have been rejected and cast down from the honour of which of old they were deemed worthy by God. But again, “Scatter them,” he says, “by Thy power;” which word has also come to pass. For they are scattered throughout the whole earth, in servitude everywhere, and engaging in the lowest and most servile occupations, and doing any unseemly work for hunger’s sake.

For if they were destroyed from among men, and remained nowhere among the living, they could not see my people, he means, nor know my Church in its prosperity. Therefore “scatter” them everywhere on earth, where my Church is to be established, in order that when they see the Church founded by me, they may be roused to emulate it in piety. And these things did the Saviour also ask on their behalf.

VI.

On [Psalm lxii. 6](#)

Aliens (μετανάσται) properly so called are those who have been despoiled by some enemies or adversaries, and have then become wanderers; a thing which we indeed also endured formerly at the hand of the demons. But from the time that Christ took us up by faith in Him, we are no longer aliens from the true country—the Jerusalem which is above—nor have we to bear alienation in error from the truth.

VII.

On [Psalm lxviii. 18.](#) Of the Enlargement of the Church.

And the unbelieving, too, He sometimes draws by means of sickness and outward circumstances; yea, many also by means of visions have come to make their abode with Jesus.



VIII.

On [Psalm lxxxix. 4.](#) Of the Gentiles.

And around us are the wise men of the Greeks mocking and jeering us, as those who believe without inquiry, and foolishly.

IX.

On the Words in [Psalm xcvi. 11](#): “Let the Sea Roar (Be Moved), and the Fulness
Thereof.”

By these words it is signified that the preaching of the Gospel will be spread abroad over the seas and the islands in the ocean, and among the people dwelling therein, who are here called “the fulness thereof.” And that word has been made good. For churches of Christ fill all the islands, and are being multiplied every day, and the teaching of the Word of salvation is gaining accessions.

X.

On [Psalm cxix. 30-32](#)

He who loves truth, and never utters a false word with his mouth, may say, "I have chosen the way of truth." Moreover, he who always sets the judgments of God before his eyes, and remembers them in every action, will say, "Thy judgments have I not forgotten." And how is our heart enlarged by trials and afflictions! For these pluck out the thorns of anxious thoughts within us, and enlarge the heart for the reception of the divine laws. For, says he, "in affliction Thou hast enlarged me." Then do we walk in the way of God's commandments, well prepared for it by the endurance of trials.

XI.

On the Words in [Psalm cxxvii. 7](#): "On the Wrath of Mine Enemies." Etc.

Hast thou¹³⁹¹ seen that the power (of God) is most mighty on every side? For (says he) Thou wilt be able to save me when in the midst of troubles, and to keep them in check when they rage, and rave, and breathe fire.

1391 To his amanuensis.

XII.

On the Words in [Psalm cxxxix. 15](#): "My Substance or (Bones) Was Not Hid from Thee, Which Thou Madest in Secret."

It is said also by those who treat of the nature and generation of animals, that the change of the blood into bone is something invisible and intangible, although in the case of other parts, I mean the flesh and nerves, the mode of their formation may be seen. And the Scripture also, in Ecclesiastes, adduces this, saying, "As thou knowest not the bones in the womb of her that is with child, so thou shalt not know the works of God."¹³⁹² But from Thee was not hid even my substance, as it was originally in the lowest parts of the earth.

1392 [Eccles. xi. 5.](#)

Part II.—Dogmatical and Historical.

Treatise on Christ and Antichrist.¹³⁹³

1. As it was your desire, my beloved brother Theophilus,¹³⁹⁴ to be thoroughly informed on those topics which I put summarily before you, I have thought it right to set these matters of inquiry clearly forth to your view, drawing largely from the Holy Scriptures themselves as from a holy fountain, in order that you may not only have the pleasure of hearing them on the testimony of men,¹³⁹⁵ but may also be able, by surveying them in the light of (divine) authority, to glorify God in all. For this will be as a sure supply furnished you by us for your journey in this present life, so that by ready argument applying things ill understood and apprehended by most, you may sow them in the ground of your heart, as in a rich and clean soil.¹³⁹⁶ By these, too, you will be able to silence those who oppose and gainsay the word of salvation. Only see that you do not give these things over to unbelieving and blasphemous tongues, for that is no common danger. But impart them to pious and faithful men, who desire to live holily and righteously with fear. For it is not to no purpose that the blessed apostle exhorts Timothy, and says, “O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith.”¹³⁹⁷ And again, “Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things that thou hast heard of me in many exhortations, the same commit thou to faithful men,¹³⁹⁸ who shall be able to teach others also.”¹³⁹⁹ If, then, the blessed (apostle) delivered these things with a pious caution, which could be easily known by all, as he perceived in the spirit that “all men have not

1393 Gallandi, *Bibl. vet. Patr.*, ii. p. 417, Venice, 1765.

1394 Perhaps the same Theophilus whom Methodius, a contemporary of Hippolytus, addresses as Epiphanius. [See vol. vi., this series.] From this introduction, too, it is clear that they are in error who take this book to be a homily. (Fabricius.)

1395 In the text the reading is τῶν ὄντων, for which τῶν ὠτων = *of the ears*, is proposed by some, and ἀνθρώπων = *of men*, by others. In the manuscripts the abbreviation ανων is often found for ἀνθρώπων.

1396 In the text we find ὡς πίον καθαρά γῆ, for which grammar requires ὡς πίονι καθαρά γῆ. Combefisius proposes ὡπερ οἶν καθαρά γῆ = *as in clean ground*. Others would read ὡς πυρόν, etc., = *like a grain in clean ground*.

1397 1 Tim. vi. 20, 21.

1398 This reading, παρακλήσεων for μαρτύρων (= witnesses), which is peculiar to Hippolytus alone, is all the more remarkable as so thoroughly suiting Paul's meaning in the passage.

1399 2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

faith,¹⁴⁰⁰ how much greater will be our danger, if, rashly and without thought, we commit the revelations of God to profane and unworthy men?

2. For as the blessed prophets were made, so to speak, eyes for us, they foresaw through faith the mysteries of the word, and became ministers of these¹⁴⁰¹ things also to succeeding generations, not only reporting the past, but also announcing the present and the future, so that the prophet might not appear to be one only for the time being, but might also predict the future for all generations, and so be reckoned a (true) prophet. For these fathers were furnished with the Spirit, and largely honoured by the Word Himself; and just as it is with instruments of music, so had they the Word always, like the plectrum,¹⁴⁰² in union with them, and when moved by Him the prophets announced what God willed. For they spake not of their own power¹⁴⁰³ (let there be no mistake as to that¹⁴⁰⁴), neither did they declare what pleased themselves. But first of all they were endowed with wisdom by the Word, and then again were rightly instructed in the future by means of visions. And then, when thus themselves fully convinced, they spake those things which¹⁴⁰⁵ were revealed by God to them alone, and concealed from all others. For with what reason should the prophet be called a prophet, unless he in spirit foresaw the future? For if the prophet spake of any chance event, he would not be a prophet then in speaking of things which were under the eye of all. But one who sets forth in detail things yet to be, was rightly judged a prophet. Wherefore prophets were with good reason called from the very first “seers.”¹⁴⁰⁶ And hence we, too, who are rightly instructed in what was declared aforetime by them, speak not of our own capacity. For we do not attempt to make any change one way or another among ourselves in the words that were spoken of old by them, but we make the Scriptures in which these are written public, and read them to those who can believe rightly; for that is a common benefit for both parties: for him who speaks, in holding in memory and setting forth correctly things uttered of old;¹⁴⁰⁷ and for him who hears, in giving attention to the things spoken. Since, then, in this there is a work assigned to both parties together, viz., to him who speaks,

205

1400 [2 Thess. iii. 2.](#)

1401 The text reads ἅτινα = which. Gudius proposes τινά = some.

1402 The plectrum was the instrument with which the lyre was struck. The text is in confusion here. Combefisius corrects it, as we render it, ὀργάνων δίκην ἠγνώμενον ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

1403 [2 Pet. i. 21.](#)

1404 The text reads μὴ πλανῶ (= that I may not deceive). Some propose ὡς πλάνοι = as deceivers.

1405 This is according to the emendation of Combefisius. [And note this primitive theory of inspiration as illustrating the words, “who spake by the prophets,” in the Nicene Symbol.]

1406 [1 Sam. ix. 9.](#)

1407 In the text it is προκείμενα (= things before us or proposed to us), for which Combefisius proposes, as in our rendering, προειρημένα.

that he speak forth faithfully without regard to risk,¹⁴⁰⁸ and to him who hears, that he hear and receive in faith that which is spoken, I beseech you to strive together with me in prayer to God.

3. Do you wish then to know in what manner the Word of God, who was again the Son of God,¹⁴⁰⁹ as He was of old the Word, communicated His revelations to the blessed prophets in former times? Well, as the Word shows His compassion and His denial of all respect of persons by all the saints, He enlightens them¹⁴¹⁰ and adapts them to that which is advantageous for us, like a skilful physician, understanding the weakness of men. And the ignorant He loves to teach, and the erring He turns again to His own true way. And by those who live by faith He is easily found; and to those of pure eye and holy heart, who desire to knock at the door, He opens immediately. For He casts away none of His servants as unworthy of the divine mysteries. He does not esteem the rich man more highly than the poor, nor does He despise the poor man for his poverty. He does not disdain the barbarian, nor does He set the eunuch aside as no man.¹⁴¹¹ He does not hate the female on account of the woman's act of disobedience in the beginning, nor does He reject the male on account of the man's transgression. But He seeks all, and desires to save all, wishing to make all the children of God, and calling all the saints unto one perfect man. For there is also one Son (or Servant) of God, by whom we too, receiving the regeneration through the Holy Spirit, desire to come all unto one perfect and heavenly man.¹⁴¹²

4. For whereas the Word of God was without flesh,¹⁴¹³ He took upon Himself the holy flesh by the holy Virgin, and prepared a robe which He wove for Himself, like a bridegroom, in the sufferings of the cross, in order that by uniting His own power with our mortal body, and by mixing¹⁴¹⁴ the incorruptible with the corruptible, and the strong with the weak, He might save perishing man. The web-beam, therefore, is the passion of the Lord upon the cross, and the warp on it is the power of the Holy Spirit, and the woof is the holy flesh wrought (woven) by the Spirit, and the thread is the grace which by the love of Christ binds and unites the two in one, and the combs or (rods) are the Word; and the workers are the

1408 The original is ἀκινδυνον.

1409 Isa. xlii. 1; Matt. xii. 18. The text is αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς. See Macarius, *Divinitas D. N. S. C.*, book iv. ch. xiii. p. 460, and Grabe on Bull's *Defens. Fid. Nic.*, p. 101.

1410 Reading αὐτούς for αὐτόν.

1411 [Isa. lvi. 3, 4.]

1412 Eph. iv. 13.

1413 The text has ὦν = being, for which read ἦν = was.

1414 μίξας. Thomassin, *De Incarnatione Verbi*, iii. 5, cites the most distinguished of the Greek and Latin Fathers, who taught that a mingling (*commistio*), without confusion indeed, but yet most thorough, of the two natures, is the bond and nexus of the personal unity.

patriarchs and prophets who weave the fair, long, perfect tunic for Christ; and the Word passing through these, like the combs or (rods), completes through them that which His Father willeth.¹⁴¹⁵

5. But as time now presses for the consideration of the question immediately in hand, and as what has been already said in the introduction with regard to the glory of God, may suffice, it is proper that we take the Holy Scriptures themselves in hand, and find out from them what, and of what manner, the coming of Antichrist is; on what occasion and at what time that impious one shall be revealed; and whence and from what tribe (he shall come); and what his name is, which is indicated by the number in the Scripture; and how he shall work error among the people, gathering them from the ends of the earth; and (how) he shall stir up tribulation and persecution against the saints; and how he shall glorify himself as God; and what his end shall be; and how the sudden appearing of the Lord shall be revealed from heaven; and what the conflagration of the whole world shall be; and what the glorious and heavenly kingdom of the saints is to be, when they reign together with Christ; and what the punishment of the wicked by fire.

6. Now, as our Lord Jesus Christ, who is also God, was prophesied of under the figure of a lion,¹⁴¹⁶ on account of His royalty and glory, in the same way have the Scriptures also aforetime spoken of Antichrist as a lion, on account of his tyranny and violence. For the deceiver seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God. Christ is a lion, so Antichrist is also a lion; Christ is a king,¹⁴¹⁷ so Antichrist is also a king. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb;¹⁴¹⁸ so he too, in like manner, will appear as a lamb, though within he is a wolf. The Saviour came into the world in the circumcision, and he will come in the same manner. The Lord sent apostles among all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. The Saviour gathered together the sheep that were scattered abroad,¹⁴¹⁹ and he in like manner will bring together a people that is scattered abroad. The Lord gave a seal to those who believed on Him, and he will give one in like manner. The Saviour appeared in the form of man, and he too will come in the form of a man. The Saviour raised up and showed His holy flesh like a temple,¹⁴²⁰ and he will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem. And his seductive arts we shall exhibit in what follows. But for the present let us turn to the question in hand.



1415 [This analogy of weaving is powerfully employed by Gray ("Weave the warp, and weave the woof," etc.). See his Pindaric ode, *The Bard*.]

1416 [Rev. v. 5](#); [also [Gen. xlix. 8](#). See below, 7, 8].

1417 [John xviii. 37](#).

1418 [John i. 29](#).

1419 [John xi. 52](#).

1420 [John ii. 19](#).

7. Now the blessed Jacob speaks to the following effect in his benedictions, testifying prophetically of our Lord and Saviour: “Judah, let thy brethren praise thee: thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies; thy father’s children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion’s whelp: from the shoot, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp; who shall rouse him up? A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he come for whom it is reserved; and he shall be the expectation of the nations. Binding his ass to a vine, and his ass’s colt to the vine tendril; he shall wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grapes. His eyes shall be gladsome as with wine, and his teeth shall be whiter than milk.”¹⁴²¹

8. Knowing, then, as I do, how to explain these things in detail, I deem it right at present to quote the words themselves. But since the expressions themselves urge us to speak of them. I shall not omit to do so. For these are truly divine and glorious things, and things well calculated to benefit the soul. The prophet, in using the expression, *a lion’s whelp*, means him who sprang from Judah and David according to the flesh, who was not made indeed of the seed of David, but was conceived by the (power of the) Holy Ghost, and came forth¹⁴²² from the holy shoot of earth. For Isaiah says, “There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow up out of it.”¹⁴²³ That which is called by Isaiah a *flower*, Jacob calls a shoot. For first he shot forth, and then he flourished in the world. And the expression, “he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp,” refers to the three days’ sleep (death, couching) of Christ; as also Isaiah says, “How is faithful Sion become an harlot! it was full of judgment; in which righteousness lodged (couched); but now murderers.”¹⁴²⁴ And David says to the same effect, “I laid me down (couched) and slept; I awaked: for the Lord will sustain me;”¹⁴²⁵ in which words he points to the fact of his sleep and rising again. And Jacob says, “Who shall rouse him up?” And that is just what David and Paul both refer to, as when Paul says, “and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead.”¹⁴²⁶

9. And in saying, “A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he come for whom it is reserved; and he shall be the expectation of the nations,” he referred the fulfilment (of that prophecy) to Christ. For He is our expectation. For we expect Him, (and) by faith we behold Him as He comes from heaven with power.

10. “Binding his ass to a vine:” that means that He unites His people of the circumcision with His own calling (vocation). For He was the vine.¹⁴²⁷ “And his ass’s colt to the vine-

1421 [Gen. xlix. 8–12.](#)

1422 The text has τούτου—προερχομένου, for which we read, with Combefisius, προερχόμενον.

1423 [Isa. xi. 1.](#)

1424 [Isa. i. 21.](#)

1425 [Ps. iii. 5.](#)

1426 [Gal. i. 1.](#)

1427 [John xv. 1.](#)

tendrils:” that denotes the people of the Gentiles, as He calls the circumcision and the uncircumcision unto one faith.

11. “He shall wash his garment in wine,” that is, according to that voice of His Father which came down by the Holy Ghost at the Jordan.¹⁴²⁸ “And his clothes in the blood of the grape.” In the blood of what grape, then, but just His own flesh, which hung upon the tree like a cluster of grapes?—from whose side also flowed two streams, of blood and water, in which the nations are washed and purified, which (nations) He may be supposed to have as a robe about Him.¹⁴²⁹

12. “His eyes gladsome with wine.” And what are the eyes of Christ but the blessed prophets, who foresaw in the Spirit, and announced beforehand, the sufferings that were to befall Him, and rejoiced in seeing Him in power with spiritual eyes, being furnished (for their vocation) by the word Himself and His grace?

13. And in saying, “And his teeth (shall be) whiter than milk,” he referred to the commandments that proceed from the holy mouth of Christ, and which are pure (purify) as milk.

14. Thus did the Scriptures preach before-time of this lion and lion’s whelp. And in like manner also we find it written regarding Antichrist. For Moses speaks thus: “Dan is a lion’s whelp, and he shall leap from Bashan.”¹⁴³⁰ But that no one may err by supposing that this is said of the Saviour, let him attend carefully to the matter. “Dan,” he says, “is a lion’s whelp;” and in naming the tribe of Dan, he declared clearly the tribe from which Antichrist is destined to spring. For as Christ springs from the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist is to spring from the tribe of Dan.¹⁴³¹ And that the case stands thus, we see also from the words of Jacob: “Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse’s heel.”¹⁴³² What, then, is meant by the serpent but Antichrist, that deceiver who is mentioned in Genesis,¹⁴³³ who deceived

1428 The text gives simply, τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου, etc., = the *paternal voice of the Holy Ghost*, etc. As this would seem to represent the Holy Ghost as the Father of Christ, Combefisius proposes, as in our rendering, κατὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, etc. The *wine*, therefore, is taken as a figure of His *deity*, and the garment as a figure of His *humanity*; and the sense would be, that He has the latter imbued with the former in a way peculiar to Himself—even as the voice at the Jordan declared Him to be the Father’s Son, not His Son by adoption, but His *own* Son, anointed as man with divinity itself.

1429 The nations are compared to a robe about Christ, as something foreign to Himself, and deriving all their gifts from Him.

1430 Deut. xxxiii. 22.

1431 [See Irenæus, vol. i. p. 559. Dan’s name is excepted in Rev. vii., and this was always assigned as the reason. The learned Calmet (*sub voce* Dan) makes a prudent reflection on this idea. The history given in Judg. xviii. is more to the purpose.]

1432 Gen. xlix. 17.

1433 Gen. iii. 1.

Eve and supplanted Adam (περνίσας, bruised Adam's heel)? But since it is necessary to prove this assertion by sufficient testimony, we shall not shrink from the task.

15. That it is in reality out of the tribe of Dan, then, that that tyrant and king, that dread judge, that son of the devil, is destined to spring and arise, the prophet testifies when he says, "Dan shall judge his people, as (he is) also one tribe in Israel."¹⁴³⁴ But some one may say that this refers to Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged the people twenty years. Well, the prophecy had its partial fulfilment in Samson, but its complete fulfilment is reserved for Antichrist. For Jeremiah also speaks to this effect: "From Dan we are to hear the sound of the swiftness of his horses: the whole land trembled *at the sound of the neighing, of the driving of his horses.*"¹⁴³⁵ And another prophet says: "He shall gather together all his strength, from the east even to the west. They whom he calls, and they whom he calls not, shall go with him. He shall make the sea white with the sails of his ships, and the plain black with the shields of his armaments. And whosoever shall oppose him in war shall fall by the sword."¹⁴³⁶ That these things, then, are said of no one else but that tyrant, and shameless one, and adversary of God, we shall show in what follows.

16. But Isaiah also speaks thus: "And it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed His whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem, He will punish (visit) the stout mind, the king of Assyria, and the greatness (height) of the glory of his eyes. For he said, By my strength will I do it, and by the wisdom of my understanding I will remove the bounds of the peoples, and will rob them of their strength: and I will make the inhabited cities tremble, and will gather the whole world in my hand like a nest, and I will lift it up like eggs that are left. And there is no one that shall escape or gainsay me, *and open the mouth and chatter. Shall the axe boast itself without him that heweth therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself without him that shaketh (draweth) it? As if one should raise a rod or a staff, and the staff should lift itself up:* and not thus. But the Lord shall send dishonour unto thy honour; and into thy glory a burning fire shall burn. And the light of Israel shall be a fire, and shall sanctify him in flame, and shall consume the forest like grass."¹⁴³⁷

17. And again he says in another place: "How hath the exactor ceased, and how hath the oppressor ceased!"¹⁴³⁸ God hath broken the yoke of the rulers of sinners, He who smote the people in wrath, and with an incurable stroke: He that strikes the people with an incurable stroke, which He did not spare. He ceased (rested) confidently: the whole earth shouts with rejoicing. The trees of Lebanon rejoiced at thee, and the cedar of Lebanon, (saying), Since

1434 [Gen. xlix. 16.](#)

1435 [Jer. viii. 16.](#)

1436 Perhaps from an apocryphal book, as also below in ch. liv.

1437 [Isa. x. 12–17.](#)

1438 ἐπισπουδαστής.

thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath is moved at meeting thee: all the mighty ones, the rulers of the earth, are gathered together—the lords from their thrones. All the kings of the nations, all they shall answer together, and shall say, And thou, too, art taken as we; and thou art reckoned among us. Thy pomp is brought down to earth, thy great rejoicing: they will spread decay under thee; and the worm shall be thy covering.¹⁴³⁹ How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!¹⁴⁴⁰ He is cast down to the ground who sends off to all the nations. And thou didst say in thy mind, I will ascend into heaven, I will set my throne above the stars of heaven: I will sit down upon the lofty mountains towards the north: I will ascend above the clouds: I will be like the Most High. Yet now thou shalt be brought down to hell, and to the foundations of the earth! They that see thee shall wonder at thee, and shall say, This is the man that excited the earth, that did shake kings, that made the whole world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities, that released not those in prison.¹⁴⁴¹ All the kings of the earth did lie in honour, every one in his own house; but thou shalt be cast out on the mountains like a loathsome carcase, with many who fall, pierced through with the sword, and going down to hell. As a garment stained with blood is not pure, so neither shalt thou be comely (or clean); because thou hast destroyed my land, and slain my people. Thou shalt not abide, enduring for ever, a wicked seed. Prepare thy children for slaughter, for the sins of thy father, that they rise not, neither possess my land.»¹⁴⁴²

18. Ezekiel also speaks of him to the same effect, thus: “Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the sea; yet art thou a man, and not God, (though) thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God. Art thou wiser than Daniel? Have the wise not instructed thee in their wisdom? With thy wisdom or with thine understanding hast thou gotten thee power, and gold and silver in thy treasures? By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic¹⁴⁴³ hast thou increased thy power? Thy heart is lifted up in thy power. Therefore thus saith the Lord God: Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God: behold, therefore I will bring strangers¹⁴⁴⁴ upon thee, plagues from the nations: and they shall draw their swords against thee, and against the beauty of thy wisdom; and they shall level thy beauty to destruction; and they shall bring thee down; and thou shalt die by the death of the wounded in the midst of the sea. Wilt thou yet say *before them that slay thee, I am God? But thou art a man, and no God, in the hand*

1439 κατακάλυμμα; other reading, κατάλειμμα = remains.

1440 Lit., that risest early.

1441 The text gives ἐπαγωγῇ. Combefisius prefers ἀπαγωγῇ = *trial*.

1442 [Isa. xiv. 4–21](#).

1443 i.e., according to the reading, ἐμπορίᾳ. The text is ἐμπειρίᾳ = *experience*.

1444 There is another reading, λιμούς (= *famines*) τῶν ἐθνῶν.

of them that wound thee. Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised by the hand of strangers: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord."¹⁴⁴⁵

19. These words then being thus presented, let us observe somewhat in detail what Daniel says in his visions. For in distinguishing the kingdoms that are to rise after these things, he showed also the coming of Antichrist in the last times, and the consummation of the whole world. In expounding the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, then, he speaks thus: "Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image standing before thy face: the head of which was of fine gold, its arms and shoulders of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, and its legs of iron, (and) its feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest, then, till that a stone was cut out without hands, and smote the image upon the feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to an end. Then were the clay, the iron, the brass, the silver, (and) the gold broken, and became like the chaff from the summer threshing-floor; and the strength (fulness) of the wind carried them away, and there was no place found for them. And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."¹⁴⁴⁶

20. Now if we set Daniel's own visions also side by side with this, we shall have one exposition to give of the two together, and shall (be able to) show how concordant with each other they are, and how true. For he speaks thus: "I Daniel saw, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first (was) like a lioness, and had wings as of an eagle. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold a second beast like to a bear, and it was made stand on one part, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it."¹⁴⁴⁷ I beheld, and lo a beast like a leopard, and it had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, and the beast had four heads. After this I saw, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; it had iron teeth *and claws of brass*,¹⁴⁴⁸ which devoured and brake in pieces, and it stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered its horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, and before it there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."¹⁴⁴⁹

1445 [Ezek. xxviii. 2–10.](#)

1446 [Dan. ii. 31–35.](#)

1447 Combesius adds, "between the teeth of it; and they said thus to it, Arise, devour much flesh."

1448 Combesius inserted these words, because he thought that they must have been in the vision, as they occur subsequently in the explanation of the vision (v. 19).

1449 [Dan. vii. 2–8.](#)

21. "I beheld till the thrones were set, and the Ancient of days did sit: and His garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like pure wool: His throne was a flame of fire, His wheels were a burning fire. A stream of fire flowed before Him. Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, till the beast was slain and perished, and his body given to the burning of fire. And the dominion of the other beasts was taken away."¹⁴⁵⁰

22. "I saw in the night vision, and, behold, one like the Son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and honour, and the kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and tongues shall serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed."¹⁴⁵¹

23. Now since these things, spoken as they are with a mystical meaning, may seem to some hard to understand, we shall keep back nothing fitted to impart an intelligent apprehension of them to those who are possessed of a sound mind. He said, then, that a "lioness came up from the sea," and by that he meant the kingdom of the Babylonians in the world, which also was the head of gold on the image. In saying that "it had wings as of an eagle," he meant that Nebuchadnezzar the king was lifted up and was exalted against God. Then he says, "the wings thereof were plucked," that is to say, his glory was destroyed; for he was driven out of his kingdom. And the words, "a man's heart was given to it, and it was made stand upon the feet as a man," refer to the fact that he repented and recognised himself to be only a man, and gave the glory to God.

24. Then, after the lioness, he sees a "second beast like a bear," and that denoted the Persians. For after the Babylonians, the Persians held the sovereign power. And in saying that there were "three ribs in the mouth of it," he pointed to three nations, viz., the Persians, and the Medes, and the Babylonians; which were also represented on the image by the silver after the gold. Then (there was) "the third beast, a leopard," which meant the Greeks. For after the Persians, Alexander of Macedon obtained the sovereign power on subverting Darius, as is also shown by the brass on the image. And in saying that it had "four wings of a fowl," he taught us most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was partitioned. For in speaking of "four heads," he made mention of four kings, viz., those who arose out of that (kingdom).¹⁴⁵² For Alexander, when dying, partitioned out his kingdom into four divisions.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Dan. vii. 9–12.

¹⁴⁵¹ Dan. vii. 13, 14.

¹⁴⁵² See Curtius, x. 10. That Alexander himself divided his kingdom is asserted by Josephus Gorionides (iii.) and Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.*, 4, *De Sacra Scriptura*) and others.

25. Then he says: “A fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; it had iron teeth and claws of brass.” And who are these but the Romans? which (kingdom) is meant by the iron—the kingdom which is now established; for the legs of that (image) were of iron. And after this, what remains, beloved, but the toes of the feet of the image, in which part is iron and part clay, mixed together? And mystically by the toes of the feet he meant the kings who are to arise from among them; as Daniel also says (in the words), “I considered the beast, and lo there were ten horns behind it, among which shall rise another (horn), an offshoot, and shall pluck up by the roots the three (that were) before it.” And under this was signified none other than Antichrist, who is also himself to raise the kingdom of the Jews. He says that three horns are plucked up by the root by him, viz., the three kings of Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he cuts off in the array of battle. And he, after gaining terrible power over all, being nevertheless a tyrant,¹⁴⁵³ shall stir up tribulation and persecution against men, exalting himself against them. For Daniel says: “I considered the horn, and behold that horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, till the beast was slain and perished, and its body was given to the burning of fire.”¹⁴⁵⁴

26. After a little space the stone¹⁴⁵⁵ will come from heaven which smites the image and breaks it in pieces, and subverts all the kingdoms, and gives the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This is the stone which becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth, of which Daniel says: “I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve Him: and His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.”¹⁴⁵⁶ He showed all power given by the Father to the Son,¹⁴⁵⁷ who is ordained Lord of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and Judge of all:¹⁴⁵⁸ of things in heaven, because He was born, the Word of God, before all (ages); and of things on earth, because He became man in the midst of men, to re-create our Adam through Himself; and of things under the earth, because He was also reckoned among the dead, preaching the Gospel to the souls of the saints,¹⁴⁵⁹ (and) by death overcoming death.

1453 For ὅμως = *nevertheless*, Gudius suggests ὠμός = savage.

1454 [Dan. vii. 21, 11.](#)

1455 [Dan. ii. 34, 45.](#)

1456 [Dan. vii. 13, 14.](#)

1457 [Matt. xxviii. 18.](#)

1458 [Phil. ii. 10.](#)

1459 [1 Pet. iii. 19.](#)

27. As these things, then, are in the future, and as the ten toes of the image are equivalent to (so many) democracies,¹⁴⁶⁰ and the ten horns of the fourth beast are distributed over ten kingdoms, let us look at the subject a little more closely, and consider these matters as in the clear light of a personal survey.¹⁴⁶¹

28. The golden head of the image and the lioness denoted the Babylonians; the shoulders and arms of silver, and the bear, represented the Persians and Medes; the belly and thighs of brass, and the leopard, meant the Greeks, who held the sovereignty from Alexander's time; the legs of iron, and the beast dreadful and terrible, expressed the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present; the toes of the feet which were part clay and part iron, and the ten horns, were emblems of the kingdoms that are yet to rise; the other little horn that grows up among them meant the Antichrist in their midst; the stone that smites the earth and brings judgment upon the world was Christ.

29. These things, beloved, we impart to you with fear, and yet readily, on account of the love of Christ, which surpasseth all. For if the blessed prophets who preceded us did not choose to proclaim these things, though they knew them, openly and boldly, lest they should disquiet the souls of men, but recounted them mystically in parables and dark sayings, speaking thus, "Here is the mind which hath wisdom,"¹⁴⁶² how much greater risk shall we run in venturing to declare openly things spoken by them in obscure terms! Let us look, therefore, at the things which are to befall this unclean harlot in the last days; and (let us consider) what and what manner of tribulation is destined to visit her in the wrath of God before the judgment as an earnest of her doom.

30. Come, then, O blessed Isaiah; arise, tell us clearly what thou didst prophesy with respect to the mighty Babylon. For thou didst speak also of Jerusalem, and thy word is accomplished. For thou didst speak boldly and openly: "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by many strangers."¹⁴⁶³ The daughter of Sion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city."¹⁴⁶⁴ What then? Are not these things come to pass? Are not the things announced by thee fulfilled? Is not their country, Judea, desolate? Is not the holy place burned with fire? Are not their walls cast down? Are not their cities destroyed? Their land, do not strangers devour it? Do not the

1460 [Deserving of especial note. Who could have foreseen the universal spirit of democracy in this century save by the light of this prophecy? Comp. [2 Tim. iii. 1-3.](#)]

1461 ὀφθαλμοφανῶς.

1462 [Rev. xvii. 9.](#)

1463 For ὑπὸ πολλῶν Combefisius has ὑπὸ λαῶν = by peoples.

1464 [Isa. i. 7, 8.](#)

Romans rule the country? And indeed these impious people hated thee, and did saw thee asunder, and they crucified Christ. Thou art dead in the world, but thou livest in Christ.

31. Which of you, then, shall I esteem more than thee? Yet Jeremiah, too, is stoned. But if I should esteem Jeremiah most, yet Daniel too has his testimony. Daniel, I commend thee above all; yet John too gives no false witness. With how many mouths and tongues would I praise you; or rather the Word who spake in you! Ye died with Christ; and ye will live with Christ. Hear ye, and rejoice; behold the things announced by you have been fulfilled in their time. For ye saw these things yourselves first, and then ye proclaimed them to all generations. Ye ministered the oracles of God to all generations. Ye prophets were called, that ye might be able to save all. For then is one a prophet indeed, when, having announced beforetime things about to be, he can afterwards show that they have actually happened. Ye were the disciples of a good Master. These words I address to you as if alive, and with propriety. For ye hold already the crown of life and immortality which is laid up for you in heaven.¹⁴⁶⁵

32. Speak with me, O blessed Daniel. Give me full assurance, I beseech thee. Thou dost prophesy concerning the lioness in Babylon;¹⁴⁶⁶ for thou wast a captive there. Thou hast unfolded the future regarding the bear; for thou wast still in the world, and didst see the things come to pass. Then thou speakest to me of the leopard; and whence canst thou know this, for thou art already gone to thy rest? Who instructed thee to announce these things, but He who formed¹⁴⁶⁷ thee in (from) thy mother's womb?¹⁴⁶⁸ That is God, thou sayest. Thou hast spoken indeed, and that not falsely. The leopard has arisen; the he-goat is come; he hath smitten the ram; he hath broken his horns in pieces; he hath stamped upon him with his feet. He has been exalted by his fall; (the) four horns have come up from under that one.¹⁴⁶⁹ Rejoice, blessed Daniel! thou hast not been in error: all these things have come to pass.

33. After this again thou hast told me of the beast dreadful and terrible. "It had iron teeth and claws of brass: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it."¹⁴⁷⁰ Already the iron rules; already it subdues and breaks all in pieces; already it brings all the unwilling into subjection; already we see these things ourselves. Now we glorify God, being instructed by thee.

1465 [2 Tim. iv. 8.](#)

1466 [Dan. vii. 4.](#)

1467 For πλάσας Gudius proposes ἀγιάσας (sanctified) or καλέσας (called).

1468 [Jer. i. 5.](#)

1469 [Dan. viii. 2–8.](#)

1470 [Dan. vii. 6.](#)

34. But as the task before us was to speak of the harlot, be thou with us, O blessed Isaiah. Let us mark what thou sayest about Babylon. "Come down, sit upon the ground, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit, O daughter of the Chaldeans; thou shalt no longer be called tender and delicate. Take the millstone, grind meal, draw aside thy veil,¹⁴⁷¹ shave the grey hairs, make bare the legs, pass over the rivers. Thy shame shall be uncovered, thy reproach shall be seen: I will take justice of thee, I will no more give thee over to men. As for thy Redeemer, (He is) the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel is his name. Sit thou in compunction, get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: thou shalt no longer be called the strength of the kingdom.

35. "I was wroth with my people; I have polluted mine inheritance, I have given them into thine hand: and thou didst show them no mercy; but upon the ancient (the elders) thou hast very heavily laid thy yoke. And thou saidst, I shall be a princess for ever: thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember thy latter end. Therefore hear now this, thou that art delicate; that sittest, that art confident, that sayest in thine heart, I am, and there is none else; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children. But now these two things shall come upon thee in one day, widowhood and the loss of children: they shall come upon thee suddenly in thy sorcery, in the strength of thine enchantments mightily, in the hope of thy fornication. For thou hast said, I am, and there is none else. And thy fornication shall be thy shame, because thou hast said in thy heart, I am. And destruction shall come upon thee, and thou shalt not know it. (*And there shall be*) a pit, and thou shalt fall into it; and misery shall fall upon thee, and thou shalt not be able to be made clean; and destruction shall come upon thee, and thou shalt not know it. Stand now with thy enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, which thou hast learned from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to be profited. Thou art wearied in thy counsels. Let the astrologers of the heavens stand and save thee; let the star-gazers announce to thee what shall come upon thee. Behold, they shall all be as sticks for the fire; so shall they be burned, and they shall not deliver their soul from the flame. Because thou hast coals of fire, sit upon them; so shall it be for thy help. Thou art wearied with change from thy youth. Man has gone astray (each one) by himself; and there shall be no salvation for thee."¹⁴⁷² These things does Isaiah prophesy for thee. Let us see now whether John has spoken to the same effect.

36. For he sees, when in the isle Patmos, a revelation of awful mysteries, which he recounts freely, and makes known to others. Tell me, blessed John, apostle and disciple of the Lord, what didst thou see and hear concerning Babylon? Arise, and speak; for it sent thee also into banishment.¹⁴⁷³ "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials,

1471 For ἀναξύρισον others read ἀνακάλυσται = uncover.

1472 Isa. xlvii. 1–15.

1473 [Note this token, that, with all his prudence, he identifies "Babylon" with Rome.]

and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. And he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stone,¹⁴⁷⁴ and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness¹⁴⁷⁵ of the fornication of the earth. Upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth.

37. “And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and the ten horns. The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose name was not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet shall be.¹⁴⁷⁶

38. “And here is the mind that has wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not, (even he is the eighth,) and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. And the ten horns which thou sawest are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with Him are called, and chosen, and faithful.

39. “And he saith to me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. And the ten horns which thou sawest, and¹⁴⁷⁷ the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil His will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.



1474 “Stones,” rather.

1475 τὰ ἀκάθαρτα, for the received ἀκαθαρτότητος.

1476 καὶ παρέσται, for the received καίπερ ἐστί.

1477 καί, for the received ἐπί.

40. “After these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily¹⁴⁷⁸ with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, *and a cage of every unclean* and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues: for her sins did cleave even unto heaven,¹⁴⁷⁹ and God hath remembered her iniquities.

41. “Reward her even as she rewarded (you), and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man shall buy their merchandise¹⁴⁸⁰ any more. The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and spices,¹⁴⁸¹ and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and goats,¹⁴⁸² and horses, and chariots, and slaves (bodies), and souls of men. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly have perished¹⁴⁸³ from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. The merchants of these things, which were made rich¹⁴⁸⁴ by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great

1478 ἰσχυρᾷ for ἐν ἰσχύϊ.

1479 ἐκολλήθησαν, for the received ἠκολούθησαν.

1480 ἀγοράσει, for the received ἀγοράζει.

1481 ἄμωμον, omitted in the received text.

1482 καὶ τράγους, omitted in the received text.

1483 ἀπώλετο, for the received ἀπῆλθεν.

1484 πλουτίσαντες, for the received πλουτήσαντες.

riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city? And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her fatness!¹⁴⁸⁵ for in one hour is she made desolate.

42. “Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye angels,¹⁴⁸⁶ and apostles, and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived. And in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.”¹⁴⁸⁷

43. With respect, then, to the particular judgment in the torments that are to come upon it in the last times by the hand of the tyrants who shall arise then, the clearest statement has been given in these passages. But it becomes us further diligently to examine and set forth the period at which these things shall come to pass, and how the little horn shall spring up in their midst. For when the legs of iron have issued in the feet and toes, according to the similitude of the image and that of the terrible beast, as has been shown in the above, (then shall be the time) when the iron and the clay shall be mingled together. Now Daniel will set forth this subject to us. For he says, “And one week will make¹⁴⁸⁸ a covenant with many, and it shall be that in the midst (half) of the week my sacrifice and oblation shall cease.”¹⁴⁸⁹ By one week, therefore, he meant the last week which is to be at the end of the whole world of which week the two prophets Enoch and Elias will take up the half. For they will preach 1, 260 days clothed in sackcloth, proclaiming repentance to the people and to all the nations.

44. For as two advents of our Lord and Saviour are indicated in the Scriptures, the one being His first advent in the flesh, which took place without honour by reason of His being set at nought, as Isaiah spake of Him aforetime, saying, “We saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness, but His form was despised (and) rejected (lit. = deficient) above all men; a man smitten and familiar with bearing infirmity, (for His face was turned away); He was

1485 πίοτης, for the received τιμίοτης.

1486 καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, which the received omits.

1487 [Rev. xvii.; xviii.](#)

1488 διαθήσει = will *make*; others, δυναώσει = will *confirm*.

1489 [Dan. ix. 27.](#)

despised, and esteemed not.”¹⁴⁹⁰ But His second advent is announced as glorious, when He shall come from heaven with the host of angels, and the glory of His Father, as the prophet saith, “Ye shall see the King in glory;”¹⁴⁹¹ and, “I saw one like the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven; and he came to the Ancient of days, and he was brought to Him. And there were given Him dominion, and honour, and glory, and the kingdom; all tribes and languages shall serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away.”¹⁴⁹² Thus also two forerunners were indicated. The first was John the son of Zacharias, who appeared in all things a forerunner and herald of our Saviour, preaching of the heavenly light that had appeared in the world. He first fulfilled the course of forerunner, and that from his mother’s womb, being conceived by Elisabeth, in order that to those, too, who are children from their mother’s womb he might declare the new birth that was to take place for their sakes by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin.

45. He, on hearing the salutation addressed to Elisabeth, leaped with joy in his mother’s womb, recognising God the Word conceived in the womb of the Virgin. Thereafter he came forward preaching in the wilderness, proclaiming the baptism of repentance to the people, (and thus) announcing prophetically salvation to the nations living in the wilderness of the world. After this, at the Jordan, seeing the Saviour with his own eye, he points Him out, and says, “Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!”¹⁴⁹³ He also first preached to those in Hades,¹⁴⁹⁴ becoming a forerunner there when he was put to death by Herod, that there too he might intimate that the Saviour would descend to ransom the souls of the saints from the hand of death.

46. But since the Saviour was the beginning of the resurrection of all men, it was meet that the Lord alone should rise from the dead, by whom too the judgment is to enter for the whole world, that they who have wrestled worthily may be also crowned worthily by Him, by the illustrious Arbiter, to wit, who Himself first accomplished the course, and was received into the heavens, and was set down on the right hand of God the Father, and is to be manifested again at the end of the world as Judge. It is a matter of course that His forerunners must appear first, as He says by Malachi and the angel,¹⁴⁹⁵ “I will send to you Elias the

1490 [Isa. liii. 2–5.](#)

1491 [Isa. xxxiii. 17.](#)

1492 [Dan. vii. 13, 14.](#)

1493 [John i. 29.](#)

1494 It was a common opinion among the Greeks, that the Baptist was Christ’s forerunner also among the dead. See Leo Allatius, *De libris Eccles. Græcorum*, p. 303.

1495 Or it may be, “Malachi, even the messenger.” Ἀγγέλου is the reading restored by Combefisius instead of Ἀγγαίου. The words of the angel in [Luke i. 17](#) (“and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just”) are thus inserted in the citation from Malachi; and to that Hippolytus may refer in the addition “and the angel.” Or perhaps, as Combefisius rather thinks, the addition simply refers to the meaning of the name Malachi, viz., messenger.

Tishbite before the day of the Lord, the great and notable day, comes; and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, lest I come and smite the earth utterly.”¹⁴⁹⁶ These, then, shall come and proclaim the manifestation of Christ that is to be from heaven; and they shall also perform signs and wonders, in order that men may be put to shame and turned to repentance for their surpassing wickedness and impiety.

47. For John says, “And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.”¹⁴⁹⁷ That is the half of the week whereof Daniel spake. “These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and have power over waters, to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as *they will*. And when they shall have finished their course and their testimony,” what saith the prophet? “the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them,”¹⁴⁹⁸ because they will not give glory to Antichrist. For this is meant by the little horn that grows up. He, being now elated in heart, begins to exalt himself, and to glorify himself as God, persecuting the saints and blaspheming Christ, even as Daniel says, “I considered the horn, and, behold, in the horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things; and he opened his mouth to blaspheme God. And that born made war against the saints, and prevailed against them until the beast was slain, and perished, and his body was given to be burned.”¹⁴⁹⁹

48. But as it is incumbent on us to discuss this matter of the beast more exactly, and in particular the question how the Holy Spirit has also mystically indicated his name by means of a number, we shall proceed to state more clearly what bears upon him. John then speaks thus: “And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns, like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exercised all the power of the first beast before him; and he made the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he did great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, *that the image*

1496 [Mal. iv. 5, 6.](#)

1497 [Rev. xi. 3.](#)

1498 [Rev. xi. 4–6.](#)

1499 [Dan. vii. 8, 9.](#)

of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for if is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six.”¹⁵⁰⁰

49. By the beast, then, coming up out of the earth, he means the kingdom of Antichrist; and by the two horns he means him and the false prophet after him.¹⁵⁰¹ And in speaking of “the horns being like a lamb,” he means that he will make himself like the Son of God, and set himself forward as king. And the terms, “he spake like a dragon,” mean that he is a deceiver, and not truthful. And the words, “he exercised all the power of the first beast before him, and caused the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed,” signify that, after the manner of the law of Augustus, by whom the empire of Rome was established, he too will rule and govern, sanctioning everything by it, and taking greater glory to himself. For this is the fourth beast, whose head was wounded and healed again, in its being broken up or even dishonoured, and partitioned into four crowns; and he then (Antichrist) shall with knavish skill heal it, as it were, and restore it. For this is what is meant by the prophet when he says, “He will give life unto the image, and the image of the beast will speak.” For he will act with vigour again, and prove strong by reason of the laws established by him; and he will cause all those who will not worship the image of the beast to be put to death. Here the faith and the patience of the saints will appear, for he says: “And he will cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead; that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name.” For, being full of guile, and exalting himself against the servants of God, with the wish to afflict them and persecute them out of the world, because they give not glory to him, he will order incense-pans¹⁵⁰² to be set up by all everywhere, that no man among the saints may be able to buy or sell without first sacrificing; for this is what is meant by the mark received upon the right hand. And the word—“in their forehead”—indicates that all are crowned, and put on a crown of fire, and not of life, but of death. For in this wise, too, did Antiochus Epiphanes the king of Syria, the descendant of Alexander of Macedon, devise measures against the Jews. He, too, in the exaltation of his heart, issued a decree in those times, that “all should

1500 [Rev. xiii. 11–18.](#)

1501 The text is simply καὶ τὸν μετ’ αὐτόν = the false prophet after him. Gudius and Combefisius propose as above, καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν μετ’ αὐτόν, or μετ’ αὐτοῦ = him and the false prophet with him.

1502 πυρεῖα = censers, incense-pans, or sacrificial tripods. This offering of incense was a test very commonly proposed by the pagans to those whose religion they suspected.

set up shrines before their doors, and sacrifice, and that they should march in procession to the honour of Dionysus, waving chaplets of ivy;" and that those who refused obedience should be put to death by strangulation and torture. But he also met his due recompense at the hand of the Lord, the righteous Judge and all-searching God; for he died eaten up of worms. And if one desires to inquire into that more accurately, he will find it recorded in the books of the Maccabees.¹⁵⁰³

50. But now we shall speak of what is before us. For such measures will he, too, devise, seeking to afflict the saints in every way. For the prophet and apostle says: "Here is wisdom, Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six." With respect to his name, it is not in our power to explain it exactly, as the blessed John understood it and was instructed about it, but only to give a conjectural account of it;¹⁵⁰⁴ for when he appears, the blessed one will show us what we seek to know. Yet as far as our doubtful apprehension of the matter goes, we may speak. Many names indeed we find,¹⁵⁰⁵ the letters of which are the equivalent of this number: such as, for instance, the word Titan,¹⁵⁰⁶ an ancient and notable name; or Evanthas,¹⁵⁰⁷ for it too makes up the same number; and many others which might be found. But, as we have already said,¹⁵⁰⁸ the wound of the first beast was healed, and he (the second beast) was to make the image speak,¹⁵⁰⁹ that is to say, he should be powerful; and it is manifest to all that those who at present still hold the power are Latins. If, then, we take the name as the name of a single man, it becomes *Latinus*. Wherefore we ought neither to give it out as if this were certainly his name, nor again ignore the fact that he may not be otherwise designated. But having the mystery of God in our heart, we ought in fear to keep faithfully what has been told us by the blessed prophets, in order that when those things come to pass, we may be prepared for them, and not deceived. For when the times advance, he too, of whom these things are said, will be manifested.¹⁵¹⁰



1503 [Not referred to as Scripture, but as authentic history.]

1504 ὅσον μόνον ὑπονοῆσαι.

1505 ἰσόψηφα.

1506 Τειτάν. Hippolytus here follows his master Irenæus, who in his *Contra Hæres.*, v. 30, § 3, has the words, "*Titan...et antiquum et fide dignum et regale...nomen*" = Titan...both an ancient and good and royal...name. [See this series, vol. i. p. 559.]

1507 Εὐάνθας, mentioned also by Irenæus in the passage already referred to.

1508 προέφημεν, the reading proposed by Fabricius instead of προέφημεν.

1509 ποιήσει, Combef. ἐποίησε.

1510 [Let us imitate the wisdom of our author, whose modest commentary upon his master Irenæus cannot be too much applauded. The mystery, however, does seem to turn upon something in the Latin race and its destiny.]

51. But not to confine ourselves to these words and arguments alone, for the purpose of convincing those who love to study the oracles of God, we shall demonstrate the matter by many other proofs. For Daniel says, “And these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.”¹⁵¹¹ Ammon and Moab¹⁵¹² are the children born to Lot by his daughters, and their race survives even now. And Isaiah says: “And they shall fly in the boats of strangers, plundering the sea together, and (they shall spoil) them of the east: and they shall lay hands upon Moab first; and the children of Ammon shall first obey them.”¹⁵¹³

52. In those times, then, he shall arise and meet them. And when he has overmastered three horns out of the ten in the array of war, and has rooted these out, viz., Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, and has got their spoils and trappings, and has brought the remaining horns which suffer into subjection, he will begin to be lifted up in heart, and to exalt himself against God as master of the whole world. And his first expedition will be against Tyre and Berytus, and the circumjacent territory. For by storming these cities first he will strike terror into the others, as Isaiah says, “Be thou ashamed, O Sidon; the sea hath spoken, even the strength of the sea hath spoken, saying, I travailed not, nor brought forth children; neither did I nurse up young men, nor bring up virgins. But when the report comes to Egypt, pain shall seize them for Tyre.”¹⁵¹⁴

53. These things, then, shall be in the future, beloved; and when the three horns are cut off, he will begin to show himself as God, as Ezekiel has said aforetime: “Because thy heart has been lifted up, and thou hast said, I am God.”¹⁵¹⁵ And to the like effect Isaiah says: “For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven: I will be like the Most High. Yet now thou shalt be brought down to hell (Hades), to the foundations of the earth.”¹⁵¹⁶ In like manner also Ezekiel: “Wilt thou yet say to those who slay thee, I am God? But thou (shalt be) a man, and no God.”¹⁵¹⁷

54. As his tribe, then, and his manifestation, and his destruction, have been set forth in these words, and as his name has also been indicated mystically, let us look also at his action. For he will call together all the people to himself, out of every country of the dispersion, making them his own, as though they were his own children, and promising to restore their country, and establish again their kingdom and nation, in order that he may be worshipped

1511 [Dan. xi. 41.](#)

1512 [Gen. xix. 37, 38.](#)

1513 [Isa. xi. 14.](#)

1514 [Isa. xxiii. 4, 5.](#)

1515 [Ezek. xxviii. 2.](#)

1516 [Isa. xiv. 13–15.](#)

1517 [Ezek. xxviii. 9.](#)

by them as God, as the prophet says: “He will collect his whole kingdom, from the rising of the sun even to its setting: they whom he summons and they whom he does not summon shall march with him.”¹⁵¹⁸ And Jeremiah speaks of him thus in a parable: “The partridge cried, (and) gathered what he did not hatch, making himself riches without judgment: in the midst of his days they shall leave him, and at his end he shall be a fool.”¹⁵¹⁹

55. It will not be detrimental, therefore, to the course of our present argument, if we explain the art of that creature, and show that the prophet has not spoken¹⁵²⁰ without a purpose in using the parable (or similitude) of the creature. For as the partridge is a vain-glorious creature, when it sees near at hand the nest of another partridge with young in it, and with the parent-bird away on the wing in quest of food, it imitates the cry of the other bird, and calls the young to itself; and they, taking it to be their own parent, run to it. And it delights itself proudly in the alien pullets as in its own. But when the real parent-bird returns, and calls them with its own familiar cry, the young recognise it, and forsake the deceiver, and betake themselves to the real parent. This thing, then, the prophet has adopted as a simile, applying it in a similar manner to Antichrist. For he will allure mankind to himself, wishing to gain possession of those who are not his own, and promising deliverance to all, while he is unable to save himself.

56. He then, having gathered to himself the unbelieving everywhere throughout the world, comes at their call to persecute the saints, their enemies and antagonists, as the apostle and evangelist says: “There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man: and there was a widow in that city, who came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man; yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her.”¹⁵²¹

57. By the unrighteous judge, who fears not God, neither regards man, he means without doubt Antichrist, as he is a son of the devil and a vessel of Satan. For when he has the power, he will begin to exalt himself against God, neither in truth fearing God, nor regarding the Son of God, who is the Judge of all. And in saying that there was a widow in the city, he refers to Jerusalem itself, which is a widow indeed, forsaken of her perfect, heavenly spouse, God. She calls Him her adversary, and not her Saviour; for she does not understand that which was said by the prophet Jeremiah: “Because they obeyed not the truth, a spirit of error shall speak then to this people and to Jerusalem.”¹⁵²² And Isaiah also to the like effect: “Forasmuch as the people refuseth to drink the water of Siloam that goeth softly, but chooseth

1518 Quoted already in chap. xv. as from one of the prophets.

1519 [Jer. xvii. 11.](#)

1520 Reading ἀπεφώνητο for ἀπεκρίνατο.

1521 [Luke xviii. 2–5.](#)

1522 [Jer. iv. 11.](#)

to have Rasin and Romeliah's son as king over you: therefore, lo, the Lord bringeth up upon you the water of the river, strong and full, even the king of Assyria."¹⁵²³ By the king he means metaphorically Antichrist, as also another prophet saith: "And this man shall be the peace from me, when the Assyrian shall come up into your land, and when he shall tread in your mountains."¹⁵²⁴

58. And in like manner Moses, knowing beforehand that the people would reject and disown the true Saviour of the world, and take part with error, and choose an earthly king, and set the heavenly King at nought, says: "Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures? In the day of vengeance I will recompense (them), and in the time when their foot shall slide."¹⁵²⁵ They did slide, therefore, in all things, as they were found to be in harmony with the truth in nothing: neither as concerns the law, because they became transgressors; nor as concerns the prophets, because they cut off even the prophets themselves; nor as concerns the voice of the Gospels, because they crucified the Saviour Himself; nor in believing the apostles, because they persecuted them. At all times they showed themselves enemies and betrayers of the truth, and were found to be haters of God, and not lovers of Him; and such they shall be then when they find opportunity: for, rousing themselves against the servants of God, they will seek to obtain vengeance by the hand of a mortal man. And he, being puffed up with pride by their subserviency, will begin to despatch missives against the saints, commanding to cut them all off everywhere, on the ground of their refusal to reverence and worship him as God, according to the word of Esaias: "Woe to the wings of the vessels of the land,"¹⁵²⁶ beyond the rivers of Ethiopia: (woe to him) who sendeth sureties by the sea, and letters of papyrus (upon the water; for nimble messengers will go) to a nation¹⁵²⁷ anxious and expectant, and a people strange and bitter against them; a nation hopeless and trodden down."¹⁵²⁸

59. But we who hope for the Son of God are persecuted and trodden down by those unbelievers. For the *wings of the vessels* are the churches; and the sea is the world, in which the Church is set, like a ship tossed in the deep, but not destroyed; for she has with her the skilled Pilot, Christ. And she bears in her midst also the trophy (which is erected) over death;

1523 [Isa. viii. 6, 7.](#)

1524 [Mic. v. 5.](#) The Septuagint reads αὐτῇ = And (he) shall be the peace to it. Hippolytus follows the Hebrew, but makes the pronoun feminine, αὐτῇ referring to the peace. Again Hippolytus reads ὄρη = mountains, where the Septuagint has χώραν = land, and where the Hebrew word = fortresses or palaces. [He must mean that "the Assyrian" = Antichrist. "The peace" is attributable only to the "Prince of peace." So the Fathers generally.]

1525 [Deut. xxxii. 34, 35.](#)

1526 οὐαὶ γῆς πλοίων πτέρυγες.

1527 μετέωρον.

1528 [Isa. xviii. 1, 2.](#)

for she carries with her the cross of the Lord.¹⁵²⁹ For her prow is the east, and her stern is the west, and her hold¹⁵³⁰ is the south, and her tillers are the two Testaments; and the ropes that stretch around her are the love of Christ, which binds the Church; and the net¹⁵³¹ which she bears with her is the laver of the regeneration which renews the believing, whence too are these glories. As the wind the Spirit from heaven is present, by whom those who believe are sealed: she has also anchors of iron accompanying her, viz., the holy commandments of Christ Himself, which are strong as iron. She has also mariners on the right and on the left, assessors like the holy angels, by whom the Church is always governed and defended. The ladder in her leading up to the sailyard is an emblem of the passion of Christ, which brings the faithful to the ascent of heaven. And the top-sails¹⁵³² aloft¹⁵³³ upon the yard are the company of prophets, martyrs, and apostles, who have entered into their rest in the kingdom of Christ.

60. Now, concerning the tribulation of the persecution which is to fall upon the Church from the adversary, John also speaks thus: “And I saw a great and wondrous sign in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she, being with child, cries, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man-child, who is to rule all the nations: and the child was caught up unto God and to His throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath the place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. And then when the dragon saw *it*, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child. And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast (out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast) out of his mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the saints of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus.”¹⁵³⁴

1529 Wordsworth, reading ὡς ἱστὸν for ὡς τὸν, would add, *like a mast*. See his Commentary on [Acts xxvii. 40](#).

1530 κύτος, a conjecture of Combefisius for κύκλον.

1531 λίνον, proposed by the same for πλοῖον, boat.

1532 ψηφαροι, a term of doubtful meaning. May it refer to the καρχήσια?

1533 The text reads here αἰνούμενοι, for which αἰρούμενοι is proposed, or better, ἠωρούμενοι.

1534 [Rev. xii. 1–6](#), etc.

61. By the woman then clothed with the sun," he meant most manifestly the Church, endued with the Father's word,¹⁵³⁵ whose brightness is above the sun. And by the "moon under her feet" he referred to her being adorned, like the moon, with heavenly glory. And the words, "upon her head a crown of twelve stars," refer to the twelve apostles by whom the Church was founded. And those, "she, being with child, cries, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered," mean that the Church will not cease to bear from her heart¹⁵³⁶ the Word that is persecuted by the unbelieving in the world. "And she brought forth," he says, "a man-child, who is to rule all the nations;" by which is meant that the Church, always bringing forth Christ, the perfect man-child of God, who is declared to be God and man, becomes the instructor of all the nations. And the words, "her child was caught up unto God and to His throne," signify that he who is always born of her is a heavenly king, and not an earthly; even as David also declared of old when he said, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou at my right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool."¹⁵³⁷ "And the dragon," he says, "saw and persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child. And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent."¹⁵³⁸ That refers to the one thousand two hundred and threescore days (the half of the week) during which the tyrant is to reign and persecute the Church,¹⁵³⁹ which flees from city to city, and seeks concealment in the wilderness among the mountains, possessed of no other defence than the two wings of the great eagle, that is to say, the faith of Jesus Christ, who, in stretching forth His holy hands on the holy tree, unfolded two wings, the right and the left, and called to Him all who believed upon Him, and covered them as a hen her chickens. For by the mouth of Malachi also He speaks thus: "And unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings."¹⁵⁴⁰

62. The Lord also says, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand), then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains, and let him which is on the housetop not come down to take his clothes; neither let him which is in the field return back to take anything out of his house. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world. And except those days

1535 τὸν Λόγον τὸν Πατρῶν.

1536 γεννώσα ἐκ καρδίας.

1537 Ps. cx. 1.

1538 Rev. xi. 3.

1539 [Concerning Antichrist, two advents, etc., see vol. iv. p. 219, this series.]

1540 Mal. iv. 2.

should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved.”¹⁵⁴¹ And Daniel says, “And they shall place the abomination of desolation a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand two hundred and ninety-five days.”¹⁵⁴²

63. And the blessed Apostle Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, says: “Now we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together at it,¹⁵⁴³ that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letters as from us, as that the day of the Lord is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for (that day shall not come) except there come the falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work; only he who now letteth (will let), until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the Spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: (even him) whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.”¹⁵⁴⁴ And Esaias says, “Let the wicked be cut off, that he behold not the glory of the Lord.”¹⁵⁴⁵

64. These things, then, being to come to pass, beloved, and the one week being divided into two parts, and the abomination of desolation being manifested then, and the two prophets and forerunners of the Lord having finished their course, and the whole world finally approaching the consummation, what remains but the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from heaven, for whom we have looked in hope? who shall bring the conflagration and just judgment upon all who have refused to believe on Him. For the Lord says, “And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draweth nigh.”¹⁵⁴⁶ “And there shall not a hair of your head perish.”¹⁵⁴⁷ “For as

1541 [Matt. xxiv. 15–22; Mark xiii. 14–20; Luke xxi. 20–23.](#)

1542 [Dan. xi. 31; xii. 11, 12.](#) The Hebrew has 1,335 as the number in the second verse.

1543 Hippolytus reads here ἐπ’ αὐτῆς instead of ἐπ’ αὐτόν, and makes the pronoun therefore refer to the coming.

1544 [2 Thess. ii. 1–11.](#)

1545 [Isa. xxvi. 10.](#)

1546 [Luke xxi. 28.](#)

1547 [Luke xxi. 18.](#)

the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.”¹⁵⁴⁸ Now the fall¹⁵⁴⁹ took place in paradise; for Adam fell there. And He says again, “Then shall the Son of man send His angels, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds of heaven.”¹⁵⁵⁰ And David also, in announcing prophetically the judgment and coming of the Lord, says, “His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and His circuit unto the end of the heaven: and there is no one hid from the heat thereof.”¹⁵⁵¹ By the heat he means the conflagration. And Esaias speaks thus: “Come, my people, enter thou into thy chamber, (and) shut thy door: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation of the Lord be overpast.”¹⁵⁵² And Paul in like manner: “For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth of God in unrighteousness.”¹⁵⁵³

65. Moreover, concerning the resurrection and the kingdom of the saints, Daniel says, “And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, (and some to shame and everlasting contempt).”¹⁵⁵⁴ Esaias says, “The dead men shall arise, and they that are in their tombs shall awake; for the dew from thee is healing to them.”¹⁵⁵⁵ The Lord says, “Many in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.”¹⁵⁵⁶ And the prophet says, “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.”¹⁵⁵⁷ And John says, “Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power.”¹⁵⁵⁸ For the second death is the lake of fire that burneth. And again the Lord says, “Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun shineth in his glory.”¹⁵⁵⁹ And to the saints He will say, “Come, ye blessed

1548 [Matt. xxiv. 27, 28.](#)

1549 The word πῶμα, used in the Greek as = carcase, is thus interpreted by Hippolytus as = fall, which is its literal sense.

1550 [Matt. xxiv. 31.](#)

1551 [Ps. xix. 6.](#)

1552 [Isa. xxvi. 20.](#)

1553 [Rom. i. 17.](#)

1554 [Dan. xii. 2.](#)

1555 [Isa. xxvi. 19.](#)

1556 [John v. 25.](#)

1557 [Eph. v. 14.](#) Epiphanius and others suppose that the words thus cited by Paul are taken from the apocryphal writings of Jeremiah: others that they are a free version of [Isa. lx. 1.](#) [But their metrical form justifies the criticism that they are a quotation from a hymn of the Church, based, very likely, on the passage from Isaiah.]

1558 [Rev. xx. 6.](#)

1559 [Matt. xiii. 43.](#)

of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.”¹⁵⁶⁰ But what saith He to the wicked? “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, which my Father hath prepared.” And John says, “Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever maketh and loveth a lie; for your part is in the hell of fire.”¹⁵⁶¹ And in like manner also Esaias: “And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me. And their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.”¹⁵⁶²

66. Concerning the resurrection of the righteous, Paul also speaks thus in writing to the Thessalonians: “We would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive (and) remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice and trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive (and) remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.”¹⁵⁶³

67. These things, then, I have set shortly before thee, O Theophilus, drawing them *from Scripture itself*,¹⁵⁶⁴ in order that, maintaining in faith what is written, and anticipating the things that are to be, thou mayest keep thyself void of offence both toward God and toward men, “looking for that blessed hope and appearing of our God and Saviour,”¹⁵⁶⁵ when, having raised the saints among us, He will rejoice with them, glorifying the Father. To Him be the glory unto the endless ages of the ages. Amen.



1560 [Matt. xxv. 34.](#)

1561 [Rev. xxii. 15.](#)

1562 [Isa. lxvi. 24.](#)

1563 [1 Thess. iv. 12.](#)

1564 [The immense value of these quotations, authenticating the Revelations and other Scriptures, must be apparent. Is not this treatise a voice to our own times of vast significance?]

1565 [Tit. ii. 13.](#)

Expository Treatise Against the Jews.

1. Now, then, incline thine ear to me, and hear my words, and give heed, thou Jew. Many a time dost thou boast thyself, in that thou didst condemn Jesus of Nazareth to death, and didst give Him vinegar and gall to drink; and thou dost vaunt thyself because of this. Come therefore, and let us consider together whether perchance thou dost not boast unrighteously, O Israel, (and) whether that small portion of vinegar and gall has not brought down this fearful threatening upon thee, (and) whether this is not the cause of thy present condition involved in these myriad troubles.

2. Let him then be introduced before us who speaketh by the Holy Spirit, and saith truth—David the son of Jesse. He, singing a certain strain with prophetic reference to the true Christ, celebrated our God by the Holy Spirit, (and) declared clearly all that befell Him by the hands of the Jews in His passion; in which (strain) the Christ who humbled Himself and took unto Himself the form of the servant Adam, calls upon God the Father in heaven as it were in our person, and speaks thus in the sixty-ninth Psalm: “Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul. I am sunk in the mire of the abyss,” that is to say, in the corruption of Hades, on account of the transgression in paradise; and “there is no substance,” that is, help. “My eyes failed while I hoped (or, from my hoping) upon my God; when will He come and save me?”¹⁵⁶⁶

3. Then, in what next follows, Christ speaks, as it were, in His own person: “Then I restored that,” says He, “which I took not away;” that is, on account of the sin of Adam I endured the death which was not mine by sinning. “For, O God, Thou knowest my foolishness; and my sins are not hid from Thee,” that is, “for I did not sin,” as He means it; and for this reason (it is added), “Let not them be ashamed who want to see” my resurrection on the third day, to wit, the apostles. “Because for Thy sake,” that is, for the sake of obeying Thee, “I have borne reproach,” namely the cross, when “they covered my face with shame,” that is to say, the Jews; when “I became a stranger unto my brethren after the flesh, and an alien unto my mother’s children,” meaning (by the mother) the synagogue. “For the zeal of Thine house, Father, hath eaten me up; and the reproaches of them that reproached Thee are fallen on me,” and of them that sacrificed to idols. Wherefore “they that sit in the gate spoke against me,” for they crucified me without the gate. “And they that drink sang against me,” that is, (they who drink wine) at the feast of the passover. “But as for me, in my prayer unto Thee, O Lord, I said, Father, forgive them,” namely the Gentiles, because it is the time for favour with Gentiles. “Let not then the hurricane (of temptations) overwhelm me, neither let the deep (that is, Hades) swallow me up: for Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell (Hades); neither



1566 [Ps. lxi. 1 ff.](#)

let the pit shut her mouth upon me,”¹⁵⁶⁷ that is, the sepulchre. “By reason of mine enemies, deliver me,” that the Jews may not boast, saying, Let us consume him.

4. Now Christ prayed all this economically¹⁵⁶⁸ as man; being, however, true God. But, as I have already said, it was the “form of the servant”¹⁵⁶⁹ that spake and suffered these things. Wherefore He added, “My soul looked for reproach and trouble,” that is, I suffered of my own will, (and) not by any compulsion. Yet “I waited for one to mourn with me, and there was none,” for all my disciples forsook me and fled; and for a “comforter, and I found none.”

5. Listen with understanding, O Jew, to what the Christ says: “They gave me gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.” And these things He did indeed endure from you. Hear the Holy Ghost tell you also what return He made to you for that little portion of vinegar. For the prophet says, as in the person of God, “Let their table become a snare and retribution.” Of what retribution does He speak? Manifestly, of the misery which has now got hold of thee.

6. And then hear what follows: “Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not.” And surely ye have been darkened in the eyes of your soul with a darkness utter and everlasting. For now that the true light has arisen, ye wander as in the night, and stumble on places with no roads, and fall headlong, as having forsaken the way that saith, “I am the way.”¹⁵⁷⁰ Furthermore, hear this yet more serious word: “And their back do thou bend always;” that means, in order that they may be slaves to the nations, not four hundred and thirty years as in Egypt, nor seventy as in Babylon, but bend them to servitude, he says, “always.” In fine, then, how dost thou indulge vain hopes, expecting to be delivered from the misery which holdeth thee? For that is somewhat strange. And not unjustly has he imprecated this blindness of eyes upon thee. But because thou didst cover the eyes of Christ, (and¹⁵⁷¹) thus thou didst beat Him, for this reason, too, bend thou thy back for servitude always. And whereas thou didst pour out His blood in indignation, hear what thy recompense shall be: “Pour out Thine indignation upon them, and let Thy wrathful anger take hold of them;” and, “Let their habitation be desolate,” to wit, their celebrated temple.

7. But why, O prophet, tell us, and for what reason, was the temple made desolate? Was it on account of that ancient fabrication of the calf? Was it on account of the idolatry of the people? Was it for the blood of the prophets? Was it for the adultery and fornication of Israel?

1567 [Ps. xvi. 10.](#)

1568 οἰκονομικῶς. [The Fathers find Christ everywhere in Scripture, and often understand the expressions of David to be those of our Lord’s humanity, by economy.]

1569 [Phil. ii. 7.](#)

1570 [John xiv. 6.](#)

1571 The text is οὕτως, for which read perhaps ὅτε = when.

By no means, he says; for in all these transgressions they always found pardon open to them, and benignity; but it was because they killed the Son of their Benefactor, for He is coeternal with the Father. Whence He saith, “Father, let their temple be made desolate;¹⁵⁷² for they have persecuted Him whom Thou didst of Thine own will smite for the salvation of the world;” that is, they have persecuted me with a violent and unjust death, “and they have added to the pain of my wounds.” In former time, as the Lover of man, I had pain on account of the straying of the Gentiles; but to this pain they have added another, by going also themselves astray. Wherefore “add iniquity to their iniquity, and tribulation to tribulation, and let them not enter into Thy righteousness,” that is, into Thy kingdom; but “let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous,” that is, with their holy fathers and patriarchs.

8. What sayest thou to this, O Jew? It is neither Matthew nor Paul that saith these things, but David, thine anointed, who awards and declares these terrible sentences on account of Christ. And like the great Job, addressing you who speak against the righteous and true, he says, “Thou didst barter the Christ like a slave, thou didst go to Him like a robber in the garden.”

9. I produce now the prophecy of Solomon, which speaketh of Christ, and announces clearly and perspicuously things concerning the Jews; and those which not only are befalling them at the present time, but those, too, which shall befall them in the future age, on account of the contumacy and audacity which they exhibited toward the Prince of Life; for the prophet says, “The ungodly said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright,” that is, about Christ, “Let us lie in wait for the righteous, because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings and words, and upbraideth us with our offending the law, and professeth to have knowledge of God; and he calleth himself the Child of God.”¹⁵⁷³ And then he says, “He is grievous to us even to behold; for his life is not like other men’s, and his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits, and he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness, and pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed.”¹⁵⁷⁴ And again, listen to this, O Jew! None of the righteous or prophets called himself the Son of God. And therefore, as in the person of the Jews, Solomon speaks again of this righteous one, who is Christ, thus: “He was made to reprove our thoughts, and he maketh his boast that God is his Father. Let us see, then, if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him; for if the just man be the Son of God, He will help him, and deliver him from

1572 Cf. [Matt. xxiii. 38.](#)

1573 [Wisd. ii. 1, 12, 13.](#)

1574 [Wisd. ii. 15, 16.](#)

the hand of his enemies. Let us condemn him with a shameful death, for by his own saying he shall be respected.”¹⁵⁷⁵

10. And again David, in the Psalms, says with respect to the future age, “Then shall He” (namely Christ) “speak unto them in His wrath, and vex them in His sore displeasure.”¹⁵⁷⁶ And again Solomon says concerning Christ and the Jews, that “when the righteous shall stand in great boldness before the face of such as have afflicted Him, and made no account of His words, when they see it they shall be troubled with terrible fear, and shall be amazed at the strangeness of His salvation; and they, repenting and groaning for anguish of spirit, shall say within themselves, This is He whom we had sometimes in derision and a proverb of reproach; we fools accounted His life madness, and His end to be without honour. How is He numbered among the children of God, and His lot is among the saints? Therefore have we erred from the way of truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the sun of righteousness rose not on us. We wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction; we have gone through deserts where there lay no way: but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it. What hath our pride profited us? all those things are passed away like a shadow.”¹⁵⁷⁷

The conclusion is wanting.¹⁵⁷⁸

1575 [Wisd. ii. 14, 16, 17, 20.](#) [The argument is *ad hominem*. The Jews valued this book, but did not account it to be Scripture; yet this quotation is a very remarkable comment on what ancient Jews understood concerning the Just One. Comp. [Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; and xxii. 14.](#)]

1576 [Ps. ii. 5.](#)

1577 [Wisd. v. 1–9.](#)

1578 (Compare Justin, vol. i. p. 194; Clement, vol. ii. pp 334–343; Tertullian, vol. iii. p. 151; Origen, vol. iv. p. 402, etc.; and Cyprian, vol. v., this series.)

Against Plato, on the Cause of the Universe.¹⁵⁷⁹

1. And this is the passage regarding demons.¹⁵⁸⁰ But now we must speak of Hades, in which the souls both of the righteous and the unrighteous are detained. Hades is a place in the created system, rude,¹⁵⁸¹ a locality beneath the earth, in which the light of the world does not shine; and as the sun does not shine in this locality, there must necessarily be perpetual darkness there. This locality has been destined to be as it were a guard-house for souls, at which the angels are stationed as guards, distributing according to each one's deeds the temporary¹⁵⁸² punishments for (different) characters. And in this locality there is a certain place¹⁵⁸³ set apart by itself, a lake of unquenchable fire, into which we suppose no one has ever yet been cast; for it is prepared against the day determined by God, in which one sentence of righteous judgment shall be justly applied to all. And the unrighteous, and those who believed not God, who have honoured as God the vain works of the hands of men, idols fashioned (by themselves), shall be sentenced to this endless punishment. But the righteous shall obtain the incorruptible and unfading kingdom, who indeed are at present detained in Hades,¹⁵⁸⁴ but not in the same place with the unrighteous. For to this locality there is one descent, at the gate whereof we believe an archangel is stationed with a host. And when those who are conducted by the angels¹⁵⁸⁵ appointed unto the souls have passed through this gate, they do not proceed on one and the same way; but the righteous, being conducted in the light toward the right, and being hymned by the angels stationed at the

1579 Gallandi, *Vet. Patr.*, ii. 451. Two fragments of this discourse are extant also in the *Parallela Damascenica Rupefucaldina*, pp. 755, 789. [Compare Justin, vol. i. p. 273; Tatian, ii. 65; Athenagoras, 130, and Clement *passim*; vol. iii. Tertullian, 129; Origen, iv. p. 412. This is a fragment from Hippol. *Against the Greeks*.

1580 The reading in the text is ὅπερ δαιμόνων τόπος; others read λόγος for τόπος = thus far the discussion on demons.

1581 ἀκατασκεύαστος.

1582 Or it may be "seasonable," προσκαρούς.

1583 τρόπων. There is another reading, τόπων = of the places.

1584 Hades, in the view of the ancients, was the general receptacle of souls after their separation from the body, where the good abode happily in a place of light (φωτεινῷ), and the evil all in a place of darkness (σκοτιωτέρῳ). See Colomesii *Κεϊμήλια litteraria*, 28, and Suicer on ἄδης. Hence Abraham's bosom and paradise were placed in Hades. See Olympiodorus on *Eccles.*, iii. p. 264. The Macedonians, on the authority of Hugo Broughton, praying in the Lord's words, "Our Father who art in Hades" (Πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ἄδῃ) (Fabricius). [Hippolytus is singular in assigning the *ultimate* receptacle of lost spirits to this Hades. But compare vol. iii. p. 428, and vol. iv. pp. 293, 495, 541, etc.]

1585 Cf. *Constitut. Apostol.*, viii. 41.

place, are brought to a locality full of light. And there the righteous from the beginning¹⁵⁸⁶ dwell, not ruled by necessity, but enjoying always the contemplation of the blessings which are in their view, and delighting themselves with the expectation of others ever new, and deeming those ever better than these. And that place brings no toils to them. There, there is neither fierce heat, nor cold, nor thorn;¹⁵⁸⁷ but the face of the fathers and the righteous is seen to be always smiling, as they wait for the rest and eternal revival in heaven which succeed this location. And we call it by the name *Abraham's bosom*. But the unrighteous are dragged toward the left by angels who are ministers of punishment, and they go of their own accord no longer, but are dragged by force as prisoners. And the angels appointed over them send them along,¹⁵⁸⁸ reproaching them and threatening them with an eye of terror, forcing them down into the lower parts. And when they are brought there, those appointed to that service drag them on to the confines or hell.¹⁵⁸⁹ And those who are so near hear incessantly the agitation, and feel the hot smoke. And when that vision is so near, as they see the terrible and excessively glowing¹⁵⁹⁰ spectacle of the fire, they shudder in horror at the expectation of the future judgment, (as if they were) already feeling the power of their punishment. And again, where they see the place of the fathers and the righteous,¹⁵⁹¹ they are also punished there. For a deep and vast abyss is set there in the midst, so that neither can any of the righteous in sympathy think to pass it, nor any of the unrighteous dare to cross it.

2. Thus far, then, on the subject of Hades, in which the souls of all are detained until the time which God has determined; and then¹⁵⁹² He will accomplish a resurrection of all, not by transferring souls into other bodies,¹⁵⁹³ but by raising the bodies themselves. And if, O Greeks, ye refuse credit to this because ye see these (bodies) in their dissolution, learn not to be incredulous. For if ye believe that the soul is originated and is made immortal by God, according to the opinion of Plato,¹⁵⁹⁴ in time, ye ought not to refuse to believe that

1586 [They do not pass into an intermediate purgatory, nor require prayers for "the repose of their souls."]

1587 τρίβολος. [Also the Pindaric citation in my note, vol. i. 74.]

1588 In the *Parallela* is inserted here the word ἐπιγελῶντες, *deriding* them.

1589 γέννα.

1590 According to the reading in *Parallela*, which inserts ξανθὴν = red.

1591 The text reads καὶ οὗ, and *where*. But in *Parallela* it is καὶ οὗτοι = and these see, etc. In the same we find ὡς μήτε for καὶ τοὺς δικαίους.

1592 [It would be hard to frame a system of belief concerning the state of the dead more entirely exclusive of *purgatory*, i e., a place where the souls of the faithful are detained till (by Masses and the like) they are relieved and admitted to glory, before the resurrection. See vol. iii. p. 706.]

1593 μετενσωματῶν, in opposition to the dogma of metempsychosis.

1594 In the *Timæus*.

God is able also to raise the body, which is composed of the same elements, and make it immortal.¹⁵⁹⁵ To be able in one thing, and to be unable in another, is a word which cannot be said of God. We therefore believe that the body also is raised. For if it become corrupt, it is not at least destroyed. For the earth receiving its remains preserves them, and they, becoming as it were seed, and being wrapped up with the richer part of earth, spring up and bloom. And that which is sown is sown indeed bare grain; but at the command of God the Artificer it buds, and is raised arrayed and glorious, but not until it has first died, and been dissolved, and mingled with earth. Not, therefore, without good reason do we believe in the resurrection of the body. Moreover, if it is dissolved in its season on account of the primeval transgression, and is committed to the earth as to a furnace, to be moulded again anew, it is not raised the same thing as it is now, but pure and no longer corruptible. And to every body its own proper soul will be given again; and the soul, being endued again with it, shall not be grieved, but shall rejoice together with it, abiding itself pure with it also pure. And as it now sojourns with it in the world righteously, and finds it in nothing now a traitor, it will receive it again (the body) with great joy. But the unrighteous will receive their bodies unchanged, and unransomed from suffering and disease, and unglorified, and still with all the ills in which they died. And whatever manner of persons they (were when they) lived without faith, as such they shall be faithfully judged.¹⁵⁹⁶

3.¹⁵⁹⁷ For all, the righteous and the unrighteous alike, shall be brought before God the Word. For the Father hath committed all judgment to Him; and in fulfilment of the Father's counsel, He cometh as Judge whom we call Christ. For it is not Minos and Rhadamanthys that are to judge (the world), as ye fancy, O Greeks, but He whom God the Father hath glorified, of whom we have spoken elsewhere more in particular, for the profit of those who seek the truth. He, in administering the righteous judgment of the Father to all, assigns to each what is righteous according to his works. And being present at His judicial decision, all, both men and angels and demons, shall utter one voice, saying, "Righteous is Thy judgment."¹⁵⁹⁸ Of which voice the justification will be seen in the awarding to each that which is just; since to those who have done well shall be assigned righteously eternal bliss, and to the lovers of iniquity shall be given eternal punishment. And the fire which is unquenchable and without end awaits these latter, and a certain fiery worm which dieth not, and which does not waste the body, but continues bursting forth from the body with unending pain. No sleep will give them rest; no night will soothe them; no death will deliver them from

1595 The first of the two fragments in the *Parallela* ends here.

1596 [The text [Eccles. xi. 3](#) may be accommodated to this truth, but seems to have no force as proof.]

1597 The second fragment extant in the *Parallela* begins here.

1598 [Ps. cxix. 137](#).

punishment; no voice of interceding friends will profit them.¹⁵⁹⁹ For neither are the righteous seen by them any longer, nor are they worthy of remembrance. But the righteous will remember only the righteous deeds by which they reached the heavenly kingdom, in which there is neither sleep, nor pain, nor corruption, nor care,¹⁶⁰⁰ nor night, nor day measured by time; nor sun traversing in necessary course the circle of heaven, which marks the limits of seasons, or the points measured out for the life of man so easily read; nor moon waning or waxing, or inducing the changes of seasons, or moistening the earth; no burning sun, no changeful Bear, no Orion coming forth, no numerous wandering of stars, no painfully-trodden earth, no abode of paradise hard to find; no furious roaring of the sea, forbidding one to touch or traverse it; but this too will be readily passable for the righteous, although it lacks no water. There will be no heaven inaccessible to men, nor will the way of its ascent be one impossible to find; and there will be no earth unwrought, or toilsome for men, but one producing fruit spontaneously in beauty and order; nor will there be generation of wild beasts again, nor the bursting¹⁶⁰¹ substance of other creatures. Neither with man will there be generation again, but the number of the righteous remains indefectible with the righteous angels and spirits. Ye who believe these words, O men, will be partakers with the righteous, and will have part in these future blessings, which “eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.”¹⁶⁰² To Him be the glory and the power, for ever and ever. Amen.

1599 [It is not the unrighteous, be it remembered, who go to “purgatory,” according to the Trent theology, but only true Christians, dying in full communion with the Church. Hippolytus is here speaking of the *ultimate* doom of the wicked, but bears in mind the imagery of [Luke xvi. 24](#) and the appeal to Abraham.]

1600 The second fragment in the *Parallela* ends here.

1601 ἐκβρασσομένη.

1602 [1 Cor. ii. 9.](#)

Against the Heresy of One Noetus.¹⁶⁰³

1. Some others are secretly introducing another doctrine, who have become disciples of one Noetus, who was a native of Smyrna,¹⁶⁰⁴ (and) lived not very long ago.¹⁶⁰⁵ This person was greatly puffed up and inflated with pride, being inspired by the conceit of a strange spirit. He alleged that Christ was the Father Himself, and that the Father Himself was born, and suffered, and died. Ye see what pride of heart and what a strange inflated spirit had insinuated themselves into him. From his other actions, then, the proof is already given us that he spoke not with a pure spirit; for he who blasphemes against the Holy Ghost is cast out from the holy inheritance. He alleged that he was himself Moses, and that Aaron was his brother.¹⁶⁰⁶ When the blessed presbyters heard this, they summoned him before the Church, and examined him. But he denied at first that he held such opinions. Afterwards, however, taking shelter among some, and having gathered round him some others¹⁶⁰⁷ who had embraced the same error, he wished thereafter to uphold his dogma openly as correct. And the blessed presbyters called him again before them, and examined him. But he stood out against them, saying, "What evil, then, am I doing in glorifying Christ?" And the presbyters replied to him, "We too know in truth one God;¹⁶⁰⁸ we know Christ; we know that the Son suffered even as He suffered, and died even as He died, and rose again on the third day, and is at the right hand of the Father, and cometh to judge the living and the dead. And these things which we have learned we allege." Then, after examining him, they expelled him from the Church. And he was carried to such a pitch of pride, that he established a school.

1603 Gallandi, p. 454.

1604 That Noetus was a native of Smyrna is mentioned also by Theodoret, book iii. *Hæret Fab.*, c. iii., and Damascenus, sec. lvii. (who is accustomed to follow Epiphanius); and yet in Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, 57, we read that Noetus was an Asian of the city of Ephesus (Ἀσιανὸν τῆς Ἐφέσου πόλεως). (Fabricius.)

1605 Epiphanius says that Noetus made his heresy public about 130 years before his time (οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλείονων ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τούτων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω); and as Epiphanius wrote in the year 375, that would make the date of Noetus about 245. He says also that Noetus died soon after (ἔναγχος), along with his brother. (Fabricius.)

1606 So also Epiphanius and Damascenus. But Philastrius, *Heresy*, 53, puts Elijah for Aaron: hic etiam dicebat se Moysem esse, et fratrem suum Eliam prophetam.

1607 Epiphanius remarks that they were but ten in number.

1608 The following words are the words of the *Symbolum*, as it is extant in Irenæus, i. 10, etc., and iii. 4; and in Tertullian, *Contra Praxeam*, ch. ii., and *De Præscript.*, ch. xiii., and *De virginibus velandis*, ch. i. [See vol. iii., this series.]

2. Now they seek to exhibit the foundation for their dogma by citing the word in the law, “I am the God of your fathers: ye shall have no other gods beside me;”¹⁶⁰⁹ and again in another passage, “I am the first,” He saith, “and the last; and beside me there is none other.”¹⁶¹⁰ Thus they say they prove that God is one. And then they answer in this manner: “If therefore I acknowledge Christ to be God, He is the Father Himself, if He is indeed God; and Christ suffered, being Himself God; and consequently the Father suffered, for He was the Father Himself.” But the case stands not thus; for the Scriptures do not set forth the matter in this manner. But they make use also of other testimonies, and say, Thus it is written: “This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant (son), and to Israel His beloved. Afterward did He show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men.”¹⁶¹¹ You see, then, he says, that this is God, who is the only One, and who afterwards did show Himself, and conversed with men.” And in another place he says, “Egypt hath laboured; and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, (and they shall be slaves to thee); and they shall come after thee bound with manacles, and they shall fall down unto thee, because God is in thee; and they shall make supplication unto thee: and there is no God beside thee. For Thou art God, and we knew not; God of Israel, the Saviour.”¹⁶¹² Do you see, he says, how the Scriptures proclaim one God? And as this is clearly exhibited, and these passages are testimonies to it, I am under necessity, he says, since one is acknowledged, to make this One the subject of suffering. For Christ was God, and suffered on account of us, being Himself the Father, that He might be able also to save us. And we cannot express ourselves otherwise, he says; for the apostle also acknowledges one God, when he says, “Whose are the fathers, (and) of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.”¹⁶¹³

3. In this way, then, they choose to set forth these things, and they make use only of one class of passages;¹⁶¹⁴ just in the same one-sided manner that Theodotus employed when

1609 Ex. iii. 6 and xx. 3.

1610 Isa. xlv. 6.

1611 Baruch iii. 35–38. [Based on Prov. viii., but so remarkable that Grotius presumptuously declared it an interpolation. It reflects canonical Scripture, but has no canonical value otherwise.]

1612 Isa. xlv. 14.

1613 Rom. ix. 5.

1614 καὶ αὐτοῖς μονοκῶλα χρώμενοι, etc. The word μονοκῶλα appears to be used adverbially, instead of μονοκῶλως and μονοτύπως, which are the terms employed by Epiphanius (p. 481). The meaning is, that the Noetians, in explaining the words of Scripture concerning Christ, looked only to one side of the question—namely, to the divine nature; just as Theodotus, on his part going to the opposite extreme, kept by the human nature exclusively, and held that Christ was a mere man. Besides others, the presbyter Timotheus, in *Cotelerii Monument.*,

he sought to prove that Christ was a mere man. But neither has the one party nor the other understood the matter rightly, as the Scriptures themselves confute their senselessness, and attest the truth. See, brethren, what a rash and audacious dogma they have introduced, when they say without shame, the Father is Himself Christ, Himself the Son, Himself was born, Himself suffered, Himself raised Himself. But it is not so. The Scriptures speak what is right; but Noetus is of a different mind from them. Yet, though Noetus does not understand the truth, the Scriptures are not at once to be repudiated. For who will not say that there is one God? Yet he will not on that account deny the economy (i.e., the number and disposition of persons in the Trinity). The proper way, therefore, to deal with the question is first of all to refute the interpretation put upon these passages by these men, and then to explain their real meaning. For it is right, in the first place, to expound the truth that the Father is one God, “of whom is every family,”¹⁶¹⁵ “by whom are all things, of whom are all things, and we in Him.”¹⁶¹⁶

4. Let us, as I said, see how he is confuted, and then let us set forth the truth. Now he quotes the words, “Egypt has laboured, and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans,” and so forth on to the words, “For Thou art the God of Israel, the Saviour.” And these words he cites without understanding what precedes them. For whenever they wish to attempt anything underhand, they mutilate the Scriptures. But let him quote the passage as a whole, and he will discover the reason kept in view in writing it. For we have the beginning of the section a little above; and we ought, of course, to commence there in showing to whom and about whom the passage speaks. For above, the beginning of the section stands thus: “Ask me concerning my sons and my daughters, and concerning the work of my hands command ye me. I have made the earth, and man upon it: I with my hand have stablished the heaven; I have commanded all the stars. I have raised him up, and all his ways are straight. He shall build my city, and he shall turn back the captivity; not for price nor reward, said the Lord of hosts. Thus said the Lord of hosts, Egypt hath laboured, and the merchandise of Ethiopia and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be slaves to thee: and they shall come after thee bound with manacles, and they shall fall down unto thee; and they shall make supplication unto thee, because God is in thee; and there is no God beside thee. For Thou art God, and we knew not; the God of Israel, the Saviour.”¹⁶¹⁷ “In thee,

vol. iii. p. 389, mentions Theodotus in these terms: “They say that this Theodotus was the leader and father of the heresy of the Samosatan, having first alleged that Christ was a mere man.” [See vol. iii, p. 654, this series.]

1615 [Eph. iii. 15.](#)

1616 [1 Cor. viii. 6.](#)

1617 [Isa. xlv. 11–15.](#)

therefore,” says he, “God is.” But in whom is God except in Christ Jesus, the Father’s Word, and the mystery of the economy?¹⁶¹⁸ And again, exhibiting the truth regarding Him, he points to the fact of His being in the flesh when He says, “I have raised Him up in righteousness, and all His ways are straight.” For what is this? Of whom does the Father thus testify? It is of the Son that the Father says, “I have raised Him up in righteousness.” And that the Father did raise up His Son in righteousness, the Apostle Paul bears witness, saying, “But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you.”¹⁶¹⁹ Behold, the word spoken by the prophet is thus made good, “I have raised Him up in righteousness.” And in saying, “God is in thee,” he referred to the mystery of the economy, because when the Word was made incarnate and became man, the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the Father, while the Son was living among men. This, therefore, was signified, brethren, that in reality the mystery of the economy by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin was this Word, constituting yet one Son to God.¹⁶²⁰ And it is not simply that I say this, but He Himself attests it who came down from heaven; for He speaketh thus: “No man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven.”¹⁶²¹ What then can he seek beside what is thus written? Will he say, forsooth, that flesh was in heaven? Yet there is the flesh which was presented by the Father’s Word as an offering,—the flesh that came by the Spirit and the Virgin, (and was) demonstrated to be the perfect Son of God. It is evident, therefore, that He offered Himself to the Father. And before this there was no flesh in heaven. Who, then, was in heaven¹⁶²² but the Word unincarnate, who was despatched to show that He was upon earth and was also in heaven? For He was Word, He was Spirit, He was Power. The same took to Himself the name common and current among men, and was called from the beginning the Son of man on account of what He was to be, although He was not yet man, as Daniel testifies when he says, “I saw, and behold one like the Son of man came on the clouds of heaven.”¹⁶²³ Rightly, then, did he say that He who was in heaven was called from the beginning by this name, the Word of God, as being that from the beginning.

1618 [Bull, *Opp.*, v. pp. 367, 734, 740–743, 753–756.]

1619 [Rom. viii. 11.](#)

1620 Turrian has the following note: “The Word of God constituted (*operatum est*) one Son to God; i.e., the Word of God effected, that He who was the one Son of God was also one Son of man, because as His hypostasis He assumed the flesh. For thus was the Word made flesh.”

1621 [John iii. 13.](#)

1622 [[John iii. 13.](#)]

1623 [Dan. vii. 13.](#)

5. But what is meant, says he, in the other passage: “This is God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him?”¹⁶²⁴ That said he rightly. For in comparison of the Father who shall be accounted of? But he says: “This is our God; there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of Him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given it unto Jacob His servant, and to Israel His beloved.” He saith well. For who is Jacob His servant, Israel His beloved, but He of whom He crieth, saying, “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye Him?”¹⁶²⁵ Having received, then, all knowledge from the Father, the perfect Israel, the true Jacob, afterward did show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men. And who, again, is meant by Israel¹⁶²⁶ but *a man who sees God*? and there is no one who sees God except the Son alone, the perfect man who alone declares the will of the Father. For John also says, “No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared¹⁶²⁷ Him.”¹⁶²⁸ And again: “He who came down from heaven testifieth what He hath heard and seen.”¹⁶²⁹ This, then, is He to whom the Father hath given all knowledge, who did show Himself upon earth, and conversed with men.

6. Let us look next at the apostle’s word: “Whose are the fathers, of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever.”¹⁶³⁰ This word declares the mystery of the truth rightly and clearly. He who is over all is God; for thus He speaks boldly, “All things are delivered unto me of my Father.”¹⁶³¹ He who is over all, God blessed, has been born; and having been made man, He is (yet) God for ever. For to this effect John also has said, “Which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.”¹⁶³² And well has he named Christ the Almighty. For in this he has said only what Christ testifies of Himself.

1624 [Baruch iii. 36](#), etc.

1625 [Matt. xvii. 5](#).

1626 The word *Israel* is explained by Philo, *De præmiis et pænis*, p. 710, and elsewhere, as = *a man seeing God*, ὁρῶν Θεόν, i.e., **אִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֵל**. So also in the *Constitutiones Apostol.*, vii. 37, viii. 15; Eusebius, *Præparat.*, xi. 6, p. 519, and in many others. To the same class may be referred those who make *Israel* = ὁρατικός ἀνὴρ καὶ θεωρητικός, *a man apt to see and speculate*, as Eusebius, *Præparat.*, p. 310, or = νοῦς ὁρῶν Θεόν, as Optatus in the end of the second book; Didymus in Jerome, and Jerome himself in various passages; Maximus, i. p. 284; Olympiodorus on Ecclesiastes, ch. i.; Leontius, *De Sectis*, p. 392; Theophanes, *Ceram. homil.*, iv. p. 22, etc. Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryph.* [see vol. i. pp. 226, 262], adduces another etymology, ἀνθρωπος νικῶν δυνάμιν.

1627 Hippolytus reads διηγῆσατο for ἐξηγήσατο.

1628 [John i. 18](#).

1629 [John iii. 11, 13](#).

1630 [Rom. ix. 5](#).

1631 [Matt. xi. 27](#).

1632 [Apoc. i. 8](#).

For Christ gave this testimony, and said, “All things are delivered unto me of my Father;”¹⁶³³ and Christ rules all things, and has been appointed¹⁶³⁴ Almighty by the Father. And in like manner Paul also, in setting forth the truth that all things are delivered unto Him, said, “Christ the first-fruits; afterwards they that are Christ’s at His coming. Then cometh the end, when He shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when He shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For He must reign, till He hath put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For all things are put under Him. But when He saith, All things are put under Him, it is manifest that He is excepted which did put all things under Him. Then shall He also Himself be subject to Him who put all things under Him, that God may be all in all.”¹⁶³⁵ If, therefore, all things are put under Him with the exception of Him who put them under Him, He is Lord of all, and the Father is Lord of Him, that in all there might be manifested one God, to whom all things are made subject together with Christ, to whom the Father hath made all things subject, with the exception of Himself. And this, indeed, is said by Christ Himself, as when in the Gospel He confessed Him to be His Father and His God. For He speaks thus: “I go to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.”¹⁶³⁶ If then, Noetus ventures to say that He is the Father Himself, to what father will he say Christ goes away according to the word of the Gospel? But if he will have us abandon the Gospel and give credence to his senselessness, he expends his labour in vain; for “we ought to obey God rather than men.”¹⁶³⁷

7. If, again, he allege His own word when He said, “I and the Father are one,”¹⁶³⁸ let him attend to the fact, and understand that He did not say, “I and the Father *am one*, but *are one*.”¹⁶³⁹ For the word *are*¹⁶⁴⁰ is not said of one person, but it refers to *two persons*, and one power.¹⁶⁴¹ He has Himself made this clear, when He spake to His Father concerning the disciples, “The glory which Thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and Thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; that the world may know that Thou hast sent me.”¹⁶⁴² What have the Noetians to say to these things? Are all one body in respect of substance, or is it that we become one in the power

1633 [Matt. xi. 27.](#) [Compare [John v. 22.](#)]

1634 [Strictly scriptural as to the humanity of Messiah, [Heb. i. 9.](#)]

1635 [1 Cor. xv. 23–28.](#)

1636 [John xx. 17.](#)

1637 [Acts v. 29; iv. 19.](#)

1638 [John x. 30.](#)

1639 ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ—ἐν ἑσμεν, not ἐν εἰμι.

1640 ἑσμεν.

1641 δύνανται.

1642 [John xvii. 22, 23.](#)

and disposition of unity of mind?¹⁶⁴³ In the same manner the Son, who was sent and was not known of those who are in the world, confessed that He was in the Father in power and disposition. For the Son is the one mind of the Father. We who have the Father's mind believe so (in Him); but they who have it not have denied the Son. And if, again, they choose to allege the fact that Philip inquired about the Father, saying, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us," to whom the Lord made answer in these terms: "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?"¹⁶⁴⁴ and if they choose to maintain that their dogma is ratified by this passage, as if He owned Himself to be the Father, let them know that it is decidedly against them, and that they are confuted by this very word. For though Christ had spoken of Himself, and showed Himself among all as the Son, they had not yet recognised Him to be such, neither had they been able to apprehend or contemplate His real power. And Philip, not having been able to receive this, as far as it was possible to see it, requested to behold the Father. To whom then the Lord said, "Philip, have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." By which He means, If thou hast seen me, thou mayest know the Father through me. For through the image, which is like (the original), the Father is made readily known. But if thou hast not known the image, which is the Son, how dost thou seek to see the Father? And that this is the case is made clear by the rest of the chapter, which signifies that the Son who "has been set forth"¹⁶⁴⁵ was sent from the Father,¹⁶⁴⁶ and goeth to the Father."¹⁶⁴⁷

8. Many other passages, or rather all of them, attest the truth. A man, therefore, even though he will it not, is compelled to acknowledge God the Father Almighty, and Christ Jesus the Son of God, who, being God, became man, to whom also the Father made all things subject, Himself excepted, and the Holy Spirit; and that these, therefore, are three. But if he desires to learn how it is shown still that there is one God, let him know that His power¹⁶⁴⁸ is one. As far as regards the power, therefore, God is one. But as far as regards the economy there is a threefold manifestation, as shall be proved afterwards when we give account of the true doctrine. In these things, however, which are thus set forth by us, we are at one. For there is one God in whom we must believe, but unoriginated, impassible, immortal,

1643 ἡτῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῆς ὁμοφρονίας ἐν γινόμεθα.

1644 [John xiv. 8, 9.](#)

1645 [Rom. iii. 25.](#)

1646 [John v. 30; vi. 29; viii. 16, 18, etc.](#)

1647 [John xiii. 1; xiv. 12.](#)

1648 δύναμις.

doing all things as He wills, in the way He wills, and when He wills. What, then, will this Noetus, who knows¹⁶⁴⁹ nothing of the truth, dare to say to these things? And now, as Noetus has been confuted, let us turn to the exhibition of the truth itself, that we may establish the truth, against which all these mighty heresies¹⁶⁵⁰ have arisen without being able to state anything to the purpose.

9. There is, brethren, one God, the knowledge of whom we gain from the Holy Scriptures, and from no other source. For just as a man, if he wishes to be skilled in the wisdom of this world, will find himself unable to get at it in any other way than by mastering the dogmas of philosophers, so all of us who wish to practise piety will be unable to learn its practice from any other quarter than the oracles of God.¹⁶⁵¹ Whatever things, then, the Holy Scriptures declare, at these let us look; and whatsoever things they teach, these let us learn; and as the Father wills our belief to be, let us believe; and as He wills the Son to be glorified, let us glorify Him; and as He wills the Holy Spirit to be bestowed, let us receive Him. Not according to our own will, nor according to our own mind, nor yet as using violently those things which are given by God, but even as He has chosen to teach them by the Holy Scriptures, so let us discern them.

10. God, subsisting alone, and having nothing contemporaneous with Himself, determined to create the world. And conceiving the world in mind, and willing and uttering the word, He made it; and straightway it appeared, formed as it had pleased Him. For us, then, it is sufficient simply to know that there was nothing contemporaneous with God. Beside Him there was nothing; but¹⁶⁵² He, while existing alone, yet existed in plurality.¹⁶⁵³ For He was neither without reason, nor wisdom, nor power, nor counsel.¹⁶⁵⁴ And all things were in Him, and He was the All. When He willed, and as He willed,¹⁶⁵⁵ He manifested His word in the times determined by Him, and by Him He made all things. When He wills, He does; and when He thinks, He executes; and when He speaks, He manifests; when He fashions, He contrives in wisdom. For all things that are made He forms by reason and wisdom—creating them in reason, and arranging them in wisdom. He made them, then, as He pleased, for He was God. And as the Author, and fellow-Counsellor, and Framer¹⁶⁵⁶ of the

1649 There is perhaps a play on the words here—Νότης μὴ νοῶν.

1650 i.e., the other thirty-one heresies, which Hippolytus had already attacked. From these words it is apparent also that this treatise was the closing portion of a book against the heresies (Fabricius).

1651 [This emphatic testimony of our author to the sufficiency of the Scriptures is entirely in keeping with the entire system of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Note our teeming indexes of Scripture texts.]

1652 See, on this passage, Bull's *Defens. Fid. Nic.*, sec. iii. cap. viii. § 2, p. 219.

1653 πολλὸς ἦν.

1654 ἄλογος, ἄσφορος, ἀδύνατος, ἀβούλευτος.

1655 On these words see Bossuet's explanation and defence, *Avertiss.*, vi. § 68, *sur les lettres de M. Jurieu*.

1656 ἀρχηγόν, καὶ σύμβουλον, καὶ ἐργάτην.

things that are in formation, He begat¹⁶⁵⁷ the Word; and as He bears this Word in Himself, and that, too, as (yet) invisible to the world which is created, He makes Him visible; (and) uttering the voice first, and begetting Him as Light of Light,¹⁶⁵⁸ He set Him forth to the world as its Lord, (and) His own mind;¹⁶⁵⁹ and whereas He was visible formerly to Himself alone, and invisible to the world which is made, He makes Him visible in order that the world might see Him in His manifestation, and be capable of being saved.

11. And thus there appeared another beside Himself. But when I say *another*,¹⁶⁶⁰ I do not mean that there are two Gods, but that it is only as light of light, or as water from a fountain, or as a ray from the sun. For there is but one power, which is from the All;¹⁶⁶¹ and the Father is the All, from whom cometh this Power, the Word. And this is the mind¹⁶⁶² which came forth into the world, and was manifested as the Son¹⁶⁶³ of God. All things, then, are by Him, and He alone is of the Father. Who then adduces a multitude of gods brought in, time after time? For all are shut up, however unwillingly, to admit this fact, that the All runs up into one. If, then, all things run up into one, even according to Valentinus, and Marcion, and Cerinthus, and all their fooleries, they are also reduced, however unwillingly, to this position, that they must acknowledge that the One is the cause of all things. Thus, then, these too, though they wish it not, fall in with the truth, and admit that one God made all things according to His good pleasure. And He gave the law and the prophets; and in giving them, He made them speak by the Holy Ghost, in order that, being gifted with the inspiration of the Father's power, they might declare the Father's counsel and will.

1657 The "begetting" of which Hippolytus speaks here is not the generation, properly so called, but that manifestation and bringing forth of the Word co-existing from eternity with the Father, which referred to the creation of the world. So at least Bull and Bossuet, as cited above; also Maranus, *De Divinit. J. C.*, lib. iv. cap. xiii. § 3, p. 458.

1658 φως ἐκ φωτός. This phrase, adopted by the Nicene Fathers, occurs before their time not only here, but also in Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Athenagoras, as is noticed by Grabe, *ad Irenæum*, lib. ii. c. xxiii. Methodius also, in his *Homily on Simeon and Anna*, p. 152, has the expression, σὺ εἶ φῶς ἀληθινὸν ἐκ φωτὸς ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθινὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. Athanasius himself also uses the phrase λύχνον ἐκ λύχνου, vol. i. p. 881, ed. Lips. [Illustrating my remarks (p. v. of this volume), in the preface, as to the study of Nicene theology in Ante-Nicene authors.]

1659 νοῦν.

1660 Justin Martyr also says that the Son is ἕτερόν τι, *something other*, from the Father; and Tertullian affirms, *Filium et Patrem esse aliud ab alio*, with the same intent as Hippolytus here, viz., to express the distinction of persons. [See vol. i. pp. 170, 216, 263, and vol. iii. p. 604.]

1661 ἐκ τοῦ παντός.

1662 Or reason.

1663 παῖς.

12. Acting then in these (prophets), the Word spoke of Himself. For already He became His own herald, and showed that the Word would be manifested among men. And for this reason He cried thus: “I am made manifest to them that sought me not; I am found of them that asked not for me.”¹⁶⁶⁴ And who is He that is made manifest but the Word of the Father?—whom the Father sent, and in whom He showed to men the power proceeding from Him. Thus, then, was the Word made manifest, even as the blessed John says. For he sums up the things that were said by the prophets, and shows that this is the Word, by whom all things were made. For he speaks to this effect: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made.”¹⁶⁶⁵ And beneath He says, “The world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not; He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.”¹⁶⁶⁶ If, then, said he, the world was made by Him, according to the word of the prophet, “By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made,”¹⁶⁶⁷ then this is the Word that was also made manifest. We accordingly see the Word incarnate, and we know the Father by Him, and we believe in the Son, (and) we worship the Holy Spirit. Let us then look at the testimony of Scripture, with respect to the announcement of the future manifestation of the Word.

13. Now Jeremiah says, “Who hath stood in the counsel¹⁶⁶⁸ of the Lord, and hath perceived His Word?”¹⁶⁶⁹ But the Word of God alone is visible, while the word of man is audible. When he speaks of seeing the Word, I must believe that this visible (Word) has been sent. And there was none other (sent) but the Word. And that He was sent Peter testifies, when he says to the centurion Cornelius: “God sent His Word unto the children of Israel by the preaching of Jesus Christ. This is the God who is Lord of all.”¹⁶⁷⁰ If, then, the Word is sent by Jesus Christ, the will¹⁶⁷¹ of the Father is Jesus Christ.

1664 Isa. lxx. 1.

1665 John i. 1–3. Hippolytus evidently puts the full stop at the οὐδὲ ἐν, attaching the ο γέγονεν to the following. So also Irenæus, Clemens Alex., Origen, Theophilus of Antioch, and Eusebius, in several places; so, too, of the Latin Fathers—Tertullian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Augustine; and long after these, Honorius Augustodunensis, in his *De imagine Mundi*. This punctuation was also adopted by the heretics Valentinus, Heracleon, Theodotus, and the Macedonians and Eunomians; and hence it is rejected by Epiphanius, ii. p. 80, and Chrysostom. (Fabricius.)

1666 John i. 10, 11.

1667 Ps. xxxiii. 6.

1668 ὑποστήματι, foundation. Victor reads ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει, in the substance, nature; Symmachus has ἐν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, in the fellowship.

1669 Jer. xxiii. 18.

1670 Acts x. 36.

1671 τὸ θέλημα. Many of the patristic theologians called the Son the Father’s βούλησις or θέλημα. See the passages in Petavius, *De S. S. Trinitate*, lib. vi. c. 8, § 21, and vii. 12, § 12. [Dubious.]

14. These things then, brethren, are declared by the Scriptures. And the blessed John, in the testimony of his Gospel, gives us an account of this economy (disposition) and acknowledges this Word as God, when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." If, then, the Word was with God, and was also God, what follows? Would one say that he speaks of two Gods?¹⁶⁷² I shall not indeed speak of two Gods, but of one; of two Persons however, and of a third economy (disposition), viz., the grace of the Holy Ghost. For the Father indeed is One, but there are two Persons, because there is also the Son; and then there is the third, the Holy Spirit. The Father decrees, the Word executes, and the Son is manifested, through whom the Father is believed on. The economy¹⁶⁷³ of harmony is led back to one God; for God is One. It is the Father who commands,¹⁶⁷⁴ and the Son who obeys, and the Holy Spirit who gives understanding:¹⁶⁷⁵ the Father who is *above all*,¹⁶⁷⁶ and the Son who is *through all*, and the Holy Spirit who is *in all*. And we cannot otherwise think of one God,¹⁶⁷⁷ but by believing in truth in Father and Son and Holy Spirit. For the Jews glorified (or gloried in) the Father, but gave Him not thanks, for they did not recognise the Son. The disciples recognised the Son, but not in the Holy Ghost; wherefore they also denied Him.¹⁶⁷⁸ The Father's Word, therefore, knowing the economy (disposition) and the will of the Father, to wit, that the Father seeks to be

1672 From this passage it is clear that Hippolytus taught the doctrine of one God alone and three Persons. A little before, in the eighth chapter, he said that there is one God, according to substance or divine essence, which one substance is in three Persons; and that, according to disposition or economy, there are three Persons manifested. By the term *economy*, therefore, he understands, with Tertullian, *adversus Praxeam*. ch. iii., the number and disposition of the Trinity (*numerus et dispositionem Trinitatis*). Here he also calls the grace of the Holy Spirit the *third economy*, but in the same way as Tertullian, who calls the Holy Spirit the *third grade* (*tertium gradum*). For the terms *gradus*, *forma*, *species*, *dispositio*, and *oconomia* mean the same in Tertullian. (Maranus.) [Another proof that the Nicene Creed was a *compilation* from Ante-Nicene theologians.]

1673 οἰκονομία συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, perhaps = "the" economy as being one of harmony, leads to one God.

1674 This mode of speaking of the Father's *commanding*, and the Son's *obeying*, was used without any offence, not only by Irenæus, Hippolytus, Origen, and others before the Council of Nicæa, but also after that council by the keenest opponents of the Arian heresy—Athanasius, Basil, Marius Victorinus, Hilary, Prosper, and others. See Petavius, *De Trin.*, i. 7, § 7; and Bull, *Defens Fid. Nic.*, pp. 138, 164, 167, 170. (Fabricius.)

1675 συνέτιζον.

1676 Referring probably to [Eph. iv. 6](#).

1677 The Christian doctrine, Maranus remarks, could not be set forth more accurately; for he contends not only that the number of Persons in no manner detracts from the unity of God, but that the unity of God itself can neither consist nor be adored without this number of Persons.

1678 This is said probably with reference to Peter's denial.

worshipped in none other way than this, gave this charge to the disciples after He rose from the dead: "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."¹⁶⁷⁹ And by this He showed, that whosoever omitted any one of these, failed in glorifying God perfectly. For it is through this Trinity¹⁶⁸⁰ that the Father is glorified. For the Father willed, the Son did, the Spirit manifested. The whole Scriptures, then, proclaim this truth.

15. But some one will say to me, You adduce a thing strange to me, when you call the Son the Word. For John indeed speaks of the Word, but it is by a figure of speech. *Nay, it is by no figure of speech.*¹⁶⁸¹ For while thus presenting this Word that was from the beginning, and has now been sent forth, he said below in the Apocalypse, "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and He that sat upon him (was) Faithful and True; and in righteousness He doth judge and make war. And His eyes (were) as flame of fire, and on His head were many crowns; and He had a name written that no man knew but He Himself. And He (was) clothed in a vesture dipped in blood: and His name is called the Word of God."¹⁶⁸² See then, brethren, how the vesture sprinkled with blood denoted in symbol the flesh, through which the impassible Word of God came under suffering, as also the prophets testify to me. For thus speaks the blessed Micah: "The house of Jacob provoked the Spirit of the Lord to anger. These are their pursuits. Are not His words good with them, and do they walk rightly? And they have risen up in enmity against His countenance of peace, and they have stripped off His glory."¹⁶⁸³ That means His suffering in the flesh. And in like manner also the blessed Paul says, "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be shown in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."¹⁶⁸⁴ What Son of His own, then, did God send through the flesh but the Word,¹⁶⁸⁵ whom He addressed as Son because He was to become such (or be begotten) in the future? And He takes the common name for tender affection among men in being called the Son. For neither was the Word, prior to incarnation and when by Himself,¹⁶⁸⁶ yet perfect Son,

¹⁶⁷⁹ Matt. xxviii. 19.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Τριαδος. [See Theophilus, vol. ii. p. 101, note.]

¹⁶⁸¹ ἀλλ' ἄλλως ἀλληγορεῖ. The words in Italics are given only in the Latin. They may have dropped from the Greek text. At any rate, some such addition seems necessary for the sense.

¹⁶⁸² Apoc. xix. 11–13.

¹⁶⁸³ Mic. ii. 7, 8. δόξαν: In the present text of the Septuagint it is δοράν, skin.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Hippolytus omits the words διὰ τῆς σαρκός and καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας, and reads φανερωθῇ for πληρωθῇ.

¹⁶⁸⁵ ὃν Υἱὸν προσηγόρευε διὰ τὸ μέλλειν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Hippolytus thus gives more definite expression to this temporality of the Sonship, as Dorner remarks, than even Tertullian. See Dorner's *Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (T. & T. Clark), div. i. vol. ii. p. 88, etc.

although He was perfect Word, only-begotten. Nor could the flesh subsist by itself apart from the Word, because it has its subsistence¹⁶⁸⁷ in the Word.¹⁶⁸⁸ Thus, then, one perfect Son of God was manifested.

16. And these indeed are testimonies bearing on the incarnation of the Word; and there are also very many others. But let us also look at the subject in hand,—namely, the question, brethren, that in reality the Father’s power, which is the Word, came down from heaven, and not the Father Himself. For thus He speaks: “I came forth from the Father, and am come.”¹⁶⁸⁹ Now what subject is meant in this sentence, “I came forth from the Father,”¹⁶⁹⁰ but just the Word? And what is it that is begotten of Him, but just the Spirit,¹⁶⁹¹ that is to say, the Word? But you will say to me, How is He begotten? In your own case you can give no explanation of the way in which you were begotten, although you see every day the cause according to man; neither can you tell with accuracy the economy in His case.¹⁶⁹² For you have it not in your power to acquaint yourself with the practised and indescribable art¹⁶⁹³ (method) of the Maker, but only to see, and understand, and believe that man is God’s work. Moreover, you are asking an account of the generation of the Word, whom God the Father in His good pleasure begat as He willed. Is it not enough for you to learn that God made the world, but do you also venture to ask whence He made it? Is it not enough for you to learn that the Son of God has been manifested to you for salvation if you believe, but do you also inquire curiously how He was begotten after the Spirit? No more than two,¹⁶⁹⁴ in sooth, have been put in trust to give the account of His generation after the flesh; and are you then

[Pearson *On the Creed*, art. ii. p. 199 et seqq. The patristic citations are sufficient, and Hippolytus may be harmonized with them.]

1687 τὴν σύστασιν.

1688 “Σύστασις,” says Dorner, “be it observed, is not yet equivalent to personality. The sense is, it had its subsistence in the Logos; He was the connective and vehicular force. This is thoroughly unobjectionable. He does not thus necessarily pronounce the humanity of Christ impersonal; although in view of what has preceded, and what remains to be adduced, there can be no doubt [?] that Hippolytus would have defended the impersonality, had the question been agitated at the period at which he lived.” See Dorner, as above, i. 95. [But compare Burton, *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, etc., pp. 60–87, where Tertullian and Hippolytus speak for themselves. Note also what he says of the latter, and his variations of expression, p. 87.]

1689 [John xvi. 28.](#)

1690 Reading ἐξῆλθον. The Latin interpreter seems to read ἐξελθόν = what is this that came forth.

1691 πνεῦμα. The divine in Christ is thus designated in the Ante-Nicene Fathers generally. See Grotius on [Mark ii. 8](#); and for a full history of the term in this use, Dorner’s *Person of Christ*, i. p. 390, etc. (Clark).

1692 τὴν περὶ τοῦτον οἰκονομίαν.

1693 τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔμπειρον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητου τέχνην.

1694 i.e., Matthew and Luke in their Gospels.

so bold as to seek the account (of His generation) after the Spirit, which the Father keeps with Himself, intending to reveal it then to the holy ones and those worthy of seeing His face? Rest satisfied with the word spoken by Christ, viz., “That which is born of the Spirit is spirit,”¹⁶⁹⁵ just as, speaking by the prophet of the generation of the Word, He shows the fact that He is begotten, but reserves the question of the manner and means, to reveal it only in the time determined by Himself. For He speaks thus: “From the womb, before the morning star, I have begotten Thee.”¹⁶⁹⁶

17. These testimonies are sufficient for the believing who study truth, and the unbelieving credit no testimony.¹⁶⁹⁷ For the Holy Spirit, indeed, in the person of the apostles, has testified to this, saying, “And who has believed our report?”¹⁶⁹⁸ Therefore let us not prove ourselves unbelieving, lest the word spoken be fulfilled in us. Let us believe then, dear¹⁶⁹⁹ brethren, according to the tradition of the apostles, that God the Word came down from heaven, (and entered) into the holy Virgin Mary, in order that, taking the flesh from her, and assuming also a human, by which I mean a rational soul, and becoming thus all that man is with the exception of sin, He might save fallen man, and confer immortality on men who believe on His name. In all, therefore, the word of truth is demonstrated to us, to wit, that the Father is One, whose word is present (with Him), by whom He made all things; whom also, as we have said above, the Father sent forth in later times for the salvation of men. This (Word) was preached by the law and the prophets as destined to come into the world. And even as He was preached then, in the same manner also did He come and manifest Himself, being by the Virgin and the Holy Spirit made a new man; for in that He had the heavenly (nature) of the Father, as the Word and the earthly (nature), as taking to Himself the flesh from the old Adam by the medium of the Virgin, He now, coming forth into the world, was manifested as God in a body, coming forth too as a perfect man. For it was not in mere appearance or by conversion,¹⁷⁰⁰ but in truth, that He became man.



1695 [John iii. 6.](#)

1696 [Ps. cx. 3.](#)

1697 [A noble aphorism. See Shedd, *Hist. of Theol.*, i. pp. 300, 301, and tribute to Pearson, p. 319, note. The loving spirit of Auberlen, on the defeat of rationalism, may be noted with profit in his *Divine Revelations*, translation, Clark's ed., 1867.]

1698 [Isa. liii. 1.](#)

1699 μακάριοι.

1700 κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπήν.

18. ¹⁷⁰¹Thus then, too, though demonstrated as God, He does not refuse the conditions proper to Him as man, ¹⁷⁰²since He hungers and toils and thirsts in weariness, and flees in fear, and prays in trouble. And He who as God has a sleepless nature, slumbers on a pillow. And He who for this end came into the world, begs off from the cup of suffering. And in an agony He sweats blood, and is strengthened by an angel, who Himself strengthens those who believe on Him, and taught men to despise death by His work. ¹⁷⁰³And He who knew what manner of man Judas was, is betrayed by Judas. And He, who formerly was honoured by him as God, is condemned by Caiaphas. ¹⁷⁰⁴And He is set at nought by Herod, who is Himself to judge the whole earth. And He is scourged by Pilate, who took upon Himself our infirmities. And by the soldiers He is mocked, at whose behest stand thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads of angels and archangels. And He who fixed the heavens like a vault is fastened to the cross by the Jews. And He who is inseparable from the Father cries to the Father, and commends to Him His spirit; and bowing His head, He gives up the ghost, who said, "I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again;" ¹⁷⁰⁵and because He was not overmastered by death, as being Himself Life, He said this: "I lay it down of myself." ¹⁷⁰⁶And He who gives life bountifully to all, has His side pierced with a spear. And He who raises the dead is wrapped in linen and laid in a sepulchre, and on the third day He is raised again by the Father, though Himself the Resurrection and the Life. For all these things has He finished for us, who for our sakes was made as we are. For "Himself hath borne our infirmities, and carried our diseases; and for our sakes He was afflicted," ¹⁷⁰⁷as Isaiah the prophet has said. This is He who was hymned by the angels, and seen by the shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and witnessed to by Anna. This is He who was inquired after by the wise men, and indicated by the star; He who was engaged in His Father's house, and pointed to by John, and witnessed to by the Father from above in the

1701 [The sublimity of this concluding chapter marks our author's place among the most eloquent of Ante-Nicene Fathers.]

1702 The following passage agrees almost word for word with what is cited as from the *Memoria hæresium* of Hippolytus by Gelasius, in the *De duabus naturis Christi*, vol. viii. *Bibl. Patr.*, edit. Lugd. p. 704. [Compare St. Ignatius, vol. i. cap. vii. p. 52, this series; and for the crucial point (γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος) see Jacobson, ii. p. 278.]

1703 Or, by deed, ἔργῳ.

1704 ἱερατευόμενος, referring to [John xi. 51, 52](#).

1705 [John x. 18](#).

1706 [John x. 18](#).

1707 [Isa. liii. 4](#).

voice, “This is my beloved Son; hear ye Him.”¹⁷⁰⁸ He is crowned victor against the devil.¹⁷⁰⁹ This is Jesus of Nazareth, who was invited to the marriage-feast in Cana, and turned the water into wine, and rebuked the sea when agitated by the violence of the winds, and walked on the deep as on dry land, and caused the blind man from birth to see, and raised Lazarus to life after he had been dead four days, and did many mighty works, and forgave sins, and conferred power on the disciples, and had blood and water flowing from His sacred side when pierced with the spear. For His sake the sun is darkened, the day has no light, the rocks are shattered, the veil is rent, the foundations of the earth are shaken, the graves are opened, and the dead are raised, and the rulers are ashamed when they see the Director of the universe upon the cross closing His eye and giving up the ghost. Creation saw, and was troubled; and, unable to bear the sight of His exceeding glory, shrouded itself in darkness.¹⁷¹⁰

This (is He who) breathes upon the disciples, and gives them the Spirit, and comes in among them when the doors are shut, and is taken up by a cloud into the heavens while the disciples gaze at Him, and is set down on the right hand of the Father, and comes again as the Judge of the living and the dead. This is the God who for our sakes became man, to whom also the Father hath put all things in subjection. To Him be the glory and the power, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, in the holy Church both now and ever, and even for evermore. Amen.



1708 [Matt. xvii. 5](#). [It may be convenient for some to turn to the Oxford translation of Bishop Bull’s *Defensio*, part i. pp. 193–216, where Tertullian and Hippolytus are nobly vindicated on Nicene grounds. The notes are also valuable.]

1709 [Matt. xxvii. 29](#). στεφανοῦται κατὰ διαβόλου, [i.e., with thorns].

1710 [Hippolytus confirms Tertullian’s testimony. Compare vol. iii. pp. 35 and 58.]

Against Beron and Helix.

Fragments of a discourse, alphabetically divided,¹⁷¹¹ on the Divine Nature¹⁷¹² and the Incarnation, against the heretics Beron and Helix,¹⁷¹³ the beginning of which was in these words, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, with voice never silent the seraphim exclaim and glorify God.”

Fragment I.

By the omnipotent will of God all things are made, and the things that are made are also preserved, being maintained according to their several principles in perfect harmony by Him who is in His nature the omnipotent God and maker of all things,¹⁷¹⁴ His divine will remaining unalterable by which He has made and moves all things, sustained as they severally are by their own natural laws.¹⁷¹⁵ For the infinite cannot in any manner or by any account be susceptible of movement, inasmuch as it has nothing towards which and nothing around which it shall be moved. For in the case of that which is in its nature infinite, and so incapable of being moved, movement would be conversion.¹⁷¹⁶ Wherefore also the Word of God being made truly man in our manner, yet without sin, and acting and enduring in man’s way such sinless things as are proper to our nature, and assuming the circumscription of the flesh of our nature on our behalf, sustained no conversion in that aspect in which He is one with the Father, being made in no respect one with the flesh through the exinani-tion.¹⁷¹⁷ But as He was without flesh,¹⁷¹⁸ He remained without any circumscription. And

1711 κατὰ στοιχεῖον. The Latin title in the version of Anastasius renders it “ex sermone qui est per elementum.”

1712 περὶ θεολογίας.

1713 For Ἡλικός the *Codex Regius et Colbertinus* of Nicephorus prefers “Ἡλικίωνος. Fabricius conjectures that we should read ἡλικιωτῶ ἀίρετικῶν, so that the title would be, Against Beron and his fellow-heretics. [N.B. Beron = “Vero”.]

1714 αὐτῷ τῷ...Θεῷ.

1715 τοῖς ἕκαστα φυσικοῖς διεξαγόμενα νόμοις. Anastasius makes it *naturalibus producta legibus*; Capperon-nier, *suis quæque legibus temperata vel ordinata*.

1716 τροπή γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπείρου, κινεῖσθαι μὴ πεφυκότος, ἢ κίνησις; or may the sense be, “for a change in that which is in its nature infinite would just be the moving of that which is incapable of movement?”

1717 μὴδ’ ἐνὶ παντελῶς ὃ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τῷ Πατρὶ γενόμενος ταυτὸν τῇ σαρκὶ διὰ τὴν κένωσιν. Thus in effect Combefisius, correcting the Latin version of Anastasius. Baunius adopts the reading in the Greek Codex Nicephori, viz., ἔνωσιν for κένωσιν, and renders it, “In nothing was the Word, who is the same with the Father, made the same with the flesh through the union:” nulla re Verbum quod idem est cum Patre factum est idem cum carne propter unionem.

1718 δίχα σαρκὸς, i.e., what He was before assuming the flesh, that He continued to be in Himself, viz., independent of limitation.

through the flesh He wrought divinely¹⁷¹⁹ those things which are proper to divinity, showing Himself to have both those natures in both of which He wrought, I mean the divine and the human, according to that veritable and real and natural subsistence,¹⁷²⁰ (showing Himself thus) as both being in reality and as being understood to be at one and the same time infinite God and finite man, having the nature¹⁷²¹ of each in perfection, with the same activity,¹⁷²² that is to say, the same natural properties;¹⁷²³ whence we know that their distinction abides always according to the nature of each, and without conversion. But it is not (i.e., the distinction between deity and humanity), as some say, a merely comparative (or relative) matter,¹⁷²⁴ that we may not speak in an unwarrantable manner of a greater and a less in one who is ever the same in Himself.¹⁷²⁵ For comparisons can be instituted only between objects of like nature, and not between objects of unlike nature. But between God the Maker of all things and that which is made, between the infinite and the finite, between infinitude and finitude, there can be no kind of comparison, since these differ from each other not in mere comparison (or relatively), but absolutely in essence. And yet at the same time there has been effected a certain inexpressible and irrefragable union of the two into one substance,¹⁷²⁶ which entirely passes the understanding of anything that is made. For the divine is just the same after the incarnation that it was before the incarnation; in its essence infinite, illimitable, impassible, incomparable, unchangeable, inconvertible, self-potent,¹⁷²⁷ and, in short, subsisting in essence alone the infinitely worthy good.



1719 θεϊκῶς.

1720 Or existence, ὕπαρξιν. Anastasius makes it *substantia*.

1721 οὐσίαν.

1722 ἐνεργείας.

1723 φυσικῆς ιδιότητος.

1724 κατὰ σύγκρισιν. Migne follows Capperonnier in taking σύγκρισις in this passage to mean not “comparison” or “relation,” but “commixture,” the “concretion and commixture” of the divine and human, which was the error of Apollinaris and Eutyches in their doctrine of the incarnation, and which had been already refuted by Tertullian, *Contra Praxeam*, c. xxvii.

1725 Or, “for that would be to speak of the same being as greater and less than Himself.”

1726 υποστάσιν.

1727 αὐτοσθενές.

Fragment II.

The God of all things therefore became truly, according to the Scriptures, without conversion, sinless man, and that in a manner known to Himself alone, as He is the natural Artificer of things which are above our comprehension. And by that same saving act of the incarnation¹⁷²⁸ He introduced into the flesh the activity of His proper divinity, yet without having it (that activity) either circumscribed by the flesh through the exinanition, or growing naturally out of the flesh as it grew out of His divinity,¹⁷²⁹ but manifested through it in the things which He wrought in a divine manner in His incarnate state. For the flesh did not become divinity in nature by a transmutation of nature, as though it became essentially flesh of divinity. But what it was before, that also it continued to be in nature and activity when united with divinity, even as the Saviour said, “The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.”¹⁷³⁰ And working and enduring in the flesh things which were proper to sinless flesh, He proved the evacuation of divinity (to be) for our sakes, confirmed as it was by wonders and by sufferings of the flesh naturally. For with this purpose did the God of all things become man, viz., in order that by suffering in the flesh, which is susceptible of suffering, He might redeem our whole race, which was sold to death; and that by working wondrous things by His divinity, which is unsusceptible of suffering, through the medium of the flesh He might restore it to that incorruptible and blessed life from which it fell away by yielding to the devil; and that He might establish the holy orders of intelligent existences in the heavens in immutability by the mystery of His incarnation,¹⁷³¹ the doing of which is the recapitulation of all things in himself.¹⁷³² He remained therefore, also, after His incarnation, according to nature, God infinite, and more,¹⁷³³ having the activity proper and suitable to Himself,—an activity growing out of His divinity essentially, and manifested through His perfectly holy flesh by wondrous acts economically, to the intent that He might be believed in as God, while working out of Himself¹⁷³⁴ by the flesh, which by nature is weak, the salvation of the universe.

1728 σωτήριον σάρκωσιν.

1729 οὐδ' ὡς περ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος οὕτω καὶ αὐτῆς φυσικῶς ἐκφυομένην.

1730 [Matt. xxvi. 41.](#)

1731 σωματώσεως.

1732 Referring probably to [Eph. i. 10.](#)

1733 ὑπεράπειρος.

1734 αὐτουργῶν.

Fragment III.

Now, with the view of explaining, by means of an illustration, what has been said concerning the Saviour, (I may say that) the power of thought¹⁷³⁵ which I have by nature is proper and suitable to me, as being possessed of a rational and intelligent soul; and to this soul there pertains, according to nature, a self-moved energy and first power, ever-moving, to wit, the thought that streams from it naturally. This thought I utter, when there is occasion, by fitting it to words, and expressing it rightly in signs, using the tongue as an organ, or artificial characters, showing that it is heard, though it comes into actuality by means of objects foreign to itself, and yet is not changed itself by those foreign objects.¹⁷³⁶ For my natural thought does not belong to the tongue or the letters, although I effect its utterance by means of these; but it belongs to me, who speak according to my nature, and by means of both these express it as my own, streaming as it does always from my intelligent soul according to its nature, and uttered by means of my bodily tongue organically, as I have said, when there is occasion. Now, to institute a comparison with that which is utterly beyond comparison, just as in us the power of thought that belongs by nature to the soul is brought to utterance by means of our bodily tongue without any change in itself, so, too, in the wondrous incarnation¹⁷³⁷ of God is the omnipotent and all-creating energy of the entire deity¹⁷³⁸ manifested without mutation in itself, by means of His perfectly holy flesh, and in the works which He wrought after a divine manner, (that energy of the deity) remaining in its essence free from all circumscription, although it shone through the flesh, which is itself essentially limited. For that which is in its nature unoriginated cannot be circumscribed by an originated nature, although this latter may have grown into one with it¹⁷³⁹ by a conception which circumscribes all understanding;¹⁷⁴⁰ nor can this be ever brought into the same nature and natural activity with that, so long as they remain each within its own proper and inconvertible nature.¹⁷⁴¹ For it is only in objects of the same nature that there is the motion that works

1735 λόγος.

1736 The text is, διὰ τῶν ἀνομοίων μὲν ὑπάρχοντα. Anastasius reads μὴ for μέν.

1737 σωματώσεως.

1738 τῆς ὅλης θεότητος.

1739 συνέφυ.

1740 Κατὰ σύλληψιν πάντα περιγράφουσιν νοῦν.

1741 οὔτε μὴν εἰς τ' αὐτὸν αὐτῷ φέρεσθαι φύσεώς ποτε καὶ φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, ἕως ἂν ἐκάτερον τῆς ἰδίας ἐντὸς μένει φυσικῆς ἀτρεψίας. Το φέρεσθαι we supply again πέφυκε.

the same works, showing that the being¹⁷⁴² whose power is natural is incapable in any manner of being or becoming the possession of a being of a different nature without mutation.¹⁷⁴³



1742 οὐσίαν.

1743 The sense is extremely doubtful here. The text runs thus: ὁμοφυῶν γὰρ μόνων ἢ ταυτουργός ἐστι κίνησις σημαίνουσα τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣς φυσικὴ κατέστηκε δύναμις, ἑτεροφυοῦς ἰδιότητος οὐσίας εἶναι κατ' οὐδένα λόγον, ἢ γενέσθαι δίχα τροπῆς δυναμένην. Anastasius renders it: Connaturalium enim tantum per se operans est motus, manifestans substantiam, cujus naturalem constat esse virtutem: diversæ naturæ proprietatis substantia nulla naturæ esse vel fieri sine convertibilitate valente.

Fragment IV.

For, in the view of apostles and prophets and teachers, the mystery of the divine incarnation has been distinguished as having two points of contemplation natural to it,¹⁷⁴⁴ distinct in all things, inasmuch as on the one hand it is the subsistence of perfect deity, and on the other is demonstrative of full humanity. As long, therefore,¹⁷⁴⁵ as the Word is acknowledged to be in substance one, of one energy, there shall never in any way be known a movement¹⁷⁴⁶ in the two. For while God, who is essentially ever-existent, became by His infinite power, according to His will, sinless man, He is what He was, in all wherein God is known; and what He became, He is in all wherein man is known and can be recognised. In both aspects of Himself He never falls out of Himself,¹⁷⁴⁷ in His divine activities and in His human alike, preserving in both relations His own essentially unchangeable perfection.

1744 διττήν καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχον διέγνωσται τὴν ἐν πᾶσι φυσικὴν θεωρίαν.

1745 The text goes, ἕως ἂν οὐχ, which is adopted by Combesius. But Capperonnier and Migne read οὖν for οὐχ, as we have rendered it.

1746 Change, κίνησις.

1747 μένει ἀνέκπτωτος.

Fragment V.

For lately a certain person, Beron, along with some others, forsook the delusion of Valentinus, only to involve themselves in deeper error, affirming that the flesh assumed to Himself by the Word became capable of working like works with the deity¹⁷⁴⁸ by virtue of its assumption, and that the deity became susceptible of suffering in the same way with the flesh¹⁷⁴⁹ by virtue of the exinanition;¹⁷⁵⁰ and thus they assert the doctrine that there was at the same time a conversion and a mixing and a fusing¹⁷⁵¹ of the two aspects one with the other. For if the flesh that was assumed became capable of working like works with the deity, it is evident that it also became God in essence in all wherein God is essentially known. And if the deity by the exinanition became susceptible of the same sufferings with the flesh, it is evident that it also became in essence flesh in all wherein flesh essentially can be known. For objects that act in like manner,¹⁷⁵² and work like works, and are altogether of like kind, and are susceptible of like suffering with each other, admit of no difference of nature; and if the natures are fused together,¹⁷⁵³ Christ will be a duality;¹⁷⁵⁴ and if the persons¹⁷⁵⁵ are separated, there will be a quaternity,¹⁷⁵⁶—a thing which is altogether to be avoided. And how will they conceive of the one and the same Christ, who is at once God and man by nature? And what manner of existence will He have according to them, if He has become man by a conversion of the deity, and if he has become God by a change of the flesh? For the mutation¹⁷⁵⁷ of these, the one into the other, is a complete subversion of both. Let the discussion, then, be considered by us again in a different way.

1748 γενέσθαι ταυτουργὸν τῇ θεότητι.

1749 ταυτοπαθῇ τῇ σαρκί.

1750 κένωσιν.

1751 σύγχυσιν.

1752 ὁμοεργῇ.

1753 συγκεχυμένων. [Vol. iii. p. 623].

1754 δυάς.

1755 προσώπων.

1756 τετράς, i.e., instead of Trinity [the Τριάς].

1757 μετάπτωσις. [Compare the Athanasian Confession].

Fragment VI.

Among Christians it is settled as the doctrine of piety, that, according to nature itself, and to the activity and to whatever else pertains thereunto, God is equal and the same with Himself,¹⁷⁵⁸ having nothing that is His unequal to Himself at all and heterogeneous.¹⁷⁵⁹ If, then, according to Beron, the flesh that He assumed to Himself became possessed of the like natural energy with them, it is evident that it also became possessed of the like nature with Him in all wherein that nature consists,—to wit, non-origination, non-generation, infinitude, eternity, incomprehensibility, and whatever else in the way of the transcendent the theological mind discerns in deity; and thus they both underwent conversion, neither the one nor the other preserving any more the substantial relation of its own proper nature.¹⁷⁶⁰ For he who recognises an identical operation¹⁷⁶¹ in things of unlike nature, introduces at the same time a fusion of natures and a separation of persons,¹⁷⁶² their natural existence¹⁷⁶³ being made entirely undistinguishable by the transference of properties.¹⁷⁶⁴

1758 ἴσον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταυτόν.

1759 ἀκατάλληλον.

1760 τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως οὐσιώδη λόγον.

1761 ταυτουργίαν.

1762 διαίρεσιν προσωπικὴν.

1763 ὑπάρξεως.

1764 ἰδιωμάτων.

Fragment VII.

But if it (the flesh) did not become of like nature with that (the deity), neither shall it ever become of like natural energy with that; that He may not be shown to have His energy unequal with His nature, and heterogeneous, and, through all that pertains to Himself, to have entered on an existence outside of His natural equality and identity,¹⁷⁶⁵ which is an impious supposition.



¹⁷⁶⁵ φυσικῆς ἔξω γεγονώς ἰσότητος καὶ ταυτότητος.

Fragment VIII.

Into this error, then, have they been carried, by believing, unhappily, that that divine energy was made the property of the flesh which was only manifested through the flesh in His miraculous actions; by which energy Christ, in so far as He is apprehended as God, gave existence to the universe, and now maintains and governs it. For they did not perceive that it is impossible for the energy of the divine nature to become the property¹⁷⁶⁶ of a being of a different nature¹⁷⁶⁷ apart from conversion; nor did they understand that that is not by any means the property of the flesh which is only manifested through it, and does not spring out of it according to nature; and yet the proof thereof was clear and evident to them. For I, by speaking with the tongue and writing with the hand, reveal through both these one and the same thought of my intelligent soul, its energy (or operation) being natural; in no way showing it as springing naturally out of tongue or hand; nor yet (showing) even the spoken thought as made to belong to them in virtue of its revelation by their means. For no intelligent person ever recognised tongue or hand as capable of thought, just as also no one ever recognised the perfectly holy flesh of God, in virtue of its assumption, and in virtue of the revelation of the divine energy through its medium, as becoming in nature creative.¹⁷⁶⁸ But the pious confession of the believer is that, with a view to our salvation, and in order to connect the universe with unchangeableness, the Creator of all things incorporated with Himself¹⁷⁶⁹ a rational soul and a sensible¹⁷⁷⁰ body from the all-holy Mary, ever-virgin, by an undefiled conception, without conversion, and was made man in nature, but separate from wickedness: the same was perfect God, and the same was perfect man; the same was in nature at once perfect God and man. In His deity He wrought divine things through His all-holy flesh,—such things, namely, as did not pertain to the flesh by nature; and in His humanity He suffered human things,—such things, namely, as did not pertain to deity by nature, by the upbearing of the deity.¹⁷⁷¹ He wrought nothing divine without the body;¹⁷⁷² nor did the same do anything human without the participation of deity.¹⁷⁷³ Thus He preserved for Himself a new and fitting method¹⁷⁷⁴ by which He wrought (according to the

1766 ἰδίωμα.

1767 ἑτεροφανοῦς οὐσίας.

1768 δημιουργόν.

1769 ἐνουσιώσας.

1770 Or sensitive, αἰσθητικοῦ.

1771 ἀνοχῇ πάσχων θεότητος.

1772 γυμνὸν σώματος.

1773 ἄμοιρον δράσας θεότητος.

1774 καινοπρεπῇ τρόπον.

manner of) both, while that which was natural to both remained unchanged;¹⁷⁷⁵ to the accrediting¹⁷⁷⁶ of His perfect incarnation,¹⁷⁷⁷ which is really genuine, and has nothing lacking in it.¹⁷⁷⁸ Beron, therefore, since the case stands with him as I have already stated, confounding together in nature the deity and the humanity of Christ in a single energy,¹⁷⁷⁹ and again separating them in person, subverts the life, not knowing that identical operation¹⁷⁸⁰ is indicative of the connatural identity only of connatural persons.¹⁷⁸¹

1775 τὸ κατ' ἄμφω φυσικῶς ἀναλλοίωτον.

1776 εἰς πίστωσιν.

1777 ἐνανθρωπήσεως. [See Athanasian Creed, in Dutch Hymnal.]

1778 μηδὲν ἐχούσης φαυλότητος.

1779 ἐνεργείας μονάδι.

1780 ταυτουργίαν.

1781 μόνης τῆς τῶν ὁμοφυῶν προσώπων ὁμοφυοῦς ταυτότητος.

The Discourse on the Holy Theophany.

1. Good, yea, very good, are all the works of our God and Saviour—all of them that eye seeth and mind perceiveth, all that reason interprets and hand handles, all that intellect comprehends and human nature understands. For what richer beauty can there be than that of the circle¹⁷⁸² of heaven? And what form of more blooming fairness than that of earth's surface? And what is there swifter in the course than the chariot of the sun? And what more graceful car than the lunar orb?¹⁷⁸³ And what work more wonderful than the compact mosaic of the stars?¹⁷⁸⁴ And what more productive of supplies than the seasonable winds? And what more spotless mirror than the light of day? And what creature more excellent than man? Very good, then, are all the works of our God and Saviour. And what more requisite gift, again, is there than the element¹⁷⁸⁵ of water? For with water all things are washed and nourished, and cleansed and bedewed. Water bears the earth, water produces the dew, water exhilarates the vine; water matures the corn in the ear, water ripens the grapecluster, water softens the olive, water sweetens the palm-date, water reddens the rose and decks the violet, water makes the lily bloom with its brilliant cups. And why should I speak at length? Without the element of water, none of the present order of things can subsist. So necessary is the element of water; for the other elements¹⁷⁸⁶ took their places beneath the highest vault of the heavens, but the nature of water obtained a seat also above the heavens. And to this the prophet himself is a witness, when he exclaims, "Praise the Lord, ye heavens of heavens, and the water that is above the heavens."¹⁷⁸⁷

2. Nor is this the only thing that proves the dignity¹⁷⁸⁸ of the water. But there is also that which is more honourable than all—the fact that Christ, the Maker of all, came down as the rain,¹⁷⁸⁹ and was known as a spring,¹⁷⁹⁰ and diffused Himself as a river,¹⁷⁹¹ and was baptized in the Jordan.¹⁷⁹² For you have just heard how Jesus came to John, and was baptized by him in the Jordan. Oh things strange beyond compare! How should the boundless

1782 δίσκου.

1783 σεληνιακοῦ στοιχείου.

1784 πολυπηγήτου τῶν ἄστρων μουσίου.

1785 φύσεως.

1786 στοιχεῖα.

1787 [Ps. cxlviii. 4.](#) [Pindar ("Ἀριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, *Olymp.*, i. 1), is expounded and then transcended.]

1788 ἀξιοπιστίαν.

1789 [Hos. vi. 3.](#)

1790 [John iv. 14.](#)

1791 [John vii. 38.](#)

1792 [Matt. iii. 13.](#)

River¹⁷⁹³ that makes glad the city of God have been dipped in a little water! The illimitable Spring that bears life to all men, and has no end, was covered by poor and temporary waters! He who is present everywhere, and absent nowhere—who is incomprehensible to angels and invisible to men—comes to the baptism according to His own good pleasure. When you hear these things, beloved, take them not as if spoken literally, but accept them as presented in a figure.¹⁷⁹⁴ Whence also the Lord was not unnoticed by the watery element in what He did in secret, in the kindness of His condescension to man. “For the waters saw Him, and were afraid.”¹⁷⁹⁵ They well-nigh broke from their place, and burst away from their boundary. Hence the prophet, having this in his view many generations ago, puts the question, “What aileth thee, O sea, that thou fleddest; and thou, Jordan, that thou wast driven back?”¹⁷⁹⁶ And they in reply said, We have seen the Creator of all things in the “form of a servant,”¹⁷⁹⁷ and being ignorant of the mystery of the economy, we were lashed with fear.

3. But we, who know the economy, adore His mercy, because He hath come to save and not to judge the world. Wherefore John, the forerunner of the Lord, who before knew not this mystery, on learning that He is Lord in truth, cried out, and spake to those who came to be baptized of him, “O generation of vipers,”¹⁷⁹⁸ why look ye so earnestly at me? “I am not the Christ;”¹⁷⁹⁹ I am the servant, and not the lord; I am the subject, and not the king; I am the sheep, and not the shepherd; I am a man, and not God. By my birth I loosed the barrenness of my mother; I did not make virginity barren.¹⁸⁰⁰ I was brought up from beneath; I did not come down from above. I bound the tongue of my father;¹⁸⁰¹ I did not unfold divine grace. I was known by my mother, and I was not announced by a star.¹⁸⁰² I am worthless, and the least; but “after me there comes One who is before me”¹⁸⁰³—after me, indeed, in time, but before me by reason of the inaccessible and unutterable light of divinity. “There

1793 [Ps. xlv. 4.](#)

1794 Economically.

1795 [Ps. lxxvii. 16.](#)

1796 [Ps. cxiv. 5.](#)

1797 [Phil. ii. 7.](#)

1798 [Matt. iii. 7.](#)

1799 [John i. 20.](#)

1800 οὐ παρθενίαν ἐστείρωσα. So Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Sancta Theophania*, p. 106, edit. Vossii: “Thou, when born of the Virgin Mary,...didst not loose her virginity; but didst preserve it, and gifted her with the name of mother.”

1801 [Luke i. 20.](#)

1802 [Matt. ii. 9.](#)

1803 [John i. 27.](#)

comes One mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.”¹⁸⁰⁴ I am subject to authority, but He has authority in Himself. I am bound by sins, but He is the Remover of sins. I apply¹⁸⁰⁵ the law, but He bringeth grace to light. I teach as a slave, but He judgeth as the Master. I have the earth as my couch, but He possesses heaven. I baptize with the baptism of repentance, but He confers the gift of adoption: “He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.” Why give ye attention to me? I am not the Christ.

4. As John says these things to the multitude, and as the people watch in eager expectation of seeing some strange spectacle with their bodily eyes, and the devil¹⁸⁰⁶ is struck with amazement at such a testimony from John, lo, the Lord appears, plain, solitary, uncovered,¹⁸⁰⁷ without escort,¹⁸⁰⁸ having on Him the body of man like a garment, and hiding the dignity of the Divinity, that He may elude the snares of the dragon. And not only did He approach John as Lord without royal retinue; but even like a mere man, and one involved in sin, He bent His head to be baptized by John. Wherefore John, on seeing so great a humbling of Himself, was struck with astonishment at the affair, and began to prevent Him, saying, as ye have just heard, “I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?”¹⁸⁰⁹ What doest Thou, O Lord? Thou teachest things not according to rule.¹⁸¹⁰ I have preached one thing (regarding Thee), and Thou performest another; the devil has heard one thing, and perceives another. Baptize me with the fire of Divinity; why waitest Thou for water? Enlighten me with the Spirit; why dost Thou attend upon a creature? Baptize me, the Baptist, that Thy pre-eminence may be known. I, O Lord, baptize with the baptism of repentance, and I cannot baptize those who come to me unless they first confess fully their sins. Be it so then that I baptize Thee, what hast Thou to confess? Thou art the Remover of sins, and wilt Thou be baptized with the baptism of repentance? Though I should venture to baptize Thee, the Jordan dares not to come near Thee. “I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?”

5. And what saith the Lord to him? “Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.”¹⁸¹¹ “Suffer it to be so now,” John; thou art not wiser than I. Thou

1804 [Matt. iii. 11.](#)

1805 *παράπτω.*

1806 It was a common opinion among the ancient theologians that the devil was ignorant of the mystery of the economy, founding on such passages as [Matt. iv. 3](#), [1 Cor. ii. 8](#). (Fabricius.) [See Ignatius, vol. i. p. 57, this series.]

1807 *γυμνός.*

1808 *ἀπροστάτευτος.*

1809 [Matt. iii. 14.](#)

1810 *ἀκανόνιστα δογματίζεις.*

1811 [Matt. iii. 15.](#)

seest as man; I foreknow as God. It becomes me to do this first, and thus to teach. I engage in nothing unbecoming, for I am invested with honour. Dost thou marvel, O John, that I am not come in my dignity? The purple robe of kings suits not one in private station, but military splendour suits a king: am I come to a prince, and not to a friend? “Suffer it to be so now for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness:” I am the Fulfiller of the law; I seek to leave nothing wanting to its whole fulfilment, that so after me Paul may exclaim, “Christ is the fulfilling of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.”¹⁸¹² “Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.” Baptize me, John, in order that no one may despise baptism. I am baptized by thee, the servant, that no one among kings or dignitaries may scorn to be baptized by the hand of a poor priest. Suffer me to go down into the Jordan, in order that they may hear my Father’s testimony, and recognise the power of the Son. “Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.” Then at length John suffers Him. “And Jesus, when He was baptized, went up straightway out of the water: and the heavens were opened unto Him; and, lo, the Spirit of God descended like a dove, and rested upon Him. And a voice (came) from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.”¹⁸¹³

6. Do you see, beloved, how many and how great blessings we would have lost, if the Lord had yielded to the exhortation of John, and declined baptism? For the heavens were shut before this; the region above was inaccessible. We would in that case descend to the lower parts, but we would not ascend to the upper. But was it only that the Lord was baptized? He also renewed the old man, and committed to him again the sceptre of adoption. For straightway “the heavens were opened to Him.” A reconciliation took place of the visible with the invisible; the celestial orders were filled with joy; the diseases of earth were healed; secret things were made known; those at enmity were restored to amity. For you have heard the word of the evangelist, saying, “The heavens were opened to Him,” on account of three wonders. For when Christ the Bridegroom was baptized, it was meet that the bridal-chamber of heaven should open its brilliant gates. And in like manner also, when the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a dove, and the Father’s voice spread everywhere, it was meet that “the gates of heaven should be lifted up.”¹⁸¹⁴ “And, lo, the heavens were opened to Him; and a voice was heard, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.”

7. The beloved generates love, and the light immaterial the light inaccessible.¹⁸¹⁵ “This is my beloved Son,” He who, being manifested on earth and yet unseparated from the

1812 [Rom. x. 4.](#)

1813 [Matt. iii. 16, 17.](#)

1814 [Ps. xxiv. 7.](#)

1815 φῶς ἄϋλον γεννᾷ φῶς ἀπρόσιτον. The Son is called “Light of Light” in the *Discourse against Noetus*, ch. x. [See p. 227 *supra*.] In φῶς ἀπρόσιτον the reference is to [1 Tim. vi. 16.](#)

Father's bosom, was manifested, and yet did not appear.¹⁸¹⁶ For the appearing is a different thing, since in appearance the baptizer here is superior to the baptized. For this reason did the Father send down the Holy Spirit from heaven upon Him who was baptized. For as in the ark of Noah the love of God toward man is signified by the dove, so also now the Spirit, descending in the form of a dove, bearing as it were the fruit of the olive, rested on Him to whom the witness was borne. For what reason? That the faithfulness of the Father's voice might be made known, and that the prophetic utterance of a long time past might be ratified. And what utterance is this? "The voice of the Lord (is) on the waters, the God of glory thundered; the Lord (is) upon many waters."¹⁸¹⁷ And what voice? "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." This is He who is named the son of Joseph, and (who is) according to the divine essence my Only-begotten. "This is my beloved Son"—He who is hungry, and yet maintains myriads; who is weary, and yet gives rest to the weary; who has not where to lay His head,¹⁸¹⁸ and yet bears up all things in His hand; who suffers, and yet heals sufferings; who is smitten,¹⁸¹⁹ and yet confers liberty on the world;¹⁸²⁰ who is pierced in the side,¹⁸²¹ and yet repairs the side of Adam.¹⁸²²

8. But give me now your best attention, I pray you, for I wish to go back to the fountain of life, and to view the fountain that gushes with healing. The Father of immortality sent the immortal Son and Word into the world, who came to man in order to wash him with water and the Spirit; and He, begetting us again to incorruption of soul and body, breathed into us the breath (spirit) of life, and endued us with an incorruptible panoply. If, therefore, man has become immortal, he will also be God.¹⁸²³ And if he is made God by water and the Holy Spirit after the regeneration of the laver¹⁸²⁴ he is found to be also joint-heir with Christ¹⁸²⁵ after the resurrection from the dead. Wherefore I preach to this effect: Come, all

237

1816 ἐπεφάνη οὐκ ἐφάνη. See Dorner's *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, div. i. vol. ii. p. 97 (Clark).

1817 Ps. xxix. 3.

1818 Luke ix. 5. [Compare the *Paradoxes*, attributed to Bacon, in his *Works*, vol. xiv. p. 143; also the *Appendix*, pp. 139–142.]

1819 ῥαπιζόμενος, referring to the slap in the process of manumitting slaves.

1820 Heb. i. 3.

1821 Matt. xxvi. 67. [From which proceeds His Church.]

1822 That is, the sin introduced by Eve, who was formed by God out of Adam's side. (Fabricius.)

1823 ἔσται καὶ Θεός, referring probably to 2 Pet. i. 4, ἵνα διὰ τούτων γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως, "that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature." [See vol. iii. p. 317, note 11. Tertullian anticipates the language of the "Athanasian Confession,"—"taking the manhood into God;" applicable, through Christ, to our redeemed humanity. Eph. ii. 6; Rev. iii. 21.]

1824 κολυμβήθρας.

1825 Rom. viii. 17.

ye kindreds of the nations, to the immortality of the baptism. I bring good tidings of life to you who tarry in the darkness of ignorance. Come into liberty from slavery, into a kingdom from tyranny, into incorruption from corruption. And how, saith one, shall we come? How? By water and the Holy Ghost. This is the water in conjunction with the Spirit, by which paradise is watered, by which the earth is enriched, by which plants grow, by which animals multiply, and (to sum up the whole in a single word) by which man is begotten again and endued with life, in which also Christ was baptized, and in which the Spirit descended in the form of a dove.

9. This is the Spirit that at the beginning “moved upon the face of the waters;”¹⁸²⁶ by whom the world moves; by whom creation consists, and all things have life; who also wrought mightily in the prophets,¹⁸²⁷ and descended in flight upon Christ.¹⁸²⁸ This is the Spirit that was given to the apostles in the form of fiery tongues.¹⁸²⁹ This is the Spirit that David sought when he said, “Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me.”¹⁸³⁰ Of this Spirit Gabriel also spoke to the Virgin, “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.”¹⁸³¹ By this Spirit Peter spake that blessed word, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.”¹⁸³² By this Spirit the rock of the Church was stablished.¹⁸³³ This is the Spirit, the Comforter, that is sent because of thee,¹⁸³⁴ that He may show thee to be the Son¹⁸³⁵ of God.

10. Come then, be begotten again, O man, into the adoption of God. And how? says one. If thou practisest adultery no more, and committest not murder, and servest not idols; if thou art not overmastered by pleasure; if thou dost not suffer the feeling of pride to rule thee; if thou cleanest off the filthiness of impurity, and puttest off the burden of sin; if thou castest off the armour of the devil, and puttest on the breastplate of faith, even as Isaiah saith, “Wash you, and seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow. And come and let us reason together, saith the Lord. Though your sins be as scarlet, I shall make them white as snow; and though they be like crimson, I shall make them white as wool. And if ye be willing, and hear my voice, ye shall eat the good of the

1826 [Gen. i. 2.](#)

1827 [Acts xxviii. 25.](#)

1828 [Matt. iii. 16.](#)

1829 [Acts ii. 3.](#)

1830 [Ps. li. 10.](#)

1831 [Luke i. 35.](#)

1832 [Matt. xvi. 16.](#)

1833 [Matt. xvi. 18.](#)

1834 [John xvi. 26.](#)

1835 τέκνον.

land.”¹⁸³⁶ Do you see, beloved, how the prophet spake beforetime of the purifying power of baptism? For he who comes down in faith to the laver of regeneration, and renounces the devil, and joins himself to Christ; who denies the enemy, and makes the confession that Christ is God; who puts off the bondage, and puts on the adoption,—he comes up from the baptism brilliant as the sun,¹⁸³⁷ flashing forth the beams of righteousness, and, which is indeed the chief thing, he returns a son of God and joint-heir with Christ. To Him be the glory and the power, together with His most holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.

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1836 [Isa. i. 16–19.](#)

1837 This seems to refer to what the poets sing as to the sun rising out of the waves of ocean. (Fabricius.) [Note, this is not said of such as Simon Magus, but of one who *puts off the bondage*, i.e., of corruption. Our author’s *perorations* are habitually sublime.]

Fragments of Discourses or Homilies.



I.¹⁸³⁸

From the Discourse of Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, on the Resurrection and
Incorruption.

Men, he says, “in the resurrection will be like the angels of God,”¹⁸³⁹ to wit, in incorruption, and immortality, and incapacity of loss.¹⁸⁴⁰ For the incorruptible nature is not the subject of generation;¹⁸⁴¹ it grows not, sleeps not, hungers not, thirsts not, is not wearied, suffers not, dies not, is not pierced by nails and spear, sweats not, drops not with blood. Of such kind are the natures of the angels and of souls released from the body. For both these are of another kind, and different from these creatures of our world, which are visible and perishing.

1838 From a Discourse on the Resurrection, in Anastasius Sinaita, Hodegus, p. 350. This treatise is mentioned in the list of his works given on the statue, and also by Jerome, Sophronius, Nicephorus, Honorius, etc.

1839 [Matt. xxii. 30.](#)

1840 ἀρευσία.

1841 γεννᾶται.

II.¹⁸⁴²

From the Discourse of St. Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, on the Divine
Nature.¹⁸⁴³

God is capable of willing, but not of not willing¹⁸⁴⁴ for that pertains only to one that changes and makes choice;¹⁸⁴⁵ for things that are being made follow the eternal will of God, by which also things that are made abide sustained.

1842 From the Discourse on the Theology or the Doctrine of Christ's Divine Nature, extant in the *Acts of the Lateran Council*, under Martinus 1., ann. 649, secret. v. p. 287, vol. vii. edit. Veneto-Labb.

1843 περί θεολογίας.

1844 οὐ τὸ μὴ θέλειν.

1845 τρεπτοῦ καὶ προαιρετοῦ.

III.¹⁸⁴⁶

St. Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, in his Homily on the Paschal Supper.

He was altogether¹⁸⁴⁷ in all, and everywhere; and though He filleth the universe up to all the principalities of the air, He stripped Himself again. And for a brief space He cries that the cup might pass from Him, with a view to show truly that He was also man.¹⁸⁴⁸ But remembering, too, the purpose for which He was sent, He fulfils the dispensation (economy) for which He was sent, and exclaims, “Father, not my will,”¹⁸⁴⁹ and, “The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.”¹⁸⁵⁰

1846 From a Homily on the Lord’s Paschal Supper, *ibid.*, p. 293.

1847 ὅλος.

1848 καὶ ἄνθρωπος, *also* man. See Grabe, Bull’s *Defens. Fid. Nic.*, p. 103.

1849 [Luke xxii. 42.](#)

1850 [Matt. xxvi. 41.](#)

IV.¹⁸⁵¹

1. Take me, O Samuel, the heifer brought to Bethlehem, in order to show the king begotten of David, and him who is anointed to be king and priest by the Father.

2. Tell me, O blessed Mary, what that was that was conceived by thee in the womb, and what that was that was born by thee in thy virgin matrix. For it was the first-born Word of God that descended to thee from heaven, and was formed as a first-born man in the womb, in order that the first-born Word of God might be shown to be united with a first-born man.

3. And in the second (form),—to wit, by the prophets, as by Samuel, calling back and delivering the people from the slavery of the aliens. And in the third (form), that in which He was incarnate, taking to Himself humanity from the Virgin, in which character also He saw the city, and wept over it.

1851 From a Discourse on Elkanah and Hannah. In Theodoret, Dial. I., bearing the title “Unchangeable” (ἄτρεπτος); *Works*, vol. iv. p. 36.

V.¹⁸⁵²

And for this reason three seasons of the year prefigured the Saviour Himself, so that He should fulfil the mysteries prophesied of Him. In the Passover season, so as to exhibit Himself as one destined to be sacrificed like a sheep, and to prove Himself the true Paschal-lamb, even as the apostle says, “Even Christ,” who is God, “our passover was sacrificed for us.”¹⁸⁵³ And at Pentecost so as to presignify the kingdom of heaven as He Himself first ascended to heaven and brought man as a gift to God.¹⁸⁵⁴

1852 From the same Discourse. From Theodoret’s Second Dialogue, bearing the title “Unmixed,” ἀσύγχυτος; *Works*, vol. iv. p. 88.

1853 [1 Cor. v. 7.](#)

1854 [Man’s nature was never before in heaven. [John iii. 13](#); [Acts ii. 34.](#)]

VI.¹⁸⁵⁵

And an ark of imperishable wood was the Saviour Himself. For by this was signified the imperishable and incorruptible tabernacle (of His body), which engendered no corruption of sin. For the man who has sinned also has this confession to make: “My wounds stank, and were corrupt, because of my foolishness.”¹⁸⁵⁶ But the Lord was without sin, being of imperishable wood in respect of His humanity,—that is to say, being of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit, covered, as it were, within and without with the purest gold of the Word of God.



1855 From an Oration on “The Lord is my Shepherd.” In Theodoret, Dial. I. p. 36.

1856 [Ps. xxxviii. 5.](#)

VII.¹⁸⁵⁷

1. He who rescued from the lowest hell the first-formed man of earth when he was lost and bound with the chains of death; He who came down from above, and raised the earthy on high;¹⁸⁵⁸ He who became the evangelist of the dead, and the redeemer of the souls, and the resurrection of the buried,—He was constituted the helper of vanquished man, being made like him Himself, (so that) the first-born Word acquainted Himself with the first-formed Adam in the Virgin; He who is spiritual sought out the earthy in the womb; He who is the ever-living One sought out him who, through disobedience, is subject to death; He who is heavenly called the terrene to the things that are above; He who is the nobly-born sought, by means of His own subjection, to declare the slave free; He transformed the man into adamant who was dissolved into dust and made the food of the serpent, and declared Him who hung on the tree to be Lord over the conqueror, and thus through the tree He is found victor.

2. For they who know not now the Son of God incarnate, shall know in Him who comes as Judge in glory, Him who is now despised in the body of His humiliation.

3. And the apostles, when they came to the sepulchre on the third day, did not find the body of Jesus; just as the children of Israel went up the mount and sought for the tomb of Moses, but did not find it.

1857 From a Discourse on the “Great Song” [i.e., [Ps. xc](#). See Bunsen, i. p. 285. Some suppose it [Ps. cxix](#).] In Theodoret, Dial. II. pp. 88, 89.

1858 τὸν κάτω εἰς τὰ ἄνω. [See p. 238, note 17, *supra*.]

VIII.¹⁸⁵⁹

Under the figure of Egypt he described the world; and under things made with hands, idolatry; and under the earthquake, the subversion, and dissolution of the earth itself. And he represented the Lord the Word as a light cloud, the purest tabernacle, enthroned on which our Lord Jesus Christ entered into this life in order to subvert error.

1859 From a Discourse on the beginning of Isaiah. In Theodoret, Dial. I. p. 36.

IX.¹⁸⁶⁰

Now Hippolytus, the martyr and bishop of [the Province of] Rome, in his second discourse on Daniel, speaks thus:—

Then indeed Azarias, standing along with the others, made their acknowledgments to God with song and prayer in the midst of the furnace. Beginning thus with His holy and glorious and honourable name, they came to the works of the Lord themselves, and named first of all those of heaven, and glorified Him, saying, “Bless the Lord, all ye works of the Lord.” Then they passed to the sons of men, and taking up their hymn in order, they then named the spirits [that people Tartarus¹⁸⁶¹ beneath the earth,] and the souls of the righteous, in order that they might praise God together with them.

1860 From a second Oration on Daniel. In the tractate of Eustratius, a presbyter of the Church of Constantinople, “Against those who allege that souls, as soon as they are released from the body, cease to act,” ch. xix., as edited by Allatius in his work on the *Continuous Harmony of the Western and the Eastern Church on the Dogma of Purgatory*, p. 492. [Conf. Macaire, *Theol. Orthod.*, ii. p. 725.]

1861 [Nothing of this in the hymn: hence my brackets.]

X.¹⁸⁶²

Now a person might say that these men, and those who hold a different opinion, are yet near neighbours, being involved in like error. For those men, indeed, either profess that Christ came into our life a mere man, and deny the talent of His divinity, or else, acknowledging Him to be God, they deny, on the other hand, His humanity, and teach that His appearances to those who saw Him as man were illusory, inasmuch as He did not bear with Him true manhood, but was rather a kind of phantom manifestation. Of this class are, for example, Marcion and Valentinus, and the Gnostics, who sunder the Word from the flesh, and thus set aside the one talent, viz., the incarnation.

1862 From an Oration on the Distribution of Talents. In Theodoret, Dial. II. p. 88.

XI.¹⁸⁶³

1. The body of the Lord presented both these to the world, the sacred blood and the holy water.

2. And His body, though dead after the manner of man, possesses in it great power of life. For streams which flow not from dead bodies flowed forth from Him, viz., blood and water; in order that we might know what power for life is held by the virtue that dwelt in His body, so as that it appears not to be dead like others, and is able to shed forth for us the springs of life.

3. And not a bone of the Holy Lamb is broken, this figure showing us that suffering toucheth not His strength. For the bones are the strength of the body.

1863 From a Discourse on "The two Robbers." In Theodoret's Third Dialogue, bearing the title "Impassible" (ἀπαθής), p. 156.

Fragments from Other Writings of Hippolytus.¹⁸⁶⁴



I.

Now Hippolytus, a martyr for piety, who was bishop of the place called Portus, near Rome, in his book *Against all Heresies*, wrote in these terms:—

I perceive, then, that the matter is one of contention. For he¹⁸⁶⁵ speaks thus: Christ kept the supper, then, on that day, and then suffered; whence it is needful that I, too, should keep it in the same manner as the Lord did. But he has fallen into error by not perceiving that at the time when Christ suffered He did not eat the passover of the law.¹⁸⁶⁶ For He was the passover that had been of old proclaimed, and that was fulfilled on that determinate day.

1864 Preserved by the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, ex ed. Cangii, p. 6.

1865 i.e., the opponent of Hippolytus, one of the forerunners of the Quartodecimans.

1866 [For *pro & con* see *Speaker's Com.*, note to [Matt. xxvi.](#)]

II.

From the same.

And again the same (authority), in the first book of his treatise on the Holy Supper, speaks thus:—

Now that neither in the first nor in the last there was anything false is evident; for he who said of old, “I will not any more eat the passover,”¹⁸⁶⁷ probably partook of supper before the passover. But the passover He did not eat, but He suffered; for it was not the time for Him to eat.

¹⁸⁶⁷ [Luke xxii. 16.](#)

III.¹⁸⁶⁸

Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr, in a letter to a certain queen.¹⁸⁶⁹

1. He calls Him, then, “the first-fruits of them that sleep,”¹⁸⁷⁰ as the “first-begotten of the dead.”¹⁸⁷¹ For He, having risen, and being desirous to show that that same (body) had been raised which had also died, when His disciples were in doubt, called Thomas to Him, and said, “Reach hither; handle me, and see: for a spirit hath not bone and flesh, as ye see me have.”¹⁸⁷²

2. In calling Him *the first-fruits*, he testified to that which we have said, viz., that the Saviour, taking to Himself the flesh out of the same lump, raised this same flesh, and made it the first-fruits of the flesh of the righteous, in order that all we who have believed in the hope of the Risen One may have the resurrection in expectation.

1868 From a Letter of Hippolytus to a certain queen. In Theodoret’s Dial. II., bearing the title “Unmixed” (ἀσύγχυτος), and Dial. III., entitled “Impassible” (ἀπαθης) [pp. 238–239 *supra*].

1869 On the question as to who this queen was, see Stephen le Moine, in notes to the *Varia Sacra*, pp. 1103, 1112. In the marble monument mention is made of a letter of Hippolytus to Severina. [Bunsen decides that she was only a princess, a daughter of Alexander Severus. See his *Hippolytus*, i. p. 276.]

1870 1 Cor. xv. 20.

1871 Col. i. 18.

1872 John xx. 27; Luke xxiv. 39.

The story of a maiden of Corinth, and a certain Magistrianus.

The account given by Hippolytus, the friend of the apostles.¹⁸⁷³

In another little book bearing the name of Hippolytus, the friend of the apostles, I found a story of the following nature:—

There lived a certain most noble and beautiful maiden¹⁸⁷⁴ in the city of Corinth, in the careful exercise of a virtuous life. At that time some persons falsely charged her before the judge there, who was a Greek, with cursing the times, and the princes, and the images. Now those who trafficked in such things, brought her beauty under the notice of the impious judge, who lusted after women. And he gladly received the accusation with his equine ears and lascivious thoughts. And when she was brought before the bloodstained (judge), he was driven still more frantic with profligate passion. But when, after bringing every device to bear upon her, the profane than could not gain over this woman of God, he subjected the noble maiden to various outrages. And when he failed in these too, and was unable to seduce her from her confession of Christ, the cruel judge became furious against her, and gave her over to a punishment of the following nature: Placing the chaste maiden in a brothel, he charged the manager, saying, Take this woman, and bring me three nummi by her every day. And the man, exacting the money from her by her dishonour, gave her up to any who sought her in the brothel. And when the women-hunters knew that, they came to the brothel, and, paying the price put upon their iniquity, sought to seduce her. But this most honourable maiden, taking counsel with herself to deceive them, called them to her, and earnestly besought them, saying: I have a certain ulceration of the *pudenda*, which has an extremely hateful stench; and I am afraid that ye might come to hate me on account of the abominable sore. Grant me therefore a few days, and then ye may have me even for nothing. With these words the blessed maiden gained over the profligates, and dismissed them for a time.¹⁸⁷⁵ And with most fitting prayers she importuned God, and with contrite supplications she sought to turn Him to compassion. God, therefore, who knew her thoughts, and understood how the chaste maiden was distressed in heart for her purity, gave ear to her; and the Guardian of the safety of all men in those days interposed with His arrangements in the following manner:—

Of a certain person Magistrianus.¹⁸⁷⁶

1873 Extract in Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, chap. cxlviii.; Gallandi, *Biblioth.*, ii. 513.

1874 Nicephorus also mentions her in his *Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 13.

1875 [On the morality of this, see vol. ii. pp. 538, 556.]

1876 From the same, chap. cxlix.

There was a certain young man, Magistrianus,¹⁸⁷⁷ comely in his personal appearance, and of a pious mind, whom God had inspired with such a burning spiritual zeal, that he despised even death itself. He, coming under the guise of profligacy, goes in, when the evening was far gone, to the fellow who kept the women, and pays him five nummi, and says to him, Permit me to spend this night with this damsel. Entering then with her into the private apartment, he says to her, Rise, save thyself. And taking off her garments, and dressing her in his own attire, his night-gown, his cloak, and all the habiliments of a man, he says to her, Wrap yourself up with the top of your cloak, and go out; and doing so, and signing herself entirely with the mystery of the cross, she went forth uncorrupted from that place, and was preserved perfectly stainless by the grace of Christ, and by the instrumentality of the young man, who by his own blood delivered her from dishonour. And on the following day the matter became known, and Magistrianus was brought before the infuriated judge. And when the cruel tyrant had examined the noble champion of Christ, and had learned all, he ordered him to be thrown to the wild beasts,—that in this, too, the honour-hating demon might be put to shame. For, whereas he thought to involve the noble youth in an unhallowed punishment, he exhibited him as a double martyr for Christ, inasmuch as he had both striven nobly for his own immortal soul, and persevered manfully in labours also in behalf of that noble and blessed maiden. Wherefore also he was deemed worthy of double honour with Christ, and of the illustrious and blessed crowns by His goodness.

1877 Nicephorus gives this story also, *Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 13.

Elucidation.

The conduct of Father Abraham, although not approved of by Inspiration, but simply recorded ([Gen. xxvi. 7](#)), gave early Christians an opinion that the wicked may be justly foiled, by equivocation and deception, for the preservation of innocence or the life of the innocent. In such case the person deceived, they might argue, is not injured, but benefited ([Gen. xxvi. 10](#)), being saved from committing violence and murder. The Corinthian maiden was accustomed to be veiled (as Tertullian intimates), and was taught alike to cherish her own purity and to have no share in affording occasion of sin to others. See vol. iv. pp. 32, 33. Let us call this narrative "The Story of Corinthia and Magistrianus."

Appendix to the Works of Hippolytus.

Containing Dubious and Spurious Pieces.

A discourse¹⁸⁷⁸ by the most blessed Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, on the end of the world, and on Antichrist, and on the second coming of our lord Jesus Christ.

I.

Since, then, the blessed prophets have been eyes to us, setting forth for our behoof the clear declaration of things secret, both through life, and through declaration, and through inspiration¹⁸⁷⁹ of the Holy Spirit, and discoursing, too, of things not yet come to pass,¹⁸⁸⁰ in this way also¹⁸⁸¹ to all generations they have pictured forth the grandest subjects for contemplation and for action. Thus, too, they preached of the advent of God¹⁸⁸² in the flesh to the world, His advent by the spotless and God-bearing¹⁸⁸³ Mary in the way of birth and growth, and the manner of His life and conversation with men, and His manifestation by baptism, and the new birth that was to be to all men, and the regeneration by the laver; and the multitude of His miracles, and His blessed passion on the cross, and the insults which He bore at the hands of the Jews, and His burial, and His descent to Hades, and His ascent again, and redemption of the spirits that were of old,¹⁸⁸⁴ and the destruction of death, and His life-giving awaking from the dead, and His re-creation of the whole world, and His assumption and return to heaven, and His reception of the Spirit, of which the apostles were deemed worthy, and again the second coming, that is destined to declare all things. For as being designated *seers*,¹⁸⁸⁵ they of necessity signified and spake of these things beforetime.

1878 This discourse seems to have been a homily addressed to the people. Fabricius, *Works of Hippolytus*, vol. ii.

1879 ἐπιφοιτήσεως.

1880 γεγονότα. Codex Baroccianus gives εὐρηκότα.

1881 ὅθεν καί, etc.

1882 Others, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, of the Son of God.

1883 θεοτόκου. [The epithet applied to the Blessed Virgin by the "Council of Ephesus," against Nestorius, a.d. 431. Elucidation, p. 259.] This is one of those terms which some allege not to have been yet in use in the time of Hippolytus. But, as Migne observes, if there were no other argument than this against the genuineness of this discourse, this would not avail much, as the term is certainly used by Origen, Methodius, and Dionysius Alex., who were nearly coeval with Hippolytus.

1884 ἀπ' αἰώνων.

1885 βλέποντες.

II.

Hence, too, they indicated the day of the consummation to us, and signified beforehand the day of the apostate that is to appear and deceive men at the last times, and the beginning and end of his kingdom, and the advent of the Judge, and the life of the righteous, and the punishment of the sinners, in order that we all, bearing these things in mind day by day and hour by hour, as children of the Church, might know that “not one jot nor one tittle of these things shall fail,”¹⁸⁸⁶ as the Saviour’s own word announced. Let all of you, then, of necessity, open the eyes of your hearts and the ears of your soul, and receive the word which we are about to speak. For I shall unfold to you to-day a narration full of horror and fear, to wit, the account of the consummation, and in particular, of the seduction of the whole world by the enemy and devil; and after these things, the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1886 [Matt. v. 18.](#)

III.

Where, then, ye friends of Christ, shall I begin? and with what shall I make my commencement, or what shall I expound? and what witness shall I adduce for the things spoken? But let us take those (viz., the prophets) with whom we began this discourse, and adduce them as credible witnesses, to confirm our exposition of the matters discussed; and after them the teaching, or rather the prophecy, of the apostles, (so as to see) how throughout the whole world they herald the day of the consummation. Since these, then, have also shown beforetime things not yet come to pass, and have declared the devices and deceits of wicked men, who are destined to be made manifest, come and let us bring forward Isaiah as our first witness, inasmuch as he instructs us in the times of the consummation. What, then, does he say? “Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence: the daughter of Zion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.”¹⁸⁸⁷ You see, beloved, the prophet’s illumination, whereby he announced that time so many generations before. For it is not of the Jews that he spake this word of old, nor of the city of Zion, but of the Church. For all the prophets have declared Sion to be the bride brought from the nations.



1887 [Isa. i. 7.](#)

IV.

Wherefore let us direct our discourse to a second witness. And of what sort is this one? Listen to Osea, as he speaks thus grandly: “In those days the Lord shall bring on a burning wind from the desert against them, and shall make their veins dry, and shall make their springs desolate; and all their goodly vessels shall be spoiled. Because they rose up against God, they shall fall by the sword, and their women with child shall be ripped up.”¹⁸⁸⁸ And what else is this burning wind from the east, than the Antichrist that is to destroy and dry up the veins of the waters and the fruits of the trees in his times, because men set their hearts on his works? For which reason he shall indeed destroy them, and they shall serve him in his pollution.

1888 [Hos. xiii. 15.](#)

V.

Mark the agreement of prophet with prophet. Acquaint yourself also with another prophet who expresses himself in like manner. For Amos prophesied of the same things in a manner quite in accordance: “Thus saith the Lord, Forasmuch therefore as ye have beaten the poor with the fist,¹⁸⁸⁹ and taken choice gifts from him: ye have built houses, but ye shall not dwell in them: ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them. For I know your manifold transgressions, in trampling justice beneath your foot, and taking a bribe, and turning aside the poor in the gate from their right. Therefore the prudent shall keep silence in that time, for it is an evil time.”¹⁸⁹⁰ Learn, beloved, the wickedness of the men of that time, how they spoil houses and fields, and take even justice from the just; for when these things come to pass, ye may know that it is the end. For this reason art thou instructed in the wisdom of the prophet, and the revelation that is to be in those days. And all the prophets, as we have already said, have clearly signified the things that are to come to pass in the last times, just as they also have declared things of old.

1889 κατηγονδυλίσετε in the text, for which read κατεκονδυλίσατε.

1890 [Amos v. 11, 12, 13.](#)

VI.

But not to expend our argument entirely in going over the words of all the prophets,¹⁸⁹¹ after citing one other, let us revert to the matter in hand. What is it, then, that Micah says in his prophecy? “Thus saith the Lord concerning the prophets that make my people err, that bite with their teeth, and cry to him, Peace; and if it was not put into their mouth,¹⁸⁹² they prepared¹⁸⁹³ war against him. Therefore night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision;¹⁸⁹⁴ and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall not go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. And the seers shall be ashamed, and the diviners confounded.”¹⁸⁹⁵ These things we have recounted beforehand, in order that ye may know the pain that is to be in the last times, and the perturbation, and the manner of life on the part of all men toward each other,¹⁸⁹⁶ and their envy, and hate, and strife, and the negligence of the shepherds toward the sheep, and the unruly disposition of the people toward the priests.¹⁸⁹⁷

1891 Manuscript E gives the better reading, λόγον ἅπαντα τοῖς τῶν προφητῶν ῥήμασι, “our whole argument on the words of the prophets.”

1892 εἰ οὐκ ἐδόθη. Manuscript B omits εἰ = and it was not put into their mouth.

1893 The text reads ἡγίασαν. Manuscript B reads ἡγγισαν. Migne suggests ἡγειραν.

1894 ἐξ ὀράσεως.

1895 [Mic. iii. 5–7.](#)

1896 For τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναστροφὴν, Codex B reads διαστροφὴν καὶ φθοράν.

1897 For ἀνυπότακτον διάθεσιν, Codex B reads ἀταξίαν = unruliness, and adds, καὶ γονεῖς τὰ τέκνα μισήσουσι, καὶ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐπιβάλλονται χεῖρας, “and parents shall hate their children and children lay hands on their parents.”

VII.

Wherefore all shall walk after their own will. And the children will lay hands on their parents. The wife will give up her own husband to death, and the husband will bring his own wife to judgment like a criminal. Masters will lord it over their servants savagely,¹⁸⁹⁸ and servants will assume an unruly demeanour toward their masters. None will reverence the grey hairs of the elderly, and none will have pity upon the comeliness of the youthful. The temples of God will be like houses, and there will be overturnings of the churches everywhere. The Scriptures will be despised, and everywhere they will sing the songs of the adversary.¹⁸⁹⁹ Fornications, and adulteries, and perjuries will fill the land; sorceries, and incantations, and divinations will follow after these with all force and zeal. And, on the whole, from among those who profess to be Christians will rise up then false prophets, false apostles, impostors, mischief-makers, evil-doers, liars against each other, adulterers, fornicators, robbers, grasping, perjured, mendacious, hating each other. The shepherds will be like wolves; the priests will embrace falsehood; the monks¹⁹⁰⁰ will lust after the things of the world; the rich will assume hardness of heart; the rulers will not help the poor; the powerful will cast off all pity; the judges will remove justice from the just, and, blinded with bribes, they will call in unrighteousness.



1898 For εἰς τοὺς δούλους ἀπάνθρωποι αὐθεντήσονται, Codex B reads, πρὸς τοὺς δούλους ἀπανθρωπίαν κτησονται.

1899 For ἐχθροῦ, Codex B reads, διαβόλου, the devil.

1900 This does not agree with the age of Hippolytus.

VIII.

And what am I to say with respect to men,¹⁹⁰¹ when the very elements themselves will disown their order? There will be earthquakes in every city, and plagues in every country; and monstrous¹⁹⁰² thunderings and frightful lightnings will burn up both houses and fields. Storms of winds will disturb both sea and land excessively; and there will be unfruitfulness on the earth, and a roaring in the sea, and an intolerable agitation on account of souls and the destruction of men.¹⁹⁰³ There will be signs in the sun, and signs in the moon, deflections in the stars, distresses of nations, intemperateness in the atmosphere, discharges of hail upon the face of the earth, winters of excessive severity, different¹⁹⁰⁴ frosts, inexorable scorching winds, unexpected thunderings, unlooked-for conflagrations; and in general, lamentation and mourning in the whole earth, without consolation. For, “because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.”¹⁹⁰⁵ By reason of the agitation and confusion of all these, the Lord of the universe cries in the Gospel, saying, “Take heed that ye be not deceived; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draweth near: go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified: for these things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet by and by.”¹⁹⁰⁶ Let us observe the word of the Saviour, how He always admonished us with a view to our security: “Take heed that ye be not deceived: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ.”

1901 περὶ ἀνθρώπων, which is the reading of Codex B, instead of ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων.

1902 ἄμετροι, the reading of Codex B instead of ἄνεμοι.

1903 The text is, ἀπὸ ψυχῶν καὶ ἀπωλείας ἀνθρώπων. We may suggest some such correction as ἀποψυχόντων κατ’ ἀπωλείας ἀνθρώπων = “men’s hearts failing them concerning the destruction.”

1904 διάφοροι. Better with B, ἀδιάφοροι = *promiscuous, without distinction*, and so perhaps *continuous or unseasonable*.

1905 [Matt. xxiv. 12.](#)

1906 [Luke xxi. 8, 9.](#)

IX.

Now after He was taken up again to the Father, there arose some, saying, “I am Christ,” like Simon Magus and the rest, whose names we have not time at present to mention. Wherefore also in the last day of the consummation, it must needs be that false Christs will arise again, saying, “I am Christ,” and they will deceive many. And multitudes of men will run from the east even to the west, and from the north even to the sea, saying, Where is Christ here? where is Christ there? But being possessed of a vain conceit, and failing to read the Scriptures carefully, and not being of an upright mind, they will seek for a name which they shall be unable to find. For these things must first be; and thus the son of perdition—that is to say, the devil—must be seen.

X.

And the apostles, who speak of God,¹⁹⁰⁷ in establishing the truth of the advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, have each of them indicated the appearing of these abominable and ruin-working men, and have openly announced their lawless deeds. First of all Peter, the rock of the faith, whom Christ our God called blessed, the teacher of the Church, the first disciple, he who has the keys of the kingdom, has instructed us to this effect: “Know this first, children, that there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts.”¹⁹⁰⁸ And there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies.”¹⁹⁰⁹ After him, John the theologian,¹⁹¹⁰ and the beloved of Christ, in harmony with him, cries, “The children of the devil are manifest;”¹⁹¹¹ and even now are there many antichrists;”¹⁹¹² but go not after them.”¹⁹¹³ Believe not every spirit, because many false prophets are gone out into the world.”¹⁹¹⁴ And then Jude, the brother of James, speaks in like manner: “In the last times there shall be mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts. There be they who, without fear, feed”¹⁹¹⁵ themselves.”¹⁹¹⁶ You have observed the concord of the theologians and apostles, and the harmony of their doctrine.

1907 θεηγόροι. Codex B gives θεολόγοι.

1908 [2 Pet. iii. 3.](#)

1909 [2 Pet. ii. 1.](#)

1910 θεολόγος.

1911 [1 John iii. 10.](#)

1912 [1 John ii. 18.](#)

1913 [Luke xxi. 8.](#)

1914 [1 John iv. 1.](#)

1915 οἱ ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες, instead of the received οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς.

1916 [Jude 18, 19.](#)

XI.

Finally, hear Paul as he speaks boldly, and mark how clearly he discovers these: “Beware of evil workers, beware of the concision.”¹⁹¹⁷ Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit.¹⁹¹⁸ See that ye walk circumspectly, because the days are evil.”¹⁹¹⁹ In fine then, what man shall have any excuse who hears these things in the Church from prophets and apostles, and from the Lord Himself, and yet will give no heed to the care of his soul, and to the time of the consummation, and to that approaching hour when we shall have to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ?>



1917 [Phil. iii. 2.](#)

1918 [Col. ii. 8.](#)

1919 [Eph. v. 15, 16.](#)

XII.

But having now done with this account of the consummation, we shall turn our exposition to those matters which fall to be stated by us next in order. I adduce, therefore, a witness altogether worthy of credit,—namely, the prophet Daniel, who interpreted the vision of Nabuchodonosor, and from the beginning of the kings down to their end indicated the right¹⁹²⁰ way to those who seek to walk therein—to wit, the manifestation of the truth. For what saith the prophet? He presignified the matter clearly to Nabuchodonosor in the following terms: “Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image standing before thee, whose head was of gold, its arms and shoulders of silver, its belly and thighs of brass, its legs of iron, its feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hand; and it smote the image upon its feet, which were part of iron and part of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the clay, and the iron, and the brass, and the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.”¹⁹²¹

1920 Unchangeable, ἀπαράτροπον.

1921 [Dan. ii. 31–35.](#)

XIII.

Wherefore, bringing the visions of Daniel into conjunction with these, we shall make one narrative of the two, and show how true and consistent were the things seen in vision by the prophet with those which Nabuchodonosor saw beforehand. For the prophet speaks thus: "I Daniel saw, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lioness, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given it. And behold a second beast, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and lo a third beast, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl: the beast had also four heads. After this I saw, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; its great iron teeth and its claws of brass¹⁹²² devoured and brake in pieces, and it stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse exceedingly from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I considered its horns, and, behold, there came up among them a little horn, and before it there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."¹⁹²³

1922 These words, καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοῖ, are strange both to the Greek and the Hebrew text of Daniel.

1923 [Dan. vii. 2–8.](#)

XIV.

Now, since these things which are thus spoken mystically by the prophet seem to all to be hard to understand, we shall conceal none of them from those who are possessed of sound mind. By mentioning the first beast, namely the *lioness* that comes up out of the sea, Daniel means the kingdom of the Babylonians which was set up in the world; and that same is also the “golden head” of this image. And by speaking of its “wings like an eagle,” he shows that king Nabuchodonosor was elevated and exalted himself against God. Then he says that its “wings were plucked out,” and means by this that his glory was subverted: for he was driven from his kingdom. And in stating that a “man’s heart was given it, and it was made stand upon the feet like a man,” he means that he repented, and acknowledged that he was himself but a man, and gave the glory to God. Lo, I have thus unfolded the similitude of the first beast.

XV.

Then after the lioness, the prophet sees a second beast like a bear, which denoted the Persians; for after the Babylonians the Persians had the sovereignty. And in saying, “I saw three ribs in the mouth of it,” he referred to three nations, the Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, which were also expressed by the silver that came after the gold in the image. Behold, we have explained the second beast too. Then the third was the leopard, by which were meant the Greeks. For after the Persians, Alexander king of the Macedonians held the sovereignty, when he had destroyed Darius; and this is expressed by the brass in the image. And in speaking of “four wings of a fowl, and four heads in the beast,” he showed most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four parts. For it had four heads,—namely, the four kings that rose out of it. For on his death-bed¹⁹²⁴ Alexander divided his kingdom into four parts. Behold, we have discussed the third also.

1924 See Hippolytus on Antichrist, ch. xxiv. p. 209, *supra*.

XVI.



Next he tells us of the “fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; its teeth were of iron, and its claws of brass.” And what is meant by these but the kingdom of the Romans, which also is meant by the iron, by which it will crush all the seats of empire that were before it, and will lord it over the whole earth? After this, then, what is left for us to interpret of all that the prophet saw, but the “toes of the image, in which part was of iron and part of clay, mingled together in one?” For by the ten toes of the image he meant figuratively the ten kings who sprang out of it, as Daniel also interpreted the matter. For he says, “I considered the beast, namely the fourth; and behold ten horns after it, among which another horn arose like an offshoot; and it will pluck up by the root three of those before it.” And by this offshoot horn none other is signified than the Antichrist that is to restore the kingdom of the Jews. And the three horns which are to be rooted out by it signify three kings, namely those of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he will destroy in the array of war; *and* when he has vanquished them all, being a savage tyrant, he will raise tribulation and persecution against the saints, exalting himself against them.

XVII.

You see how Daniel interpreted to Nabuchodonosor the dominion of the kingdoms; you see how he explained the form of the image in all its parts¹⁹²⁵ you have observed how he indicated prophetically the meaning of the coming up of the four beasts out of the sea. It remains that we open up to you the things done by the Antichrist in particular; and, as far as in our power, declare to you by means of the Scriptures and the prophets, his wandering over the whole earth, and his lawless advent.

1925 πᾶσι τοῖς πέρασιν.

XVIII.

As the Lord Jesus Christ made His sojourn with us in the flesh (which He received) from the holy, immaculate Virgin, and took to Himself the tribe of Judah, and came forth from it, the Scripture declared His royal lineage in the word of Jacob, when in his benediction he addressed himself to his son in these terms: “Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hands shall be on the neck of thine enemies; thy father’s children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion’s whelp; from a sprout,¹⁹²⁶ my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp:¹⁹²⁷ who shall rouse him up? A ruler¹⁹²⁸ shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader¹⁹²⁹ from his thighs,¹⁹³⁰ until what is in store for him¹⁹³¹ shall come, and he is the expectation¹⁹³² of the nations.”¹⁹³³ Mark these words of Jacob which were spoken to Judah, and are fulfilled in the Lord. To the same effect, moreover, does the patriarch express himself regarding Antichrist. Wherefore, as he prophesied with respect to Judah, so did he also with respect to his son Dan. For Judah was his fourth son; and Dan, again, was his seventh son. And what, then, did he say of him? “Let Dan be a serpent sitting by the way, that biteth the horse’s heel?”¹⁹³⁴ And what serpent was there but the deceiver from the beginning, he who is named in Genesis, he who deceived Eve, and bruised Adam in the heel?¹⁹³⁵

1926 βλαστοῦ

1927 σκύμνος.

1928 ἄρχων.

1929 ἡγούμενος.

1930 ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν.

1931 τὰ ἀποκείμενα.

1932 καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία.

1933 [Gen. xlix. 8–10.](#)

1934 [Gen. xlix. 17.](#)

1935 πτερνίσας.

XIX.

But seeing now that we must make proof of what is alleged at greater length, we shall not shrink from the task. For it is certain that he is destined to spring from the tribe of Dan,¹⁹³⁶ and to range himself in opposition like a princely tyrant, a terrible judge and accuser,¹⁹³⁷ as the prophet testifies when he says, “Dan shall judge his people, as one tribe in Israel.”¹⁹³⁸ But some one may say that this was meant of Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged his people for twenty years. That, however, was only partially made good in the case of Samson; but this shall be fulfilled completely in the case of Antichrist. For Jeremiah, too, speaks in this manner: “From Dan we shall hear the sound of the sharpness¹⁹³⁹ of his horses; at the sound of the neighing¹⁹⁴⁰ of his horses the whole land trembled.”¹⁹⁴¹ And again, Moses says: “Dan is a lion’s whelp, and he shall leap from Bashan.”¹⁹⁴² And that no one may fall into the mistake of thinking that this is spoken of the Saviour, let him attend to this. “Dan,” says he, “is a lion’s whelp;” and by thus naming the tribe of Dan as the one whence the accuser is destined to spring, he made the matter in hand quite clear. For as Christ is born of the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist shall be born of the tribe of Dan. And as our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was spoken of in prophecy as a *lion* on account of His royalty and glory, in the same manner also has the Scripture prophetically described the accuser as a lion, on account of his tyranny and violence.



1936 After Irenæus, book v. ch. xxx. [vol. i. p. 559, this series], many of the ancients express this opinion. See too Bellarmine, *De Pontifice Rom.*, iii. 12.

1937 διάβολος.

1938 [Gen. xlix. 16.](#)

1939 φωνὴν ὀξύτητος. There is another reading, σπουδὴν = haste.

1940 χρεμετισμοῦ. [Conf. p. 207, *supra*.]

1941 [Jer. viii. 16.](#)

1942 [Deut. xxxiii. 22.](#)

XX.

For in every respect that deceiver seeks to make himself appear like the Son of God. Christ is a lion, and Antichrist is a lion. Christ is King of things celestial and things terrestrial, and Antichrist will be king upon earth. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb; and he, too, will appear as a lamb, while he is a wolf within. The Saviour was circumcised, and he in like manner will appear in circumcision. The Saviour sent the apostles unto all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. Christ gathered together the dispersed sheep, and he in like manner will gather together the dispersed people of the Hebrews. Christ gave to those who believed on Him the honourable and life-giving cross, and he in like manner will give his own sign. Christ appeared in the form of man, and he in like manner will come forth in the form of man. Christ arose from among the Hebrews, and he will spring from among the Jews. Christ displayed His flesh like a temple, and raised it up on the third day; and he too will raise up again the temple of stone in Jerusalem. And these deceits fabricated by him will become quite intelligible to those who listen to us attentively, from what shall be set forth next in order.

XXI.

For through the Scriptures we are instructed in two advents of the Christ and Saviour. And the first after the flesh was in humiliation, because He was manifested in lowly estate. So then His second advent is declared to be in glory; for He comes from heaven with power, and angels, and the glory of His Father. His first advent had John the Baptist as its forerunner; and His second, in which He is to come in glory, will exhibit Enoch, and Elias, and John the Divine.¹⁹⁴³ Behold, too, the Lord's kindness to man; how even in the last times He shows His care for mortals, and pities them. For He will not leave us even then without prophets, but will send them to us for our instruction and assurance, and to make us give heed to the advent of the adversary, as He intimated also of old in this Daniel. For he says, "I shall make a covenant of one week, and in the midst of the week my sacrifice and libation will be removed." For by one week he indicates the showing forth of the seven years which shall be in the last times.¹⁹⁴⁴ And the half of the week the two prophets, along with John, will take for the purpose of proclaiming to all the world the advent of Antichrist, that is to say, for a "thousand two hundred and sixty days clothed in sackcloth;"¹⁹⁴⁵ and they will work signs and wonders with the object of making men ashamed and repentant, even by these means, on account of their surpassing lawlessness and impiety. "And if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of the advent of Antichrist, and to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will."¹⁹⁴⁶ And when they have proclaimed all these things they will fall on the sword, cut off by the accuser¹⁹⁴⁷. And they will fulfil their testimony, as Daniel also says; for he foresaw that the beast that came up out of the abyss would make war with them, namely with Enoch, Elias, and John, and would overcome them, and kill them, because of their refusal to give glory to the accuser, that is

1943 Or, the theologian. The Apocalypse (xi. 3) mentions only two witnesses, who are understood by the ancients in general as Enoch and Elias. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 21, on Enoch, says: "This is he who, along with Elias, is to withstand Antichrist in the last days, and to confute his deceit, according to the tradition of the Church." This addition as to the return of John the Evangelist is somewhat more uncommon. And yet Ephraem of Antioch, in Photius, cod. ccxxix., states that this too is supported by ancient, ecclesiastical tradition, Christ's saying in [John xxi. 22](#) being understood to that effect. See also Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, ch. l. p. 213, *supra*.—Migne. [Enoch and Elias are not dead. But see [Heb. ix. 27](#).]

1944 [Dan. ix. 27](#). (Note our author's adoption of the plan of a year for a day, [Ezek. iv. 6](#). See Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 165.]

1945 [Rev. xi. 3](#).

1946 [Rev. xi. 6](#); [[1 Kings xvii. 1](#); [Ecclus. xlviii. 3](#)].

1947 [παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου](#). [That is, by the devil.]

the little horn that sprang up.¹⁹⁴⁸ And he, being lifted up in heart, begins in the end to exalt himself and glorify himself as God, persecuting the saints and blaspheming Christ.

1948 ἀναφανέν. But Cod. B reads ἀναφυέν.

XXII.

But as, in accordance with the train of our discussion, we have been constrained to come to the matter of the days of the dominion of the adversary, it is necessary to state in the first place what concerns his nativity and growth; and then we must turn our discourse, as we have said before, to the expounding of this matter, viz., that in all respects the accuser and son of lawlessness¹⁹⁴⁹ is to make himself like our Saviour. Thus also the demonstration makes the matter clear to us. Since the Saviour of the world, with the purpose of saving the race of men, was born of the immaculate and virgin Mary,¹⁹⁵⁰ and in the form of the flesh trod the enemy under foot, in the exercise of the power of His own proper divinity; in the same manner also will the accuser come forth from an impure woman upon the earth, but shall be born of a virgin spuriously.¹⁹⁵¹ For our God sojourned with us in the flesh, after that very flesh of ours which He made for Adam and all Adam's posterity, yet without sin. But the accuser, though he take up the flesh, will do it only in appearance; for how should we wear that flesh which he did not make himself, but against which he warreth daily? And it is my opinion, beloved, that he will assume this phenomenal kind of flesh¹⁹⁵² as an instrument.¹⁹⁵³ For this reason also is he *to be* born of a virgin, as if a spirit, and then to the rest he will be manifested as flesh. For as to a virgin bearing, this we have known only in the case of the all-holy *Virgin*, who bore the Saviour verily clothed in flesh.¹⁹⁵⁴ For Moses says, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy unto the Lord."¹⁹⁵⁵ This is by no means the case with him;¹⁹⁵⁶ but as the adversary will not open the womb, so neither will he take to himself real flesh, and be circumcised as Christ was circumcised. And even as Christ chose His apostles, so will he too assume a whole people of disciples like himself in wickedness.



1949 ἀνομίας. Cod. B gives ἀπωλείας, perdition; and for μέλλει = is to, it reads θέλει = wishes. [2 [Thess. ii. 3, 4–8.](#)]

1950 Cod. B gives ἀειπαρθένου, ever-virgin.

1951 ἐν πλάνῃ. Cod. B reads ἀκριβῶς, exactly. Many of the ancients hold that Antichrist will be a demon in human figure. See Augustine, Sulpicius Severus, in Dialogue II., and Philippus Dioptra, iii. 11, etc.

1952 φανταστικὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν.

1953 Organ, ὄργανον.

1954 Cod. B reads τὴν θεοτόκον ἔγνωμεν σαρκικῶς καὶ ἀπλανῶς, instead of the text, σαρκοφόρον ἀπλανῶς, etc. [Conf. vol. iii. p. 523.]

1955 [Ex. xxxiv. 19](#); [Num. viii. 16](#); [Luke ii. 23](#).

1956 οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς.

XXIII.

Above all, moreover, he will love the nation of the Jews. And with all these he will work signs and terrible wonders, false wonders and not true, in order to deceive his impious equals. For if it were possible, he would seduce even the elect¹⁹⁵⁷ from the love of Christ. But in his first steps he will be gentle, loveable, quiet, pious, pacific, hating injustice, detesting gifts, not allowing idolatry; loving, says he, the Scriptures, reverencing priests, honouring his elders, repudiating fornication, detesting adultery, giving no heed to slanders, not admitting oaths, kind to strangers, kind to the poor, compassionate. And then he will work wonders, cleansing lepers, raising paralytics, expelling demons, proclaiming things remote just as things present, raising the dead, helping widows, defending orphans, loving all, reconciling in love men who contend, and saying to such, “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath;”¹⁹⁵⁸ and he will not acquire gold, nor love silver, nor seek riches.

1957 [Matt. xxiv. 24.](#)

1958 [Eph. iv. 26.](#)

XXIV.

And all this he will do corruptly and deceitfully, and with the purpose of deluding all to make him king. For when the peoples and tribes see so great virtues and so great powers in him, they will all with one mind meet together to make him king. And above all others shall the nation of the Hebrews be dear to the tyrant himself, while they say one to another, Is there found indeed in our generation such a man, so good and just? That shall be the way with the race of the Jews pre-eminently, as I said before, who, thinking, as they do, that they shall behold the king himself in such power, will approach him to say, We all confide in thee, and acknowledge thee to be just upon the whole earth; we all hope to be saved by thee; and by thy mouth we have received just and incorruptible judgment.

XXV.

And at first, indeed, that deceitful and lawless one, with crafty deceitfulness, will refuse such glory; but the men persisting, and holding by him, will declare him king. And thereafter he will be lifted up in heart, and he who was formerly gentle will become violent, and he who pursued love will become pitiless, and the humble in heart will become haughty and inhuman, and the hater of unrighteousness will persecute the righteous. Then, when he is elevated to his kingdom, he will marshal war; and in his wrath he will smite three mighty kings,—those, namely, of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia. And after that he will build the temple in Jerusalem, and will restore it again speedily, and give it over to the Jews. And then he will be lifted up in heart against every man; yea, he will speak blasphemy also against God, thinking in his deceit that he shall be king upon the earth hereafter for ever; not knowing, miserable wretch, that his kingdom is to be quickly brought to nought, and that he will quickly have to meet the fire which is prepared for him, along with all who trust him and serve him. For when Daniel said, “I shall make my covenant for one week,”¹⁹⁵⁹ he indicated seven years; and the one half of the week is for the preaching of the prophets, and for the other half of the week—that is to say, for three years and a half—Antichrist will reign upon the earth. And after this his kingdom and his glory shall be taken away. Behold, ye who love God, what manner of tribulation there shall rise in those days, such as has not been from the foundation of the world, no, nor ever shall be, except in those days alone. Then the lawless one, being lifted up in heart, will gather together his demons in man’s form, and will abominate those who call him to the kingdom, and will pollute many souls.

1959 Dan. ix. 27. [The ἀνομία which more and more prevails in our age in all nations, makes all this very significant to us, of “the last days.”]

XXVI.



For he will appoint princes over them from among the demons. And he will no longer seem to be pious, but altogether and in all things he will be harsh, severe, passionate, wrathful, terrible, inconstant, dread, morose, hateful, abominable, savage, vengeful, iniquitous. And, bent on casting the whole race of men into the pit of perdition, he will multiply false signs. For when all the people greet him with their acclamations at his displays, he will shout with a strong voice, so that the place shall be shaken in which the multitudes stand by him: "Ye peoples, and tribes, and nations, acquaint yourselves with my mighty authority and power, and the strength of my kingdom. What prince is there so great as I am? What great God is there but I? Who will stand up against my authority?" Under the eye of the spectators he will remove mountains from their places, he will walk on the sea with dry feet, he will bring down fire from heaven, he will turn the day into darkness and the night into day, he will turn the sun about wheresoever he pleases; and, in short, in presence of those who behold him, he will show all the elements of earth and sea to be subject to him in the power of his specious manifestation. For if, while as yet he does not exhibit himself as the son of perdition, he raises and excites against us open war even to battles and slaughters, at that time when he shall come in his own proper person, and men shall see him as he is in reality, what machinations and deceits and delusions will he not bring into play, with the purpose of seducing all men, and leading them off from the way of truth, and from the gate of the kingdom?

XXVII.

Then, after all these things, the heavens will not give their dew, the clouds will not give their rain, the earth will refuse to yield its fruits, the sea shall be filled with stench, the rivers shall be dried up, the fish of the sea shall die, men shall perish of hunger and thirst; and father embracing son, and mother embracing daughter, will die together, and there will be none to bury them. But the whole earth will be filled with the stench arising from the dead bodies cast forth. And the sea, not receiving the floods of the rivers, will become like mire, and will be filled with an unlimited smell and stench. Then there will be a mighty pestilence upon the whole earth, and then, too, inconsolable lamentation, and measureless weeping, and unceasing mourning. Then men will deem those happy who are dead before them, and will say to them, "Open your sepulchres, and take us miserable beings in; open your receptacles for the reception of your wretched kinsmen and acquaintances. Happy are ye, in that ye have not seen our days. Happy are ye, in that ye have not had to witness this painful life of ours, nor this irremediable pestilence, nor these straits that possess our souls."

XXVIII.

Then that abominable one will send his commands throughout every government by the hand at once of demons and of visible men, who shall say, “A mighty king has arisen upon the earth; come ye all to worship him; come ye all to see the strength of his kingdom: for, behold, he will give you corn; and he will bestow upon you wine, and great riches, and lofty honours. For the whole earth and sea obeys his command. Come ye all to him.” And by reason of the scarcity of food, all will go to him and worship him; and he will put his mark on their right hand and on their forehead, that no one may put the sign of the honourable cross upon his forehead with his right hand; but his hand is bound. And from that time he shall not have power to seal any one of his members, but he shall be attached to the deceiver, and shall serve him; and in him there is no repentance. But such an one is lost at once to God and to men, and the deceiver will give them scanty food by reason of his abominable seal. And his seal upon the forehead and upon the right hand is the number, “Six hundred threescore and six.”¹⁹⁶⁰ And I have an opinion as to this number, though I do not know the matter for certain; for many names have been found in this number when it is expressed in writing.¹⁹⁶¹ Still we say that perhaps the scription of this same seal will give us the word *I deny*.¹⁹⁶² For even in recent days, by means of his ministers—that is to say, the idolaters—that bitter adversary took up the word *deny*, when the lawless pressed upon the witnesses of Christ, with the adjuration, “Deny thy God, the crucified One.”¹⁹⁶³

1960 [Rev. xiii. 18.](#)

1961 ἐν τῇ γραφῇ.

1962 ἀρνοῦμαι. But the letters of the word ἀρνοῦμαι in their numerical value will not give the number 666 unless it is written ἀρνοῦμε. See Haymo on the Apocalypse, book iv.

1963 The text is in confusion: ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρώην διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀντίδικος ἐχθρὸς, ἢ γοῦν τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν, τοῖς μάρτυσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ προέτρεπον οἱ ἄνομοι, etc.

XXIX.

Of such kind, in the time of that hater of all good, will be the seal, the tenor of which will be this: I deny the Maker of heaven and earth, I deny the baptism, I deny my (former) service, and attach myself to thee, and I believe in thee. For this is what the prophets Enoch and Elias will preach: Believe not the enemy who is to come and be seen; for he is an adversary¹⁹⁶⁴ and corrupter and son of perdition, and deceives you;¹⁹⁶⁵ and for this reason he will kill you, and smite them with the sword. Behold the deceit of the enemy, know the machinations of the beguiler, how he seeks to darken the mind of men utterly. For he will show forth his demons brilliant like angels, and he will bring in hosts of the incorporeal without number. And in the presence of all he exhibits himself as taken up into heaven with trumpets and sounds, and the mighty shouting of those who hail him with indescribable hymns; the heir of darkness himself shining like light, and at one time soaring to the heavens, and at another descending to the earth with great glory, and again charging the demons, like angels, to execute his behests with much fear and trembling. Then will he send the cohorts of the demons among mountains and caves and dens of the earth, to track out those who have been concealed from his eyes, and to bring them forward to worship him. And those who yield to him he will seal with his seal; but those who refuse to submit to him he will consume with incomparable pains and bitterest torments and machinations, such as never have been, nor have reached the ear of man, nor have been seen by the eye of mortals.



1964 ἀντίδικος. In B, πλάνος = deceiver.

1965 B reads τόν κόσμον, the world.

XXX.

Blessed shall they be who overcome the tyrant then. For they shall be set forth as more illustrious and loftier than the first witnesses; for the former witnesses overcame his minions only, but these overthrow and conquer the accuser himself, the son of perdition. With what eulogies and crowns, therefore, will they not be adorned by our King, Jesus Christ!

XXXI.

But let us revert to the matter in hand. When men have received the seal, then, and find neither food nor water, they *will* approach him with a voice of anguish, saying, Give us to eat and drink, for we all faint with hunger and all manner of straits;¹⁹⁶⁶ and bid the heavens yield us water, and drive off from us the beasts that devour men. Then will that crafty one make answer, mocking them with absolute inhumanity, and saying, The heavens refuse to give rain, the earth yields not again its fruits; whence then can I give you food? Then, on hearing the words of this deceiver, these miserable men will perceive that this is the wicked accuser, and will mourn in anguish, and weep vehemently, and beat their face with their hands, and tear their hair, and lacerate their cheeks with their nails, while they say to each other: Woe for the calamity! woe for the bitter contract! woe for the deceitful covenant! woe for the mighty mischance! How have we been beguiled by the deceiver! how have we been joined to him! how have we been caught in his toils! how have we been taken in his abominable net! how have we heard the Scriptures, and understood them not! For truly those who are engrossed with the affairs of life, and with the lust of this world, will be easily brought over to the accuser then, and sealed by him.

1966 B reads ὀδύνης, pain.

XXXII.

But many who are hearers of the divine Scriptures,¹⁹⁶⁷ and have them in their hand, and keep them in mind with understanding, will escape his imposture. For they will see clearly through his insidious appearance and his deceitful imposture, and will flee from his hands, and betake themselves to the mountains, and hide themselves in the caves of the earth; and they will seek after the Friend of man with tears and a contrite heart; and He will deliver them out of his toils, and with His right hand He will save those from his snares who in a worthy and righteous manner make their supplication to Him.

1967 [Note this. The faithful are to have the Holy Scriptures *in their hand*. But this has been condemned by repeated bulls and anathemas of Roman pontiffs; e.g., by Clement XI., a.d. 1713; and no Bible in the vulgar tongue ever appeared in Rome till a.d. 1870, on the overthrow of the papal kingdom.]

XXXIII.

You see in what manner of fasting and prayer the saints will exercise themselves at that time. Observe, also, how hard the season and the times will be that are to come upon those in city and country alike. At that time they will be brought from the east even unto the west; and they will come up from the west even unto the east, and will weep greatly and wail vehemently. And when the day begins to dawn they will long for the night, in order that they may find rest from their labours; and when the night descends upon them, by reason of the continuous earthquakes and the tempests in the air, they will desire even to behold the light of the day, and will seek how they may hereafter meet a bitter death.¹⁹⁶⁸ At that time the whole earth will bewail the life of anguish, and the sea and air in like manner will bewail it; and the sun, too, will wail; and the wild beasts, together with the fowls, will wail; mountains and hills, and the trees of the plain, will wail on account of the race of man, because all have turned aside from the holy God, and obeyed the deceiver, and received the mark of that abominable one, the enemy of God, instead of the quickening cross of the Saviour.

1968 [Deut. xxviii. 66, 67.]

XXXIV.

And the churches, too, will wail with a mighty lamentation, because neither “oblation nor incense” is attended to, nor a service acceptable to God;¹⁹⁶⁹ but the sanctuaries of the churches will become like a garden-watcher’s hut,¹⁹⁷⁰ and the holy body and blood of Christ will not be shown in those days. The public service of God shall be extinguished, psalmody shall cease, the reading of the Scriptures shall not be heard;¹⁹⁷¹ but for men there shall be darkness, and lamentation on lamentation, and woe on woe. At that time silver and gold shall be cast out in the streets, and none shall gather them; but all things shall be held an offence. For all shall be eager to escape and to hide themselves, and they shall not be able anywhere to find concealment from the woes¹⁹⁷² of the adversary; but as they carry his mark about them, they shall be readily recognised and declared to be his. Without there shall be fear, and within trembling, both by night and by day. In the street and in the houses there shall be the dead; in the streets and in the houses there shall be hunger and thirst; in the streets there shall be tumults, and in the houses lamentations. And beauty of countenance shall be withered, for their forms shall be like those of the dead; and the beauty of women shall fade, and the desire of all men shall vanish.



1969 [The reference is to [Mal. i. 11](#), and *incense* is expounded spiritually by the Ante-Nicene Fathers generally. See Irenæus, vol. i. p. 574, Tertullian, iii. p. 346 and *passim*.]

1970 [[Isa. i. 8](#).]

1971 [The public reading of Scripture-lessons is implied, [Acts xv. 21](#). See Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, book v. cap. xix.]

1972 παθῶν. B reads παγίδων, snares.

XXXV.

Notwithstanding, not even then will the merciful and benignant God leave the race of men without all comfort; but He will shorten even those days and the period of three years and a half, and He will curtail those times on account of the remnant of those who hide themselves in the mountains and caves, that the phalanx of all those saints fail not utterly. But these days shall run their course rapidly; and the kingdom of the deceiver and Antichrist shall be speedily removed. And then, in fine, in the glance of an eye shall the fashion of this world pass away, and the power of men¹⁹⁷³ shall be brought to nought, and all these visible things shall be destroyed.

1973 R reads δαιμόνων, demons.

XXXVI.

As these things, therefore, of which we have spoken before are in the future, beloved, when the one week is divided into parts, and the abomination of desolation has arisen then, and the forerunners of the Lord have finished their proper course, and the whole world, in fine, comes to the consummation, what remains but the manifestation¹⁹⁷⁴ of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, from heaven, for whom we have hoped; who shall bring forth fire and all just judgment against those who have refused to believe in Him? For the Lord says, “For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be; for wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.”¹⁹⁷⁵ For the sign of the cross¹⁹⁷⁶ shall arise from the east even unto the west, in brightness exceeding that of the sun, and shall announce the advent and manifestation of the Judge, to give to every one according to his works. For concerning the general resurrection and the kingdom of the saints, Daniel says: “And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.”¹⁹⁷⁷ And Isaiah says: “The dead shall rise, and those in the tombs shall awake, and those in the earth shall rejoice.”¹⁹⁷⁸ And our Lord says: “Many¹⁹⁷⁹ in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.”¹⁹⁸⁰

1974 ἐπιφάνεια.

1975 [Matt. xxiv. 27, 28.](#)

1976 See Jo. Voss, *Theses Theolog.*, p. 228. [And compare, concerning Constantine’s vision, Robertson and his notes, *Hist.*, vol. i. p. 186, and Newman’s characteristic argument in his *Essay on Miracles*, prefixed to the third volume of his *Fleury*, pp. 133–143.]

1977 [Dan. xii. 2.](#)

1978 [Isa. xxvi. 19.](#)

1979 πολλοί, for the received οἱ νεκροί.

1980 [John v. 25.](#)

XXXVII.

For at that time the trumpet shall sound,¹⁹⁸¹ and awake those that sleep from the lowest parts of the earth, righteous and sinners alike. And every kindred, and tongue, and nation, and tribe shall be raised in the twinkling of an eye;¹⁹⁸² and they shall stand upon the face of the earth, waiting for the coming of the righteous and terrible Judge, in fear and trembling unutterable. For the river of fire shall come forth in fury like an angry sea, and shall burn up mountains and hills, and shall make the sea vanish, and shall dissolve the atmosphere with its heat like wax.¹⁹⁸³ The stars of heaven shall fall,¹⁹⁸⁴ the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood.¹⁹⁸⁵ The heaven shall be rolled together like a scroll:¹⁹⁸⁶ the whole earth shall be burnt up by reason of the deeds done in it, which men did corruptly,¹⁹⁸⁷ in fornications, in adulteries, and in lies and uncleanness, and in idolatries, and in murders, and in battles. For there shall be the new heaven and the new earth.¹⁹⁸⁸

1981 [1 Thess. iv. 16.](#)

1982 [1 Cor. xv. 52.](#)

1983 [2 Pet. iii. 12.](#)

1984 [Matt. xxiv. 29.](#)

1985 [Acts ii. 20.](#)

1986 [Rev. vi. 14.](#)

1987 [διέφθειραν.](#) B reads [ἔκραξαν.](#)

1988 [Rev. xxi. 1.](#)

XXXVIII.

Then shall the holy angels run on their commission to gather together all the nations, whom that terrible voice of the trumpet shall awake out of sleep. And before the judgment-seat of Christ shall stand those who once were kings and rulers, chief priests and priests; and they shall give an account of their administration, and of the fold, whoever of them through their negligence have lost one sheep out of the flock. And then shall be brought forward soldiers who were not content with their provision,¹⁹⁸⁹ but oppressed widows and orphans and beggars. Then shall be arraigned the collectors of tribute, who despoil the poor man of more than is ordered, and who make real gold like adulterate, in order to mulct the needy, in fields and in houses and in the churches. Then shall rise up the lewd with shame, who have not kept their bed undefiled, but have been ensnared by all manner of fleshly beauty, and have gone in the way of their own lusts. Then shall rise up those who have not kept the love of the Lord, mute and gloomy, because they contemned the light commandment of the Saviour, which says, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Then they, too, shall weep who have possessed the unjust balance, and unjust weights and measures, and dry measures, as they wait for the righteous Judge.



1989 [Luke iii. 14.](#)

XXXIX.

And why should we add many words concerning those who are sisted before the bar? Then the righteous shall shine forth like the sun, while the wicked shall be shown to be mute and gloomy. For both the righteous and the wicked shall be raised incorruptible: the righteous, to be honoured eternally, and to taste immortal joys; and the wicked, to be punished in judgment eternally. Each ponders¹⁹⁹⁰ the question as to what answer he shall give to the righteous Judge for his deeds, whether good or bad. With all men each one's actions shall environ him, whether he be good or evil. For the powers of the heavens shall be shaken,¹⁹⁹¹ and fear and trembling shall consume all things, both heaven and earth and things under the earth. And every tongue shall confess Him openly,¹⁹⁹² and shall confess Him who comes to judge righteous judgment, the mighty God and Maker of all things. Then with fear and astonishment shall come angels, thrones, powers, principalities, dominions,¹⁹⁹³ and the cherubim and seraphim with their many eyes and six wings, all crying aloud with a mighty voice, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, omnipotent; the heaven and the earth are full of Thy glory."¹⁹⁹⁴ And the King of kings and Lord of lords, the Judge who accepts no man's person, and the Jurist who distributes justice to every man, shall be revealed upon His dread and lofty throne; and all the flesh of mortals shall see His face with great fear and trembling, both the righteous and the sinner.

1990 The text gives ἐνθυμηθεῖ τε, for which B reads ἐνθυμεῖται.

1991 [Matt. xxiv. 29.](#)

1992 [Phil. ii. 11.](#)

1993 [Col. i. 16.](#)

1994 [Isa. vi. 3.](#)

XL.

Then shall the son of perdition be brought forward, to wit, the accuser, with his demons and with his servants, by angels stern and inexorable. And they shall be given over to the fire that is never quenched, and to the worm that never sleepeth, and to the outer darkness. For the people of the Hebrews shall see Him in human form, as He appeared to them *when He came* by the holy Virgin in the flesh, and as they crucified Him. And He will show them the *prints of the* nails in His hands and feet, and His side pierced with the spear, and His head crowned with thorns, and His honourable cross. And once for all shall the people of the Hebrews see all these things, and they shall mourn and weep, as the prophet exclaims, “They shall look on Him whom they have pierced;”¹⁹⁹⁵ and there shall be none to help them or to pity them, because they repented not, neither turned aside from the wicked way. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment with the demons and the accuser.

1995 [Zech. xii. 10; John xix. 37.](#)

XLI.

Then He shall gather together all nations, as the holy Gospel so strikingly declares. For what says Matthew the evangelist, or rather the Lord Himself, in the Gospel? “When the Son of man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.”¹⁹⁹⁶ Come, ye prophets, who were cast out for my name’s sake. Come, ye patriarchs, who before my advent were obedient to me, and longed for my kingdom. Come, ye apostles, who were my fellows in my sufferings in my incarnation, *and suffered with me* in the Gospel. Come, ye martyrs, who confessed me before despots, and endured many torments and pains. Come, ye hierarchs, who did me sacred service blamelessly day and night, and made the oblation of my honourable body and blood daily.¹⁹⁹⁷

1996 [Matt. xxv. 31–34.](#)

1997 [All this is in the manner of Hippolytus; and here is a striking testimony to a daily Eucharist, if this be genuine.]

XLII.



Come, ye saints, who disciplined yourselves in mountains and caves and dens of the earth, who honoured my name by continence and prayer and virginity. Come, ye maidens, who desired my bride-chamber, and loved no other bridegroom than me, who by your testimony and habit of life were wedded to me, the immortal and incorruptible Bridegroom. Come, ye friends of the poor and the stranger. Come, ye who kept my love, as I am love. Come, ye who possess peace, for I own that peace. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, ye who esteemed not riches, ye who had compassion on the poor, who aided the orphans, who helped the widows, who gave drink to the thirsty, who fed the hungry, who received strangers, who clothed the naked, who visited the sick, who comforted those in prison, who helped the blind, who kept the seal of the faith inviolate, who assembled yourselves together in the churches, who listened to my Scriptures, who longed for my words, who observed my law day and night, who endured hardness with me like good soldiers, seeking to please me, your heavenly King. Come, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Behold, my kingdom is made ready; behold, paradise is opened; behold, my immortality is shown in its beauty.¹⁹⁹⁸ Come all, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

1998 κεκαλλώπισταί. [Isa. xxxiii. 17.]

XLIII.

Then shall the righteous answer, astonished at the mighty and wondrous fact that He, whom the hosts of angels cannot look upon openly, addresses them as friends, and shall cry out to Him, Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, and fed Thee? Master,¹⁹⁹⁹ when saw we Thee thirsty, and gave Thee drink? Thou Terrible One,²⁰⁰⁰ when saw we Thee naked, and clothed Thee? Immortal,²⁰⁰¹ when saw we Thee a stranger, and took Thee in? Thou Friend of man,²⁰⁰² when saw we Thee sick or in prison, and came unto Thee?²⁰⁰³ Thou art the ever-living One. Thou art without beginning, like the Father,²⁰⁰⁴ and co-eternal with the Spirit. Thou art He who made all things out of nothing. Thou art the prince of the angels. Thou art He at whom the depths tremble.²⁰⁰⁵ Thou art He who is covered with light as with a garment.²⁰⁰⁶ Thou art He who made us, and fashioned us of earth. Thou art He who formed²⁰⁰⁷ things invisible.²⁰⁰⁸ From Thy presence the whole earth fleeth away,²⁰⁰⁹ and how have we received hospitably Thy kingly power and lordship?

1999 δέσποτα.

2000 φοβερέ.

2001 ἀθάνατε.

2002 φιλόανθρώπε.

2003 [Matt. xxv. 37](#), etc.

2004 συνάναρχος.

2005 [4 Esdr. iii. 8](#).

2006 [Ps. civ. 2](#).

2007 δημιουργήσας.

2008 [Col. i. 16](#).

2009 [Rev. xx. 11](#).

XLIV.

Then shall the King of kings make answer again, and say to them, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. Inasmuch as ye have received those of whom I have already spoken to you, and clothed them, and fed them, and gave them to drink, I mean the poor who are my members, ye have done it unto me. But come ye into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; enjoy for ever and ever that which is given you by my Father in heaven, and the holy and quickening Spirit. And what mouth then will be able to tell out those blessings which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him?²⁰¹⁰

2010 [Isa. lxiv. 4](#); [1 Cor. ii. 9](#).

XLV.

Ye have heard of the ceaseless joy, ye have heard of the immoveable kingdom, ye have heard of the feast of blessings without end. Learn now, then, also the address of anguish with which the just Judge and the benignant God shall speak to those on the left hand in unmeasured anger and wrath, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Ye have prepared these things for yourselves; take to yourselves also the enjoyment of them. Depart from me, ye cursed, into the outer darkness, and into the unquenchable fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. I made you, and ye gave yourselves to another. I am He who brought you forth from your mother's womb, and ye rejected me. I am He who fashioned you of earth by my word of command, and ye gave yourselves to another. I am He who nurtured you, and ye served another. I ordained the earth and the sea for your maintenance and the bound²⁰¹¹ of your life, and ye listened not to my commandments. I made the light for you, that ye might enjoy the day, and the night also, that ye might have rest; and ye vexed me, and set me at nought with your wicked words, and opened the door to the passions. Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity. I know you not, I recognise you not: ye made yourselves the workmen of another lord—namely, the devil. With him inherit ye the darkness, and the fire that is not quenched, and the worm that sleepeth not, and the gnashing of teeth.

2011 συμπέρασμα.

XLVI.



For I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and ye visited me not: I was in prison, and ye came not unto me. I made your ears that ye might hear the Scriptures; and ye prepared them for the songs of demons, and lyres, and jesting. I made your eyes that you might see the light of my commandments, and keep them; and ye called in fornication and wantonness, and opened them to all other manner of uncleanness. I prepared your mouth for the utterance of adoration, and praise, and psalms, and spiritual odes, and for the exercise of continuous reading; and ye fitted it to railing, and swearing, and blasphemies, while ye sat and spoke evil of your neighbours. I made your hands that ye might stretch them forth in prayers and supplications, and ye put them forth to robberies, and murders, and the killing of each other. I ordained your feet to walk in the preparation of the Gospel of peace, both in the churches and the houses of my saints; and ye taught them to run to adulteries, and fornications, and theatres, and dancings, and elevations.²⁰¹²

2012 Tossings, μετεωρισμούς. [“Tossings,” etc. Does it refer to the somersaults of harlequins?]

XLVII.

At last the assembly is dissolved, the spectacle of this life ceaseth: its deceit and its semblance are passed away. Cleave to me, to whom every knee boweth, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. For all who have been negligent, and have not shown pity in well-doing there, have nothing else due them than the unquenchable fire. For I am the friend of man, but yet also a righteous Judge to all. For I shall award the recompense according to desert; I shall give the reward to all, according to each man's labour; I shall make return to all, according to each man's conflict. I wish to have pity, but I see no oil in your vessels. I desire to have mercy, but ye have passed through life entirely without mercy. I long to have compassion, but your lamps are dark by reason of your hardness of heart. Depart from me. For judgment is without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy.²⁰¹³

2013 [Jas. ii. 13.](#)

XLVIII.

Then shall they also make answer to the dread Judge, who accepteth no man's person: Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and ministered not unto Thee? Lord, dost Thou know us not? Thou didst form us, Thou didst fashion us, Thou didst make us of four elements, Thou didst give us spirit and soul. On Thee we believed; Thy seal we received, Thy baptism we obtained; we acknowledged Thee to be God, we knew Thee to be Creator; in Thee we wrought sights, through Thee we cast out demons, for Thee we mortified the flesh, for Thee we preserved virginity, for Thee we practised chastity, for Thee we became strangers on the earth; and Thou sayest, I know you not, depart from me! Then shall He make answer to them, and say, Ye acknowledged me as Lord, but ye kept not my words. Ye were marked with the seal of my cross, but ye deleted it by your hardness of heart. Ye obtained my baptism, but ye observed not my commandments. Ye subdued your body to virginity, but ye kept not mercy, but ye did not cast the hatred of your brother out of your souls. For not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth my will.²⁰¹⁴ And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.²⁰¹⁵

2014 [Matt. vii. 23.](#)

2015 [Matt. xxv. 46.](#)

XLIX.

“Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.”

Ye have heard, beloved, the answer of the Lord; ye have learned the sentence of the Judge; ye have been given to understand what kind of awful scrutiny awaits us, and what day and what hour are before us. Let us therefore ponder this every day; let us meditate on this both day and night, both in the house, and by the way, and in the churches, that we may not stand forth at that dread and impartial judgment condemned, abased, and sad, but with purity of action, life, conversation, and confession; so that to us also the merciful and benignant God may say, “Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace;”²⁰¹⁶ and again, “Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.”²⁰¹⁷ Which joy may it be ours to reach, by the grace and kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom pertain glory, honour, and adoration, with His Father, who is without beginning, and His holy, and good, and quickening Spirit, now and ever, and to the ages of the ages. Amen.²⁰¹⁸

2016 [Luke vii. 50.](#)

2017 [Matt. xxv. 23.](#)

2018 [Here follows the text, [Apoc. ii. 10](#), transposed above.]

Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles:

Where each of them preached, and where he met his end

1. Peter preached the Gospel in Pontus, and Galatia, and Cappadocia, and Betania, and Italy, and Asia, and was afterwards crucified by Nero in Rome with his head downward, as he had himself desired to suffer in that manner.

2. Andrew preached to the Scythians and Thracians, and was crucified, suspended on an olive tree, at Patræ, *a town* of Achaia; and there too he was buried.

3. John, again, in Asia, was banished by Domitian the king to the isle of Patmos, in which also he wrote his Gospel and saw the apocalyptic vision; and in Trajan's time he fell asleep at Ephesus, where his remains were sought for, but could not be found.

4. James, his brother, when preaching in Judea, was cut off with the sword by Herod the tetrarch, and was buried there.

5. Philip preached in Phrygia, and was crucified in Hierapolis with his head downward in the time of Domitian, and was buried there.

6. Bartholomew, again, *preached* to the Indians, to whom he also gave the Gospel according to Matthew, *and* was crucified with his head downward, and was buried in Allatum,²⁰¹⁹ *a town* of the great Armenia.²⁰²⁰

7. And Matthew wrote the Gospel in the Hebrew tongue,²⁰²¹ and published it at Jerusalem, and fell asleep at Hieres, *a town* of Parthia.

8. And Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Margians,²⁰²² and was thrust through in the four members of his body with a pine spear²⁰²³ at Calamene,²⁰²⁴ the city of India, and was buried there.

9. And James the son of Alphæus, when preaching in Jerusalem, was stoned to death by the Jews, and was buried there beside the temple.

10. Jude, who is also *called* Lebbaeus, preached to the people of Edessa,²⁰²⁵ and to all Mesopotamia, and fell asleep at Berytus, and was buried there.

11. Simon the Zealot,²⁰²⁶ the son of Clopas, who is also *called* Jude, became bishop of Jerusalem after James the Just, and fell asleep and was buried there at the age of 120 years.

2019 Or Albanum.

2020 [The general tradition is, that he was flayed alive, and then crucified.]

2021 [See Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 282, note 1, and Lardner, *Credib.*, ii. 494, etc.]

2022 Μάρκοις. Combefisius proposes Μάρδοις. Jerome has "Magis."

2023 The text is ἐλακίδη ἐλογχιάσθη, ἐλακίδη being probably for ἐλάτη.

2024 Καλαμίνη. Steph. le Moyne reads Καραμίνη.

2025 Αἰδεσινοῖς.

2026 ὁ Κανανίτης.

12. And Matthias, who was one of the seventy, was numbered along with the eleven apostles, and preached in Jerusalem, and fell asleep and was buried there.

13. And Paul entered into the apostleship a year after the assumption of Christ; and beginning at Jerusalem, he advanced as far as Illyricum, and Italy, and Spain, preaching the Gospel for five-and-thirty years. And in the time of Nero he was beheaded at Rome, and was buried there.

The same Hippolytus on the Seventy Apostles.²⁰²⁷

1. James the Lord's brother,²⁰²⁸ bishop of Jerusalem.
 2. Cleopas, bishop of Jerusalem.
 3. Matthias, who supplied the vacant place in the number of the twelve apostles.
 4. Thaddeus, who conveyed the epistle to Augarus.
 5. Ananias, who baptized Paul, *and was* bishop of Damascus.
 6. Stephen, the first martyr.
 7. Philip, who baptized the eunuch.
 8. Prochorus, bishop of Nicomedia, who also was the first that departed,²⁰²⁹ believing together with his daughters.
 9. Nicanor died when Stephen was martyred.
 10. Timon, bishop of Bostra.
 11. Parmenas, bishop of Soli.
 12. Nicolaus, bishop of Samaria.
 13. Barnabas, bishop of Milan.
 14. Mark the evangelist, bishop of Alexandria.
 15. Luke the evangelist.
- These two belonged to the seventy disciples who were scattered²⁰³⁰ by the offence of the word which Christ spoke, "Except a man eat my flesh, and drink my blood, he is not worthy of me."²⁰³¹ But the one being induced to return to the Lord by Peter's instrumentality, and the other by Paul's, they were honoured to preach that Gospel²⁰³² on account of which they also suffered martyrdom, the one being burned, and the other being crucified on an olive tree.
16. Silas, bishop of Corinth.
 17. Silvanus, bishop of Thessalonica.
 18. Crisces (Crescens), bishop of Carchedon in Gaul.

2027 In the Codex Baroccian. 206. This is found also, along with the former piece, *On the Twelve Apostles*, in two codices of the Coislinian or Seguerian Library, as Montfaucon states in his recension of the Greek manuscripts of that library. He mentions also a third codex of Hippolytus, *On the Twelve Apostles*. [Probably spurious, but yet antique.]

2028 ἀδελφόςθεος.

2029 ἐξελθών.

2030 The text is, οὗτοι οἱ β' τῶν ὁ τυγχανόντων διασκορπισθέντων. It may be meant for, "these two of the seventy were scattered," etc.

2031 [John vi. 53, 66.](#)

2032 εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, perhaps = *write* of that Gospel, as the Latin version puts it. [But St. Mark's body is *said to be* in Venice.]

19. Epænetus, bishop of Carthage.
20. Andronicus, bishop of Pannonia.
21. Amplias, bishop of Odyssus.
22. Urban, bishop of Macedonia.
23. Stachys, bishop of Byzantium.
24. Barnabas, bishop of Heraclea.
25. Phygelus, bishop of Ephesus. He was of the party also of Simon.²⁰³³
26. Hermogenes. He, too, was of the same mind with the former.
27. Demas, who also became a priest of idols.
28. Apelles, bishop of Smyrna.
29. Aristobulus, bishop of Britain.
30. Narcissus, bishop of Athens.
31. Herodion, bishop of Tarsus.
32. Agabus the prophet.
33. Rufus, bishop of Thebes.
34. Asyncritus, bishop of Hyrcania.
35. Phlegon, bishop of Marathon.
36. Hermes, bishop of Dalmatia.
37. Patrobulus,²⁰³⁴ bishop of Puteoli.
38. Hermas, bishop of Philippi.
39. Linus, bishop of Rome.
40. Caius, bishop of Ephesus.
41. Philologus, bishop of Sinope.
- 42, 43. Olympus and Rhodion were martyred in Rome.
44. Lucius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria.
45. Jason, bishop of Tarsus.
46. Sosipater, bishop of Iconium.
47. Tertius, bishop of Iconium.
48. Erastus, bishop of Panellas.
49. Quartus, bishop of Berytus.
50. Apollo, bishop of Cæsarea.
51. Cephas.²⁰³⁵
52. Sosthenes, bishop of Colophonia.
53. Tychicus, bishop of Colophonia.



2033 *Magus.*

2034 [Rom. xvi. 14](#), Πατρόβας.

2035 In the manuscript there is a *lacuna* here.

54. Epaphroditus, bishop of Andriace.
 55. Cæsar, bishop of Dyrrachium.
 56. Mark, cousin to Barnabas, bishop of Apollonia.
 57. Justus, bishop of Eleutheropolis.
 58. Artemas, bishop of Lystra.
 59. Clement, bishop of Sardinia.
 60. Onesiphorus, bishop of Corone.
 61. Tychicus, bishop of Chalcedon.
 62. Carpus, bishop of Berytus in Thrace.
 63. Evodus, bishop of Antioch.
 64. Aristarchus, bishop of Apamea.
 65. Mark, who is also John, bishop of Bibloupolis.
 66. Zenas, bishop of Diospolis.
 67. Philemon, bishop of Gaza.
 - 68, 69. Aristarchus and Pudes.
 70. Trophimus, who was martyred along with Paul.
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Heads of the Canons of Abulide or Hippolytus,

Which are used by the Æthiopian Christians.²⁰³⁶

1. Of the holy faith of Jesus Christ.²⁰³⁷
2. Of bishops.²⁰³⁸
3. Of prayers spoken on the ordination of bishops, and of the order of the *Missa*.²⁰³⁹
4. Of the ordination of presbyters.
5. Of the ordination of deacons.
6. Of those who suffer persecution for the faith.²⁰⁴⁰
7. Of the election of reader and sub-deacon.²⁰⁴¹
8. Of the gift of healing.²⁰⁴²
9. Of the presbyter who abides in a place inconvenient for his office.²⁰⁴³
10. Of those who are converted to the Christian religion.
11. Of him who makes idols.²⁰⁴⁴
12. Various pursuits²⁰⁴⁵ are enumerated, the followers of which are not to be admitted to the Christian religion until repentance is exhibited.²⁰⁴⁶
13. Of the place which the highest kings or princes shall occupy in the temple.²⁰⁴⁷
14. That it is not meet for Christians to bear arms.²⁰⁴⁸

2036 These were first published in French by Jo. Michael Wanslebius in his book *De Ecclesia Alexandrina*, Paris, 1677, p. 12; then in Latin, by Job Ludolfus, in his *Commentar. ad historiam Æthiopicam*, Frankfort, 1691, p. 333; and by William Whiston, in vol. iii. of his *Primitive Christianity Revived*, published in English at London, 1711, p. 543. He has also noted the passages in the *Constitutions Apostolicæ*, treating the same matters.

2037 *Constit. Apostol.*, lib. vi. ch. 11, etc.

2038 Lib. vii. ch. 41.

2039 Lib. vii. ch. 4, 5, 10. [The service of the faithful, *Missa Fidelium*, not the modern Mass. See Bingham, book xv. The *Missa* was an innocent word for the *dismissal* of those not about to receive the Communion. See Guettée, *Exposition*, etc., p. 433.]

2040 Lib. viii. ch. 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 45.

2041 Lib. viii. ch. 21, 22.

2042 Lib. viii. ch. 1, 2.

2043 Lib. viii. ch. 46, 32.

2044 Lib. viii. ch. 46, 32.

2045 *Studia*.

2046 Lib. viii. ch. 46, 32.

2047 Wanting.

2048 Lib. viii. ch. 32.

15. Of works which are unlawful to Christians.²⁰⁴⁹
16. Of the Christian who marries a slave-woman.²⁰⁵⁰
17. Of the free woman.²⁰⁵¹
18. Of the midwife; and that the women ought to be separate from the men in prayer.²⁰⁵²
19. Of the catechumen who suffers martyrdom before baptism.²⁰⁵³
20. Of the fast of the fourth and sixth holiday; and of Lent.²⁰⁵⁴
21. That presbyters should assemble daily with the people in church.²⁰⁵⁵
22. Of the week of the Jews' passover; and of him who knows not passover (Easter).²⁰⁵⁶
23. That every one be held to learn doctrine.²⁰⁵⁷
24. Of the care of the bishop over the sick.²⁰⁵⁸
25. Of him on whom the care of the sick is enjoined; and of the time at which prayers are to be made.²⁰⁵⁹
26. Of the time at which exhortations are to be heard.²⁰⁶⁰
27. Of him who frequents the temple every day.²⁰⁶¹
28. That the faithful ought to eat nothing before the holy communion.²⁰⁶²
29. That care is to be well taken that nothing fall from the chalice to the ground.²⁰⁶³
30. Of catechumens.²⁰⁶⁴
31. That a deacon may dispense the Eucharist to the people with permission of a bishop or presbyter.²⁰⁶⁵
32. That widows and virgins ought to pray constantly.²⁰⁶⁶

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- 2049 Lib. viii. ch. 32.
2050 Lib. viii. ch. 32.
2051 Lib. viii. ch. 32.
2052 Lib. ii. ch. 57.
2053 Lib. v. ch. 6.
2054 Lib. v. ch. 13, 15.
2055 Lib. ii. ch. 36.
2056 Lib. v. ch. 15, etc.
2057 Lib. vii. ch. 39, 40, 41.
2058 Lib. iv. ch. 2.
2059 Lib. iii. ch. 19, viii. ch. 34.
2060 Lib. viii. ch. 32.
2061 Lib. ii. ch. 59.
2062 Wanting.
2063 Wanting.
2064 Lib. vii. ch. 39, etc.
2065 Lib. viii. ch. 28.
2066 Lib. iii. ch. 6, 7, 13.

33. That commemoration should be made of the faithful dead every day, with the exception of the Lord's day.²⁰⁶⁷

34. Of the sober behaviour of the secular²⁰⁶⁸ in church.²⁰⁶⁹

35. That deacons may pronounce the benediction and thanksgiving at the love-feasts when a bishop is not present.²⁰⁷⁰

36. Of the first-fruits of the earth, and of vows.²⁰⁷¹

37. When a bishop celebrates the holy communion (Synaxis),²⁰⁷² the presbyters who stand by him should be clothed in white.²⁰⁷³

38. That no one ought to sleep on the night of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.²⁰⁷⁴

2067 Lib iv. ch. 14, viii. ch. 41–44.

2068 i.e., laymen.

2069 Lib. ii. ch. 57.

2070 Wanting.

2071 Or offerings. Lib. ii. ch. 25.

2072 [Synaxis. Elucidation II.]

2073 Lib. vii. ch. 29, viii. 30, 31. (See the whole history of ecclesiastical antiquity, on this point, in the learned work of Wharton B. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, London, Rivingtons, 1868.)

2074 Lib. viii. ch. 12, v. ch. 19.

Canons of the Church of Alexandria.

Wrongly ascribed to Hippolytus.²⁰⁷⁵

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. Those are the canons of the Church, ordinances which Hippolytus wrote, by whom *the Church* speaketh; and the number of them is thirty-eight canons. Greeting from the Lord.

Canon First. Of the Catholic faith. Before all things should we speak of the faith, holy and right, regarding our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God; and we have *consequently* placed that canon in the faith (the symbol); and we agree in this with all reasonable certitude, that the Trinity is equal perfectly in honour, and equal in glory, and has neither beginning nor end. The Word is the Son of God, and is Himself the Creator of every creature, of things visible and invisible. This we lay down with one accord, in opposition to those who have said boldly, that it is not right to *speak* of the Word of God as our Lord Jesus Christ spake. We come together chiefly to bring out the holy truth²⁰⁷⁶ regarding God; and we have separated them, because they do not agree with the Church in theology, nor with us the sons of the Scriptures. On this account we have sundered them from the Church, and have left what concerns them to God, who will judge His creatures with justice.²⁰⁷⁷ To those, moreover, who are not cognisant of them, we make this known without ill-will, in order that they may not rush into an evil death, like heretics, but may gain eternal life, and teach their sons and their posterity this one true faith.

Canon Second. Of bishops. A bishop should be elected by all the people, and he should be unimpeachable, as it is written of him in the apostle; in the week in which he is ordained, the whole people should also say, We desire him; and there should be silence in the whole hall, and they should all pray in his behalf, and say, O God, stablish him whom Thou hast prepared for us, etc.

Canon Third. Prayer in behalf of him who is made bishop, and the ordinance of the Missa.²⁰⁷⁸ O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation, etc.

Canon Fourth. Of the ordination of a presbyter.

Canon Fifth. Of the constituting a deacon.

Canon Sixth. Of those who have suffered for the faith.

Canon Seventh. Of him who is elected reader and sub-deacon.

2075 *De Magistris, Acta Martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina*, Rome, 1795, fol. Append., p. 478. [Bunsen, vol. ii. p. 302.]

2076 [*Ad proferendum sancte*. A very primitive token.]

2077 [Note this mild excommunication of primitive ages.]

2078 *Ordinatio missæ*. [Missa. See note 6, p. 256, *supra*.]

Canon Eighth. Of the gift of healings.

Canon Ninth. That a presbyter should not dwell in unbefitting places; and of the honour of widows.

Canon Tenth. Of those who wish to become Nazarenes (Christians).

Canon Eleventh. Of him who makes idols and images, or the artificer.

Canon Twelfth. Of the prohibition of those works, the authors of which are not to be received but on the exhibition of repentance.

Canon Thirteenth. Of a prince or a soldier, that they be not received indiscriminately.

Canon Fourteenth. That a Nazarene may not become a soldier unless by order.

Canon Fifteenth. Enumeration of works which are unlawful.

Canon Sixteenth. Of him who has a lawful wife, and takes another beside her.

Canon Seventeenth. Of a free-born woman, and her duties. Of midwives, and of the separation of men from women. Of virgins, that they should cover their faces and their heads.

Canon Eighteenth. Of women in childbed, and of midwives again.

Canon Nineteenth. Of catechumens, and the ordinance of Baptism and the Missa.

Canon Twentieth. Of the fast *the six days*, and of that of Lent.

Canon Twenty-first. Of the daily assembling of priests and people in the church.

Canon Twenty-second. Of the week of the Jews' passover, wherein joy shall be put away, and of what is eaten therein; and of him who, being brought up abroad, is ignorant of the Calendar.²⁰⁷⁹

Canon Twenty-third. Of doctrine, that it should be continuous, *greater than the sea*, and that its words ought to be fulfilled by deeds.

Canon Twenty-fourth. Of the bishop's visitation of the sick; and that if an infirm man has prayed in the church, and has a house, he should go to him.

Canon Twenty-fifth. Of the procurator appointed for the sick, and of the bishop, and the times of prayer.

Canon Twenty-sixth. Of the hearing of the word in church, and of praying in it.

Canon Twenty-seventh. Of him who does not come to church daily,—let him read books; and of prayer at midnight and cock-crowing, and of the washing of hands at the time of any prayer.

Canon Twenty-eighth. That none of the believers should taste anything, but after he has taken the sacred mysteries, especially in the days of fasting.

Canon Twenty-ninth. Of the keeping of oblations which are laid upon the altar,—that nothing fall into the sacred chalice, and that nothing fall from the priests, nor from the boys when they take communion; that an evil spirit rule them not, and that no one speak in the



²⁰⁷⁹ Connection, *textum*.

protection,²⁰⁸⁰ except in prayer; and when the oblations of the people cease, let psalms be read with all attention, even to the signal of the bell; and of the sign of the cross, and the casting of the dust of the altar into the pool.²⁰⁸¹

Canon Thirtieth. Of catechumens and the like.

Canon Thirty-first. Of the bishop and presbyter bidding the deacons present the communion.

Canon Thirty-second. Of virgins and widows, that they should pray and fast in the church. Let those who are given to the clerical order pray according to their judgment. Let not a bishop be bound to fasting but with the clergy. And on account of a feast or supper, let him prepare for the poor.²⁰⁸²

Canon Thirty-third. Of the *Atalmsas* (the oblation), which they shall present for those who are dead, that it be not done on the Lord's day.

Canon Thirty-fourth. That no one speak much, nor make a clamour; and of the entrance of the saints into the mansions of the faithful.

Canon Thirty-fifth. Of a deacon present at a feast at which there is a presbyter present,—let him do his part in prayer and the breaking of bread for a blessing, and not for the body; and of the discharge of widows.

Canon Thirty-sixth. Of the first-fruits of the earth, and the first dedication of them; and of presses, oil, honey, milk, wool, and the like, which may be offered to the bishop for his blessing.

Canon Thirty-seventh. As often as a bishop takes of the sacred mysteries, let the deacons and presbyters be gathered together, clothed in white robes, brilliant in the view of all the people; and in like manner with a reader.

Canon Thirty-eighth. Of the night on which our Lord Jesus Christ rose. That no one shall sleep on that night, and wash himself with water; and a declaration concerning such a one; and a declaration concerning him who sins after baptism, and of things lawful and unlawful.

The sacred canons of the holy patriarch Hippolytus, the first patriarch of the great city of Rome,²⁰⁸³ which he composed, are ended; and the number of them is thirty-eight canons. May the Lord help us to keep them. And to God be glory for ever, and on us be His mercy for ever. Amen.

2080 Sanctuary [Guettée, p. 424. Within the chancel-rails.]

2081 [Bells first used in the fourth century by Paulinus in Campania.]

2082 And of the preparing a table for the poor.

2083 [A very strange title in many respects. But see p. 239, *supra*.]

Elucidations.

I.

(The God-bearing Mary, p. 242.)

“This name” (θεοτόκος), says Pearson, “was first in use in the Greek Church, which, delighting in the happy compositions of that language, so called the Blessed Virgin; from which the Latins, in imitation, styled her *Virginem Deiparam*,” etc.... Yet those ancient Greeks which call the Virgin θεοτόκος, did not call her μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ, “Mother of God.” This was very different to a pious ear, and rests on no synodical authority. The very learned notes of Pearson, *On the Creed*, pp. 297, 299, should by all means be consulted. Leo of Rome, called “the Great,” seems to have coined the less orthodox expression, relying on Holy Scripture, indeed, in the salutation of Elisabeth ([Luke i. 43](#)). This term has been sadly abused for Mariolatry.

II.

(Synaxis, p. 257.)

It seems to me worth while to quote a few words from the new and critical edition of Leighton’s *Works*, which should be consulted for fuller information.²⁰⁸⁴ The editor says: “Leighton uses a word for the Holy Communion which is worth noting, because it is rarely used by *Western theologians*.” The word *Synaxis* is but a Christianized form of the word *Synagogue*; but, like the word κοινωνία, it points to Christ’s mystical body,—“gathering together in one the children of God.” *Synaxis* = συνάγει εἰς ἓν. It sums up the idea, “We, being many, are one Bread and one Body, for we are all partakers of that one Bread.” Compare [John xi. 52](#) and [1 Cor. x. 15](#).

St. Chrysostom calls the *Synaxis* φρικωδεστάτη, which is a very different thing from *maxime tremenda*, as applied to the modern “Mass,” in behalf of which it is quoted. For Chrysostom applies it to the *participation* of the “Synaxis,” and not to the “oblation,” much less to the “Host” as an object of adoration, of which he never heard or dreamed. He calls “the Synaxis” *Shudderful* (to borrow a word from the Germans), because the unworthy recipient, in the *Synaxis*, eats and drinks his own condemnation.²⁰⁸⁵ One must ever be on his guard against the subtlety which reads into the Fathers *modern ideas* under ancient

2084 Leighton, *Works*, edited by West, of Nairn, vol. vi. p. 243, note. London, Longmans, 1870.

2085 [1 Cor. xi. 29–34](#). Chrysostom evidently has in view the apostle’s argument, based on the Communion as a *Synaxis*, and not on its *hierurgic* aspects.

phrases.²⁰⁸⁶ Precisely so Holy Scripture itself is paraphrased into Trent doctrine, as in [Acts xiii. 2](#) the Louvain versionists rendered the text, “And while *they offered the sacrifice of the Mass* and fasted.”

2086 Mendham’s *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome* (*passim*), and also the old work of James, *On the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers*, a new edition. London: Parker, 1843.

Indexes

Index of Scripture References

Genesis

1:1 1:2 1:2 1:2 1:3 1:3 1:4 1:4-5 1:5 1:6 1:6-7 1:6-7 1:7 1:7 1:9 1:9 1:26 1:26
1:26 1:26 1:27 1:28 1:31 1:31 2:2 2:2 2:7 2:7 2:7 2:8 2:10 2:10 2:11-14 2:16-17
2:16-17 2:24 3:1 3:5 3:5 3:8 3:14-15 3:15 3:15 3:16 3:16 3:17-19 3:17-19 3:19
3:24 4:5 4:15 5:24 5:24 6:3 6:5-7 7:2 7:6 8 8:21 9:3 10:9 10:25 11:1-3 11:7
11:16 11:26 12:1 12:7 14:18 14:18 15:6 15:6 17:8 19:24 19:24 19:24 19:26
19:37-38 21:17 21:18 21:20 22:1-2 22:11-12 22:11-12 25:23 25:23 25:31 26:7
26:10 27 27:1 27:9 27:20 27:27-29 27:41 28:7 28:17 30:37-39 31:11-13 31:13
32:24 32:24-27 32:30-31 33:10 35:1 37:19-20 38:14-15 44:2-5 46:11 48:3-4 48:14-15
48:17-19 49:3 49:4 49:5 49:5 49:7 49:8 49:8-10 49:8-12 49:8-12 49:10 49:11
49:11 49:11 49:12-15 49:16 49:16 49:16-20 49:17 49:17 49:18 49:21-26 49:24
49:27

Exodus

1:12 3 3:2 3:2 3:2 3:2-6 3:6 3:14 3:16 4:2-4 4:13 4:17 4:24-26 6:2-3 6:2-3
6:11-12 7 7:1 7:1 7:9-13 8 9:28 12:3-12 12:4 12:6 12:11 12:13 12:13 12:17
12:46 12:46 13:21 14:11-14 14:19 15:27 17:9-14 17:11-14 19:10-11 19:15 19:18
19:22 19:22 19:22 20:3 20:3 20:4 20:4 20:7 20:12 20:13-15 20:23 22:20 22:20
22:20 22:20 22:20 22:22-24 22:28 23:2 23:7 23:20 23:20-21 25:10 28:43 28:43
28:43 29:3 31:18 32:1 32:4 32:6 32:31 32:31-33 32:31-33 33:3 33:20 34:19

Leviticus

7:20 7:20 11:4 19:2 19:13 19:18 19:18 19:27 19:27 19:27 19:32 20:7 20:10 21:17
21:17 21:21 24:13-14

Numbers

5:2 5:22 8:5-7 8:16 11:17 12:3 16:9-10 16:26 16:26 17:5 17:10 17:10 18 19:2
19:8 19:9 19:12 19:13 20:25-26 22:21 23:14 23:19 24:7 24:7-9 24:17 193

Deuteronomy

1:17 4:10 4:24 4:24 4:35 4:39 5:17-19 5:22 6:4 6:4 6:5 6:13 6:13 6:13 6:13 8:2
8:3 9:3 10:20 13:3 13:3 13:3 13:5 13:6-10 13:12-18 13:19 17:12 17:12-13 17:12-13
17:12-13 17:12-13 18:10 18:15 18:18-19 23:13 23:19 23:21-23 24:26 27:8 27:15
28:44 28:66 28:66 28:66-67 30:6 31:20 32:8 32:17 32:17 32:33 32:34-35 32:35
32:39 33 33:8 33:9 33:9 33:9 33:17 33:18 33:22 33:22

Joshua

1:8 2:18-19 2:19 3:7-17 3:15 5:2 5:10-11 5:13 5:13-15 10:12 24:26-27

Judges

2:11-13 4:1 18

1 Samuel

1:13 2:3-4 2:3-4 2:3-8 2:5 2:25 2:25 2:30 2:30 2:35 2:35-36 8:7 8:7 8:7 9:2
9:9 10:1 16:7 16:7 16:13 16:14 21:4 28

2 Samuel

7:4-5 7:5 7:12-16 7:12-16

1 Kings

1:36 3:12 4:32 10:22 11:4 11:14 11:23 11:31 12:14 17:1 17:14 18:21 19:7-8
19:10 28:11

2 Kings

6:5 17:20-21 22:8 24:10 24:11 25:27

1 Chronicles

1:19 3:15 16:36 29:11

2 Chronicles

3:1 3:3 3:4 15:2 15:2 19:16 24:20

Nehemiah

9:26

Job

1:5 1:7 1:8 1:8 1:12 1:21 1:21-22 2:9-10 2:10 9:7 14:4-5 29:12-13 29:12-13
29:15 29:16 31:1 31:27 41:8

Psalms

1 1:2 1:5 2:1-3 2:1-3 2:2 2:5 2:6 2:7-8 2:7-8 2:8 2:9 2:10 2:11 2:12 2:12 2:12
3 3:5 3:5 4:4 4:5 5:2 5:2-3 6:5 6:5 8:2 13 14 15 15:6 16:10 16:10 18:25-26
18:43-44 19:1 19:3 19:4-5 19:5-6 19:6 19:6-7 19:9 19:12 20:4 20:7-8 22:5 22:6
22:6-8 22:15 22:16-22 22:17 22:18 22:20-21 22:27-28 23 23 23:5 24 24:3-4
24:3-6 24:7 24:7 24:7-9 24:7-10 24:8 25:4-5 27:3-4 28:4-5 29:3 29:3 29:3 29:3
29:10 30:3 30:9 31:22 32:5 32:9 33:6 33:6 34:1 34:8-10 34:9 34:12-13 34:12-13
34:13 34:15 34:18 34:18 34:19 35:17 36:6 37:7 37:12-13 37:25 37:25-26 37:25-26
38:5 38:6 38:35-36 41:1 41:1 44:2 45 45:1 45:1 45:1 45:1 45:1 45:1 45:1-4
45:6-7 45:7 45:9-11 45:10 45:11 45:11 45:16 46:4 50:1-6 50:3 50:3 50:3-6
50:13-15 50:14-15 50:16 50:16-18 50:17 50:17-18 50:19-20 50:20 50:23 50:28 51:3
51:4 51:5 51:10 51:17 51:17 51:18 51:19 53:5 53:5 55:15 56:11 58:11 59:11
59:11 62:1 62:6 64:3 68:1-7 68:4 68:5 68:6 68:6 68:6 68:6 68:6 68:18 68:18
69:1 69:21 72:1 72:1-2 72:1-2 73:27 74:12 77:16 78 78:54 82:1 82:1-2 82:3 82:5
82:5 82:6 82:6-7 82:8 84:1 84:1-2 88:9 89:4 89:19 89:19 89:27-33 89:30 89:30
89:30 89:30-32 89:32-33 89:32-33 89:33 90 90:4 93:11 96:5 96:11 97:1 97:7
103:24 103:32 104:2 104:4 106:30-31 107:20 110 110:1 110:1 110:1 110:1 110:1-2
110:1-2 110:3 110:3 110:3 110:4 110:4 110:4 111:10 111:10 112:9 113:13 114:5
115:4-8 116 116:5 116:12-13 116:13 116:15 116:15 116:15 116:15 117:19 118:6
118:6 118:8 118:18 118:20 118:21-26 118:22 118:22 118:26 119 119:1-2 119:1-2

119:30-32 119:120 119:137 119:176 126:5-6 126:5-6 127:7 131:1 132:11 133:1
133:1 133:2 135:15-18 135:16-18 136:12 139:8-10 139:15 139:16 141:2 141:2 141:5
147 148:4 148:5

Proverbs

1:3 1:7 1:7 1:11 1:19 1:28-29 1:32 3:11 3:11-12 3:28 3:35 4:2 4:8 4:14 4:25
4:27 5:19 6:27 7:22 7:26 8 8 8:22-24 8:22-31 9:1 9:1 9:1-5 9:1-6 9:8 9:10 9:12
9:12 9:19 9:19 9:19 10:3 10:3 10:9 10:19 11:24 11:26 11:30 12:2 12:16 12:22
13:24 14:9 14:25 15:1 15:3 15:3 15:10 15:12 16:6 16:6 16:27 16:32 17:4 17:4
17:27 18:19 19:5 19:17 19:18 20:7 20:7 20:9 20:13 20:22 21:1 21:13 21:13 23:9
23:9 24:15 24:16 25:1 25:21 26:4 26:27 26:27 27:16 27:22 27:22 28:14 28:27
28:27 28:28 29:22 30:15 30:17 30:18-19 30:19 30:20 30:21 30:21-23 30:24-28
30:29 30:29

Ecclesiastes

1:14 3:21 5:4 5:6 5:10 10:9 11:3 11:5

Song of Solomon

4:6 4:6 4:8 4:12 4:12-13 4:12-13 4:16 5:1 5:2 6:9 6:9

Isaiah

1:2 1:2-4 1:3 1:7 1:7-8 1:7-9 1:8 1:11-12 1:15-20 1:16-19 1:17-18 1:19 1:20
1:21 1:26 2:2 2:2-4 2:3-4 2:4 2:5-6 2:8 2:8-9 2:8-9 2:8-9 2:12 3:1-2 3:12 3:12
3:12 3:16 5:8 5:25-26 5:26-27 6:3 6:9-10 6:10 6:10 7:9 7:9 7:10-15 7:13 7:13
7:14 7:14 7:14 8:3 8:6-7 8:16-17 9:1-2 9:6 9:6 9:6 9:6 9:6 9:6 10:12-17 10:22
10:23 11:1 11:1 11:1-3 11:2 11:2-3 11:2-3 11:10 11:10 11:14 11:14 13:2-3 13:6-9
13:13-14 14:4-21 14:12 14:13-14 14:13-15 14:15-16 14:16 18:1-2 19:1 22:13-14
23:4-5 25:11 26:10 26:11 26:19 26:19 26:20 28:10 28:13 28:16 28:16 29:10 29:10
29:11 29:11-18 29:13 29:13 29:13 29:14 29:15 30:1 30:1 30:1 30:15 30:15 30:51
31:6 33:10-11 33:14-17 33:17 33:17 35:3 35:3-6 35:3-6 37:20 38:5 38:7 38:8
40:3-5 40:6 40:6 40:6-7 40:12 40:12 40:15 40:22 41:8 41:15-20 42:1 42:2-4 42:6-8
42:8 42:13-14 42:19 42:24 42:24 43:1-2 43:1-3 43:11 43:18-21 43:18-21 43:25
43:25-26 44:6 44:6-7 44:21-22 45:1 45:1 45:5 45:7 45:7 45:11-15 45:14 45:14
45:14-16 45:18 45:21 45:22 45:22 46:1-2 46:5 46:6-7 46:8 47:1-15 48:21 48:21
49:9 49:15 50:5-6 50:5-7 52:10 52:11 52:11 52:15 53:1 53:1 53:1-7 53:2 53:2-5
53:4 53:5 53:7 53:7 53:7 53:7-9 53:8 53:9 53:12 54:1 54:1-4 54:7-8 55:1 55:3
55:4 55:4-5 55:5 55:6-7 55:6-7 56:3-4 57:1-2 57:6 57:6 57:6 57:15 57:16 57:17
57:19 58:1 58:1-9 58:1-9 58:6-9 58:7 58:9 59:1 59:1 59:1-4 59:1-4 60:1 61:1
61:1 61:1-2 63:2 63:9 64:4 64:4 64:4 65:1 65:1 65:2 65:2 65:2 65:13-15 66:1
66:1 66:1-2 66:1-2 66:2 66:2 66:2 66:2 66:15-16 66:18-19 66:21 66:24 66:24

Jeremiah

1:5 1:5 1:5 1:5 2:12-13 2:13 2:13 2:13 2:19 2:20 2:25 2:27 2:30 2:32 3:6 3:9-10
3:12 3:14 3:15 3:15 3:15 3:15 3:22 4:3-4 4:11 4:14 5:3 5:22 6:10 6:18 7:6 7:16
7:16 7:25 8:4 8:4 8:6 8:7-9 8:16 8:16 9:23-24 10:2 10:2-5 10:9 10:11 10:24
11:18-19 11:19 15:9 15:18 16:9 17:5 17:5-7 17:9 17:9 17:11 17:11 18:7 18:12
22:24 23:16-17 23:16-21 23:18 23:20 23:23 23:23-24 23:23-24 23:28 23:30 23:32
25:4 25:6 25:6-7 25:11 25:11 28:6 30:8-9 31:10-11 31:15 31:31-34 31:31-41 43:8
48:10 49:14 49:19 51:15-18 51:16-19

Lamentations

2:18 3:26 3:31 3:40

Ezekiel

1:10 4:6 8:13-14 9:4 9:4 9:4 9:4-6 9:5 14:12-14 14:13 17:24 18:4 18:7-8 18:20
18:21 18:21 18:30 18:30 18:30-32 18:32 28:2 28:2-10 28:9 32:12 33:10 33:10-11
33:11 33:11 33:12 33:12 33:12 33:12 34 34:3-4 34:3-6 34:4 34:4-6 34:10 34:10-16
34:10-16 34:16 36:17-23 36:25-26 36:25-26 36:36 37:11-14 44:10-13

Daniel

1:1 2:3 2:31-35 2:31-35 2:31-35 2:34 2:43 2:45 2:45 3:1 3:16-18 3:16-18 3:16-18
3:16-18 4:10-12 4:27 4:34 6:24-28 7 7:1 7:2-8 7:2-8 7:4 7:4 7:6 7:8-9 7:9 7:9-10
7:9-12 7:11 7:13 7:13 7:13 7:13-14 7:13-14 7:13-14 7:13-14 7:21 7:22 8:2-8 8:13
9:4 9:21 9:24 9:27 9:27 9:27 10:6 10:6 11:31 11:33 11:41 12:1 12:2 12:2 12:4
12:4-7 12:11-12

Hosea

1:2 1:7 1:10 2:23 4:1-4 4:1-4 6:1 6:2 6:3 6:3 6:6 8:4 8:4 9:4 9:4 9:4 11:9-10
13:15 14:2 14:9

Joel

2:12 2:12-13 2:12-13 2:13 2:13 2:15-16 2:28 3:14

Amos

4:7 4:11 5:6 5:11-13 8:9-10

Micah

2:7-8 3:5-7 4:2-3 5:2 5:5 6:6-9 7:1-3 7:8 7:8-10 7:14-18

Nahum

1:5-7

Habakkuk

1:16 2:4 2:4 2:5 3:3-5 3:17

Zephaniah

1:2-3 1:7 1:13-14 2:1 3:1-3 3:8 3:8

Haggai

1:9 1:12

Zechariah

1:3 3:1 3:3 3:5 3:8-9 6:12 7:6 9:9 10:11-12 11:16 12:10 12:10

Malachi

1:10-11 1:11 1:11 1:11 1:14 2:1-2 2:1-2 2:5 2:5-7 2:10 2:11 3:1 3:3 3:6 3:7
4:1 4:1 4:1 4:2 4:2 4:5-6

Matthew

1:20-21 1:23 1:23 2:1-2 2:1-2 2:1-2 2:9 2:18 2:20 2:23 3:7 3:9 3:10 3:10 3:10
3:10 3:10 3:11 3:11 3:11 3:12 3:13 3:14 3:15 3:15 3:15 3:16 3:16-17 4:3 4:15
4:15-16 4:17 5:4 5:4 5:5 5:6 5:6 5:7 5:8 5:8 5:8 5:9 5:9 5:10 5:10 5:10-12 5:13
5:13 5:13 5:15 5:16 5:16 5:17 5:18 5:18 5:19 5:19 5:19 5:19 5:21-22 5:22 5:22
5:23-24 5:23-24 5:26 5:26 5:34-37 5:36 5:37 5:42 5:43-45 5:43-48 5:44-45 5:45
6:2 6:3-4 6:8 6:9 6:10 6:11 6:12 6:15 6:19-21 6:20-21 6:24 6:26 6:31 6:31-33
6:31-33 6:34 6:34 7:2 7:2 7:3-4 7:6 7:6 7:6 7:6 7:9-11 7:11 7:12 7:13 7:13-14
7:13-14 7:13-14 7:14 7:18 7:21 7:21 7:21 7:22 7:22-23 7:22-23 7:22-23 7:23 7:24
7:24-27 7:26-27 8:4 8:4 8:11 8:11-12 8:20 8:22 8:29 9:2 9:4 9:12 9:12 9:13 10:5
10:5 10:8 10:10 10:16 10:18 10:19 10:19-20 10:19-20 10:19-20 10:19-20 10:19-20
10:19-20 10:22 10:22 10:22 10:22 10:22 10:25 10:27 10:27 10:28 10:28 10:28
10:28 10:28 10:28 10:29 10:29 10:29-30 10:32 10:32 10:32-33 10:32-33 10:32-33
10:33 10:33 10:33 10:34 10:37 10:37-38 10:37-38 10:37-38 10:39 10:39 10:42
11:13 11:14-15 11:25-26 11:27 11:27 11:28 11:28-30 11:28-30 12:7 12:18 12:29-31
12:30 12:30 12:30 12:30 12:32 12:32 12:34-35 12:36-37 12:39-40 13:3-8 13:3-9
13:13 13:17 13:27 13:30 13:31-32 13:33-34 13:43 13:43 13:45-46 13:45-46 14:19
14:31 15:4 15:13 15:13 15:13 15:14 15:14 15:17 15:26 16:16 16:16 16:17 16:18
16:18 16:18 16:18-19 16:18-19 16:19 16:19 16:22 17:1 17:5 17:5 17:5 17:5 17:20
18 18:7 18:17 18:17 18:17 18:19 18:19 18:19-20 18:19-20 18:20 18:32 18:32 19:5
19:8 19:11 19:11 19:11-12 19:17 19:17 19:17 19:17 19:17-21 19:21 19:21 20:16
21:13 21:15-16 21:19-20 21:22 21:31 21:31 22:20 22:29 22:30 22:32 22:37 22:37-40
22:39 22:40 23 23:6-8 23:8-10 23:9 23:9 23:12 23:27 23:37-38 23:38 23:42 24:2
24:4 24:4-31 24:5 24:12 24:12 24:15-22 24:23-24 24:24 24:25 24:27-28 24:27-28
24:29 24:29 24:31 25:21 25:21 25:23 25:23 25:31-34 25:31-46 25:31-46 25:31-46
25:34 25:34 25:34 25:34 25:36 25:36 25:36 25:37 25:46 26 26:18 26:28-29 26:39
26:39 26:41 26:41 26:67 26:70 27:3-4 27:25 27:29 27:45 27:52-53 28:18 28:18
28:18-19 28:18-19 28:18-20 28:18-20 28:18-20 28:19 28:19 28:19 28:19 28:19
28:19 28:20 28:20

Mark

2:8 3:28-29 3:28-29 4:3-8 4:3-9 4:24 4:31-32 6:13 7:9 7:9 7:9 7:13 7:13 7:13
7:19 7:19 8:36 8:38 8:83 9:2 9:22 9:30 10:18 10:18 10:29 10:38 10:38 11:13-14
11:20 11:21 11:24 11:25 11:25 12:29-31 12:29-31 13:6 13:6 13:11 13:14-20 13:23
14:27 14:27 14:38 14:58 16:17-18

Luke

1:4 1:17 1:20 1:26-38 1:30-33 1:35 1:35 1:35 1:35 1:35 1:41-43 1:43 1:67-69
2:2 2:7 2:10-11 2:23 2:25 2:29 2:29-30 2:34 2:37 3:9 3:9 3:14 3:16 3:17 4:18
5:16 6:5 6:12 6:12 6:22 6:22-23 6:22-23 6:22-23 6:32 6:35 6:36 6:37 6:41-42
7:39 7:41 7:47 7:48 7:50 7:50 7:50 8:5-8 8:5-8 9:5 9:24 9:25 9:48 9:48 9:48
9:50 9:56 9:62 9:62 9:62 10:16 10:16 10:19 10:22 11:10 11:10 11:20 11:20 11:23
11:23 11:23 11:40-41 11:41 12:8 12:9 12:20 12:20 12:20 12:33 12:33 12:35
12:35-37 12:35-37 12:35-37 12:47 12:47 12:48 12:50 12:50 13:1-5 13:7 13:9
13:15-16 13:19 14:11 14:11 14:12-14 14:33 14:33 14:33 15:4-10 15:6-10 15:6-10
15:7 15:7 16:8 16:9 16:10-12 16:11-12 16:14 16:15 16:24 16:25 17:1 17:4 17:7-10
17:10 17:21 17:21 17:21 17:31-32 18:2-5 18:3 18:8 18:8 18:10-14 18:14 18:19
18:19 18:29-30 18:29-30 18:29-30 19:8-9 19:8-9 19:9 19:40 20:34-38 20:35 20:35
20:35-36 20:38 21:3-4 21:8 21:8-9 21:14-15 21:14-15 21:17 21:18 21:20-23 21:28
21:31 21:36 22:8 22:15 22:16 22:31 22:31-32 22:32 22:42 22:42 23 24:20-21
24:39 24:44-47

John

1:1 1:1 1:1 1:1-2 1:1-3 1:1-4 1:1-5 1:3 1:3 1:3 1:3 1:3 1:3-4 1:9 1:9 1:9 1:9-10
1:10-11 1:10-11 1:11 1:11-12 1:13 1:14 1:14 1:14 1:14 1:14 1:15 1:16 1:18 1:20
1:26-27 1:27 1:29 1:29 1:29 1:29 1:36-37 2:1-11 2:4 2:19 2:19 2:19 3 3:3 3:5
3:5 3:5 3:5 3:5 3:5-6 3:5-6 3:5-6 3:6 3:6 3:6 3:8 3:11 3:13 3:13 3:13 3:13
3:14-15 3:14-15 3:16 3:18-19 3:18-19 3:27 3:27 3:28-29 3:31 3:31 3:31-32 3:34-35
3:36 4:7-8 4:7-14 4:10 4:13-14 4:14 4:14 4:19 4:21 4:21 4:23 4:24 4:32 4:34
4:34 4:38 5:14 5:14 5:14 5:14 5:17 5:19 5:19 5:22 5:22-23 5:22-23 5:25 5:25
5:26 5:30 5:31-32 5:37 5:39-40 5:43 5:45-47 6:26-27 6:27 6:29 6:35 6:35 6:37-38
6:38 6:38 6:38 6:38 6:44 6:46 6:51 6:53 6:53 6:53 6:53 6:53 6:58 6:62 6:64
6:65 6:66 6:67 6:67 6:67-69 7:37-38 7:37-39 7:38 7:38 7:39 8:12 8:12 8:12
8:14-15 8:16 8:17-18 8:18 8:23 8:24 8:31-32 8:31-32 8:34 8:42 8:44 8:44 8:51
8:58 9:1 9:31 9:31 9:31 9:31 10:1 10:7 10:8 10:8 10:9 10:9 10:9 10:11-12 10:16
10:16 10:17-18 10:18 10:18 10:18 10:18 10:18 10:27-28 10:30 10:30 10:30 10:30
10:30 10:30 10:33 10:34 10:34 10:34-38 10:35-36 10:36 10:36 11:12 11:25 11:26
11:51-52 11:52 12:20 12:25 12:25 12:25 12:25 12:34 12:35 13:1 13:14-15 13:14-15
13:16 13:16-17 13:27 14:6 14:6 14:6 14:6 14:6 14:6 14:6 14:6 14:7 14:8 14:8-9
14:9 14:11 14:12 14:12 14:15 14:15-16 14:16-17 14:16-17 14:18 14:23 14:26 14:27
14:27 14:28 14:28 14:28 14:30 15:1 15:1 15:1 15:9-10 15:12 15:12 15:12-13
15:14-15 15:15 15:18-20 15:18-20 15:18-20 15:20 15:21 16:2-3 16:2-4 16:2-4 16:7
16:13 16:14 16:20 16:20 16:22 16:23 16:23-24 16:26 16:28 16:28 16:33 16:33
16:33 16:33 17:3 17:3 17:3 17:3 17:3 17:3-4 17:3-5 17:5 17:5 17:5 17:5 17:8
17:20 17:21 17:22-23 17:22-23 17:24 17:24 18:22 18:23 18:23 18:23 18:37 19:11

19:11 19:14 19:23-24 19:26 19:37 20:17 20:17 20:21 20:21-23 20:21-23 20:22
20:22-23 20:22-23 20:22-23 20:23 20:26-29 20:27 20:27-29 20:28 20:28 21:15
21:17 21:22

Acts

1:4-5 1:5 1:7 1:14 1:14 1:15 2:2-4 2:3 2:17 2:17-18 2:20 2:24 2:33 2:34 2:38-39
3:1 3:6 3:14 3:24 4:2 4:6 4:8-12 4:12 4:19 4:32 4:32 4:32 4:36 5:3-4 5:13
5:29 6:5 6:7 7:52 7:60 8:9-24 8:14 8:17 8:20 8:20 8:20-21 8:36-37 8:37 9:5 9:40
10:2 10:4 10:15 10:26 10:28 10:36 10:44-48 10:47 11:15-17 13:2 13:7-9 13:28
13:33 13:46-47 14:14-15 15:4-6 15:7 15:7-8 15:9 15:13 15:13 15:13-17 15:19
15:21 15:22 15:22 15:23 15:28-29 16:16 16:25 17:11 17:23 19:6 19:15 20:28-31
20:29-31 21:9 22:14 22:16 23:4 23:4-5 23:4-5 23:5 27:40 28:22 28:25

Romans

1:8 1:8 1:17 1:20 1:20-27 1:21 1:23 1:25-26 1:26-27 1:30-32 2:1-3 2:4-6 2:4-6
2:11 2:12 2:13 2:24 3:3 3:3-4 3:3-4 3:3-4 3:3-4 3:8 3:13-18 3:23-24 3:25 5:2-5
5:2-5 5:8-9 5:14 7:14 8:7 8:9 8:11 8:11-12 8:12-14 8:16-17 8:16-17 8:16-17
8:16-17 8:17 8:18 8:18 8:18 8:18 8:18 8:18 8:19 8:19-22 8:22 8:24-25 8:24-25
8:35 8:35 8:35-37 8:35-37 8:36 9:3-5 9:5 9:5 9:5 9:5 10:4 10:18 11:17-21 11:20-21
11:20-21 11:20-21 11:33 11:33 11:33-36 12:1-2 12:1-2 12:13 12:14 12:17 12:19
12:21 13:3 13:7-8 13:12-13 14:1 14:4 14:4 14:4 14:4 14:12-13 14:17 14:17 15:16
15:16 16:14 16:20

1 Corinthians

1:10 1:10 1:10 1:17-24 1:22-24 1:26 2:8 2:9 2:9 2:9 2:9 2:9 2:9 2:12 2:13
2:13-14 2:14 3:1-3 3:1-3 3:3 3:6-8 3:12 3:13 3:16 3:16-17 3:18-20 3:18-20 4:7
4:15 4:20 5:4 5:7 5:7 5:7 5:7 5:7-8 5:7-8 5:8 6:1-2 6:4 6:7-9 6:9 6:9-11 6:10
6:13 6:13 6:15 6:15-17 6:18 6:18-20 6:19 6:19-20 6:20 6:20 7:1-7 7:7 7:10-11
7:29-31 7:30-31 7:32 7:32-34 7:39-40 7:40 8:2 8:4 8:6 8:8 8:13 9:22 9:24 9:24-25
9:24-25 9:24-25 10:1 10:1-2 10:6 10:11 10:11 10:12 10:12 10:13 10:21 10:21
10:21 10:23 10:23 10:25 10:33 11:1 11:2 11:2 11:4 11:16 11:16 11:16 11:17
11:19 11:19 11:19 11:23-26 11:26 11:27 11:27 11:27 11:27 11:27 11:29-34 11:32
11:33 12:3 12:12-30 12:26 12:26 12:26 12:28 13:2-5 13:2-8 13:3 13:3 13:4 13:4-7
13:7 13:8 13:12 14:16 14:29-30 14:30 14:32 14:34-35 14:36 15:20 15:23-28 15:31
15:33 15:33 15:33 15:36 15:41-44 15:47 15:47 15:47-49 15:47-49 15:47-49 15:52
15:53-55 15:54-55 16:50

2 Corinthians

1:20 2:10 2:10 2:10 2:11 3:14-16 3:17 4:13 5:10 5:10 5:15 5:17 5:17 6:10 6:14
6:14 7:10 8:12-13 8:14-15 9:6-7 9:9 9:10 9:10-11 9:12 9:12 10:13-14 11:2 11:29
11:29 12:2 12:4 12:7-9 12:7-9 12:21 12:21 13:2 13:4

Galatians

1:1 1:6-9 1:6-9 1:10 1:10 1:10 1:10 1:10 2:4 2:5 2:5 2:9 2:11-14 3:6-9 3:6-9
3:17 3:19 3:20 3:20 3:20 3:27 3:27 3:27 3:28 4:3 4:4 4:4 4:9 4:16 4:21 4:26
4:27 5:3 5:12 5:14-15 5:15 5:17 5:17 5:17-22 5:17-24 5:19-21 5:22 5:24 6:1-2
6:1-2 6:7 6:7 6:9 6:9 6:10 6:10 6:14 6:14 6:14 6:15 6:15 6:17

Ephesians

1:10 1:21 2:6 2:14 2:17 2:17-18 2:20 3:3-5 3:14-18 3:15 3:15 4:1 4:2-3 4:2-3
4:3 4:3-6 4:4 4:5 4:5 4:5 4:5-6 4:6 4:6 4:10 4:13 4:15-16 4:16 4:22-24 4:26
4:27 4:29 4:29 4:30-31 4:30-31 5:4 5:5 5:6 5:6-7 5:6-7 5:6-7 5:14 5:14 5:15-16
5:19 5:25-26 5:25-26 5:28-29 5:31-32 6:1-3 6:4 6:5-6 6:9 6:12 6:12-17 6:12-17

Philippians

1:18 1:18 1:21 1:21 1:21 1:24 1:26 2:6-7 2:6-11 2:6-11 2:6-11 2:7 2:7 2:7 2:7-9
2:9-10 2:10 2:11 2:12 2:14-15 2:15 2:15 2:21 2:25 3:2 3:2 3:2 3:14 3:15 3:15
3:19-21 3:21 3:21 4:8 4:18

Colossians

1:2 1:15 1:15 1:15 1:16 1:16 1:16 1:18 1:18 1:19 1:19 1:26 2:8 2:8 2:8 2:8
2:9 2:9 2:10 2:11 2:11 2:14 2:14 2:15 2:15 2:18 2:18-19 2:20 2:20 2:20 2:21
2:23 3:1-4 3:1-4 3:5-6 3:16 3:16 4:2 4:2

1 Thessalonians

2:12 4:3 4:6 4:12 4:13 4:13-14 4:16 5:2-3

2 Thessalonians

2:1-11 2:8 2:10 2:10-12 2:11 3:2 3:6 3:6 3:6 3:8 3:14-15

1 Timothy

1:3 1:13 1:17 2:5 2:5 2:9-10 2:9-10 2:11-14 3:6 4:1 4:1-3 4:1-5 4:3 4:3-5 4:4
4:4-5 4:12 4:17 5:3 5:6 5:8 5:11-12 5:19 5:20 5:22 5:30 6:3-5 6:3-5 6:6 6:7
6:7-10 6:7-10 6:8 6:9 6:10 6:16 6:16 6:16 6:17 6:20 6:20-21

2 Timothy

2:1-2 2:4 2:4-5 2:4-5 2:11-12 2:16 2:17 2:17 2:17 2:20 2:20 2:23-24 2:24 3:1-3
3:1-9 3:12 3:13 4:3-4 4:6-8 4:6-8 4:8

Titus

1:7 1:15 1:15 2:13 3:2 3:5 3:10-11 3:10-11 3:11

Hebrews

1:3 1:3 1:9 2:5 2:11 3:3 5:1 5:7 6:2 6:2 7:21 7:21 9:27 10:30 11:35 11:35
11:36-37 12:6 12:29 12:29 13:10

James

2:13 2:13 4:6 5:14

1 Peter

1:17 1:24 2:5 2:5 2:11-12 2:21 2:21-23 2:21-23 3:3-4 3:4 3:18 3:19 3:20-21
3:20-21 3:21 4:6 4:12 4:12-14 4:12-14 4:15 4:15-16 5:1 5:1-3 5:3 5:5 5:5 5:8
10:11

2 Peter

1:4 1:4 1:4 1:4 1:18-19 1:21 2:1 2:4 2:4 2:4 2:4 2:11-12 2:13-15 2:16 2:22 3:3
3:9 3:12

1 John

1:1 1:8 1:8 1:8-9 2:1-2 2:3-4 2:6 2:6 2:6 2:6 2:9 2:9-11 2:11 2:15 2:15-17
2:15-17 2:15-17 2:17 2:17 2:18 2:18-19 2:18-19 2:19 2:19 2:19 2:21-22 2:23 2:23
2:27 3:10 3:10 3:15 3:15 3:15 3:17 3:17 4:1 4:2-3 4:3 4:4 4:4 4:4 4:12 4:16
4:16 4:20 5:6 5:7 5:7 5:8 5:16 5:16

2 John

1:10 1:11

Jude

1:11 1:11 1:14 1:15 1:18 1:19 1:19 1:22

Revelation

1:6 1:8 1:8 1:12-18 1:14 2:5 2:5 2:5 2:5 2:5 2:5 2:6 2:7 2:10 2:10 2:10 2:10
2:10 2:20-22 2:23 2:23 2:23 2:23 2:23 2:24 3:7 3:11 3:11 3:11 3:14 3:14 3:14
3:17 3:17-18 3:19 3:21 3:21 3:21 4:7 5 5:1-5 5:5 5:6-10 5:8 5:10 5:10 5:13-14
6:9 6:9-11 6:9-11 6:10 6:12-17 6:14 7 7:3 7:9-15 7:9-17 7:14 8:3-4 9:1 9:4
9:13-21 11:3 11:3 11:3 11:3 11:3 11:4-6 11:6 11:15 11:16-17 12:1-6 12:15
13:11-18 13:18 14:1 14:4 14:4 14:6-7 14:9-11 14:9-11 14:9-11 14:9-11 14:16-17
15:2-4 16:15 17 17:1 17:1-4 17:9 17:10 17:15 17:15 18 18:4 18:4-9 19:6 19:6-7
19:10 19:11-13 19:11-13 19:11-16 19:13 20:4-5 20:6 20:11 20:11-13 21:1 21:6
21:6-7 21:6-7 21:9-11 21:14 22:9 22:10-12 22:10-12 22:13-14 22:15

Tobit

2:2 2:14 2:14 3:17 4:5-11 4:5-11 4:10 4:12 12:8-9 12:11-15 12:12-15 13:6 14:10-11
20:8

Wisdom of Solomon

1:1 1:13 2:1 2:12 2:12-22 2:13 2:14 2:15-16 2:16 2:17 2:20 2:24 3:4 3:4-8 3:4-8
3:4-8 3:7 3:11 3:11 3:11 4:11 4:11 4:14 5:1-9 5:1-9 5:1-9 5:8 5:13 6:6 13:1-4
13:1-4 15:15-17 15:15-17

Baruch

3:35-37 3:35-38 3:36 6:6

1 Maccabees

2:33 2:52 2:60 2:62-63 2:62-63 10

2 Maccabees

6:30 6:30 7:9 7:9 7:14 7:14 7:16 7:16-17 7:18 7:18-19 7:27 9:12

Sirach

1:14 1:26 2:1 2:1 2:4 2:4 2:4-5 2:5 2:10-11 3:30 3:30 4:10 4:29 5:4 5:7 6:16
7:17 7:29 7:31 7:39 9:13 9:16 10:26 11:28 14:11 16:1-2 17:26 20:3 23:11 24:3-7
25:9 27:5 27:5 27:5 28:15 28:24 28:24 28:24 28:24 29:12 29:12 34:19 34:25
34:25 48:3

Index of Greek Words and Phrases

δόξαν: 564
'Αγγέλου: 533
ἀβασιλεύτως: 311
ἀβούλευτος: 560
ἀβουλήτως: 311
ἀγνώμων: 180
ἀγοράζει: 531
ἀγοράσει: 531
ἀδύνατος: 560
ἀδελφόθεος: 656
ἀδιάκριτοι: 446
ἀδιάφοροι: 611
ἀδιάφορον: 130
ἀεί: 503
ἀειπαρθένου: 626
ἀεκοῦσα: 741
ἀθάνατε: 647
ἀκόλουθος: 986
ἀκαθαρότητας: 530
ἀκανόνιστα δογματίζεις: 582
ἀκατάλληλον: 576
ἀκατασκεύαστος: 549
ἀκινδυνον: 518
ἀκριβῶς: 626
ἀλάλῳ: 133
ἀλάλων: 169
ἀλλ' ἄλλως ἀλληγορεῖ: 564
ἀμάραν: 187
ἀμέλει: 143
ἀναδυομένου: 238
ἀνακάλυσται: 529
ἀναλυομένου: 238
ἀναξίῳ: 338
ἀναξίου: 338
ἀναξύρισον: 529

ἀναπλέοντας: 72
ἀναπλέου: 72
ἀναπτεροῦντας: 72
ἀνατολή: 442
ἀναφανέν: 625
ἀναφυέν: 625
ἀνδρεία: 172
ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν. Ἐλθὼν: 183
ἀνθρώποις. Πάλιν ἐλθὼν: 183
ἀνθρώπων: 516 516
ἀνομία: 629
ἀνομίας: 626
ἀνοσίως: 190
ἀνοχῇ πάσχων θεότητος: 578
ἀντίδικος: 633
ἀντιλήψεις: 669
ἀντιπαράθεσις: 300
ἀνυπότακτον διάθεσιν: 609
ἄξιοπιστίαν: 580
ἀπὸ: 143
ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων: 611
ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλυβείας: 1533
ἀπὸ ψυχῶν καὶ ἀπωλείας ἀνθρώπων: 611
ἀπόρροϊαν: 245
ἀπόδημος: 16
ἀπώλετο: 531
ἀπ' αἰώνων: 604
ἀπῆλθεν: 531
ἀπαύστως: 398
ἀπαγωγῇ: 523
ἀπαθής: 597
ἀπαθής: 600
ἀπαράτροπον: 615
ἀπεκρίνατο: 538
ἀπερίζυγον: 114
ἀπερίζυγος: 114
ἀπετελεῖ τὸ ἄρεσκον: 394

ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρέκων Θεῶ: 394
ἀπεφήνατο: 538
ἀπηρτισμένος: 144
ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα: 985
ἀποκαλύψας: 128 128
ἀπορίαν: 245
ἀποτάξεως: 57
ἀποτέξεως: 57
ἀποτεταγμένου: 140
ἀποτεταμένου: 140
ἀπουσίαν: 398
ἀποψυχόντων κατ' ἀπωλείας ἀνθρώπων: 611
ἀπροστάτευτος: 582
ἀπωλείας: 626
ἀρευσίᾳ: 587
ἀριθμός: 212
ἀρνοῦμαι: 632 632
ἀρνοῦμε: 632
ἀρχῇ: 163
ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη: 985 989
ἀρχηγόν: 560
ἀρχιμάγειρος: 452
ἀσύγχυτος: 591 600
ἀσκαλαβώτης: 442
ἀστραπικὴν: 181
ἀσυμπάθεια: 155
ἀσυνήθεις: 82
ἀταξίαν: 609
ἀτυχοῦσα: 741
ἀφίεται: 153 153
ἀφίεται εἰκῇ: 366
ἀφελές: 305
ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ: 153
ἀφιεῖ: 153
ἀγιάσας: 528
ἀδρομέστερον: 240
ἀδρομερῶς: 240

ἁρμονία: 172
 ἄκρα: 163
 ἄλλω: 133
 ἄλογος: 560
 ἄμετροι: 611
 ἄμοιρον δράσας θεότητος: 578
 ἄμωμον: 531
 ἄνεμοι: 611
 ἄνθρωπος νικῶν δύνάμιν: 557
 ἄπειρον: 303
 ἄρσις: 123
 ἄρχαῖα ἔθη: 4 985
 ἄρχων: 621
 ἄσοφος: 560
 ἄτρεπτος: 590
 ἄλας τῶν γενομένων: 169
 ἄτινα: 517
 ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ: 558
 ἐγγράματων: 249
 ἐκ βλαστοῦ: 1186 1383
 ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας: 918
 ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν: 621
 ἐκ τοῦ παντός: 561
 ἐκβρασσομένη: 552
 ἐκκαθάρη: 1441
 ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ: 1447
 ἐκκριθείη: 188
 ἐκολλήθησαν: 531
 ἐκρηθείη: 188
 ἐκριθείη: 188
 ἐκτήσατο: 1194
 ἐλάτη: 654
 ἐλακίδι: 654
 ἐλακίδι ἐλογχιάσθη: 654
 ἐμπειρία: 523
 ἐμπλάστων: 261
 ἐμπορία: 523

ἐν ἀξία: 337
 ἐν ἀρχῇ: 181
 ἐν ἰσχύϊ: 531
 ἐν αὐτῇ: 181
 ἐν μεσότητι: 305
 ἐν πλάνῃ: 626
 ἐν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ: 562
 ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει: 562
 ἐν τῇ γραφῇ: 632
 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι: 1209
 ἐν τῷ γραφείῳ: 328
 ἐνότητος: 225
 ἐνανθρωπήσεως: 579
 ἐναξία: 337
 ἐνεργῶν: 237
 ἐνεργείας: 570
 ἐνεργείας μονάδι: 579
 ἐνθυμεῖται: 643
 ἐνθυμηθεῖ τε: 643
 ἐνουσιώσας: 578
 ἐντεῦθεν: 186 186
 ἐντυχῶν: 186
 ἐξ ἧς: 146
 ἐξ ὀράσεως: 609
 ἐξῆλθον: 565
 ἐξαιρέσεως αὐτῶν: 415
 ἐξελθόν: 565
 ἐξελθῶν: 170
 ἐξελθῶν: 656
 ἐξηγήσατο: 557
 ἐπὶ δύο οὖσαι: 249
 ἐπὶ τροφήν: 398
 ἐπὶ χλευασμῶ: 462
 ἐπί: 530
 ἐπίπλεον: 109
 ἐπίπλεον βώλου: 109
 ἐπ' ἁλυσία: 398

ἐπ' αὐτόν: 542
 ἐπ' αὐτῆς: 542
 ἐπ' οὐσίαν: 398
 ἐπαγωγῇ: 523
 ἐπειδὴ καὶ πρώην διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀντίδικος ἐχθρὸς, ἢ γοῦν τῶν εἰδωλολατρῶν,
 τοῖς μάρτυσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ προέτρεπον οἱ ἄνομοι: 632
 ἐπεφάνη οὐκ ἐφάνη: 584
 ἐπιγελῶντες: 550
 ἐπιούσιον: 484 1379
 ἐπιούσιος: 1051
 ἐπισπουδαστής: 522
 ἐπιστρέφον: 398
 ἐπιστρεφόμενον: 398
 ἐπιστροφὴν: 225
 ἐπιφάνεια: 640
 ἐπιφοιτήσεως: 604
 ἐποίησε: 536
 ἐρανισάμενοι: 72
 ἐσμέν: 558
 ἐτυμολογικῆς: 105
 ἐχθροῦ: 610
 ἐκουσίως: 190
 ἐξῆς: 146
 ἑτεροφانوῦς οὐσίας: 578
 ἔκλαιε: 144
 ἔκραξαν: 641
 ἔκτισε,: 1194
 ἔλαβε: 144
 ἔναγχος: 553
 ἔνθα θεὸν δεῖ: 329
 ἔρανος: 72
 ἔργω: 567
 ἔσται καὶ Θεός: 584
 ἔστησεν ὅρια ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλέλων Θεοῦ: 1497
 ἔσχατος: 422
 ἔτι ὀλοκλήρου: 105
 ἔν: 1519 1519

ἔν ἐσμεν: 558
 ἔν εἶμι: 558
 ἔνωσιν: 569
 ἔρκος ὀδόντων:—: 136
 ἕτερόν τι: 561
 ἕτεραι βίβλοι: 392
 ἕως: 459
 ἕως ἄν οὐχ: 574
 ἠκολούθησαν: 531
 ἠωρούμενοι: 540
 ἠγίασαν: 609
 ἠγουμενος: 621
 ἠλικία: 337 338
 ἠλικιώτη: 338
 ἡτῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ διαθέσει τῆς ὁμοφρονίας ἔν γινόμεθα: 559
 ἡγγισαν: 609
 ἡγειραν: 609
 ἦν: 518
 ἰδίωμα: 578
 ἰδικοῦ: 152
 ἰσόψηφα: 536
 ἰσχυρᾶ: 531
 ἰδιωμάτων: 576
 ἱερατευόμενος: 567
 ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον: 976
 ἰστός: 148
 ἵνα διὰ τούτων γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως: 584
 ἴσον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταυτόν: 576
 ὀδύνης: 635
 ὀμφαλός: 172
 ὀργάνων δίκην ἠνωμένον ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς: 517
 ὀροφήν: 392
 ὀυφαλος: 172
 ὀφθαλμοφανῶς: 527
 ὀφιοειδῆ: 153
 ὀφιοειδῆ,,: 366
 ὁ ἀντικείμενος,,: 466

ὁ ἄνομος: [409](#)
 ὁ ἔσχατος: [422](#)
 ὁ Κανανίτης: [654](#)
 ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος: [291](#)
 ὁ λόγος: [483](#)
 οἱ νεώτεροι: [704](#)
 ὁμοίως: [259](#)
 ὁμοεργῇ: [575](#)
 ὁμοφυῶν γὰρ μόνων ἢ ταυτουργός ἐστι κίνησις σημαίνουσα τὴν οὐσίαν, ἥς φυσικὴ
 καθέστηκε δύναμις, ἑτεροφυοῦς ιδιότητος οὐσίας εἶναι κατ' οὐδένα λόγον, ἢ γενέσθαι
 δίχα τροπῆς δυναμένην: [573](#)
 ὅπερὶ δαιμόνων τόπος: [549](#)
 ὁρῶν Θεόν: [557](#)
 ὁρατικός ανήρ καὶ θεωρητικός: [557](#)
 ὃ νομίζεται: [329](#)
 ὄντων ψαλμῶν, καὶ οὐσῶν ᾠδῶν, καὶ ψαλμῶν ᾠδῆς, καὶ ᾠδῶν ψαλμοῦ: [502](#)
 ὄργανον: [626](#)
 ὄρη: [539](#)
 ὄρος: [261](#)
 ὄφεις: [128](#)
 ὅθεν καί: [604](#)
 ὅλος: [483](#) [589](#)
 ὅμως: [72](#) [526](#)
 ὃν Υἱὸν προσηγόρευε διὰ τὸ μέλλειν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι: [564](#)
 ὅσον μόνον ὑπονοῆσαι: [536](#)
 ὅτε: [546](#)
 ὕλικοῦ: [152](#)
 ὑπὸ: [143](#)
 ὑαλώδεσι τόποις: [105](#)
 ὑαλουργικῆς: [105](#)
 ὑπάρξεως: [576](#)
 ὑπένερθεν: [245](#)
 ὑπὲρ αὐτήν: [245](#)
 ὑπὸ: [171](#)
 ὑπὸ ἄλλοις: [77](#)
 ὑπὸ λαῶν: [527](#)
 ὑπὸ πολλῶν: [527](#)

- ὑπ' αὐτὰ: 245
 ὑπεράπειρος: 571
 ὑποστάσει: 999
 ὑποστάτους: 225
 ὑποστήματι: 562
 ὑποστατικάς: 225
 ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον αἰνωδία κρήνη: 174
 ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον οἴνω διακρίνει: 174
 ὕλη: 152
 ὕπαρξιν: 570
 ὠμός: 526
 ὡς ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος: 1289
 ὡς ἰστόν: 540
 ὡς αὐτοζωή: 440
 ὡς μήτε: 550
 ὡς πίονι καθαῤᾤ γῆ: 516
 ὡς πίων καθαῤᾤ γῆ: 516
 ὡς πλάνοι: 517
 ὡς πυρόν: 516
 ὡς τόν: 540
 ὡσπερ οὖν καθαῤᾤ γῆ: 516
 ὦν: 518
 ὦρα σκοπός: 57
 ἀλλὰ γάρ: 155
 ἄδης: 549
 Ἀγγαίου: 533
 Ἀθηναίων: 1446
 Ἀντιθέσεις: 300
 Ἀπραξία: 158
 Ἀσύγχυτος: 431
 Ἀσιανον τῆς Ἐφέσου πόλεως: 553
 Ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας, κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου
 χρόνους ἐπιτομαί: 210
 Ἐνθάδε ἔοντας: 329
 Ἐρυθαῖ: 179
 Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἅγιος, κύριε Σαβαώθ, κ.τ.λ: 1380
 Ἡλικίωνος: 569

Ἄλλη γάρ: 155
Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ: 580
Ἠλικός: 569
ρίζης: 72
ῥαπιζόμενος: 584
Ὁ Σκοτεινός: 325
Αἰδεσινοῖς: 654
Βασικανόν: 1449
Βουζύγης: 158
Βουλλαμίνσα: 1399
Βουλλαρία: 1399
Γαζόφυλα: 1401
Γαυσάφνα: 1401
Γναφέων: 328
Εὐάνθας: 536
Θαλάσσης: 179
Θαρσίς: 460
Θαρσεῖς: 460
Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ: 421
Θεῶ: 569
Κόρην: 158
Κύρω: 1517
Κύριον δὲ τὸν Λόγον, νεφέλην δὲ κούφην τὸ καθαρώτατον σκῆνος: 448
Καλαμήνη: 654
Καραμήνη: 654
Κατὰ σύλληψιν πάντα περιγράφουσιν νοῦν: 572
Κειμήλια: 549
Κοβισθῇ: 22
Κυρίω: 1517
Λέπτις μικρά: 1395
Λόγος: 228
Μάργοις: 654
Μάρδοις: 654
Μαννῇ: 96
Μεγαλειότητος: 276
Μεταλαβόντες: 128
Μυγδόνη: 158

Μυγδώνη: 158
Μυρσίνη.: 98
Νόητος μὴ νοῶν: 560
Νεφέλη: 158
Οἱ Περάται ἕως αἰθέρος: 161
Οἱ προάστειοι ἕως αἰθέρος: 157
Οἱ προάστειοι ἕως αἰθέρος: 161
Οὔατον: 1460
Οὔθινα: 1393
Παλίντονος: 326
Πατήρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν ᾧ: 549
Πατρόβας: 657
Πατρόδορα: 243
Περάται ἕως αἰθέρος: 157
Περὶ ἀρχ: 317
Περὶ Ἀρχῶν: 92 396
Περὶ Παίδ. Ἀγωγ: 217
Περίοδοι Πέτρου: 1584
Περατική: 152
Πηγὴ τις ἀενάου φύσεως ῥιζώματ' ἔχουσα: 228
Πλάστην: 234 234
Προεχεστέρα: 152
Προπάτορα: 243
Προστάτης: 171
Σάρον: 216
Σύστασις: 565
Σιγὴν: 234
Σκάλευε: 216
Σχεδία: 72
Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω.: 2
Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτο: 4
Τὸ ἀσφαλές: 305
Τῶν ὅλων: 142
Τειτάν: 536
Τριάς: 575
Τριαδος: 564
Φλέγων: 158

α: [247](#) [247](#)
αἰνούμενοι: [540](#)
αἰσθητικοῦ: [578](#)
αἰωρῶν: [237](#)
αἰρούμενοι: [540](#)
αὐτὸς πάλιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς: [518](#)
αὐτόν: [518](#)
αὐτῇ: [539](#)
αὐτῷ τῷ: [569](#)
αὐτεξούσιος: [395](#)
αὐτούς: [518](#)
αὐτοῦ γένους: [132](#)
αὐτογενοῦς: [132](#)
αὐτοσθενές: [570](#)
αὐτουργῶν: [571](#)
αὕτη: [539](#)
αναλοι: [82](#)
ανων: [516](#)
αφιεταί εἰκῇ: [153](#)
βαδδίν: [460](#)
βλέποντες: [604](#)
βλαστοῦ: [621](#)
βούλησις: [562](#)
βοῦττις: [782](#) [782](#)
βρόμῳ: [169](#)
βρώσεως: [299](#)
βρασμῷ: [169](#)
βυτίνη: [782](#)
γέγραπται: [13](#)
γένενα: [550](#)
γῆ ρύων: [129](#)
γεγεννημένον: [152](#)
γεγεννημένων: [152](#)
γεγονότα: [604](#)
γενέσει, ἐπιγενέσει: [394](#)
γενέσθαι ταυτουργὸν τῇ θεότητι: [575](#)
γενόμενος: [259](#)

γεννᾶται: 587
γεννώσα ἐκ καρδίας: 541
γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος: 567
γινομένων: 160
γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος: 7
γνάφω: 328
γνώμην ἴσην: 197
γνώσις: 129
γναφείω: 328
γράμμα: 241
γράμματα: 247
γραφέων: 328
γυμνὸν σώματος: 578
γυμνός: 582
δέσποτα: 647
δίαυλον: 97
δίγνωμος: 180
δίκαιον: 326
δίσκου: 580
δίχα σαρκὸς: 569
δόλων: 237
δόξης: 72
δύναμιν: 558
δύναμις: 559
δώρων: 237
δαιμόνων: 639
δεδοκηκέναι: 207
δημιουργήσας: 647
δημιουργόν: 578
διὰ τῆς σαρκός: 564
διὰ τῶν ἀνομοίων μὲν ὑπάρχοντα: 572
διάβολος: 622
διάφοροι: 611
διάψαλμα: 503 503
διέφθειραν: 641
διόροφον: 450
διαίρεσιν προσωπικήν: 576

διαβόλου: 610
διαγράφη: 507
διαθήσει: 532
διακόσια τριάκοντα: 455
διαστροφὴν καὶ φθοράν: 609
διαφέρει: 165
διδάσκαλος: 1530
διηγήσατο: 557
διττὴν καὶ διαφορὰν ἔχον διέγνωσται τὴν ἐν πᾶσι φυσικὴν θεωρίαν: 574
δοράν: 564
δρῶν: 237
δυσάς: 575
δυνάμεις ...λογιζέσθω: 167
δυνάμεως: 342
δυνάται: 167
δυναμώσει: 532
εἰ: 247 247
εἰ: 609
εἰ οὐκ ἐδόθη: 609
εἰδικοῦ: 152
εἰκόνας: 245
εἰκαῖον: 326
εἰκονικᾶς: 245
εἰς πίστωσιν: 579
εἰς τὴν πόλιν: 972
εἰς τὸ ἔν εἰσιν: 1586
εἰς τὸ εἶναί με λειτουργόν: 976
εἰς τοὺς δούλους ἀπάνθρωποι ἀνθεντήσονται: 610
εἰσόδου: 135
εἶδος: 152
εὐαγγελίζεσθαι: 656
εὐθέος μηδέν.: 336
εὐθέως μηδέν: 336
εὐνήν: 180
εὐτυχῶν: 186
εὐχῆς: 183
εὐρηκότα: 604

εὐνοϊαν: 180
εις: 172
ζαίνοντες: 216
ζηλωτός: 422
ζυγόν: 216
ηλικιωτῶ αἵρετικῶν: 569
θέλει: 626
θέλαιν: 77
θέλημα: 562
θεόκτιστον ,: 356
θεηγόροι: 613
θεολόγοι: 613
θεολόγος: 613
θεοτόκος: 665 665
θεοτόκου: 604
θεϊκῶς: 570
θηρίου: 170
ι: 247 312
κάρπου: 143
κάτω: 143 182
κέντρῳ: 175
κέντροις: 160
κέντρον: 148
κέντρων: 160
κένωσιν: 569 575
κέπφος: 439
κίνησις: 574
κύκλον: 540
κύτος: 540
κῆβος: 439
καὶ ἄδημος: 16
καὶ ἄνθρωπος: 589
καὶ ἐγὼ πλανῆτις καὶ λάτρις τόπον ἐκ τόπου περιερχομένη καὶ οἰκίαν ἐξ οἰκίας: 307
καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπίσκοπον: 1446
καὶ ἐργάτην: 560
καὶ ἐωθινῶν: 1446
καὶ ῥίζα: 220

καὶ Προαρχὴν: 233
καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία: 621
καὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτόν: 535
καὶ αὐτοῖς μονοκῶλα χρώμενοι: 554
καὶ γονεῖς τὰ τέκνα μισήσουσι , καὶ τέκνα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐπιβάλλονται χεῖρας: 609
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι: 532
καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοῖ: 616
καὶ οὗ: 550
καὶ οὗτοι: 550
καὶ πᾶσι γῆν: 233
καὶ παρέσται: 530
καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας: 564
καὶ σύμβουλον: 560
καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτόν: 535
καὶ τοὺς δικαίους: 550
καὶ τράγους: 531
καί: 530
καίπερ ἐστὶ: 530
καθίστασθαι: 409
καθ' ἡδῖαν: 331
καθαροί: 1459
καὶ ἄγνωστος: 180
καινοπρεπῆ τρόπον: 578
καλέσας: 528
καλῶ γεγεννημένων: 80
καλῶ τετεννημένων: 80
καλῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος: 291
καμαρίου: 165
καρχήσια: 540
κατὰ ἔν γραμμάτων: 249
κατὰ πόδας: 418
κατὰ σύγκρισιν: 570
κατὰ στοιχεῖον: 569
κατὰ τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου: 521
κατὰ τελείωσιν τῶν χρόνων: 190
κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπὴν: 566
κατάλειμμα: 523

κατήχθη: 232
κατώγαιος: 182
κατώγη: 182
κατ' ἐξοχήν: 731
κατ' ἐξοχην: 722
κατ' ἔπος: 78
κατ' αὐτούς: 279
κατ' ιδίαν: 331
κατακάλυμμα: 523
κατατομή: 983 983
κατεκονδύλισατε: 608
κατηγκονδύλισετε: 608
κατηχήθη: 232
κατωφερής: 182
κεῖμαι: 1444
κεῖται: 1444
κεκαλλώπισται: 646
κελανὸν: 97
κεπρωθεῖς: 439
κερκίς: 148 148 148 175
κινουμένων: 160
κλεψίλογος: 127
κληθῆναι: 1451
κληρωθῆναι: 1451
κοινωνία: 665
κολυμβήθρας: 584
κρατούμενον: 385
κτῆμα ἐς αἰ: 399
κυανοειδῆ: 172
κυνοειδῆ: 172
κυρία: 220
λάτρις: 307
λέγει: 143
λίνον: 540
λόγον ἅπαντα τοῖς τῶν προφητῶν ῥήμασι: 609
λόγος: 549 572
λύχνον ἐκ λύχνου: 561

λεγόμενον: 13
λεγομένη μεγαληγορία: 172
λεπτομέρης: 240
λιμους: 523
λογίζεσθαι: 167
λογόν: 1197
λουτρὸν: 186
μάλθῃ: 96 98
μέλλει: 626
μέν: 572
μένει ἀνέκπτωτος: 574
μένειν: 409
μέρους: 248
μέσου: 248
μέτοικοι: 171
μῆ: 572
μὴ ἐκζέσης: 414
μὴ περισσευῆς .: 415
μὴ πλανῶ: 517
μίξας: 518
μόνης τῆς τῶν ὁμοφυῶν προσώπων ὁμοφυοῦς ταυτότητος: 579
μόνος: 259
μακάριοι: 566
μακαρίου: 165
μαρτύρων: 516
μείωσιν: 190
μεγάλη ἐορτή: 172
μεγάλης: 276
μετὰ τὰ: 170
μετάπτωσις: 575
μετέωρα: 253
μετέωρον: 539
μετ' αὐτοῦ: 535
μετανάσται: 509
μετασχόντες: 128
μεταφέρει: 165
μετενσωματῶν: 550

μετεωρισμούς: 650
 μετρόν τοῦ κανόνος: 1289
 μηδὲν ἐχούσης φαυλότητος: 579
 μηδ' ἐνὶ παντελῶς ὁ ταυτὸν ἐστὶ τῷ Πατρὶ γενόμενος ταυτὸν τῇ σαρκὶ διὰ τὴν κένωσιν:
 569
 μητέρα τοῦ Θεοῦ: 665
 μιὰρὸς: 206
 μονοκῶλως: 554
 μονοκῶλα: 554
 μονοτύπως: 554
 μορφὴν: 392
 μου: 415
 μυστηρίων: 460
 μυστηριωδῶς: 460
 μυστικῶς: 460
 νώματος αἴσαν: 197
 νεότητος: 225
 νοῦν: 561
 νοῦς ὁρῶν Θεόν: 557
 νομίζει: 212
 νοοῦντες: 78
 νοσοῦντες: 78
 νυχθήμερον: 414
 ξανθὴν: 550
 ὁ γέγονεν: 562
 οἰκονομία: 1492
 οἰκονομία συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἓνα Θεόν: 563
 οἰκονομικῶς: 422 546
 οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες ἑαυτούς: 613
 οἱ ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες: 613
 οἱ δορυφόροι: 228
 οἱ νεκροί: 640
 οἱ συκοφάνται: 485
 οἰμοίως: 72
 οὐ μὴν οὐδαμῶς: 626
 οὐ παρθενίαν ἐστείρωσα: 581

οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλειόνων ἀλλ' ὥς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τουτων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω:
553
οὐ τὸ μὴ θέλαιν: 588
οὐαὶ γῆς πλοίων πτέρυγες: 539
οὐδὲ ἐν: 562
οὐδ' ὥσπερ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος οὕτω καὶ αὐτῆς φυσικῶς ἐκφυομένην: 571
οὐδεῖς: 135
οὐκ ἔσῃ περισσότερος: 415
οὐσίαι: 249
οὐσίαν: 225 570 573
οὐχ: 574
οὐ νεωστὶ τὸν νόμον: 356
οὔτε μὴν εἰς τ' αὐτὸν αὐτῷ φέρεσθαι φύσεώς ποτε καὶ φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας, ἕως ἂν ἐκάτερον
τῆς ἰδίας ἐντὸς μένει φυσικῆς ἀτρεψίας. Το φέρεσθαι: 572
οὕτως: 546
οὖν: 574
οὔσαι: 249
οὔτοι οἱ Β' τῶν ὁ τυγχανόντων διασκορπισθέντων: 656
οὔτος: 186
οικοῦντος: 273
ουὕτως: 186
π: 247
πάθος: 253
πάντα πᾶσι: 166
πάπας: 401
πέραν: 155
πέφυκε: 572
πόρρω τεθὲν: 105
πόρρωθεν: 105
πᾶσι τοῖς πέρασιν: 620
πᾶσιν ἐπιτιθειμένην: 166
παῖς: 561
παγίδων: 638
παθῶν: 638
παλίντονος: 326
παλίντροπος: 326
παντάπασι: 166

παπᾶς: 401
παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον: 129
παρὰ τῷ ἀγαθῷ: 186
παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου: 624
παράπτω: 582
παρὸν: 102
παρητημένος :: 144
παραδόξους: 383
παραδόσεις: 383
παραδοθεῖς: 95
παρακλήσεων: 516
παραλείψας: 128 128
παροξέων: 261
πατέρα τὸν αὐτῶν Λόγον: 129
πατέρα τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ: 129
περὶ ἀνθρώπων: 611
περὶ ἱερωσύνης: 976
περὶ θεολογίας: 569 588
περίζυξ ἀριθμὸς: 114
περίστερα: 247
περασαι: 161
περιδεσμεῖσθαι: 338
περιμένει τὸν ζῶντα: 419
περιττόν: 114
πετρώδης: 172
πετρωτὸς: 172
πεφορηκότα: 397
πεφυρακότα: 397
πεφυρηκότα: 397
πιότητος: 532
πιεῖν: 170
πιπράσκειται: 143
πλάνος: 633
πλάσας: 528
πληθος: 152
πλανῆτις: 307
πλανηθῆναι: 339

πλατυνθῆναι: 339
πλείοσι: 172
πληρωθῆ: 564
πλοῖον: 540
πλουτήσαντες: 531
πλουτίσαντες: 531
πνεῦμα: 565
πνευμα: 1583
ποιήσει: 536
ποιεῖν: 170
πολὺς ἦν: 560
πολλοί: 640
πολυπηγήτου τῶν ἄστρον μουσίου: 580
πορπωθὲν: 105
πράγματα: 247
πρὸ τῆς: 152
πρὸς: 172 172
πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς τέρμασι γενόμενον τοῦ βίου: 121
πρὸς γνωστικούς: 72
πρὸς τοὺς δούλους ἀπανθρωπίαν κτησονται: 610
πρώτης: 152
πρῶτος: 422
προέφημεν: 536
προέφημεν: 536
προγνωστικούς: 72
προειρημένα: 517
προερχόμενον: 520
προερχομένου: 520
προεχεστέρα: 152
προκείμενα: 517
προσώπων: 575
προσεχεστέρα: 152
προσκαροίους: 549
προστάται: 171
προστεθεῖσαν: 112
προστιθέμενον, νομιστέον: 212
προσφορά: 701

πρωτοτοκεῖα: 1507
πτῶμα: 543
πτερνίσας: 522 621
πτερωτῶ· ὡς ἀπὸ: 170
πτωχευει: 399
πυλεῶσι: 172
πυρεῖα: 535
ρ: 247 247
σ: 247
σάρον: 216
σὺ εἶ φῶς ἀληθινὸν ἐκ φωτὸς ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἀληθινὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ: 561
σύγκρισις: 570
σύγχυσιν: 575
σαρκοφόρον ἀπλανῶς: 626
σατραπικὴν: 181
σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας: 398
σεληνιακοῦ στοιχείου: 580
σκύμνος: 621
σκολῶ: 169
σκοτεινῶ: 169
σκοτιωτέρω: 549
σμύρνη: 98
σπουδὴν: 622
στέλεχος ἀνειμένον: 420
σταυρούμενον: 385
στεφανοῦται κατὰ διαβόλου: 568
στοιχείον: 173
στοιχεῖα: 580
στοιχεῖον: 241
συγκεχυμένων: 575
συμπάθεια: 155
συμπέρασμα: 649
συνάγει: 214
συνάγει εἰς ἓν: 665
συνάναρχος: 647
συνέτιζον: 563
συνέφνυ: 572

συντρέχειν: 9
σχέδιος: 72
σχεδιάζουσι: 72
σωματώσεως: 571 572
σωματικῶς: 153
σωτήριον σάρκωσιν: 571
τ: 247
τὰ ἀκάθαρτα: 530
τὰ ἀποκείμενα: 621
τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη: 403 670 765
τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα: 985
τὰ δι' εἰκόνων: 248
τὰ μεχρὶ νῦν σωζόμενα ἅπαντα: 68
τὰ μυστήρια: 417
τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἀπεκύσαν μορφάς: 249
τάδε διακονεῖ: 248
τέκνω:, 341
τέκνον: 585
τέλειος: 220
τέλη: 142
τέλος: 220
τὴν θεοτόκον ἔγνωμεν σαρκικῶς καὶ ἀπλανῶς: 626
τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναστροφὴν: 609
τὴν σύστασιν: 565
τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου: 521
τὴν τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος ἔμπειρον καὶ ἀνεκδιήγητου τέχνην: 565
τὸ αἷμα: 416
τὸ θέλημα: 562
τὸ κατ' ἄμφω φυσικῶς ἀναλλοίωτον: 579
τὸ νῦν: 179
τὸν ἀόρατον: 194
τὸν Λόγον τὸν Πατρῶν: 541
τὸν Περίπατον: 283
τὸν κάτω εἰς τὰ ἄνω: 593
τὸν νοῦν: 179
τὸν τόπον: 242
τόν κόσμον: 633

τόπος: 549
 τόπων: 549
 τύπων τε ιδέας: 77
 τῇ ἔλικι: 1186
 τῆς ιδίας φύσεως οὐσιώδη λόγον: 576
 τῆς ὅλης θεότητος: 572
 τῶν ἐθνῶν: 523
 τῶν ὀκτῶ: 245
 τῶν ὄντων: 516
 τῶν ὀνίων: 142
 τῶν ὤτων: 516
 τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν: 408
 τῷ νοῒ: 173
 τῷ νοητῷ: 245
 τῷ σύρματι ὅφει παραπλήσιος πτέρωτος: 170
 ταμεῖα: 439
 ταπεινὸν: 303 303
 ταπεινὸν ,: 303
 ταρταρώσας: 411
 ταυτοπαθῇ τῇ σαρκί: 575
 ταυτουργίαν: 576 579
 τελειότερος: 220
 τετράς: 575
 την περὶ τοῦτον οἰκονομίαν: 565
 τιμιότητος: 532
 τινά: 517
 τινα: 463
 τούτου: 520
 τοῖς ἕκαστα φυσικοῖς διεξαγόμενα νόμοις: 569
 τοῖς σπέρμασι: 121
 τοῦ ἐξακύκλου ὑλικοῦ: 112
 τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος: 273
 τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου: 1451
 τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ: 604
 τοῦτο: 416
 τοῦτο πάντως κατάγεται ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ὑπειλημμένον: 421
 τορνωθὲν: 105

τρίβολος: 550
 τρόπων: 549
 τρεπτοῦ καὶ προαιρετοῦ: 588
 τριμήνιον: 451
 τροπή γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἀπείρου, κινεῖσθαι μὴ πεφυκότος , ἡ κίνησις: 569
 τυποῦντες ἰδέας: 77
 υποστασιν: 570
 φύσεως: 580
 φύσιν: 207
 φῶς ἀπρόσιτον: 583
 φῶς ἄϋλον γεννᾷ φῶς ἀπρόσιτον: 583
 φῶς ἐκ φωτός: 421
 φαίνεται: 248
 φαινητής: 284
 φαλλός: 172 172 172
 φανερόν: 102
 φανερώσεσι: 301
 φανερώς: 301
 φανερωθῆ: 564
 φανταστικὴν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν: 626
 φθέγγεται: 248
 φθόνος: 440
 φιλάνθρωπε: 647
 φιλίας: 180
 φιλοσοφούμενα: 11
 φιλοσοφουμένα: 388
 φοβερὲ: 647
 φορολόγον: 462
 φορυκτῆς: 100
 φορυτῆς: 100
 φρικτῆς: 100
 φρικωδεστάτη: 665
 φρυκτῆς: 100
 φυράω: 397
 φυσικῆς ἔξω γεγονώς ἰσότητος καὶ ταυτότητος: 577
 φυσικῆς ιδιότητος: 570
 φυσικωτέρα: 112

φωνή: 394
φωνήν: 394
φωνήν ὀξύτητος: 622
φωνῆς: 284
φως ἐκ φωτός: 561
φωτεινῶ: 549
χόριον: 200
χώραν: 539
χαροποιοὶ: 77
χοιρογρύλλοι: 442
χορός: 261
χρεμετισμοῦ: 622
χωρίον: 200
ψαμμίτης: 68
ψαφῶν: 192
ψευδόχριστος: 206
ψηφαροι: 540
ψιλόν: 1450
ψυδρὸς: 206
ψυχῆς: 183
ψυχρὸς: 206 206
ω: 247
12: 1487

Index of Hebrew Words and Phrases

אֵשׁ וָאֵה אֵל 557

דִּבְרֵי מוֹב 1197

מִטְרֵךְ 1186

מִרְיָה 1186

מִנְשָׁה 497

נֶחֱשׁ 128 320

סִפְרֵי תְהִלָּה 499

עֵין 157

שִׁמְשֹׁאֵר 493

תְּרִשִׁישׁ 460

Index of French Words and Phrases

Études sur de Nouveaux Documents Historiques empruntés à L'Ouvrage des: [388](#)

Bon Dieu, bon diable: [408](#)

Hist. Gén. des Auteurs: [1552](#)

Les Nicolaites donnaient une infinité de noms barbares aux princes et aux puissances qu'ils mettaient en chaque ciel. Ils en nommaient un caulaucauch: [400](#)

Les cœurs pervers n'ont jamais de belles nuits ni de beaux jours: [1411](#)

Notre St. Père, le Pape: [401](#)

Qui illic apud confessorum offerunt: [701](#)

par M. l'Abbé Guettée: [1376](#)

par M. l'Abbé Jager: [1376](#)

pasce oves meas: [1376](#)

Index of Pages of the Print Edition

i iii v vi 1 3 4 5 6 7 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32
33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63
64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94
95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118
119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141
142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164
165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187
188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210
211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233
234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256
257 258 259 261 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281
282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304
305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327
328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350
351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373
374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396
397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419
420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442
443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465
466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488
489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511
512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534
535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557
558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 575 576 577 578 579 580 581
582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 599 600 601 602 603 604 605
607 608 609 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630
631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 653 655
657 658 659 660 661 662 663 665 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678

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