

Q. S. FL. TERTULLIANI ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

Mark T. Riley
February 1971

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
TEXT	22
TRANSLATION	72
COMMENTARY	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY	174
INDICES:	
I. ABBREVIATIONS OF TERTULLIAN'S WORKS	180
II. FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS	182

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Notes:

- Greek text is given using the Scholar's Press SPionic TrueType font. Hebrew text is usually shown using a bitmap which can be clicked on for a larger view, but occasionally given in the Scholar's Press SPTiberian font. Both fonts are freely available for Windows and Macintosh from <http://www.tertullian.org/support>.
- The Latin text is exactly as the microfilm apart from two changes:
 - Verse numbers have been added from the J.-C. Fredouille edition in the Sources Chretiennes series, #280. The reason for this is simply that there is no other edition-independent way to refer to portions of the text. The numbers can be recognised as they take the form "[2]"
 - The Latin text sometimes contains what appear to be obvious typographical errors (e.g. 'its' instead of 'ita') - the inevitable product of the dissertation-creation process in the pre-wordprocessor era. These have been checked against the Fredouille edition and corrected. However a footnote of the change has been added in red at the foot of the page.

The bibliography and indices are in the file with the commentary.

Q. S. FL. TERTULLIANI ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS
TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ii

PREFACE

This dissertation is the work of a student of Classical Antiquity, not of a theologian. Hence the emphasis is on Tertullian's style, language, and the like, not on his theology, which actually is not of much concern in this work anyway.

I wish to acknowledge the help of Professor Brooks Otis, now of the University of North Carolina, in completing this study.

iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
TEXT	22
TRANSLATION	72
COMMENTARY	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY	174
INDICES:	
I. ABBREVIATIONS OF TERTULLIAN'S WORKS	180
II. FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS	182

iv

I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS

Adv. Val. is one of the tractates found in the "Corpus Cluniacense," the largest and most complete of the collections of Tertullian's works.¹ This collection contains all of T's antiheretical writing and was saved perhaps because of its combative value. At any rate many mss. survive, mostly in Italy.² E. Kroymann studied this corpus and constructed a stemma which in general is correct (see below).³

Adv. Val. occurs in several closely related mss.:

- M -- Montepessulanus H 54, saw. XI.
- P -- Paterniacensis 436 (Scelestadtensis), saw. XI.
 This ms. contains only half of the treatises.⁴
- X -- Luxemburgensis 75,⁵ saw. XV.
- F -- Flor. Magliabechanus VI 10, saw. XV.
- N -- Flor. Magliabechanus VI 9, saw. XV.
- L -- Leidensis Lat. 2, saw. XV.
- V -- Neapolitanus Lat. 55 (formerly Vindobonensis

of Latinus Latinus);
Iunius, Franeker 1597 (who reports the emendations
of Joseph Scaliger);
Rigaltius, Paris 1634 (;reprinted in Migne);

5

Oehler, Leipzig 1853 - 4 (who was hindered by his
choice of poor mss., VL, but who had great critical
abilities and a sense of T's style. His edition
in modern times has been used as the basic
text by E. Evans in his editions of Adv. Prax.,
and De carne, and by Waszink in his translation
and commentary to Adv. Herm.);

Kroymann, Vienna 1906 (who reports some of the
emendations of A. Engelbrecht. Kroymann's is the
only modern or "scientific" text of Adv. Val.,
but unfortunately it is so marred with the willful
and unnecessary conjectures to which Kroymann was
prone as to make it very difficult to use.⁸ A
glance at the apparatus will illustrate this ten-
dency. Moreover, much work has been done on T's
idiosyncratic style since Kroymann's text, work
that has elucidated many difficulties.).

The purpose of my edition is to apply the work on
T's style of the last sixty years to the text of Adv. Val.
and to correlate this text closely to that of Irenaeus,
which is the foundation for T's work. I have kept the mss.
reading where possible. Many incorrect emendations of ear-
lier editors were caused by their unfamiliarity with T's
style, and by a desire to regularize his peculiar Latin
(e.g., "detrudat," "armabimus," Adv. Val. 3. See notes ad
loc.). In several places of course the mss, are clearly
wrong. The editor of the editio princeps corrected many of
these obvious errors. I have ventured my own corrections
in a few places (Adv. Val. 9, 16, 29), and have explained

6

my choice of readings in the notes, as well as certain
peculiarities of T's style that might cause difficulties.
TRANSLATIONS OF ADV. VAL.

I have used the translations by A. Roberts in the
series, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, and by L. Lehanneur in
French in the Annales de la Faculti des Lettres de Caen
1.1 (1885). The latter is not a complete translation, but
more a paraphrase. Lehanneur slides gracefully over the
cruxes of translation by omitting the difficult places. He
translates Oehler's text. Roberts' translation is also
from Oehler's text and is quite literal, as are all trans-
lations in this series--too literal for readability. He
also misses the point occasionally, as in his translation
of the joke about Phosphorus' family (Adv. Val. 8). There
is a German translation by Kellner which I have found help-
ful in spots. He makes one suggestion on the emending of
the text, "intricata" (Adv. Val. 14).⁹
THE DATE OF ADV. VAL.

The date of Adv. Val. cannot be fixed with any cer-
tainty.¹⁰ It was written after De praes., since chapter 44
of that work announces a series of individual works against

the "terminus post quem." The date of De praes., however, is uncertain, probably in the early 200's before T had become a Montanist. Adv. Val. was written when T was a Montanist, as is shown by "Proculus noster," Adv. Val. 5. T had become a Montanist by 207/8 as is shown by this date in Adv. Marc. I. 15, which was written in his Montanist period. (Adv. Marc. I. 29 is a discussion of the Paraclete's teachings on marriage.)

De res. 59 shows a knowledge of Valentinian activity and perhaps this would indicate that De res. is later than Adv. Val., but this cannot be certain. At any rate De res. was written after 211 (De res. 22, "Christianos ad leonem," refers to Scapula's persecution,¹² giving a possible "terminus ante quem").

Adv. Val. was written after Adv. Herm. (see Adv. Val. 16), but Adv. Herm. cannot be dated closely.¹³

In sum, this treatise can be dated to the first decade of the third century, but with the available evidence no further accuracy is possible.

TERTULLIAN AND IRENAEUS

This work of T, starting from "hunc substantialiter quidem. . ." (Adv. Val. 6), is a direct translation from Irenaeus' Contra Haereses 1.1.1.ff. (I have indicated in

the commentary what chapters T is translating.) Irenaeus has been transmitted to us by a Latin version, IL, of the entire work Contra Haereses, and by the Greek original of most of Bk. I quoted by Epiphanius, Haer. XXXI, 9 - 32, XXXII, XXXIII, passim.¹⁴ Some of the Greek text has also been quoted by Hippolytus, Refutatio VI. The nature of T's translation can be illustrated with a few quotations. I also append IL of the passages concerned.

le&gousi . . . u(pa&rxonta ??d ' au)to_n a)xw&rhton kai\ a)o&raton, a)i/dio&n
te kai\ a)ge&nnhton, e)n h(suxi/a| kai\ h(remi/a| pollh|~ ge-
gone/nai e)n a)pei/roij ai0w~si. sunupa&rxein d' autw|~
kai\ !Ennoian, h\$N de\ kai\ Xa&rin kai\ Si/ghe onom_a&zousi.
Kai\ e)nnohq~nai\ pote a)f e(autou~ proba&lesqai to_n
Buqo_n tou~ton a)rxh_n tw~n pa&ntwn, kai\ kaqa&per spe&rma
ta_n probolh_n tau&thn, h#n proba&lesqai e)nenoh&qh, kai\
kage&sqai w(s e)n mhtra th|~ sunuparxou&sh| e(autw|~
Sigh|~. Tau&thn de_u(tiodecame&nhn, a)pokuh~sai
Nou~n, o#moio&n te ilson tw|~ proba&lounti kai\ mo&non
xwrou~ta to_me&geqoj tou~ Patro&j.

(IL 1, 1, 1) Dicunt. . . esse autem illum invisibilem
et quem nulla res capere possit. cum autem a nullo
caperetur et esset invisibilis, sempiternus, et
ingenitus, in silentio et in quiete multa fuisse in
immensibus Aeonibus. cum ipso autem fuisse et
Ennoiam quam etiam Charin et Sigen vocant. et ali-
quando voluisse a semetipso emittere hunc Bythum
initium. (et velut semen prolationem hanc praemitti
voluit) et eam deposuisse semen hoc et praegnantem

factam generasse Nun, similem et aequalem ei qui emiserat et solum capientem magnitudinem patris.

(Adv. Val. 7) Sit itaque Bythos iste infinitis retro aavis in maxima et altissima quiete, in otio plurimo

9

placidae et--ut ita dixerim--stupentis divinitatis qualem iussit Epicurus. et tamen quem solum volunt, dant ei secundam in ipso et cum ipso personam, Ennoian, quam et Charin et Sigen insuper nominant. et forte accedunt in ilia commendatissima quiete movere eum de proferendo tandem initio rerum a semetipso. hoc vice seminis in Sige sua velut in genitalibus vulvae locis collocat. suscipit ilia statim et praegnans efficitur et parit (utique silentio) Sige. et quem parit? Nus est, simillimum Patri et parem per omnia. denique solus hic capere sufficit immensam illam et incomprehensibilem magnitudinem patris.

Note that T is undoubtedly translating: he tells the same facts in the same order. The tone of T's translation is, however, considerably different from that of the original. (1) He is talking directly to the reader; he asks, "et quem parit?" just as below he asks, "et quale est. . .?" There are no direct questions or addresses to the reader in Irenaeus apart from his Introduction. (2) T takes the part of an adversary to the system about which he is telling: "Sit itaque. . ." implies that he could have more to say about this ridiculous divinity, but that he will press on. He also uses the loaded words, "stupentis divinitatis." (3) As part of his hostile presentation T is sarcastic: note here, "et parit, utique silentio, Sige." Irenaeus on the other hand does not take a stand in his presentation; his refutation is left for the later books.

10

(Irenaeus 1. 2, 3) e#nioi de\ au)tw~n pws to_
pa&qoj th~j Sofi/as kai\ th_n epistroph_n
muqologou~sin. a)duna&tw| kai\ a) katalh&ptw| pra&g-
mati au)th_n e)pixeirh&sasan, tekei=n
ou)si/an. a!morfon, oi3an fu&siv ei@xe qe&leian
tekei=n. h#n kai\ katanoh&sasan, prw~ton me_n
luphqh~nai dia_to_a)telej th~j gene&sews
e!peita fobhqh~nai mhde\ au)to_to_ei=nai
telei/wj e!xeiv

(IL 1, 2, 3) Quidam autem ipsorum huiusmodi passionem et reversionem Sophiae velut fabulam narrant. impossibilem et incomprehensibilem rem eam agressam, peperisse substantiam informem, qualem naturam habebat femina parere. in quam cum intendisset, primo quidem contristatam propter inconsummationem generationis; post deinde timuisse ne hos ipsum finem habeat.

(Adv. Val. 10) Sed quidam exitum Sophiae et restitutionem aliter somniaverunt: post irritos conatus et spei deiectionem deformantam eam; (pallore credo et macie et incuria. proprie utique patrem non minus denegatum dolebat quam amissum.) dehinc in illo maerore ex semetipsa sola nulla opera coniugii concepit et procreat feminam. miraris hoc? et gallina sortita est de suo parere, sed et vultures feminas

tantum aiunt. et tamen sine masculino mater et metuere postremo ne finis quoque insisteret

Note here again some of the same characteristics of T's translation: direct address, "miraxis hoc?"; loaded words, "somniaverunt," corresponding to *muqologou~sin*. We have here 3s well another rhetorical trick of T, the sarcastic parallel, which correlates Sophia with vultures. T employs the same trick in his joke about the rhetor Phosphorus (Adv. Val. 8).

11

T brings in contemporary references not found in Irenaeus. Compare Irenaeus 1, 4, 1. *kai\`e)ntau~qa to_n q(ron kw-lu&onta au)th_n th~j tou!mprosqen o(rmh~j ei)pei=n 'Iaw_...* (IL 1, 4, 1) "et sic Horon coercentem eam ne anterius irrueret, dixisse Iao; unde et Iao nomen factum dicunt."

(Adv. Val. 14) tamen temptavit et fortasse apprehendisset si non idem Horos qui matri eius tam prospere venerat nunc tam importune filiae occurrisset ut etiam inclamaverit in eam "Iao"--quasi "Porro Quirites" aut "fidem Caesaris." inde invenitur "Iao" in scripturis.

Thus he refers to contemporary Roman customs, again I presume with sarcastic intent: the doings of these Valentinian gods are of no more value than common Roman street scenes. In Adv. Val. 15, T again makes reference to contemporary life.

(Adv. Val. 15) Age nunc discant Pythagorici, agnoscant Stoici, Plato ipse, unde materiam quam innatam volunt et originem et substantiam traxerit in omnem hanc struem mundi, quod nec Mercurius ille Trismegistus magister omnium physicorum recogitavit. audisti conversionem genus aliud passionis. ex hac omnis anima huius mundi dicitur constituisse.

This passage elaborates the following.

(Iren. 1, 4, 2) *tau&thn su&stasin kai\`ou)si/an th~j u3lhj gegenh~sqai le&gousin e)z h}j o3de o(ko&smoj sune&sthken.*

(IL 1, 4, 2) eam collectionem et substantiam fuisse materiae dicunt ex qua hic mundus constat.

These passages are typical of T's translation. As is evident from them, T has no original material to present

12

about the Valentinians. What material he adds to Irenaeus is occasionally false, as is his comment on the "sacra" or the Eleusinian mysteries (Adv. Val. I). T's originality lies in his treatment of Irenaeus' researches; T set himself to turn these researches into a polemic, employing the rhetorical devices illustrated above. This polemic as a whole is characterized by humor of a leaden sort, humor which T himself said was suited to the subject (Adv. Val. 6).¹⁵ This humor evidences itself in jokes, e.g., Phosphorus family (Adv. Val. 8), the "leges Iuliae" (Adv. Val. 31); sarcastic comparisons, e.g., comparing the Valentinian Jesus to a character in an Oscan farce (Adv. Val. 12); comparing the Valentinian heaven to an apartment house (Adv. Val. 7); and personal insults, e.g., Ptolomy developed his system from children's fairy-tales (Adv. Val. 20). Typical

of T's method is the extended joke on the gender of Spiritus Sanctus, which is feminine in the Valentinian system of paired emanations.¹⁶ He says that this union of Christ and the Holy Spirit is "turpissima" (Adv. Val. 11), and that the Spirit, although a female, has all the honors of a male, even--he supposes--a beard (Adv. Val. 21). He even takes the part of a director for a play, treating this drama of the aeons as a comedy and telling the audience how to react to it (Adv. Val. 13). In general, his humor consists of

13

this sort of insult and innuendo directed toward the persons and ideas which he is discussing.

Also original are the many brief references to contemporary life and to other philosophers, as I mentioned above, e.g., "qualem iussit Epicurus" (Adv. Val. 7), and the mention of three specific waters in Adv. Val. 15.

The basis of this style is of course oratory, especially Second Sophistic oratory with its love of colorful style and vitriolic attack.¹⁷ T seems to have been widely read in ancient literature, and he undoubtedly used these handbooks, and would have been skilled in oratory, thanks to his legal training.¹⁸ What we have in his treatise against the Valentinians is the transformation of an expository work, Irenaeus', into a declamation. This transformation, not any original material about the Valentinians, was T's contribution.

TERTULLIAN AND IRENAEUS LATINUS

As I mentioned above, Irenaeus has been transmitted to us in a Latin version, IL. The question has long been debated whether T used IL or vice versa.¹⁹ This question could be settled if we knew the date of IL; unfortunately we do not. If IL antedated T perhaps T may have used him. Occasionally T and IL in common use a rare expression

14

("appendicem," IL 1, 2, 4, and Adv. Val. 10) or together differ from the Greek text ("in hunc autem vel in Sophiam derivarat," Adv. Val. 9; "in hunc aeonem id est in Sophiam demutatam," IL 1, 2, 2; the Greek omits Sophia's name.); The two preceding examples have been used to show that T used IL.²⁰ Both of them however can be explained quite easily as having arisen independently; the former, "appendicem," is a technical medical term which exactly fits here (see commentary, ad loc.). The latter passages both add Sophia's name in the Latin because of the difference in genders: after "in hunc" one would not expect a feminine noun unless expressed. Note T's comment, "viderit soloecismus" (Adv. Val. 9). Besides there are real substantive differences between T and IL: in Adv. Val. 8, T says "quaternarii et octonarii et duodenarii" where IL has "octonationem et decada et duodecada." IL reproduces Irenaeus while T has used his own expression (see note ad loc.). In a similar fashion T has recast Iren. 1, 5, 6; IL has "animam quidem a Demiurgo, corpus autem a limo, et carneum a materia, spiritalem vero hominem a matre Achamoth," which corresponds to Irenaeus. T has "censum proinde eum ab Achamoth . . . animale a Demiurgo, choicum substantia a)rxh-j, carnem materia" (Adv. Val. 25). He adds here a "substantia a)rxh-j" not derived from Irenaeus (see note

15

ad loc.). The most cursory glance at IL shows it to be a very literal translation of the Greek. Compare the IL version of Iren. 1, 2, 3, quoted above. Note especially the awkward "velut fabulam narrant" for muqologou-sin. Note also Adv. Val. 7, "hoc vice seminis in Sige sua velut in genitalibus vulvae locis collocat"; IL 1 1.1, "et velut semen prolationem hanc praemitti voluit et eam deposuisse quasi in vulva eius, quae cum eo erat, Sige"; corresponding to "Kai\kaga&per spe&pma ... e)n mh&tra| th~|... Si/gh|." Note the conciseness of T's version, the "sua" taking the place of IL's awkward "quae cum eo erat." IL uses the anaphoric "is" very often, as here with "eam," "eius," "eo," while he tries to keep the Greek sentence pattern. The variation between infinitives and finite verbs in IL, "voluit," "deposuisse," is his attempt to reproduce the Greek sequence, where the finite verb comes in a relative clause. Nothing could be more unlike T's version, which is adaptive and free.²¹ Because of the demonstrable closeness of IL to Irenaeus' Greek and T's departures from it, it is impossible to believe that IL used T as a source. That T used IL as a source cannot be disproved but I think there is no reason to suppose he did. T wrote treatises in Greek (peri\eksta&sewj,²² De spectaculis),²³ and I see no reason to suppose his knowledge of Greek to be so

16

scanty as to require the help of IL.

Parenthetically, it is clear that T had a detailed knowledge of Irenaeus' work, for he also cites or quotes Irenaeus in Adv. Marc. 1 and often in De an.²⁴ Irenaeus seems to have been practically the entire source of T's knowledge of the various heretical schools.

TERTULLIAN AND THE VALBNTINIANS

T mentions the Valentinians many times in his work.²⁵ There is no evidence that he knew anything about the Valentinians apart from what Irenaeus says. Our knowledge of the Valentinians and of the other Gnostic sects has been increased greatly in the last few years by the discovery of the Nag Hammadi documents.²⁶ The chief work of Valentinus himself, called The Gospel of Truth,²⁷ was found there in a Coptic translation, and has been published.²⁸ The teachings contained in this Gnostic work apparently have little in common with the teachings exposed as Valentinian by Irenaeus and T. In the first place, no distinction is made in The Gospel of Truth between the unknown Father-God and the Demiurge, the creator of this particular world, although a hint of this may lie in the passage, In this manner the deficiency is filled by the pleroma, which has no deficiency, which has given itself

17

out in order to fill the one who is deficient, so that grace may take him from the area which is deficient and has no grace.²⁹

This "deficient" place could be interpreted as this world from which the "one who is deficient" is removed by the Father, who would then be superior to the masters of this world. Such an interpretation is not explicit in The Gospel of Truth.

Secondly, in The Gospel of Truth there are no enumerations or emanations of Aeons, although Aeons are cer-

tainly mentioned, e.g., "This is the manifestation of the Father and his revelation to his Aeons."³⁰ Furthermore there are emanations from the Father, e.g., "All the spaces are his emanations. They know that they stem from him as children from a perfect man."³¹ The sense here is that everything in the universe is an emanation from the Father; the Aeons we not given a separate genealogy, as they are in Irenaeus and T.

Thirdly, The Gospel of Truth nowhere distinguishes three types of human beings; it implies the existence of only two types, the material and the spiritual: "Many received the light. . . but material men were alien to him."³² Apparently the teachings of Valentinianism so mocked by T derive from Ptolomaeus, not directly from Valentinus.

18

We can deduce this fact from what T himself says: "Ptolomaeus. . . nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in personales substantias . . ." (Adv. Val. 4). Irenaeus says the same:

" . . . le&gw de\ tw~n peri\ Ptolemai=on, s)panqi/sma ou!san tn~j Qualent/nou skolh&j.

Iren. "praefatio" (Harvey, p. 5). Ptolomaeus hypostatized Valentinus' psychological structure into a cosmic system, a system to be sure which could be seen in Valentinus' work also. In addition, Valentinus' writing was probably esoteric while Ptolomaeus' work, or at any rate his system as we see it in Irenaeus and T, was exoteric. This means that in their public preaching, knowledge of which was available to Irenaeus, the Valentinians presented their doctrine in the form of a cosmology. In their private sessions, not available to Irenaeus, they would explain the true meaning of this cosmology; we find this explanation in the Gospel of Truth.³³

T is not interested in this detail; he is solely interested in attacking the Valentinian heresy as he imagines it exists today. Consequently he picks out the most nonsensical and ridiculous teachings of the heresy for attention.

19

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. For a review of the other corpora see the "Praefatio" to the "Corpus Christianorum" edition of T, Vol. I, Turnhold, 196.
2. See E. Kroymann, "Die Tertullian-Überlieferung in Italien," Sitzungsberichte Wien, CXXXVIII (1898) Heft 3, p. 32, for details of these many mss.
3. E. Kroymann, "Kritische Vorarbeiten f|r den III. und IV. Band der neuen Tertullian-Ausgabe," Sitzungsberichte Wien, CXXXVIII (1901), Heft 6. Same information in the "Praefatio" to his text of T in CSEL LXX (1942).
4. De pat., De carne, De res., Adv. Prax., Adv. Val., Adv. Iud., Adv. omnes haer., De praes., Adv. Herm.
5. This ms. was unknown to Kroymann. It was reported by J. W. Borleffs, "Zur Luxemburger Tertullianhandschrift," Mnemosyne III, 2 (1935), 299-308.
6. From Ae. Kroymann, "Praefatio," CSEL, LXX (1942). Also reproduced in the "Corpus Christianorum" edition of T, Vol. I, p. XXVII.
7. E. Kroymann, "Kritische Vorarbeiten," pp. 10-12.

8. This tendency is recognized by the compilers of the "Corpus Christianorum" text of T. Note their monitum to Adv. Herm.: "At persaepe, etiam ubi nihil adnotauimus, lectio codicum, quam indebite more suo postposuit Kroymann, omnino seruanda est. Quod enim omnes iam sciunt Septimii cultores."
9. Kellner's translation, Tertullians apologetische, dogmatische, and montanistische Schriften, Kempten-Munich, 1912-1916, seems to be available in the U.S. only from the Library of Congress.
10. Main facts of chronology in A. Harnack, Geschichte de Altch. Literatur, 2nd edition, part 2, Vol. 2, p. 256 ff.
11. Harnack, p. 209.
12. Harnack, p. 284.

20

13. Harnack, p. 285, and Waszink, Against Hermogenes, p.13.
14. Both versions in W. W. Harvey, Sancti Irenaei Libros Quinque contra Haereses, Cambridge, 1857.
15. On this subject see G. Quispel, "De Humor van Tertullianus," Nederlandsche Theol. Tijdschrift, II (1947), 280-290. (In Dutch)
16. Apparently derived from the feminine gender of Hebrew or its Syriac equivalent; see Harvey, p. 22.
17. A similar love of attack in Apuleius, Apologia, against the relatives of his wife, On the Second Sophistic see E. Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, (Leipzig 1898), II, 378.
18. He had been a lawyer by profession in Rome (Jerome, De viris ill. 53; T's familiarity with Rome shown in De spec.
19. Harnack, p. 315 ff. Extensive discussion in W. Sanday and C. H. Turner, Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei, Old Latin Biblical Texts #7, Oxford, 1923, and in F. C. Burkitt, "Valenti nian Terms," JTS, 1923, pp. 56-67.
20. A. d'Ales, "Note," REG 29 (1916), pp. XLVIII-XLIX.
21. For a fine study of IL see Irinie de Lyon, Contre les Heresies IV, sources Chretiennes 100, ed. A. Rousseau (Paris 1965), 110-185.
22. Mentioned in Jerome, De viris ill. 40, 53.
23. Mentioned by T in De cor. 6.
24. Waszink, De Anima, pp. 45*-46*.
25. De an. 12.1; 18.4; 21.1; 23.4; De carne 1.3; 15.1; 15.3; 19.2; 20.3; 24.2; Adv. Marc. 1, 5.1; IV 10.9, and others.
26. For a catalog of what was found see M. Krause, "Der koptische Handschriftfund bei Nag Hammadi," Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, XVIII (1962), 121-132. For a review of the little that has been published see J. M. Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," New Test. Studies, XIV (1968), 356-401.

21

27. Mentioned in Irenaeus I, 11, 9, and T's De praes. 25.
28. M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, Evangelium Veritatis, Zurich, 1956. This work includes an English translation. Another translation is by W. W. Isenberg in R. M. Grant, Gnosticism, New York, 1961, which I have cited. Also compare Kendrick Grobel (traps.), The Gospel of Truth, Abingdon, 1960.
29. Isenberg, in Grant, p. 157.
30. Isenberg, in Grant, p. 152.
31. Isenberg, in Grant, p. 152.
32. Isenberg, in Grant, p. 154.

33. G. Quispel, "The Jung Codex and Its Significance," in
F. L. Cross (ed.), The Jung Codex, London, 1955, 53-4.
TERTULLIANI ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS

[NOTE: This text is laid out exactly as the original apart from the following exceptions: a. verse numbers from the SC280 text have been inserted in red like this: [2] at the right places. b. A few typographical errors have been corrected, and a note in red added at the foot of the page in question. Greek text (handwritten in the original) has been entered using the SPIonic Truetype font].

T E X T

TEXT

I.

[1] Valentiniani, frequentissimum plane collegium inter haereticos, quia plurimum ex apostatis veritatis et ad fabulas facile est et disciplina non terretur, nihil magis curant quam occultare quod praedicant, si tamen praedicant qui occultant. custodiae officium conscientiae officium est. 5
 confusio praedicatur dum religio adserveratur. nam et illa Eleusinia, haeresis et ipsa Atticae superstitionis, quod tacent, pudor est. [2] idcirco et aditum prius cruciant diutius initiant quam consignat, cum epoptas ante quin-
 quennium instituunt ut opinionem suspensio cognitionis 10
 aedificent atque ita tantam maiestatem exhibere videantur quantam praestruxerunt cupiditatem. sequitur silentii officium; [3] attente custoditur quod tarde invenitur, ceterum

INCIP ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS--PM; INCIPIT LEBER EIUSDEM Q.
 SEPTIMII FLORENTIS TERTULIANI ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS--X

- 5. officium--J. Scaliger
- 6. adserverator--Junius
- 9. diutius initiant secl. Engelbrecht; consignat
 lingua--Rig. epoptas ante--J. Scal.; et portas ante
 PMX
- 11. videntur--J. Scal.
- 12. quantum--X

23

tota in adytis divinitas, tota suspiria epoptarum, totum 24
 signaculum linguae: simulacrum membri virilis revelatur. sed naturae venerandum nomen allegorica dispositio praetendeus, patrocinio coactae figurae sacrilegium obscurat et convicium falsis simulacris excusat. proinde quos nunc destinamus haereticos sanctis nominibus et titulis et 5
 argumentis verae religionis vanissima atque turpissima figmenta configurantes--facili caritate ex divinae copiae occasione quia de multis multa succedere est--Eleusinia Valentiniana fecerunt lenocinia, sancta silentio magno, sola taciturnitate caelestia. [4] si bona fide quaeras, con- 10
 creto vultu, suspenso supercilio "altum est" aiunt. si subtiliter temptes, per ambiguitates bilingues communem fidem adfirmat. si scire te subostendas, negant quicquid agnoscunt. si cominus certas astuta simplicitate suam caedem dispergunt. ne discipulis quidem propriis ante 15
 commitunt quam suos fecerint. habent artificium quo prius

-
- 1. tota--X Rig, tot--PM; suspiriae--PMX, siparia--R3; epoptarum--J. Scal., portarum--PNDC
 - 4. obserat--X
 - 5. falsi--Rig
 - 8. caritate--Lat., claritati--PMX, facilitate Clara--Fred.

9. succidere--Rig, Kroymann; Eleusinia--Rig, eleusiniana
--PMX
15. ignoscunt--X; certes--R3, certe--PMX; astuta simplici-
tate--Thornell, statuum simplicitatem--PMX, tuam
simp.--R3, fatua simp.--Kroymann; suam caedem--Kroy-
mann, sua caede--PMX

persuadeant quam edocent. veritas autem docendo persuadet 25
non suadendo docet.

II.

[1] Ideoque simplices notamur apud illos, ut hoc tantum non
etiam sapientes, quasi statim deficere cogatur a simplici-
tate sapientia, domino utramque ingente, "estote prudentes
ut serpentes et simplices ut columbae." aut si nos prop- 5
terea insipientes quia simplices, num ergo et illi prop-
terea non simplices quia sapientes? nocentissimi autem
qui non simplices sicut stultissimi qui non sapientes. [2] et
tamen malim meam partem meliori sumi vitio, si forte.
praestat minus sapere quam peius, errare quam fallere. 10
porro facies dei spectatur in simplicitate quaerendi ut
docet ipsa Sophia, non quidem Valentini, sed Salomonis.
deinde infantes testimonium Christi sanguine litaverunt;
pueros vocem qui crucem clamant? nec pueri nec infantes,
id est simplices non erant; [3] repuerascere nos et apostolus 15
iubet secundum deum, ut malitia infantes per simplicitatem
ita demum sapientes sensibus; simul dedit sapientiae

-
4. deficere cogatur--R3, defigere cogitur--PMX
10. malum--X; meam--PMX, eam--Oehler
12. spectatur--Engelbrecht, exspectat--PMX, exspectatur--
Oehler, spectat--Rig
13. doceat--X
17. iubens--Kroymann; dominum--Kroymann
18. simus, semel dedit--Kroymann, dedi in--PMX

ordinem de simplicitate manandi. [4] in summa: Christum col- 26
umba demonstrare solita est, serpens vero temptare; illa et
a primordio divinae pacis praeco, ille a primordio divinae
imaginis praedo. its facilius simplicitas sola deum et
agnoscere poterit et ostendere, prudentia sola concutere
potius et prodere. 5

III.

[1] abscondat itaque se serpens quantum potest, totamque pru-
dentiam in latebrarum ambagibus torqueat, alte habitet, in
casca detrudat, per amfractus seriem suam evolvat; tor-
tuose procedat nec semel totus, lucifuga bestia; nostrae 10
columbae etiam domus simplex in editis semper et apertis 10
et ad lucem. amat figura spiritus sancti orientem Christi
figuram. [2] Nihil veritas erubescit nisi solummodo abscondi,
quia nec pudebit ullum aures ei dedere, eum deum recognos-
cere quem iam illi natura commisit, quem cotidie in operi- 15
bus omnibus sentit, hoc solum minus notum quod unicum non 15
putavit, quod in numero nominavit, quod in aliis adoravit.
[3] alioquin a turba eorum et aliam frequentiam suadere, a

-
1. manantis--Rig, mando--R3
5,6. concutere. ..prodere, secl. Kroymann
9. detrudat--MX, detrudatur--P; suam; si evolvat--Kroymann
16. notum quam--X
-

domestico principatu ad incognitum transmovere, a manifesto 27
ad occultum retorquere de limine fidem offendere est. iam
si et in totam fabulam initietur nonne tale aliquid recorda-
bitur se in infamia inter somni difficultates a nutricula
audisse, Lamiae turres et pectines Solis. [4] sed qui ex alia
conscientia venerit fidei, si inveniatur tot nomina Aeonum, 5
tot conjugia, tot genimina, tot exitus, tot eventus felici-
tates infelicitates dispersae atque concisae divinitatis,
dubitabitne ibidem pronuntiare has esse fabulas et geneal-
ogias indeterminatas quas apostoli spiritus, his iam tunc
pullulantibus seminibus haereticis, damnare praevenit? 10
[5] merito itaque non simplices, merito tantummodo prudentes,
qui talia neque facile producant neque exerte defendunt sed
nec omnes quos edocent, perdocent. utique astute, ut pudenda,
ceterum inhumane, si honesta. tamen simplices nos omnia
scimus. denique hunc primum cuneum congressionis armavimus 15
detectorem et designatorem totius conscientiae illorum
primamque hanc victoriam auspicamur quia quod tanto impendio
absconditur, etiam solummodo demonstrare destruere est.

-
2. fidem om.--P
3. sic Engelbrecht, dabitur te--PMX
5. aliqua--Kroymann
7. genimina--M (man. 1), gemina--PMX
15. omnes sumus--PR1
16. armabimus--Kroymann
18. auspicamus--M

IV. 28

[1] novimus inquam optime originem quoque ipsorum et scimus cur
Valentinianos appellemus, licet non esse videantur, absces-
seruat enim a conditore sed minime origo deletur et si forte
mutetur: testatio est ipsa mutatio. speraverat episcopatum
Valentinus quia et ingenio poterat et eloquio, sed alium ex
martyrii praerogativa loca potitum indignatus, de ecclesia 5
authenticae regulae abruptit. ut solent animi pro prioratu
exciti praesumptione ultionis accendi, [2] ad expugnandum con-
versus veritatem et cuiusdam veteris opinionis semitam nac-
tus Colorbaso viam delineavit. eam postmodum Ptolomaeus
intravit, nominibus et numeris Aeonum distinctis in per- 10
sonales substantias, sed extra deum determinatas, quas Val-
entinus in ipsa summa divinitatis (ut sensus et affectus,
motus) incluserat. deduxit et Heracleon inde tramites quos-
dam et Secundus et magus Marcus. [3] multum circa imagines
legis Theotimus operatus est. ita nusquam iam Valentinus 15
et tamen Valentiniani qui per Valentinum. soius ad hodi-
ernum Antiochiae Axionicus memoriam Valentini integra

-
1. novissimus--X
4. speraverat--R, separaverat--PMX
9. semitam nactus--Oehler, semini nactus--PMX, semini
actu--R3, semen nactus--Lat.
10. Colorbaso--Lat., colubroso--PMX, colubro suo--Kroy-
mann; Ptholomaeus--X (semper)
11. instravit--Rig.
11,12. in per. sub.--R3, personale substantia--PMX
14. in detramites--X

29

custodia regularum eius consolatur. alioquin tantum se
huic haeresi suadere permissum est quantum lupae feminae
formam cotidie supparare solemne est. [4] quidni, cum spiri-

tale illud semen suum sic in unoquoque recenseant? si aliquid novi adstruxerint revelationem statim appellant praesumptionem et charisma ingenium, nec unitatem sed diversitatem. ideoque prospicimus, seposita alla solemni dissimulatione sua, plerosque dividi quibusdam articulis. etiam bona fide dicturos "hoc ita non est" et "hoc aliter accipio" et "hoc non agnosco." varietate enim innovatur regularum facies; habet etiam colores ignorantiarum. 5
10

V.

[1] mihi autem cum archetypis erat limes principalium magistrorum, non cum affectatis ducibus passivorum discipulorum. nec undique dicemur ipsi nobis finxisse materias quas tot iam viri sanctitate et praestantia insignes, nec solum nostra antecessores sed ipsorum haeresiarcharum contemporales, instructissimis voluminibus et prodiderunt et retulerunt ut Iustinus, philosophus et martyr; ut Miltiades, ecclesiarum 15

-
1. sic R3, regular eius--PM, regulare ius--X
3. sic R3, superare--PMX; quidni, cum--R3, quid iniquum--PMX
6. post "unitatem" ponit lacunam Kroymann
7. illos--Kroymann
10. innovata--Kroymann
11. ignorantia earum--J.Scal., ignorantiae eorum--Engelbrecht
Note: 12. pricipalium changed to principalium (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.

sophista; ut Irenaeus, omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator; ut Proculus noster, virginis senectae et Christianae eloquentiae dignitas, quos in omni opere fidei quemadmodum in isto optaverim adsequi; [2] aut si in totum haereses non sunt, ut qui eas pellunt finxisse credantur, mentietur apostolus praedicator illarum. porro si sunt, non aliae erunt quam quae retractantur. nemo tam otiosus fertur, stilo ut materias habens fingat. 30
5

VI.

[1] igitur hoc libello quo demonstrationem solum praemittentes illius arcani, ne quem ex nominibus tam peregrinis et coactis et compactis et ambiguis caligo suffundat, quomodo iis usuri sumus, prius demandabo: quorundam enim de Graeco interpretatio non occurrit ad expeditam proinde nominis formae; quorundam nec de sexu genera conveniunt; quorundam usitatio in Graeco notitia est. [2] itaque plurimum Graeca ponemus; significantiae per paginarum limites aderunt, nec Latinis quidem deerunt Graeca sed in lineis desuper nota- 10
15

-
2. noster--J. Scal., nostrae--PMX
4. in tota haeresi--X
6. fixisse--MX
9, 10. sumus illius--Kroymann; promittimus--Rig.; solius--PMX, illius--R3, totius--Engelbrecht; archani--PM, archnine--X
12. sumus--MX, simus--P
15. Graeca (i.e., nomina)--Rig., Graeco--PMX; milites--MX
buntur ut signum hoc sit personalium nominum propter ambiguitates eorum quae cum alia significatione communicant. quamquam distulerim congestionem, solam interim professus narrationem, sicubi tamen indignitas meruerit suggillari non erit 31

delibatione transpunctatoria expugnatio. congressionis lusionem deputa, lector, ante pugnam; ostendam sed non imprimam vulnere. [3] si et ridebitur alicubi, materiis ipsis satisfiet. multa sic digna sunt revinci ne gravitate adornentur. vanitati proprie festività cedit. congruit et veritate ridere quia laetans, de aemulis suis ludere quia secunda est. curandum plane ne risus eius rideatur si fuerit indignus. ceterum ubicumque dignus risus, officium est. denique hoc modo incipiam.

VII.

[1] primus omnium Ennius poeta Romanus "caenacula maxima caeli" simpliciter pronuntiavit elati situs nomine vel quia Iovem illic epulantem legerat apud Homerum. sed haeretici quantas supernitates supernitatum et quantas sublimitates sublimita-

-
- 3. congressionem--R3
 - 5. delibationi--Kroymann; transfunctoria--R3
 - 6. in prima--X, in prima--P; ipsis om. X
 - 8. sunt sic digna--P; adornentur--XJun., adorentur--PM
 - 10. quia (alterum) secl. Kroymann
 - 14. Ennius secl. Kroymann
 - 16. legerat--X, legarat--PM
 - 17. supernitates om. PX; sublimitates om. P (add. manus I)

tum in habitaculum dei sui cuiusque suspenderint extulerint expanderint, mirum est. [2] etiam creatori nostro Enniana caenacula in aedicularum disposita sint forma, aliis atque aliis pergulis superstructis et unicuique deo per totidem scalas distributis, quot haereses fuerint. meritorium factus est mundus. [3] Insulam Feliculam credas tanta tabulata caelorum nescio ubi. illic etiam Valentinianorum deus ad summas tegulas habitat. hunc substantaliter quidem ai0w-na te&leion appellant; personaliter vero propa&tora et proarxh&n etiam Bython--quod in sublimibus habitanti minime congruebat. innatum immensum infinitum invisibilem aeternumque definiunt, quasi statim probent esse si talem definiant qualem scimus esse debere. sic et ante omnia fuisse dicatur. [4] sed ut sit expostulo nec aliud magis in huiusmodi denoto quam quod post omnia inveniuntur qui ante omnia fuisse dicuntur, et quidem non sua. sit itaque Bythos iste infinitis retro aevis in maxima et altissima quiete, in otio plurimo placidae et--ut ita dixerim--stupentis div-

-
- 1. de--PMX; sui om.--X
 - 3. disposita--X, deposita--PM; sint--PM, sunt--R3, om. X
 - 6. Feliculam om.--P
 - 7. caelorum. Nescio ubi ...--Kroymann; etiam--PM, enim--X
 - 8-10. sic Rig Irenaeum secutus, PRwARXw et PROARXHN--PM; Bython--Pam., Bythion--PM (semper); propa&tora ... Bython om.--X
 - 13,14. ut sic et--M (add "ut" man. I); non ut dicatur--Kroymann
 - 15,18. ante om.--X; sic R3, se itaque--PMX, sed et itaque--Kroymann; aevis--PM, eius--X; stupentibus--XM (corr. man. 2)

initatis, qualem iussit Epicurus. [5] et tamen quem solum volunt, dant ei secundam in ipso et cum ipso personam, Ennonian, quam et Charin et Sigen insuper cuminant. et forte accedunt in illa commendatissima quiete movere eum de proferendo tandem initio rerum a semetipso. hoc vice seminis in Sige sua

velunt in genitabilibus vulvae locis collocat. suscipit illa 5
statim et praegnans efficitur et parit (utique silentio)
Sige. et quem parit? Nus est simillimum Patri et parem per
omnia. [6] denique solus hic capere sufficit immensam illam et
incomprehensibilem magnitudinem Patris. ita et ipse Pater
dicitur et initium omnium et proprie Monogenes; atquin non 10
proprie siquidem non solus agnoscitur. nam cum illo pro-
cessit et femina cui Veritas nomen. Monogenes quia prior
genitus quanto congruentius Protogenes vocaretur. ergo
Bythos et Sige, Nus et Veritas prima quadriga defenditur
Valentinianae factionis, matrix et origo cunctorum. 15
namque ibidem Nus simul accepit prolationis suae officium,
emittit et ipse ex semetipso Sermonem et Vitam-- [7] quae si

-
2. Ennoian--Pam., et notam--PMX
 3. accedit--Kroymann
 4. movere--PMX, monere--Lat.
 5. hac--X; sic Engelbrecht, in Sigae suae--R3, insigne
suae--PMX
 6. veluti--Rig
 8. Sige--XM (add. "n" man. 2), Sigen--P; et quem parit
nus est--edd, sic Kroymann
 12. non (primum) om. X; adgnascitur--Lat., Kroymann
 - 13, 14. nomen add. Jun.; "nomen, fortasse aptum sed" suppl.
Engelbrecht; Monogenes . . . vocaretur secl. Kroymann

retro non erat, utique nec in Bytho; et quale est ut in deo 34
vita non fuerit! sed et haec suboles, ad initium universi-
tatis et formati Pleromatis totius emissa, facit fructum:
Hominem et Ecclesiam procreat. [8] habes ogdoadem, tetradem
duplicem ex coniugationibus masculorum et feminarum, cellas
ut ita dixerim primordialium Aeonum, fraterna conubia Val- 5
entinianorum, deorum, census omnis sanctitatis et maiestatis
haereticae, nescio criminum an numinum turbam, certe fontem
reliquae fecunditatis.

VIII.

[1] ecce enim secunda tetras, Sermo et Vita, Homo et Ecclesia,
quod in Patris gloria fruticasset huic numero gestientes et 10
ipsi tale quid Patri de suo offerre, alios ebulliunt fetus--
proinde coniugales per copulam utriusque naturae: hac
et Sermo et Vita decuriam Aeonum simul fundunt; illac Homo
et Ecclesia duos amplius aequiperando parentibus, quia et
ipso duo cum illis decem tot efficiunt quot ipsi procrea- 15
verunt. [2] reddo nunc nomina quos decuriam dixi: Bythios et

-
1. Bythion--PMX; sic R3, inde obita--PMX
 2. suboles--PM, soboles--X edd
 3. formationem--Grabius ad Iren. p.8
 4. procreata--X
 6. coniunctionibus--P
 7. omnis--X Rig, omnes--PM
 11. fruticasset--PM, fructificasset--X
 13. proinde--PM, deinde--X; coniugales--R3, coniugalis--PMX;
hac--M, ac--PX
 17. Bythios--P, Bythos--MX

Mixis, Ageratos et Henosis, Autophyes et Hedone, Acinetos 35
et Syncrasis, Monogenes et Macaria. contra duodenarius
numerus hi erunt: Paracletus et Pistis, Patricos et Elpis,
Metricos et Agape, Aeinus et Synesis, Ecclesiasticus et
Macariotes, Theletus et Sophia. cogor hic, quid ista nom-

ina desiderent, proferre de pari exemplo: [3] in scholis 5
 Karthaginensibus fuit quidam frigidissimus rhetor Latinus,
 Phosphorus nomine. cum virum fortem peroraret "venio
 (inquit) ad vos, optimi cives, de proelio cum Victoria mea,
 cum Felicitate vestra, Ampliatus Gloriosus Fortunatus Max-
 imus Triumphalis." et scholastici statim familiae Phos- 10
 phori feu~ acclamant. [4] audisti Fortunatam et Hedonen et
 Acinetum et Theletum; acclama familiae Ptolomaei feu~. hoc
 erit Pleroma illud arcanum, divinitatis tricenariae pleni-
 tudo. videamus quae sint istorum privilegia numerorum--
 quaternarii et octonarii et duodenarii. [5] interim in tri- 15

-
1. Mixis--R, Maxis--PMX; Ageratos ... Autophyes add. Pam.
 ex Irenaeo, om. PMX; Hedone, acinetos--M, hedonea cinetos
 --PX
 2. Sincrasis--X
 3. Helpis--PMX
 4. Aeinus--Kroymann ex Irenaeo, aenos--MXP, ainus--R;
 sinthesis--MX, synthesis--P
 5. Theletus--R, et eletus--PMX
 6. in scholis--Rig, inisclis--PMX
 7. frigidissimus--Jun.M ("f" in ras.), rigidissimus--PX
 8. Phosphorus--P, phorphorus--M, phophortis--X
 11. sic R3, phosphorife--MP, phosphorie--X
 12. acclamant om. MX
 13. Theletum--R, heletum--P, haeletum--X, et eletum--M;
 sic R3, Tholomaiefe--PM, tholome ifae--X
 16. add. et denarii--Jun. Kroymann

cenario fecunditas tota deficit; castrata est vis et potes- 36
 tas et libido genitalis Aeonum--quasi non et numerorum tanta
 adhuc coagula superessent et nulla alia de paedagogio nomina.
 quare enim non et quinquaginta et centum procreantur? quare
 non et Sterceiae et Syntrophi nominantur?

IX.

[1] sed et hoc exceptio personarum est quod solus ille Nus ex
 omnibus immensi Patris fruitur notione guadens et exultans,
 illis utique maerentibus. plane Nus et quantum in ipso fuit
 et voluerat et temptaverat ceteris quoque communicare quae
 norat, quantus et quam incomprehensibilis Pater. sed inter-
 cessit mater Sige, illa scilicet quae et ipsis haereticis 10
 suis tacere praescribit, etsi de Patris nutu aiunt factum
 volentis omnes in desiderium sui accendi. [2] itaque dum macer-
 antur intra semetipsos, dum tacita cupidine cognoscendi Pat-
 rem uruntur, paene scelus factum est. namque ex illis duo-
 decim Aeonibus quos Homo et Ecclesia ediderant novissima 15
 natu Aeon--viderit soloecismus, Sophia nomen est--incontinen-
 tia sui sine coniugis Theleti societate prorumpit in patrem

-
5. sic PMX, hercitrae--Rig, hetaeri--Oehler; Sintrophi--X
 8. et (alterum) om. R3
 12. et si--X
 14. cupidine--MX, cupiditate--P (corr. R ex Hirsau.)
 15. namque quae--P
 17. nomen est--M (corr. in "nomine" man. 2)
 18. sui sine--Pam., suis ne--X, iusne--PM; Theleti-Croius
 ex Irenaeo in R3

inquirere et genus contrahit vitii quod exorsum quidem 37
 fuerat in illis aliis, qui circa Nun, in hunc autem, id est
 in Sophiam, derivarat, ut solent vitia in corpore alibi

connata in aliud membrum perniciem suam efflare. [3] sed enim
sub praetexto dilectionis in Patrem aemulatio superabat in
Nun solum de Patre gaudentem. ut vero impossibilia conten- 5
dens Sophia frustra erat et vincitur difficultate et exten-
ditur affectione; modico abfuit prae vi dulcendinis et
laboris devorari et in reliquam substantiam dissolvi. nec
alias quam pereundo cessasset nisi bono fato in Horon incur-
sasset (quaedam et huic vis est: fundamentum, universitatis 10
illius extrinsecus custos) quem et Crucem appellant et
Lytrotem et Carpisten. [4] ita Sophia periculo exempta et tarde
persuasa de inclinata investigatione Patris, conquievit et
totam Enthymesin (animationem) cum passione quae insuper
accederat exposuit. 15

-
4. innata--Oehler
5. praetexto--PMX, praetextu--R edd.; superabat--PM edd.,
superial--X
7. frustra erat--Jun., frustrarat--PMX, frustrata erat--Oehler
8. afuit--PX, adfuit--M; pravi--X
10. per eum--M (corr. in pereundo man. 2), per eum docessasset
--X; fato--R, facto--PMX
12. parenthesin indicavit R; illius--PMX, illius et--Oehler,
et illius--Kroymann
13. litro tenet--X
14. de inclinata--PMX, de declinata--Kroymann
15. Enthymesin (animationem) scripsi, animationem senthi-
mesi--PM, an. sinthimesi--X, an., id est enth.--R3

X. 38

[1] sed quidam exitum Sophia et restitutionem aliter somniaver-
unt: post inritos conatus et spei deiectionem deformatam
eam; (pallore, credo, et macie et incuria. proprie utique
patrem non minus denegatum dolebat quam amissum.) dehinc
in illo maerore ex semetipsa sola nulla opera coniugii
concepit et procreat feminam. miraris hoc? et gallina 5
sortita est de suo parere, sed et vultures feminas tantum
aiunt. [2] et tamen sine masculino mater et metuere postremo ne
finis quoque insisteret, haerere de ratione casus, curare
de occultatione. remedia nusquam: ubi enim iam tragoediae
atque comoediae a quibus forma mutuaretur exponendi quod 10
citra pudorem natum? dum in malis res est, suscipit con-
vertit ad patrem, sed incassum enisa et vires deserebant,
in preces succedit. tota enim propinquitas pro ea suppli-
cat, vel maxime Nus. (quid? in causa mali tanti?) nullus

-
3. sic destinxit Kroymann, incuria proprie--MX, incuria
prope--P, incuria formae--R3 edd., incuria propria--
Engelbrecht; utique--PMX, ut quae--R3 edd., proprie
uti quae--Fred.
6. concipit--Kroymann; hoc--MX, haec--P
7 - 9. aiunt--MX, parere aiunt--P; mater--PMX, matres--Jun.
Kroymann; et ... metuere--lacunam sig. Pam. Kroymann;
sic Kroymann, insisteret et haerere--Oehler, insis-
teret haerere--PMX
11. atque--MX, et--P; mutuaretur--P, mutaretur--MX
12. suscipit--MX, suspicit--P
13. et--PMX, ut--Jun.
14. succidit--R3, Kroymann
15. quid ni--R3, quid in--PMX

tamen Sophiae exitus vacuit: [3] omnes aerumnae eius operantur, 39
siquidem et illa tunc conflictatio in materiae originem per-

venit. ignorantia, pavor, maeror substantiae fiunt. ibi
demum pater motus aliquando quem supra diximus Horon per
Monogenem Nun in haec promit in imagine sua femina-marem,
quia et de patris sexu ita variant. adiciunt autem Horon 5
etiam Metagoea (circumductorem) vocari et Horotheten. [4] huius
praedicant opera et repressam ab inlicitis et purgatam a
malis et dienceps confirmatam Sophiam et coniugio restitutam,
et ipsam quidem in Pleromatis censu remansisse, Enthymesin
vero eius et illam appendicem passionem ab Horo relegatam et 10
crucifixam et extra eum factam--[5]malum, quod aiunt, foras.
spiritalem tamen substantiam illam ut naturalem quendam im-
petum Aeonis sed informem et inspeciata, quatenus nihil ad-
prehendisset, ideoque fructum infirmum et feminam pronuntiatam. 15

-
- 1 - 3. sic PMX, operantur in materiae originem siquidem ex
illa tunc conflictatione ignorantia pavore maerore...
substantias fiunt--Kroymann
2, 3. provenit--M; pavor--R3, pavorem--PMX
3, 4. ibi demum--R3, ibidem--PMX; motus aliquando motus--PMX
5. femina-mare--Rig., femina marem--PMX, feminam marem--
Kroymann
6. et de--Kroymann, aede--PM, aedoe--X, de--R3; sexu--R,
ex vita--PMX; Horo--X
7. Metagogia--MX; id est circumductorem--R3; Horoten--PM
10. censu remansisse--Gelenius, censura mansisse--PMX
11. adpendicen--PM; sic R3, abhorrere ligatam--PMX
12. eum--Rig. ex Irenaeo, aevum--PMX
14. inspeciata--Gelenius, inspectata--PMX
15. praenuntiatam--X

XI. 40

[1] igitur post Enthymesin extorrem et matrem eius Sophiam con-
iugi reducem ille iterum Monogenes ille Nus, otiosus plane
de Patris cura atque prospectu, solidandis rebus et Pleromati
muniendo iamque figendo ne qua eiusmodi rursus concussio
incuteret, novam excludit copulationem, Christum et Spiritum
Sanctum, turpissimam putem duorum masculorum--[2]aut femina 5
erit Spiritus Sanctus et vulneratur a femina masculus. munus
enim his datur unum: procurare concinnationem Aeonum et ab
eius officii societate duae scholae protinus, duae cathe-
drae, inauguratio quaedam dividendae doctrinae Valentini.
Christi erat inducere Aeonas naturam coniugiorum--vides quam 10
rem plane--et Innati coniectationem et idoneos efficere gen-
erandi in se agnitionem Patris, quod capere eum non sit neque
comprehendere non visu denique non auditu computiri eius nisi
per Monogenem. [3] et tamen tolerabo quod ita discunt patrem
nosse--ne nos et illud! magis denotabo doctrinae perversi- 15

-
3. prospectu--R3, prospectus--PMX
5. incuteret--PMX, incurreret--Rig., Gelenius
6. turpissimam--Engelbrecht, turpissimum--PMX
7, 8. munus enim--Engelbrecht, nomen in--PMX, numen--R3
8, 9. ab eius--R3, dabis--PMX; societate--R3, societatem--PMX
11. inducere--codd., enim docere--Jun.
12. plane--PMX, piam--R3; regenerandi--Kroymann
15. discunt--R3, discedunt--PMX
16. sic PMX, nosse. ne nos et illud (scil. faciamus) magis--
Engelbrecht, nosse ne nossent. illam magis--R3;
doctrinae denotabo--P

tatem quod docebantur incomprehensibile quidem Patris causam 41
esse perpetuitatis ipsorum, comprehensibile vero eius genera-

tionis illorum et formationis esse rationem. hac enim dis-
 positione illud, opinor, insinuat expedit deum non appre-
 bendi siquidem inapprehensibile eius perpetuitatis est causa.
 (4) apprehensibile autem non perpetuitatis, sed nativitatis et 5
 formationis, egentium perpetuitatis. [4] filium autem constitu-
 unt apprehensibile patris; quomodo tamen apprehendatur tum
 prolatus Christus edocuit. Spiritus vero Sancti propria ut
 de doctrinae studio omnes peraequati gratiarum actionem
 prosequi nossent et veram inducerentur quietem. 10

XII.

[1] itaque omnes et forma et scientia peraequantur facti omnes
 quod unusquisque; nemo aliud quia alteri omnes. refunduntur
 in Nun omnes in Homines, in Theletos, aequae feminae in Sigas,
 in Zoas, in Ecclesias, in Fortunatas, ut Ovidius Metamorphoses
 suas delevisset si hodie maiorem cognovisset. [2] exinde refecti 15

-
- 1, 2. sic R, incomprehensibilem--PMX; esse causam--X; sic R,
 comprehensibilem--PMX
 4. expedire--R3, experire--PMX
 8. adprehensibile--Engelbrecht, adprehensibilem--PM,
 adprehensibilem autem--X; quomodo--P, quoquo modo--MX
 9. propria--PMX, provincia--Kroymann; unde--PMX, ut de--R3
 12. et forma--MX, forma--P; scientia--PMX, sententia--Pam,
 sapientia--Rig. I
 14. in Nun--PNMR, in Nus--Pan., Kroymann; in omnes--XM ("in"
 in ras.); aequae--PMX, et quae--Rig.; insicas--PMX
 15. Philetos--PNM
 16. maiores--Kroymann

sunt et constabiliti sunt et in requiem ex veritate compositi 42
 magno cum gaudii fructu hymnis Patrem concinunt. diffunde-
 batur et ipse laetitia et utique bene cantantibus filiis,
 nepotibus. quidni diffunderetur omni iocunditate, Pleromate
 liberato. quis nauclerus non etiam cum dedecore laetatur?
 videmus cotidie nauticorum lascivias gaudiorum. [3] itaque ut 5
 nautae ad symbolam semper exultant, tale aliquid et Aeones;
 unum iam omnes etiam forma nedum sententia, convenientibus
 ipsis quoque novis fratribus et magistris Christo et Spirito
 Sancto, quod optimum atque pulcherrimum unusquisque florebat
 conferunt in medium. vane, opinor; si enim unum erant omnes 10
 ex supra dicta peraequatione, vacabat symbolae ratio quae
 ferme ex varietatis gratia constat. [4] unum omnes bonum con-
 ferebant quod omnes erant; de modo forsitan fuerit ratio aut
 de forma ipsius iam peraequationis. igitur ex aere colla-
 ticio, quod aiunt, in honorem et gloriam Patris pulcherrimum 15
 Pleromatis sidus fructumque perfectum compingunt Iesum. eum
 cognominant Soterem et Christum et Sermonem de patritis et
 Omnia iam ut ex omnium defloratione constructum: Graculum

-
- 3, 4. om. "et" R3; filiis et nep.--R3; iocunditati--Kroymann
 7. simbulam--PM, simbolam--X
 9. novis--M, nobis--X, om. P
 11, 12. aut si unum omnes . . . desiderat Kroymann.
 15, 16. collaticio--Rig., collocatio--PM, collacio--X;
 om. et--MX
 17. compingitur--M; Iesum--R3, ieiunium--R1, iciunium--PMX
 18. patritis--J. Scal., patruitis--PMX; deplorationem--X
 19. gragulum--PMX

Aesopi, Pandoram Hesiodi, Acci Patinam, Nestoris Cocetum, 43
 Miscellaneam Ptolomaei. [5] quam proprius fuit de aliquibus

Osciae scurris Pancapipannirapiam vocari a tam otiosis auctoribus nominum. ut autem tantum sigillarium extrinsecus quoque inornasset, satellites ei angelos proferunt par genus; si inter se, potest fieri, si vero Soteri consubstantivos-- ambigue enim positura inveni--quae erit eminentia eius inter satellites coaequales? 5

XIII.

[1] continet hic igitur ordo primam professionem pariter et nascentium et nubentium et generatium Aeonum, Sophiae ex desiderio Patris periculosissimum casum. Hori oportunissimum auxilium, Enthymeseos et coniunctae Passionis expiatum, Christi et Spiritu Sancti paedagogatum, Aeonum tutelarem reformatum, Soteris pavoninum ornatum, Angelorum comparaticum antistatum. [2] quod superest, inquis, vos valetate et plaudite. immo quod superest, inquam, vos erudite et proicite. ceterum haec intra coetum Pleromatis decucurisse dicuntur 10 15

-
1. aesiodi--PM
 2. Tholomaei--PM, pholomei--X
 3. Osciae scurris--Kroymann, hostias curis--PMX, Atticis curis--Rig., Atticis historicis--R3; sic PMX, pancarpian--R3, pancarpon--Rig.
 6. consubstantivos--R3, constantivis--PMX
 9. primus--Kroymann; processionem--R3
 11. Hori--R, Mori--PMX
 13. Christi--R3, Christo--PMX
 16. proicite--PMX, proh dicite--J. Scal., proficite--Oehler, explodite--Kroymann

Note: 2. Prolomaei changed to Ptolomaei (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.

prima tragoediae scaena, alia autem trans siparium coturnatio est--extra Pleroma dico. et tamen hic exitus sub sinu Patris intra ambitum Hori custodis; qualis extra iam in libero ubi deus non est? 44

XIV.

[1] namque Enthymesis sive iam Achamoth, quod abhinc scripta hoc solo ininterpretabili nomine, ut cum vitio individuae passionis explosa est in loca luminis aliena, quod Pleromatis res est, in vacuum atque inane illud Epicuri, miserabilis etiam de loco est. certe nec forma nec facies ulla, defectiva scilicet et abortiva genitura. dum ita rerum habet, flectitur a superioribus Christus, deducitur per Horon aborsum ut illud informet de suis viribus solius substantiae, non etiam scientiae, forma. [2] et tamen cum aliquo peculio relinquatur, id erat odor incorruptibilitatis quo compos se casus sui potiorum desiderio suppararetur. hac misericordia functus non sine Spiritus Sancti societate recurrit Christus 5 10 15

-
2. om. hic PMX, hic exitus--Kroymann, si talis--R3
 3. custodis--R3, custodes--PMX
 5. scripta--Fred., scriptam--PM, scriptura--X, scriptum--R3, scribam--Kroymann
 - 9, 10. defectiva--R3, devestiva--PMX, intempestiva--Oehler, de vexativa--Kroymann
 12. informat--R3, informat--PMX
 - 14, 15. id erat--Kroymann, iteratur--PMX, iteratus--Engelbrecht; sic PX, compos . . . casus--M, compos casus--Kroymann
-

in Pleroma. usus est rerum ex liberalitatibus quoque nomina 45
accedere: Enthymesis de actu fuit, Achamoth unde adhuc
quaeritur, Sophia de matre manat, Spiritus Sanctus ex angelo.
[3] accipit Christi a quo derelictam se statim senserat desider-
ium. itaque prosiluit et ipsa lumen eius inquirere. quem
si omnino non noverat ut invisibiliter operatum quomodo 5
lumen eius ignotum cum ipso requirebat? tamen temptavit et
fortasse adprehendisset si non idem Horos qui matri eius tam
prosperare venerat nunc tam importune filiae occurrisset ut
etiam inclamaverit in eam "Iao"--quasi "porro quirites" aut
"fidem Caesaris." [4] inde invenitur "Iao" in scripturis. ita 10
depulsa quominus pergeret nec habens supervolare Crucem, id
est Horon, quia nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata,
ut destituta ut passioni illi suae intricata multiplici atque
perplexae, omni genere eius coepit adfligi: maerore quod
non perpetrasset inceptum, metu ne sicut luce ita et vita 15
orbaretur, tum ignorantia. nec ut mater eius, illa enim
Aeon, at haec pro conditione deterius insurgente adhuc et

-
- 2, 3. quaeritur adhuc--X; patre--Rig.
4. Christi--Oehler, Christum--PMX; derelictam--Oehler,
derelicta--PMX
8. matre--X
9. nunc--PM, nec--X
14. intricata--Kellner, intrichea--PNM in trica--R3;
multiplici--R3, multiplicia--PMX
15. perplexae--Kroymann, perplexa--PMX
16. metu--R3, metum--PMX; sicut--R3, si ut--PMXR1
18. at haec--R3, ad haec--PNXR1, sed--Kroymann; condi-
tione--P, condicione--MX

alio fluctu, conversionis scilicet in Christum a quo vivifi- 46
cata fuerat et in hanc ipsam conversionem temperata.

XV.

[1] age nunc discant Pythagorici, agnoscant Stoici, Plato ipse,
unde materiam quam innatam volunt et originem et substantiam
traxerit in omnem hanc struem mundi, quod nec Mercurius ille
Trismegistus, magister omnium physicorum, recogitavit. [2] aud- 5
isti conversionem genus aliud passionis. ex hac omnis anima
huius mundi dicitur constituisse, etiam ipsius Demiurgi, id
est dei nostri. audisti maerorem et timorem; ex his initi-
ata sunt cetera; nam ex lacrimis eius universa aquarum
natura manavit. [3] hinc aestimandum quem exitum duxerit, quan- 10
tis lacrimarum generibus inundaverit. habuit et salsas,
habuit et amaras et dulces et calidas et frigiditas guttas et
bituminosas et ferruginantes et sulphurantes, utique et
venenatas ut et Nonacris inde sudaverit quae Alexandrum occi-
dit, et Lyncestarum inde defluerit quae ebrios efficit, et 15
Salmacis inde se solverit quae masculos molles. [4] caelestes

-
4. materia--R3, materiam--PMX
6. trismegistis--R, trimegistor--PMX
8. mundi--Gelenius, modi--PMX; ipsiusdem demiurgi--X, dem
iurgii--M (semper)
11. hinc--X, hic--PM
14. Ferruginantes in ras. M; utique--X, undique--PM
15. bene natas--PMX
16. Lyncestarum--R3, lycesiarum--M, licesiarum--PX
17. salinacis--X; molles--MX, mollescit--P; etiam caelestes--
Kroymann, etiam trans. Kroymann, ante "caelestes", caeles-

imbres pipiavit Achamoth et nos in cisternis etiam alienos 47
 luctus et lacrimas servare curamus, proinde ex consterna-
 tione et pavore corporalia elementa ducta sunt. et tamen
 in tanta circumstantia solitudinis, in tanto circumspectu
 destitutionis ridebat interdum qua conspecti Christi recor-
 dans. eodem gaudii risu lumen effulsit. [5] cuius hoc provi- 5
 dentiae beneficium! quae illam ridere cogebat idcirco ne
 semper nos in tenebris moraremur. nec obstupescas quin
 laetitia eius tam splendidum elementum radiaverit mundo cum
 maestitia quoque eius tam necessarium instrumentum defuerit
 saeculo. o risum illuminatorem! o fletum rigatorem! et 10
 tamen poterat remedio iam agere cum illius loci horrore--
 omnem enim obscuritatem eius discussisset quotiens ridere
 voluisset--vel ne cogereetur desertores suos supplicare.

XVI.

[1] convertitur enim ad preces et ipsa more materno, sed Christus
 quem iam pigebat extra Pleroma proficisci vicarium praeficit. 15
 Paracletum Soterem (hic erit Iesus largito et Patre universorum

-
3. corporalia--R3, corporali--PMX
 4. circumspectu--P, circumspecto--MX
 6. eo de gaudii risu--Jun.
 7. quae--P, quale--MX edd.
 8. quin--J. Scal., quis--PMX
 10. defuderit--Rig., defluerit--R3 ex Gorz.
 13. discussisset--Rig., discussit sed--PMX
 16. praefecti--Kroymann
 17. patte om. P; universorum--R3, universo--PMX

Aeonom summam potestatem subiciendis eis omnibus uti in ipso 48
 secundum Apostolum omnia conderentur) ad eam emittit cum
 officio atque comitatu coetaneorum angelorum; credas et cum
 duodecim fascibus. [2] ibidem adventu pompatico eius concussa
 Achamoth protinus velamentum sibi obduxit ex officio primo 5
 venerationis et verecundiae. dehinc contemplatur eum fruc-
 tiferumque suggestum; quibus inde conceperat viribus occurrit
 illi ku&rie xai=re. hic opinor susceptam ille confirmat
 atque conformat agnitione iam et ab omnibus iniuriis pas-
 sionis expumicat non eadem neglegentia in exterminium discre-
 tis quae acciderat in casibus matris. [3] sed enim exercitata 10
 vitia et usu viriosa confudit atque ita massaliter solidata
 defixit seorsum in materiae incorporalem paraturam commutans
 ex incorporali passione, indita habilitate atque natura qua
 pervenire mox posset in aemulas aequiperantias corpulentiarum
 ut duplex substantiarum conditio ordinaretur: de vitiis 15

-
2. conderentur--Pam., confoederentur--PMX; ad--X, at--PM
 4. fascibus--R3, facibus--PMX; ibidem--PX, ibi demum--M
 S. sibi velamentum--X; ex--R, et--PMX
 6, 7. fructiferum--P
 8, 9. sic--Pam., quirie chaere--PMX; dicens opinor. Susceptam
 ... Kroymann; sic Lat., confirmat atque confirmat--MX,
 atque confirmat om. P; agnitionis iam forma (fortasse)
 --Kroymann
 11. quae--X, qui--PM
 12. ossa viri--X
 13. incorporalem--Fred. ex Irenaeo, corporalem--PMX edd.
 14. sic Kroymann, habilitatem (habitabilitatem--X) atque
 naturam--PMX

15. possent--Kroymann
 16. conditio--scripsi, condicio--PMX edd.; de vitiis--R,
 divitiis--PMX

pessima, de conversione passionalis. haec erat materia quae 49
 nos commisit cum Hermogene ceterisque qui deum ex materia,
 non ex nihilo, operatum cuncta praesumunt.

XVII.

[1] abhinc Achamoth expedita tandem de malis omnibus ecce iam
 proficit et in opera maiora frugescit. prae gaudio enim
 tanti ex infelicitate successus concaefacta simulque con- 5
 templatione ipsa angelicorum luminum, ut ita dixerim, sub-
 fermentata--pudet sed aliter exprimere non est--quodammodo
 subsuriit intra et ipsa in illos et conceptu statim intumuit
 spiritali ad imaginem ipsam quam vi laetantis ex laetitia
 prurientis intentionis imbiberat et sibi intimarat. [2] peperit 10
 denique et facta est exinde trinitas generum ex trinitate
 causarum: unum materiale quod ex passione, aliud animale
 quod ex conversione, tertium spiritale quod ex imaginatione.

XVIII.

[1] hac auctoritate--trium scilicet liberorum--agendis rebus
 exercitior facta, formare singula genera constituit. sed 15

-
1. materia prima--X
 4. Achamotha--PMX
 7. ipsa om. X
 9. subsuriit--Rig., substruit--PMX; subavit--R3; intra se--Lat.
 10. vi--Kroymann, Fred., vis--PMX; laetantis--R, laetantes--
 PMX; ex--PMX, et--R, et ex--Kroymann
 11. prurigentis--X
 12. generis--Jun.
 14. ex spiritale--X

Note: 5. gaudio changed to gaudium (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.

spiritalis quidem non ita potuit attingere ut et ipsa spiri- 50
 talis; fere enim paria et consubstantiva in alterutrum valere
 societas naturae negavit. [2] eo animo se unum ad animale con-
 vertit prolatis Soteris disciplinis. et primum--quod cum
 magno horrore blasphemiae et pronuntiandum et legendum est
 et audiendum--deum fingit hunc nostrum et omnium praeter 5
 haeticorum, Patrem et Demiurgem et Regem universorum quae
 post illum, ab illo enim--si tamen ab illo, et non ab ipsa
 potius Achamoth a qua occulto, nihil sentiens eius et velut
 sigillario extrinsecus ductu, in omnem operationem movebatur.
 [3] denique ex hac personarum in operibus ambiguitate nomen illi 10
 Metropatoris miscuerunt distinctis appellationibus ceteris
 secundum status et situs operum: ut animalium quidem sub-
 stantiarum quas ad dextram commendant Patrem nuncupant,
 materialium vero quas ad laevam delegant Demiurgem nominent,
 Regem autem communiter in universitatem. 15

-
1. effingere--Lat.
 3. se--R3, si--PMX
 6. fingit hunc--R3, fingi adhuc--PMX
 7. deum demiurgum--P, deum iurgum--X; et regem om. P
 8. post--R3, postea--PMX; ipsa--R3, ipso--PMX
 9. Achamoth a--R, achamotha--PMX; qua--R3, quo--PMX
 10. sigillario--R3, singillario--PMX
 12. metropatoris--R ex Irenaeo, metropateris--PMX

15. materialium--Kroymann, maternarium--PMC, materiarum--R

Note: 1-2. spiratalis changed to spiritalis (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.
Also: 2. enem changed to enim.

XIX.

51

[1] sed nec nominum proprietates competit proprietati operum de quibus nomina cum deberet illa haec omnia vocitari a qua res agebantur--nisi quod iam nec ab illa! cum enim dicant Achamoth in honorem Aeonum imagines commentatam, rursus hoc in Soterem auctorem detorquent qui per illam sit operatus, ut ipsam quidem imaginem Patris invisibilis et incogniti daret, incognitam licet et invisibilem Demiurgo. eundem autem Demiurgum Nun filium effingeret. Archangeli vero, Demiurgi opus, reliquos Aeonas experimerent. [2] cum imagines audio tantas trium, quaero, non vis nunc ut imagines rideam perversissimi pictoris illorum: feminam Achamoth imaginem Patris, et ignarum matris Demiurgum--multo magis Patris--imaginem Nu non ignorantis Patrem, et angelos famulos simulacra dominorum? hoc est mulum de asino pingere et Ptolomaeum describere de Valentino.

-
1. cui nec proprietates--suppl. Kroymann; nomina--PMX, nomina omnia--R
 4. Aeonum universa facere volentem, eorum imagines . . .--suppl. Kroymann
 - 6, incognitus--X; daret--PM, darent--X
 7. licet--PMX, scilicet--R; invisibilem--R, invisibilis--PMX
 8. effingeret--PM, effingere--X ',
 11. illorum. . . dominorum trans. Kroymann ante "quaero"; feminam--R, femina--PMX (feminam, man. 1)
 12. imagine--X; Nu non--Kroymann, non--PMX, Nu-R
 14. Tholomaeum--PMX

15

52

XX.

[1] igitur Demiurgus extra Pleromatis limites constitutus in ignominiosa aeterni exilii vastitate novam provinciam condit, hunc mundum, repurgata confusione et distincta diversitate duplici substantiae illius detrusae, animalium et materialium. ex incorporalibus corpora aedificat gravia levia sublimantia et vergentia caelestia atque terrena. tum ipsam caelorum septuplicem scaenam solio desuper suo finit; [2] unde et Sabbatum dictum est ab hebdomade sedis suae et Ogdoada mater Achamoth ab argumento ogdoadis primigenitalis. caelos autem noerou_j deputant et interdum angelos eos faciunt sicut et ipsum Demiurgum, sicut et Paradisum Archangelum quartum quoniam et hunc supra caelum tertium pangunt, ex cuius virtute sumpserit Adam deversatus illic inter nubeculas et arbusculas. [3] satis meminerat Ptolomaeus puerilium dicibulorum, in mari poma nasci et in arbore pisces; sic et in caelestibus nuceta praesumpsit. operatur Demiurgus ignorans et ideo fortasse non scit arbores in sola terra institui oportere.

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4. duplicis--R; detrusae--Kroymann, destrusae--PM, destrusus--X, distrusae--Jun., disclusae--Oehler; materialium--Kroymann (cf. cap. XVIII), materiarum--PMX
 6. tum--R3, cum--PMX
 8. dictum est--PMXR1, dictum--R3, dictus--Jun.; et (alter) --PMX, ut--Kroymann
 10. noerou_j --Engelbrecht, noeros--PMX
 13. quam--X; sumpserit aliquid--Engelbrecht ex Irenaeo

14. meminere--X; discipulorum--X

plane mater sciebat; quidni suggerebat quae et effectum suum ministrabat? sed tantum fastigium filio extruens per ea opera quae illum et patrem et deum et regem ante Valentinianorum ingenia testantur, cur sibi quoque ipsa noluit esse nota, postea quaeram.

53

XXI.

[1] interim tenendum Sophiam cognominari et Terram et Matrem et (quod magis rideas) etiam Spiritum Sanctum quasi marem Terram. ita omnem illi honorem contulerunt feminae, puto et barbam-ne dixerim cetera. alioquin Demiurgus adeo rerum non erat compos--de animalis scilicet census invaliditudine spiritalia accedere--ut se solum ratus contionaretur "ego deus et absque me non est." [2] certe tamen non fuisse se retro sciebat. ergo et factum intellegebat et factitorem facti esse quemcumque. quomodo ergo solus sibi videbatur etsi non certus, saltem suspectus de aliquo factitore?

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- 3 - 5. valentinianorum quoque--Kroymann; cur sibi. . . nota--sic P, cur se quoque istam noluit notam--MX, cur se ipsam noluit ei notam--Kroymann
6. tenendum--R3, teneam dum--M (corr. deum man. 1), teneam deum--X
7. quasi marem--P, quasi matrem--MX; huc trans. Kroymann "quasi marem terram" quae in mss. post "et matrem" leguntur. seclisit "terram" Kroymann; illi masculi--Kroymann
10. sic Kroymann, de animalibus scilicet censu invaliditudinis--PMX
13. factitorem--R, factitorem--PMX
15. factitorem--M, factitorem--PX

Note: 14. quomode changed to quomodo (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.

XXII.

54

[1] tolerabilior infamia est apud illos in diabolum vel quia origo sordidior capit. ex nequitia enim maeroris illius deputatur ex qua angelorum et daemonum et omnium spiritalium malitiarum genituras notant. [2] et tamen diabolum quoque opus Demiurgi adfirmant et Munditenentem appellant et superiorum magis gnarum defendunt ut spiritali natura quam Demiurgum et animale. meretur ab illis praelationem cui omnes haereses procurantur.

5

XXIII.

[1] singularium autem potestatum arces his finibus collocant: in summis summatibus praesidet tricenarius Pleroma Horo signante lineam extremam; inferius illum metatur medietatem Achamoth filium calcans; subest enim Demiurgus in hebdomade sua; [2] magis diabolus in isto nobiscum convenit mundo coelementato et concorporificato, ut supra editum est, ex Sophiae utilissimis casibus, qua nec aerem haberet, recipiendi spiritus spatium, teneram omnium corporum vestem, colorum omnium iudicem, organum temporum, si non et istum Sophiae

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15

-
4. malitiarum--R3, militarium--PMX
6. naturam--X
10. praesidet--R3, praesident--PMX
11. medietatem--M

13. convenit--PMX, communi--R3

15. ultimis--X; qua--PMR, quam--X

maestitia colasset--sicut animalia metus, sicut conversio 55
eius ipsum Demiurgum. [3] his omnibus elementis atque corpori-
bus ignis inflabellatus est. cuius originaiem Sophiae pas-
sionem quia nondum ediderunt ego argumentabor motiunculis
eius excussam; credas enim illam in tantis vexationibus
etiam febricitasse. 5

XXIV.

[1] cum talia de deo vel de diis, qualia de homine figmenta?
molitus enim mundum Demiurgus ad hominem manus confert et
substantiam ei capit non ex ista, inquiunt, arida quam nos
unicam novimus terram--quasi non, etsi arida postmodum, adhuc
tamen tunc aquis ante segregatis superstitite limo, siccaverit 10
--sed ex invisibili corpore materiae illius scilicet philos-
ophicae de fluxili et fusili eius, quod unde fuerit audeo
aestimare quia nusquam est: [2] si enim fusili et fluxile liquoris
est qualitas, liquor autem omnis de Sophiae fletibus fluxit,
sequitur ut limum ex pituitis et gramis Sophiae constitisse 15
credamus quae lacrimarum proinde sunt faeces, sicut aquarum

7. deis--M

9. ei--R3, si--PMX

10. terra--Oehler; fort. del. "non"--Fred.; adhuc--PMR,
hunc--X

11. tamen om. X; superstitite--R, supersteti--PM, superstiti--X;
succida fuerit--Kroymann, Fred.

13. audio--X

14. "nusquam editum" desiderat Kroymann

16. constitisse--R3, constituisse--PMX

quod desidet limus est. figulat ita hominem Demiurgas et de 56
afflatu suo animat. sic erit et choicus et animalis ad
imaginem et similitudinem factus quadruplex res: ut imago
quidem choicus deputetur--materialis scilicet etsi non ex
materia Demiurgus; similitudo autem animalis--hoc enim et
Demiurgus. [3] habes duos. interim carnalem superficiem postea 5
aiunt choico supertextam et hanc esse pelliceam tunicam ob-
noxiam sensui.

XXV.

[1] inerat autem in Achamoth ex substantia Sophiae matris peculium
quoddam seminis spiritalis sicut et ipsa; Achamoth in filio
Demiurgo sequestraverat ne hoc quidem gnaro. (accipe indus- 10
triam clandestinae providentiae huius.) [2] ad hoc enim et
deposuerat et occultaverat ut, cum Demiurgus animam mox de
suo afflatu in Adam communicaret, pariter et semen illud
spiritalis quasi per canalem animae derivaretur in choicum
atque ita feturatum in corpore materiali velut in utero et 15
adultum illic idoneum inveniretur suscipiendo quandoque
sermoni perfecto. [3] itaque cum Demiurgus traducem animae suae

1. desidet--R, desides--PMX; itaque--Kroymann

4. materialis--R3, materiali--PMX

9. Achamotha--PMX

11. quidem om. X

15. canalem--R3, carnalem--PMX; animae--Engelbrecht (canalis
animae--windpipe), animam--PMX

18. sermoni--R3, sermone--PMX; dum--R3

Note: 5. hox changed to hoc (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.

committit in Adam, latuit homo spiritalis flatui eius insertus et pariter corpori inductus quia non magis semen noverat matris Demiurgus quam ipsam. hoc semen Ecclesiam dicunt, Ecclesiae supernae speculum et Hominis, censum proinde eum ab Achamoth deputantes quemadmodum animale a Demiurgo, choicum substantis a)rxh~j, carnem materia. habes novum id est quadruplum Geryontem. 57 5

XXVI.

[1] sic et exitum singulis dividunt: materiali quidem, id est carnali, quem et sinistrum vocant, indubitatum interitum; animali vero quem et dextrum appellant dubitatum eventum utpote inter materialem spiritalemque nutanti et illac debito qua plurimum adnuerit. ceterum spiritalem emitti in animalis comparationem ut erudiri cum eo et exerceri in conversationibus possit. [2] indignis enim animale etiam sensibilibus disciplinarum. in hoc et paraturam mundi prospectam, in hoc 10 15

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1. cummisit--Jun.; flatui eius--Kroymann, flatu iesus--PMX, flatu--R3, flatu ipsius--Jun.
 4. hominis censum--M, hominis incensum--PX, hominis censum--R, hominis spiritalis censum--Kroymann; eum--PM, cum--X; eum spiritalem--Fred.
 6. arches--PM, archas--X; carnem--R3, carne--PMX, carnalem--Engelbrecht; materia--PM, materiae--X, materiam--Kroymann
 7. sic--R3, in quadruplim--PNXR1
 11. nutanti--R3, nuncianti--MX, nuntianti--P
 12. qua--R3, quam--PMX
 14. possit--Pam., potuit--PMX

et Soterem in mundo repraesentatum, in salutem scilicet animalis. alia adhuc compositione monstruosum volunt illum prosicias earum substantiarum induisse quarum summam saluti esset redactus: ut spiritalem quidem susceperit ab Achamoth, animale vero quem mox a Demiurgo induit Christum, ceterum corporalem ex animali substantia sed miro et inenarrabili rationis ingenio constructam administrationis causa interim tulisse quo congressui et conspectui et contactui et defunctui ingratis subiaceret. materiale autem nihil in illo fuisse utpote salutis alienum--quasi aliis fuerit necessarius quam egentibus salutem. et totum hoc ut carnis nostrae habitum alienando a Christo a spe etiam salutis excipiant. 58 5 10

XXVI.

[1] nunc reddo de Christo in quem tanta licentia Iesum inserunt quidem quanta spiritale semen animali cum inflatu infulciunt, 15

-
- 1, 2. praesentatum--X; alia om. X; secluserit in salutem ... animalis--Kroymann
 - 3, 4. prosicias--Kroymann, prospicias--PMX, prospicientias--R3M (man. 2); induisse--R3, invidisse--PMX; saluti--R3, salutis--PMX; susceperit--R3, susceperis--PMXI
 - 6 - 8. enarrabili--X; causa interim--Engelbrecht, causam vi--PMX, causam ideo--Oehler; contractui--X
 9. subiaceret--R3, subiacent--PMX
 10. aliis--P, alii--MX Kroymann
 11. egenti--Kroymann

13. excipiant--P, expectant--MX, expellant--R3
 14. tanta licentia--R3, tanti licentiam--PMX
 15. quantum--X

fartilia nescio quae commenti et Hominum et deorum suorum: 59
 esse etiam Demiurgo suum Christum filium naturalem denique
 animale, prolatum ab ipso, promulgatum prophetis, in prae-
 positionum quaestionibus positum, id est per virginem non
 ex virgine editum quia delatus in virginem transmeatoria
 potius quam generatorio more processerit per ipsam non ex 5
 ipsa, non matrem eam sed viam passus. [2] super hunc itaque
 Christum devolasse tunc in baptismatis sacramento Iesum per
 effigiem columbae. fuisse autem et in Christo etiam ex
 Achamoth spiritalis seminis condimentum ne marceresceret
 scilicet reliqua farsura. nam in figuram principalis tetra- 10
 dis quattuor eum substantiis stipant: spiritali Achamoth-
 iana, animali Demiurgina, corporali inenarrativa, et illa
 Soteriana, id est columbina. et Soter quidem permansit
 in Christo impassibilis inlaesibilis inapprehensibilis.
 denique cum ad prehensiones venit, discessit ab illo in 15
 cognitione Pilati; [3] proinde nec matris semen admisit iniurias
 aequae insubditivum et ne ipsi quidem Demiurgo compertum.

-
- 2, 3. eundemque animale--Kroymann ex Irenaeo; prophetis--
 R3, prophetis--PMX
 10. in arcesceret--X
 12. spiritali--R3, spiritalis--X, spirita--PM
 13. animali--PM, animalis--X; corporalis sine enarrativa--X,
 corporali sine enarrativa--P (corr. man. 1), M (corr.
 man. 2)
 16. ad prehensiones--Kroymann, adprehensiones--PMX, ad
 adprehensiones--R

patitur vero animalis et carnis Christus in delineationem 60
 superioris Christi qui Achamoth formando substantivali non
 agnitionali forma Crucis, ed est Horo, fuerat innixus. ita
 omnia in imagines surgent, plane et ipsi imaginarii Chris-
 tiani.

XXVIII.

[1] interea Demiurgus omnium adhuc nescius etsi aliquid et ipse
 per prophetas contionabitur ne huius quidem operis sui in-
 tellegens--dividunt enim et prophetiale patrocinium in Acha-
 moth, semen, in Demiurgum--ubi adventum Soteris accepit
 propere et ovanter accurrit cum omnibus suis viribus--cen-
 turio de evangelio--et de omnibus inluminatus ab illo etiam 10
 suam discit quod successurus sit in locum matris. [2] ita exinde
 securus dispensationem mundi huius vel maxime ecclesiae
 protegendae nomine quanto tempore oportuit insequitur.

XXIX.

[1] colligam nunc ex disperso ad concludendum quae de totius
 generis humani dispositione iusserunt. triforem naturam 15

-
2. qui--PMX, qui ad--R3; formando--Kroymann, formandum--
 PMX, formandam--R3
 3, 4. ita omnia--P; in imagines urgent--R3, in imagine sur-
 gent--PMX
 6. etsi--Gel., ut si--PMX, aut si--Kroymann
 8 - 10. prophetiale--R3, prophetiare--PNF, prophetiarum--
 Kroymann; in semen--R3; viribus suis--X

14. tempore--R3, te--PMX; oportuit consummare--Kroymann
 16. iusserunt--scripsi, iusserat--PMX, disserant--R3 edd.
Note: 12. its changed to ita (looks like a typo when compared with SC280). RP.

primordio professi et tamen inunitam in Adam, inde iam dividunt per singulares generum proprietates nacti occasionem distinctionis huiusmodi ex posteritate ipsius Adae moralibus quoque differentiis tripertita. [2] Cain et Abel, Seth fontes quodammodo generis humani in totidem derivant argumenta naturae atque sententiae: choicum, saluti degeneratum, ad Cain redigunt; animale, mediae spei deliberatum, ad Abel componunt; spiritale, certae saluti praeiudicatum, in Seth recondunt. sic et animas ipsas duplici proprietate discernunt, bonas et malas secundum choicum statum ex Cain et animalem ex Abel. [3] spiritalem enim ex Seth de obvenientia superducunt iam non naturam sed indulgentiam ut quos Achamoth de superioribus in animas bonas depluat, id est animali censui inscriptas. choicum enim genus, id est malas animas, nunquam capere salutaria; immutabilem enim et irreformabilem naturae pronuntiaverunt. id ergo granum seminis spiritualis modicum et parvulum iactu sed eruditu huius fides augetur

-
1. professi--R3, profecti--PMX; unitatem--X
 3. moralibus--R, morabilibus--PM, morabilibus--X
 4. tripertita--Kroymann, tripertitae--PMX; Seth--Kroymann, sed--PMX, et Seth--R3; Seth. hos fontes ...--Kroymann, romtes--P
 6. substantiae--Engelbrecht
 10. Chain--X
 11. spiritalem enim om. X
 12. quos--PMX, quam--Engelbrecht, quod--Fred.; de--Jun., in--PMX
 13. censui--R, sensui--PMX
 16. naturae om. P
 17. iacitur--Kroymann; eruditu--R3, eruditus--PMX; huius quem supra diximus fide--Kroymann

atque provehitur, ut supra diximus, animaeque hoc ipso ita ceteris praevertent ut Demiurgus tunc ignorans magni eas fecerit. [4] ex earum ergo laterculo et in reges et in sacerdotes allegere consueverat; quae nunc quoque si plenam atque perfectam notitiam apprehenderint istarum neniaram naturificatae iam spiritualis condicionis germanitate certam obtinebunt salutem immo omnimodo debitam.

XXX.

[1] ideoque neo operationes necessarias sibi existimant neo ulla disciplinae mania observant martyrii quoque eludentes necessitatem qua volant interpretatione. hanc enim regulam animalis semini praestitutam ut salutem quam non de privilegio status possidemus de suffragio actus elaboremus. nobis enim inscriptura huius seminis qui imperfectae scientiae sumus qua non norimus Theletum et utique abortui deputatur (quod mater illorum!). [2] sed nobis quidem--vae si excesserimus in

-
1. supra--PMX, ut supra--Oehler; animae quae--X
 2. praevertent--Engelbrecht, praevertant--PMX, praevertunt--R3; eorum--P; ergo--P, enim--MX Kroymann
 4. allegere--Fred., allegare--PM
 6. maturificatae--Jun.
 8. operantes--X
 13. inscriptam--X; perfectae--P; essentiae--PMX edd., scien-

tiae--M.R.Braun
 14. non norimus--M.R.Braun, norimus--PMX, amoribus--R3;
 Theletum--Kroymann, philetum--PMXR1, Theleti--R3;
 deputatur--PMX, deputamur--R3, deputatum--M (man. 2)
 15. vae si--R3, quasi--PMX

aliquod disciplinae iugum, si obtorpuerimus in operibus sanc- 63
 titatis atque iustitiae, si confitendum alibi nescio ubi et
 non sub potestatibus istius saeculi apud tribunalia praesidum
 optaverimus. [3] illi vero et de passivitate vitae et diligentia
 delictorum generositatem suam vindicent blandiente suis
 Achamoth quoniam et ipsa delinquendo proficit. nam et honor- 5
 andorum coniugiorum supernorum gratia edicitur apud illos
 meditandum atque celebrandum semper sacramentum "comiti," id
 est feminae, adhaerendi. alioquin degenerem nec legitimum
 veritatis qui deversatus in mundo non amaverit feminam nec
 se ei iunxerit. et quid facient spadones quos videmus apud 10
 illos?

XXXI.

[1] superest de consummatione et dispensatione mercedis: ubi
 Achamoth totani massam seminis sui presserit dein colligere
 in horreum coeperit, vel cum ad molas delatum et defarinatum 15

1. aliquod--X, aliquot--PM, aliquo--R3; obtorpuerimus--R,
 obtortuerimus--MX, obtortueribus--P
 3. potestate--X
 5. blandiente--R3, blandiuntur--PNDC
 6. proficit--PMX, profecit--R3
 7. sic Oehler, gratiae dicitur--PMX
 8. comiti--R3, comitti--PX, semini--M
 9. adhaerendi--Kroymann, adhaerendum--PMX, adhaerendo--
 R3; degenerere--X
 13 - 15. ubi--R3, subito--PMX; massam--PMX, messem--R3; subito
 totam massam acmoth--PM; presserit--PMX, perfecit--
 Oehler, messerit--Engelbrecht; vel secl. Kroymann;
 tum--Kroymann

in consparsione salutari absconderit donec totum confrequen- 64
 tetur, tunc consummatio urgebit. igitur imprimis ipsa Acha-
 moth de regione medietatis de tabulato secundo in summum
 transferetur restituta Pleromati. statim excinit compac-
 ticus ille Soter--Sponsus scilicet; ambo coniugium novum fient 5
 --hic erit in scripturis sponsus et sponsalis Pleroma. [2] cre-
 das enim ubi de loco in locum transmigratur leges quoque
 Iulias intervenire. sicut et scaenem et Demiurgus tunc de
 hebdomade caelesti in superiora mutabit in vacuum iam caena-
 culum matris sciens iam nec videns illam. nam si ita erat,
 semper ignorare malisset. 10

XXXII.

[1] humana vero gens in hoc exitus ibit: choicae et materialis
 notae totum in interitum quia omnis caro foenum. et anima
 mortalis apud illos nisi quae salutem fide invenerit.

1, 2. salutari--X, salutatia--PLI, alveari--R3, in conspar-
 sionis alutacia--Kroymann; confrequentetur--PM, fre-
 quentetur--X, confermentetur--R3
 3. medietatis--R, meditatis--PMX
 4, 5. transfertur--R3; restitutam--Kroymann; Pleromati--
 Kroymann, pleromatie--PM, pleromate--X, pleromati et--R3;

compacticius--R3, comparcinus--PM, comparemus--X; et ambo--Oehler; fient--R, fiet--PMX	
6. hoc--Engelbrecht; sponsus et sponsa et sponsalis ... <u>add.</u> Engelbrecht ex Irenaeo	
8. et scaenam--Oehler, et cainam--PMX, ex scaena--Kroymann	
9. mutabit--R3, mutavit--PMX	
10. sciens iam--R3, scientiam--PMX	
11. maluisset--X, maluissent--PM	
13. in interitum--Kroymann, interitum--PMX	
<hr/>	
iustorum animae, id est nostrae, ad Demiurgum in medietatis receptacula transmittentur--agimus gratias, contenti erimus cum deo nostro deputati qua census animalis. nihil in Plero- macis palatium admittitur nisi spiritale examen Valentini.	65
[2] illic itaque primo despoliantur homines ipsi, id est inter- iores; despoliare est autem deponere animas quibus induti videbantur, easque Demiurgo suo reddent quas ab eo averter- ant. ipsi autem spiritus in totum fient intellectuales neque detentui neque conspectui obnoxii, atque ita invis- ibiliter in Pleroma recipiuntur. furtim si ita est. [3] quid deinde? angelis distribuentur satellitibus Soteris. in filios putas? non. sed in adparatores? ni istud quidem. sed in imagines? utinam vel hoc. in quid ergo si non pudet dicere? in sponsas! tunc illi sabinas raptas inter se de matrimoniis ludent. haec erat spiritalium merces, hoc prae- mium credendi. [4] fabulae tales utiles ut Marcus aut Gaius	5 10 15
<hr/>	
3. census animalis nihil--Kroymann, census. nihil ani- malis--PMX	
5. despoliabunter--Kroymann	
6. autem est--X	
7, 8. quas . . . averterant <u>secl.</u> Kroymann	
9. detentui--M (man. 2), detenui--PMX	
10. recipientur--R3	
12. filios--R3, filio--PMX; non unus--Kroymann; si in--X; aparatores--R3, apparitoris--PMX	
13. imagines--R3, imaginis--PMX; in quid--R3, inquit--PMX; ergo--R3, erro--PMX; pudet--R3, putet--PMX	
14, 15. sponsas--R3, sponsas est--PMX; inter se de matrimoniis --PMX, iure matrimonii--R3; ludent--Kroymann, laudent --PMX, plaudent--R3, claudent--Oehler	
16. credendae--X; et Gaius--X	
<hr/>	
in hac carne barbatus et in hac anima severus maritus pater avus proavus--certe quod sufficit masculus--in nyphone Plero- matis ab angelo. . . tacendo iam dixi; et forsitan parias aliquem novissimum Aeonem. his nuptiis recte deducendis pro face et flammeo tunc credo ille ignis arcanus erumpet et universam substantiam depopulatus ipse quoque decineratis omnibus in nihilum finietur et nulla iam fabula. [5] sed ne ego temerarius qui tantum sacramentum etiam inludendo prodiderim. verendum mihi est ne Achamoth quae se nec filio agnitam vol- uit insaniet, ne Theletus irascatur, ne Fortunata acerbetur. et tamen homo sum Demiurgi; illuc habeo devertere ubi post excessum omnino non obnubitur, ubi superindui potius quam despoliari, ubi etsi despolior sexui meo, deputor angelis non angelus non angela; nemo mihi quicquam faciet quem nec tunc masculum inveniet.	66 5 10 15
XXXVIII.	
[1] producam denique velut epicitharisma post fabulam tantam etiam illa quae, ne ordini obstreperent et lectoris inten-	

1.	in hac carne--Jun., in hanc carnem--PMX; in hac anima--Jun., haec anima--PMX, haec omnia--R3	
2.	nymphone--R3, symphone--PMX	
3.	pariat--Kroymann	
4.	novissimum--Lat., onesimum--PMX, unum et tricesimum (<u>vel sim.</u>)--Oehler	
5.	erumpet--P, erumpit--MX	
10.	philetus--PX; fortunata--Pam., fortuna--PMX (cf. cap.VIII); acerbetur--R, acervetur--PMX	
12.	obnubitur--MX, nubitur--PRig.; potius--R3, potuit--PMX	
14.	nec--Oehler, et--PMX	
	<hr/>	
	tionem interiectione dispargerent, hunc malui in locum distulisse aliter atque aliter commendata ab emendatioribus Ptolomaei. exstiterunt enim de schola ipsius discipuli super magistrum qui duplex coniugium Bytho suo adfingerent, Cogitationem et Voluntatem. [2] una enim sans non erat Cogitatio quae nihil producere potuisset. ex duabus facillime prolatum secundum coniugium Monogenem et Veritatem, ad imaginem quidem Cogitationis feminam Veritatem, ad imaginem Voluntatis marem Monogenem. Voluntatis enim vis, ut quae effectum praestat Cogitationi, viritatis obtinet censum.	67 5
	XXXIV.	10
	[1] pudiciores alii honorem divinitatis recordati ut etiam unius coniugis dedecus ab eo avellerent maluerunt nullum Bytho sexum deputare et fortasse hoc dominum non hic deus neutro genere pronuntiant. [2] alii contra magis et masculum et feminam dicunt ne apud solos Lunenses Hermaphroditum existimet annalium commentator Fenestella.	15
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3,4.	Tholomaei--PM; ipsius--PM, illius--X; Bythio--PMX	
6,7.	prolatum--PMX, prolatu--R3; secundum--Kroymann, primum--PMX; monogenem et--R3, monogenes--PMX	
7, 8.	imaginem--R3, imagines--PMX; voluntatis--R3, voluntas--PMX	
9, 10.	vis ut quae--R3, visa utique--PMX; viritatis--Engelbrecht, virilitatis--Kroymann, veritatis--PMX, maris--R3; censum--R, sensum--PMX	
12,13.	bythio--PMX; ut fortasse--Jun.; dominum--PMX, deum--R3	
14.	pronuntiant--XR3, pronuntient--PM; et om. X	
15.	sic R; herma par oditum--PMX; existimet--R, existiment--PMX	
	<hr/>	
	XXXV.	68
	[1] sunt qui nec principatum Bytho defendunt sed postumatum, ogdoadem ante omnia praemittentes ex tetrade quidem et ipsum sed et aliis nominibus derivatam. primo enim constituunt Proarchen, secundo Anennoeton, tertio Arrheton, quarto Aoraton. [2] ex Proarche itaque processisse primo et quinto loco Archen, ex Anennoeto secundo et sexto loco Acatalepton, ex Arrheto tertio et septimo loco Anonomaston, ex Invisibili quarto et ottavo loco Agenneton. hoc quae ratio disponat ut singula binis locis et quidem tam intercisis nascantur malo ignorare quam discere. quid enim recti habent quae tam perverse proferuntur?	5 10
	XXXVI.	
	[1] quanto meliores qui totum hoc taedium de medio amoliti nullum Aeonem voluerunt alium ex alio per gradus revera Gemonios	

structam, sed mappa quod aiunt missa semel octoiugum istam
ex Propatore et Ennoea eius excusam. ex ipso denique rerum

15

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1. sunt qui--R3, sunt inquit qui--PMX; Bythio--PMX
 4. secundo--R, secundum--PMX; anennoetom--PMX; archeton--R3; aroatom--PMX
 6. anennoetom--PMX; acatalepto--PM; arceto--PMX
 7. anomastum--PMX
 8. agennethom--PMX
 13. gemonios--R3, gemonio--PMX
 15. propatore--Kroymann, et ex patre--PMX, et patre et--R3; excusam--Engelbrecht, ex causa--PM, excusam--X, exclusam--R3; rerum--PMX, eius--R3

motu nomina gerunt: [2] cum (inquiunt) cogitavit proferre, hoc 69
Pater dictus est; cum protulit quia vero protulit, hic
Veritas appellata est. cum semetipsum voluit probare, hoc
Homo pronuntiatus est. quos autem praecogitavit cum pro-
tulit, tane Ecclesia nuncupata est. sonuit Homo Sermonem,
et hic est primogenitus filius; et Sermoni accessit Vita, 5
et ogdoas prima conclusa est. sed hoc taedium omnino
pusillum.

XXXVII.

[1] accipe alia ingenia circulatoria insignioris apud eos magis-
tri qui et pontificali sua auctoritate in hunc modum censuit:
"est (inquit) ante omnia Proarche inexcogitabile et inenarra- 10
bile innominabile quod ego nomino Monoteta. cum hac erit
alia virtus quam et ipsam appello Honoteta. [2] Monotes et
Henotes, id est Solitas et Unitas, cum unum essent protuler-
unt non proferentes initium omnium intellectuale innascibile

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1. motu nomina--R, motu ominare--PX, motu nominare--M
 2. vero--PMX, vera--R3; hic--PMX, hoc--Engelbrecht
 3. hoc--PMX
 - 7, 8. omnino pusillum--Oehler, non pusillum--PMX, pusil-
lum--R3
 9. circulatoria--Oehler, cicurianiana--PMX, cicuri iam
anima--Kroymann, cicuria (inania)--Engelbrecht
 10. et--PM, a--X, ex--R3
 - 11, 12. et innominabile--R3; innominabile inenarrabile (bis)
--PM; moneteta--X
 - 13, 14. henoteta--R, ennoteta--PMXX; appello ennoteta id est
solita sed unitas cum unum. . .--M; solita sed uni-
tas--PX
 15. proferentes--R3, praeferentes--PMX

invisibile quod Sermo Monada vocavit. huic adest consubstan- 70
tiva virtus quam appellat Unionem. hae igitur virtutes,
Solitas, Unitas Singularitas, Unio, ceteras prolationes
Aeonum propagarunt." o differentia, mutetur Unio et Unitas
et Singularitas et Solitas quaqua designaveris--unum est.

5

XXXVIII.

[1] humanior iam Secundus ut brevior, ogdoadem in duas tetradas
dividens, in dexteram et sinistram, in lumen et tenebras,
tantum quod desultricem et defectricem illam virtutem non
vult ab aliquo deducete Aeonum sed a fructibus de substantia
venientibus.

10

XXXIX.

[1] de ipso iam domino Iesu quanta diversitas scinditur: hi ex omnium Aeonum flosculis eum construunt: illi ex solis decem constituisse contendunt quos Sermo et Vita protulerunt. inde et in ipsum Sermonis et Vitae concurrerint tituli. isti

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- 1, 2. monada add. R3 ex Irenaeo; consubstantiva--R3, cum substatia--PMX; unionem--Kroymann, unio--PMX
 3. singularitas add. R3 ex Irenaeo
 4. aeonum--R3, eorum--PMX; mittetur--X; et om. R3
 5. sic Kroymann, singularitas et suum et solitas--PMX, singularitas est summa--Oehler; quaqua--Kroymann, quamquam--PMX
 10. venientibus--Pam., veniant--PMX
 12. eum--PM, cum--X
 13. unde et--Kroymann
 14. tituli--Oehler, oculi--PMC, flosculi--R3
-

ex duodecim potius ex Homini et Ecclesiae fetu ideoque Filium Homini avite pronuntiatum. alii a Christo et Spiritu Sancto constabiliendae conversitati provisus confictum et inde paternae appellationis heredem. [2] sunt qui Filium Homini non aliunde conceperint dicendum quam quia ipsum Patrem pro magno nominis sacramento Hominem appellasse se praesumpserit, ut quid amplius speres de diis dei fide cui nunc adaequaris. talia ingenia superfruticant apud illos ex materni seminis redundantia. atque ita insolescentes doctrinae Valentinianorum in silvas iam exoleverunt Gnosticorum.

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1. ex duodecim--R, ex christo--PMX
 - 2, 3. avite--PMX, aiunt--Rig.; alii a--R3, alia--PMX; universitati--R, conversitati--PMX
 - 3, 4. inde--Kroymann, et inse--PMX, et iure--R3
 5. non aliunde--Kroymann; quoniam--Jun., quamquam--PMX, quam quia--Kroymann
 6. se add. Engelbrecht
 7. ut--PMXR, et--Kroymann; nunc--PMX, nomine--Kroymann
 8. superfruticant--R1, superfructificant--X
 9. insolescentes--Lat., Kroymann

ADVERSUS VALENTINIANOS EXPLICIT--PM; INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS Q.
SEPTIMII FLORENTIS TERTULIANI ADVERSUS MARCIONEM--X

I.

The Valentinians, as everyone knows, are the most commonly encountered sect of heretics--most common because they are mostly apostates from the true religion, quite willing to invent myths, and are not deterred from their inventions by a strict rule of life. These individuals care about nothing more than to conceal what they teach--if indeed anyone who conceals can be said to teach. Their duty of guardianship is a duty brought on by their guilty consciences. They preach confusion while (seemingly) asserting their piety. In just the same way concerning the Eleusinian mysteries, itself a heresy of Athenian paganism; the fact that they keep silent about these mysteries make them an object of shame. Consequently the mystagogues make entry difficult and perform long initiation rites before they accept the devotee; they put him on probation for five years in order to increase his anticipation by suspense and in this manner cause the awesomeness of their rites to match the desire which has been elicited. Their duty of secrecy is a natural consequence; they guard closely what they are finally to

73

74

reveal. Then--the entire godhead of the sanctuary, the object of devoted sighs, the secret signed on all tongues: the image of a penis. To allay disappointment, they bring forward the honored name of nature (using it allegorically) and cover their sacrilege with the help of an arbitrary metaphor. Thus they acquit themselves of the charge (of sacrilege) by this deceitful use of an image. In just this manner the heretics against whom we are now opening fire fashion useless and disgraceful tales out of the sacred names, titles, and contents of the true faith. They can do this because of the openhanded charity of the divine scriptures; from such a large work, many interpretations can be drawn. These people make the Eleusinian rites into Valentinian lures, sacred only because of their great silence, heavenly only because of their concealment. If you question them in all good faith, they answer with a poker face and raised eyebrows, "that is obscure"; if you feel them out diplomatically, they swear they have the same beliefs as you, only blurred in translation. If you indicate you know what they really think, they deny they know anything. If you attack them openly in argument, they make your victory over them ineffective by their clever innocence. They do not even reveal their secrets to their own disciples before they make them their own, but instead they have a trick by which

75

they persuade them before they teach them. In our case, however, truth persuades by teaching, she does not teach by persuading.

II.

Therefore we are branded "innocent" by them, and for that reason they do not consider us "wise." They imagine that wisdom has nothing in common with innocence, even though the lord connected both in his saying, "be prudent as serpents and innocent as doves" (Matt. 10:16). Now, however, if we are stupid because we are innocent, are they not "un-innocent" because they are wise? The most vicious individuals

39

are those who are not innocent, just as the most stupid are those who are not wise. As for me, I would prefer to be convicted of the better fault if I have to make a choice; it is better to have a lesser intelligence than an evil one; better to err than to deceive. Furthermore, the face of God is seen by those seeking in innocence--as the Wisdom of Solomon, not of Valentinus, teaches. Infants as well bore witness to Christ by their blood; can I call those who cried "crucify him!" children? They were neither children nor infants, specifically they were not innocent. The apostle moreover orders us to become like children according to God's will, in order that we might be "babes in evil" by our

76

innocence and secondly, "in thinking be mature" (I Cor.14). By this he makes it clear that wisdom should flow from innocence. To sum up, the dove used to reveal Christ; the serpent used to tempt him. The former from the first was the herald of divine love; the latter from the first was the thief of God's image. Therefore, innocence by itself can easily both recognize and exhibit God. Wisdom by itself can rather attack and betray him.

III.

Now, let the serpent hide himself as much as he can; let him twist his entire "wisdom" into the windings of his lairs. Let him live deep in the ground, push into dark holes, unroll his length coil by coil; let him slither out--but not all of him at once, the light-hating beast. Our dove, however, has a simple home, always in high and open places to ward the light since this symbol of the Holy Spirit loves the sunrise, the symbol of Christ. Just so, truth blushes at nothing except being hidden away, because no one is ashamed to listen to her, to learn to recognize as God the one whom nature has already pointed out to him as God, the one whom he sees daily in all his works. He was imperfectly known in that he was not considered to be one, in that he was worshipped in other guises. How should we convert some-

77

one from the crowd of these other gods to yet another mob, move from a familiar ruler to an unknown one, turn from what is well-known to what is secret? This is to trip on the threshold of faith. For example, if anyone is initiated into the entire story, will he not recall that he heard such things from his nurse as a wakeful child--such things as "the witch's tower" and "the rays of the sun"? To take another instance: if someone knowledgeable in our faith comes to these tales and immediately finds so many names of Aeons, so many marriages, so many offspring, so many dooms, so many adventures, joys, sorrows of a scattered and fragmentary godhead, will he hesitate then and there to call these the "myths and endless genealogies" which the apostle's inspiration had already condemned even then when these heretical seeds were sprouting? Rightly then these people are not innocent; rightly they are only "wise," these people who produce such myths with difficulty and defend them slackly. It is clever for them to be so slack, since their lessons are disgraceful; otherwise, they would be acting cruelly in not revealing all, if their lessons were honorable. Despite their reticence we "innocent" know all, and we have made this knowledge the first line of our attack. Our knowledge will be the scout and pointer of their entire scheme. We cast the augury for this first victory, since a mere expose

40

destroys what is hidden with so much trouble.

IV.

I affirm that we know quite well their origins and we also know why we call them Valentinians even though they seem not to be; for they have left their founder's path. Still their original teachings have not been at all forgotten, even if they have been changed somewhat: this very change bears witness to their former teachings.

Valentinus expected to become bishop because he had great abilities of mind and tongue, but another was preferred for the position because he suffered as a martyr. Angry at this, Valentinus broke with the legitimate church. Just as minds who have been excited with the hope of advancement usually burn anticipating revenge, he turned to overthrowing truth. Having discovered the trail of some old teaching, he paved the way for Colorbasus. Afterwards Ptolomaeus travelled the same path; he segregated those attributes--such as feeling, influence, and motion--which Valentinus had included in the totality of the godhead into names and positions, i.e., Aeons considered as animate individuals having their existence apart from God. Heracleon cut a few footpaths from there, as did Secundus and Marcus the seer. Theotimus evolved many things about the "forms" of the law. As you

79

see, Valentinus has disappeared, yet these are Valentinians who derive from Valentinus. At Antioch alone to this day Axionicus consoles the memory of Valentinus by a full obedience of his rules. The other heretics allow themselves to change their teachings with the same frequency a prostitute changes her makeup--and why not?--since each of them discovers that well known spiritual seed in himself: if they invent anything new, they immediately call it a revelation; they call their audacity a spiritual gift. They do not claim their sect is united, but admit it is diverse; consequently whenever they abandon their usual equivocation, we see that most of them are at odds about the meaning of certain dogmas, some saying in good faith, "this is not so"; others, "I take this in a different sense"; others, "I don't admit that." As we see their list of rules has been painted over by their innovations and looks as if it had been scribbled on by an ignoramus.

V.

My exposition will be limited to the original teachings of their chief teachers; it will not include the high-flying leaders of the mass of followers. I hope no one will say (because of this limitation) that I have invented this material for the occasion. No indeed, many men who were renowned

80

for their holiness and their leadership, who were not only our predecessors but also contemporaries of those very heresiarchs, have exposed and refuted them in learned volumes. I refer to Justin, philosopher and martyr, Miltiades, that churchly sage, Irenaeus, an eager discoverer of all doctrines, and our own Proculus, the living exemplar of a chaste old age and of Christian eloquence. In their footsteps I might hope to follow in all works of faith, just as I do in this work.

Now if in reality there are no heresies at all (as you must believe if you assume those who refuted them invented them), the apostle who predicted them lied. But if in fact they do

exist, they were none other than those which were examined by these men; no one can be considered to have enough leisure to invent material for his pen when he already has it at hand. VI.

Therefore, here is this book in which I have set out a mere expose of their arcana. Now, so that no one may be stupefied by the strange, forced, arcane, and ambiguous names herein, I will first show how I plan to use them: for some of the names, a translation from the Greek does not bring out the appropriate force of the name; for others, the gender of the word in the two languages does not match; finally, we are

81

more used to the citation of others untranslated. As a result I shall usually write the names in Greek with the meaning in the margin. Moreover, I will not omit the Greek form when I use the Latin name. I will note it over the line so that it will be a sign that this is an abstraction used as a personal name; otherwise there would be ambiguity since some of the "names" are used in other senses. Since I have put off for the future the full weight of my attack, attempting for the moment merely a recitation of their doctrines, this will not be an assault with a death-blow, since their disgraceful teachings deserve to be beaten black and blue. Consider this then, reader, as a feint before the battle. I will show where I plan to hit them, but I will not carry through. Also, if you must laugh in places, do so; it will suit the subject. Much of this should be refuted with laughter so that it will not be awarded serious consideration. Silly ideas often meet with ridicule. It is suitable even for truth to laugh because it is happy, to mock its enemies because it is safe. Be careful, however, not to laugh where it is inappropriate to do so. Otherwise where it is appropriate, you should laugh. Finally, after this introduction I will begin.

82

VII

Ennius, the Roman poet, was the first to mention (with a straightforward meaning) "the great halls of heaven," because of its lofty position or because he had read in Homer of Jupiter's feasting there. Now as for the heretics--it is a marvel how many pinnacles on pinnacles and towers on towers they hang, add, develop on the house of each god of theirs. Well, perhaps even for our creator these Ennian halls have been distributed like apartments. Perhaps they have various shops built on in front and assigned to each god by floors--as many floors as there are heresies. In this way the world becomes an apartment house; indeed, you might think the celestial flats are the Happy Isles Apartments, located somewhere. There even the Valentinian god lives--in the penthouse. They call him in essence *ai0w-na te&lcion* (the Perfect Aeon); as an individual they call him *propa&tora* (Original Father) and *proarxh_n* (Original Beginning), also Bythos (Abyss), which name does not suit at all someone living in heaven. They postulate that he is unborn, immeasurable, infinite, invisible, and eternal. They assume of course that they have proved him to be such if they postulate qualities everyone knows he should have. In the same way they say he existed before anything else. I declare that this is indeed true, but I criticise them in nothing more than in this, the fact

83

that the one they say existed before anything else they dis-

42

cover to be subsequent to everything else, indeed subsequent to things not of his own making. Anyway, let's grant that this so-called Bythos existed infinite ages ago in deep and profound calm, in the great peace of a peaceful and (so to speak) insensate godhead, as Epicurus declares. Despite this, they assign a companion to this individual, who is supposed to be alone, a second entity named Thought, whom they also call Charis (Grace) and Sige (Silence). Perhaps they served--in that praiseworthy calm--to encourage him to produce the beginnings of the universe from himself. Like semen he places this beginning in his Sige just as in a womb. Sige accepts it right away, becomes pregnant, and bears (in silence, of course)--whom? Nus (Mind), resembling the Father and equal in all respects. Specifically he alone can grasp the Father's vastness and his inconceivable magnitude. Consequently, he himself is called "Father" and "Beginning of the universe" and (as his proper name) "Monogenes" (i.e., only begotten), though not properly since he is not the only legitimate child. Another was born at the same time, a female whose name is Truth and for that reason, Monogenes might have been named Protogenes much more aptly as being the first born.

Now we see that Bythos and Sige, Nus and Truth are championed

84

as the first team of the Valentinian league. They are also the root and source of all the rest, for Nus immediately took on the task for which he had been emitted: he produces from himself Word and Life, which since they had not existed previously, were certainly not in Bythos--and what an absurdity if Life was not in God. Anyway this offspring whose duty is to found the corporate and united Pleroma, makes a profit: it gives birth to Man and Church. You now have an ogdoad, a double tetrad, resulting from the liaisons of male and female. These are the silo--so to speak--of the primordial Aeons, the incestual relations of the Valentinian gods, the source of all holiness and heretical majesty. They are a mob of either devils or saints (I don't know which), but certainly the parents of the remaining brood.

VIII.

Now the second tetrad, Word and Life, Man and Church, after they had sprouted for the glory of the Father, wish to offer something similar of their own to him; so they shoot off an equal number of sprouts, pairs of course, since they were combinations of both natures. On one side Word and Life gush out all at once ten aeons. On the other side Man and Church produce two more than did Word and Life; in doing so they make themselves equal in numbers to their parents, since the

85

pair Man and Church combined with the ten mentioned above make a number equal to what their parents, Word and Life, produced. I will enter the names of the ten I mentioned: Bythios (Profound) and Mixis (Mixture), Ageratos (Unaging) and Henosis (Union), Autophyes (Essential Nature) and Hedone (Pleasure), Acinetos (Unmoved) and Synchysis (Commixture), Monogenes (Only-Begotten) and Macaria (Happiness). These others are the twelve: Paracletus (Comforter) and Pistis (Faith), Patricos (Fatherly) and Elpis (Hope), Metricos (Motherly) and Agape (Love), Aeinus (Eternal Mind) and Syne-sis (Intelligence), Ecclesiasticus (Churchly) and Macariotes (Blessedness), Theletus (Perfect) and Sophia (Wisdom). Here I really must bring in a relevant story since these names

43

deserve it. There was once in the schools at Carthage a certain dull Latin orator named Phosphorus. When he was declaiming the role of a military man he said, "I have returned to you noble citizens from battle accompanied by my Lady Victory, by your Lady Joy, along with Nobility, Glory, Luck, Heroism, and Triumph." Immediately the students shouted Hooray! to Phosphorus' family. You have heard about Fortunatus, Hedone, Acinetus, Theletus. Yell Hooray! to Ptolomaeus' family. This family is that secret pleroma, the fullness of its thirty-fold divinity. Let us see what are the special attributes of these groupings of four and of eight

86

and of twelve. But meanwhile the entire generative power has ceased; the urge and potency and productive passion of the aeons is castrated. It is as if there was no more yeast in the numbers' dough, and no more names from the school records. Otherwise why are not 50 to 100 produced--why not Toilet-paper or Mignon?

IX.

There is also a discrimination between individuals here, because of all of them, Nus alone delights in knowing the vast Father and he alone rejoices and boasts while the others of course weep. Obviously Nus wanted and tried, as much as he could, to communicate to the rest of the aeons what he knew about the greatness and incomprehensibility of the Father, but his mother, Sige, intervened; the same Sige of course who orders her own heretics to be silent, although they say she interceded by order of the Father who wanted everyone to be inflamed with a desire for him. So, while they burn with silent longing to know the Father, a crime of sorts is committed--specifically, the youngest aeon (ignore the solecism; her name is Sophia) of the twelve aeons which Man and Church produced, unrestrainedly rushes off without her mate, Theletus, to seek the Father. In doing so she contracts a sort of disease which was epidemic among Nus' associates and which

87

had spread to this aeon, i.e., Sophia, just as diseases contracted somewhere in the body usually do damage in another part. In this case, under the pretext of love for the Father, a feeling of rivalry toward Nus, who alone rejoiced in his knowledge of the Father, overcame her. Since, however, she was attempting the impossible, Sophia accomplished nothing and was crushed by the difficulty of the task and was racked by her emotions. Indeed, she barely missed being swallowed up in the great sweetness of the Father and the labor of her search and she almost was dissolved in the primal substance. Only her destruction would have stopped her search if she had not by a stroke of luck run into Horos. (He acts as support and as the boundary-guard of this whole world.) They also call him Cross, Lytrotos (Redeemer) or Carpistes (Emancipator). He causes Sophia to become calm by removing her from danger and by persuading her to stop her useless search for the Father. She then cut off and abandoned her Inclination (in Greek--Enthymesis) along with the suffering which had then accompanied it.

X.

Some of the Valentinians have dreamed up another fall and redemption for Sophia: after her fruitless attempts and the disappointment of her hopes, she was all bent out of shape

88

(because of her paleness, thinness and neglect, I suppose.

44

In this quite suitable way she grieved that she was denied access to the Father, a denial that was no less painful than his loss.) Next in her grief she has conceived--with no help from her mate--and gives birth to a female offspring. Is this surprising? It should not be, even a hen can produce offspring by herself; even more striking, they say buzzards are only female. Anyway, she is a mother without a man and she fears her end is near; she is at a loss as to the treatment of her case; she is worried about hiding her condition. No help anywhere! Otherwise, where would we have gotten tragedies and comedies from which we borrow the procedure of exposing what is born out of wedlock? While her situation is in such a bad way, she thinks of the Father, turns to him. She has tried in vain, however, and with her strength deserting her, she turns to prayer. All her neighbors pray for her, especially Nus. (Nus? Pray for someone so evil?) None of Sophia's misfortunes are without effect: all her sorrows cause a reaction, in that her recent struggles bring about the creation of matter; her ignorance, fear, and sorrow become substances. Finally, the Father moved at last by her prayers sends the above-mentioned Horos to her. (This Horos, who was sent through the agency-of Monogenes-Nus, is in the Father's image, i.e., both masculine and feminine; thus the

89

Valentinians are at odds even about the Father's sex.) Some of these heretics also add that Horos is called Metagogeus (Guide) and Horothetes (Limiter). They say that with his help Sophia was turned aside from her crooked ways, cleansed of evil, and finally strengthened and restored to her mate. They add that Sophia remained in the pleroma, but that her Enthymesis and its accompanying suffering was banished by Horos, crucified and thrown out; as they say, "evil begone." The Valentinians define this Enthymesis as a spirit-like substance, since it is a natural outgrowth of an aeon, but one which is without form or shape, since it had grasped nothing. Consequently, they call it "sterile fruit" and "female."

XI.
Now after Sophia's Enthymesis is exiled and she herself restored to her mate, that famous Monogenes, or Nus, at leisure now and dismissed from his attentions and attendance on the Father, decides to consolidate matters and to fortify and stabilize the Pleroma so that no such upheaval can shake it again. To do so he knocks out another pair, Christ and the Holy Spirit. (I should think this pairing of two males immoral; but perhaps the Holy Spirit is female and the male is crucified by the female.) These two have one duty--to stabilize the aeons. From the association of these two in

90

this duty, two schools arise, two pulpits and the beginning (of sorts) of a division in the Valentinian teachings. Christ's duty was to teach the aeons the nature of their marriages--you see what sort of affair this was of course--to teach them how to form some idea of the unbegotten, and to make them capable of generating in themselves knowledge of the Father, knowledge, namely, that they can not get an idea of him or understand him--nor can they see or hear him--except by the help of Monogenes. Now I can acknowledge that the aeons learn about the Father in this way--certainly we do the same thing. What I do criticize is the perversity of what they learn: namely, that what is unknowable in the Father is the cause of their eternal existence; what

45

is knowable in him is the cause of their birth and material form or shape. To my mind the following is implicit in this teaching: it is best that God is not known if indeed his unknowableness is the cause of eternal existence. His knowable aspect is the cause, not of eternal existence, but of birth and material form or shape, conditions which lack eternal existence. In fact, the Valentinians postulate the son as the knowable aspect of the Father. Thus Christ, after being emitted, taught the aeons how the Father should be grasped.

The special duty of the Holy Spirit was this: after all the

91

aeons were equally eager to learn, she should teach them how to give full thanks and should bring true tranquillity to them.

XII.

Now all the aeons are equal physically and mentally. All of them have become what each one individually is; no one is different, because all are the same. Everyone is turned into Nuses or into Men or into Theletuses; all female aeons have become Siges, Zoes, Churches, or Fortunatas. Ovid would have erased his Metamorphoses if he knew of this greater one today. As soon as they have been reformed and stabilized and made tranquil by the truth, they sing a chorus to the Father with great exuberance of joy. He himself was filled with joy, certainly happy about his children and grandchildren who could sing so well. Why should he not be filled with complete happiness, since the Pleroma was freed from danger? In such circumstances, what ship's captain does not rejoice--even immorally? Every day we see sailors' orgies. Consequently, just as sailors revel at their banquets, so do the aeons, who are now alike in appearance, and in feeling, too, needless to say. In conjunction with their new brothers and teachers, Christ and the Holy Spirit, each one puts in the pot the best and most beautiful thing with which he is

92

decorated. (They wasted their effort, if you ask me; if they were all alike as a result of the above mentioned equalization, there was no incentive to win the pot, whose attractiveness lies only in the variety of things in it.) Anyway, they all brought the "Good" which they all were: the incentive was habit perhaps, or a regulation of the previous equalization. From the anted cash--as the expression goes--the aeons fashion in honor and glory, of the Father the most beautiful star in the Pleroma and the perfect fruit, Jesus. They name him Saviour, Christ, and Word; these are family names. They also call him the All, since he was formed from a bouquet of all flowers, like Aesop's Jaybird, Hesiod's Pandora, Accius' Bow, Nestor's Fruitcake, or Ptolomanus' Miscellany--all the same. It would have been more appropriate if these idle name-givers had called him Mr. Snatchit-all, a name perhaps from some Oscan skit. Moreover, to make a show for their puppet, they formed for him an angel body guard, equal in nature. If they are equal to each other, okay; if equal in nature to Saviour (since I find the word ambiguously placed), what eminence would he have among attendants of equal status?

XIII.

These scenes exhibit the first register of the aeons who are being born, marrying, and giving birth; they contain Sophia's

93

46

dangerous accident, caused by her longing for the Father, Horos' opportune help, the scapegoating of Enthymesis and its accompanying suffering. They also tell of the education by Christ and the Holy Spirit, the "reform through education" of the aeons, the peacock-like decoration of Saviour, and the consubstantial retinue of angels! "What else," you say? For you to exit clapping? Instead, I say you should stay to hear and jeer. What has gone before (i.e., the first scene of the tragedy) is alleged to have happened within the Pleroma. The rest of the play happens on the other side of the curtain--namely, outside the Pleroma. We have seen this development happen in the bosom of the Father, within the circuit of the guardian Horos. What kind of development will there be outside, where God does not exist?

XIV.

Enthymesis, then, or rather Achamoth (since from now on this incomprehensible name will be used) has been expelled--with Sophia's diseased suffering as a companion--into a place lacking light, which is a component of the Pleroma only. In that well known empty void of Epicurus she is wretched because of her location. Certainly she had no shape or surface at all, deformed and aborted creature as she was. While she is in such a state, Christ is persuaded by the aeons and led by

94

Horos to shape and form Achamoth by his own power; he forms her in essence only, not in intelligible form as well. Nevertheless, she is left with a small estate, namely "the breath of incorruptibility," and having this she can experience the desire for something better than she has. After he has done this deed of mercy, Christ returns to the Pleroma, not leaving behind the Holy Spirit.

Usually an abundance of entities creates an abundance of names: she is called Enthymesis (Inclination) from what happened, Achamoth from God knows where, Sophia after her mother, Holy Spirit from the angel called by the same name. In any event, she conceives a desire for Christ, by whom she has been deserted, as she immediately realizes. Thereupon she leaps up and goes to seek his light. (I might ask, if she did not know him at all, since he operated unseen, how could she look for his light which was as unknown to her as he was?) Nevertheless, she tried and might have grasped it if that same Horos who had run into her mother so fortunately had not unfortunately happened upon the daughter. He shouted at her, "Iao" just like "Make way!" or "Hail to the Chief!" Because of this we find "Iao" in the Bible. Thus she was driven away and prevented from going further; nor was she able to fly over Cross, otherwise known as Horos, because she had not played the part of Laureolus in Catullus' mime. Since she

95

has been deserted, the suffering, to which she is bound with many twisted ties, begins to afflict her in all ways; with sadness because she did not accomplish her objective; with fear that she would lose her life just as she had lost her light; with alarm, and finally with ignorance. She did not suffer as her mother had, for she was an aeon; instead, Achamoth suffered worse because of her status: another tide of emotion washed over her, a desire for conversion--to Christ of course--by whom she had been quickened and fashioned with a view toward this very conversion.

XV.

47

Now at last the Pythagoreans can learn, the Stoics can recognise, as can Plato himself, where the matter which they call eternal or uncreated had its origin and basis as part of the structure of this world. Even Mercurius Trismegistus, that master of all sciences, never discovered this. You have heard of Achamoth's conversion, another kind of suffering; from this every soul inhabiting this world is said to have arisen, even the soul of the Demiurge himself, who is our God. You have heard of her sadness and fear; from these everything else began. For example, from her tears the whole world of waters flowed. From this you can calculate what a disaster she encountered, so many were the kinds of tears she let flow.

96

She had salty, she had bitter and sweet, she had hot and cold drops, tarry and rusty, and mineral, even poisonous, like the water dripping from Nonacris which killed Alexander, or the flood of Lyncestian waters which make men drunk, or the Salmacis fountain which make men effeminate. Achamoth even wept heavenly showers and we go so far as to preserve another's sorrows and tears in our cisterns.

Next, material elements were derived from her alarm and terror. Moreover, she smiled occasionally even in a situation of such isolation, in a vista of such loneliness. She smiled remembering Christ's appearance. From this same smile of joy, light gleamed. What a favor of fate who forced her to smile now and then to keep us from being always in darkness! Don't be surprised; why shouldn't such a glorious element be radiated around the world by her joy? By her sorrow she would have deprived the world of this necessary provision. O illuminating smile! O irrigating tear! Her smile could also have been a help amid the desolation of her situation; namely it could have driven away the darkness as often as she wanted to smile, especially so that she would not have been forced to plead with those who had deserted her.

97

XVI.

She did plead, however; she turned to prayer just as her mother had. Christ, however, now disliked going outside the Pleroma and so sends a deputy, Paracletus Saviour. (This is supposed to be Jesus, to whom the Father gave supreme power over all the aeons, making everyone subject to him; consequently, we read in the apostle, "in him all things were created" (Col. 1:16).) Anyway Christ sends him with a retinue of co-eternal angels. You can imagine they accompanied him with twelve fasces. As soon as Achamoth saw them, astounded by their stately procession, she veiled herself at her first impulse of reverence and modesty. Afterwards, she gazed upon him and his prolific train. With the strength she had gained from this gazing she ran to him exclaiming, "Hail, Lord!" Thereupon, as I understand, he receives her, strengthens her and forms her in knowledge and finally cleans her from all damages caused by her suffering. He separated out her sufferings with more discrimination than he had shown in her mother's case, for he lumped together all defects or faults, active and violent, and set them as such apart in a solid mass. He changed them from an incorporeal emotional state into an incorporeal antecedent of matter, which was endowed with a sort of nature or aptitude by which it could become two opposing and comparable entities. In doing so he

98

founded two substances, different in nature: one evil be-

48

cause of the defects and faults, one capable of feeling be cause of the influence of Achamoth's conversion. This is the matter which lined us up against Hermogenes and the others who assume God made everything out of matter, not out of nothing.

XVII.

Achamoth, since she has been released finally from all evils, now, to and behold! grows and bears fruit for greater ends in this manner. Warmed by her joy at escaping from her unhappiness, and by her gazing at the angelic luminaries, she starts to stew inside (so to speak; I blush at the phrase but there is no other way to say it). In some such way she comes into heat for these luminaries and immediately swells up with a spirit-like conception formed according to the very image which she had swallowed and impressed on herself by the violence of her joyful emotions which came from her anticipation of sexual delight. Finally she gives birth and a triad or natures was born from a triad of sources: one material, arising from her suffering; one soul-like, arising from her conversion; a third spirit-like, arising from her mental image of Christ.

99

XVIII.

Now that she has become more practiced in managing affairs because of this new status--i.e., being a mother of three children--she decides to shape each kind of her offspring. She could not, however, touch the spirit-like one, since she was herself spirit-like; similarity of nature usually disqualifies consubstantial beings from having power over one another. Consequently, she turned to the soul-like one with the same purpose, following Saviour's training. First she does a deed which cannot be said or read or heard without horror at its blasphemy: she forms our God, the God of everyone except heretics, the Father and Demiurge and King of all that came after him, and hence came from him--if indeed you can say that they do come from him and not rather from Achamoth herself, who influenced his actions secretly, without his knowledge, like a puppeteer operating from above. In fact, because of this uncertainty as to the author of his works, they mix up the name Metropater (the mother is Father) for him, even though his other names are distinctly assigned according to the kind and place of his works: for example, they call him Father of the soul-like elements, which they put on the right hand; they name him Demiurge of matter, which they put on the left; he is King because he has power over everything together.

100

XIX.

I object; the particular essence of these names does not fit the essence of the creations from which the names come, since all these creations ought to have been named after that person who created them--unless, of course, even Achamoth did not create them! To be specific, they say that Achamoth sketched these pictures in honor of the aeons. Yet they transfer this work to Soter as its originator who operated through Achamoth so as to present her as the very image of the invisible and unknown Father, she being invisible, of course, and unknown to the Demiurge, and in the same way he created this same Demiurge to correspond to Nus, the son. The Aschangers, creations of the Demiurge, are models of the rest of the aeons. When I hear about such pictures of these three,

49

I ask you, don't you agree that I should laugh at these pictures painted by such a lunatic painter? Achamoth, a female and yet the image of the Father; the Demiurge, ignorant of his mother--not to mention of his Father--yet representing Nus who is not ignorant of his Father; the angels, the reproductions of their masters. This is the same as counterfeiting a fake or distinguishing Ptolomaeus from Valentinus.

101

XX.

Now, as we can see, while the Demiurge stands outside the Pleroma's boundaries in the solitary confinement of eternal exile, he founds a new realm, this world of ours. He clears away the tangles and separates the twofold variety of the substance exiled with him, which was soul-like and material. From this incorporeal mass he made heavy and light things, rising and falling bodies, celestial and earthly elements. Then he completed that seven-layered stage, heaven, with his own throne above it. Consequently, he is called Sabbatus from the sevenness of his home; likewise, his mother, Achamoth, is called Ogdoas from the analogy between her and the original group of eight. The Valentinians consider these heavens savants and also make them angels just as they do the Demiurge; for example, they call the fourth Archangel Paradise (fourth, since they place him over the third heaven), from whose power Adam drew while he resided there among the cloudlets and treelets. Ptolomaeus certainly remembered his childhood babblings, apples growing in the ocean and fish on trees. In the same way he assumes nut-trees grow in the sky. Of course the Demiurge acts in ignorance and perhaps he does not know that trees are supposed to grow only in the ground. Obviously his mother knew; why did she not inform him since she was implementing her own plans? I will ask later why she

102

was unwilling that he be aware of her actions which would testify that he is father and god and king even before the Valentinians brought their ingenuity into play.

XXI.

Meanwhile, just accept the fact that Sophia is named Earth and Mother and what is more laughable, Holy Spirit, as if Earth were masculine. In this way they have bestowed all his honors on a female--including his beard, I presume, not to mention other things. As for Demiurge, he was so incapable of understanding his situation, being unable as he was of approaching spirit-like essences because of his soul-like origin, that he thought himself alone and announced, "I am the Lord and there is no other" (Isa. 45:6). He certainly knew that he had not existed before and consequently knew that he had been made and that there was some creator of the creation. How then can he have thought he was alone, since he at least would suspect, even if he did not know, that there was a creator?

XXII.

Their slanders against the devil are more endurable, especially because his scummy origin justifies them. They consider him to have arisen from the evil part of her grief; they assign the origin of angels, demons, and all evil spirits to

103

the same source. Nevertheless, they affirm that he is the creation of the Demiurge. They call him World-holder, and they maintain that he is more aware of the higher world, since he is spirit-like in nature, than is the Demiurge, who

is soul-like. He whom all heresies serve deserves preference from them!

XXIII.

To resume, they station the citadels of the various powers within the following boundaries: in the height of heights the thirty-fold Pleroma rules with Horos defining the outer limit. Lower down, Achamoth resides in the middle space, stepping on her son, since the Demiurge is below in his seventh heaven. It is certainly fitting that the devil is with us in this world which has been conglomerated together from the same elements, i.e., from Sophia's profitable troubles, as I related above. "Profitable," I say, because he would have had no air, that receptacle of our exhaled breath, that soft covering of all bodies, that determiner of all colors, that engine moving the seasons, if Sophia's sadness had not cultivated it, just as her fear cultivated soul-like bodies and her conversion cultivated the Demiurge himself. In all these elements and bodies fire was kindled--now since the Valentinians have not yet revealed the feeling in

104

Sophia which was the origin of this fire, I will conjecture for the present that it was struck up during her feverish delirium. You can be quite sure she was feverish amid such troubles.

XXIV.

If they dream up such things about God--or rather about gods--what sort of things will they dream up about man? They say that after the Demiurge has set the world in motion, he turns his hand to man. He gathers material for making man not (as they say) from the "dry" land, which is the only one we know--they say this as if this land were not yet dry, although it became so later, since at that time the waters had not yet been separated from the remaining mud. Instead, he gathers the material from the invisible mass of that well-known metaphysical matter, from its flowing and viscous part. I take the liberty of conjecturing as to its origin, since no one has revealed it yet: since fluidity and viscosity are characteristics of liquids and since all liquids flowed from Sophia's tears, it follows that we must believe mud to be the rheum and sand which are indeed the dregs of tears, just as mud is the sediment of water. In this way the Demiurge shapes man and gives him life from his own breath. Thus man is supposed to be material and soul-like since he is made

105

after the Demiurge's image and likeness as a four-fold creation: (1) as his image we will grant that he be considered earthy, i.e., material, even though the Demiurge is not material; (2) as his likeness he must be soul-like, because the Demiurge is also; (3) afterwards they say that a fleshy coating was put on over the earthy and that this coating is the shirt of skin which has sense organs.

XXV.

(4) Achamoth had a small inheritance of spirit-like seed derived from the substance of her mother, Sophia, and identical to her mother. Achamoth hid this away in her son the Demiurge all unknown to him. (Imagine the perseverance of her secret foresight!) She deposited it and hid it for this purpose, namely that when the Demiurge later blew the soul into Adam with his breath, that spirit-like seed might be diverted into the earthy matter through the windpipe. Then,

after it had been nourished in the material body as in a uterus and after it had grown to maturity there, it might be found capable of receiving one day the complete Logos. Consequently, when the Demiurge was grafting this scion of his soul onto Adam, the "spirit-like man" lay hidden there too, since it had been planted in the Demiurge's breath and introduced along with the breath in Adam's body. I say "hidden"

106

because the Demiurge knew no more about this seed from his mother than he did about her herself. This seed they call Church. They say it is a mirror of the higher Church and Man; accordingly they consider this seed as an inheritance from Achamoth, just as they consider the soul-like part as coming from the Demiurge, the earthy from the primordial substance, the fleshy from matter. Now you have a new Geryon, only four-fold instead of three.

XXVI.

Just as they assign different origins to each part, so they assign to each a different end: to the material (fleshy) nature, which they also call "left-hand," they assign certain destruction; to the soul-like, which they call "right-hand," they assign a contingent fate depending on whether it inclines more toward the spirit-like or more toward the material realms, between which it wavers. Because of this (they say), the spirit-like nature was sent out to prepare the soul like nature, so that the soul-like nature could be educated with it and trained by long association. Otherwise, the soul like nature would have lacked even the training furnished by the senses. For this purpose, the structure of the world was devised, for this Saviour was presented to the world, namely for the salvation of the soul-like nature.

107

In still another version, they will have you believe that this prodigy (Saviour) put on the chief parts of those substances, the entirety of which he intended to save. He did this by taking on the spirit-like nature from Achamoth and the soul-like nature, represented in Christ, which he derived from the Demiurge. As for the rest, he had a bodily nature, (which was made from soul-like substance with wonderful and indescribable skill), only for the sake of helping himself in his work; in it he might be capable of being met, seen, touched, and even capable of dying for an ungrateful world. In reality, however, there was nothing material in him since matter is wholly alien to salvation. They say this as if other natures needed Saviour more than those who lack salvation! All this so that they might revoke our flesh's hope of salvation by estranging it from Christ!

XXVII.

Now I continue with what they say about Christ on whom they graft Jesus--with the same liberty as when they stuff the spirit-like seed in him along with the soul-like breath. They make him a mash of inventions of both Men and gods: the Demiurge also has his own Christ, his natural son (consequently soul-like), produced from himself, preached by the prophets. His nature must be decided by prepositions: specifically, he

108

was produced through a virgin, not from a virgin, because he came into existence carried in a virgin in a transportational, not a generational, sense. He came through her, not from her; he experienced her not as a mother but as a conveyance. Upon this Christ, then, in the sacrament of baptism, Jesus descen-

ded in the form of a dove. Apart from this, there was even in this Christ spice from the spirit-like seed of Achamoth—to keep the rest of the stuffing from spoiling, I presume. Following the analogy of the first Tetrad, they crowd him with four substances: the spirit-like from Achamoth, the soul-like from the Demiurge, the bodily which is indescribable, and the substance from Saviour, namely dove-like. Saviour at any rate remained in Christ untouched, unhurt, unknown. Finally, when captured, he left him during Pilate's questioning. Likewise, the seed from his mother did not receive injury, being equally, immune and unknown even to the Demiurge. The soul-like and bodily Christ suffered to illustrate the experience of the higher Christ who was stretched on Cross, otherwise known as Horos, when he shaped Achamoth in essence, though not in intelligible form. In such a way everything becomes an illustration or image; even, obviously, these Christians themselves are imaginary.

109

XXVIII.

Meanwhile, the Demiurge is still ignorant of all this. Even though he is supposed to proclaim these matters through the prophets, he is not aware of the true meaning of this task of his, because the Valentinians allot the prophets' patronage to three entities: Achamoth, her seed, the Demiurge. Anyway, when he has heard of Saviour's approach, he runs to meet him crying "Hail!" He came with his entire force (the symbol for this is the centurion in the gospel), and when he was enlightened by Saviour concerning everything, he discovered his own prospects, namely that he would succeed to his mother's office. Hereafter he administers the world confidently, especially for the sake of protecting the church as long as necessary.

XXIX.

I shall now gather from various sources material to demonstrate what they have decreed about the classification of the human race. They say that from the beginning man had a three fold nature which was nevertheless united in Adam. After Adam they divide up man's nature according to its individual characteristics. They have found an opportunity to explicate this sort of division in the posterity of Adam himself, a posterity, divided into three different moral characters. Cain, Abel,

110

Seth, who can be called the well-springs of the human race, distribute to this race their qualities of character and the results of how they were judged. Specifically, the Valentinians assign the earthy nature, regressed from salvation, to Cain; the soul-like nature, balanced between good and evil prospects, they place in Abel; the spirit-like, prejudged fit for salvation, they find in Seth. Consequently they separate souls into two groups, good or evil, according to their nature, earthy from Cain, soul-like from Abel. They distinguish only two groups because they put the spirit-like nature from Seth on a different level arbitrarily and call it grace, not a nature, a grace which Achamoth rains from above into good souls, i.e., souls of the soul-like category. (Only into these, for the earthy kind, i.e., evil, can never attain salvation. They define this earthy nature as unchangeable and incorrigible by nature.) Therefore, this grain of a spirit-like seed is insignificant and small when it is sown, but because of its training, the worthiness of these souls grows and advances--as we said above--until they become so

outstanding that the Demiurge, ignorant at that time (i.e., before Christ's appearance) of the cause, values them highly. From their number he habitually chose kings and priests. Even now if they attain a full and complete knowledge of these idiocies, they will gain certain salvation, a salvation which

111

is indeed due them since they are born into the spirit-like state.

XXX.

Because of these beliefs, they do not consider good works necessary for themselves, and they do not observe any calls of duty. They also avoid the necessity of being martyrs by any convenient quibble, for they say this rule of works has been prescribed for the soul-like seed in order that we might work out by our actions that salvation which we do not possess by virtue of our nature. We who have incomplete knowledge and who do not know Theletus, have the mark, indeed, which belongs to abortive creatures (like their mother Achamoth). As for us--woe, if we step outside the yoke of discipline in any respect; woe, if we are sluggish in doing works of holiness or justification; woe, if we hope to confess our faith somewhere other than among the powers of this world, i.e., at the tribunal of the judges. For their part, they prove their noble birth by the looseness of their life and by their delight in sin. Achamoth in this way coddles her own, since she sinned and benefited by it. They have the rule (adopted for the purpose of honoring the higher pairs) of contemplating and engaging frequently in the sacrament of uniting with a "companion," namely, a woman. They consider a man perverse

112

and a false son of truth if he does not, during his life on earth, love a woman and join himself to her. If so, what do the eunuchs do whom we see among them?

XXXI.

Their opinions about the end of the world and the distribution of reward and punishment are left to discuss: when Achamoth has pressed out the mass of her seed and when she has begun to store it in her cellar, or (to change the metaphor) when she has carried it to the mill and then has hidden the flour in the leaven of salvation until she has gathered it all, then the end is very near. At first Achamoth herself will be moved from her position in the middle, i.e., from the second storey, to the penthouse, and she will be restored to the Pleroma. Immediately that glued-together Saviour receives her, as her bridegroom, of course; both together make a new pair. This is supposed to be the bridegroom mentioned in the Bible, with the Pleroma as bridal-chamber! You might think that the Julian laws are intervening, since there are these trips from place to place. Just like his mother, the Demiurge will then move from his seventh heaven into a higher place, into the now vacant apartments of his mother. Now he can know about her, even though he does not see her. But, if all these things had happened, he might have preferred to be in the dark about her forever.

113

XXXII.

The human race has this fate: complete destruction for every soul stamped "earthy" or "material," because "all flesh is grass" (Isa. 40:6). We see that they think even the soul is mortal unless it finds salvation by faith. The souls of righteous men, namely ours, will be carried to the Demiurge

in the shelter of his middle region--we are thankful; we will be happy to be counted with our god from whom we received our soul-like origin. Nothing is admitted into the palace of the Pleroma except the spirit-like swarm of Valentinus. These men then, men destined to enter the Pleroma, are unclothed first; to be unclothed means to put aside the souls with which they are only apparently endowed. They return to the Demiurge these souls which they received from him. They become spirits entirely metaphysical, immune to restraint or detection; in this fashion they are received invisibly into the Pleroma--secretly, if this is the way it is! What then? They are handed out to the angels who accompany Saviour. As sons, do you suppose? No. As valets perhaps? Not even this. As ghosts? I wish even this were the case! What, then, if you are not ashamed to say? As wives! For marriages they will play "Rape the Sabines" among themselves. This is the reward for being "spirit-like"; this is the prize for believing. These are proper little stories; for example, you, Marcus, or

114

you, Gaius, at present bearded in this body and in this soul a stern husband, father, grandfather, or great-grandfather--certainly masculine enough--then, in this harem of a Pleroma, by some angel you might be. . . ; by my silence I have already said it. Anyway perhaps you might give birth to some new aeon. In place of the usual torch and veil I imagine that famous mysterious fire will blaze out to solemnize the ceremony, and will devastate the entire universe, then be reduced to nothing, after it has incinerated everything. That will be the end of their myth. But I am certainly the rash one for betraying, even in jest, such a great mystery. I should be afraid that Achamoth, who wanted to be unrecognized even by her own son, may rage; that Theletus may become angry; that Fortunata may be irritated. But why worry? I am the Demiurge's man. It will be my fate to return after death to a place where there is no giving in marriage, where we are to be further clothed rather than unclothed (II Cor. 5); where even if I were unclothed of my sex, I would be classified as an angel, neither male nor female. No one will do anything to me since he will not find me as male then.

XXXIII.

I will at last produce by way of a finale to so long a tale those things which I preferred to put off until now to avoid

115

interrupting the order of narration and disturbing the reader's attention. The following topics are gathered from here and there in commentaries by Ptolomaeus' improvers. Yes, improvers, for there have arisen in his school students superior to their master. These have devised a double marriage for their Bythos; his wives are Thought and Will. He had two because Thought alone was not enough; nothing can be produced by Thought alone. From the two, however, Monogenes and Truth were quite easily procreated in marriage; Truth in the image of the female Thought, Monogenes in the image of the male Will. The effect of Will is to make Thought productive and hence Will is classed as male.

XXXIV.

Other students, more strait-laced, have kept in mind the honor due to divinity and have removed the same of even one wife from Bythos; they prefer to attribute no sex to him; perhaps they use the neuter gender and call him "this divine thing" rather than "this god." Others on the contrary say he

is both masculine and feminine. I hope Fenestella, the noted historian, does not think hermaphrodites occur only among the people of Luna.

116

XXXV.

There are some who assert that Bythos is the last, not the first. They put their ogdoad first, deriving from it a tetrad to be sure, but under other names: first they put Proarche (Pre-beginning), next Anennoetos (Inconceivable), third Arrhetos (Ineffable), fourth Aoratos (Invisible). From Proarche they say Arche (Beginning) came forth in the first and fifth places. From Anennoetos came Acataleptos (Incomprehensible) in the second and sixth places. From Arrhetos came Anonomastos (Unnameable) in the third and seventh places. From Invisible came Agennetos (Unbegotten) in the fourth and eighth places. What rational system arranges it that individual aeons are born in two separate places? I prefer not knowing to finding out. What good can a system have which is promulgated with such perversities?

XXXVI.

How much more sensible are those students who eliminate all this boring trash! They derive no aeon one from another in truly Pentagonian steps. Instead, they say, in one fell swoop that octad burst from Propater and his Ennoea and that they get their names from each step in the process: when he decided to produce an offspring then it was called Father; when he truly carried out his intention and did produce it,

117

then it was called Truth; when he wished that he be praised, this was called Man; the entities which he pre-imagined when he produces them were called Church. Man spoke the Word, and this is his first-born son. Life was added to Word and thus the first ogdoad is completed. All this is entirely tiresome and weak.

XXXVII.

Now note these other huckster ingenuities of one of their more renowned teachers. He has decreed--with his pontifical authority--the following: "There existed before the universe Proarche (Pre-beginning) who cannot be imagined, described, or named, which I will name Monotes. Another power was associated with him. I call this other Henotes. These names mean "Aloneness" and "One-ness." Monotes and Henotes, still united, brought forth, but did not beget, the beginnings of the universe, metaphysical, unborn, invisible, which his Word called Monad (Singleness). Monad as well had a power of like substance attached to him called Unity. These powers then, Aloneness, Oneness, Singleness, Unity, propagated all the other emanations of aeons. O what a great difference! You can change Unity, Oneness, Singleness, Aloneness however you like; it will still be one.

118

XXXVIII.

Secundus is more succinct: he divides the ogdoad into two tetrads, a right and a left, a light and a dark. He is also more respectful of his aeons: he does not wish to derive the apostatizing and imperfect power from any of the aeons, but instead from the products of their natures.

XXXIX.

How differently they think even about our Lord Jesus. Some construct him out of the blooms of all the aeons. Others assert that he was made out of the Ten alone whom Word and

Life produced, and for this reason the titles "Word" and "Life" apply to him. Still others derive him from the twelve, i.e., the offspring of Man and Church, and call him as a result Son of Man after his grandfather. Others say that he was formed by Christ and the Holy Spirit, who were planning ahead for the establishment of the world; hence he is heir to his father's surname. There are those who imagine the title Son of Man came from nothing else but this: the Father called himself Man because of the great mystery in this name. So they presume. Consequently, what can you hope for if you believe in that God to whom you are made equal? Among the Valentinians such ingenuities are always cropping up because of over-seeding. As a result the Valentinian

119

doctrines, which budded in the manner described above, have attained their full growth as a forest of Gnostic doctrines.

