

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 107

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 107

Apocalypses and Visions, Pistis Sophia and the Acts of
Archelaus

c. AD 100 – 1200

S E R M O N I N D E X

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Volume 107: Apocalypses and Visions, Pistis Sophia and the Acts of Archelaus

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the hundred and seventh volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church. The first volumes of the series follow the writers in order of date; this volume belongs to the later part of the series, which gathers the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings: the apocalypses and visions of the Church, the Gnostic Pistis Sophia and the Acts of Archelaus. This volume holds the apocalypses of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Esdras, John, Moses, Sedrach, Samuel of Kalamoun and Daniel, the Narrative of Zosimus, the Gnostic Pistis Sophia and the Acts of Archelaus against Mani.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. All the works in this volume are printed in older public-domain translations. The Ante-Nicene translations were transcribed by the volunteers of English Wikisource. The translations of M. R. James and G. R. S. Mead were read by machine from scans of the printed books and have not been proofread against the pages, so a misreading may remain. Page numbers and footnotes are left out. Greek, Hebrew and Latin words in the editors' notes are left out or, where a Greek word occurs in the text itself, given in Latin letters. The apocalypses of Samuel of Kalamoun and of Daniel are Roger Pearse's translations from French, and he calls them rough.

In this volume

Most of the visions in this volume describe heaven and hell, and tell the reader what will be done to the sinner after death. The Apocalypse of Peter and the Vision of Paul were read in the churches in the early centuries,. The later Coptic and Arabic apocalypses written under Muslim rule look to the end of the world and the coming of a king who will deliver the Christians.

Pistis Sophia is a Gnostic book in Coptic, and the Acts of Archelaus is a Christian account of a debate with the heretic Manes. They are placed here because each shows the religion that the church of the first centuries had to answer. G. R. S. Mead's translation of Pistis Sophia is divided here into the books of the Saviour and the First and Second Books.

Dates and authorship

None of these books is part of the Bible. Some were written by Jews before the time of Christ, some by Christians in the first centuries, and some much later, and many carry the name of a patriarch, an apostle or a Father who did not write them. Some of them contain stories that the Church never received and teaching that it rejected. They are printed here so that a reader can see what they say and judge them against the Scriptures, as the Fathers themselves did. The books in this volume range from the second century to the twelfth. Pistis Sophia is a Gnostic book, and the Church did not receive its teaching.

P A R T O N E

Apocalypses of Peter, Paul and the Apostles

*Visions of heaven, hell and the end, put under the names of
Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen and John.*

Fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter

TRANSLATED BY ANDREW RUTHERFORD

2nd century

Passages from the Apocalypse of Peter that other writers quote, chiefly Clement of Alexandria.

Fragments of the Apocalypse of Peter. 1. Clemens Alexandrinus, Eclog. 48. For instance, Peter in the Apocalypse says that the children who are born out of due time shall be of the better part: and that these are delivered over to a care-taking angel that they may attain a share of knowledge and gain the better abode [after suffering what they would have suffered if they had been in the body: but the others shall merely obtain salvation as injured beings to whom mercy is shown, and remain without punishment, receiving this as a reward]. 2. Clem. Alex. Eclog. 49. But the milk of the women running down from their breasts and congealing shall engender small flesh-eating beasts: and these run up upon them and devour them. 3. Macarius Magnes, Apocritica iv., 6 cf. 16. The earth, it (sc. the Apoc. of Peter) says, "shall present all men before God at the day of judgment, being itself also to be judged, with the heaven also which encompasses it."

4. Clem. Alex. Eclog. 41. The scripture says that infants that have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel, by whom they are educated and so grow up, and they will be, it says, as the faithful of a hundred years old are here. 5. Methodius, Conviv. ii., 6. Whence also we have received in divinely-inspired scriptures that untimely births are delivered to care-taking angels, even if they are the offspring of adultery.

The Apocalypse of Peter

TRANSLATED BY ANDREW RUTHERFORD

2nd century

A second-century vision in which the risen Lord shows Peter the blessed in heaven and the punishments of the damned. This is the translation of the Akhmim fragment in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, and it is not part of the New Testament.

The Apocalypse of Peter. 1. ...many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdition: but these will become sons of perdition. 3. And then God will come unto my faithful ones who hunger and thirst and are afflicted and purify their souls in this life; and he will judge the sons of lawlessness. 4. And furthermore the Lord said: Let us go into the mountain: Let us pray. 5. And going with him, we, the twelve disciples, begged that he would show us one of our brethren, the righteous who are gone forth out of the world, in order that we might see of what manner of form they are, and having taken courage, might also encourage the men who hear us. 6. And as we prayed, suddenly there appeared two men standing before the Lord towards the East, on whom we were not able to look; 7, for there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining, such as eye of man never saw; for no mouth is able to express or heart to conceive the glory with which they were endued, and the beauty of their appearance. 8. And as we looked upon them, we were astounded; for their bodies were whiter than any snow and ruddier than any rose; 9, and the red thereof was mingled with the white, and I am utterly unable to express their beauty; 10, for their hair was curly and bright and seemly both on their face and shoulders, as it were a wreath woven of spikenard and divers-coloured flowers, or like a rainbow in the sky, such was their seemliness.

11. Seeing therefore their beauty we became astounded at them, since they appeared suddenly. 12. And I approached the Lord and said: Who are these?

13. He saith to me: These are your brethren the righteous, whose forms ye desired to see. 14. And I said to him: And where are all the righteous ones and what is the æon in which they are and have this glory? 15. And the Lord showed me a very great country outside of this world, exceeding bright with light, and the air there lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible and bearing blessed fruit. 16. And so great was the perfume that it was borne thence even unto us. 17. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of shining angels and their raiment was like unto their country; and angels hovered about them there. 18. And the glory of the dwellers there was equal, and with one voice they sang praises alternately to the Lord God, rejoicing in that place. 19. The Lord saith to us: This is the place of your high-priests, the righteous men.

20. And over against that place I saw another, squalid, and it was the place of punishment; and those who were punished there and the punishing angels had their raiment dark like the air of the place. 21. And there were certain there hanging by the tongue: and these were the blasphemers of the way of righteousness; and under them lay fire, burning and punishing them. 22. And there was a great lake, full of flaming mire, in which were certain men that pervert righteousness, and tormenting angels afflicted them. 23. And there were also others, women, hanged by their hair over that mire that bubbled up: and these were they who adorned themselves for adultery; and the men who mingled with them in the defilement of adultery, were hanging by the feet and their heads in that mire. And I said: I did not believe that I should come into this place.

24. And I saw the murderers and those who conspired with them, cast into a certain strait place, full of evil snakes, and smitten by those beasts, and thus turning to and fro in that punishment; and worms, as it were clouds of darkness, afflicted them. And the souls of the murdered stood and looked upon the punishment of those murderers and said: O God, thy judgment is just. 25. And near that place I saw another strait place into which the gore and the filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lake: and there sat women having the gore up to their necks, and over against them sat many children who were born to them out of due time, crying; and there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the

women in the eyes: and these were the accursed who conceived and caused abortion.

26. And other men and women were burning up to the middle and were cast into a dark place and were beaten by evil spirits, and their inwards were eaten by restless worms: and these were they who persecuted the righteous and delivered them up. 27. And near those there were again women and men gnawing their own lips, and being punished and receiving a red-hot iron in their eyes: and these were they who blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness. 28. And over against these again other men and women gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths: and these were the false witnesses. 29. And in a certain other place there were pebbles sharper than swords or any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment: and these were the rich who trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows, and despised the commandment of God.

30. And in another great lake, full of pitch and blood and mire bubbling up, there stood men and women up to their knees: and these were the usurers and those who take interest on interest. 31. And other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff and reached the bottom, and again were driven by those who were set over them to climb up upon the cliff, and thence were hurled down again, and had no rest from this punishment: and these were they who defiled their bodies acting as women; and the women who were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman. 32. And alongside of that cliff there was a place full of much fire, and there stood men who with their own hands had made for themselves carven images instead of God. And alongside of these were other men and women, having rods and striking each other and never ceasing from such punishment.

33. And others again near them, women and men, burning and turning themselves and roasting: and these were they that leaving the way of God...

Revelation of Paul

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

4th–5th century

The Greek Apocalypse of Paul, in which an angel leads Paul through the heavens and shows him the souls of the righteous and the punishments of sinners.

¹ Revelation of Paul. Revelation of the holy Apostle Paul: the things which were revealed to him when he went up even to the third heaven, and was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words. There dwelt a certain nobleman in the city of Tarsus, in the house of St. Paul the apostle, in the government of Theodosius the worshipful king, and of the most illustrious Gratianus; and there was revealed to him an angel of the Lord, saying: Upturn the foundation of this house, and lift up what thou shalt find. But he thought that he had had a dream. And the angel having persisted even to a third vision, the nobleman was compelled to upturn the foundation; and having dug, he found a marble box containing this revelation; and having taken it, he showed it to the ruler of the city. And the ruler, seeing it sealed up with lead, sent it to the King Theodosius, thinking that it was something else. And the king having received it, and transcribed it, sent the original writing to Jerusalem. And there was written in it thus:—

² The word of the Lord came to me, saying: Say to this people, Till when do you sin, and add to your sin, and provoke to anger the God who made you, saying that you are children to Abraham, but doing the works of Satan, going on in speaking against God, boasting only in your addressing of God, but poor on account of the substance of sin? Know, ye sons of men, that the whole creation has been made subject to God; but the human race alone, by sinning, provokes God to anger. For often the great light, the sun, has come before God, saying against men: Lord God Almighty, how long dost Thou endure all the sin of men? Command me, and I will burn them up. And there came a voice to him: My long-suffering endures them all, that they

may repent; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. And often also the moon and the stars have come before God, saying: Lord God Almighty, Thou hast given us the dominion of the night, and we no longer cover the thefts, and adulteries, and blood-sheddings of men; command us, and we shall do marvels against them. And there came a voice: My long-suffering bears with them, that they may turn to me; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. And in like manner also the sea cried out, saying: Lord God Almighty, the sons of men have profaned Thy holy name;

³ command me, and I shall rise up and cover the earth, and wipe out from it the sons of men. And there came a voice, saying: My long-suffering bears with them, that they may repent; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. You see, ye sons of men, that the whole creation has been made subject to God, but the human race alone sins before God. On account of all these things, bless God without ceasing, and yet more when the sun is setting. For at this hour all the angels come to God to adore Him, and they bring before Him the works of men, of each what he has done from morning even to evening, whether good or evil. And one angel goes rejoicing on account of man when he behaves well, and another goes with a sad countenance. All the angels at the appointed hour meet for the worship of God, to bring each day's works of men. But do ye men bless God without ceasing. Whenever, therefore, at the appointed hour the angels of pious men come, rejoicing and singing psalms, they meet for the worship of the Lord; and, behold, the Spirit of God says to them: Whence do ye come rejoicing? And they answered and said: We are here from the pious men, who in all piety spend their life, fearing the name of God. Command them, Lord, to abide even to the end in Thy righteousness. And there came to them a voice:

⁴ I have both kept and will keep them void of offence in my kingdom. And when it came to pass that they went away, there came other angels with a cheerful countenance, shining like the sun. And behold a voice to them: Whence have ye come? And they answered and said: We have come from those who have held themselves aloof from the world and the things in the world for Thy holy name's sake, who in deserts, and mountains, and caves, and the dens of the earth, in beds on the ground, and in fastings, spend their life. Command us to be with them. And there came a voice: Go with them in peace, guarding them. Moreover, when they went away, behold, there came other angels to worship before God, mourning and weeping. And the Spirit

went forth to meet them, and there came a voice to them: Whence have ye come? And they answered and said: We have come from those who have been called by Thy name, and are slaves to the matter of sin. Why, then, is it necessary to minister unto them? And there came a voice to them: Do not cease to minister unto them; perhaps they will turn; but if not, they shall come to me, and I will judge them. Know, sons of men, that all that is done by you day by day, the angels write in the heavens. Do you therefore cease not to bless God.

5 And I was in the Holy Spirit, and an angel says to me: Come, follow me, that I may show thee the place of the just, where they go after their end. And I went along with the angel, and he brought me up into the heavens under the firmament; and I perceived and saw powers great and dreadful, full of wrath, and through the mouth of them a flame of fire coming out, and clothed in garments of fire. And I asked the angel: Who are these? And he said to me: These are they who are sent away to the souls of the sinners in the hour of necessity; for they have not believed that there is judgment and retribution. And I looked up into the heaven, and saw angels, whose faces shone like the sun, girded with golden girdles, having in their hands prizes, on which the name of the Lord was inscribed, full of all meekness and compassion. And I asked the angel: Who are these? And he answered and said to me: These are they who are sent forth in the day of the resurrection to bring the souls of the righteous, who intrepidly walk according to God. And I said to the angel: I wish to see the souls of the righteous and of the sinners, how they go out of the world. And the angel said to me: Look to the earth. And I looked, and saw the whole world as nothing disappearing before me. And I said to the angel:

6 Is this the greatness of men? And he said to me: Yes; for thus every unjust man disappears. And I looked, and saw a cloud of fire wrapped over all the world; and I said: What is this, my lord? And he said to me: This is the unrighteousness mingled with the destruction of the sinners. And I wept, and said to the angel: I wished to see the departures of the righteous and of the sinners, in what manner they go out of the world. And the angel says to me: Paul, look down, and see what thou hast asked. And I looked, and saw one of the sons of men falling near death. And the angel says to me: This is a righteous man, and, behold, all his works stand beside him in the hour of his necessity. And there were beside him good angels, and along with them

also evil angels. And the evil angels indeed found no place in him, but the good took possession of the soul of the righteous man, and said to it: Take note of the body whence thou art coming out; for it is necessary for thee again to return to it in the day of the resurrection, that thou mayst receive what God hath promised to the righteous. And the good angels who had received the soul of the righteous man, saluted it, as being well known to them. And it went with them; and the Spirit came forth to meet them, saying:

7 Come, soul, enter into the place of the resurrection, which God hath prepared for His righteous ones. And the angel said to me: Look down to the earth, and behold the soul of the impious, how it goes forth from its tabernacle, which has provoked God to anger, saying, Let us eat and drink; for who is it that has gone down to Hades, and come up and announced that there is judgment and retribution? And take heed, and see all his works which he has done standing before him. And the evil angels came and the good. The good therefore found no place of rest in it, but the evil took possession of it, saying: O wretched soul, pay heed to thy flesh; take note of that whence thou art coming forth, for thou must return into thy flesh in the day of the resurrection, that thou mayst receive the recompense of thy sins. And when it had gone forth from its tabernacle, the angel who had lived along with it ran up to it, saying to it: O wretched soul, whither goest thou? I am he who each day wrote down thy sins. Thou hast destroyed the time of repentance; be exceedingly ashamed. And when it came, all the angels saw it, and cried out with one voice, saying: Woe to thee, wretched soul! what excuse hast thou come to give to God? And the angel of that soul said: Weep for it, all of you, along with me.

8 And the angel came up, and worshipped the Lord, saying: Lord, behold the soul which has dwelt in wickedness in its time, and in its temporary life; do to it according to Thy decision. And there came a voice to that soul, saying: Where is the fruit of thy righteousness? And it was silent, not being able to give an answer. And again there came a voice to it: He who has shown mercy will have mercy shown to him; he who has not shown mercy will not have mercy shown to him. Let this soul be delivered to the merciless angel Temeluch, and let it be cast into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. And there was a voice as of tens of thousands, saying: Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and righteous is Thy judgment. And moreover

I saw, and, behold, another soul was led by an angel; and it wept, saying: Have mercy upon me, O righteous Judge, and deliver me from the hand of this angel, because he is dreadful and merciless. And a voice came to it, saying: Thou wast altogether merciless, and for this reason thou hast been delivered up to such an angel. Confess thy sins which thou hast done in the world. And that soul said: I have not sinned, O righteous Judge. And the Lord said to that soul: Verily thou seemest as if thou wert in the world, and wert hiding thy deeds from men.

9 Knowest thou not that whensoever any one dies, his deeds run before him, whether they are good or evil? And when it heard this, it was silent. And I heard the Judge saying: Let the angel come, having in his hands the record of thy sins. And the Judge says to the angel: I say to thee the angel, Disclose all. Say what he has done five years before his death. By myself I swear to thee, that in the first period of his life there was forgetfulness of all his former sins. And the angel answered and said: Lord, command the souls to stand beside their angels; and that same hour they stood beside them. And the lord of that soul said: Take note of these souls, and whether thou hast in any way sinned against them. And it answered and said: Lord, a year has not been completed since I killed the one and lived with the other. And not only this, but I also wronged it. And the Lord said to it: Knowest thou not that he who wrongs any one in the world is kept, as soon as he dies, in the place until he whom he has wronged come, and both shall be judged before me, and each receive according to his works? And I heard a voice saying: Let this soul be delivered to the angel Tartaruch, and guarded till the great day of judgment. And I heard a voice as of tens of thousands saying:

10 Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and righteous Thy judgment. 11 And the angel says to me: Hast thou seen all these things? And I answered: Yes my lord. And again he said to me: Come, follow me, and I shall show thee the place of the righteous. And I followed him, and he set me before the doors of the city. And I saw a golden gate, and two golden pillars before it, and two golden plates upon it full of inscriptions. And the angel said to me: Blessed is he who shall enter into these doors; because not every one goeth in, but only those who have single-mindedness, and guiltlessness, and a pure heart. And I asked the angel: For what purpose have the inscriptions been graven on these plates? And he said to me: These are the names of the righteous, and of those who serve God. And I said to him: Is it so that their names have been in-

scribed in heaven itself while they are yet alive? And the angel said to me:... of the angels, such as serve Him well are acknowledged by God. And straightway the gate was opened, and there came forth a hoary-headed man to meet us; and he said to me: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God! and, with a joyful countenance, he kissed me with tears. And I said to him: Father, why weepest thou? And he said to me: Because God hath prepared many good things for men, and they do not His will in order that they may enjoy them. And I asked the angel:

12 My lord, who is this? And he said to me: This is Enoch, the witness of the last day. And the angel says to me: See that whatever I show thee in this place thou do not announce, except what I tell thee. And he set me upon the river whose source springs up in the circle of heaven; and it is this river which encircleth the whole earth. And he says to me: This river is Ocean. And there was then a great light. And I said: My lord, what is this? And he said to me: This is the land of the meek. Knowest thou not that it is written, Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth? The souls of the righteous, therefore, are kept in this place. And I said to the angel: When, then, will they be made manifest? And he said to me: When the Judge shall come in the day of the resurrection, and sit down. Then, accordingly, shall he command, and shall reveal the earth, and it shall be lighted up; and the saints shall appear in it, and shall delight themselves in the good that have been reserved from the foundation of the world. And there were by the bank of the river, trees planted, full of different fruits. And I looked towards the rising of the sun, and I saw there trees of great size full of fruits; and that land was more brilliant than silver and gold;

13 and there were vines growing on those date-palms, and myriads of shoots, and myriads of clusters on each branch. And I said to the archangel: What is this, my lord? And he says to me: This is the Acherusian lake, and within it the city of God. All are not permitted to enter into it, except who-soever shall repent of his sins; and as soon as he shall repent, and alter his life, he is delivered to Michael, and they cast him into the Acherusian lake, and then he brings him in the city of God, near the righteous. And I wondered and blessed God at all that I saw. And the angel said to me: Follow me, that I may bring thee into the city of God, and into its light. And its light was greater than the light of the world, and greater than gold, and walls encircled it. And the length and the breadth of it were a hundred stadia. And I

saw twelve gates, exceedingly ornamented, leading into the city; and four rivers encircled it, flowing with milk, and honey, and oil, and wine. And I said to the angel: My lord, what are these rivers? And he said to me: These are the righteous who, when in the world, did not make use of these things, but humbled themselves for the sake of God; and here they receive a recompense ten thousand fold.

¹⁴ And I, going into the city, saw a very lofty tree before the doors of the city, having no fruit, and a few men under it; and they wept exceedingly, and the trees bent down to them. And I, seeing them, wept, and asked the angel: Who are these, that they have not turned to go into the city? And he said to me: Yes, the root of all evils is vainglory. And I said: And these trees, why have they thus humbled themselves? And the angel answered and said to me: For this reason the trees are not fruit-bearing, because they have not withheld themselves from vaunting. And I asked the angel: My lord, for what reason have they been put aside before the doors of the city? And he answered and said to me: On account of the great goodness of God, since by this way Christ is going to come into the city, and that those who go along with Him may plead for these men, and that they may be brought in along with them. And I was going along, guided by the angel, and he set me upon the river. And I saw there all the prophets; and they came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God. And I said to the angel: My lord, who are these? And he said to me: These are all the prophets, and these are the songs of all the prophecies, and of whoever hath grieved his soul, not doing its will, for God's sake.

¹⁵ Having departed, then, he comes here, and the prophets salute him. And the angel brought me to the south of the city, where the river of milk is. And I saw there all the infants that King Herod slew for the Lord's name's sake. And the angel took me again to the east of the city, and I saw there Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. And I asked the angel: My lord, what place is this? And he said to me: Every one who is hospitable to men comes hither when he comes out of the world, and they salute him as a friend of God on account of his love to strangers. And again he took me away to another place, and I saw there a river like oil on the north of the city, and I saw people there rejoicing and singing praises. And I asked: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are they who have given themselves up to God; for they are brought into this city. And I looked, and saw in the midst of the city an altar, great

and very lofty; and there was one standing near the altar, whose face shone like the sun, and he had in his hands a psaltery and a harp, and he sung the Alleluia delightfully, and his voice filled all the city. And all with one consent accompanied him, so that the city was shaken by their shouting. And I asked the angel: Who is this that singeth delightfully, whom all accompany?

¹⁶ And he said to me: This is the prophet David; this is the heavenly Jerusalem. When, therefore, Christ shall come in His second appearing, David himself goes forth with all the saints. For as it is in the heavens, so also upon earth: for it is not permitted without David to offer sacrifice even in the day of the sacrifice of the precious body and blood of Christ; but it is necessary for David to sing the Alleluia. And I asked the angel: My lord, what is the meaning of Alleluia? It is called in Hebrew, thebel, marematha—speech to God who founded all things: let us glorify Him in the same. So that every one who sings the Alleluia glorifies God. ¹⁷ When these things, therefore, had been thus said to me by the angel, he led me outside of the city, and the Acherusian lake, and the good land, and set me upon the river of the ocean that supports the firmament of the heaven, and said to me: Knowest thou where I am going? And I said: No, my lord. And he said to me: Follow me, that I may show thee where the souls of the impious and the sinners are. And he took me to the setting of the sun, and where the beginning of the heaven had been founded upon the river of the ocean. And I saw beyond the river, and there was no light there, but darkness, and grief, and groaning; and I saw a bubbling river, and a great multitude both of men and women who had been cast into it, some up to the knees, others up to the navel, and many even up to the crown of the head. And I asked: Who are these? And he said to me: These are they who lived unrepenting in fornications and adulteries. And I saw at the south-west of the river another river, where there flowed a river of fire, and there was there a multitude of many souls. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are the thieves, and slanderers, and flatterers, who did not set up God as their help, but hoped in the vanity of their riches. And I said to him:

¹⁸ What is the depth of this river? And he said to me: Its depth has no measure, but it is immeasurable. And I groaned and wept because of mankind. And the angel said to me: Why weepest thou? Art thou more merciful than God? for, being holy, God, repenting over men, waits for their conversion and repentance; but they, deceived by their own will, come here, and are

eternally punished. And I looked into the fiery river, and saw an old man dragged along by two, and they pulled him in up to the knee. And the angel Temeluch coming, laid hold of an iron with his hand, and with it drew up the entrails of that old man through his mouth. And I asked the angel: My lord, who is this that suffers this punishment? And he said to me: This old man whom thou seest was a presbyter; and when he had eaten and drunk, then he performed the service of God. And I saw there another old man carried in haste by four angels; and they threw him into the fiery river up to the girdle, and he was frightfully burnt by the lightnings. And I said to the angel: Who is this, my lord? And he said to me: This whom thou seest was a bishop, and that name indeed he was well pleased to have;

¹⁹ but in the goodness of God he did not walk, righteous judgment he did not judge, the widow and the orphan he did not pity, he was neither affectionate nor hospitable; but now he has been recompensed according to his works. And I looked, and saw in the middle of the river another man up to the navel, having his hands all bloody, and worms were coming up through his mouth. And I asked the angel: Who is this, my lord? And he said to me: This whom thou seest was a deacon, who ate and drank, and ministered to God. And I looked to another place where there was a brazen wall in flames, and within it men and women eating up their own tongues, dreadfully judged. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are they who in the church speak against their neighbours, and do not attend to the word of God. And I looked, and saw a bloody pit. And I said: What is this pit? And he said to me: This is the place where are cast the wizards, and sorcerers, and the whoremongers, and the adulterers, and those that oppress widows and orphans. And I saw in another place women wearing black, and led away into a dark place. And I asked: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are they who did not listen to their parents, but before their marriage defiled their virginity.

²⁰ And I saw women wearing white robes, being blind, and standing upon obelisks of fire; and an angel was mercilessly beating them, saying: Now you know where you are; you did not attend when the Scriptures were read to you. And the angel said to me: These are they who corrupted themselves and killed their infants. Their infants therefore came crying out: Avenge us of our mothers. And they were given to an angel to be carried away into a spacious place, but their parents into everlasting fire. ²¹ And the

angel took me up from these torments, and set me above a well, which had seven seals upon its mouth. And the angel who was with me said to the angel at the well of that place: Open the well, that Paul the beloved of God may see, because there has been given to him authority to see the torments. And the angel of the place said to me: Stand afar off, until I open the seals. And when he had opened them, there came forth a stench which it was impossible to bear. And having come near the place, I saw that well filled with darkness and gloom, and great narrowness of space in it. And the angel who was with me said to me: This place of the well which thou seest is cast off from the glory of God, and none of the angels is importunate in behalf of them; and as many as have professed that the holy Mary is not the mother of God, and that the Lord did not become man out of her, and that the bread of the thanksgiving and the cup of blessing are not His flesh and blood, are cast into this well: and as I said before no angel is importunate in their behalf. And I saw towards the setting of the sun, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, many men and women there tormented. And I said to the angel: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are they who say that there is no resurrection of the dead; and to them mercy never comes.

²² Having heard this, I wept bitterly; and looking up into the firmament, I saw the heaven opened, and the archangel Gabriel coming down with hosts of angels, who were going round about all the torments. And they who were judged in the torments seeing them, all cried out with one loud voice: Have mercy upon us, Gabriel, who standest in the presence of God; for we heard that there was a judgment: behold, we know it. And the archangel Gabriel answered and said: As the Lord liveth, beside whom I stand, night and day without ceasing I plead in behalf of the race of men; but they did not do any good when in life, but spent the period of their life in vanity. And now I shall weep, even I, along with the beloved Paul; perhaps the good Lord may have compassion, and grant you remission. And they assented with one voice: Have mercy upon us, O Lord. And they fell down before God, and supplicated, saying: Have mercy, O Lord, upon the sons of men whom Thou hast made after Thine image. And the heaven was shaken like a leaf, and I saw the four and twenty elders lying on their face; and I saw the altar, and the throne, and the veil; and all of them entreated the glory of God; and I saw the Son of God with glory and great power coming down to the earth.

And when the sound of the trumpet took place, all who were in the torments cried out, saying:

²³ Have mercy upon us Son of God; for to Thee has been given power over things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. And there came a voice saying: What good work have you done, that you are asking for rest? For you have done as you wished, and have not repented, but you have spent your life in profligacy. But now for the sake of Gabriel, the angel of my righteousness and for the sake of Paul my beloved, I give you a night and the day of the holy Lord's day, on which I rose from the dead, for rest. And all who were in the torments cried out, saying: We bless Thee, O Son of the living God; better for us is such rest than the life which we lived when spending our time in the world. ²⁴ And after these things the angel says to me: Behold, thou hast seen all the torments: come, follow me, that I may lead thee away to paradise, and that thou mayst change thy soul by the sight of the righteous; for many desire to salute thee. And he took me by an impulse of the Spirit, and brought me into paradise. And he says to me: This is paradise, where Adam and Eve transgressed. And I saw there a beautiful tree of great size, on which the Holy Spirit rested; and from the root of it there came forth all manner of most sweet-smelling water, parting into four channels. And I said to the angel: My lord, what is this tree, that there comes forth from it a great abundance of this water, and where does it go? And he answered and said to me: Before the heaven and the earth existed, He divided them into four kingdoms and heads, of which the names are Phison, Gehon, Tigris, Euphrates. And having again taken hold of me by the hand, he led me near the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And he says to me: This is the tree by means of which death came into the world, and Adam took of the fruit of it from his wife, and ate; and thereafter they were cast out hence. And he showed me another, the tree of life, and said to me: This the cherubim and the flaming sword guard.

²⁵ And when I was closely observing the tree, and wondering, I saw a woman coming from afar off, and a multitude of angels singing praises to her. And I asked the angel: Who is this, my lord, who is in so great honour and beauty? And the angel says to me: This is the holy Mary, the mother of the Lord. And she came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God, and angels, and men; thou hast proclaimed the word of God in the world, and established churches, and all bear testimony to thee who have been saved

by means of thee: for, having been delivered from the deception of idols through thy teaching, they come here. ²⁶ While they were yet speaking to me, I gazed, and saw other three men coming. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the righteous forefathers. And they came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God....God did not grieve us. But we know thee in the flesh, before thou camest forth out of the world. And in succession they told me their names from Abraham to Manasseh. And one of them, Joseph who was sold in Egypt, says to me: Hear me, Paul, friend of God: I did not requite my brethren who cursed me. For blessed is he who is able to endure trial, because the Lord will give him in requital sevenfold reward in the world to come. And while he was yet speaking with me, I saw another coming afar off, and the appearance of him was as the appearance of an angel. And I asked the angel, saying: My lord, who is this? And he said to me: This is Moses the law-giver, by whom God led forth the children of Israel out of the slavery of Egypt. And when he came near me, he saluted me weeping. And I said to him: Father, why weepest thou, being righteous and meek? And he answered and said to me: I must weep for every man, because I brought trouble upon a people that does not understand, and they have not borne fruit;

²⁷ and I see the sheep of which I was shepherd scattered, and the toil which I toiled for the children of Israel has been counted for nothing; and they saw powers and hosts in the midst of them, and they did not understand; and I see the Gentiles worshipping, and believing through thy word, and being converted, and coming here, and out of my people that was so great not one has understood. For, when the Jews hanged the Son of God upon the cross, all the angels and archangels, and the righteous, and the whole creation of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, lamented and mourned with a great lamentation, but the impious and insensate Jews did not understand; wherefore there has been prepared for them the fire everlasting, and the worm that dies not. ²⁸ While he was yet speaking, there came other three, and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God, the boast of the churches, and model of angels. And I asked: Who are you? And the first said: I am Isaiah, whom Manasseh sawed with a wood saw. And the second said: I am Jeremiah, whom the Jews stoned, but they remained burnt up with everlasting fire. And the third said: I am Ezekiel, whom the slayers of the Messiah pierced; all these things have we

endured, and we have not been able to turn the stony heart of the Jews. And I threw myself on my face, entreating the goodness of God, because He had had mercy upon me, and had delivered me from the race of the Hebrews. And there came a voice saying: Blessed art thou, Paul, beloved of God; and blessed are those who through thee have believed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, because for them has been prepared everlasting life.

29 While this voice was yet speaking, there came another, crying: Blessed art thou, Paul. And I asked the angel: Who is this, my lord? And he said to me: This is Noah, who lived in the time of the deluge. And when we had saluted each other, I asked him: Who art thou? And he said to me: I am Noah, who in a hundred years built the ark, and without putting off the coat which I wore, or shaving my head; moreover, I practised continence, and did not come near my wife; and in the hundred years my coat was not dirtied, and the hair of my head was not diminished. And I ceased not to proclaim to men, Repent, for, behold, a deluge is coming. And no one paid heed; but all derided me, not refraining from their lawless deeds, until the water of the deluge came and destroyed them all.

30 And looking away, I saw other two from afar off. And I asked the angel: Who are these, my lord? And he said to me: These are Enoch and Elias. And they came and saluted me, saying: Welcome, Paul, beloved of God! And I said to them: Who are you? And Elias the prophet answered and said to me: I am Elias the prophet, who prayed to God, and He caused that no rain should come down upon the earth for three years and six months, on account of the unrighteousness of the sons of men. For often, of a truth, even the angel besought God on account of the rain; and I heard, Be patient until Elias my beloved shall pray, and I send rain upon the earth.

The Vision of Paul

4th century

A tour of heaven and hell, told in Latin: the angels who write down the deeds of men, the punishments of the damned, and the city of Christ. It is built on the Greek Apocalypse of Paul.

The Vision of Paul. Here Begins the Vision of Saint Paul the Apostle. “But I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord: I know a man in Christ fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I know not; or out of the body, I know not, God knoweth) snatched up in this manner to the third heaven: and I know such a man, whether in the body or out of the body I know not, God knoweth; how that he was snatched up into Paradise and heard secret words which it is not lawful for men to speak; on behalf of such a one will I glory; but on mine own behalf I will not glory, save in my infirmities.”—2 Cor. xii. 1–5. 1. At what time was this revelation made? In the consulship of Theodosius Augustus the Younger and Cynegius, a certain nobleman then living in Tharsus, in the house which was that of Saint Paul, an angel appearing in the night revealed to him, saying that he should open the foundations of the house and should publish what he found, but he thought that these things were dreams.

2. But the angel coming for the third time beat him and forced him to open the foundation. And digging he found a marble box, inscribed on the sides; there was the revelation of Saint Paul, and his shoes in which he walked teaching the word of God. But he feared to open that box and brought it to the judge; when he had received it, the judge, because it was sealed with lead, sent it to the Emperor Theodosius, fearing lest it might be something else; which when he had received the emperor opened it, and found the revelation of Saint Paul; a copy of it he sent to Jerusalem, and retained the original himself. 3. While I was in the body in which I was snatched up to the third heaven, the word of the Lord came to me saying: speak to the people: until when will ye transgress, and heap sin upon sin, and

tempt the Lord who made you? Ye are the sons of God, doing the works of the devil in the faith of Christ, on account of the impediments of the world. Remember therefore and know that while every creature serves God, the human race alone sins. But it reigns over every creature and sins more than all nature.

4. For indeed the sun, the great light, often addressed the Lord saying: Lord God Almighty, I look out upon the impieties and injustices of men; permit me and I shall do unto them what are my powers, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice saying to him: I know all these things, for mine eye sees and ear hears, but my patience bears them until they shall be converted and repent. But if they do not return to me I will judge them all. 5. For sometimes the moon and stars addressed the Lord saying: Lord God Almighty, to us thou hast given the power of the night; till when shall we look down upon the impieties and fornications and homicides done by the sons of men? Permit us to do unto them according to our powers, that they may know that thou art God alone. And there came a voice unto them saying: I know all these things, and mine eye looks forth and ear hears, but my patience bears with them until they shall be converted and repent. But if they do not return unto me I will judge them.

6. And frequently also the sea exclaimed saying: Lord God Almighty, men have defiled thy holy name in me; permit me to arise and cover every wood and orchard and the whole world, until I blot out all the sons of men from before thy face, that they may know that thou art God alone. And the voice came again and said: I know all things; mine eye seeth everything, and mine ear heareth, but my patience bears with them until they be converted and repent. But if they do not return, I will judge them. Sometimes the waters also spoke against the sins of men saying: Lord God Almighty, all the sons of men have defiled thy holy name. And there came a voice saying: I know all things before they come to pass, for mine eye seeth and mine ear heareth all things, but my patience bears with them until they be converted. But if not I will judge them. Frequently also the earth too exclaimed to the Lord against the sons of men saying: Lord God Almighty, I above every other creature of thine am harmed, supporting the fornications, adulteries, homicides, thefts, perjuries and magic and ill-doings of men and all the evil they do, so that the father rises up against the son, and the son upon the father, the alien against the alien, so that each one defiles his neighbour's

wife. The father ascends upon the bed of his own son, and the son likewise ascends the couch of his own father;

and in all these evils, they who offer the sacrifice to thy name have defiled thy holy place. Therefore I am injured above every creature, desiring not to shew my power to myself, and my fruits to the sons of men. Permit me and I will destroy the virtue of my fruits. And there came a voice and said: I know all things, and there is none who can hide himself from his sin. Moreover I know their impieties, but my holiness suffers them until they be converted and repent. But if they do not return unto me I will judge them. 7. Behold, ye sons of men, the creature is subject to God, but the human race alone sins. For this cause, therefore, ye sons of men, bless the Lord God unceasingly, every hour and every day: but more especially when the sun has set: for at that hour all the angels proceed to the Lord to worship him and to present the works of men, which every man has wrought from the morning till the evening, whether good or evil. And there is a certain angel who proceeds rejoicing concerning the man in whom he dwells. When therefore the sun has set in the first hour of night, in the same hour the angel of every people and every man and woman, who protect and preserve them, because man is the image of God: similarly also in the matin hour which is the twelfth of the night, all the angels of men and women, go up to God to worship God, and present every work which each man has wrought, whether good or evil. Moreover every day and night the angels show to God an account of all the acts of the human race. To you, therefore, I say, ye sons of men, bless the Lord God without fail all the days of your life.

8. Therefore at the appointed hour all the angels whatever, rejoicing at once together, proceed before God that they may meet to worship at the hour determined. And behold suddenly it became the hour of meeting, and the angels came to worship in the presence of God, and the spirit proceeded to meet them: and there came a voice and said: Whence come ye, our angels, bearing the burdens of tidings? 9. They answered and said: We come from those who have renounced this world for the sake of thy holy name, wandering as pilgrims, and in caves of the rocks, and weeping every hour in which they inhabited the earth, and hungering and thirsting because of thy name, with their loins girded, having in their hands the incense of their hearts, and praying and blessing every hour, and restraining and overcoming themselves, weeping and wailing above the rest that inhabit the earth. And we in-

deed, their angels, mourn along with them: whither therefore it shall please thee, command us to go and minister, lest others also do it, but the destitute above the rest who are on earth. And there came the voice of God to them saying: Know ye that now henceforward my grace is appointed unto you, and my help, who is my well-beloved Son, shall be present with them, guiding them every hour; ministering also to them, never deserting them, since their place is his habitation.

10. When therefore these angels had retired, behold other angels came to adore in the presence of honour, in the assembly, who wept; and the spirit of God proceeded to meet them, and there came the voice of God and said: Whence come ye, our angels, bearing the burdens of the ministry of the tidings of the world? They answered and said in the presence of God: We have arrived from those who called upon thy name, and the impediments of the world made them wretched, devising many occasions every hour, not even making one pure prayer, nor out of their whole heart, in all the time of their life; what need, therefore, is there to be present with men who are sinners? And there came the voice of God to them: It is necessary that ye should minister to them, until they be converted and repent: but if they do not return to me I will judge them. Know therefore, sons of men, that whatever things are wrought by you, these angels relate to God, whether good or evil.

11. And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me, and I will show you the place of the just where they are led when they are deceased, and after these things taking thee into the abyss, I will show thee the souls of sinners and what sort of place they are led into when they have deceased. And I proceeded back after the angel, and he led me into heaven, and I looked back upon the firmament, and I saw in the same place power, and there was there oblivion which deceives and draws down to itself the hearts of men, and the spirit of detraction, and the spirit of fornication, and the spirit of madness, and the spirit of insolence, and there were there the princes of vices: these I saw under the firmament of heaven: and again I looked back, and I saw angels without mercy, having no pity, whose countenance was full of madness, and their teeth sticking out beyond the mouth: their eyes shone like the morning star of the east, and from the hairs of their head sparks of fire went out, or from their mouth. And I asked the angel saying: Sir, who are those? And the angel answered and said unto me: These are those who are destined

to the souls of the impious in the hour of need, who did not believe that they had the Lord for their helper, nor hoped in him.

12. And I looked on high and I saw other angels whose countenance shone as the sun, their loins girded with golden girdles, having palms in their hands, and the sign of God, clothed with garments in which was written the name of the Son of God, filled moreover with all meekness and pity; and I asked the angels saying: Who are these, Lord, in so great beauty and pity? And the angel answered and said unto me: These are the angels of justice who are sent to lead up the souls of the just, in the hour of need, who believed that they had the Lord for their helper. And I said to him: Do the just and sinners necessarily meet witnesses when they have died? And the angel answered and said to me: There is one way by which all pass over to God, but the just having their helper with them are not confounded when they go to appear in the sight of God.

13. And I said to the angel: I wished to see the souls of the just and of sinners going out of the world. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look down upon the earth. And I looked down from heaven upon the earth, and saw the whole world, and it was nothing in my sight and I saw the sons of men as though they were naught, and a-wanting, and I wondered and said to the angel: Is this the greatness of men? And the angel answered and said unto me: It is, and these are they who do evil from morning till evening. And I looked and saw a great cloud of fire spread over the whole world, and I said to the angel: What is this, my Lord? and he said to me: This is injustice stirred up by the princes of sinners. 14. I indeed when I had heard this sighed and wept, and said to the angel: I wished to see the souls of the just and of sinners, and to see in what manner they go out of the body. And the angel answered and said unto me: Look again upon the earth. And I looked and saw all the world, and men were as naught and a-wanting: and I looked carefully and saw a certain man about to die, and the angel said to me: This one whom thou seest is a just man. And I looked again and saw all his works, whatever he had done for the sake of God's name, and all his desires, both what he remembered, and what he did not remember; they all stood in his sight in the hour of need; and I saw the just man advance and find refreshment and confidence, and before he went out of the world the holy and the impious angels both attended: and I saw them all, but the impious found no place of habitation in him, but the holy took possession of his soul, guiding

it till it went out of the body: and they roused the soul saying: Soul, know thy body whence thou goest out, for it is necessary that thou shouldst return to the same body on the day of the resurrection, that thou mayest receive the things promised to all the just.

Receiving therefore the soul from the body, they immediately kissed it as familiarly known to them, saying to it: Do manfully, for thou hast done the will of God while placed in the earth. And there came to meet him the angel who watched him every day, and said to him: Do manfully, soul; for I rejoice in thee, because thou hast done the will of God on earth: for I related to God all thy works, such as they were. Similarly also the spirit proceeded to meet him and said: Soul, fear not, nor be disturbed, until thou comest into a place which thou hast never known, but I will be a helper unto thee: for I found in thee a place of refreshment in the time when I dwelt in thee, while I was on earth. And his spirit strengthened him, and his angel received him, and led him into heaven: and an angel said: Whither runnest thou, O soul, and dost thou dare to enter into heaven? Wait and let us see if there is anything of ours in thee: and behold we find nothing in thee. I see also thy divine helper and angel, and the spirit is rejoicing along with thee, because thou hast done the will of God on earth. And they led him along till he should worship in the sight of God.

And when they had ceased, immediately Michael and all the army of angels, with one voice, adored the footstool of his feet, and his doom, saying at the same time to the soul: This is your God of all things, who made you in his own image and likeness. Moreover the angel returns and points him out saying: God, remember his labours: for this is the soul, whose works I related to thee, doing according to thy judgment. And the spirit said likewise: I am the spirit of vivification inspiring him: for I had refreshment in him, in the time when I dwelt in him, doing according to thy judgment. And there came the voice of God and said: In as much as this man did not vex me, neither will I vex him; for according as he had pity, I also will have pity. Let him therefore be handed over to Michael, the angel of the Covenant, and let him lead him into the Paradise of joy, that he himself may become co-heir with all the saints. And after these things I heard the voices of a thousand thousand angels, and archangels, and cherubim, and twenty-four elders saying hymns, and glorifying the Lord and crying: thou art just, O Lord, and just are thy judgments, and there is no acceptance of persons with thee, but

thou rewardest unto every man according to thy judgment. And the angel answered and said unto me:

Hast thou believed and known, that whatever each man of you has done, he sees in the hour of need? And I said: Yes, sir. 15. And he saith to me: Look again down on the earth, and watch the soul of an impious man going out of the body, which vexed the Lord day and night, saying: I know nothing else in this world, I eat and drink, and enjoy what is in the world; for who is there who has descended into hell, and ascending has declared to us that there is judgment there! And again I looked carefully, and saw all the scorn of the sinner, and all that he did, and they stood together before him in the hour of need: and it was done to him in that hour, in which he was threatened about his body at the judgment, and I said: It were better for him if he had not been born. And after these things, there came at the same time, the holy angels, and the malign, and the soul of the sinner and the holy angels did not find a place in it. Moreover the malign angels cursed it; and when they had drawn it out of the body, the angels admonished it a third time, saying: O wretched soul, look upon thy flesh, whence thou camest out: for it is necessary that thou shouldst return to thy flesh in the day of resurrection, that thou mayest receive the due for thy sins and thy impieties.

16. And when they had led it forth, the customary angel preceded it, and said to it: O wretched soul, I am the angel belonging to thee, relating daily to the Lord thy malign works, whatever thou didst by night or day: and if it were in my power, not for one day would I minister to thee, but none of these things was I able to do: the judge is pitiful and just, and he himself commanded us that we should not cease to minister to the soul, till you should repent, but thou hast lost the time of repentance. I indeed was strange to thee and thou to me. Let us go on then to the just judge: I will not dismiss thee, before I know from to-day why I was strange to thee. And the spirit confounded him, and the angel troubled him. When, therefore, they had arrived at the power, when he started to enter heaven, a labour was imposed upon him, above all other labour: error and oblivion and murmuring met him, and the spirit of fornication, and the rest of the powers, and said to him: Whither goest thou, wretched soul, and darest thou to rush into heaven? hold, that we may see if we have our qualities in thee, since we do not see that thou hast a holy helper. And after that I heard voices in the height of

heaven saying: Present that wretched soul to God, that it may know that it is God that it despised.

When, therefore, it had entered heaven, all the angels saw it, a thousand thousand exclaimed with one voice, all saying: Woe to thee, wretched soul, for the sake of thy works which thou didst on earth; what answer art thou about to give to God when thou shalt have approached to adore him? The angel who was with it answered and said: Weep with me, my beloved, for I have not found rest in this soul. And the angels answered him and said: Let such a soul be taken away from the midst of ours, for from the time he entered, the stink of him crosses to us angels. And after these things it was presented, that it might worship in the sight of God, and an angel of God showed him God who made him after his own image and likeness. Moreover his angel ran before him saying: Lord God Almighty, I am the angel of this soul, whose works I presented to thee day and night, not doing according to thy judgment. And the spirit likewise said: I am the spirit who dwelt in it from the time it was made, in itself moreover I know it, and it has not followed my will: judge it, Lord, according to thy judgment. And there came the voice of God to it and said: Where is thy fruit which thou has made worthy of the goods which thou hast received? Have I put a distance of one day between thee and the just man?

Did I not make the sun to arise upon thee as upon the just? But the soul was silent, having nothing to answer: and again there came a voice saying: Just is the judgment of God, and there is no acceptance of persons with God, for whoever shall have done mercy, on them shall he have mercy, and whoever shall not have pitied neither shall God pity him. Let him therefore be handed over to the angel Tartaruch, who is set over the punishments, and let him place him in outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and let him be there till the great day of judgment. And after these things I heard the voice of angels and archangels saying: Thou art just, Lord, and thy judgment is just. 17. And again I saw, and behold a soul which was led forward by two angels, weeping and saying: Have pity on me, just God, God the judge, for to-day is seven days since I went out of my body, and I was handed over to these two angels, and they led me through to those places, which I had never seen. And God, the just judge, saith to him: What hast thou done? for thou never didst mercy, wherefore thou wast handed over to such angels as have no mercy, and because thou didst not do uprightly, so

neither did they act piously with thee in the hour of thy need. Confess therefore thy sins which thou didst commit when placed in the world. And he answered and said: Lord, I did not sin. And the Lord, the just Lord, was angered in fury when it said: I did not sin, because it lied; and God said: Dost thou think thou art still in the world? if any one of you, sinning there, conceal and hide his sin from his neighbour, here indeed nothing whatever shall be hid: for when the souls come to adore in sight of the throne, both the good works and the sins of each one are made manifest. And hearing these things the soul was silent, having no answer. And I heard the Lord God, the just judge, again saying: Come, angel of this soul, and stand in the midst.

And the angel of the sinful soul came, having in his hands a manuscript, and said: These, Lord, in my hands, are all the sins of this soul from his youth till to-day, from the tenth year of his birth: and if thou command, Lord, I will also relate his acts from the beginning of his fifteenth year. And the Lord God, the just judge, said: I say unto thee, angel, I do not expect of thee an account of him since he began to be fifteen years old, but state his sins for five years before he died and before he came hither. And again God, the just judge, said: For by myself I swear, and by my holy angels, and by my virtue, that if he had repented five years before he died, on account of one year's life, oblivion would now be thrown over all the evils which he sinned before, and he would have indulgence and remission of sins: now indeed he shall perish. And the angel of the sinful soul answered and said: Lord, command that angel to exhibit those souls.

18. And in that same hour the souls were exhibited in the midst, and the soul of the sinner knew them; and the Lord said to the soul of the sinner: I say unto thee, soul, confess thy work which thou wroughtest in these souls, whom thou seest, when they were in the world. And he answered and said: Lord, it is not yet a full year since I slew this one and poured his blood upon the ground, and with another (a woman) I committed fornication: not this alone, but I also greatly harmed her in taking away her goods. And the Lord God, the just judge, said: Either thou didst not know that he who does violence to another, if he dies first who sustains the violence, is kept in this place until the doer of hurt dies, and then both stand in the presence of the judge, and now each receives according to his deed. And I heard a voice of one saying: Let that soul be delivered into the hands of Tartarus, and led down into hell: he shall lead him into the lower prison and he shall be put in torments,

and left there till the great day of judgment. And again I heard a thousand thousand angels saying hymns to the Lord, and crying: Thou art just, O Lord, and just are thy judgments.

19. The angel answered and said unto me: Hast thou perceived all these things? and I said, Yes, sir. And he said to me: Follow me again, and I will take thee, and show thee the places of the just. And I followed the angel, and he raised me to the third heaven, and placed me at the entry of the door: and looking carefully I saw, and the door was of gold, and two columns of gold, full above of golden letters, and the angel tuned again to me and said: Blessed wert thou, if thou hadst entered into these doors, for it is not allowed to any to enter except only to those who have goodness and innocence of body in all things. And I asked the angel about everything and said: Sir, tell me on what account these letters are put upon those tables? The angel answered and said unto me: These are the names of the just, serving God with their whole heart, who dwell on the earth. And again I said: Sir, therefore their names and countenance and the likeness of these who serve God are in heaven, and are known to the angels: for they know who are the servants of God with all their heart, before they go out of the world.

20. And when I had entered the interior of the gate of Paradise, there came out to meet me an old man whose countenance shone as the sun; and when he had embraced me he said: Hail, Paul, beloved of God. And he kissed me with a cheerful countenance. He wept, and I said to him: Brother, why dost thou weep? And again sighing and lamenting he said: We are hurt by men, and they vex us greatly; for many are the good things which the Lord has prepared, and great is his promise, but many do not perceive them. And I asked the angel, and said: Sir, who is this? And he said to me: This is Enoch, the scribe of righteousness. And I entered into the interior of that place, and immediately I saw the sun, and coming it saluted me laughing and rejoicing. And when it had seen (me), it turned away and wept, and said to me: Paul, would that thou shouldst receive thy labours which thou hast done in the human race. For me, indeed, I have seen the great and many good things, which God has prepared for the just, and the promises of God are great, but many do not perceive them; but even by many labours scarcely one or two enters into these places.

21. And the angel answered and said to me, Whatever I now show thee here, and whatever thou shalt hear, tell it not to any one in the earth. And

he led me and shewed me: and there I heard words which it is not lawful for a man to speak. And again he said, For now follow me, and I will shew thee what thou oughtest to narrate in public and relate. And he took me down from the third heaven, and led me into the second heaven, and again he led me on to the firmament and from the firmament he led me over the doors of heaven: the beginning of its foundation was on the river which waters all the earth. And I asked the angel and said, Lord, what is this river of water? and he said to me, This is Oceanus! And suddenly I went out of heaven, and I understood that it is the light of heaven which lightens all the earth. For the land there is seven times brighter than silver. And I said, Lord, what is this place? And he said to me, This is the land of promise. Hast thou never heard what is written: Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth? The souls therefore of the just, when they have gone out of the body, are meanwhile dismissed to this place. And I said to the angel, Then this land will be manifested before the time? The angel answered and said to me, When Christ, whom thou preachest, shall come to reign, then, by the sentence of God, the first earth will be dissolved and this land of promise will then be revealed, and it will be like dew or cloud, and then the Lord Jesus Christ, the King Eternal, will be manifested and will come with all his saints to dwell in it, and he will reign over them a thousand years, and they will eat of the good things which I shall now show unto thee.

22. And I looked around upon that land and I saw a river flowing of milk and honey, and there were trees planted by the bank of that river, full of fruit: moreover each single tree bore twelve fruits in the year, having various and diverse fruits: and I saw the created things which are in that place and all the work of God, and I saw there palms of twenty cubits, but others of ten cubits: and that land was seven times brighter than silver. And there were trees full of fruits from the roots to the highest branches, of ten thousand fruits of palms upon ten thousand fruits. The grape-vines moreover had ten thousand plants. Moreover in the single vines there were ten thousand thousand bunches and in each of these a thousand single grapes: moreover these single trees bore a thousand fruits. And I said to the angel, Why does each tree bear a thousand fruits? The angel answered and said unto me, Because the Lord God gives an abounding flood of gifts to the worthy, because they also of their own will afflicted themselves when they were placed in the world doing all things on account of his holy name. And again I said to the

angel, Sir, are these the only promises which the Most Holy God makes? And he answered and said to me: No! there are seven times greater than these.

But I say unto thee that when the just go out of the body they shall see the promises and the good things which God has prepared for them. Till then, they shall sigh, and lament saying: Have we emitted any word from our mouth to vex our neighbour even on one day? I asked and said again: Are these alone the promises of God? And the angel answered and said unto me: These whom you now see are the souls of the married and those who kept the chastity of their nuptials, containing themselves. But to the virgins and those who hunger and thirst after righteousness and those who afflicted themselves for the sake of the name of God, God will give seven times greater than these, which I shall now show thee. And then he took me up from that place where I saw these things and behold, a river, and its waters were greatly whiter than milk, and I said to the angel, What is this? And he said to me: This is the Acherousian Lake where is the City of Christ, but not every man is permitted to enter that city; for this is the journey which leads to God, and if anyone is a fornicator and impious, and is converted and shall repent and do fruits worthy of repentance, at first indeed when he shall have gone out of the body, he is led and adores God, and thence by command of the Lord he is delivered to the angel Michael and he baptizes him in the Acherousian Lake—thus he leads them into the City of Christ alongside of those who have never sinned. But I wondered and blessed the Lord God for all the things which I saw.

23. And the angel answered and said unto me: Follow me and I will lead thee into the City of Christ. And he was standing on the Acherousian Lake and he put me into a golden ship and angels as it were three thousand were saying hymns before me till I arrived at the City of Christ. Moreover those who inhabited the City of Christ greatly rejoiced over me as I went to them, and I entered and saw the City of Christ, and it was all of gold, and twelve walls encircled it, and twelve interior towers, and each wall had between them single stadia in the circuit: And I said to the angel, Sir, how much is a stadium? The angel answered and said to me: As much as there is between the Lord God and the men who are on the earth, for the City of Christ is alone great. And there were twelve gates in the circuit of the city, of great beauty, and four rivers which encircled it. There was, moreover, a river of honey and a river of milk, and a river of wine and a river of oil. And I said to the angel:

What are these rivers surrounding that city? And he saith to me: These are the four rivers which flow sufficiently for those who are in this land of promise, of which the names are: the river of honey is called Fison, and the river of milk Euphrates, and the river of oil Gion, and the river of wine Tigris, such therefore they are for those who when placed in the world did not use the power of these things, but they hungered for these things and afflicted themselves for the sake of the Lord God: so that when these enter into this city, the Lord will assign them these things on high above all measure.

24. I indeed entering the gates saw trees great and very high before the doors of the city, having no fruit but leaves only, and I saw a few men scattered in the midst of the trees, and they lamented greatly when they saw anyone enter the city. And those trees were sorry for them and humbled themselves and bowed down and again erected themselves. And I saw and wept with them and I asked the angel and said: Sir, who are these who are not admitted to enter into the City of Christ? And he said to me: These are they who zealously abstained day and night in fasts, but they had a proud heart above other men, glorifying and praising themselves and doing nothing for their neighbours. For they gave some friendly greeting, but to others they did not even say hail! and indeed they shewed hospitality to those only whom they wished, and if they did anything whatever for their neighbour they were immoderately puffed up. And I said: What then, Sir? Did their pride prevent them from entering into the City of Christ? And the angel answered and said unto me: Pride is the root of all evils. Are they better than the Son of God who came to the Jews with much humility? And I asked him and said: Why is it that the trees humble themselves and erect themselves again? And the angel answered and said to me:

The whole time which these men passed on earth zealously serving God, on account of the confusion and reproaches of men at the time, they blushed and humiliated themselves, but they were not saddened. nor did they repent that they should recede from their pride which was in them. This is why the trees humble themselves, and again are raised up. And I asked and said: For what cause were they admitted to the doors of the city? The angel answered and said unto me: Because of the great goodness of God, and because there is the entry of his holy men entering into this city: for this cause they are left in this place, but when Christ the King Eternal enters with his saints, as he enters just men may pray for these, and then they may enter into the city

along with them: but yet none of them is able to have assurance such as they have who humbled themselves, serving the Lord God all their lives.

25. But I went on while the angel instructed me, and he carried me to the river of honey, and I saw there Isaiah and Jeremiah and Ezekiel and Amos, and Micah and Zechariah, the minor and major prophets, and they saluted me in the city. I said to the angel: What way is this? And he said to me: This is the way of the prophets, every one who shall have afflicted his soul and not done his own will because of God, when he shall have gone out of the world and have been led to the Lord God and adored him, then by the command of God he is handed over to Michael, and he leads him into the city to this place of the prophets, and they salute him as their friend and neighbour because he did the will of God. 26. Again he led me where there is a river of milk, and I saw in that place all the infants whom Herod slew because of the name of Christ, and they saluted me, and the angel said to me: All who keep their chastity with purity, when they shall have come out of the body, after they adore the Lord God are delivered to Michael and are led to the infants and they salute them, saying that they are our brothers and friends and members; in themselves they shall inherit the promises of God.

27. Again he took me up and carried me to the north of the city and led me where there was a river of wine, and there I saw Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, Lot and Job and other saints, and they saluted me: and I asked and said: What is this place, my Lord? The angel answered and said to me: All who are receivers of pilgrims, when they go out of the world, first adore the Lord God, and are delivered to Michael and by this way are led into the city, and all the just salute him as son and brother, and say unto him: Because thou hast observed humanity and the receiving of pilgrims, come, have an inheritance in the city of the Lord our God: every just man shall receive good things of God in the city, according to his own action. 28. And again he carried me near the river of oil on the east of the city. And I saw there men rejoicing and singing psalms, and I said: Who are those, my Lord? And the angel saith to me: Those are they who devoted themselves to God with their whole heart and had no pride in themselves. For all those who rejoice in the Lord God and sing psalms to the Lord with their whole heart are here led into this city.

29. And he carried me into the midst of the city near the twelve walls. But there was in this place a higher wall, and I asked and said: Is there in the City

of Christ a wall which in honour exceeds this place? And the angel answering said to me: There is a second better than the first, and similarly a third than the second, as each exceeds the other, unto the twelfth wall. And I said: Tell me, Sir, why one exceeds another in glory? And the angel answered and said unto me: All who have in themselves even a little detraction or zeal or pride, something of his glory would be made void even if he were in the city of Christ: look backward! And turning round I saw golden thrones placed in each gate, and on them men having golden diadems and gems: and I looked carefully and I saw inside between the twelve men thrones placed in another rank which appeared of much glory, so that no one is able to recount their praise. And I asked the angel and said: My lord, who is on the throne? And the angel answered and said unto me: Those thrones belong to those who had goodness and understanding of heart and made themselves fools for the sake of the Lord God, nor knew new Scriptures nor psalms, but, mindful of one chapter of the commands of God, and hearing what it contained they wrought thereby in much diligence and had a right zeal before the Lord God, and the admiration of them will seize all the saints in presence of the Lord God, for talking with one another they say, Wait and see the unlearned who know nothing more: by which means they merited so great and such a garment and so great glory on account of their innocence.

And I saw in the midst of this city a great altar, very high, and there was one standing near the altar whose countenance shone as the sun, and he held in his hands a psaltery and harp, and he sang psalms, saying Halleluia! And his voice filled the whole city: at the same time when all they who were on the towers and gates heard him they responded Halleluia! so that the foundations of the city were shaken: and I asked the angel and said, Sir, who is this of so great power? And the angel said to me: This is David: this is the city of Jerusalem, for when Christ the King of Eternity shall come with the assurance of His kingdom, he again shall go before him that he may sing psalms, and all the just at the same time shall sing psalms responding Halleluia! And I said, Sir, how did David alone above the other saints make a beginning of psalm-singing? And the angel answered and said unto me: Because Christ the Son of God sits at the right hand of His Father, and this David sings psalms before him in the seventh heaven, and as is done in the heavens so also below, because the host may not be offered to God without David, but it is ne-

cessary that David should sing psalms in the hour of the oblation of the body and blood of Christ: as it is performed in heaven so also on earth.

30. And I said to the angel: Sir, what is Alleluia? And the angel answered and said to me: You ask questions about everything. And he said to me, Alleluia is said in the Hebrew language of God and angels, for the meaning of Alleluia is this: *tecel cat. marith macha*. And I said, Sir, what is *tecel cat. marith macha*? And the angel answered and said unto me: *Tecel cat. marith macha* is: Let us all bless him together. I asked the angel and said, Sir, do all who say Alleluia bless the Lord? And the angel answered and said to me: It is so, and again, therefore, if any one sing Alleluia and those who are present do not sing at the same time, they commit sin because they do not sing along with him. And I said: My lord, does he also sin if he be hesitating or very old? The angel answered and said unto me: Not so, but he who is able and does not join in the singing, know such as a despiser of the Word, and it would be proud and unworthy that he should not bless the Lord God his maker.

31. Moreover when he had ceased speaking to me, he led me outside the city through the midst of the trees and far from the places of the land of the good, and put me across the river of milk and honey: and after that he led me over the ocean which supports the foundations of heaven. The angel answered and said unto me: Dost thou understand why thou goest hence? And I said: Yes, sir. And he said to me: Come and follow me, and I will show thee the souls of the impious and sinners, that thou mayest know what manner of place it is. And I proceeded with the angel and he carried me by the setting of the sun, and I saw the beginning of heaven founded on a great river of water, and I asked: What is this river of water? And he said to me: This is Ocean which surrounds all the Earth. And when I was at the outer limit of Ocean I looked, and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness: and I sighed.

And I saw there a fervent river of fire, and in it a multitude of men and women immersed up to the knees, and other men up to the navel, others even up to the lips, others moreover up to the hair. And I asked the angel and said: Sir, who are those in the fiery river? And the angel answered and said to me: They are neither hot nor cold, because they were found neither in the number of the just nor in the number of the impious. For those spent the time of their life on earth passing some days in prayer, but others in sins and

fornications, until their death. And I asked him and said: Who are these, Sir, immersed up to their knees in fire? He answered and said to me: These are they who when they have gone out of church throw themselves into strange conversations to dispute. Those indeed who are immersed up to the navel are those who, when they have taken the body and blood of Christ go and fornicate and did not cease from their sins till they died. Those who are immersed up to the lips are the detractors of each other when they assemble in the church of God: those up to the eyebrows are those who nod approval of themselves and plot spite against their neighbour.

32. And I saw on the north a place of various and diverse punishments full of men and women, and a river of fire ran down into it. Moreover I observed and I saw pits great in depth, and in them several souls together, and the depth of that place was as it were three thousand cubits, and I saw them groaning and weeping and saying: Have pity on us, O Lord! and none had pity on them. And I asked the angel and said: Who are these, Sir? And the angel answered and said unto me: These are they who did not hope in the Lord, that they would be able to have him as their helper. And I asked and said: Sir, if these souls remain for thirty or forty generations thus one upon another, if they were sent deeper, the pits I believe would not hold them. And he said to me: The Abyss has no measure, for beyond this it stretches down below him who is down in it: and so it is, that if perchance anyone should take a stone and throw it into a very deep well and after many hours it should reach the bottom, such is the abyss. For when the souls are thrown in there, they hardly reach the bottom in fifty years.

33. I, indeed, when I heard this, wept and groaned over the human race. The angel answered and said unto me: Why dost thou weep? Art thou more pitiful than God? For though God is good, He knows also that there are punishments, and He patiently bears with the human race, dismissing each one to work his own will in the time in which he dwells on the earth. 34. I further observed the fiery river and saw there a man being tortured by Tartaruchian angels having in their hands an iron with three hooks with which they pierced the bowels of that old man: and I asked the angel, and said: Sir, who is that old man on whom such torments are imposed? And the angel answered and said to me: He whom you see was a presbyter who did not perform well his ministry: when he had been eating and drinking and committing fornication he offered the host to the Lord at his holy altar.

35. And I saw not far away another old man led on by malign angels running with speed, and they pushed him into the fire up to his knees, and they struck him with stones and wounded his face like a storm, and did not allow him to say: Have pity on me! And I asked the angel and he said to me: He whom you see was a bishop, and did not perform well his episcopate, who indeed accepted the great name but did not enter into the witness of him who gave him the name in all his life, seeing that he did not do just judgment, and did not pity widows and orphans, but now he receives retribution according to his iniquity and his works. 36. And I saw another man in the fiery river up to his knees. Moreover his hands were stretched out and bloody, and worms proceeded from his mouth and nostrils and he was groaning and weeping, and crying he said: Have pity on me! for I am hurt above the rest who are in this punishment. And I asked, Sir, who is this? And he said to me: This man whom thou seest, was a deacon who devoured the oblations and committed fornications and did not right in the sight of God, for this cause he unceasingly pays this penalty.

And I looked closely and saw alongside of him another man whom they delivered up with haste and cast into the fiery river, and he was (in it) up to the knees: and there came the angel who was set over the punishments having a great fiery razor, and with it he cut the lips of that man and the tongue likewise. And sighing, I lamented and asked: Who is that, sir. And he said to me, He whom thou seest was a reader and read to the people, but he himself did not keep the precepts of God: now he also pays the proper penalty. 37. And I saw another multitude of pits in the same place, and in the midst of it a river full of a multitude of men and women, and worms consumed them. But I lamented and sighing asked the angel and said: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are those who exacted interest on interest and trusted in their riches and did not hope in God that He was their helper.

And after that I looked and saw another place, very narrow, and it was like a wall, and fire round about it. And I saw inside men and women gnawing their tongues, and I asked: Sir, who are these. And he said to me: These are they who in church disparage the Word of God, not attending to it, but as it were make naught of God and His angels: for that cause they now likewise pay the proper penalty. 38. And I observed and saw another old man down in a pit and his countenance was like blood, and I asked and said, Sir, what is this place? And he said to me: Into that pit stream all the punish-

ments. And I saw men and women immersed up to the lips and I asked, Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are the magicians who prepared for men and women evil magic arts and did not find how to stop them till they died.

And again I saw men and women with very black faces in a pit of fire, and I sighed and lamented and asked, Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are fornicators and adulterers who committed adultery having wives of their own: likewise also the women committed adultery having husbands of their own: therefore they unceasingly suffer penalties. 39. And I saw there girls having black raiment, and four terrible angels having in their hands burning chains, and they put them on the necks of the girls and led them into darkness: and I, again weeping, asked the angel: Who are these, Sir? And he said to me: These are they who, when they were virgins, defiled their virginity unknown to their parents; for which cause they unceasingly pay the proper penalties. And again I observed there men and women with hands cut and their feet placed naked in a place of ice and snow, and worms devoured them. But seeing them I lamented and asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who harmed orphans and widows and the poor, and did not hope in the Lord, for which cause they unceasingly pay the proper penalties.

And I observed and saw others hanging over a channel of water, and their tongues were very dry, and many fruits were placed in their sight, and they were not permitted to take of them, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who break their fast before the appointed hour, for this cause they unceasingly pay these penalties. And I saw other men and women hanging by their eyebrows and their hair, and a fiery river drew them, and I said: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are they who join themselves not to their own husbands and wives but to whores, and therefore they unceasingly pay the proper penalties. And I saw other men and women covered with dust, and their countenance was like blood, and they were in a pit of pitch and sulphur and running down into a fiery river, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who committed the iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah, the male with the male, for which reason they unceasingly pay the penalties.

40. And I observed and saw men and women clothed in bright garments, having their eyes blind, placed in a pit, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And

he said to me: These are of the people who did alms, and knew not the Lord God, for which reason they unceasingly pay the proper penalties. And I observed and saw other men and women on an obelisk of fire, and beasts tearing them in pieces, and they were not allowed to say, Lord have pity on us! And I saw the angel of penalties putting heavy punishments on them and saying: Acknowledge the Son of God; for this was predicted to you, when the divine Scriptures were read to you, and you did not attend; for which cause God's judgment is just, for your actions have apprehended you and brought you into these penalties. But I sighed and wept, and I asked and said: Who are these men and women who are strangled in fire and pay their penalties? And he answered me: These are women who defiled the image of God when bringing forth infants out of the womb, and these are the men who lay with them. And their infants addressed the Lord God and the angels who were set over the punishments, saying: Cursed be the hour to our parents, for they defiled the image of God, having the name of God but not observing His precepts: they gave us for food to dogs and to be trodden down of swine: others they threw into the river. But their infants were handed over to the angels of Tartarus who were set over the punishments, that they might lead them to a wide place of mercy: but their fathers and mothers were tortured in a perpetual punishment.

And after that I saw men and women clothed with rags full of pitch and fiery sulphur, and dragons were coiled about their necks and shoulders and feet, and angels having fiery horns restrained them and smote them, and closed their nostrils, saying to them: Why did ye not know the time in which it was right to repent and serve God, and did not do it? And I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: These are they who seem to give up the world for God, putting on our garb, but the impediments of the world made them wretched, not maintaining agapæ, and they did not pity widows and orphans: they did not receive the stranger and the pilgrim, nor did they offer the oblations, and they did not pity their neighbour. Moreover their prayer did not even on one day ascend pure to the Lord God, but many impediments of the world detained them, and they were not able to do right in the sight of God, and the angels enclosed them in the place of punishments. Moreover they saw those who were in punishments and said to them: We indeed when we lived in the world neglected God, and ye also did likewise: as we also truly when we were in the world knew that ye were sinners. But ye

said: These are just and servants of God, now we know why ye were called by the name of the Lord: for which cause they also pay their own penalties.

And sighing I wept and said: Woe unto men, woe unto sinners! why were they born? And the angel answered and said unto me: Why dost thou lament? Art thou more pitiful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who established judgment and sent forth every man to choose good and evil in his own will and do what pleases him? Then I lamented again very greatly, and he said to me: Dost thou lament when as yet thou hast not seen greater punishments? Follow me and thou shalt see seven times greater than these. 41. And he carried me south and placed me above a well, and I found it sealed with seven seals: and answering, the angel who was with me said to the angel of that place: Open the mouth of the well that Paul, the well-beloved of God, may see, for authority is given him that he may see all the pains of hell. And the angel said to me: Stand afar off that thou mayest be able to bear the stench of this place. When therefore the well was opened, immediately there arose from it a certain hard and malign stench, which surpasses all punishments: and I looked into the well and I saw fiery masses glowing in every part, and narrow places, and the mouth of the well was narrow so as to admit one man only. And the angel answered and said unto me: If any man shall have been put into this well of the abyss and it shall have been sealed over him, no remembrance of him shall ever be made in the sight of the Father and His Son and the holy angels. And I said: Who are these, Sir, who are put into this well? And he said to me: They are whoever shall not confess that Christ has come in the flesh and that the Virgin Mary brought him forth, and whoever says that the bread and cup of the Eucharist of blessing are not this body and blood of Christ.

42. And I looked to the south in the west and I saw there a restless worm and in that place there was gnashing of teeth: moreover the worms were one cubit long, and had two heads, and there I saw men and women in cold and gnashing of teeth. And I asked and said, Sir, who are these in this place? And he said to me: These are they who say that Christ did not rise from the dead and that this flesh will not rise again. And I asked and said: Sir, is there no fire nor heat in this place? And he said to me: In this place there is nothing else but cold and snow: and again he said to me: Even if the sun should rise upon them, they do not become warm on account of the superabundant cold of that place and the snow.

But hearing these things I stretched out my hands and wept, and sighing again, I said: It were better for us if we had not been born, all of us who are sinners. 43. But when those who were in the same place saw me weeping with the angel, they themselves cried out and wept saying, Lord God have mercy upon us! And after these things I saw the heavens open, and Michael the archangel descending from heaven, and with him was the whole army of angels, and they came to those who were placed in punishment and seeing him, again weeping, they cried out and said, Have pity on us! Michael the archangel, have pity on us and on the human race, for on account of thy prayers the earth standeth. We now see the judgment and acknowledge the Son of God! It was impossible for us before these things to pray for this, before we entered into this place: for we heard that there was a judgment before we went out of the world, but impediments and the life of the world did not allow us to repent. And Michael answered and said: Hear Michael speaking! I am he who stands in the sight of God every hour: As the Lord liveth, in whose sight I stand, I do not intermit one day or one night praying incessantly for the human race, and I indeed pray for those who are on the earth: but they do not cease doing iniquity and fornications, and they do not bring to me any good while they are placed on earth: and ye have consumed in vanity the time in which ye ought to have repented.

But I have always prayed thus and I now beseech that God may send dew and send forth rains upon the earth, and now I desire until the earth produce its fruits and verily I say, that if any have done but a little good, I will agonise for him, protecting him till he have escaped the judgment of penalties. Where therefore are your prayers? Where are your penances? Ye have lost your time contemptuously. But now weep and I will weep with you and the angels who are with me with the well-beloved Paul, if perchance the merciful God will have pity and give you refreshment. But hearing these words they cried out and wept greatly, and all said with one voice: Have pity on us, Son of God! And I, Paul, sighed and said: O Lord God! have pity on thy creature, have pity on the sons of men, have pity on thine image.

44. And I looked and saw the heaven move like a tree shaken by the wind. Suddenly, moreover, they threw themselves on their faces in the sight of the throne. And I saw twenty-four elders and twenty-four thousand adoring God, and I saw an altar and veil and throne, and all were rejoicing; and the smoke of a good odour was raised near the altar of the throne of God,

and I heard the voice of one saying: For the sake of what do ye our angels and ministers intercede? And they cried out saying: We intercede seeing thy many kindnesses to the human race. And after these things I saw the Son of God descending from heaven, and a diadem was on his head. And seeing him those who were placed in punishment exclaimed all with one voice saying: Have pity, Son of the High God! Thou art He who shewest refreshment for all in the heavens and on earth, and on us likewise have pity, for since we have seen Thee, we have refreshment. And a voice went out from the Son of God through all the punishments saying: And what work have ye done that ye demand refreshment from me? My blood was poured out for your sakes, and not even so did ye repent: for your sakes I wore the crown of thorns on my head: for you I received buffets on my cheeks, and not even so did ye repent.

I asked water when hanging on the cross and they gave me vinegar mixed with gall, with a spear they opened my right side, for my name's sake they slew my prophets and just men, and in all these things I gave you a place of repentance and ye would not. Now, however, for the sake of Michael the archangel of my covenant and the angels who are with him, and because of Paul the well-beloved, whom I would not vex, for the sake of your brethren who are in the world and offer oblations, and for the sake of your sons, because my precepts are in them, and more for the sake of mine own kindness, on the day on which I rose from the dead, I give to you all who are in punishment a night and a day of refreshment forever. And they all cried out and said, We bless thee, Son of God, that Thou hast given us a night and a day of respite. For better to us is a refreshment of one day above all the time of our life which we were on earth, and if we had plainly known that this was intended for those who sin, we would have worked no other work, we would have done no business, and we would have done no iniquity: what need had we for pride in the world? For here our pride is crushed which ascended from our mouth against our neighbour:

our plagues and excessive straitness and the tears and the worms which are under us, these are much worse to us than the pains which we have left behind us. When they said thus, the malign angels of the penalties were angered with them, saying: How long do ye lament and sigh? for ye had no pity. For this is the judgment of God who had no pity. But ye received this great grace of a day and a night's refreshment on the Lord's Day for the sake

of Paul the well-beloved of God who descended to you. 45. And after that the angel said to me: Hast thou seen all these things? And I said: Yes, Sir. And he said to me: Follow me and I will lead thee into Paradise, that the just who are there may see thee, for lo! they hope to see thee, and they are ready to come to meet thee in joy and gladness. And I followed the angel by the impulse of the Holy Spirit, and he placed me in Paradise and said to me: This is Paradise in which Adam and his wife erred. Moreover I entered Paradise and saw the beginning of waters, and there was an angel making a sign to me and he said to me: Observe, said he, the waters, for this is the river of Physon which surrounds all the land of Evilla, and the second is Geon which surrounds all the land of Egypt and Ethiopia, and the third is Thigris which is over against the Assyrians, and another is Euphrates which waters all the land of Mesopotamia. And when I had gone inside I saw a tree planted from whose roots water flowed out, and from this beginning there were four rivers. And the spirit of God rested on that tree, and when the Spirit blew, the waters flowed forth, and I said: My Lord, is it this tree itself which makes the waters flow? And he said to me:

That from the beginning, before the heavens and earth were manifested, and all things here invisible, the Spirit of God was borne upon the waters, but from the time when the command of God made the heavens and earth to appear, the Spirit rested upon this tree: wherefore whenever the Spirit blows, the waters flow forth from the tree. And he held me by the hand and led me near the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and he said: This is the tree by which death entered into the world, and receiving of it through his wife Adam ate and death entered into the world. And he shewed me another tree in the midst of Paradise, and saith to me: This is the tree of life. 46. While I was yet looking upon the tree, I saw a virgin coming from afar and two hundred angels before her saying hymns, and I asked and said: Sir, who is she who comes in so great glory? And he said to me: This is Mary the Virgin, the Mother of the Lord. And coming near she saluted me and said: Hail, Paul! well-beloved of God and angels and men. For all the saints prayed my Son Jesus who is my Lord that thou mightest come hither in the body that they might see thee before thou goest out of the world. And the Lord said to them: Bear and be patient: yet a little and ye shall see him and he shall be with you for ever: and again they all said to him together: Do not vex us, for we desire to see him in the flesh, for by him Thy name was greatly glorified

in the world, and we have seen that he endured all the labours whether of the greater or of the less. This we learn from those who come hither. For when we say: Who is he who directed you in the world? they reply to us: There is one in the world whose name is Paul, he preaches and announces Christ, and we believe that many have entered into the kingdom through the virtue and sweetness of his speeches. Behold all the just men are behind me coming to meet thee, Paul, and I first come for this cause to meet them who did the will of my Son and my Lord Jesus Christ, I first advance to meet them and do not send them away to be as wanderers until they meet in peace.

47. When she had thus spoken, I saw three coming from afar, very beautiful in the likeness of Christ, and their forms were shining, and their angels, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said to me: Dost thou not know those? And I said: No, Sir. And he answered: These are the fathers of the people, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And coming near they saluted me, and said: Hail, Paul, well-beloved of God and men; blessed is he who suffers violence for the Lord's sake. And Abraham answered me and said: This is my son Isaac, and Jacob my well-beloved, and we have known the Lord and followed him; blessed are all they who believed in thy word, that they may be able to inherit the Kingdom of God by labour, by renunciation, and sanctification, and humility, and charity, and meekness, and right faith in the Lord; and we also have had devotion to the Lord whom thou preachest in the testament, that we might assist those who believed in him with their whole soul, and might minister unto them as fathers minister to their children.

When they had thus spoken, I saw other twelve coming from afar in honour, and I asked: Sir, who are these? And he said: These are the patriarchs. And coming near they saluted me and said: Hail, Paul, well-beloved of God and men: the Lord did not vex us, that we might see thee yet in the body, before thou goest out of the world. And each one of them reminded me of his name in order, from Ruben to Benjamin: and Joseph said to me: I am he who was sold; but I say to thee, Paul, that all the things, whatever my brothers did to me, in nothing did I act maliciously with them, nor in all the labour which they imposed on me, nor in any point was I hurt by them on that account from morning till evening: blessed is he who receives some hurt on account of the Lord, and bears it, for the Lord will repay it to him manifold, when he shall have gone out of the world.

48. When he had spoken thus far, I saw another beautiful one coming from afar, and his angels saying hymns, and I asked: Sir, who is this that is beautiful of countenance? And he saith to me: Dost thou not know him? And I said: No, Sir. And he said to me: This is Moses the law-giver, to whom God gave the law. And when he had come near me, he immediately wept, and after that he saluted me: and I said to him: What dost thou lament? for I have heard that thou excellest every man in meekness. And he answered saying: I weep for those whom I planted with toil, because they did not bear fruit, nor did any profit by them; and I saw all the sheep whom I fed, that they were scattered and become as if they had no shepherd, and because all the toils which I endured for the sake of the sons of Israel were accounted as naught, and how greatsoever virtues I did in the midst of them these they did not understand, and I wonder that strangers and uncircumcised and idol-worshippers have been converted and have entered into the promises of God, but Israel has not entered; and now I say unto thee, brother Paul, that in that hour when the people hanged Jesus whom thou preachest, that the Father, the God of all, who gave me the law, and Michael and all the angels and archangels, and Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the just wept over the Son of God hanging on the cross. In that hour all the saints attended on me looking (upon me) and they said to me: See, Moses, what men of thy people have done to the Son of God. Wherefore thou art blessed, Paul, and blessed the generation and race which believed in thy word.

49. When he had spoken thus far, there came other twelve, and seeing me said: Art thou Paul the glorified in heaven and on earth? And I answered and said: What are ye? The first answered and said: I am Esaias whom Manasses cut asunder with a wooden saw. And the second said likewise: I am Jeremias who was stoned by the children of Israel and slain. And the third said: I am Ezekiel whom the children of Israel dragged by the feet over a rock in a mountain till they knocked out my brains, and we endured all these toils, wishing to save the children of Israel: and I say unto thee that after the toils which they laid upon me, I cast myself on my face in the sight of the Lord praying for them, bending my knees until the second hour of the Lord's day, till Michael came and lifted me up from the earth. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the nation which believed through thee.

And as these passed by, I saw another, beautiful of countenance, and I asked: Sir, Who is this? Who when he had seen me, rejoiced and said to me:

This is Lot who was found just in Sodom. And approaching he saluted me and said: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the generation to which thou didst minister. And I answered and said to him: Art thou Lot who wast found just in Sodom? And he said: I entertained angels, as travellers, and when they of the city wished to violate them, I offered them my two virgin daughters who had not yet known men, and gave them to them saying: use them as ye will, but only to these men ye shall do no evil; for this cause they entered under the roof of my house. For this cause, therefore, we ought to be confident and know that if anyone shall have done anything, God shall repay him manifold when they shall come to him. Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the nation which believed in thy word.

When, therefore, he had ceased talking to me, I saw another coming from a distance, very beautiful of countenance, and smiling, and his angels saying hymns: and I said to the angel who was with me: Has then each of the just an angel for companion? And he said to me: Each one of the saints has his own (angel) assisting him, and saying a hymn, and the one does not depart from the other. And I said: Who is this, Sir? And he said: This is Job. And approaching, he saluted me and said: Brother Paul, thou hast great praise with God and men. And I am Job, who laboured much for a period of thirty years from a plague in the blood; and verily in the beginning, the wounds which went forth from my body were like grains of wheat. But on the third day, they became as the foot of an ass; worms moreover which fell four digits in length: and on the third (day) the devil appeared and said to me: Say something against God and die. I said to him: If such be the will of God that I should remain under a plague all the time of my life till I die, I shall not cease from blessing the Lord, and I shall receive more reward. For I know that the labours of that world are nothing to the refreshment which is afterwards: for which cause blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed the nation which believed through thee.

50. When he had spoken thus far, another came calling from afar and saying: Blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed am I because I saw thee, the beloved of the Lord. And I asked the angel: Sir, who is this? And he answered and said unto me: This is Noe in the time of the deluge. And immediately we saluted each other: and greatly rejoicing he said to me: Thou art Paul the most beloved of God. And I asked him: Who art thou? And he said: I am Noe, who was in the time of the deluge. And I say to thee, Paul, that work-

ing for a hundred years, I made the ark, not putting off the tunic with which I was clad, nor did I cut the hair of my head. Till then also I cherished continence, not approaching my own wife: in those hundred years not a hair of my head grew in length, nor did my garments become soiled: and I besought men at all times saying: Repent, for a deluge of waters will come upon you. But they laughed at me, and mocked my words; and again they said to me: But this is the time of those who are able to play and sin freely, desiring her with whom it is possible to commit fornication frequently: for God does not regard this, and does not know what things are done by us men, and there is no flood of waters straightway coming upon this world. And they did not cease from their sins, till God destroyed all flesh which had the breath of life in it. Know then that God loveth one just man more than all the world of the impious. Wherefore, blessed art thou, Paul, and blessed is the nation which believes through thee.

51. And turning round, I saw other just ones coming from afar, and I asked the angel: Sir, who are those? And he answered me: These are Elias and Eliseus. And they saluted me: and I said to them: Who are ye? And one of them answered and said: I am Elias, the prophet of God; I am Elias who prayed, and because of my word, the heaven did not rain for three years and six months, on account of the unrighteousness of men. God is just and true, who doeth the will of his servants: for the angels often besought the Lord for rain, and he said: Be patient till my servant Elias shall pray and petition for this and I will send rain on the earth. The End of the Vision of Saint Paul.

Revelation of John

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A Greek apocalypse in which John the Theologian, on Mount Tabor, asks the Lord about the end of the world and is told of the signs that will come.

¹Revelation of John. Revelation of Saint John the Theologian. After the taking up of our Lord Jesus Christ, I John was alone upon Mount Tabor, where also He showed us His undefiled Godhead; and as I was not able to stand, I fell upon the ground, and prayed to the Lord, and said: O Lord my God, who hast deemed me worthy to be Thy servant, hear my voice, and teach me about Thy coming. When Thou shalt come to the earth, what will happen? The heaven and the earth, and the sun and the moon, what will happen to them in those times? Reveal to me all; for I am emboldened, because Thou listenest to Thy servant. ²And I spent seven days praying; and after this a cloud of light caught me up from the mountain, and set me before the face of the heaven. And I heard a voice saying to me: Look up, John, servant of God, and know. And having looked up, I saw the heaven opened, and there came forth from within the heaven a smell of perfumes of much sweet odour; and I saw an exceeding great flood of light, more resplendent than the sun. And again I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, righteous John. And I directed my sight, and saw a book lying, of the thickness, methought, of seven mountains; and the length of it the mind of man cannot comprehend, having seven seals. And I said: O Lord my God, reveal to me what is written in this book. And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. In this book which thou seest there have been written the things in the heaven, and the things in the earth, and the things in the abyss, and the judgments and righteousness of all the human race. And I said: Lord, when shall these things come to pass? and what do those times bring? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. There shall be in that time

abundance of corn and wine, such as there hath never been upon the earth, nor shall ever be until those times come. Then the ear of corn shall produce a half choenix, and the bend of the branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and the cluster shall produce a half jar of wine; and in the following year there shall not be found upon the face of all the earth a half choenix of corn or a half jar of wine.

³ And again I said: Lord, thereafter what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall appear the denier, and he who is set apart in the darkness, who is called Antichrist. And again I said: Lord, reveal to me what he is like. And I heard a voice saying to me: The appearance of his face is dusky; the hairs of his head are sharp, like darts; his eyebrows like a wild beast's; his right eye like the star which rises in the morning, and the other like a lion's; his mouth about one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the print of his feet of two spans; and on his face an inscription, Antichrist; he shall be exalted even to heaven, and shall be cast down even to Hades, making false displays. And then will I make the heaven brazen, so that it shall not give moisture upon the earth; and I will hide the clouds in secret places, so that they shall not bring moisture upon the earth; and I will command the horns of the wind, so that the wind shall not blow upon the earth.

⁴ And again I said: Lord, and how many years will he do this upon the earth? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Three years shall those times be; and I will make the three years like three months, and the three months like three weeks, and the three weeks like three days, and the three days like three hours, and the three hours like three seconds, as said the prophet David, His throne hast Thou broken down to the ground; Thou hast shortened the days of his time; Thou hast poured shame upon him. And then I shall send forth Enoch and Elias to convict him; and they shall show him to be a liar and a deceiver; and he shall kill them at the altar, as said the prophet, Then shall they offer calves upon Thine altar. And again I said: Lord, and after that what will come to pass? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then all the human race shall die, and there shall not be a living man upon all the earth. And again I said: Lord, after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then will I send forth mine angels, and they shall take the ram's horns that lie upon the cloud; and Michael and Gabriel shall go forth out of the heaven

and sound with those horns, as the prophet David foretold, With the voice of a trumpet of horn. And the voice of the trumpet shall be heard from the one quarter of the world to the other; and from the voice of that trumpet all the earth shall be shaken, as the prophet foretold, And at the voice of the bird every plant shall arise; that is, at the voice of the archangel all the human race shall arise.

5 And again I said: Lord, those who are dead from Adam even to this day, and who dwell in Hades from the beginning of the world, and who die at the last ages, what like shall they arise? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. All the human race shall arise thirty years old. And again I said: Lord, they die male and female, and some old, and some young, and some infants. In the resurrection what like shall they arise? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Just as the bees are, and differ not one from another, but are all of one appearance and one size, so also shall every man be in the resurrection. There is neither fair, nor ruddy, nor black, neither Ethiopian nor different countenances; but they shall all arise of one appearance and one stature. All the human race shall arise without bodies, as I told you that in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God.

6 And again I said: Lord, is it possible in that world to recognise each other, a brother his brother, or a friend his friend, or a father his own children, or the children their own parents? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, John. To the righteous there is recognition, but to the sinners not at all; they cannot in the resurrection recognise each other. And again I John said: Lord, is there there recollection of the things that are here, either fields or vineyards, or other things here? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. The prophet David speaks, saying, I remembered that we are dust: as for man, his days are as grass; as a flower of the field, so he shall flourish: for a wind hath passed over it, and it shall be no more, and it shall not any longer know its place. And again the same said: His spirit shall go forth, and he returns to his earth; in that day all his thoughts shall perish.

7 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then will I send forth mine angels over the face of all the earth, and they shall lift off the earth everything honourable, and everything precious, and the venerable and holy images, and the glorious and precious crosses, and the sacred vessels of the churches, and

the divine and sacred books; and all the precious and holy things shall be lifted up by clouds into the air. And then will I order to be lifted up the great and venerable sceptre, on which I stretched forth my hands, and all the orders of my angels shall do reverence to it. And then shall be lifted up all the race of men upon clouds, as the Apostle Paul foretold. Along with them we shall be snatched up in clouds to meet the Lord in the air. And then shall come forth every evil spirit, both in the earth and in the abyss, wherever they are on the face of all the earth, from the rising of the sun even to the setting, and they shall be united to him that is served by the devil, that is, Antichrist, and they shall be lifted up upon the clouds.

8 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall I send forth mine angels over the face of all the earth, and they shall burn up the earth eight thousand five hundred cubits, and the great mountains shall be burnt up, and all the rocks shall be melted and shall become as dust, and every tree shall be burnt up, and every beast, and every creeping thing creeping upon the earth, and every thing moving upon the face of the earth, and every flying thing flying in the air; and there shall no longer be upon the face of all the earth anything moving, and the earth shall be without motion. 9 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall I uncover the four parts of the east, and there shall come forth four great winds, and they shall sweep all the face of the earth from the one end of the earth to the other; and the Lord shall sweep sin from off the earth, and the earth shall be made white like snow, and it shall become as a leaf of paper, without cave, or mountain, or hill, or rock; but the face of the earth from the rising even to the setting of the sun shall be like a table, and white as snow; and the reins of the earth shall be consumed by fire, and it shall cry unto me, saying, I am a virgin before thee, O Lord, and there is no sin in me; as the prophet David said aforetime, Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be made pure; Thou shalt wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow. And again he said: Every chasm shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill brought low, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the rough ways into smooth; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

10 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then shall the earth be cleansed

from sin, and all the earth shall be filled with a sweet smell, because I am about to come down upon the earth; and then shall come forth the great and venerable sceptre, with thousands of angels worshipping it, as I said before; and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man from the heaven with power and great glory. And then the worker of iniquity with his servants shall behold it, and gnash his teeth exceedingly, and all the unclean spirits shall be turned to flight. And then, seized by invisible power, having no means of flight, they shall gnash their teeth against him, saying to him: Where is thy power? How hast thou led us astray? and we have fled away, and have fallen away from the glory which we had beside Him who is coming to judge us, and the whole human race. Woe to us! because He banishes us into outer darkness.

11 And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then will I send an angel out of heaven, and he shall cry with a loud voice, saying, Hear, O earth, and be strong, saith the Lord; for I am coming down to thee. And the voice of the angel shall be heard from the one end of the world even to the other, and even to the remotest part of the abyss. And then shall be shaken all the power of the angels and of the many-eyed ones, and there shall be a great noise in the heavens, and the nine regions of the heaven shall be shaken, and there shall be fear and astonishment upon all the angels. And then the heavens shall be rent from the rising of the sun even to the setting, and an innumerable multitude of angels shall come down to the earth; and then the treasures of the heavens shall be opened, and they shall bring down every precious thing, and the perfume of incense, and they shall bring down to the earth Jerusalem robed like a bride. And then there shall go before me myriads of angels and archangels, bearing my throne, crying out, Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth; heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. And then will I come forth with power and great glory, and every eye in the clouds shall see me; and then every knee shall bend, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. And then the heaven shall remain empty; and I will come down upon the earth, and all that is in the air shall be brought down upon the earth, and all the human race and every evil spirit along with Antichrist, and they shall all be set before me naked, and chained by the neck.

12 And again I said: Lord, what will become of the heavens, and the sun, and the moon, along with the stars? And I heard a voice saying to me: Be-

hold, righteous John. And I looked, and saw a Lamb having seven eyes and seven horns. And again I heard a voice saying to me: I will bid the Lamb come before me, and will say, Who will open this book? And all the multitudes of the angels will answer, Give this book to the Lamb to open it. And then will I order the book to be opened. And when He shall open the first seal, the stars of the heaven shall fall, from the one end of it to the other. And when He shall open the second seal, the moon shall be hidden, and there shall be no light in her. And when He shall open the third seal, the light of the sun shall be withheld, and there shall not be light upon the earth. And when He shall open the fourth seal, the heavens shall be dissolved, and the air shall be thrown into utter confusion, as saith the prophet: And the heavens are the works of Thy hands; they shall perish, but Thou endurest, and they shall all wax old as a garment. And when He shall open the fifth seal, the earth shall be rent, and all the tribunals upon the face of all the earth shall be revealed. And when He shall open the sixth seal, the half of the sea shall disappear. And when He shall open the seventh seal, Hades shall be uncovered.

¹³ And I said: Lord, who will be the first to be questioned, and to receive judgment? And I heard a voice saying to me, The unclean spirits, along with the adversary. I bid them go into outer darkness, where the depths are. And I said: Lord, and in what place does it lie? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. As big a stone as a man of thirty years old can roll, and let go down into the depth, even falling down for twenty years will not arrive at the bottom of Hades; as the prophet David said before, And He made darkness His secret place. And I said: Lord, and after them what nation will be questioned? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. There will be questioned of Adam's race those nations, both the Greek and those who have believed in idols, and in the sun, and in the stars, and those who have defiled the faith by heresy, and who have not believed the holy resurrection, and who have not confessed the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost: then will I send them away into Hades, as the prophet David foretold, Let the sinners be turned into Hades, and all the nations that forget God. And again he said: They were put in Hades like sheep; death shall be their shepherd.

¹⁴ And again I said: Lord, and after them whom wilt Thou judge? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. Then the race of the

Hebrews shall be examined, who nailed me to the tree like a malefactor. And I said: And what punishment will these get, and in what place, seeing that they did such things to Thee? And I heard a voice saying to me: They shall go away into Tartarus, as the prophet David foretold, They cried out, and there was none to save; to the Lord, and He did not hearken to them. And again the Apostle Paul said: As many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned in law shall be judged by means of law. And again I said: Lord, and what of those who have received baptism? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then the race of the Christians shall be examined, who have received baptism; and then the righteous shall come at my command, and the angels shall go and collect them from among the sinners, as the prophet David foretold: The Lord will not suffer the rod of the sinners in the lot of the righteous; and all the righteous shall be placed on my right hand, and shall shine like the sun. As thou seest, John, the stars of heaven, that they were all made together, but differ in light, so shall it be with the righteous and the sinners; for the righteous shall shine as lights and as the sun, but the sinners shall stand in darkness.

15 And again I said: Lord, and do all the Christians go into one punishment?—kings, high priests, priests, patriarchs, rich and poor, bond and free? And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. As the prophet David foretold, The expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever. Now about kings: they shall be driven like slaves, and shall weep like infants; and about patriarchs, and priests, and Levites, of those that have sinned, they shall be separated in their punishments, according to the nature of the peculiar transgression of each,—some in the river of fire, and some to the worm that dieth not, and others in the seven-mouthed pit of punishment. To these punishments the sinners will be apportioned. And again I said: Lord, and where will the righteous dwell? And I heard a voice saying to me: Then shall paradise be revealed; and the whole world and paradise shall be made one, and the righteous shall be on the face of all the earth with my angels, as the Holy Spirit foretold through the prophet David: The righteous shall inherit the earth, and dwell therein for ever and ever.

16 And again I said: Lord, how great is the multitude of the angels? and which is the greater, that of angels or of men? And I heard a voice saying to me: As great as is the multitude of the angels, so great is the race of men, as the prophet has said, He set bounds to the nations according to the number

of the angels of God. And again I said: Lord, and after that what wilt Thou do? and what is to become of the world? Reveal to me all. And I heard a voice saying to me: Hear, righteous John. After that there is no pain, there is no grief, there is no groaning; there is no recollection of evils, there are no tears, there is no envy, there is no hatred of brethren, there is no unrighteousness, there is no arrogance, there is no slander, there is no bitterness, there are none of the cares of life, there is no pain from parents or children, there is no pain from gold, there are no wicked thoughts, there is no devil, there is no death, there is no night, but all is day. As I said before, And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold, that is, men who have been made like the angels through their excellent course of life; them also must I bring, and they will hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, one shepherd.

¹⁷ And again I heard a voice saying to me: Behold, thou hast heard all these things, righteous John; deliver them to faithful men, that they also may teach others, and not think lightly of them, nor cast our pearls before swine, lest perchance they should trample them with their feet. And while I was still hearing this voice, the cloud brought me down, and put me on Mount Thabor. And there came a voice to me, saying: Blessed are those who keep judgment and do righteousness in all time. And blessed is the house where this description lies, as the Lord said, He that loveth me keepeth my sayings in Christ Jesus our Lord; to Him be glory for ever. Amen.

The Apocalypse of Thomas, the Apocalypse of the Virgin and the Revelation of Stephen

TRANSLATED BY M. R. JAMES

4th–5th century AD

The signs of the seven days before the end of the world, told to Thomas by the Saviour, followed by the Greek and Ethiopic Apocalypses of the Virgin and the Revelation of Stephen.

THE APOCALYPSE OF THOMAS

¹ Paul. He promised blessings to those who should write or read the Apocalypse, and curses on those who should deride it. Peter and Paul should end their course on the fifth of Epiphi (29 June). He then bade a cloud take the apostles to the various countries allotted to them, and commanded them to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom. And a doxology follows. I am disposed to think that nothing after the appearance of Adam in this version can be original. The rest is to a great extent, I think, a pasticcio from other Coptic apocrypha. It is quite possible, of course, that the original end of the Apocalypse was lost at an early date: but the supposition is probable that after the appearance of Adam a short conclusion followed in which Paul returned to earth. With so ill-proportioned and inartistic a book it is not perhaps worth while to spend much time on conjectural restoration. Yet another possibility should be pointed out. The climax of the Apocalypse is reached when the Sunday is granted as a day of rest from torment. Paul has seen Paradise and hell, and there is no more for him to do. Everything after ch. 44 is an otiose appendix.

² And we do find in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin, which copies that of Paul very literally, that the end comes at ch. 44, when the Virgin procures rest from Friday evening to Monday morning for the lost. The Greek Apocalypse—one form at least—ends when she has gained for them the days

of Pentecost. It may be the case, then, that the Apocalypse of Paul as first issued ended here, and that it was reissued with the appendix about Paradise (45-end). In the shorter Latin recensions there is no trace of anything after ch. 44: but this does not furnish a conclusive argument. More to the point would be the discovery of a copy of the full text ending with 44.

Apocalypse of Thomas

³ The emergence of this book has been recent. The Gelasian Decree condemns the book 'called the Revelation of Thomas' as apocryphal, and that was all that was known of it. In 1908 a quotation in the Berlin MS. (eighth-ninth century) of Jerome's Chronicle was noticed by Dr. Frick. At the eighteenth year of Tiberius, the manuscript has this note: In a certain apocryphal book, said to be of Thomas the apostle, it is written that the Lord Jesus told him that from his ascension into heaven to his second advent the time comprised is nine jubilees. This does not appear in any of the published texts. Already in 1907 F. Wilhelm had printed, in his *Deutsche Legenden und Legendare*, a text from a Munich MS. which attracted little attention, but was in fact the lost Apocalypse, or part of it. ⁴ In the same year E. Hauler showed that a leaf of a fifth-century palimpsest at Vienna—the same that contains a leaf of the Epistle of the Apostles (see p. 485)—was a fragment of this book. Professor E. von Dobschütz had, before this, begun making preparation for an edition of the Apocalypse based on manuscripts at Munich and Rome, which has not yet appeared. In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for 1910 I printed the beginning of the book from a Verona MS. (of eighth century). Maffei had noticed this, and in 1755 Dionisi had printed it in a forgotten volume. In 1911 Dom Böhmeyer printed another 'uninterpolated' text from Munich in the *Revue Bénédictine*. Yet more: in 1913 Max Förster (*Studien z. engl. Philol.: Der Vercelli-Codex*) showed that the fifteenth sermon in the famous Anglo-Saxon MS. at Vercelli is an Old English version of this Revelation; that a Hatton MS. and the Blickling Homilies also contain matter drawn from it; and that a shortened Latin form is to be found in a dialogue printed by Suchier (*L'Enfant sage*, 1910, p. 272). Lastly, there are quotations from it in some odd—I think Irish—homilies in a Reichenau MS. at Carlsruhe, printed by Dom de Bruyne as 'Apocryphes Priscillianistes' in the *Revue Bénéd.*, 1907.

⁵ There is, then, a quantity of material which we shall look to Professor Dobschütz to co-ordinate. Latin appears to have been the original language,

and the data of the fuller text point to the days of Arcadius and Honorius. How much earlier the shorter text may be it is not easy to say: and I would not commit myself to the assertion that there is not a Greek document at the back of that.

Apocalypse of Thomas — A. Verona fragment (eighth century) and Wilhelm's text (Munich Clm. 4585, ninth century).

6 Here beginneth the epistle of the Lord unto Thomas. Hear thou, Thomas, the things which must come to pass in the last times: there shall be famine and war and earthquakes in divers places, snow and ice and great drought shall there be, and many dissensions among the peoples, blasphemy, iniquity, envy and villainy, indolence, pride and intemperance, so that every man shall speak that which pleaseth him. And my priests shall not have peace among themselves, but shall sacrifice unto me with deceitful mind: therefore will I not look upon them. Then shall the priests behold the people departing from the house of the Lord and turning unto the world (?) and setting up (or, transgressing) landmarks in the house of God. And they shall claim (vindicate) for themselves many [things and] places that were lost and that shall be subject unto Caesar (?) as also they were aforetime: giving poll-taxes of (for) the cities, even gold and silver, and the chief men of the cities shall be condemned (here Verona ends: Munich continues), and their substance brought into the treasury of the kings, and they shall be filled.

7 For there shall be great disturbance throughout all the people, and death. The house of the Lord shall be desolate, and their altars shall be abhorred, so that spiders weave their webs therein. The place of holiness shall be corrupted, the priesthood polluted, distress (agony) shall increase, virtue shall be overcome, joy perish, and gladness depart. In those days evil shall abound: there shall be respecters of persons, hymns shall cease out of the house of the Lord, truth shall be no more, covetousness shall abound among the priests; an upright man (al. an upright priesthood) shall not be found. On a sudden there shall arise near the last time a king, a lover of the law, who shall hold rule not for long: he shall leave two sons. The first is named of the first letter (A, Arcadius), the second of the eighth (H, Honorius). The first shall die before the second (Arcadius died in 408; Honorius in 423).

8 Thereafter shall arise two princes to oppress the nations, under whose hands there shall be a very great famine in the right-hand part of the east, so that nation shall rise up against nation and be driven out from their own

borders. Again another king shall arise, a crafty man (?), and shall command a golden image of Caesar (?) to be made (al. to be worshipped in the house of God), wherefore (?) martyrdoms shall abound. Then shall faith return unto the servants of the Lord, and holiness shall be multiplied and distress (agony) increase. The mountains shall be comforted and shall drop down sweetness of fire from the face, that the number of the saints may be accomplished. After a little space there shall arise a king out of the east, a lover of the law, who shall cause all good things and necessary to abound in the house of the Lord: he shall show mercy unto the widows and to the needy, and command a royal gift to be given unto the priests: in his days shall be abundance of all things.

9 And after that again a king shall arise in the south part of the world, and shall hold rule a little space: in whose days the treasury shall fail because of the wages of the Roman soldiers, so that the substance of all the aged shall be commanded (to be taken) and given to the king to distribute. Thereafter shall be plenty of corn and wine and oil, but great dearth of money, so that the substance of gold and silver shall be given for corn, and there shall be great dearth. At that time shall be very great rising (?) of the sea, so that no man shall tell news to any man. The kings of the earth and the princes and the captains shall be troubled, and no man shall speak freely (boldly). Grey hairs shall be seen upon boys, and the young (?) shall not give place unto the aged.

10 After that shall arise another king, a crafty man, who shall hold rule for a short space: in whose days there shall be all manner of evils, even the death of the race of men from the east even unto Babylon. And thereafter death and famine and sword in the land of Chanaan even unto (Rome?). Then shall all the fountains of waters and wells boil over (?) and be turned into blood (or, into dust and blood). The heaven shall be moved, the stars shall fall upon the earth, the sun shall be cut in half like the moon, and the moon shall not give her light. There shall be great signs and wonders in those days when Antichrist draweth near. These are the signs unto them that dwell in the earth. In those days the pains of great travail shall come upon them. (al. In those days, when Antichrist now draweth near, these are the signs. Woe unto them that dwell on the earth; in those days great pains of travail shall come upon them.) Woe unto them that build, for they shall not inhabit. Woe unto them that break up the fallow, for they shall labour

without cause. Woe unto them that make marriages, for unto famine and need shall they beget sons. Woe unto them that join house to house or field to field, for all things shall be consumed with fire. Woe unto them that look not unto (?) themselves while time alloweth, for hereafter shall they be condemned for ever. Woe unto them that turn away from the poor when he asketh.

¹¹ [Here is a break: the text goes on: For I am (the Son) of the high and powerful: I am the Father of all. (al. And know ye: I am the Father most high: I am the Father of all spirits.) This, as we shall see, is the beginning of the older (?) and shorter text, and of the Vienna fragment: only, in the latter, some words now unintelligible precede it: not the words, however, which are in Wilhelm's text. I will continue with Wilhelm.] These are the seven signs (before) the ending of this world. There shall be in all the earth famine and great pestilences and much distress: then shall all men be led captive among all nations and shall fall by the edge of the sword. On the first day of the judgement will be a great marvel (or, the beginning shall be). At the third hour of the day shall be a great and mighty voice in the firmament of the heaven, and a great cloud of blood coming down out of the north, and great thunderings and mighty lightnings shall follow that cloud, and there shall be a rain of blood upon all the earth. These are the signs of the first day (Monday in the Anglo-Saxon, and so for the other days).

¹² And on the second day there shall be a great voice in the firmament of the heaven, and the earth shall be moved out of its place: and the gates of heaven shall be opened in the firmament of heaven toward the east, and a great power shall be sent (belehed) forth by the gates of heaven and shall cover all the heaven even until evening (al. and there shall be fears and tremblings in the world). These are the signs of the second day. And on the third day, about the second hour, shall be a voice in heaven, and the abysses of the earth shall utter their voice from the four corners of the world. The first heaven shall be rolled up like a book and shall straightway vanish. And because of the smoke and stench of the brimstone of the abyss the days shall be darkened unto the tenth hour. Then shall all men say: I think that the end draweth near, that we shall perish. These are the signs of the third day.

¹³ And on the fourth day at the first hour, the earth of the east shall speak, the abyss shall roar: then shall all the earth be moved by the strength of an earthquake. In that day shall all the idols of the heathen fall, and all

the buildings of the earth. These are the signs of the fourth day. And on the fifth day, at the sixth hour, there shall be great thunderings suddenly in the heaven, and the powers of light and the wheel of the sun shall be caught away, and there shall be great darkness over the world until evening, and the stars shall be turned away from their ministry. In that day all nations shall hate the world and despise the life of this world. These are the signs of the fifth day. And on the sixth day there shall be signs in heaven. At the fourth hour the firmament of heaven shall be cloven from the east unto the west. And the angels of the heavens shall be looking forth upon the earth (through) the opening of the heavens. And all men shall see above the earth the host of the angels looking forth out of heaven. Then shall all men flee.

¹⁴ (Here Wilhelm's text ends abruptly.) B. Bihlmeyer's text, from Munich Clm. 4563 (eleventh to twelfth century, from Benedictbeuren): and the Vienna fragment. Hear thou, O Thomas, for I am the Son of God the Father, and I am the father of all spirits. Hear thou of me the signs which shall come to pass at the end of this world, when the end of the world shall be fulfilled (Vienna: that it pass away) before mine elect depart out of the world. I will tell thee that which shall come to pass openly unto men (or, will tell thee openly, &c.): but when these things shall be the princes of the angels know not, seeing it is now hidden from before them (Vienna adds: at what day the end shall be fulfilled, and some defective clauses). Then shall there be in the world sharings (participations) between king and king, and in all the earth shall be great famine, great pestilences, and many distresses, and the sons of men shall be led captive among all nations and shall fall by the edge of the sword (and there shall be great commotion in the world: Vienna omits). Then after that when the hour of the end draweth nigh, there shall be for seven days great signs in heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved.

¹⁵ Then shall there be on the first day the beginning: at the third hour of the day a great and mighty voice in the firmament of heaven and a bloody cloud coming up (down, Vienna) out of the north, and great thunderings and mighty lightnings shall follow it, and it shall cover the whole heaven, and there shall be a rain of blood upon all the earth. These are the signs of the first day. And on the second day there shall be a great voice in the firmament of heaven, and the earth shall be moved out of its place, and the gates of heaven shall be opened in the firmament of heaven toward the east, and

the (smoke of a great fire shall break forth through the gates of heaven and shall cover all the heaven until evening. In that day there shall be fears and great terrors in the world. These are the signs of the second day, Vienna is defective here).

16 But on the third day about the third hour shall be a great voice in heaven, and the abysses of the earth (Vienna ends) shall roar from the four corners of the world; the pinnacles (so) of the firmament of heaven shall be opened, and all the air shall be filled with pillars of smoke. There shall be a stench of brimstone, very evil, until the tenth hour, and men shall say: We think the time draweth nigh that we perish. These are the signs of the third day. And on the fourth day at the first hour, from the land of the east the abyss shall melt (so) and roar. Then shall all the earth be shaken by the might of an earthquake. In that day shall the ornaments of the heathen fall, and all the buildings of the earth, before the might of the earthquake. These are the signs of the fourth day.

17 But on the fifth day at the sixth hour, suddenly there shall be a great thunder in heaven, and the powers of light and the wheel of the sun shall be caught away (MS, opened), and there shall be great darkness in the world until evening, and the air shall be gloomy (sad) without sun or moon, and the stars shall cease from their ministry. In that day shall all nations behold as in a mirror (?) (or, behold it as sackcloth) and shall despise the life of this world. These are the signs of the fifth day. And on the sixth day at the fourth hour there shall be a great voice in heaven, and the firmament of the heaven shall be cloven from the east unto the west, and the angels of the heavens shall be looking forth upon the earth by the openings of the heavens, and all these that are on the earth shall behold the host of the angels looking forth out of heaven. Then shall all men flee unto the monuments (mountains?) and hide themselves from the face of the righteous angels, and say: Would that the earth would open and swallow us up! And such things shall come to pass as never were since this world was created.

18 Then shall they behold me coming from above in the light of my Father with the power and honour of the holy angels. Then at my coming shall the fence of fire of paradise be done away—because paradise is girt round about with fire. And this shall be that perpetual fire that shall consume the earth and all the elements of the world. Then shall the spirits and souls of all men come forth from paradise and shall come upon all the earth:

and every one of them shall go unto his own body, where it is laid up, and every one of them shall say: Here lieth my body. And when the great voice of those spirits shall be heard, then shall there be a great earthquake over all the world, and by the might thereof the mountains shall be cloven from above and the rocks from beneath. Then shall every spirit return into his own vessel, and the bodies of the saints which have fallen asleep shall arise.

19 Then shall their bodies be changed into the image and likeness and the honour of the holy angels, and into the power of the image of mine holy Father. Then shall they be clothed with the vesture of life eternal, out of the cloud of light which hath never been seen in this world; for that cloud cometh down out of the highest realm of the heaven from the power of my Father. And that cloud shall compass about with the beauty thereof all the spirits that have believed in me. Then shall they be clothed, and shall be borne by the hands of the holy angels like as I have told you aforetime. Then also shall they be lifted up into the air upon a cloud of light, and shall go with me rejoicing unto heaven, and then shall they continue in the light and honour of my Father. Then shall there be unto them great gladness with my Father and before the holy angels. These are the signs of the sixth day.

20 And on the seventh day at the eighth hour there shall be voices in the four corners of the heaven. And all the air shall be shaken, and filled with holy angels, and they shall make war among them all the day long. And in that day shall mine elect be sought out by the holy angels from the destruction of the world. Then shall all men see that the hour of their destruction draweth near. These are the signs of the seventh day. And when the seven days are passed by, on the eighth day at the sixth hour there shall be a sweet and tender voice in heaven from the east. Then shall that angel be revealed which hath power over the holy angels: and all the angels shall go forth with him, sitting upon chariots of the clouds of mine holy Father (so), rejoicing and running upon the air beneath the heaven to deliver the elect that have believed in me. And they shall rejoice that the destruction of this world hath come.

21 The words of the Saviour unto Thomas are ended, concerning the end of this world. None of the Latin texts seem to be complete. But we see that Wilhelm's text is a blend of two sorts of Apocalypse—that akin to Daniel which, under the form of prophecy, describes events contemporary with the author and continues them into the future: and that which is more akin to

John and describes the signs of the end. Bihlmeyer's text has only the latter element, and as it agrees pretty closely with our oldest authority, the Vienna fragment (though in that, as I have said, something did precede Bihlmeyer's opening), I judge it to be the older of the two forms. The first part of Wilhelm's text with its clumsy indication of Arcadius and Honorius by means of their initials is much in the manner of the later Sibyllines, in which this particular trick is pushed to an absurd length, and used for quite imaginary personages as well as historic ones. In the second part Wilhelm's text departs widely from the Vienna fragment, and here again shows itself as probably inferior.

²² The Apocalypse, we see, was known in England in the ninth century at least: and I think it must probably be regarded as the ultimate parent of a little piece which is found in innumerable manuscripts and has often been printed: I mean Jerome on the Fifteen Signs of the last days before the judgement. The beginning of this states that Jerome found it 'in the annals of the Hebrews'. Its popularity was very great. Illustrations of the Fifteen Signs are occasionally to be found in manuscripts, and I have seen them on the alabaster tablets carved at Nottingham in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the best-known representation of them is in a window at All Saints', North Street, York, where they are accompanied by mottoes taken from the 'Prick of Conscience', which used to be attributed to Richard of Hampole. The Anglo-Saxon version in the Vercelli Book (no. xv) begins thus:

²³ We are told in this book how Saint Thomas the apostle of God asked our Lord when the time of Antichrist should be. Then the Lord spake unto him and said thus: It behoveth that it be in the next days. Then shall be hunger and war, &c.: The text conforms, generally speaking, to the longer recensions. The signs of the fifth day are omitted. The conclusion diverges from the Latin and tells how the Virgin, Michael, and Peter successively intercede with the Judge, and he forgives a third part of the sinners at the prayer of each. But not all are pardoned: for we then have the sentences: Venite benedicti and Discedite maledicti as in Matt. xxv. Quite recently (in Proc. R.I.A.) the Rev. St. J. Seymour has pointed out the probable dependence of the Saltair na Rann (eleventh century) on our apocalypse in its description of the Signs of the End.

THE APOCALYPSE OF THE VIRGIN

¹ We have this in Greek in a great many texts. The oldest I have found was edited by me in 1893. A very brief summary of it will suffice, for it is a late and dreary production. The Virgin at the Mount of Olives prays to be told about the torments of hell and the next world. Michael is sent. He takes her to the west: the earth opens and discloses the lost who did not worship the Trinity. She sees a great darkness. At her prayer it is lifted and she sees souls tormented with boiling pitch. No one has yet interceded for them, neither Abraham, John Baptist, Moses, nor Paul. They are unbelievers. They go to the south: there is a river of fire with souls immersed at various depths. Cursors of their parents. Causers of abortion. False swearers. A man hung by the feet and devoured by worms is a usurer. A woman hung by the ears, with serpents coming out of her mouth and biting her, is a backbiter and gossip.

² They go (again!) to the west. In a cloud of fire lie those who lay late on Sunday. On fiery seats sit those who did not rise at the entry of the priest. On an iron tree hang blasphemers and slanderers. A man hung by hands and feet is the evil steward (oeconomus) of a church. Wicked priests, readers, bishops, widows of priests who married again, an 'archdeaconess', covetous women, are severally described. They go to the left-hand of paradise. In a river of pitch and fire are the Jews who crucified Jesus, those who denied baptism, those guilty of various impurities, sorcerers, murderers, they who strangle their children. In a lake of fire are bad Christians. A great appeal of the Virgin follows, in which she entreats all the saints to intercede, with her, for the Christians. At last the Son appears, and grants the days of Pentecost as a season of rest to the lost.

³ In some texts a visit of the Virgin to paradise follows this; but it is usually short and uninteresting. In one of the Eastern books on the Assumption (see p. 222) there is a very diffuse account of paradise as seen by the Virgin.

Apocalypse of the Virgin. B. Ethiopic

⁴ This is wholly different from the Greek. It was edited with a Latin version by Chaine in 1909 (*Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.* i. 7) with texts of the Protevangelium and a story of the Assumption. The Apocalypse is almost wholly borrowed from that of Paul. Chaine takes it to be a version from Arabic, and the Arabic he thinks was translated from Greek.

THE REVELATION OF STEPHEN

¹ John is the narrator. The Virgin called him to listen to a wonderful mystery which had been revealed to her: as she prayed at Golgotha at noon on the sixth day of the week a cloud came and took her into the third heaven. The Son appeared and said that he would show her a great mystery. 'Look upon the earth beneath.' (Here we have ch. 13 of Paul, and from this point we continue with the text of Paul sometimes amplified with quotations from the Bible.) At Paul 31 we have the addition—doubtless correct—that the souls who were neither hot nor cold sit beside the river of fire. There are several variations and additions to the list of torments, not worth specifying, but the section which corresponds to Paul 40 must be quoted (unpleasant as the topic is) on account of its affinity with Peter. Women are seen, bitten by serpents, dogs, lions, and leopards of fire. They are nuns who violated the rule and slew their children.

² Often they caused their death before they were born. They shed their blood on the ground, or killed them when born, or their fathers gave poison to the mothers. 'But these children cry out before the throne of my Father, and say: Lord, they have not suffered us to grow up to do good or evil: the half of us they gave to the dogs and cast the other half to the swine. And when we heard the words of these children, I and my Father and the Comforter were grieved, and I commanded Temliaqos to set them in a beautiful abode. But for their fathers and mothers this is their torment for ever.' The Virgin says: If they repent wilt thou not forgive them? Yes, if they do so from their heart. But as for their pastors who did not admonish them, their part shall be with Eli and Fola. Eli did not reprove his sons, Fola sold his daughters for an ox.

³ I do not know who Fola was. The Apocalypse ends with ch. 44 of Paul. There is no trace in it of Paul 1-12 or 45-51.

Revelation of Stephen

⁴ The 'Revelation called of Stephen' is condemned, like that of Thomas, in the Gelasian Decree. Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta* (1593), p. 115, says: 'The Apocalypse of Stephen the first martyr who was one of the seven deacons of the apostles was prized by the Manichaeen heretics as Serapion witnesses.' Serapion of Thmuis, he elsewhere says (p. 299), wrote a large and very notable work against the Manichaeans in Greek 'which I have lately read'. Our texts

of Serapion contain no mention of the Apocalypse of Stephen. But no Manichaean would have cared about the book which I am going to speak of. It has been usually guessed that the writing so described was the account of the finding of St. Stephen's body, the whereabouts of which was revealed by Gamaliel in a vision to Lucian. With Stephen were found the bodies of Gamaliel and his son Abibas, and of Nicodemus. Lucian's narrative was known to Augustine: it purports to be of the year 415, and there is little in it, as compared with similar 'inventions' of relics, which justifies its being solemnly condemned as apocryphal.

5 So says I. Franko, who in 1906 (*Zeitschr. f. Ntl. Wiss.*) published a Slavonic romance which, he says, is the real beginning of Lucian's narrative. The substance of it is this: Two years after the Ascension there was a contest about Jesus. Many learned men had assembled at Jerusalem from Ethiopia, the Thebaid, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Asia, Mauretania, and Babylon. There was a great clamour among them like thunder, lasting till the fourth hour. Stephen, a learned man of the tribe of Benjamin, stood on a high place and addressed the assembly. Why this tumult? said he. Blessed is he who has not doubted concerning Jesus. Born of a pure virgin he filled the world with light. By Satan's contrivances Herod slew 14,000 (144,000) children. He spoke of the miracles of Jesus. Woe to the unbelievers when he shall come as judge, with angels, a fiery chariot, a mighty wind: the stars shall fall, the heavens open, the books be brought forward. The twelve angels who are set over every soul shall unveil the deeds of men. The sea shall move and give up what is in it. The mountains fall, all the surface of the earth becomes smooth. Great winged thrones are set. The Lord, and Christ, and the Holy Spirit take their seats. The Father bids Jesus sit on his right hand.

6 At this point the crowd cried out: Blasphemy! and took Stephen before Pilate. Pilate stood on the steps and reproached them: You compelled me to crucify the Innocent; why rage against this man? Why gnash your teeth? Are ye yet foolish? They led Stephen away. Caiaphas ordered him to be beaten till the blood ran. And he prayed: Lay not this sin to their charge. We saw how angels ministered to him. In the morning Pilate called his wife and two children: they baptized themselves and praised God. Three thousand men now assembled and disputed with Stephen for three days and three nights. On the fourth day they took counsel and sent to Caesarea of Palestine for Saul of Tarsus, who had a commission to seize upon Christians. He took his

place on the judgement seat and said: I wonder that thou, a wise man, and my kinsman, believest all this. None of the Sanhedrin have given up the Law. I have been through all Judaea, Galilee, Peraea, Damascus, and the city of the Jesitites to seek out believers.

⁷ Stephen lifted up his hands and said: Silence, persecutor! Recognize the Son of God. Thou makest me doubt of my own descent. But I see that thou shalt ere long drink of the same cup as I. What thou doest, do quickly. Saul rent his clothes and beat Stephen. Gamaliel, Saul's teacher, sprang forth and gave Saul a buffet, saying: Did I teach thee such conduct? know that what this man saith is acceptable and good. Saul was yet more enraged, and looked fiercely on him, saying: I spare thine old age, but thou shalt reap a due reward for this. Gamaliel answered: I ask nothing better than to suffer with Christ. The elders rent their clothes, cast dust on their heads, and cried: Crucify the blasphemers. Saul said: Guard them until the morrow. Next day he sat on the judgement seat and had them brought before him, and they were led away to be crucified. An angel came and cast away the cross, and Stephen's wounds were healed. Seven men came and poured molten lead into his mouth and pitch into his ears. They drove nails into his breast and feet, and he prayed for their forgiveness. Again an angel came down and healed him, and a great multitude believed.

⁸ Next day all assembled and took him out of the city to judge him. He mounted upon a stone and addressed them: How long will ye harden your hearts? The Law and the Prophets spake of Christ. In the first Law, and the second, and the other books it is written: When the year of the covenant cometh I will send my beloved angel, the good spirit of sonship, from a pure maiden, the fruit of truth, without ploughshare and without seed, and an image of sowing (?), and the fruit shall grow after the... of planting for ever from the word of my covenant, and signs shall come to pass. And Isaiah saith: Unto us a child is born, &c. And again: Behold, a virgin shall conceive, &c. And the prophet Nathan said: I saw one, a maiden and without touch of man, and a man child in her arms, and that was the Lord of the earth unto the end of the earth. And again the prophet Baruch saith: Christ the eternal appeareth as a stone from the mountain and breaketh in pieces the idol temples of the... David also said: Arise, O Lord, unto thy resting place, &c. Understand then, O foolish ones, what the prophet saith: In this word shalt thou judge.

9 And he looked up to heaven and said: I see the heaven opened and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God. Then they laid hands on him, saying: He blasphemeth! Gamaliel said: Wherein? This righteous man hath seen the Son saying to the Father: Lo, the Jews rage against me and cease not to ill-treat them that confess my name. And the Father said: Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. Then they bound Stephen and took him away to Alexander, the reader, who was a chief of the people, and of the troop in Tiberias. In the fourth watch of the night, a light as of lightning shone round about him, and a voice said: Be strong. Thou art my first martyr, and thine hour is nigh. I will write the record of thee in the book of everlasting life.

10 The Jews took counsel and decreed that he should be stoned. There were with him Abibas, Nicodemus, Gamaliel, Pilate, his wife and two children, and a multitude of believers. Saul stood forth and beckoned, and said: It would have been better that this man should not be slain, because of his great wisdom: but forasmuch as he is an apostate, I condemn Stephen to be stoned. The people said: He shall be stoned: but those who stood in the front rank with staves looked on each other and durst not lay hands on him: for he was renowned among the people. Saul was wroth, and stripped those servants of their garments and laid them on the table; and commanded the men to stone Stephen. Stephen looked round and said: Saul, Saul, that which thou doest unto me to-day, that same will the Jews do unto thee to-morrow. And when thou sufferest, thou shalt think on me.

11 The people cast stones upon him so thickly that the light of the sun was darkened. Nicodemus and Gamaliel put their arms about him and shielded him, and were slain, and gave up their souls to Christ. Stephen prayed, saying: Forgive them that stone us, for by their means we trust to enter into thy kingdom. And at the tenth hour he gave up the ghost. Then beautiful youths appeared, and fell upon the bodies and wept aloud: and the people beheld the souls borne up by angels into heaven, and saw the heavens open and the hosts coming to meet the souls. And the people mourned for three days and three nights. Pilate took the bodies and put each one into a silver coffin with his name upon it: but Stephen's coffin was gilt: and he laid them in his secret sepulchre. But Stephen prayed: Let my body be buried in my land of Serasima in Kapogemala (Caphargamala) until the revealing, when the martyrs that

follow me shall be gathered together. And an angel came and removed the bodies thither.

¹² But Pilate rose early to burn incense before the bodies, and found them not; and rent his clothes, saying: Was I then not worthy to be thy servant? On the night following, Stephen appeared and said to him: Weep not. I prayed God to hide our bodies. In the time of our revealing one of thy seed shall find us after a vision, and thy desire shall be fulfilled. But build a house of prayer and celebrate our feast in the month of April. After seven months thou also shalt rest. And Pilate did so: and he died, and was buried at Kaptasala: and his wife also died in peace. But the holy martyrs appeared thrice to venerable and believing men, speaking to them, and revealing divine words: for after their death many believed. One of Franko's two manuscripts omits all mention of Pilate, who is indeed not necessary to the story. The statements about him are quite irreconcilable with other legends, even those of the Eastern Church which take the favourable view of him.

¹³ Franko is clearly right in saying that this romance implies a continuation, and most likely right in holding that the Lucian-narrative implies a previous story. But the extravagance of the Slavonic text is such that one cannot but think it has been improved by the translator: and if Pilate could be gratuitously inserted—as I think he has been—by one redactor, others may equally well have been at work.

P A R T T W O

Visions of Prophets, the Virgin and the Blessed

*Revelations to Esdras, Moses, Sedrach, the Virgin, Samuel of
Kalamoun and Daniel, and the tale of Zosimus and the Blessed.*

Revelation of Esdras

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

2nd–7th century

A short vision in which the prophet Esdras prays to see the mysteries of God and is shown the torments of sinners.

¹ Revelation of Esdras. Word and Revelation of Esdras, the Holy Prophet and Beloved of God. ² It came to pass in the thirtieth year, on the twenty-second of the month, I was in my house. And I cried out and said to the Most High: Lord, give the glory, in order that I may see Thy mysteries. And when it was night, there came an angel, Michael the archangel, and says to me: O Prophet Esdras, refrain from bread for seventy weeks. And I fasted as he told me. And there came Raphael the commander of the host, and gave me a storax rod. And I fasted twice sixty weeks. And I saw the mysteries of God and His angels. And I said to them: I wish to plead before God about the race of the Christians. It is good for a man not to be born rather than to come into the world. I was therefore taken up into heaven, and I saw in the first heaven a great army of angels; and they took me to the judgments. And I heard a voice saying to me: Have mercy on us, O thou chosen of God, Esdras. Then began I to say: Woe to sinners when they see one who is just more than the angels, and they themselves are in the Gehenna of fire! And Esdras said: Have mercy on the works of Thine hands, Thou who art compassionate, and of great mercy. Judge me rather than the souls of the sinners; for it is better that one soul should be punished, and that the whole world should not come to destruction.

³ And God said: I will give rest in paradise to the righteous, and I have become merciful. And Esdras said: Lord, why dost Thou confer benefits on the righteous? for just as one who has been hired out, and has served out his time, goes and again works as a slave when he come to his masters, so also the righteous has received his reward in the heavens. But have mercy on the sin-

ners, for we know that Thou art merciful. And God said: I do not see how I can have mercy upon them. And Esdras said: They cannot endure Thy wrath. And God said: This is the fate of such. And God said: I wish to have thee like Paul and John, as thou hast given me uncorrupted the treasure that cannot be stolen, the treasure of virginity, the bulwark of men. And Esdras said: It is good for a man not to be born. It is good not to be in life. The irrational creatures are better than man, because they have no punishment; but Thou hast taken us, and given us up to judgment. Woe to the sinners in the world to come! because their judgment is endless, and the flame unquenchable. And while I was thus speaking to him, there came Michael and Gabriel, and all the apostles; and they said: Rejoice, O faithful man of God! And Esdras said: Arise, and come hither with me, O Lord, to judgment. And the Lord said:

4 Behold, I give thee my covenant between me and thee, that you may receive it. And Esdras said: Let us plead in Thy hearing. And God said: Ask Abraham your father how a son pleads with his father, and come plead with us. And Esdras said: As the Lord liveth, I will not cease pleading with Thee in behalf of the race of the Christians. Where are Thine ancient compassions, O Lord? Where is Thy long-suffering? And God said: As I have made night and day, I have made the righteous and the sinner; and he should have lived like the righteous. And the prophet said: Who made Adam the first-formed? And God said: My undefiled hands. And I put him in paradise to guard the food of the tree of life; and thereafter he became disobedient, and did this in transgression. And the prophet said: Was he not protected by an angel? and was not his life guarded by the cherubim to endless ages? and how was he deceived who was guarded by angels? for Thou didst command all to be present, and to attend to what was said by Thee. But if Thou hadst not given him Eve, the serpent would not have deceived her; but whom Thou wilt Thou savest, and whom Thou wilt Thou destroyest. And the prophet said: Let us come, my Lord, to a second judgment. And God said: I cast fire upon Sodom and Gomorrah. And the prophet said: Lord, Thou dealest with us according to our deserts. And God said:

5 Your sins transcend my clemency. And the prophet said: Call to mind the Scriptures, my Father, who hast measured out Jerusalem, and set her up again. Have mercy, O Lord, upon sinners; have mercy upon Thine own creatures; have pity upon Thy works. Then God remembered those whom He

had made, and said to the prophet: How can I have mercy upon them? Vinegar and gall did they give me to drink, and not even then did they repent. And the prophet said: Reveal Thy cherubim, and let us go together to judgment; and show me the day of judgment, what like it is. And God said: Thou hast been deceived, Esdras; for such is the day of judgment as that in which there is no rain upon the earth; for it is a merciful tribunal as compared with that day. And the prophet said: I will not cease to plead with Thee, unless I see the day of the consummation. And God said: Number the stars and the sand of the sea; and if thou shalt be able to number this, thou art also able to plead with me. And the prophet said: Lord, Thou knowest that I wear human flesh; and how can I count the stars of the heaven, and the sand of the sea? And God said: My chosen prophet, no man will know that great day and the appearing that comes to judge the world. For thy sake, my prophet, I have told thee the day; but the hour have I not told thee.

6 And the prophet said: Lord, tell me also the years. And God said: If I see the righteousness of the world, that it has abounded, I will have patience with them; but if not, I will stretch forth my hand, and lay hold of the world by the four quarters, and bring them all together into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will wipe out the race of men, so that the world shall be no more. And the prophet said: And how can Thy right hand be glorified? And God said: I shall be glorified by my angels. And the prophet said: Lord, if Thou hast resolved to do this, why didst Thou make man? Thou didst say to our father Abraham, Multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand that is by the sea-shore; and where is Thy promise? And God said: First will I make an earthquake for the fall of four-footed beasts and of men; and when you see that brother gives up brother to death, and that children shall rise up against their parents, and that a woman forsakes her own husband, and when nation shall rise up against nation in war, then will you know that the end is near.

7 For then neither brother pities brother, nor man wife, nor children parents, nor friends friends, nor a slave his master; for he who is the adversary of men shall come up from Tartarus, and shall show men many things. What shall I make of thee, Esdras? and wilt thou yet plead with me? And the prophet said: Lord, I shall not cease to plead with Thee. And God said: Number the flowers of the earth. If thou shalt be able to number them, thou art able also to plead with me. And the prophet said: Lord, I cannot

number them. I wear human flesh; but I shall not cease to plead with Thee. I wish, Lord, to see also the under parts of Tartarus. And God said: Come down and see. And He gave me Michael, and Gabriel, and other thirty-four angels; and I went down eighty-five steps, and they brought me down five hundred steps, and I saw a fiery throne, and an old man sitting upon it; and his judgment was merciless. And I said to the angels: Who is this? and what is his sin? And they said to me: This is Herod, who for a time was a king, and ordered to put to death the children from two years old and under. And I said: Woe to his soul! And again they took me down thirty steps, and I there saw boilings up of fire, and in them there was a multitude of sinners; and I heard their voice, but saw not their forms.

⁸ And they took me down lower many steps, which I could not measure. And I there saw old men, and fiery pivots turning in their ears. And I said: Who are these? and what is their sin? And they said to me: These are they who would not listen. And they took me down again other five hundred steps, and I there saw the worm that sleeps not, and fire burning up the sinners. And they took me down to the lowest part of destruction, and I saw there the twelve plagues of the abyss. And they took me away to the south, and I saw there a man hanging by the eyelids; and the angels kept scourging him. And I asked: Who is this? and what is his sin? And Michael the commander said to me: This is one who lay with his mother; for having put into practice a small wish, he has been ordered to be hanged. And they took me away to the north, and I saw there a man bound with iron chains. And I asked: Who is this? And he said to me: This is he who said, I am the Son of God, that made stones bread, and water wine. And the prophet said: My lord, let me know what is his form, and I shall tell the race of men, that they may not believe in him. And he said to me: The form of his countenance is like that of a wild beast;

⁹ his right eye like the star that rises in the morning, and the other without motion; his mouth one cubit; his teeth span long; his fingers like scythes; the track of his feet of two spans; and in his face an inscription, Antichrist. He has been exalted to heaven; he shall go down to Hades. At one time he shall become a child; at another, an old man. And the prophet said: Lord, and how dost Thou permit him, and he deceives the race of men? And God said: Listen, my prophet. He becomes both child and old man, and no one believes him that he is my beloved Son. And after this a trumpet, and the

tombs shall be opened, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible. Then the adversary, hearing the dreadful threatening, shall be hidden in outer darkness. Then the heaven, and the earth, and the sea shall be destroyed. Then shall I burn the heaven eighty cubits, and the earth eight hundred cubits. And the prophet said: And how has the heaven sinned? And God said: Since... there is evil. And the prophet said: Lord, and the earth, how has it sinned? And God said: Since the adversary, having heard the dreadful threatening, shall be hidden, even on account of this will I melt the earth, and with it the opponent of the race of men. And the prophet said: Have mercy, Lord, upon the race of the Christians. And I saw a woman hanging, and four wild beasts sucking her breasts.

10 And the angels said to me: She grudged to give her milk, but even threw her infants into the rivers. And I saw a dreadful darkness, and a night that had no stars nor moon; nor is there there young or old, nor brother with brother, nor mother with child, nor wife with husband. And I wept, and said: O Lord God, have mercy upon the sinners. And as I said this, there came a cloud and snatched me up, and carried me away again into the heavens. And I saw there many judgments; and I wept bitterly, and said: It is good for a man not to have come out of his mother's womb. And those who were in torment cried out, saying: Since thou hast come hither, O holy one of God, we have found a little remission. And the prophet said: Blessed are they that weep for their sins. And God said: Hear, O beloved Esdras. As a husbandman casts the seed of the corn into the ground, so also the man casts his seed into the parts of the woman. The first month it is all together; the second it increases in size; the third it gets hair; the fourth it gets nails; the fifth it is turned into milk; and the sixth it is made ready, and receives life; the seventh it is completely furnished; the ninth the barriers of the gate of the woman are opened; and it is born safe and sound into the earth. And the prophet said:

11 Lord, it is good for man not to have been born. Woe to the human race then, when Thou shalt come to judgment! And I said to the Lord: Lord, why hast Thou created man, and delivered him up to judgment? And God said, with a lofty proclamation: I will not by any means have mercy on those who transgress my covenant. And the prophet said: Lord, where is Thy goodness? And God said: I have prepared all things for man's sake, and man does not keep my commandments. And the prophet said: Lord, reveal to me the judg-

ments and paradise. And the angels took me away towards the east, and I saw the tree of life. And I saw there Enoch, and Elias, and Moses, and Peter, and Paul, and Luke, and Matthias, and all the righteous, and the patriarchs. And I saw there the keeping of the air within bounds, and the blowing of the winds, and the storehouses of the ice, and the eternal judgments. And I saw there a man hanging by the skull. And they said to me: This man removed landmarks. And I saw there great judgments. And I said to the Lord: O Lord God, and what man, then, who has been born has not sinned? And they took me lower down into Tartarus, and I saw all the sinners lamenting and weeping and mourning bitterly. And I also wept, seeing the race of men thus tormented. Then God says to me:

¹² Knowest thou, Esdras, the names of the angels at the end of the world? Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, Gabuthelon, Aker, Arphugitonos, Bebur-os, Zebuleon. ¹³ Then there came a voice to me: Come hither and die, Esdras, my beloved; give that which hath been entrusted to thee. And the prophet said: And whence can you bring forth my soul? And the angels said: We can put it forth through the mouth. And the prophet said: Mouth to mouth have I spoken with God, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: Let us bring it out through thy nostrils. And the prophet said: My nostrils have smelled the sweet savour of the glory of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through thine eyes. And the prophet said: Mine eyes have seen the back parts of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through the crown of thy head. And the prophet said: I walked about with Moses also on the mountain, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: We can put it forth through the points of thy nails. And the prophet said: My feet also have walked about on the altar. And the angels went away without having done anything, saying: Lord, we cannot get his soul. Then He says to His only begotten Son: Go down, my beloved Son, with a great host of angels, and take the soul of my beloved Esdras. For the Lord, having taken a great host of angels, says to the prophet: Give me the trust which I entrusted to thee; the crown has been prepared for thee. And the prophet said:

¹⁴ Lord, if Thou take my soul from me, who will be left to plead with Thee for the race of men? And God said: As thou art mortal, and of the earth, do not plead with me. And the prophet said: I will not cease to plead. And God said: Give up just now the trust; the crown has been prepared for

thee. Come and die, that thou mayst obtain it. Then the prophet began to say with tears: O Lord, what good have I done pleading with Thee, and I am going to fall down into the earth? Woe's me, woe's me, that I am going to be eaten up by worms! Weep, all ye saints and ye righteous, for me, who have pleaded much, and who am delivered up to death. Weep for me, all ye saints and ye righteous, because I have gone to the pit of Hades. And God said to him: Hear, Esdras, my beloved. I, who am immortal, endured a cross; I tasted vinegar and gall; I was laid in a tomb, and I raised up my chosen ones; I called Adam up out of Hades, that I might savethe race of men. Do not therefore be afraid of death: for that which is from me—that is to say, the soul—goes to heaven; and that which is from the earth—that is to say, the body—goes to the earth, from which it was taken. And the prophet said: Woe's me! woe's me! what shall I set about? what shall I do? I know not.

15 And then the blessed Esdras began to say: O eternal God, the Maker of the whole creation, who hast measured the heaven with a span, and who holdest the earth as a handful, who ridest upon the cherubim, who didst take the prophet Elias to the heavens in a chariot of fire, who givest food to all flesh, whom all things dread and tremble at from the face of Thy power,—listen to me, who have pleaded much, and give to all who transcribe this book, and have it, and remember my name, and honour my memory, give them a blessing from heaven; and bless him in all things, as Thou didst bless Joseph at last, and remember not his former wickedness in the day of his judgment. And as many as have not believed this book shall be burnt up like Sodom and Gomorrah. And there came to him a voice, saying: Esdras, my beloved, all things whatever thou hast asked will I give to each one. And immediately he gave up his precious soul with much honour, in the month of October, on the twenty-eighth. And they prepared him for burial with incense and psalms; and his precious and sacred body dispenses strength of soul and body perpetually to those who have recourse to him from a longing desire. To whom is due glory, strength, honour, and adoration,—to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

Revelation of Moses

TRANSLATED BY ALEXANDER WALKER

1st–4th century

The Greek Life of Adam and Eve, said to have been revealed to Moses by the archangel Michael: the expulsion from paradise, the sons of Adam, and the death and burial of Adam.

¹ Revelation of Moses. Account and life of Adam and Eve, the first-created, revealed by God to His servant Moses, when he received from the hand of the Lord the tables of the law of the covenant, instructed by the archangel Michael. This is the account of Adam and Eve. After they went forth out of paradise, Adam took Eve his wife, and went up into the east. And he remained there eighteen years and two months; and Eve conceived and brought forth two sons, Diaphotus called Cain, and Amilabes called Abel. And after this, Adam and Eve were with one another; and when they lay down, Eve said to Adam her lord: My lord, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes, who is called Abel, thrown into the mouth of Cain his brother, and he drank it without pity. And he entreated him to grant him a little of it, but he did not listen to him, but drank it all up; and it did not remain in his belly, but came forth out of his mouth. And Adam said to Eve: Let us arise, and go and see what has happened to them, lest perchance the enemy should be in any way warring against them.

² And having both gone, they found Abel killed by the hand of Cain his brother. And God says to the archangel Michael: Say to Adam, Do not relate the mystery which thou knowest to thy son Cain, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve thyself not; for I will give thee instead of him another son, who shall show thee all things, as many as thou shalt do to him; but do thou tell him nothing. This God said to His angel; and Adam kept the word in his heart, and with him Eve also, having grief about Abel their son. And after this, Adam knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and brought forth Seth. And Adam says to Eve: Behold, we have brought forth a son instead of Abel

whom Cain slew; let us give glory and sacrifice to God. ³ And Adam had thirty sons and thirty daughters. And he fell into disease, and cried with a loud voice, and said: Let all my sons come to me, that I may see them before I die. And they were all brought together, for the earth was inhabited in three parts; and they all came to the door of the house into which he had entered to pray to God. And his son Seth said: Father Adam, what is thy disease? And he says: My children, great trouble has hold of me. And they say: What is the trouble and disease? And Seth answered and said to him: Is it that thou rememberest the fruits of paradise of which thou didst eat, and grieveest thyself because of the desire of them? If it is so, tell me, and I will go and bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will put dung upon my head, and weep and pray, and the Lord will hearken to me, and send his angel; and I shall bring it to thee, that thy trouble may cease from thee. Adam says to him: No, my son Seth; but I have disease and trouble. Seth says to him: And how have they come upon thee? Adam said to him: When God made us, me and your mother, for whose sake also I die, He gave us every plant in paradise; but about one he commanded us not to eat of it, because on account of it we should die.

⁴ And the hour was at hand for the angels who guarded your mother to go up and worship the Lord; and the enemy gave to her, and she ate of the tree, knowing that I was not near her, nor the holy angels; then she gave me also to eat. And when we had both eaten, God was angry with us. And the Lord, coming into paradise, set His throne, and called with a dreadful voice, saying, Adam, where art thou? and why art thou hidden from my face? shall the house be hidden from him that built it? And He says, Since thou hast forsaken my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy strokes. The trouble of the first stroke is the injury of the eyes; the trouble of the second stroke, of the hearing; and so in succession, all the strokes shall overtake thee. ⁵ And Adam thus speaking to his sons, groaned out loud, and said: What shall I do? I am in great grief. And Eve also wept, saying: My lord Adam, arise, give me the half of thy disease, and let me bear it, because through me this has happened to thee; through me thou art in distresses and troubles. And Adam said to Eve: Arise, and go with our son Seth near paradise, and put earth upon your heads, and weep, beseeching the Lord that He may have compassion upon me, and send His angel to paradise, and give me of the tree in which flows the oil out of it, and that thou mayest bring it to

me; and I shall anoint myself, and have rest, and show thee the manner in which we were deceived at first.

6 And Seth and Eve went into the regions of paradise. And as they were going along, Eve saw her son, and a wild beast fighting with him. And Eve wept, saying: Woe's me, woe's me; for if I come to the day of the resurrection, all who have sinned will curse me, saying, Eve did not keep the commandment of God. And Eve cried out to the wild beast, saying: O thou evil wild beast, wilt thou not be afraid to fight with the image of God? How has thy mouth been opened? how have thy teeth been strengthened? how hast thou not been mindful of thy subjection, that thou wast formerly subject to the image of God? Then the wild beast cried out, saying: O Eve, not against us thy upbraiding nor thy weeping, but against thyself, since the beginning of the wild beasts was from thee. How was thy mouth opened to eat of the tree about which God had commanded thee not to eat of it? For this reason also our nature has been changed. Now, therefore, thou shalt not be able to bear up, if I begin to reproach thee. And Seth says to the wild beast: Shut thy mouth and be silent, and stand off from the image of God till the day of judgment. Then the wild beast says to Seth: Behold, I stand off, Seth, from the image of God. Then the wild beast fled, and left him wounded, and went to his covert.

7 And Seth went with his mother Eve near paradise: and they wept there, beseeching God to send His angel, to give them the oil of compassion. And God sent to them the archangel Michael, and he said to them these words: Seth, man of God, do not weary thyself praying in this supplication about the tree in which flows the oil to anoint thy father Adam; for it will not happen to thee now, but at the last times. Then shall arise all flesh from Adam even to that great day, as many as shall be a holy people; then shall be given to them all the delight of paradise, and God shall be in the midst of them; and there shall not any more be sinners before Him, because the wicked heart shall be taken from them, and there shall be given to them a heart made to understand what is good, and to worship God only. Do thou again go to thy father, since the measure of his life has been fulfilled, equal to three days. And when his soul goes out, thou wilt behold its dreadful passage.

8 And the angel, having said this, went away from them. And Seth and Eve came to the tent where Adam was lying. And Adam says to Eve: Why didst thou work mischief against us, and bring upon us great wrath, which is

death, holding sway over all our race? And he says to her: Call all our children, and our children's children, and relate to them the manner of our transgression. ⁹ Then Eve says to them: Listen, all my children, and my children's children, and I shall relate to you how our enemy deceived us. It came to pass, while we were keeping paradise, that we kept each the portion allotted to him by God. And I was keeping in my lot the south and west. And the devil went into the lot of Adam where were the male wild beasts; since God parted to us the wild beasts, and had given all the males to your father, and all the females He gave to me, and each of us watched his own. And the devil spoke to the serpent, saying, Arise, come to me, and I shall tell you a thing in which thou mayst be of service. Then the serpent came to him, and the devil says to him, I hear that thou art more sagacious than all the wild beasts, and I have come to make thy acquaintance; and I have found thee greater than all the wild beasts, and they associate with thee; notwithstanding, thou doest reverence to one far inferior. Why eatest thou of the tares of Adam and his wife, and not of the fruit of paradise? Arise and come hither, and we shall make him be cast out of paradise through his wife, as we also were cast out through him. The serpent says to him, I am afraid lest the Lord be angry with me. The devil says to him, Be not afraid;

¹⁰ only become my instrument, and I will speak through thy mouth a word by which thou shalt be able to deceive him. Then straightway he hung by the walls of paradise about the hour when the angels of God went up to worship. Then Satan came in the form of an angel, and praised God as did the angels; and looking out from the wall, I saw him like an angel. And says he to me, Art thou Eve? And I said to him, I am. And says he to me, What doest thou in paradise? And I said to him, God has set us to keep it, and to eat of it. The devil answered me through the mouth of the serpent, Ye do well, but you do not eat of every plant. And I say to him, Yes, of every plant we eat, but one only which is in the midst of paradise, about which God has commanded us not to eat of it, since you will die the death. Then says the serpent to me, As God liveth, I am grieved for you, because you are like cattle. For I do not wish you to be ignorant of this; but rise, come hither, listen to me, and eat, and perceive the value of the tree, as He told us. But I said to him, I am afraid lest God be angry with me. And he says to me, Be not afraid;

¹¹ for as soon as thou eatest, thine eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods in knowing what is good and what is evil. And God, knowing this, that

ye shall be like Him, has had a grudge against you, and said, Ye shall not eat of it. But do thou observe the plant, and thou shalt see great glory about it. And I observed the plant, and saw great glory about it. And I said to him, It is beautiful to the eyes to perceive; and I was afraid to take of the fruit. And he says to me, Come, I will give to thee: follow me. And I opened to him, and he came inside into paradise, and went through it before me. And having walked a little, he turned, and says to me, I have changed my mind, and will not give thee to eat. And this he said, wishing at last to entice and destroy me. And he says to me, Swear to me that thou wilt give also to thy husband. And I said to him, I know not by what oath I shall swear to thee; but what I know I say to thee, By the throne of the Lord, and the cherubim, and the tree of life, I will give also to my husband to eat. And when he had taken the oath from me, then he went and ascended upon it.

12 And he put upon the fruit which he gave me to eat the poison of his wickedness, that is, of his desire; for desire is the head of all sin. And I bent down the branch to the ground, and took of the fruit, and ate. And in that very hour mine eyes were opened. and I knew that I was stripped of the righteousness with which I had been clothed; and I wept, saying, What is this thou hast done to me, because I have been deprived of the glory with which I was clothed? And I wept too about the oath. And he came down out of the tree, and went out of sight. And I sought leaves in my portion, that I might cover my shame; and I did not find them from the plants of paradise, since, at the time that I ate, the leaves of all the plants in my portion fell, except of the fig alone. And having taken leaves off it, I made myself a girdle, and it is from those plants of which I ate. And I cried out with a loud voice, saying, Adam, Adam, where art thou? Arise, come to me, and I shall show thee a great mystery. And when your father came, I said to him words of wickedness, which brought us down from great glory. For as soon as he came I opened my mouth, and the devil spoke;

13 and I began to advise him, saying, Come hither, my lord Adam, listen to me, and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God said to us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as God. And your father answered and said, I am afraid lest God be angry with me. And I said to him, Be not afraid, for as soon as thou shalt eat thou shalt know good and evil. And then I quickly persuaded him, and he ate; and his eyes were opened, and he was aware, he also, of his nakedness. And he says to me, O wicked woman, why hast thou wrought mischief

in us? Thou hast alienated me from the glory of God. And that same hour we heard the archangel Michael sounding his trumpet, calling the angels, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise, and hear the word in which I judge Adam. And when we heard the archangel sounding, we said, Behold, God is coming into paradise to judge us. And we were afraid, and hid ourselves. And God came up into paradise, riding upon a chariot of cherubim, and the angels praising Him. When God came into paradise, the plants both of Adam's lot and of my lot bloomed, and all lifted themselves up; and the throne of God was made ready where the tree of life was. And God called Adam, saying, Adam, where art thou hidden, thinking that I shall not find thee?

¹⁴ Shall the house be hidden from him that built it? Then your father answered and said, Not, Lord, did we hide ourselves as thinking that we should not be found by Thee; but I am afraid, because I am naked, and stand in awe of Thy power, O Lord. God says to him, Who hath shown thee that thou art naked, unless it be that thou hast forsaken my commandment which I gave thee to keep it? Then Adam remembered the word which I spake to him when I wished to deceive him, I will put thee out of danger from God. And he turned and said to me, Why hast thou done this? And I also remembered the word of the serpent, and said, The serpent deceived me. God says to Adam, Since thou hast disobeyed my commandment, and obeyed thy wife, cursed is the ground in thy labours. For whenever thou labourst it, and it will not give its strength, thorns and thistles shall it raise for thee; and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. And thou shalt be in distresses of many kinds. Thou shalt weary thyself, and rest not; thou shalt be afflicted by bitterness, and shall not taste of sweetness; thou shalt be afflicted by heat, and oppressed by cold; and thou shalt toil much, and not grow rich; and thou shalt make haste, and not attain thine end;

¹⁵ and the wild beasts, of which thou wast lord, shall rise up against thee in rebellion, because thou hast not kept my commandment. And having turned to me, the Lord says to me, Since thou hast obeyed the serpent, and disobeyed my commandment, thou shalt be in distresses and unbearable pains; thou shalt bring forth children with great tremblings; and in one hour shalt thou come to bring them forth, and lose thy life in consequence of thy great straits and pangs. And thou shalt confess, and say, Lord, Lord, save me; and I shall not return to the sin of the flesh. And on this account in

thine own words I shall judge thee, on account of the enmity which the enemy hath put in thee; and thou shalt turn again to thy husband, and he shall be thy lord. And after speaking thus to me, He spoke to the serpent in great wrath, saying to him, Since thou hast done this, and hast become an ungracious instrument until thou shouldst deceive those that were remiss in heart, cursed art thou of all the beasts. Thou shalt be deprived of the food which thou eatest; and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life; upon thy breast and belly shalt thou go, and thou shalt be deprived both of thy hands and feet; there shall not be granted thee ear, nor wing, nor one limb of all which those have whom thou hast enticed by thy wickedness, and hast caused them to be cast out of paradise.

16 And I shall put enmity between thee and between his seed. He shall lie in wait for thy head, and thou for his heel, until the day of judgment. And having thus said, He commands His angels that we be cast out of paradise. And as we were being driven along, and were lamenting, your father Adam entreated the angels, saying, Allow me a little, that I may entreat God, and that He may have compassion upon me, and pity me, for I only have sinned. And they stopped driving him. And Adam cried out with weeping, saying, Pardon me, Lord, what I have done. Then says the Lord to His angels, Why have you stopped driving Adam out of paradise? It is not that the sin is mine, or that I have judged ill? Then the angels, falling to the ground, worshipped the Lord, saying, Just art Thou, Lord, and judgest what is right. And turning to Adam, the Lord said, I will not permit thee henceforth to be in paradise. And Adam answered and said, Lord, give me of the tree of life, that I may eat before I am cast out. Then the Lord said to Adam, Thou shalt not now take of it, for it has been assigned to the cherubim and the flaming sword, which turneth to guard it on account of thee, that thou mayst not taste of it and be free from death for ever, but that thou mayst have the war which the enemy has set in thee.

17 But when thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shalt keep thyself from all evil, as being destined to die, I will again raise thee up when the resurrection comes, and then there shall be given thee of the tree of life, and thou shalt be free from death for ever. And having thus said, the Lord commanded us to be cast out of paradise. And your father wept before the angels over against paradise. And the angels say to him, What dost thou wish that we should do for thee, Adam? And your father answered and said to the an-

gels, Behold, you cast me out. I beseech you, allow me to take sweet odours out of paradise, in order that, after I go out, I may offer sacrifice to God, that God may listen to me. And the angels, advancing, said to God, Jael, eternal King, order to be given to Adam sacrifices of sweet odour out of paradise. And God ordered Adam to go, that he might take perfumes of sweet odour out of paradise for his food. And the angels let him go, and he gathered both kinds—saffron and spikenard, and calamus and cinnamon, and other seeds for his food; and having taken them, he went forth out of paradise. And we came to the earth.

18 Now, then, my children, I have shown you the manner in which we were deceived. But do ye watch over yourselves, so as not to forsake what is good. 19 And when she had thus spoken in the midst of her sons, and Adam was lying in his disease, and he had one other day before going out of the body, Eve says to Adam: Why is it that thou diest, and I live? or how long time have I to spend after thou diest? tell me. Then says Adam to Eve: Do not trouble thyself about matters; for thou wilt not be long after me, but we shall both die alike, and thou wilt be laid into my place. And when I am dead you will leave me, and let no one touch me, until the angel of the Lord shall say something about me; for God will not forget me, but will seek His own vessel which He fashioned. Arise, rather, pray to God until I restore my spirit into the hands of Him who has given it; because we know not how we shall meet Him who made us, whether He shall be angry with us, or turn and have mercy upon us. Then arose Eve, and went outside; and falling to the ground, she said: I have sinned, O God; I have sinned, O Father of all; I have sinned to Thee, I have sinned against Thy chosen angels, I have sinned against the cherubim, I have sinned against Thine unshaken throne; I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned much, I have sinned before Thee, and every sin through me has come upon the creation. And while Eve was still praying, being on her knees, behold, there came to her the angel of humanity, and raised her up, saying: Arise, Eve, from thy repentance; for, behold, Adam thy husband has gone forth from his body; arise and see his spirit carried up to Him that made it, to meet Him.

20 And Eve arose, and covered her face with her hand; and the angel says to her: Raise thyself from the things of earth. And Eve gazed up into heaven, and she saw a chariot of light going along under four shining eagles—and it was not possible for any one born of woman to tell the glory of them, or to

see the face of them—and angels going before the chariot. And when they came to the place where your father Adam was lying, the chariot stood still, and the seraphim between your father and the chariot. And I saw golden censers, and three vials; and, behold, all the angels with incense, and the censers, and the vials, came to the altar, and blew them up, and the smoke of the incense covered the firmaments. And the angels fell down and worshipped God, crying out and saying: Holy Jael, forgive; for he is Thine image, and the work of Thine holy hands.

21 And again, I Eve saw two great and awful mysteries standing before God. And I wept for fear, and cried out to my son Seth, saying: Arise, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam, and come to me, that thou mayst see what the eye of no one hath ever seen; and they are praying for thy father Adam. Then Seth arose and went to his mother, and said to her: What has befallen thee? and why weepest thou? She says to him: Look up with thine eyes, and see the seven firmaments opened, and see with thine eyes how the body of thy father lies upon its face, and all the holy angels with him, praying for him, and saying: Pardon him, O Father of the universe; for he is Thine image. What then, my child Seth, will this be? and when will he be delivered into the hands of our invisible Father and God? And who are the two dark-faced ones who stand by at the prayer of thy father? And Seth says to his mother: These are the sun and the moon, and they are falling down and praying for my father Adam. Eve says to him: And where is their light, and why have they become black-looking? And Seth says to her: They cannot shine in the presence of the Light of the universe, and for this reason the light from them has been hidden.

22 And while Seth was speaking to his mother, the angels lying upon their faces sounded their trumpets, and cried out with an awful voice, saying, Blessed be the glory of the Lord upon what He has made, for He has had compassion upon Adam, the work of His hands. When the angels had sounded this forth, there came one of the six-winged seraphim, and hurried Adam to the Acherusian lake, and washed him in presence of God. And he spent three hours lying, and thus the Lord of the universe, sitting upon His holy throne, stretched forth His hands, and raised Adam, and delivered him to the archangel Michael, saying to him: Raise him into paradise, even to the third heaven, and let him be there until that great and dreadful day which I am to bring upon the world. And the archangel Michael, having taken

Adam, led him away, and anointed him, as God said to him at the pardoning of Adam.

23 After all these things, therefore, the archangel asked about the funeral rites of the remains; and God commanded that all the angels should come together into His presence, each according to his rank. And all the angels were assembled, some with censers, some with trumpets. And the Lord of Hosts went up, and the winds drew Him, and cherubim riding upon the winds, and the angels of heaven went before Him; and they came to where the body of Adam was, and took it. And they came to paradise, and all the trees of paradise were moved so that all begotten from Adam hung their heads in sleep at the sweet smell, except Seth, because he had been begotten according to the appointment of God. The body of Adam, then, was lying on the ground in paradise, and Seth was grieved exceedingly about him. And the Lord God says: Adam, why hast thou done this? If thou hadst kept my commandment, those that brought thee down to this place would not have rejoiced. Nevertheless I say unto thee, that I will turn their joy into grief, but I will turn thy grief into joy; and having turned, I will set thee in thy kingdom, on the throne of him that deceived thee; and he shall be cast into this place, that thou mayst sit upon him. Then shall be condemned, he and those who hear him; and they shall be much grieved, and shall weep, seeing thee sitting upon his glorious throne.

24 And then He said to the archangel Michael: Go into paradise, into the third heaven, and bring me three cloths of fine linen and silk. And God said to Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael: Cover Adam's body with the cloths, and bring olive oil of sweet odour, and pour upon him. And having thus done, they prepared his body for burial. And the Lord said: Let also the body of Abel be brought. And having brought other cloths, they prepared it also for burial, since it had not been prepared for burial since the day on which his brother Cain slew him. For the wicked Cain, having taken great pains to hide it, had not been able; for the earth did not receive it, saying: I will not receive a body into companionship until that dust which was taken up and fashioned upon me come to me. And then the angels took it up, and laid it on the rock until his father died. And both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the regions of paradise, in the place in which God found the dust. And God sent seven angels into paradise, and they brought

many sweet-smelling herbs, and laid them in the earth; and thus they took the two bodies, and buried them in the place which they had dug and built.

25 And God called Adam, and said: Adam, Adam. And the body answered out of the ground, and said: Here am I, Lord. And the Lord says to him: I said to thee, Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return. Again I promise thee the resurrection. I will raise thee up in the last day in the resurrection, with every man who is of thy seed. And after these words God made a three-cornered seal, and sealed the tomb, that no one should do anything to him in the six days, until his rib should return to him. And the beneficent God and the holy angels having laid him in his place, after the six days Eve also died. And while she lived she wept about her falling asleep, because she knew not where her body was to be laid. For when the Lord was present in paradise when they buried Adam, both she and her children fell asleep, except Seth, as I said. And Eve, in the hour of her death, besought that she might be buried where Adam her husband was, saying thus: My Lord, Lord and God of all virtue, do not separate me, Thy servant, from the body of Adam, for of his members Thou madest me; but grant to me, even me, the unworthy and the sinner, to be buried by his body. And as I was along with him in paradise, and not separated from him after the transgression, so also let no one separate us. After having prayed, therefore, she looked up into heaven, and stood up, and said, beating her breast: God of all, receive my spirit. And straightway she gave up her spirit to God.

26 And when she was dead, the archangel Michael stood beside her; and there came three angels, and took her body, and buried it where the body of Abel was. And the archangel Michael said to Seth: Thus bury every man that dies, until the day of the resurrection. And after having given this law, he said to him: Do not mourn beyond six days. And on the seventh day, rest, and rejoice in it, because in it God and we the angels rejoice in the righteous soul that has departed from earth. Having thus spoken, the archangel Michael went up into heaven, glorifying, and saying the Alleluia: Holy, holy, holy Lord, to the glory of God the Father, because to Him is due glory, honour, and adoration, with His unbeginning and life-giving Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.

The Apocalypse of Sedrach

5th century

A dialogue of the saint Sedrach with God on mercy for sinners. Sedrach pleads that sinners be forgiven, and he is shown the heavens and the places of punishment.

¹ The Apocalypse of Sedrach. The Word of the holy and blessed Sedrach concerning love and concerning repentance and Orthodox Christians, and concerning the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Lord give thy blessing. I. Beloved, let us prefer nothing in honour except sincere love: for in many things we stumble every day and night and hour. And for this cause let us gain love, for it covereth a multitude of sins: for what is the profit, my children, if we have all things, and have not saving love... O blessed love, supplier of all good things. Blessed is the man who has gained the true faith and sincere love, according as the Master said, there is no greater love than this that a man should lay down his life for his friend. Cf. John xv. 13. II. And invisibly he received a voice in his ears: Come hither, Sedrach, since thou wishest and desirest to converse with God and ask of him that he may reveal unto thee whatever thou wishest to ask. And Sedrach said: What, Sir? And the voice said to him: I was sent to thee to raise thee here into heaven. And he said: I desired to speak mouth to mouth with God: I am not fit, Sir, to come into heaven. And stretching out his wings he took him up and he came into heaven to the very flame, and he set him as high as the third heaven, and in it stood the flame of the divinity.

² III. And the Lord saith to him: Welcome, my beloved Sedrach: What suit hast thou against God who created thee, that thou saidst, I desired to speak face to face with God? Sedrach saith to him: Yea, verily, the son hath a suit with the Father: my Lord, why didst thou make the earth? The Lord saith to him: For man's sake. Sedrach saith: And why didst Thou make the sea? Why didst Thou scatter every good thing on the earth? The Lord saith to him: For man's sake. Sedrach saith to him: If thou didst these things, why

wilt Thou destroy him? And the Lord said: Man is my work and the creature of my hands, and I discipline him as I find good. IV. Sedrach saith to him: Chastisement and fire are thy discipline: they are bitter, my Lord: it were well for man if he had not been born: why then didst thou make him, my Lord? Why didst thou weary thine undefiled hands and create man, since thou didst not intend to have mercy on him? God saith to him: I made Adam the first creature and placed him in Paradise in the midst of the tree of life and said to him: Eat of all the fruits, but beware of the tree of life: for if thou eat of it, thou shalt die the death. But he transgressed my commandment, and being beguiled by the devil ate of the tree.

3 V. Sedrach saith to him: Of thy will Adam was beguiled, my Lord: Thou commandest thine angels to make approach to Adam, and the first of the angels himself transgressed thy commandment and did not make approach to him, and Thou didst banish him, because he transgressed thy commandment and did not make any approach to the work of thine hands: if thou lovedst man, why didst Thou not slay the devil, the worker of unrighteousness? Who is able to fight an invisible spirit? And he as a smoke enters into the hearts of men and teaches them every sin: he fights against thee, the immortal God, and what can wretched man then do to him? But have mercy, O Lord, and stop the chastisements: but if not, count me also with the sinners: if thou wilt have no mercy on the sinners, where are thy mercies, where is thy compassion, O Lord?

4 VI. God saith to him: Be it known unto thee that I ordered all things to be placable to him: I gave him understanding and made him the heir of heaven and earth, and I subjected all things to him, and every living thing flees from him and from before his face: but he, having received of mine, became alien, adulterous, and sinful: tell me, what father, having given his son his portion, when he takes his substance and leaves his father and goes away and becomes an alien and serves an alien, when the father sees that the son has deserted him, does not darken his heart, and does not the father go and take his substance and banish him from his glory because he deserted his father? And how have I, the wonderful and jealous God, given him everything, and he having received these things has become an adulterer and a sinner?

5 VII. Sedrach saith to him: Thou, O Lord, didst create man. Thou knewest of what sort of mind he was and of what sort of knowledge we are, and

thou makest it a cause for chastisement: but cast him forth; for shall not I alone fill up the heavenly places? But if that is not to be so save man too, O Lord. He failed by thy will, wretched man. Why dost thou waste words on me, Sedrach? I created Adam and his wife and the sun and said: Behold each other how bright he is, and the wife of Adam is brighter in the beauty of the moon and he was the giver of her life. Sedrach saith: but of what profit are beauties if they die away into the earth? How didst thou say, O Lord, Thou shalt not return evil for evil? How is it, O Lord? the word of Thy divinity never lies, and why dost Thou retaliate on man? or dost thou not in so doing render evil for evil? I know that among the quadrupeds there is no other so wily and unreasonable as the mule. But we strike it with the bridle when we wish: and thou hast angels: send them forth to guard them, and when man inclines towards sin, to take hold of his foot and not let him go whither he would.

6 VIII. God saith to him: If I catch him by the foot, he will say, Thou hast given me no joy in the world. But I have left him to his own will because I loved him. Wherefore I sent forth my righteous angels to guard him night and day. Sedrach saith: I know, O Lord, that of all thy creatures Thou chiefly lovedst man, of the quadrupeds the sheep, of woods the olive, of fruits the vine, of flying things the bee, of rivers the Jordan, of cities Jerusalem. And all these man also loves, my Lord. God saith to Sedrach: I will ask thee one thing, Sedrach: if thou answerest me, then I may fitly help thee, even though thou hast tempted thy creator. Sedrach saith: Speak. The Lord God saith: Since I made all things, how many men were born and how many died, and how many are to die and how many hairs have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since the heaven was created and the earth, how many trees grew in the world, and how many fell, and how many are to fall, and how many are to arise, and how many leaves have they? Tell me, Sedrach, since I made the sea, how many waves arose and how many fell, and how many are to arise, and how many winds blow along the margin of the sea? Tell me, Sedrach, from the creation of the world of the æons, when the air rained, how many drops fell upon the world, and how many are to fall? And Sedrach said: Thou alone knowest all these things, O Lord; thou only understandest all these things: only, I pray thee, deliver man from chastisement, and I shall not be separated from our race.

7 IX. And God said to his only begotten Son: Go, take the soul of Sedrach my beloved, and place it in Paradise. The only begotten Son saith to Sedrach: Give me the trust which our Father deposited in the womb of thy mother in the holy tabernacle of thy body from a child. Sedrach saith: I will not give thee my soul. God saith to him: And wherefore was I sent to come hither, and thou pleadest against me? For I was commanded by my Father not to take thy soul with violence; but if not, (then) give me thy most greatly desired soul. X. And Sedrach saith to God: And whence dost Thou intend to take my soul, and from which limb? And God saith to him: Dost thou not know that it is placed in the midst of thy lungs and thy heart and is dispersed into all thy limbs? It is brought up through the throat and gullet and the mouth and at whatever hour it is predestined to come forth, it is scattered, and brought together from the points of the nails and from all the limbs, and there is a great necessity that it should be separated from the body and parted from the heart. When Sedrach had heard all these things and had considered the memory of death he was greatly astounded, and Sedrach said to God: O Lord, give me a little respite that I may weep, for I have heard that tears are able to do much and much remedy comes to the lowly body of thy creature.

8 XI. And weeping and bewailing he began to say: O marvellous head of heavenly adornment: O radiant as the sun which shines on heaven and earth: thy hairs are known from Teman, thine eyes from Bosor, thine ears from thunder, thy tongue from a trumpet, and thy brain is a small creation, thy head the energy of the whole body: O friendly and most fair beloved by all, and now falling into the earth it must become forgotten. O hands, mild, fair-fingered, worn with toil by which the body is nourished: O hands, deftest of all, heaping up from all quarters ye made ready houses. O fingers adorned and decked with gold and silver (rings): and great worlds are led by the fingers: the three joints enfold the palms, and heap up beautiful things: and now ye must become aliens to the world. O feet, skilfully walking about, self-running, most swift, unconquerable: O knees, fitted together, because without you the body does not move: the feet run along with the sun and the moon in the night and in the day, heaping up all things, foods and drinks, and nourishing the body: O feet, most swift and fair runners, moving on the face of the earth, getting ready the house with every good thing: O feet which bear up the whole body, that run up to the temples, making repent-

ance and calling on the saints, and now ye are to remain motionless. O head and hands and feet, until now I have kept you.

⁹ O soul, what sent thee into the humble and wretched body? and now being separated from it, thou art going up where the Lord calleth thee, and the wretched body goes away to judgment. O body well-adorned, hair clothed with stars, head of heavenly adornment and dress: O face well-anointed, light-bringing eyes, voice trumpet-like, tongue placable, chin fairly adorned, hairs like the stars, head high as heaven, body decked out, light-bringing eyes that know all things—and now you shall fall into the earth and under the earth your beauty shall disappear. ¹⁰ XII. Christ saith to him: Stay, Sedrach; how long dost thou weep and groan? Paradise is opened to thee, and, dying, thou shalt live. Sedrach saith to him: Once more I will speak unto thee, O Lord: How long shall I live before I die? and do not disregard my prayer. The Lord saith to him: Speak, O Sedrach. Sedrach saith: If a man shall live eighty or ninety or an hundred years, and live these years in sin, and again shall turn, and the man live in repentance, in how many days dost thou forgive him his sins? God saith to him: If he shall live an hundred or eighty years and shall turn and repent for three years and do the fruit of righteousness, and death shall overtake him, I will not remember all his sins. XIII. Sedrach saith to him: The three years are a long time, my Lord, lest death overtake him and he fulfil not his repentance: have mercy, Lord, on thine image and have compassion, for the three years are many. God saith to him: If a man live an hundred years and remember his death and confess before men and I find him, after a time I will forgive all his sins. Sedrach saith again: I will again beseech thy compassion for thy creature. The time is long lest death overtake him and snatch him suddenly. The Saviour saith to him: I will ask thee one word, Sedrach, my beloved, then thou shalt ask me in turn: if the man shall repent for forty days I will not remember all his sins which he did.

¹¹ XIV. And Sedrach saith to the archangel Michael: Hearken to me, O powerful chief, and help thou me and be my envoy that God may have mercy on the world. And falling on their faces, they besought the Lord and said: O Lord, teach us how and by what sort of repentance and by what labour man shall be saved. God saith: By repentances, by intercessions, by liturgies, by tears in streams, in hot groanings. Dost thou not know that my prophet David was saved by tears, and the rest were saved in one moment? Thou

knowest, Sedrach, that there are nations which have not the law and which do the works of the law: for if they are unbaptized and my divine spirit come unto them and they turn to my baptism, I also receive them with my righteous ones into Abraham's bosom. And there are some who have been baptized with my baptism and who have shared in my divine part and become reprobate in complete reprobation and will not repent: and I suffer them with much compassion and much pity and wealth in order that they may repent, but they do the things which my divinity hates, and did not hearken to the wise man asking (them), saying, we by no means justify a sinner. Dost thou not most certainly know that it is written: And those who repent never see chastisement? And they did not hearken to the Apostles or to my word in the Gospels, and they grieve my angels, and verily they do not attend to my messenger in the assemblies (for communion) and in my services, and they do not stand in my holy churches, but they stand and do not fall down and worship in fear and trembling, but boast things which I do not accept, or my holy angels.

12 XV. Sedrach saith to God: O Lord, Thou alone art sinless and very compassionate, having compassion and pity for sinners, but thy divinity said: I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance. And the Lord said to Sedrach: Dost thou not know, Sedrach, that the thief was saved in one moment to repent? Dost thou not know that my apostle and evangelist was saved in one moment? "Peccatores enim non salvantur," for their hearts are like rotten stone: these are they who walk in impious ways and who shall be destroyed with Antichrist. Sedrach saith: O my Lord, Thou also saidst: My divine spirit entered into the nations which, not having the law, do the things of the law. So also the thief and the apostle and evangelist and the rest of those who have already got into thy Kingdom. O my Lord; so likewise do Thou pardon those who have sinned to the last: for life is very toilsome and there is no time for repentance.

13 XVI. The Lord saith to Sedrach: I made man in three stages: when he is young, I overlooked his stumblings as he was young: and again when he was a man I considered his purpose: and again when he grows old, I watch him till he repent. Sedrach saith: O Lord, Thou knowest and understandest all these things: but have sympathy for sinners. The Lord saith to him: Sedrach, my beloved, I promise to have sympathy and bring down the forty days to twenty: and whosoever shall remember thy name shall not see the place of

chastisement, but shall be with the just in a place of refreshment and rest: and if anyone shall record this wonderful word his sins shall not be reckoned against him for ever and ever. And Sedrach saith: O Lord, and if anyone shall bring enlightenment to thy servant, save him, O Lord, from all evil. And Sedrach, the servant of the Lord, saith: Now take my soul, O Lord. And God took him and placed him in Paradise with all the saints. To whom be the glory and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

The Narrative of Zosimus Concerning the Life of the Blessed

4th–5th century

Zosimus the hermit is led by an angel across a wilderness to the Blessed Ones, who live on an island free from sin and care.

¹ The Narrative of Zosimus Concerning the Life of the Blessed. I. About that time there was in the desert a certain man named Zosimus, who for forty years ate no bread, and drank no wine, and saw not the face of man. This man was entreating God that he might see the way of life of the blessed, and behold an angel of the Lord was sent saying to him, Zosimus, man of God, behold I am sent by the Most High, the God of all, to tell thee that thou shalt journey to the blessed, but shalt not dwell with them. But exalt not thy heart, saying, For forty years I have not eaten bread, for the word of God is more than bread, and the spirit of God is more than wine. And as for thy saying, I have not seen the face of man, behold the face of the great king is nigh thee. Zosimus said, I know that the Lord can do whatsoever he will. The angel said to him, Know this also, that thou art not worthy of one of their delights, but arise and set out.

² II. And I, Zosimus, issuing from my cave with God leading me, set out not knowing which way I went, and after I had travelled forty days my spirit grew faint and my body failed, and being exhausted I sat down, and continued praying in that place for three days. And, behold, there came a beast from the desert, whose name is the camel, and placing its knees on the ground, it received me upon its neck and went into the desert and set me down. There there was much howling of wild beasts, and gnashing of teeth, and deadly poison. And becoming afraid, I prayed to the Lord, and there came in that place a great earthquake with noise, and a storm of wind blew and lifted me from the earth, and exalted me on its wing, and I was praying and journeying till it set me upon a place beside a river, and the name of the river is Eumeles. And behold when I desired to cross the river, some one

cried as if from the water, saying, Zosimus, man of God, thou canst not pass through me, for no man can divide my waters: but look up from the waters to the heaven. And looking up I saw a wall of cloud stretching from the waters to the heaven, and the cloud said, Zosimus, man of God, through me no bird passes out of this world, nor breath of wind, nor the sun itself, nor can the tempter in this world pass through me.

3 III. And I was astonished at these words, and at the voice that spake these things to me. And as I prayed, behold two trees sprang up out of the earth, fair and beautiful, laden with fragrant fruits. And the tree on this side bent down and received me on its top, and was lifted up exceedingly above the middle of the river, and the other tree met me and received me in its branches and bending down set me on the ground; and both trees were lifted up and set me away from the river on the other side. In that place I rested three days, and arising again I went forward, whither I knew not, and that place was filled with much fragrance, and there was no mountain on either hand, but the place was level and flowery, all crowned with garlands, and all the land beautiful. 4 IV. And I saw there a naked man sitting, and said in myself, Surely this is not the tempter. And I remembered the voice of the cloud that it said to me, Not even the tempter in this world passes through me. And thus taking courage I said to him, Hail, brother. And he answering said to me, The grace of my God be with thee. Again I said to him, Tell me, man of God, who thou art? He answered and said to me, Who art thou rather? And I answered and told him all concerning myself, and that I had prayed to God and he had brought me into that place. He answered and said to me, I also know that thou art a man of God, for if not, thou couldst not have passed through the cloud and the river and the air. For the breadth of the river is about thirty thousand paces, and the cloud reaches to heaven, and the depth of the river to the abyss.

5 V. And having ended this discourse the man spoke again, Hast thou come hither out of the vanity of the world? I said to him, Wherefore art thou naked? He said, How knowest thou that I am naked? Thou wearest skins of the cattle of the earth, that decay together with thy body, but look up to the height of heaven and behold of what nature my clothing is. And looking up into heaven I saw his face as the face of an angel, and his clothing as lightning, which passes from the east to the west, and I was greatly afraid, thinking that it was the son of God, and trembled, falling upon the ground.

And giving me his hand he raised me up, saying, Arise, I also am one of the blessed. Come with me, that I may lead thee to the elders. And laying hold of my hand he walked about with me and led me toward a certain crowd, and there were in that crowd elders like sons of God, and young men were standing beside the elders. And as I came near to them, they said, This man has come hither out of the vanity of the world; come, let us beseech the Lord and he will reveal to us this mystery. Surely the end is not at hand, that the man of vanity is come hither? Then they arose and besought the Lord with one accord, and behold two angels came down from heaven and said, Fear not the man, for God has sent him, that he may remain seven days and learn your ways of life, and then he shall go forth and depart to his own place. The angels of God having said this ascended into heaven before our eyes.

6 VI. Then the elders of the blessed gave me over to one of the attendants, saying, Keep him for seven days. So the attendant receiving me led me to his cave, and we sat under a tree partaking of food. For from the sixth hour even to the sixth, then we ate, and the water came out from the root of the tree sweeter than honey, and we drank our fill, and again the water sank down into its place. And all the country of those there heard of me, that there had come thither a man out of the vanity of the world, and all the country was stirred up, and they came to see me because it seemed strange to them. Therefore they were asking me all things and I was answering them, and I became faint in spirit and in body, and besought the man of God that served me, and said, I beseech thee, brother, if any come to see me, tell them He is not here, so that I may rest a little. And the man of God cried out saying, Woe is me, that the story of Adam is summed up in me, for Satan deceived him through Eve, and this man by his flattery desires to make me a liar while he is here. Take me away from hence, for I shall flee from the place. For behold he wishes to sow in me seeds of the world of vanity.

7 And all the multitude and the elders rose up against me, and said, Depart from us, man; we know not whence thou art come to us. But I lamented with great lamentation, and my senses left me, and I cried out to the elders, saying, Forgive me, my lords, and the elders stilled them and made quietness. Then I related to them all from the beginning till that time, and said, I besought the Lord to come to you, and he deemed me worthy. And the elders said, And now what wilt thou we should do to thee? I said to them, I desire to learn of you your way of life. 8 VII. And they rejoiced with great joy, and tak-

ing up tables of stone they wrote on them with their nails, thus, Hear, ye sons of men, hear ye us who are become blessed, that we also are of you; for when the prophet Jeremiah proclaimed that the city of Jerusalem should be delivered into the hands of the destroyers, he rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and sprinkled dust upon his head, and took earth upon his bed, and told all the people to turn from their wicked way. And our father Rechab, the son of Aminadab, heard him and said to us, Ye sons and daughters of Rechab, hearken to your father, and put off your garments from your body, and drink no vessel of wine, and eat no bread from the fire, and drink not strong drink and honey until the Lord hear your entreaty. And we said, All that he has commanded us we shall do and hearken. So we cast away our clothing from our bodies, and we ate no bread from the fire, and drank no vessel of wine nor honey nor strong drink, and we lamented with a great lamentation and besought the Lord, and he heard our prayer and turned away his anger from the city of Jerusalem, and there came to the city of Jerusalem mercy from the Lord, and he pitied its people, and turned away his deadly anger.

⁹ VIII. And after these things the king of the city of Jerusalem died, and there arose another king. And all the people gathered to him and informed him concerning us, and said, There are certain of thy people, who have changed their way from us. Therefore the king summoned them, and asked them wherefore they had done this; and he sent for us and asked, Who are ye and of what worship and of what country? And we said to him, We are the sons of thy servant, and our father is Rechab the son of Jonadab, and when Jeremiah the prophet preached in the days of thy father the king, he proclaimed death to the city of Jerusalem, saying, Yet three days and all the city shall be put to death. And the king thy father hearing this repented of his sins, and issued a command to all to turn aside from their wicked way. And our father thy servant hearing it charged us, saying, Drink no vessel of wine, and eat no bread from the fire, until the Lord shall hear your entreaty. And we hearkened to the commandment of our father, and made naked our bodies, we drank no wine and ate no bread, and we prayed to the Lord for the city of Jerusalem, and the Lord pitied his people and turned away his anger, and we saw it and our soul was rejoiced, and we said, It is good for us to be so.

¹⁰ IX. And the king said to us, Ye have done well. Now therefore mingle with my people, and eat bread and drink wine, and glorify your Lord, and ye

shall be serving God and the king. But we said, We will not disobey God. Then the king was enraged and set us in prison, and we passed that night there. And behold a light shone in the building, and an angel uncovered the prison and laid hold of the crowns of our heads, and took us out of the prison, and set us beside the water of the river, and said to us, Whithersoever the water goes, go ye also. And we travelled with the water and with the angel. When therefore he had brought us to this place, the river was dried up and the water was swallowed up by the abyss, and he made a wall round this country, and there came a wall of cloud, and shadowed above the water; and he did not scatter us over all the earth, but gave to us this country.

11 X. Hear, ye sons of men, hear the way of life of the blessed. For God placed us in this land, for we are holy but not immortal. For the earth produces most fragrant fruit, and out of the trunks of the trees comes water sweeter than honey, and these are our food and drink. We are also praying night and day, and this is all our occupation. Hear, ye sons of men; with us there is no vine, nor ploughed field, nor works of wood or iron, nor have we any house or building, nor fire nor sword, nor iron wrought or unwrought, nor silver nor gold, nor air too heavy or too keen. Neither do any of us take to themselves wives, except for so long as to beget two children, and after they have produced two children they withdraw from each other and continue in chastity, not knowing that they were ever in the intercourse of marriage, but being in virginity as from the beginning. And the one child remains for marriage, and the other for virginity.

12 XI. And there is no count of time, neither weeks nor months nor years, for all our day is one day. In our caves lie the leaves of trees, and this is our couch under the trees. But we are not naked of body, as ye wrongly imagine, for we have the garment of immortality and are not ashamed of each other. At the sixth hour of every day we eat, for the fruit of the tree falls of itself at the sixth hour, and we eat and drink our fill, and again the water sinks into its place. We also know you who are there in the world, and who are in sins, and your works, for every day the angels of the Lord come and tell them to us, and the number of your years. But we pray for you to the Lord, because we also are of you and of your race, except that God has chosen us, and has set us in this place without sin. And the angels of God dwell with us every day, and tell us all things concerning you, and we rejoice with the angels over the

works of the just, but over the works of sinners we mourn and lament, praying to the Lord that he may cease from his anger and spare your offences.

13 XII. But when the time of the forty days comes, all the trees cease from their fruits, and the manna that he gave to our fathers rains down from heaven, and the manna is sweeter than honey. Thus we know that the season of the year is changed. But when the time of the holy passover comes, then again the trees put forth fragrant fruit, and thus we know that it is the beginning of the year. But the feast of the resurrection of the Lord is performed with much watching, for we continue watching for three days and three nights. XIII. We know also the time of our end, for we have no torment nor disease nor pain in our bodies, nor exhaustion nor weakness, but peace and great patience and love. For our soul is not troubled by the angels to go forth, for the angels rejoice when they receive our souls, and the souls also rejoice with the angels when they behold them; as a bride receives the bridegroom, so our soul receives the announcement of the holy angels, saying nothing more than only this, The Lord calls thee. Then the soul quits the body and goes to the angels, and the angels seeing the soul coming forth spotless rejoice, and spreading out their robes receive it. Then the angels call it blessed, saying, Blessed art thou, O soul, because the will of the Lord is fulfilled in thee.

14 XIV. The time of our life is this. If one quits the body in his youth, the days of his life here are three hundred and sixty years, and he that quits the body in old age, the days of his life here are six hundred and eighty-eight years. And the day of our completion is made known to us by the angels, and when the angels of God come to take us, we go with them, and the elders, seeing the angels, gather together all the people and we depart together with the angels, singing psalms, until the angels arrive at the place of our abode. And because we have no tools, the angels of God themselves make the grave for our body, and thus he that is called by God goes down, and all salute him from small to great, sending him on his way and bidding him farewell. Then the soul quits the body and the angels receive it, but we see the shape of the soul as a shape of light, perfect in all the body apart from the distinction of male and female.

15 XV. Then the angels taking it up sing a song and hymn, making melody to God, and again other troops of angels come in haste to meet them, saluting the soul that is coming and entering into the firmaments.

And when it has come to the place where it is to worship God, the son of God himself, together with the angels, receives the soul of the blessed one and bears it to the undefiled father of the ages, and again, when the angels sing above, we being below listen to them, and again we sing and they listen in heaven above, and thus between us and the angels there arises a giving of praise in hymns. But when the soul of the blessed one, falling upon its face, worships the Lord, then we also falling down worship the Lord in that same hour, and when the Lord raises it up then we also arise; and when it goes to its appointed place, we also go into the church, fulfilling the eucharist of the Lord.

¹⁶ Having written these things, and all the life of the blessed, we gave them to our brother Zosimus, and escorted him as far as the place of trees beside the river Eumeles. XVI. And I, Zosimus, besought again the blessed ones to make entreaty for me to the Lord that the trees might receive me to take me across. And they all cried to the Lord and said, O God that hast shown us thy marvels and hast made thy servant Zosimus to come to us out of the world of vanity, set him again in his own place with peace, and command these trees to bow down and take up thy servant and set him on the further side. And as they finished their prayer, the trees straightway bent down before them, and received me as on the second day before; and being set on the other side of the river I cried with a loud voice and said, Men of righteousness, who are brothers of the holy angels, grant me your prayer in peace, for behold I depart from you. And making prayer they all cried out, saying, Peace, peace be with you, brother.

¹⁷ XVII. Then I prayed to the Lord, and there came to me a storm of wind, and received me upon its wings, and carried me to the place where it found me sitting, and left me there in peace. And raising its voice the wind said to me, Blessed art thou, Zosimus, that thou hast been numbered with the blessed. And the beast from the desert, whose name is the camel, came and received me upon its neck and carried me eighty and five stations, and set me in the place where it found me praying, and left me in peace, crying and saying, Blessed art thou, Zosimus, that thou hast been numbered with the blessed. XVIII. But seeing me thus praised, Satan desired to tempt me and throw his dart at me from his station, but an angel of God came and said to me, Zosimus, behold Satan is coming to tempt thee, but the Lord will fight for thee, for the glory of thy faith must bind Satan. And an angel of God ap-

peared, crying and saying, Welcome, blessed one of Christ. Come and I shall lead thee to the cave that is the dwelling-place of thy body, for thy cave shall be a testimony of the desert, a healing of the sick that come to it, a place of trial and touch-stone of demons. And laying hold of my hand he strengthened me, and led me for forty days to the cave where I had dwelt. And there was there a table of righteousness, and I spent the night with the angels of God. And I placed the tablets that were given me by the holy blessed ones on the step of the altar in my cave.

18 XIX. And, behold, when the angels of God ascended, the Devil came, having a fierce shape, and possessed with anger and gall, and said to me, I knew that God would do with thee as with the blessed ones, and that they shall be free from sin and be above the angels, and therefore I brought in an evil design, and entered into the vessel of the serpent, an evil-doer added to evil-doer. And by this I made the first man Adam to transgress and taste of the tree of life, since God had commanded him not to eat of it, that he might remain equal in glory to God and the holy angels; and thou again hast gone and brought this commandment, but now that they may not be without sin, I shall show thee how I shall destroy thee and all those that receive this commandment, so that they may not be without sin, and the book that thou hast brought.

19 XX. Saying these things the Devil departed from me, and after eight days he brought with him one thousand three hundred and sixty demons, and dragged me from the cave as I prayed, and they beat me, tossing me about between them, for forty days. And after the forty days the devil lamented before me and said, Woe is me that through one man I have lost the world, for he has vanquished me by his prayer. And he began to run from me, but I laying hold of him stayed him and said, Thou shalt not run away and flee from me until thou swearest to me never again to tempt man. And lamenting with great and violent lamentation he swore to me by the firmament of heaven, So long as thy dwelling is here, and after thee, I will not come upon this place. Then I let him go, sending him and the demons with him into eternal fire. Then the angel came, who had companied with me at the table, and led me into my cave with great glory.

20 XXI. After this I lived thirty-six years, and communicated the way of life of the blessed to the fathers in the desert. But the Devil wept because of the tables of the life of the blessed, saying, If this get abroad in the world, I

shall be mocked, and these will remain without sin and I alone in folly. And after the completion of the thirty-six years, the angels of God came to me as to the blessed. And all the monks were gathered together and all who heard it, and this testament was read to all of them, and in such life he gave up his soul to God. XXII. And I, Cryseos, being one of those in the desert, spread it abroad and gave it to all that were willing to learn it and profit by it. Therefore the angels of God helped to bury the body of Zosimus as a precious gift, and we saw the soul of the blessed one shining seven times brighter than the sun. And straightway upon that place there came up seven palm-trees and overshadowed the cave. There came up also a fountain of water in that place, holy water, and unto this day a healing and salvation to all the sick that come to it. Peace be to all that have heard the memorial of the holy Zosimus; the Lord is the advocate and helper of all to the endless ages of ages. Amen.

The Apocalypse of the Virgin on the Chastisements

9th–10th century

A Byzantine vision of the punishments of the damned shown to Mary.

¹ The Apocalypse of the Holy Mother of God Concerning the Chastisements. I. The all-holy mother of God was about to proceed to the Mount of Olives to pray; and praying to the Lord our God she said: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; let the archangel Gabriel descend, that he may tell me concerning the chastisements and concerning things in heaven and on the earth and under the earth. And as she said the word the archangel Michael descended with the angels of the East and the West and angels of the South and the North, and they saluted the highly favoured one and said to her: Hail, reflection of the Father, hail dwelling of the Son, hail command of the Holy Spirit, hail firmament of the seven heavens, hail firmament of the eleven strongholds, hail worship of the angels, hail loftier than the prophets unto the throne of God. And the holy mother of God said to the angel: Hail Michael, commander-in-chief, the minister of the invisible Father, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, associate of my Son, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, most dread of the six-winged, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, who rules through all things and art worthy to stand beside the throne of the Lord, hail Michael, commander-in-chief, who art about to sound the trumpet and awaken those who have been asleep for ages: hail Michael, commander-in-chief, first of all unto the throne of God.

² II. And having greeted all the angels in like manner, the highly favoured one prayed the commander-in-chief regarding the chastisements, saying: Tell to me all things on the earth. And the commander-in-chief said to her: If thou askest me, highly favoured one, I will tell thee. And the highly favoured one said to him: How many are the chastisements with which the race of man is chastised? And the archangel said to her: The chas-

tisements are innumerable. And the highly favoured one said to him: Tell me the things in heaven and on the earth. III. Then the commander-in-chief, Michael, commanded the Western angels that revelation should be made, and Hades opened, and she saw those who were chastised in Hades: and there lay there a multitude of men and women, and there was a great lamentation. And the highly favoured one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy, are those who did not worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

3 IV. And she saw in another place a great darkness: and the all holy said: What is this darkness and who are they who are being chastised? And the commander-in-chief said: Many souls are lying in this darkness. And the all holy one said: Let this darkness be taken away in order that I may see this chastisement also. And the commander-in-chief said to the highly favoured one: It is not possible, all holy, that thou shouldst see this chastisement also. And the angels guarding them answered and said: We have a command from the invisible Father that they shall not see the light till thy blessed Son shall shine forth. And plunged in grief the all holy lifted up her eyes to the angels touching the undefiled word of the Father, and said: In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit let the darkness be taken away, that I may see this chastisement also. And straightway that darkness was lifted up and covered the seven heavens: and there lay a great multitude of both men and women, and there arose a great lamentation and a great cry began. And seeing them the all holy wept and said to them: What are ye doing, wretched ones? Who are ye? And how are ye found there? and there was no voice or hearkening. And the angels guarding them said: Why do ye not speak to the highly favoured one? And those who were under chastisement said to her:

4 O highly favoured one, from eternity we see not the light, and we are not able to keep off that up there. And splashing pitch flowed down upon them: and seeing them the all holy wept. And again those who were being chastised said to her: How dost thou ask concerning us, holy lady, Mother of God? Thy blessed Son came to The earth and did not make enquiry concerning us, neither Abraham the patriarch, nor John the Baptist, nor Moses the great prophet, nor the Apostle Paul, and unto us their light shone not: and now, all holy Mother of God, the armour of the Christians, the bringer of great comfort on account of the Christians, how dost thou ask concerning

us? Then the all holy Mother of God said to Michael, the commander-in-chief: What is their sin? And Michael, the commander-in-chief, said: These are they who did not believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and did not confess thee to be the Mother of God, and that the Lord Jesus Christ was born of thee and took flesh, and for this cause they are chastised there. And again weeping, the all holy Mother of God said to them: Why did ye so greatly err, wretched ones? Did ye not hear that the whole creation names my name? And having said these words the darkness fell over them as it was from the beginning.

5 V. And the commander-in-chief said: Whither wouldst thou go, highly favoured one? to the West or to the South? And the highly favoured answered: Let us go to the South. And immediately there appeared the cherubim and the seraphim and four hundred angels, and led out the highly favoured one to the South, where came out the river of fire, and there there lay a multitude of men and women, some up to the girdle, others up to the neck, and others up to the crown of the head: and seeing them the all holy Mother of God cried out with a loud voice to the commander-in-chief and said: Who are these, and what is their sin who stand in the fire up to the girdle? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who inherited the curse of father and mother, and for this cause they are thus chastised here as accursed.

6 VI. And the all holy one said: And who are these standing in the fire up to the breasts? And the commander-in-chief said: These are whosoever cast off their wives and defiled them in adultery, and for this cause they are thus chastised here. VII. And the all holy one said to the commander-in-chief: Who are these standing up to the neck in the flame of the fire? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are whosoever ate of the flesh of men. And the all holy one said: And how is it possible for one man to eat of the flesh of another? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one, and I will tell thee: These are they whosoever brought down their own children out of their own wombs and cast them out as food for dogs, and whosoever gave up their brothers in the presence of kings and governors, these ate the flesh of man, and for this cause they are thus chastised.

7 VIII. And the all holy one said: Who are these set in the fire up to the crown? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are whosoever lay hold of the precious cross and swear to a lie: by the power of the cross

of the Lord. The angels tremble and worship with fear, and men lay hold of it and swear to a lie and do not know what they testify: and for this cause they are thus chastised here. IX. And in another place the all holy one saw a man hung by the feet, and worms devoured him. And she asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this and what is his sin? And the commander-in-chief said: This is he who took usury for his gold, and for this cause he is thus chastised here. X. And she saw a woman hanging by her two ears, and all the beasts came out of her mouth and gnawed her in pieces: and the highly favoured one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is she, and what is her sin? And the commander-in-chief said: She is she who turned aside into strange houses and those of her neighbours and spoke evil words to make strife, and for that cause she is thus chastised here.

§ XI. And seeing these things the all holy Mother of God wept and said to the commander-in-chief: It were well for man that he had not been born. And the commander-in-chief said: Verily, all holy one, thou hast not seen the great chastisements. And the all holy one said to the commander-in-chief: Come, Michael, great commander-in-chief, and lead me that I may see all the chastisements. And the commander-in-chief said: Where dost thou wish, all holy one, that we should go? And the highly favoured one answered: To the West: and straightway the cherubim appeared and led the highly favoured to the West. XII. And she saw a cloud full of fire and in it there was a multitude of men and women. And the all holy one said: What was their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who on the morning of the Lord's day sleep like the dead, and for that reason they are thus chastised here. And the all holy one said: If anyone cannot rise, what shall he do? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one: if anyone's house is fastened on the four (sides?) and surrounds him and he cannot come out, he has forgiveness.

9 XIII. And she saw in another place burning benches of fire and on them sat a multitude of men and women and burned on them. And the all holy one asked: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who do not rise up to the presbyter when they enter into the church of God, and for this cause they are thus chastised here. XIV. And the all holy one saw in another place an iron tree and it had branches of iron, and on it there hung a multitude of men and women by their tongues. And seeing them the all holy one wept, and asked

the commander-in-chief saying: Who are these and what was their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These are perjurers, blasphemers, slanderers, whosoever divided brothers from brothers. And the all holy one said: How is it possible to divide brothers from brothers? And the commander-in-chief said: Listen, all holy one, and I will tell thee about this: When some from among the nations desired to be baptised, he would say to them one word: Thou foul-feeding, unbelieving Gentile; because he thus blasphemed, he shall receive ceaseless retribution.

10 XV. And in another place the all holy one saw a man hanging from his four extremities, and from his nails blood gushed vehemently, and his tongue was tied in a flame of fire, and he was unable to groan and say the Kyrie eleïson me. And when she had seen him the all holy one wept and herself said the Kyrie eleïson thrice: and after the saying of the prayer, came the angel who had authority over the scourge and loosed the man's tongue: and the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this wretched one who has this chastisement? And the commander-in-chief said: This, all holy one, is the steward who did not the will of God, but ate the things of the church and said: "He who ministers to the altar shall be nourished from the altar": and for this cause he is thus chastised here. And the all holy one said: Let it be unto him according to his faith. And again he tied his tongue.

11 XVI. And Michael, the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show unto thee where the priests are chastised. And the all holy one came out and saw presbyters hanging by their twenty nails, and fire came out of their heads. And seeing them the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who stand beside the throne of God, and when they sang of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pearls fell out, and the awful throne of heaven shook and the footstool of our Lord Jesus Christ trembled, and they did not perceive it: and for this cause they are thus chastised here. XVII. And the all holy one saw a man and a winged beast having three heads like flames of fire: the two heads were towards his eyes and the third head towards his mouth. And seeing him the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who is this, that he cannot save himself from the mouth of the dragon? And the commander-in-chief said to her: This, all holy one, is the reader who does not practise in his own

habits according to what is worthy of the holy Gospel: and for this cause he is thus chastised here.

12 XVIII. And the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show thee where the angelic and archangelic form is chastised. She proceeded and saw them lying in the fire and the sleepless worm gnawed them: and the all holy one said: Who are these, and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are they who possessed the archangelic and apostolic form: hearken, all holy one, concerning this: on earth they were called patriarchs and bishops, and they were not worthy of their name: on earth they heard 'Bless (the Lord) ye saints,' and in heaven they were not called saints, because they did not act as bearers of the archangelic form: and for this cause they are thus chastised here. XIX. And she saw women hanging by their nails, and a flame of fire came out of their mouth and burned them: and all the beasts coming out of the fire gnawed them to pieces, and groaning they cried out: Have pity on us, have pity, for we are chastised worse than all those who are under chastisement. And seeing them the all holy one wept, and asked the commander-in-chief, Michael: Who are these and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These are the wives of presbyters who did not honour the presbyters, but after the death of the presbyter took husbands, and for this cause they are thus chastised here.

13 XX. And the all holy one saw after the same manner also a deaconess hanging from a crag and a beast with two heads devoured her breasts. And the all holy one asked: What is her sin? And the commander-in-chief said: She, all holy one, is an archdeaconess who defiled her body in fornication, and for this cause she is thus chastised here. XXI. And she saw other women hanging over the fire, and all the beasts devoured them. And the all holy one asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these and what is their sin? And he said: These are they who did not do the will of God, lovers of money and those who took interest on accounts, and the immodest. XXII. And when she had heard these things the all holy one wept and said: Woe unto sinners. And the commander-in-chief said: Why dost thou lament, all holy one? Now verily thou hast not seen the great chastisements. And the highly favoured one said: Come, Michael, the great commander-in-chief of the powers above, tell me how I may see all the chastisements. And the commander-in-chief said: Where dost thou wish that we should go, all holy one?

to the East or towards the left parts of Paradise? And the all holy one said: To the left parts of Paradise.

¹⁴ XXIII. And immediately when she had spoken, the cherubim and seraphim stood beside her and led the highly favoured one out to the left parts of Paradise. And behold, there was a great river, and the appearance of the river was blacker than pitch, and in it there were a multitude of men and women: it boiled like a furnace of forges, and its waves were like a wild sea over the sinners: and when the waves rose, they sank the sinners ten thousand cubits and they were unable to keep it off and say: Have mercy on us, thou just judge: for the sleepless worm devoured them, and there was no reckoning of the number of those who devoured them. And seeing the all holy Mother of God the angels who chastised them cried out with one voice: Holy is God who has compassion on account of the Mother of God: we give thee thanks, O Son of God, that from eternity we did not see the light, and to-day through the Mother of God we have seen the light: and again they shouted with one voice, saying: Hail, highly favoured Mother of God: Hail, lamp of the inaccessible light: Hail to thee also, Michael, the commander-in-chief, thou that art ambassador from the whole creation: for we, seeing the chastisement of sinners are greatly grieved. And the all holy one, when she saw the angels humbled on account of the sinners, lamented and said: Woe to sinners and their neighbours. And the all holy one said:

¹⁵ Let us see the sinners. And the highly favoured one, coming with the archangel Michael and all the armies of the angels lifted up one voice saying: Lord have mercy. And after the making of the prayer earnestly, the wave of the river rested and the fiery waves grew calm, and the sinners appeared as a grain of mustard-seed: and seeing them the all holy one lamented and said: What is this river, and what are its waves? And the commander-in-chief said: This river is the outer fire, and those who are being tortured are the Jews who crucified our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, and who refused holy baptism, and those who commit fornication and sin against the sweet and passionless perfume of marriage, and he who debauches mother and daughter, and the poisoners and those who slay with the sword, and the women who strangle their offspring. And the all holy one said: According to their faith so be it unto them. And straightway the waves rose over the sinners and the darkness covered them. And the commander-in-chief said: Harken, thou highly favoured one: if anyone shall be cast into this darkness, his remem-

brance shall never be in the sight of God. And the all holy Mother of God said: Woe to sinners, because the flame of the fire is everlasting.

¹⁶ XXIV. And the commander-in-chief said: Come hither, all holy one, and I will show unto thee the lake of fire: and see thou where the race of the Christians is chastised. And the all holy one proceeded and saw: and some she heard, but others she did not see: and she asked the commander-in-chief: Who are these, and what is their sin? And the commander-in-chief said: These, all holy one, are those who were baptised and arrayed under the oracle of Christ, but worked the works of the devil and wasted the time of their repentance: and for this cause they are thus chastised here. XXV. And she said: I pray, one request will I make of thee, let me also be chastised with the Christians, because they are the children of my son. And the commander-in-chief said: Rest thou in Paradise, holy lady, Mother of God. And the all holy one said: I pray thee, move the fourteen firmaments and the seven heavens, and let us pray for the Christians that the Lord our God may hearken unto us and have mercy on them. And the commander-in-chief said: As the Lord God liveth, the great name, seven times a day and seven times a night, when we lead up the hymn of the Lord, we make remembrance for the sake of sinners, and the Lord accounts us as naught.

¹⁷ XXVI. And the all holy one said: I pray thee, commander-in-chief, command the armies of the angels and let them place me on the height of heaven and let me into the presence of the invisible Father. And immediately the commander-in-chief commanded, and the chariot of the cherubim and seraphim appeared, and they exalted the highly favoured one to the height of heaven and placed her in the presence of the invisible Father: And she stretched forth her hands to the undefiled throne of the Father and said: Have mercy, O Lord, on the Christian sinners, for I saw them being chastised and I cannot bear their complaint. Let me go forth and be chastised myself for the Christians. I do not pray, O Lord, for the unbelieving Jews, but for the Christians I entreat thy compassion. And there came a second voice from the invisible Father saying: How can I have mercy on them, when they did not have mercy on their own brothers? And the all holy one said: Lord, have mercy on the sinners: behold the chastisements, for every creature on the earth calls upon my name: and when the soul comes forth out of the body, it cries saying, "Holy Lady, Mother of God." Then the

Lord said to her: Hearken, all holy Mother of God, if anyone names and calls upon thy name, I will not forsake him, either in heaven or on earth.

¹⁸ XXVII. And the all holy one said: Where is Moses? Where are all the prophets and fathers who never sinned? Where art thou, holy Paul of God? where is the holy Lord's Day, the boast of the Christians? where is the power of the precious and life-giving cross, which delivered Adam and Eve from the ancient curse? Then Michael and all the angels raised one voice saying: Lord, have mercy on the sinners. Then Moses also cried: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I gave thy law. Then John also called: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I gave thy Gospel. Then Paul cried: Have mercy, Lord, on those to whom I brought thy epistles in the Church. And the Lord God said: Hearken, all ye righteous: if according to the law which Moses gave, and according to the Gospel which John gave, and according to the epistles which Paul carried, they thus be judged. And they had nothing to say except, Have mercy, O just judge.

¹⁹ XXVIII. And the all holy Mother of God said: Have mercy, Lord, on the Christians, because they kept thy law and gave heed to thy gospel, but they were simple ones. Then the Lord said to her: Hearken, all holy one: if anyone did evil to them and they did not requite him the evil, thou sayest well that they attended to both my law and my gospel, but if he did not do them wrong and they requited him evil, how may I say that these are holy men? now they shall be rewarded according to their wrongdoing. Then all hearing the voice of the Lord had nothing to answer; and the all holy one, when she saw that the saints were at a loss, and their Lord did not hear, and his mercy was hidden from them, then the all holy one said: Where is Gabriel, who announced unto me the "Hail, thou that from eternity shalt conceive him who is without beginning like the Father," and now does not look upon sinners? Where is the great commander-in-chief? come hither, all ye saints whom God justified, and let us fall down in the presence of the invisible Father, in order that the Lord God may hear us, and have mercy on sinners. Then Michael, the commander-in-chief, and all the saints fell on their faces in the presence of the invisible Father, saying: Have mercy, Lord, on the Christian sinners.

²⁰ XXIX. Then the Lord, seeing the prayer of the saints, had compassion and said: Go down, my beloved son, and because of the prayer of the saints let thy face shine on earth to sinners. Then the Lord came down from his

undefiled throne: and when they saw Him, those who were under chastisement raised one voice saying: Have mercy on us, King of ages. Then the Lord of all things said: Hearken, all ye sinners and righteous men: I made paradise and made man after my image: but he transgressed, and for his own sins was delivered to death: but I did not suffer the works of my hands to be tyrannized over by the serpent: wherefore I bowed the heavens and came down and was born of Mary, the holy undefiled Mother of God, that I might set you free: I was baptised in Jordan in order that I might save the creature (nature) which had grown old under sin: I was nailed to the cross to free you from the ancient curse: I asked for water and ye gave me vinegar mingled with gall: I was laid in the grave: I trampled on the enemy: I raised up mine elect, and even thus ye would not hear me. But now, because of the prayer of my mother Mary, because she has wept much for your sake, and because of Michael my archangel, and because of the multitude of my saints, I grant you to have rest on the day of Pentecost to glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

²¹ XXX. Then all the angels and archangels, thrones, lordships, authorities, governments, powers, and the many-eyed cherubim and the six-winged seraphim and all the apostles and prophets and martyrs and all the saints raised one voice, saying: Glory to thee, O Lord: glory to thee, lover of men: glory to thee, King of ages: glory be to thy compassion: glory be to thy long suffering: glory be to thy unspeakable justice of judgment, because thou hast been long-suffering with sinners and impious men: Thine is it to pity and to save. To him be the glory and the power to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

The Apocalypse of Samuel of Kalamoun

TRANSLATED BY ROGER PEARSE

medieval

An apocalypse in the name of Samuel, abbot of Qalamun in Egypt, that laments the loss of the Coptic language and way of life under Arab rule. It survives in Arabic. This is Roger Pearse's English from J. Ziadeh's French translation, with the introduction and the note of F. Nau.

INTRODUCTION

² APOCALYPSE OF SAMUEL, SUPERIOR OF DEIR-EL-QALAMOUN. ARABIC TEXT PUBLISHED AND TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH BY J. ZIADEH, MARONITE PRIEST. Mr Graffin and the Abbé Nau have had the kindness to place in my hands the Arabic text of the Apocalypse of Samuel, the superior of Deir-El-Qalamoun. This apocalypse is contained in the Arabic manuscript of Paris, No 150, fol. 20-31, paginated in Coptic numerals, which indicates its Egyptian origin; it is dated from year 1322 of the Martyrs (1606 of our era). The same manuscript contains the letter of Pisuntios, published and translated by A. Périer, ROC, XIX (1914), p. 69, and the dormition of the Virgin, translated by Mr. the abbé L. Leroy, *ibid.*, t. XV (1910), p. 162. Samuel is celebrated by the Copts on the 8 Kihak (December 4). He was from Tkylo (Dakloubā), in the diocese of Medjel in Egypt, was a monk at Scete and ordained priest of the church of Abou-Macaria, in the 5th century. When the letter of St. Leo arrived in the desert, Samuel was one of the most ardent to tear it up and hurl an anathema on him; he became superior of the monastery of El-Qalamoun. See *Patr. or.*, t. III, p. 405-408. The Ethiopian texts relating to Samuel were studied by Mr. F. M. E. Pereira, *Vida do Abba Samuel*, Lisbonne, 1894.

³ The present Apocalypse of Samuel, like the manuscript which contains it, is thus of Egyptian origin, as we can also see by the subject itself, the names of the places and the characters as well as by the details and the circumstances of the account. Moreover, it is of Eutychian inspiration. The lan-

guage in which it is written does not belong to standard Arabic; it represents a particular dialect in which the rules of agreement are not observed, especially for the relative pronouns, which are not always in harmony with the gender and the number of their antecedents, as they should be. In this edition we have tried to reproduce the text such as it is, but restoring however the diacritic points, which are often missing or badly placed, rendering reading the manuscript very difficult. When we met a word which was faded or too incorrect, we have given the exact form of it between brackets.

⁴In the translation, we have endeavoured to follow the text very closely, while trying sometimes to contribute more clarity and precision. There can be no question of conciseness, because it seems repugnant to the talent of the author and even the nature of the text. One must be resigned to here encounter a portions which tediously long and repetitive. Where we have deviated from giving a word for word translation, we have noted it in brackets. As the use of the conjunctive particles @ and @ is sometimes abusive and abnormal, we have allowed ourselves the liberty to follow the idea rather than the letter in certain places. These limitations aside, we can say that we have presented to the reader a literal translation, that we have tried to remain clear and correct despite the defects of composition and style. These defects are such that we have been unable, during this work, to avoid admiring the patience of the listener and the transcriber of similar speeches. Such as it is, however, this text constitutes no less an extremely interesting document.

⁵J. Ziadeh. NOTE ON THE APOCALYPSE OF SAMUEL (By F. Nau, pp. 405-7) The work consists of two parts: a sermon (fol. 20 - 28r) an an apocalypse (fol. 28 to 30). The purpose of the sermon is to condemn all relationship with the Moslems and especially the use of the Arabic language (fol. 21-23-25, 28r), to give moral regulations (fol. 25r-26) which often begin like those of Ammonas (Patr. or., t. XI, p. 458-471) by the words "Be on guard" (there is however no textual dependence). Devotion to the Blessed Virgin, in the church of the monastery where she appeared several times to Samuel, is also recommended at length (fol. 27-28). After that (fol. 28r), Gregory, bishop of El-Qais (or Kais), questions Samuel about the end times. So we have a writing composed in Coptic at the monastery of Qalamoun (or Kalamoun). None who have seen their language supplanted by that of conquerors, and especially the friends of Coptic, will be able to read without emotion the sentences on "the language of the ancestors", "the beautiful

Coptic language in which the Holy Spirit was often expressed by the mouth of the Spiritual fathers"; "the disappearance of the biographies of the saints", the abandonment "of the names of the saints to give foreign names to the children", the wronging of "those which are famous for their books, those whose Coptic language placed in their mouth the sweetness of honey and spread around them like the odour of perfumes because of their beautiful pronunciation of the Coptic language, and who gave up their language for Arabic."

⁶ This sermon is thus old, because Coptic was quickly supplanted. Gregory, bishop of Kais, is mentioned in the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria under five successive patriarchs who controlled the Jacobite church from 661 to 730, cf. *Patr. or.*, t. V, p. 9, 20, 22, 42, 49; the writing is thus placed at the beginning of the 8th century. ⁷ We may note the epithet given to Juvenal (Ioubenaios is written ouqualinos); Moukaukas, who is Cyrus, the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (cf. *Patr. or.*, I, 491), here named Kaleyrras: the name which corresponds to number 666 of Apocalypse, xiii, 18. is here Lasmarisu instead of Mamentios (Mamadanos in Pisentius), cf. R. Griveau, in *ROC.*, t. XIX (1914), p. 442. The apocalypse is related to that of Pisentius and to the source of this one: pseudo-Methodius; for example: "the king of the Greeks, in great fury, will come on the coast to block it", fol. 29r *Journal asiatique*, May-June 1917: [greek], p.456, 459. Al-Hefar is perhaps Gephura, *ibid.*, p.459, note 4, at least related to Theor, derived from Iathreb, *ibid.*, 460, n.1. -- "The town of the Egyptians named Babylon" is Babel (*Journal asiatique* p. 437), a name given to Cairo -- "The king of Abyssinia shall marry the daughter of the king of the Greeks", fol. 29v; it is the opposite in ps.Methodius, which subordinates all the empires to Abyssinia, p. 447. The peace and tranquillity shall last for 40 years, in the Arabic (fol. 29v) and 208 years in the Greek, p.437, cf. p.460. The arrival of the Huns is summarised in 4 lines in the Arabic; they soil the earth for only 5 months; in ps.Methodius (JA, loc.cit., p.438-440), they rule for 2 years and 8 months. According to the Arabic, the king of the Greeks shall rule at Jerusalem for 1 year and 6 months (fol. 29r) and according to ps.Methodius, for a week and a half (a week of years), p.440, note 6, cf. p. 434. -- The 10 Greek kings who shall march with antiChrist correspond to the 10 horns mentions in Daniel, 7:7, cf. JA, loc. cit., p.461. See also the letter of Pisuntios, *ROC*, t. XIX (1914), p.316-323.

⁸ The sign according to which children shall speak three months after they are born, fol. 29v, may be found in the Testamentum D.N.J.C. See our translation in the *Octateuque de Clement*, Paris, 1913, p.21, line 5. The author informs us at the end that he did not write the statements which Samuel kept secret with the bishop Anba Gregorius, because he was forbidden to do so. One may ask whether this refusal was not lifted later, and if this may not be the origin of the small apocalypse named Gorgorios (Gregory), of which M. J. Halevy has edited the Ethiopian version (*Les commandements du sabbat*, p. 210-219, Paris, 1902, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes*, fasc. 137), and of which there are still some Arabic manuscripts. Let us add that the apocalypse of Samuel was announced in his life (*Patrologia Orientalis* III, 408) where it is said, "that he will prophesy the coming of the nation of the Arabs"; and that the monastery of Qalamoun (Kalamoun) is described at length by Al-Makrizi, *ROC t. XIII* (1908), p. 44. Makrizi made Samuel live before the hegira.

⁹ We believe that we have shown, in this short note, that the work of M. Ziadeh is very interesting, first because it is the translation of a coptic document of the 8th century of which some fragments may have been found in the Fayoum, and also because it makes known to us the attitude of the patriotic jacobite copts towards the Arabic language (1); it is very important as a new link in the tradition of apocrypha belonging to ps. Methodius. I do not refer to the menial details of history from the jacobite perspective, but many will perhaps find that the most interesting is that of which I have not spoken, i.e. the very vivid image of the vexations of the Moslems (2), of some coptic customs (3), and of some abuses which were introduced among the Jacobites of Egypt. 1. Fol. 22v: "Do you think that there is for the heart a sadness greater than to see the Christians abandonning their sweet language to glorify that of the Arabs, as well as their names?"

¹⁰ 2. At the beginning of the hegira the Moslems found among the Jacobites precious auxiliaries, determined to revenge themselves upon the Greeks, but their alliance lasted only briefly; just so long as the stronger had need of the weaker. We have highlighted these episodes in "Un colloque du patriarche jacobite Jean avec l'emir des Agareens" (A dialogue of the Jacobite patriarch John with the emir of the Hagarians), *Journal Asiatique*, March-April, 1915, p.225-279. 3. For instance, fol. 21v, those who arrive late for the mass are informed of the chapter read in the evanglary, and read it by

themselves; fol. 23v, the end of June marked by the sun; fol. 27, the cult of the Holy Virgin at the monastery of Kalamoun.

THE APOCALYPSE

APOCALYPSE OF SAMUEL, SUPERIOR OF DEIR-EL-QALAMOUN.

¹[Translated in French by J. Ziadeh] (f. 20 r.) The Apocalypse of Samuel, the superior of Deir-el-Qalamoun. In the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God only; glory to Him. Amen. With the help of God, may He be blessed, we will begin to write a discourse of our holy father Anbâ Samuel, superior of Deir-el-Qalamoun. — May his prayer be with us! — Amen. ²He gave in this (discourse) some accounts of the events which will take place in the land of Egypt under the reign of the Arab hegira. Gregorius, bishop of El-Qais, who had come to visit him and obtain the cure of a disease which he had, the bishop himself, assisted in this discourse. As for Apollo, the disciple of the holy father Anba Samuel, he awaits a great profit from this discourse for he who will read it, will observe it and do what is written there. When the Arab emigrants had seized Egypt, they were very few: but they multiplied their benefits towards the Christian people. At this point in time our brothers the monks started to discuss this subject with the father Anbâ Samuel, asking him whether their domination on the land of Egypt would be prolonged for a long time or not. And the saint, in the presence of the bishop, gave a sigh from the bottom of his heart and said: "Blessed be God, who has established the eras in fixing a limit for them, who exalts a nation and lowers another, who dethrones and raises kings. Do not believe, my beloved children, that this nation is agreeable to the eyes of God because He has delivered this land into their hands; because the wisdom of God is unsearchable for humans and there is no-one who can know the works of the Creator nor the end of the times but Him alone. — I tell you, my children, of the many evils that the heretics have committed against the Orthodox in the time of father Dioscorus, and which they still do nowadays, and of those which they did against our father Dioscorus himself: they exiled him to remote islands.

³(f. 20 v.) Irotarius sat down on his [patriarchal] seat while he was living and he did many injustices against the Christians, deporting the bishops, organising to massacre the Orthodox and demolish the monasteries. "As for Ouquiliânos, the false monk" [lit. whose tonsure is false], I keep silent myself about this, because I cannot report and describe the ill deeds which he did

within Jerusalem neither his massacres of the Orthodox, nor to describe either what this harmful man did [lit. this harmful form] whom we should not name, Kabeyros el-Mouqaouqiz, iniquitous in his actions, he, who oppressed the Orthodox, who drove them out from one place to another, putting all his application to pursue the father Benjamin: he sharpened his teeth against him and said: "I need to find the man with the big beard so that I can order that he is stoned!" This is why God heard the prayer of his elect who cried to him and sent to them, according to their request, this nation which seeks gold and not the religious profession.

⁴For myself, I prefer silence, my dear children, and I do not want to describe to you what the Christians will suffer from the Arab emigrants during their reign. May God make it that you do not recall their name in the middle of us today, for this is an arrogant race whom we should not name in the assemblies of the saints. Ah! this name! that of the Arabs, and their domination, contrary to our laws! these haughty kings who will reign in their day! these sorrows which will affect future generations because they will act like them! In truth, my children, the angel of the Lord has revealed to me hard times and sorrows without number to which this arrogant nation will subject the children of men. (f. 21 r.) I do not want to speak about these Arabs nor of their reign, hard to bear, nor of the end of time, following what is written, "It is not given to you to know dates and times, because the Father has kept these things in his power alone." But I will tell you some details in the interest of your souls; and what I say to you will infallibly happen in future ages, when the commandments of God are abandoned. But any man of a vigilant soul will take care not to imitate the conduct of the Arabs and his soul will be saved.

⁵Do you see, my children, this nation so small in number? They will multiply and become a very great people. Many other nations will join them, and they will multiply like the sands of the sea and like grasshoppers. Their power will be consolidated and they will extend their domination over several countries, to the East and the West. They will capture Jerusalem on several occasions. Many other peoples will mingle with them: Hebrews, Greeks, Edessans, inhabitants of Jordan, inhabitants of Amid, Chaldaeans, Persians, Berbers, those of Sind and India. They will increase their power very much and will be at peace with the Christians with a short time. After that, the Christians will be jealous of their way of life: they will eat and drink with

them; they will play like them; following their example they will be dissipated and commit adultery. Like them, they will take concubines and will soil their bodies in contact with the women of the hegira, rebels and impure; they will lie down with males like them: they will steal, swear, and do injustice; they will hate each other and will deliver each other to merciless nations; much vain speech which should not be said will come out of their mouths. They will represent (f. 21 v.) the image of God, i.e. the man, in several ways: They will call some pigs, [others] dogs, [others] asses. In the same way also, Christian women will give up the good habits of decent women, to take the dress of blasphemy, to become useless, bad in their conduct, dissolute in their intentions. They also will say blasphemous words and from their mouths will go forth speech that nobody should utter; because they will blaspheme against God. They will even end up saying without fear: "I will act against the God who created me..."

6 Woe! twice woe! What can I say about these deeds, which will excite the anger of a perfect God? Without the mercy of God and the forbearance of his spirit, He would grant no more delay to the world. Truly, in those times, the Christians will be full of iniquity, idle towards the things of God, distracted by their business. In that time they will love to drink and eat; they will be devoted to pleasures more than to the love of God; they will attend the [meeting] places where one drinks and eats more than they will attend the church of God. They will be sitting in the streets, concerned about the things of the world, in no way concerned with the Church. It will not come to their minds [in the soul] that the readings are being made without them present: they will not even hear the Gospel. It is only at the end of the mass that they will present themselves at church. Some of them will do what is not allowed in dealing with their business to the point of missing the sermons. They will present themselves then at the church: they will take the Evangelary, will get informed about the chapter which was read and get alone into a corner to read it: they will thus make their own law. (f. 22 r. Woe! twice woe! What shall I say, my children, about those times and the idleness which will overcome the Christians?

7 In that time they will deviate much from uprightness and will imitate those of the hegira in their deeds; they will give the names of the latter to their children, leaving aside the names of the Angels, Prophets, of the Apostles and the Martyrs. They will commit yet another act, at which your

hearts would be racked with pain, if I told it to you, knowingly they will give up the beautiful Coptic language in which the Holy Spirit has often spoken by the mouths of our spiritual fathers; they will teach their children, from their youth, to speak the language of the hegira and they will take pride in it. Even the priests and the monks themselves will also dare to speak Arabic and to take pride in it and that inside the sanctuary. ⁸ Woe! twice woe! my dear children. What can I say? In those times the readers in the church will understand neither what they read nor what they say because they will have forgotten their language, and they will truly be unfortunate, deserving of tears, because they will have forgotten their language and will have spoken the language of the hegira.

⁹ But woe to any Christian who teaches his son, from his youth, the language of the hegira, so making him forget the language of his ancestors, because he will be responsible for his transgression, as it is written: "parents will be judged for their sons. What shall I say about the laxity will say which will conquer the Christians: they will eat and drink inside the temple without fear; they will forget the fear of the sanctuary, it will be no longer respected in their eyes; its doors will be abandoned, and not even half of a clerk will be seen there, because (f. 22 v. they will neglect and will not fulfil the seven rites of the Church: you will see men in this time seeking the ranks of priesthood, whereas they do not deserve yet to be readers to read in front of the people. Many books will fall into disuse, because there will be among them no-one to deal with the books, their hearts being attracted by the foreign books. They will forget many of the martyrs because their biographies will disappear and will not be found any longer. The few biographies which are found, if they are read, many of the faithful will not understand because they will be ignorant of the language. In that time many churches will fall into ruin; they will be deserted on the eve of the festivals and the eve of Sunday too.

¹⁰ There will be no-one [among the Christians] able to read a book on an ambo, even the holy forty [books] intended for our salvation. You will not find anybody to do the reading to the people, to instruct them, because [the Christians] will have forgotten the language and will no longer understand what they read and will not [even] suspect this. Also the readers will not understand. In the same way also in Arsinoe, the great city which belongs to the Fayoum, as well as its districts, where the laws of Christ are. Those who are famous for their books, strong in the knowledge of God, those whose

Coptic language was equal in their mouth to the sweetness of honey, and spread around them like the odour of perfumes, because of their beautiful pronunciation of the Coptic language, all, in that time, will give up this language to speak the Arab language and take pride in it, to the point where they will no longer be able to be recognized as Christians; but on the contrary will be taken for Berbers. Those of the Sa'id (=Upper Egypt) who still know and speak the Coptic language will be scoffed at and insulted (f. 23 r. by the Christians their brothers who speak the Arabic language.

11 Woe, twice woe! How great the misery! how very grave the acts which will be carried out in those times by the Christians! In recounting these things to you my heart has truly suffered, my eyes have poured tears and my body has trembled much. Do you think that there is for the soul a pain greater than to see the Christians giving up their sweet language to take pride in that of the Arabs, as well as in their names? In truth I say to you, my children, that those who will give up the names of the Saints in order to give foreign names to their children, those who will act thus will be excluded from the blessing of the Saints; and whoever will dare to speak inside the sanctuary in the language of the hegira, that one will depart from the ordinances of our holy fathers. 12 In that time men will commit serious sins and there will be nobody to correct them, to instruct them, and to have pity on them, because they will all sin, their old men as well as their teachers. The father will learn the fault from his son without rebuking him and the woman will find good in her daughter that which is bad. Far from rebuking, she will fall into the sin with her, because the sin will no longer be a matter of remorse for the Christians, but on the contrary, they will find sweetness there, because they will remain without teachers. This is why they will add sins upon sins and there will be nobody to instruct them and to rebuke them. But each will pursue his own interests. The priest will not rebuke the sinner. He who is great will not instruct the little and the little one will not obey the great, because they will give up the laws of the Church and the rules of our holy fathers. They will go as far as suppressing the prescribed and recognized fasts. Those of them who fast will not complete their fast as they should because of their gluttony; they will encourage (f. 23 v. others to lunch with them, because each will have chosen a rule for himself according to his desires. There will be some who, from imitation and respect for men, will

break the fast before the time prescribed and before the shadow reaches the measurement which varies according to the month.

¹³ You will find them at church in a nonchalant and lazy manner of behaviour, discussing the vain things of the inundation, without reflecting, without remembering that the body of God is on the paten, that His blood is in the chalice on the altar. On the contrary, this terrible mystery will be to them like an amusement. If any of them is taken with zeal for God and goes as far as saying some word of instruction drawn from the canons, they will take him at once for an enemy and, like lions, they will open their mouths against him. ¹⁴ The women also will deliver themselves over to chatterings in the church, to negligence, without being rebuked by anyone, whereas the holy Apostle Paul said: "The women must keep silence with the church, and have the head covered. The priests themselves will know negligence and distraction; they will not obey wholesome doctrines any more. If any of them sets himself to pronounce some words of instruction, he will do so with negligence and without taking pity on the people; and in so doing they will excite against them the anger of God, because they will have deviated from the canons of the Church and the teaching of our spiritual fathers. And [God] will then deliver them to the domination and hatred of the Arab emigrants, who will make them undergo great losses, will crush them with very heavy taxes which they will be unable to endure. They will be thus reduced to poverty. The Arabs will spoil also all the works on the land because of the hardness of their yoke. They will cause the widows and the orphans (f. 24 r. great injury; they will insult the old men, will pursue the virgins, will attack them in their houses because of the taxes. They will scoff at the Christian religion and will have no regard for the priests nor for the monks; they will eat, drink and play inside the churches; without fear they will sleep with the women in front of the altar.

¹⁵ They will make the churches of God like stables for horses, attaching their horses and their beasts of burden to it. The powerful spirits which watch over the church will leave and go up from there to heaven when they see the ill deeds which this nation will do in the churches. They [the Arabs] will destroy many churches by razing them to the ground; they will transport their wood, their bricks, their stones and will build with them palaces and luxury dwellings. They will pull off the crosses from the churches. They will transform a great number of them into mosques for their use, because of

their pride and their hatred against the Christians. But the holy martyrs who will see these things being carried out in the places of their martyrdom, will bring to God their complaints against this nation while saying: "Lord, who are the honest judge, judge between us and this nation which carries out similar acts against our churches. Yes, God of kindness, enter into judgement with them and render to them according to their actions. At this point in time Jesus Christ, the Word of the Father and his only son will satisfy their hearts and will comfort them while saying: "Have patience, my dear and venerated ones, until their time is filled up. Their actions, of which you are witnesses, are because of the sins committed by my people, because they have rejected my commands and my ordinances in order to resemble this nation.

¹⁶ This is why it will dominate them until its time is done. The holy martyrs will cease their supplications then and will have patience until the end of the hegira. ¹⁷ So know, my children, (f. 24 v. that this nation will commit a great number of iniquities and injustices on the land of Egypt: its domination will be greatly consolidated, its yoke will press like iron and its people will multiply like grasshoppers; it will seize several countries which will undergo its domination, and its injustice will increase greatly in Egypt, so much so that the land will be ruined by it; they will eat, drink, amuse themselves; they will dress like husbands; they will praise themselves much while saying: "No nation will ever dominate us. They will subject the ground to the land register and hit it with taxes; from this will result a huge cost to live on the land; a great number will perish of hunger and will remain on the ground without anyone to give them the last burial. [It will also happen] that those who will lie down for the night in their own houses, will each find, on awaking in the morning, three ushers at their door, each of them claiming some kind of tax. At this point in time a great number of important cities, regions, hamlets and ports will be destroyed, and this land of Egypt, rich in trees and in gardens, will become a salted land, wooded and sterile, because of the multiplicity of the taxes levied on the country by the Arabs; because they form an arrogant nation, little inclined to mercy. Their yoke will weigh like iron. They will molest their subjects in their greed for gold:

¹⁸ they will make a census of the citizens, great and small, they will inscribe their names on the registers and will claim the capitation tax from them. The inhabitants will then sell their clothing and their effects to discharge the taxes, [and their masters] will lay hands on all their possessions for

reasons which they will invent, and by which they will oppress them. The population transport themselves from one city and country to another, seeking peace without finding it. While they are at the mercy of all these difficulties, they will remain in the blindness of their heart, without understanding the correction of the Lord, without repenting and seeking the teaching (f. 25 r. of the Church. But on the contrary, they will add to the number of their sins, because the pride of the Christians will increase much in those times. They will push themselves up, some above the others, they will complain about each other; they will mock the words of the Holy Books, which are from the Spirit of God. Even the priests, the monks and the ministers of the holy altar will do similar things; they will praise themselves for it while saying: "We have more merit than our fathers. They will forget what is written, that pride in a man is an abomination before the Lord. When they fulfil these acts, even then they will be dominated by this nation, which will make them suffer much, following what is written:

¹⁹ "If they scorn my laws, and do not observe my commandments, I will correct their fault with the stick and with the rod their idleness. So pray, my children, that what is thus written in the Psalms may not be fulfilled against us; let us beg the Lord that he will not abandon the his people in the end, but may He convert his anger into mercy and His indignation into benevolence, that in that time He will turn his regard towards His Christian people, that He will remember His bride the Church, that He will send his celestial assistance to them, that He will not deal with them according to their sins and that He will not treat them according to their iniquities. And now I recommend to you, my dear children, and I humbly beg you to recommend those who will come after you until the end of the ages, to take perfect care of their souls and not to let a Christian speak the Arabic language in these places, because this there is material for a great judgement: many indeed will dare to speak the language of the hegira at the altar. Woe, twice woe to these! as I heard myself from an old man dedicated to the service of God, clothed with the Spirit, accomplished in holiness. He answered me when I questioned him about the kings of the hegira: "Look, my son Samuel, and understand what I say to you: At the time when (f. 25 v.

²⁰ the Christians will dare to speak the language of the hegira near the altar, by which they will blaspheme against the Holy Spirit and the Holy Trinity, in that time woe to the Christians, woe and seven times woe!" ²¹ If I set

myself, my children, to tell you the words of this holy old man, my discourse would be prolonged too much; but I won't, because what we have said is sufficient. Understand, he who has a heart able to understand! He who keeps himself from the works of the Arabs and does not imitate them will be able to save his soul." When the holy old man had explained these discourses, he turned to Anba Apollo and all the brothers, saying to us: "You have just heard with your ears something of the trial which will fall on future generations who will dare to modify the holy canons and the wholesome doctrines of our fathers: I have made known to you the trial that they will undergo. You also, my dear children, be on guard and be vigilant, because happiness and blessings are for he who is on guard and takes care. Now, my dear children, be on guard and take care, because happiness and the blessings are with those which act according to the apostolic regulations. At every moment let us apply ourselves, my dear children, to flee the suggestions of the demon and to not follow the inclinations of our hearts and our bodies, because the demon misleads the heart and throws into it its ideas and its inclinations. So let us flee our inclinations and Christ will fill us with the blessings of His eternal kingdom. — Note: Be on guard, my dear children, against negligence, because it is the root of all troubles and it sprouts a very bad crop. Be on guard, my children, and flee concupiscence, because it darkens the intelligence, prevents a man from understanding the commands of God, makes him foreign to the Holy Spirit and prevents him from waking up to the knowledge of God.

22 (f. 26 r.) Be on guard, my dear children, against worrying too much, because it makes a man foreign to the blessings of Paradise; be on guard against impurity, because it irritates God and his angels; be guard against pride, because it is the source of all evils and it is this which moves a man away from God; be on guard against vanity and seeking after authority, because these two failings spoil all the effort of a man and make him lose it in the eyes of God. Be on guard, my dear children, and do not be pusillanimous in the practice of virtue, because he who is pusillanimous, who has a weak heart [who does not have courage], who instead gives way to idleness, fills himself with every sin and all. If you are pusillanimous, if you strive with little courage, you will neglect your rule and you will become lazy when it is a matter of prayers and work...

23 But be like lions [lit. be like the hearts of lions], reject every thought which opposes you and flee from any idleness of the body, because idleness grows like ryegrass. Abstain from adultery, because it has made victims and precipitated them very low and those which it threw into hell will never return. Be on guard, my dear children, do not show affection for a child nor a baby and do not enter where there is a woman, because the flint by contacting the lighter makes fire spout out and burns many fields. Be on guard, my dear children, and flee all the ill deeds which precipitate a man into hell and deliver him to suffering; but do good works which lead to the kingdom of heaven: these are: purity, humility, prayer, fasting, ascetic works, patience, endurance, forbearance, charity, benevolence, sweetness, fraternity, acceptance of sorrow, humiliation, humility. Throw (f. 26 v. far from you any idleness, any anger and any weakness, because it is only at the price of great humiliations that our fathers finished their race, suffering hunger, thirst, absolutely abstaining from drinking any kind of wine, because the disorders of concupiscence are born in the members of a man from the excessive use of wine: wine excites concupiscence while making it improper and it is that which damages the flesh of the body. And in general the excessive use of wine saddens the Holy Spirit and our fathers knew the number of griefs caused by wine since the beginning. So abstain.

24 But in small quantity, it can be employed in the diseases of the body; because if the great ascetic Timothy was authorized to take a little wine because of his stomach and his many infirmities, so will I do then for those who are in the effervescence of youth and who are often prone to great sufferings. In truth, my children, it is wise to be reserved in all things and humiliation is a great profit; because he who humiliates his heart saves it, makes it come to the port of salvation and will be satisfied with the blessings of the Heavenly Jerusalem. And now, I exhort you with much care and authority to embrace and put into practice all the counsels that I gave you and all the rules which were transmitted to you. Recommend your children to prescribe to those who will come after them until the end of future centuries, that they take care, and that they follow jealously the works suitable for the monastic vocation, so that they can deserve the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. Because there will come a time when many monks will be dissipated and amusing themselves, and because of them the world will blaspheme against the monastic state; they will throw far from them the canons and the

regulations.... By those who are clothed with the Holy Spirit, in the name of the great Antony, (f. 27 r.

25 in the name of Apa Macarius, Anba Pacomius, and Apa Shenute, they whose prayers make the land of Egypt thrive, they who established the canons and made them compulsory in the monastic state. As for us, we have continued their good works, and we have heard and preserved their holy teachings. As for you, my dear children, observe all that I have just told you as well as the fundamental monastic rule that your spiritual fathers established for you. Recommend to those who come after you until the century of future centuries to observe all that I have said to you today, according to the word of the holy Apostle Paul: "Conform yourself to me as I am conformed to Christ. So you, my dear children, you conform to me and follow my tracks, as I have followed the tracks of my holy fathers. If you observe what I have just said to you, then the Mother of God will intercede for you with her Son (because you live in a land which belongs to her), as I have often noted myself. I have seen this with my own eyes in this church, I have heard it with my own ears, saying: "This here is my residence, and because I liked it, I remain there with my servant Samuel and all his children who will come after him and will attach themselves to his counsels."

26 So you must, my dear children, perfectly fulfil all the ordinances, such as the whole monastic constitution. If you do this, you will deserve to see the Virgin Mother of God, Our lady Mary, as I have seen myself, and heard her promise many privileges to those who will live in this desert, who will visit it and come there to seek blessing and forgiveness of sins. 27 Blessed are you, my children, since you have merited to live in the land of the most pure Virgin Our Lady Mary, to sing and bless God in this church which the Mother of God herself chose to serve as her (f.27 v. residence. — Blessed is he who takes steps to come to this church with faith: I say to you, my dear children, that the Mother of God Our Lady Mary will ask her Son to approve his repentance and to remit all his sins. Blessed those who offer a sacrifice in this holy church; because I say to you that the Mother of God will intercede for him with God, so that He receives his sacrifice in the Heavenly Jerusalem. He who binds himself by a vow towards this sanctuary, if he hastens to discharge it, I say to you that Our Lady the Virgin Mary will accept his vow and will quickly listen favourably to his request.

28 Also he who writes out this holy discourse, who places it in the church, he who reads it for the profit of the souls of those which listen to it, preserves it and conforms their conduct to what is written there, escaping from the way of error, and thus saving their souls, I say to you that Our Lady the Virgin Mary will ask her beloved Son to tear up the book of his sins and to register his name in the book of life. — So now, my dear children, if you observe well what I have recommended to you, the Virgin Mary will intercede for you to her beloved Son and He will put your enemies under your feet and you will tread on the head of the monster (Satan) and you will shatter all the power of the enemy. If you observe well what I have advised you, kings and the governors will offer presents to you, the archontes will render honours to you and the Berbers will be subjected to you. Apply yourself with all your power, my dear children, to do with courage and at their hours, the prayers which are prescribed to you for the day, and to be faithful at the meeting for night prayer. Guard yourselves from modifying the constitution which I have established for you, in order not to expose yourselves to a terrible judgement. Observe and observe again, my dear children, all that I have prescribed you in order to be children of the kingdom of heaven.

29 Guard yourselves from talking during the mass, because then it is a great fault. In spite of the chants carried out in the church, and the reading (f.28 r.) made for the salvation of souls, some talk together, but know that he who talks in the church will be rejected by God and his Angels; the mother of God will be irritated against him; his prayer will be improper, and he will be held to answer for his disobedience. — May nobody do things in the church if he is not [one of those who are consecrated for it]. Prescribe to your children to recommend to those who will come after them until the end of future ages, that nobody should speak inside the choir [lit. altar] the language of the hegira; because he who acts thus will deserve the curse. — See, my dear children, that which I spoke to you; he who listens and observes will be saved."

30 When he had said these things, we wanted to speak to our holy father Anba Samuel, while the assistants were listening to him; our father the bishop, Anba Gregorius, burst into bitter tears, to the point of wetting his clothing with his tears, because of the events which were to take place. Then the Father Anba Samuel answered him: "This is only one small punishment by which God will punish the generation of those times. But if His vengeance

on the sins which they will have committed came on them, who could remain before [God]? According to what is written: "If you are on guard against iniquity, Lord, Lord, who will be able to remain before you? As it is also written: "It is good for me that you humiliated me, so that I can observe your commandments. and again: "the Lord punished me very severely, but He did not deliver me to death. So he who accepts the correction of the Lord with thanks and embarrassment then, who acknowledges his sins and does not return there a second time, he will be saved: he who accepts the correction of the Lord with thanks and patience, when it happens to him because of Christ, will be saved according to the word of the holy Gospel: "He who perseveres until the end will be saved. As for he who is impatient and doubts, woe to him forever. Indeed, many of the Christians in that time will disavow Christ because of the short time [of trial] which will pass away.

³¹ Some will disavow Him because of the difficulties which they will have and because (f. 28 v. they will not find anybody to instruct them nor to comfort them in their sorrows: they will be deprived of the help of instruction, many others will fall because of the preponderance of fashionable things to which their spirits will stick, without anybody opposing them; these will fall. Others, merely because of the pleasure of eating and of drinking will fall; others, because of idleness of the body and because of the error of sin. — Then, their brothers and their parents will not weep for them and will not sadden themselves on their fate, but on the contrary, they will find in them an object for their vanity: they will eat and drink with them: and after that, they will envy them, will imitate them, and like them they will disavow Christ. Woe to those which are thus, because their residence in hell will be in a deep pit forever. Below: "My holy father," said Anba Gregorius to him, "do you believe that the event seems to be delayed? and until when will this trial last and the domination of this race over the land of Egypt?" — The holy Anba Samuel answered him:

³² My father Anba Gregorius, nobody knows the disposition of dates nor their vicissitudes, except the Creator alone, but if the Christians repent and give up their ill deeds, fulfil the canons of the church and maintain them with vigilance and uprightness before God, then God will spare them these sorrows: but if they do not repent, these (troubles) will remain on the land until the end of the domination of the hegira, until the last of the kings of the hegira. The last of the kings of the hegira will bear the name of LAS-

MARINI [or LASMARISU]; his name in numbers gives six hundred and sixty six; let him understand who is able to understand [lit. he who has a heart]. He will issue from two nations. During his reign the land will be troubled: his clothing will have the colour of gold; he will have a fierce soul and will deliver a man to death for one dinar: in his time there will be no peace; in his face there will be not a trace of life; he will forget the fear of God, of which he will have not even (f. 29 r. a memory. He will not follow the ordinances of his father, because he will be an Ishmaelite, nor the profession of his mother, because she will be a Frank: he will love drunkenness, he will be bloodthirsty: under his rule men will undergo many sorrows: he will massacre a great number of them by surprise;

³³ men will have a great difficulty in those times, and will be awaiting the divine mercy in the middle of the many tribulations which will be frequently inflicted on them by the sons of Ishmael. After this trial, God will remember his so greatly humiliated people and will send against them [the Arabs] the king of the Greeks, in great fury, on the coast, because the archangel Michael will appear to him in a vision and will say to him: "Arise and plunder in your turn, because the Lord has given you all the land," and so he will rule over all the land, it will also happen that the king of Abyssinia will achieve great devastations in the domain of their ancestors on the East coast. Those of the hegira will flee to the deserts where they were before; they will flee from the East before the king of the Abyssinians and the king of the Greeks will strike at the sons of Ishmael and will encircle them in the valley of al-Hefar, the place of their ancestors; he will make them perish from the West and will make them drown. Terror and great fear will seize the sons of Ishmael and all their followers. God will deliver them to the king of the Greeks, who will make them pass to the edge of the sword and will despoil them, because they oppressed the land.

³⁴ This is why, by a just decree, God will deliver them to the king of the Greeks who will make them undergo trials, in truth hundred times greater than those which they caused. They will be in poverty, misery, sorrow, in embarrassment, [they will be subjected] to the sword. The king of the Greeks will enter the land of Egypt, will set fire to the city of the Egyptians, named Babloun, because it is there that the sons of Ishmael carried out their abominations; he will destroy the land of al-Djonf and will subject the sons of Ishmael to the sorrow of slavery and all kinds of sufferings. ³⁵ (f. 29 v.) Those of

them who survive will flee to the deserts of their fathers. — The king of Abyssinia will marry the daughter of the king of the Greeks and there will be such a pacification, such a peace and such a harmony on all the face of the land for forty years that nothing similar will ever have been seen on the land. There will be great joy for the Christians who will publicly open the doors of their churches, will build houses, will plant vines, will raise high palaces and will be delighted in the Lord their God. Woe to those who, in that time, will bear the name of the hegira." After the forty years, here are the signs which concern the wicked king: The sources of water and the rivers will be transformed into blood, and will remain so for an hour, their water will be undrinkable. The second sign: babies will speak at the age of three months after their birth. The third sign: when you make the harvest of the fields, blood will spout out of the ground. At this point in time the wise will flee to the mountains; because after that, the race contained beyond the sea on the coast of the Arabs will appear, they are Hagog and Magog.

³⁶ The earth will tremble before them and the men will flee into the mountains, into caves, into cemeteries and they will die of hunger and thirst. This race will soil the ground for five months; and after that the Lord will send his angel who will exterminate them in one hour. The king of the Greeks will dominate over the land one year and six months: he will make Jerusalem his residence. After that, God will put an end to his reign over the land and then the hideous one will appear, who is the false Messiah, doing many signs and wonders with vain ostentation. He will even go, if he can, so far as misleading the elect, according to what is (f. 30 r.) written. Ten of the Greek kings will take service with him and will be with him in the same council, they will confirm his domination. Blessed is he who will fight against him and will overcome him, because he will reign eternally with Christ in the future age."

³⁷ All these things, I heard them from the mouth of the holy Anba Samuel, I, Apollo his disciple, and I reported them to you, my brothers. As for what he said in secrecy to the bishop Anba Gregorius, I did not write it, because our Father Anba Samuel commanded me not to write it. This discourse and the present narratives, I did not want to write them for the brothers who know them to have heard them from the mouth of our Father Anba Samuel: but it is for future generations that I write them, according to the command of our Father Anba Samuel. So he who listens to them and

puts them into practice will be saved; he on the contrary who disobeys will have the reward which he deserves, he will be treated according to his disobedience. And now, my brothers, let us do what is appropriate for repentance, in order to find mercy and a good reception at the day of the equitable judgement, where every man will find a reward in harmony with his works, whether good or bad. And the most clement Lord will make us worthy to find grace, and remission for our sins, by the prayers of our holy father Anba Samuel and by the intercession of the Mother of God, ever-virgin! — Glory to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and in the ages of ages. — Amen. Amen.

³⁸ End of the holy discourse in the peace of the Lord. Amen. Amen. 1. (1) Deir; convent, monastery. 2. (1) Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, d. 454, successor of saint Cyril in 444, adopted the heresies of Eutyches and caused a schism to which the council of Chalcedon [451] put an end by deposing him. He was exiled to Gouges. 3. (2) Acts, 1: 7. 4. (1) the Arab verb forms here an abusive phrase, difficult to render: I will do all against God. 5. (1) A phrase of vernacular Arabic for saying that there will be nobody. 6. (1) An allusion to the old way of distinguishing the various moments of the day based on the variation of the shadow from the sun. 7. (1) Frank, designating all that is not Eastern. 8. (1) We have also examined the mss. 1785 (fol. 75-97) and 6147 (fol. 20-38). According to this, the last king who will reign over the hegira will bear the name of their prophet and the figure of his name is 666. His Arab name is Mohammed [cf. ROC, t. XIX, 1914, p. 1121.

³⁹ Additional notes on the text. Arietta Papaconstantinou, "They shall speak the Arabic language and take pride in it": reconsidering the fate of Coptic after the Arab conquest, *Museon* (2007) p. 273-299. A new study is Jos van Lent, *Coptic apocalyptic texts from the Islamic period*, (PhD thesis), Leiden: 2007. (from p.273 n.1) There are at least 15 manuscripts of the work extant today. One of these is in Karshuni (Mingana syr. 232, ca. 1550 AD), which Jos van Lent believes may originally come from Deir al-Suryan. In his thesis, van Lent gives an annotated translation based on Vat. ar. 158, the oldest securely dated manuscript (1356 AD). (from p. 274, n. 4) The Arabic word usually vocalised as hegira can also be vocalised as hajara, i.e. "Hagarenes". (from p. 274, n. 8) An ambon is a pulpit. (p. 276) van Lent understands the reference to seven rites as seven 'ranks' (from p. 275, n.10)

⁴⁰ The "forty holy" is the days of Lent, as van Lent says, not some forty holy books as Ziadeh surmised. (from p. 276, n. 12) Berbers may also be read as barbarians. The Life of Samuel contains many references to raids by the former, but the latter may fit the sense better. (from p. 276, n. 13) The text was written in Coptic in the 10th century as a reaction against the move of the Coptic Patriarchate to Cairo and the episcopal clergy at the Caliphal court, and against the rise in literature in Arabic, such as that by Severus ibn Muqaffa, which the need to engage with the ruling class consequently entailed. (p. 298-9) John Iskander, *Islamization in Medieval Egypt: the Copto-Arabic "Apocalypse of Samuel"* as a source for the social and religious history of the medieval Copts, *Medieval Encounters* 4 (1998) p. 219-227. The word given as 'Greeks' by Ziadeh is 'Rum' or Romans. (p. 221)

⁴¹ J. R. Zaborowski, *Medieval Encounters* 14 (2008) 15-40. The transliteration of the names should be Antony, Apa Makarius, Anba Pachomius and Apa Shenute (p. 24-25, n. 34) The 'forty' may be the Forty Virgins martyred with St. Damiana. The Arabic is very poor here and open to other interpretations, such as "There will be no-one among them who reads a book on the ambo, not even the holy Forty." (p. 31 n. 62)

The Coptic Apocalypse of Daniel

TRANSLATED BY ROGER PEARSE

about AD 1187 or later

A Coptic vision in the name of Daniel, with beasts, kingdoms and the last days. It dates from the time of the Crusades. This is Roger Pearse's English from Frédéric Macler's French translation.

THE FOURTEENTH VISION OF DANIEL

1. In the third year of Cyrus the Persian, who captured Babylon, a word was revealed to Daniel, whose name is Balthasar. This word is true. I, Daniel, fasted for twenty one days until the evening; I had not eaten meat, I had not drunk wine, I had not anointed myself with oil. 2. It happened, as I was on the bank of the Tigris, that this was revealed to me; I looked; and the four winds of heaven were blowing towards the great sea. 3. I saw four very frightening animals rising from the river. 4. The first animal resembled a bear, having wings like an eagle. I saw as I waited that it flew with its wings; a human heart was given to it and it stood on its feet. 5. The second animal resembled human flesh; excessively horrible, it stood to one side. I watched until three quarters of its face were broken and the fourth quarter remained firm. I looked at it until its teeth were torn out of its mouth.

6. The third animal resembled a panther; it had wings, four heads, devouring with speed and scattering what remained. 7. The fourth animal which I saw resembled a lion, an animal much more terrible than all the animals which had been before it. Power and great force were given to it; its hands were of iron, its nails of bronze; devouring, chewing, crushing with its feet what remained. I saw ten horns which came out from its head: I saw also another small horn, which came out beside these ten horns. And great power and a remarkable form were given to it. I saw four different (horns) which arose on its left, then four others which arose after all these; each of them was different from the others, and, between them all, they made nineteen

(horns). 8. And I heard a voice which said to me: "Daniel, do you understand what you saw?" But I said: "How can I understand, if nobody guides me?"

9. I looked and I saw an angel of God standing on my right. Its wings were extremely bright. I was afraid and I fell to the ground. The angel seized me, made me stand on my feet and said to me: "Stand on your feet, so that I can proclaim to you what will happen in the last days. 10. The four animals which you saw are four kingdoms. The animal that you saw, similar to a bear, is the king of Persia. He will possess the land for five hundred fifty-five (555) years. Then he will perish with his kingdom; he will not be powerful for always. 11. The second animal that you saw, similar to human flesh, it is the king of the Romans: he will seize the land as if by iron; he will extend himself over it; he will dominate by his armies as far as the land of the Ethiopians, and he will reign over it nine hundred and eleven years. But he will not possess the capital of the kingdom, until many days are completed.

12. The third animal which you saw, who resembled a panther, it is the king of the Greeks. He will reign over it for a thousand years and thirty days; but his reign will not last. 13. The fourth animal which you saw, who resembles a lion, is the king of the sons of Ishmael. He will reign for a long time over the land and will be very powerful during many days. This realm will be of the race of Abraham and of the slave of Sara, the wife of Abraham. All the cities of the Persians, the Romans and the Greeks will be destroyed; nineteen kings of this race among the sons of Ishmael will reign over the land; they will reign until the time of their end. 14. The tenth of their kings will be like a prophet, the number of his name is 399. He will practise justice, will give bread to the famished, clothing to those which are naked. He will free those who are slaves. His mercy will spread over the whole land, and his justice up to heaven.

15. The eleventh of their kings will practise iniquity over all the land; he will ruin the old works. He will persecute those which are on the land, so that nobody is found who lives there or remains there. All men will groan for forty-two months. If the God of heaven treats him with indulgence, his reign will last forty months. 16. The reign of the twelfth of their kings will consequently be strengthened by the judgements of his mouth. He will carry out malicious actions in the land, so much that men will be astonished by what he did. There will be many wars during his reign. At the end of the time, a king will thoroughly disturb the kingdom of Ismaelites for one hun-

dred and forty-seven years. In the hundred and tenth year of his reign, he will have a war with the Ethiopians. The Ismaelites will reign over them, until they have despoiled the city of the kingdom, which is Souban. They will send messengers to ask for peace; they will give them money and gold in great quantity, a tribute will be paid to them in Ethiopia.

17. The thirteenth of them will not live in this kingdom at all, and they will not fear him. His reign will be of a few days. 18. The fourteenth of their kings will receive gold and money in great quantity and he will judge the land with equity. He will engage in war with Lower Egypt, so that Egypt is in sorrow and groaning. The Ethiopians will not be subjected at all to him, they will not pay him tribute. In those days there will be war in the land of the Romans. The Ethiopians will make war with the southernmost regions of Egypt; they will plunder the boroughs and all the cities of lower Egypt, until they arrive at the town of Cleopatra that she built herself in Upper Egypt, which city is Schmoun. After these things, the king of Syria will learn of it, he will fear the end because the war is approaching him. In the end, his reign will be established and he will enjoy a happy existence.

19. Then a child will arise among the Israelites will rise; this is the fifteenth of their kings. In his heart, he will be hard like iron; he will extend his sword to the Romans; his right hand will be on the Ethiopians. His face will be double (=cheating) and his language will be double (=crafty). During the days of his reign, there will be a great disorder over all the land, and his word will be violent like fire. The Ethiopians will bring gifts of gold to him, of silver, of pearls, and he will impose his work on everyone. He will make several nations captive in order to conscript them; throughout all his reign, there will not be enough bread; there will be no peace as long as he will reign, and in his time carnage will be frequent. 20. As for the sixteenth of their kings, there will be no war in his kingdom, and he himself will not fight with anybody, and he will be granted a long time (which he will spend) in peace, and his reign will pass in uprightness.

21. As regards the seventeenth of their kings, a war will break out between him and his nation; it is him whose name makes the number 666. He will elevate from his nation a man who will make war for him; he will pursue him as far as Egypt with the riches of its kingdom. He will neglect his nation and its great people and will scatter riches in public places and highways. While moving in lower Egypt with his riches, he will go into Upper

Egypt on the side of the North, with the intention to plunder Souban, the city of the Ethiopians, with the remainder of its riches. But a man of his own nation will kill him in the southernmost regions of lower Egypt, and will take what remains to him of his riches. 22. The eighteenth of their kings, at the beginning of his reign, will work great evils, for one thousand, two hundred and sixty days. He will wage war in the western countries, and he will gain the victory until the day of his death.

23. Then among them a child will arise, who is his son. This one is the nineteenth of their kings. He will be the child of a double race, because his father is an Israelite, his mother is Roman. There will be war in Egypt and Syria for twenty one months. Their swords will fall on themselves in this war. This is the king whose name makes the number 666; he will be called by these three names: Mametios, Khalle and Sarapidos. Being a child, he will reign in order to do much evil. He will order all the Jews which are in all places to gather in Jerusalem. All the land will be disturbed during his reign, until any man can be sold for a single dinar. He is without decency and he will forget the fear of God. He will not remember the law of Ishmael his father, nor of his mother, who is Roman; he will be arrogant, continuously drunk; he will make a great number of those who eat at his table die by poisoned beverages, and in these days there will be great devastations. He will free Syria and the territory of Jews, and will torment the East and Egypt. He will establish carriers of letters in Egypt. Two and three times in only one year, the East will be against itself in this reign which will be the nineteenth. He will seek neither justice, nor truth, but he will seek gold all the time. He will establish managers in the regions of Africa, and a great quantity of soldiers. War will break out between him and them; they will destroy the multitude which is with him; he will be established in the regions of Africa, with what will remain of his troops, for several years, and he will not overcome it (Africa). Then a foreign nation will rise against him; it is called Pitourgos (the Turk); it will make war on him. Sarapidos will dominate over many Romans, over Pentapolis, over the Medes; from them all he will take a tribute, will command their cities and will plunder the city which he built, and regions that his father had gathered..

The Turk will prepare for war to remove the kingdom from the hands of Sarapidos; hitherto Sarapidos remained at home. He was looking for spoils, because Sarapidos had great riches before his eyes, gold, silver, all kinds of

precious stones, and desirable utensils of every kind. But it will be proclaimed to him that the Turk has made himself Master of all Syria and his borders, and he will go out in great disorder with all his troops; he will leave all the water-skins, will not carry anything with him; but he will have a heart of an animal, reflecting and knowing not what to do. Then, when he flees, going up Egypt, the Turk will precede him with his troops. They will both land with their troops, they will fight until blood runs in floods. The Turk is of Roman race. There will be war at Eschmoun the city, until the water of the river is changed into blood because of the great quantity of those wounded to death. No-one will be able to drink the water any more. Many men will die by the sword, uncountable. Those who remain will plunder their own country from where they left. The Turk will make Sarapidos perish, in order to remove his kingdom from him, for fear he will not obtain the kingdom of the Ishmaelites; but this is here the end of their number.

24. Then the king of the Romans will rise up against them, he will destroy them by the edge of the sword in the middle of the Ishmaelites in the territory of their fathers in the desert. The Ishmaelites will be governed always by the Romans; the Romans will dominate over Egypt for forty years. 25. Then two nations will rise, by the name of Gog and Magog; they will shake the ground for several days; their number is as great as the grains of sand. 26. Then Antichrist will appear who will deceive many of them. When he is strengthened, he will seduce even the elect. He will kill the two prophets Enoch and Elias, so that for three and a half days they will be dead in the public places of the great town of Jerusalem. 27. Then the Ancient of Days will bring them back to life. It is He whom I see coming with the clouds from Heaven, similar to a son of man. His power is an eternal power and His reign will have no end. It is he which will put Antichrist to death and all the multitude which is with him. There will be misfortune then in truth to any soul who will live in that time over all the land, because there will be iniquity, a great affliction and groanings; but the salvation of man is between the hands of God in Heaven. This is the end of the speech."

28. The angel said to me: "Daniel, Daniel, conceal these discourses, seal them up until the time when they will be fulfilled, because that is the end of all." I, Daniel, I arose, I put a seal to the discourse, and sealed them. I will glorify God, the father of all things and the lord of the universe, He who knows the dates and times. To him be glory and power forever. Amen. [Con-

densed footnotes] 1. This name of Balthasar is indifferently given to Daniel and to the last king of Babylon. In the Hebrew text, they are distinct one from the other. The king is named Belshazar and Daniel Belteshazar; the LXX caused confusion by rendering these two words as Belthasar (cf. Dan., i, 7, et v, i). 2. The nineteen horns undoubtedly denote the nineteen kings of the race of the sons of Ishmael, i.e. the fourteen Fatimids, plus a dynasty of five kings, either Tulunids, or Ikhshidids. In the Syriac Apocalypse of Esdras (*Revue sémitique*, t. II, p. 334 and 335), the animal, a snake, has successively twelve horns on the head, nine on the tail, a large horn on the tail, which raises two small horns with its point; and the author takes care to refer the reader to the revelation of God touching the nine horns (cf. IV Esdras, xii, 11).

3. None of the dates given in our Apocalypse are exact; they are pure imagination. The domination of the Persians in Egypt lasted from Cambyses to the death of Darius II, to 330, or better until 332, when Alexander seized Egypt, from 532 to 330, or a hundred and ninety years, and not 555. 4. In 30 BC Octavius reduced Egypt to a Roman province; in 22 AD the Romans ventured to Ethiopia and pushed back an invasion by Candace of Ethiopia. After the transfer of the capital, from Rome to Constantinople, Egypt became dependent on the latter, which makes this figure 911 years absurd. 5. Byzantine rule in Egypt may be considered to have lasted from around 312 AD, under Constantine, until the capture of Alexandria by Amrou in 641 AD. 6. As we said in connection with the nineteen horns, this must represent the fourteen Fatimid caliphs, and probably the five Ikhshids. The expression "the land" must mean the land of Egypt and not over the whole world; the article "the" indicates the difference.

7. This tenth king must be the son of Moezz, i.e. Nazar ben-Maad Abu-l Mansour, named el-Aziz-Billah ("powerful in God"); his reign of twenty one years and six months was quiet; he married a Christian girl who had much influence on him. See J. J. Marcel, *Egypte moderne*, p. 103. 8. The cruelty, madness and pride of El-Hakem are well-known. He pretended to be God, inscribed on a register the name of his adherents, and ordered Cairo to be burned; part of the city was the prey of the flames, the other part was delivered to a most disastrous plundering by the soldiers of Hakem. As for the duration of his reign, this pure imagination. The author borrows this number forty-two from Revelation 11:2. Hakem perished, assassinated on the or-

der of his sister; although his mother was a Christian, he cruelly maltreated the Christians and the Jews. 9. Who is this king who reigned at least a hundred and ten years and who had many wars during his reign? It is necessary to see here, either an error of the copyist, or an intention of the author to divert the reader. Daher, the successor of Hakem, assassinated the murderers of his father, and made a campaign in Syria.

The town of Souban seems to us to be Aswan or Syene, at the southern end of Upper Egypt. The Coptic orthography of this word authorizes this identification, the Coptic word being Soouan, and in Coptic the b is equivalent to the letter w in the pronunciation. Egypt often made war on Ethiopia and plundered Aswan; reciprocal attacks also took place and the king of Nubia often descended on Upper Egypt (cf J.-J. Marcel, p. 69). 10. The thirteenth king should be Mostanser, but something is wrong here. The events of the 12th and 13th kings should be swapped. The 13th was Mostanser, who was the son of a Negro slave. He ascended the throne at the age of seven, and reigned for sixty years, one of the longest reigns by any Caliph. There were numerous wars in his reign. He was idle, cruel and irresolute. Bedr-el-Gamaly, governor of Egypt, gathered the army and made war at the extreme end of Upper Egypt ("Ethiopia"), but was obliged to return suddenly to face a Turcoman incursion by the emir Atziz, who encamped before the walls of Cairo.

11. This reign must be that of Mostaly, whose vizir Chahyn-Shah-el-Afdal was always victorious, and ensured the caliph peace and glory. It is in this reign that the first crusade took place, and the victorious march of the cross through Syria. 12. Amr, son of Mostaaly, ascended the throne at the age of five and reigned thirty; he was initially under the excellent influence of visir El-Afdal, then wearied of this dependence and arranged for his assassination. In the reign of Amr, the Christian kings of Jerusalem seized Acre, Tripoli, Sidon: the count of Saint-Gilles marched against Akkah (St. John of Acre), then governed in the name of the caliph of Egypt; he put to seige, which was long. Amr sent reinforcements (extended his sword to the Romans = Roumis = Franks); the Franks seized the city and were without pity for the inhabitants. In 1117, Baudouin I, successor of Godefroy de Bouillon, invaded Egypt as far as Faramah, in the east of old Pelusium. In 1118, the Franks seized Tyre, which depended then on the caliphs of Egypt. There were continual wars under the reign of Amr.

13. Hafed was proclaimed caliph and chose Ahmed as his vizier, who was remarkable for his integrity and his zeal. His virtues attracted the hatred of the courtiers who assassinated him; the successor of Ahmed, who had wanted to follow his policies, met the same fate. The last vizier, Baharam, a wise and skilful Christian was also assassinated. Then Hafed governed by himself and made himself popular by his wisdom and moderation. 14. El-Dhafer, son and successor of Hafed, ascended the throne aged seventeen. He lived only for his pleasures and neglected his kingdom. In his time Badouin captured Ascalon. The Moslems of Sicily revolted, landed in Egypt, burned the town of Tenny and returned loaded with captives and booty. Dhafer abused the young son of his Vizir Abbas; the latter to revenge the honour of himself and his son, poisoned the Caliph and seized the treasures in his palace.

15. The chronicles say little about the reign of Payez, which ascended the throne at the age of five became insane - the number thousand two hundred and sixty days is borrowed from Revelation 11:3. 16. The author must confuse him with Hakem, whose mother was a Christian. 17. The Pentapolis of Libya: Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoe, Apollonia and Ptolemais. 18. It is useless to go into much detail (the details to show that this last king closes also the list of the Fatimid caliphs. Adhed ascended the throne very young; he was not the son of his predecessor, but the grandson of the caliph Hafed. In his reign took place of the frequent wars in Egypt and Syria; it is enough to point out the names of Nour-ed-din, etc. The three names which the author of our Apocalypse gives him are imaginary. We think that it is necessary to render Pitourgos by "the Turk" and that this word is used to indicate Saladin.

19. This means the crusaders, but the forty years date does not reflect history. The crusaders occupied part of Egypt twice; at Damietta from 1219 to 1221, and during the crusade led by St. Louis (1249-50). 20. This invasion of Gog and Magog is a reference to Ezekiel 38-39. However it is possible that this may refer to a contemporary historical fact. This was the time of the great movement of the Mongol hordes and the the immense shock caused to the whole world by the formidable invasion of Genghis-Khan (1164-1227), continued by his son Octai (1227), and his grandson Houlagou (1251).

P A R T T H R E E

Pistis Sophia

*The Gnostic gospel in which the risen Jesus teaches his disciples,
with the Extracts from the Books of the Saviour.*

Pistis Sophia: The First Book

TRANSLATED BY G. R. S. MEAD

3rd century

The first of the two books of Pistis Sophia in Mead's English version. Jesus, after eleven years of teaching his disciples on earth, is clothed in a robe of light, ascends through the heavens and the æons, and then tells how the æon Pistis Sophia fell and made thirteen repentances while the disciples explain her songs from the Psalms and the Odes of Solomon. It is a third-century Coptic Gnostic gospel, not scripture.

SECTION 1: JESUS HITHERTO INSTRUCTETH HIS DISCIPLES ONLY UP TO THE REGION OF THE FIRST MYSTERY

¹It came to pass, when Jesus had risen from the dead, that he passed eleven years speaking with his disciples, and instructing them up to the regions of the first statutes only, and up to the regions of the first mystery, the mystery within the veil, within the first statute, which is the four and twentieth mystery, and below those which are in the second space of the first mystery, which is before all mysteries—the father in the likeness of a dove. And Jesus said to his disciples: "I am come from that first mystery, which is also the last mystery, the four and twentieth mystery." For his disciples knew not that mystery, nor did they understand that there was anything within that mystery; but they thought that that mystery indeed was the chief of the pleroma, and the head of all that exists; and they thought it was the end of all ends, for Jesus had said to them concerning that mystery: "It surroundeth the first statute, and the five impressions, and the great light, and the five supporters, and even the whole treasure of light."

²Moreover, Jesus had not told his disciples the whole distribution of all the regions of the great invisible, and of the three triple powers, and of the four and twenty invisibles, with all their regions, their æons, and their orders, according to the manner of their distribution, for they are the emanations of the great invisible; nor of their ungenerated, self-generated, and

generated, their light-givers and unpaired, their rulers and authorities, their lords and archangels, their angels and decans, their workmen and all the habitations of their spheres, and all the orders of each one of them. Nor had Jesus told his disciples the whole distribution of the emanations of the treasure, nor their orders, according to which they are distributed; nor had he told them their saviours, according to the orders of each as they are; nor had he told them what are the guardians which are beside each [gate] of the treasure of light; nor had he told them the region of the saviour of the twins, who is the child of the child; nor had he told them the regions of the three amens, in what regions they are distributed; nor had he told them in what region are the five trees, or the seven amens, which are also the seven voices, what is their region, according to the manner of their distribution.

3 Nor had Jesus told his disciples of what type are the five supporters, or from what region they were brought forth; nor had he told them how the great light had emanated, or from what region it had been brought forth; nor had he told them of the five impressions, nor of the first statute, from what region they had been brought forth; but he simply spoke of them, and taught them that they existed, without speaking of their emanation and the order of their regions. And this is why they did not know that there were other regions within that mystery. Nor had he told his disciples: "I pass through such or such a region until I enter that mystery, or [when] I leave it"; but, in instructing them, he merely said: "I have come from that mystery." And this is why they thought concerning that mystery, that it was the end of ends, and that it was the chief of the pleroma, and even that it was the pleroma itself. For Jesus said to his disciples: "It is that mystery which surroundeth all the pleromas of which I have spoken, from the day on which I first met with you even unto this day." And this is, therefore, why the disciples thought there was nothing within that mystery.

SECTION 2: JESUS AND HIS DISCIPLES ARE SEATED ON THE MOUNT OF
OLIVES

1 It came to pass, therefore, that the disciples were sitting together on the Mount of Olives, speaking of these things, rejoicing with great joy, and being exceedingly glad and saying one to another: "Blessed are we before all men who are on the earth, for the saviour hath revealed this unto us, and we have received all fulness and all perfection." And while they were saying these things the one to the other, Jesus sat a little removed from them. It came to

pass, therefore, on the fifteenth day of the month of Tobe, the day of the full moon, on that day, when the sun had risen in its going, that there came forth after it a great stream of light shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light with which it was surrounded, for it came forth from the light of lights, and it came forth from the last mystery, that is to say, the four and twentieth mystery, from the interiors to the exteriors which are in the orders of the second space of the first mystery. And this stream of light poured over Jesus, and surrounded him entirely. He was seated apart from his disciples, and was shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light in which he was.

² But the disciples saw not Jesus because of the great light in which he was, or which proceeded from him; for their eyes were blinded by the great light in which he was. They saw the light only, shooting forth great rays of light. And the rays of light were not equal together, but the light was of every kind, and of every type, from the lower to the higher part thereof; each [ray] more admirable than its fellow, in infinite manner, in a great glory of immeasurable light, which stretched from the earth to the heavens. And when the disciples saw the light, they were in great fear and great confusion. It came to pass, therefore, when this stream of light had come upon Jesus, and had gradually surrounded him, that Jesus was borne upward or soared aloft, shining exceedingly in an immeasurable light. And the disciples gazed after him, none of them speaking, until he had entered into the heaven. They were all in great silence. These things then came to pass on the fifteenth day of the moon, the day on which it is full in the month of Tobe.

³ It came to pass, when Jesus had ascended into heaven, after the third hour, that all the powers of the heavens were confused, and all were thrown one on another in turn, they and all their æons, all their regions, and all their orders, and the whole earth was shaken, and all the inhabitants thereof. And confusion was upon all men in the world, and also upon the disciples, and all thought that the world would surely be destroyed. And all the powers which are in the heavens did not cease to be in confusion, they and the whole world, and all were shaken the one on the other in turn, from the third hour of the fifteenth day of the moon of Tobe, until the ninth hour of the morrow. And all the angels with their archangels, and all the powers of the height, all sang from the interior of the interiors, so that the whole world heard their voice; they ceased not till the ninth hour of the morrow.

But the disciples sat together in fear, and were in the greatest possible distress. They feared because of the great earthquake which was taking place, and they wept together, saying: "What will be? Surely the saviour will not destroy all the regions?" Thus saying, they wept together.

4 On the ninth hour of the morrow, the heavens were opened, and they saw scending, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light which surrounded him, for he shone more brightly than when he had ascended to the heavens, so that it is impossible for any in this world to describe the light in which he was. He shot forth rays shining exceedingly; his rays were without measure, nor were his rays of light equal together, but they were of every figure and of every type, some being more admirable than the others in infinite manner. And they were all pure light in every part at the same time. It was of three degrees, one surpassing the other in infinite manner. The second, which was in the midst, excelled the first which was below it, and the third, the most admirable of all, surpassed the two below it. The first glory was placed below all, like to the light which came upon Jesus before he ascended into the heavens, and was very regular as to its own light. And the three degrees of light were of every variety of light and type, each excelling the others in infinite manner.

SECTION 3: JESUS ADDRESSETH THEM

1 It came to pass, when the disciples had seen these things, that they feared exceedingly, and were troubled. But Jesus, the compassionate and merciful-minded, when he saw that his disciples were troubled with great confusion, spake unto them, saying: "Take courage. It is I, be not afraid." It came to pass, when the disciples heard these words, that they said: "Master, if it be thou, withdraw thy glorious light that we may be able to stand, so that our eyes be not blinded. We have been dismayed, and the whole world hath been dismayed, by the greatness of the light which is in thee." Then Jesus drew to himself the glory of his light; and when this was done, all the disciples took courage and came to Jesus, and cast themselves together at his feet and worshipped him, rejoicing with great joy. They said unto him: "Master, whither didst thou go? or on what ministry wentest thou? or wherefore are all these confusions and shakings which have taken place?"

2 Then Jesus, the compassionate, said unto them: "Rejoice and be glad from this hour, for I have gone to the regions whence I came forth. From this day forth, therefore, will I speak with you freely, from the beginning of

the truth unto the completion thereof; and I will speak to you face to face without parable. From this hour will I hide nothing from you of the things which pertain to the height, and of those of the region of truth; for authority hath been given me by the ineffable and by the first mystery of all mysteries to speak to you, from the beginning to the end, from the interiors to the exteriors, and from the exteriors to the interiors. Harken, therefore, that I may tell you all things. ³ "It came to pass, as I was sitting a little removed from you on the Mount of Olives, meditating on the duties of the ministry for which I was sent, which they said was completed, and [how] the last mystery had not yet sent me my vesture—it is the four and twentieth mystery from the interiors to the exteriors, of those which are in the second space of the first mystery, in the orders of that space—it came to pass, therefore, when I understood that the duty of the ministry for which I had come was fulfilled, and that that mystery had not yet sent me my vesture, which I had placed in it, until its time should be fulfilled—I was meditating on this on the Mount of Olives, a little removed from you—it came to pass, when the sun rose in the place of its rising, that then through the first mystery, which was from the beginning, on account of which the universe hath been created, from which also now I am come, now and not formerly before they had crucified me; it came to pass, by order of that mystery, that this vesture of light was sent me, which he had given me from the beginning, and which I had placed in the last mystery, which is the four and twentieth mystery, from the interior of those which are in the orders of the second space of the first mystery.

⁴ This is the vesture, then, which I had left in the last mystery, until the time should be fulfilled when I should take it again; and should begin to speak to the human race, and reveal to them all things from the beginning of the truth to its completion, and speak to them from the interiors of the interiors to the exteriors of the exteriors, and from the exteriors of the exteriors to the interiors of the interiors. Rejoice, therefore, and be glad and rejoice more than greatly, for it is to you that it hath been given, that I first speak from the beginning of the truth to its completion.

SECTION 4: OF THE SOULS OF THE DISCIPLES AND THEIR INCARNATION

¹ "For this cause have I chosen you from the beginning through the first mystery. Rejoice, therefore, and be glad, in that when I came into the world, from the beginning, I brought with me twelve powers, as I told you from the

beginning. I took them from the hands of the twelve saviours of the treasure of light, according to the command of the first mystery. These powers, therefore, I cast into the wombs of your mothers, when I came into the world, and they are those which are in your bodies this day. For these powers have been given unto you before the whole world, for it is ye who are to save the whole world, and that ye may be able to bear the threat of the rulers of the world, and the calamities of the world, and their dangers, and all the persecutions which the rulers of the height must bring upon you. Many times have I said unto you, the power which is in you, I have brought it from the twelve saviours which are in the treasure of light. For which cause I said unto you from the beginning that ye were not of this world. And I also am not of this world, for all men who are of this world have taken their soul from the rulers of the æons. But the power which is in you is from me. Ye are souls which pertain to the height, which I have brought from the twelve saviours of the treasure of light, and which I have received as a share of my power, which I received from the beginning. And when I set forth to come into this world, I passed through the midst of the rulers of the sphere; I assumed the likeness of the angel Gabriel, in order that the rulers of the æons might not recognise me, but think that I was the angel Gabriel.

²"It came to pass, when I had passed through the midst of the rulers of the æons, that I looked down on the world of men, by order of the first mystery; I found Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, before she had conceived him; I cast into her a power which I had received from the hand of the little Iaô, the good, who is in the midst, that he might preach before me and prepare my way, and baptise in the water of the remission of sins. This power, then, is in the body of John. ³"Moreover, in the region of the soul of the rulers, destined to receive it, I found the soul of the prophet Elias, in the æons of the sphere, and I took him, and receiving his soul also, I brought it to the virgin of light, and she gave it to her receivers; they brought it to the sphere of the rulers, and cast it into the womb of Elizabeth. Wherefore the power of the little Iaô, who is in the midst, and the soul of Elias the prophet, are united with the body of John the Baptist. For this cause have ye been in doubt aforetime, when I said unto you, 'John said, I am not the Christ'; and ye said unto me, 'It is written in the Scripture, that when the Christ shall come, Elias will come before him, and prepare his way.' And I, when ye had said this unto me, replied unto you, 'Elias verily is come, and hath prepared

all things, according as it is written; and they have done unto him whatsoever they would.' And when I perceived that ye did not understand that I had spoken concerning the soul of Elias united with John the Baptist, I answered you openly and face to face with the words, 'If ye will receive it, John the Baptist is Elias who, I said, was for to come.'"

SECTION 5: OF HIS OWN INCARNATION THROUGH MARY

¹ And Jesus continued his conversation, and said: "It came to pass, after these things, that I looked down again into the world of men; I found Mary, who is called my mother, after the material body; I spoke to her also in the form of Gabriel; and when she had betaken herself into the height towards me, I implanted in her the first power which I had received from the hands of Bar-bêlô, that is to say, the body which I bore in the height, and instead of the soul, I implanted in her the power which I had received from the hands of the great Sabaôth, the good, who is in the region of the right. ² "And the twelve powers of the twelve saviours of the treasure of light, which I had received from the twelve ministers of the midst, I cast into the sphere of the rulers; and the decans of the rulers, with their workmen, thought that they were the souls of the rulers; and the workmen brought them, and I bound them into the bodies of your mothers. And when your time was full, ye were brought forth into the world, no soul of the rulers being in you. Ye have received your portion from the power which the last supporter breathed into the mixture, which [power] was blended with all the invisibles and rulers, and all the æons. Once only was it blended with the world of destruction, which is the mixture. This [power] I brought out from myself from the beginning; I cast it into the first statute, and the first statute cast a portion thereof into the great light, and the great light cast a portion of that which it received into the five supporters, and the last supporter took a portion of that which it received, and cast it into the mixture. And this [power] dwelleth in all those who dwell in the mixture, in the manner in which I have just told you."

³ When Jesus, therefore, had said these things to his disciples on the Mount of Olives, he continued in his conversation to his disciples, and said: "Rejoice, and be glad, and add joy to joy, for the times are fulfilled for me to put on my vesture, which hath been prepared for me from the beginning; the same which I laid up in the last mystery, until the time of its completion. The time of its completion is the time when I shall receive commandment

from the first mystery to speak to you from the beginning of the truth to the end thereof, and from the interiors of the interiors, for the world is to be saved by you. Rejoice, therefore, and be glad, for ye are more blessed than all men who are on the earth, for it is ye who shall save the whole world." It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these things to his disciples, that he again continued in his conversation, and said unto them: "Lo, I have put on my vesture, and all power hath been given me by the first mystery. Yet a little while and I will tell you the mystery of the pleroma and the pleroma of the pleroma; I will conceal nothing from you from this hour, but in perfectness will I perfect you in the whole pleroma, and all perfection, and every mystery, which things, indeed, are the perfection of all perfections, the pleroma of all pleromas, and the gnosis of all gnoses, which are in my vesture. I will tell you all mysteries from the exterior of the exteriors, to the interior of the interiors. Harken, I will tell you all things which have befallen me.

SECTION 6: THE MYSTERY OF THE FIVE WORDS ON THE VESTURE

1 "It came to pass, when the sun had risen in the regions of the east, that a great stream of light descended in which was my vesture, the same which I had laid up in the four and twentieth mystery, as I have said unto you. And I found a mystery in my vesture, written in these five words which pertain to the height, zama zama ôzza rachama ôzai. And this is the interpretation thereof: "The mystery which is beyond the world, that whereby all things exist: It is all evolution and all involution; it projected all emanations and all things therein. Because of it all mysteries exist and all their regions." "Come unto us, for we are thy fellow-members. We are all one with thee. We are one and the same, and thou art one and the same. This is the first mystery, which hath existed from the beginning in the ineffable, before it came forth; and the name thereof is all of us. Now, therefore, we all live together for thee at the last limit, which also is the last mystery from the interior. That also is a part of us. Now, therefore, we have sent thee thy vesture, which, indeed, is thine from the beginning, which thou didst leave in the last limit, which also is the last mystery from the interiors, until its time should be fulfilled, according to the commandment of the first mystery. Lo, its time being fulfilled, I will give it thee.

2 "Come unto us for we all stand near to clothe thee with the first mystery and all his glory, by commandment of the same, in that the first mystery gave us two vestures to clothe thee, besides the one we have sent thee,

since thou art worthy of them, and art prior to us, and came into being before us. For this cause, therefore, the first mystery hath sent for thee through us the mystery of all his glory, two vestures. "The first hath in it the whole glory of all the names of all the mysteries, and of all the emanations of the orders of the spaces of the ineffable. "And the second vesture hath in it the whole glory of the name of all the mysteries, and of all the emanations which are in the orders of the two spaces of the first mystery. ³"And in this [third] vesture, which we have now sent thee, is the glory of the name of the mystery, the revealer, which also is the first statute, and the mystery of the five impressions, and the mystery of the great legate of the ineffable, which is this great light, and also the mystery of the five leaders, which are the five supporters. There is also in the vesture the glory of the name of all the orders of the emanations of the treasure of light, with their saviours and the orders of their orders, to wit, the seven amens, which are the seven voices, and the five trees and the three amens, and the saviour of the twins, which is the child of the child; and also the mystery of the nine guardians of the three gates of the treasure of light. There is also therein all the glory of every name which is on the right, and of all those which are in the midst. Moreover, there is also therein all the glory of the great invisible, that is to say, of the great forefather, and all the mystery of the three triple powers, and the mystery of their whole region, and also the mystery of all their invisibles and of all those who are in the thirteenth æon, and the name of the twelve æons, with all their rulers, all their archangels, all their angels, and all who are in the twelve æons, and every mystery of the name of all those who are in the [sphere of] fate, and in all the heavens, and the whole mystery of the name of those in the spheres and their firmaments, and all that they contain, and their regions.

⁴"Lo, therefore, we have sent thee this vestre, without any knowing it from the first statute downwards, because the glory of its light was hidden in it [the first statute], and the spheres with all their regions from the first statute downwards [knew it not]. Make haste, therefore, clothe thyself with this vesture. Come unto us; for ever, until the time appointed by the ineffable was fulfilled, have we been in need of thee, to clothe thee with two of the vestures, by order of the first mystery. Lo, then, the time is fulfilled. Come, therefore, to us quickly, that we may put them on thee, until thou hast accomplished the full ministry of the perfections of the first mystery, the min-

istry appointed for thee by the ineffable. Come, therefore, to us quickly, in order that we may clothe thee, according to the commandment of the first mystery; for yet a little while, a very little while, and thou shalt come to us, and shalt leave the world. Come, therefore, quickly, that thou mayest receive the whole glory, the glory of the first mystery.'

SECTION 7: JESUS PUTTETH ON HIS VESTURE

¹"It came to pass, therefore, when I saw the whole mystery of those words in the vesture which had been sent me, that I at once clothed myself therewith. I became exceedingly radiant, and soared into the height. "I drew nigh to the gate of the firmament, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light in which I was. The gates of the firmament were shaken one above the other in turn, and all were thrown open together. "And all the rulers, all the powers, and all the angels therein, were at once thrown into confusion because of the great light which was in me. They gazed at the vesture of light with which I was clothed, and which was brilliantly shining; they saw the mystery which contained their names; they feared exceedingly; and all the bonds with which they were bound were loosed; each left his rank, and they bowed down before me, and worshipped me, saying, 'How hath the lord of the pleroma changed us without our knowing?' And they sang together to the interior of the interiors, but me they saw not; but they saw only the light, and they were in great fear, and were exceedingly troubled, and sent forth their song to the interior of the interiors.

²"And having left that region behind me, I came unto the first sphere, shining exceedingly, far more brightly than I shone in the firmament, forty and nine times. It came to pass, therefore, when I had come to the gate of the first sphere, that its gates were shaken, and opened of themselves all together. "I entered into the mansions of that sphere, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light that was in me. And all the rulers, with all those who were in that sphere, were in confusion one with another; they saw the great light that was in me, and they gazed upon my vesture; they saw in it the mystery of their name, and were more and more distressed. And they were in great fear, saying, 'How hath the lord of the pleroma changed us without our knowing?' And all their bonds were unloosed, as well as their regions and their orders; and each abandoned his order, they bowed themselves all together, they worshipped before me or before my vesture, and they

all sang together to the interior of the interiors, being in great fear and great confusion.

3 "And having left that region behind me, I came unto the second sphere, which is the fate. All its gates were thrown into confusion, and opened one after another in turn; and I entered into the mansions of the fate, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light that was in me, for I shone in the fate more than in the sphere forty and nine times. "And all the rulers and all those who were in the fate were thrown into confusion; they fell on one another, they were in exceeding great fear on seeing the great light that was in me. They gazed on my shining vesture, they saw the mystery of their names on my vesture, and were more and more confused, and were in great fear, saying, 'How hath the lord of the pleroma changed us without our knowing?' And all the bonds of their regions, of their orders, and of their mansions were unloosed; they drew nigh all together, they bowed themselves, they worshipped before me, and sang all together to the interior of the interiors, being in great fear and great confusion.

4 "And having left that region behind me, I ascended to the great æons of the rulers, I drew nigh to their veils and their gates, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light which was in me. It came to pass when I came unto the twelve æons, that their veils and their gates were shaken one on another; their veils were drawn aside of their own accord, and their gates opened of themselves. And I entered into the æons, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light that was in me, which was brighter than the light with which I shone in the regions of the fate, forty and nine times. 5 "And all the angels of the æons, their arch-angels, their rulers, their gods, their lords, their authorities, their tyrants, their powers, their sparks, their light-givers, their unpaired, their invisibles, their forefathers, and their triple powers, saw me, shining exceedingly; there was no measure to the light which was in me. They were thrown into confusion the one on the other; great fear fell upon them when they saw the great light that was in me. And their great confusion and great fear reached to the region of the great invisible forefather, and of the three great triple powers. Because of the great fear of their confusion, the great forefather himself, and the three triple powers, began to run hither and thither in their region, and they could not close all their regions because of the great fear in which they were. They threw into confusion all their æons together, with all their spheres and orderings, fear-

ing and being greatly troubled because of the great light that was in me—far different from what it was when I was on the earth of human kind, when my shining vesture came upon me, for the earth could not have borne the light such as it was in reality, else would the world be resolved and all upon it at the same time. But the light which was in me in the twelve æons was... myriad, and seven thousand and eight hundred times greater than when I was in the world among you.

SECTION 8: ADAMAS AND THE TYRANTS FIGHT AGAINST THE LIGHT

1 "It came to pass, therefore, when all those who are in the twelve æons had seen the great light which was in me, that they were all thrown into confusion one on another, and ran from one side to the other in the æons; and all the æons, with all their regions and all their ordering, were shaken on account of the great fear which came upon them, because they knew not the mystery which had taken place. And Adamas, the great tyrant, and all the tyrants which are in all the æons, began to fight in vain against the light, and they knew not with what they fought, for they saw nothing beyond the exceeding great light. It came to pass, when they fought against the light, that they expended their strength one against the other, they fell down in the æons, they became as the inhabitants of the earth who are dead, and who have no breath in them.

2 "And I took from all of them a third of their power, in order that they should no more prevail in their evil doings; and in order that, if the men who are in the world should invoke them in their mysteries which the transgressing angels brought down from above—that is to say, their magic rites—in order that, therefore, if they should be invoked in evil practices, they should not accomplish them. "And the fate and sphere of which they are the lords I changed, and I brought it to pass that for six months they should turn to the left and accomplish their influences, and for six months turn to the right and accomplish their influences. For by order of the first statute, and by order of the first mystery, Ieou, the overseer of the light, had placed them facing the left for all time, accomplishing their influences and actions. It came to pass, therefore, that when I had entered into their regions, they rebelled and fought against the light. I took from them the third part of their power, in order that they should not accomplish their evil actions. And the fate and sphere over which they rule I changed, and set them facing the left for six

months, accomplishing their influences, and set them to turn six months to the right, accomplishing their influences."

³ And when he had spoken these things unto his disciples, he said unto them: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." It came to pass, when Mary had heard the words which the saviour said, that she gazed, as one inspired, into the air for the space of an hour. She said unto him: "Master, give commandment unto me to speak freely." And Jesus, the compassionate, answered and said unto Mary: "Speak freely, Mary, thou blessed one, whom I will perfect in all the mysteries of the dwellers on high, thou, whose heart is right for the kingdom of the heavens more than all thy brethren." Then said Mary to the saviour: "Master, the word that thou hast spoken, to wit, 'he that hath ears to hear, let him hear,' thou hast said it unto us, in order that we may understand the word which thou hast spoken. Give ear, therefore, O Master, that I may speak freely.

⁴ "The word which thou hast spoken, to wit, 'I changed their fate and their spheres over which they rule, in order that, if the race of men should invoke them, in the mysteries which the transgressing angels taught them for the accomplishing of their evil deeds, and all that is unlawful in the mystery of their magic'—in order [then], that they might no more from this hour accomplish their impious works, (for thou hast taken from them their power, and their ordainers of the hour, and diviners, and those who teach the men of the world all that shall come to pass,) in order that they should no more from this hour have a mind for teaching them what will come to pass, (for thou hast changed their revolution, and thou hast made them turn to the left for six months, accomplishing their influences, and thou hast made them face to the right for the six remaining months, accomplishing their influences)—concerning this word, O Master, the power which was in Isaiah, the prophet, spake as follows, and delivered it in a spiritual parable, at the time when he spake of the vision of Egypt, saying, 'Where, then, O Egypt, where are thy diviners and ordainers of the hour, and those whom they evoke from the earth, and those whom they evoke from themselves? Let them show thee from this hour the deeds which the lord Sabaôth shall do!'

⁵ "Thus then the power which was in Isaiah, the prophet, prophesied before thy coming; it prophesied concerning thee that thou shouldst take away the power of the rulers of the æons; that thou shouldst change their sphere and their fate, in order that they might know nothing from henceforth.

This is why it said, 'Ye shall know nothing of that which the lord Sabaôth shall do'; that is to say, none of the rulers shall know what thou wilt do unto them henceforth from this hour; that is to say, with 'Egypt,' for they are the inefficacious matter. The power, therefore, which was in the prophet Isaiah, prophesied concerning thee aforetime, saying, 'Henceforth, from this hour, ye shall not know what the lord Sabaôth shall do unto them,' because of the light-power which thou didst receive from the hand of Sabaôth, the good, who is in the region of the right, the power which is in thy material body to-day. For this cause, therefore, O Jesus, my master, thou hast said unto us, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,' since thou wouldst know whose heart is earnestly set on the kingdom of the heavens."

SECTION 9: JESUS COMMENDETH MARY. SHE FURTHER QUESTIONETH
HIM ON THE CHANGING OF THE SPHERES

1 It came to pass, when Mary had finished saying these things, that Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Mary, since thou art blessed before all women who are on the earth, for thou shalt be the pleroma of all pleromas, and the perfection of all perfections." When Mary heard the saviour speak these words, she rejoiced greatly, and came to Jesus, and bowed herself before him, and worshipped his feet, and said unto him: "Master, give ear unto me, that I may question thee on this matter, before that thou tellest us the regions whither thou hast gone." And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Speak freely, and fear not. All things thou seekest, I will reveal unto thee." Mary said: "Will all men who know the mystery of the magic of all the rulers of all the æons of the fate, and of those of the sphere, in the way in which the transgressing angels have taught them; if they invoke them in their mysteries, that is to say, in their evil magic rites, to the hindering of good deeds—will they accomplish them, henceforth from this hour, or not?"

2 And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "They will not accomplish them as they accomplished them from the beginning, for I have taken from them the third of their power; but they will make use of those who know the mysteries of the magic of the thirteenth æon; they will accomplish them perfectly and at their ease, for I have not taken away the power in that region, according to the command of the first mystery." It came to pass, when Jesus had finished saying these words, that Mary insisted further, and said: "Master, surely the ordainers of the hour, and diviners, will no more tell men what will come to pass, henceforth from this hour?" 3 But Jesus answered and

said unto Mary: "If the ordainers of the hour chance upon the fate, and the sphere, turning towards the left, according to their first emanation, their words shall come to pass, and they will say what is to take place; but if they chance on the fate, or the sphere, turning to the right, they cannot obtain any truth, since I have changed their influences, their four angles, their three angles, and their eight configurations; for originally their influences were constant, then when they turned to the left, as well as their four angles, their three angles, and their eight configurations; but now that I have made them turn to the left for six months and turn to the right for six months, he who, verily, shall find their numbering from the time when I changed them, and when I set them for six months to face their left hand, and for six months to face their right hand course, he who, verily, shall thus observe them, will discover their influences with certainty; he will foretell all that a man shall do. In the same way, also, the diviners, if they invoke the name of the rulers, if they meet with them facing the left, all things which they shall ask of their decans, the latter will tell them with accuracy.

4 But if the diviners invoke their names at the time when their revolution is to the right, they will not give ear unto them, because they are facing in another way from the first figure in which Ieou had placed them; for other are their names when they turn to the left, and other are their names when they turn to the right; and if they are invoked when they turn to the right, the truth will not be obtained, but confusion will seize upon them, and with threatening they will threaten them. Those, therefore, who do not know their revolution, when they turn to the right, their three angles, and their four angles, and all their configurations, will find no truth, but will be greatly confused, and will be in great error, because the operations which they were accustomed formerly to effect in their four angles, at the time when they turned to the left, and in their three angles, and in their eight configurations, the operations in which they were constant, at the time when they turned to the left—these I have now changed, and I have caused them to make all their configurations turning to the right for six months, in order that they may be confused in all their extent;

5 on the other hand, I have made them turn to the left for six months, accomplishing the actions of their influences and of all their configurations, in order that they may be thrown into confusion, and wander in error—the

rulers who are in the æons, in their spheres, in their heavens, and in all their regions, so that they may not, even themselves, understand their path."

SECTION 10: PHILIP QUESTIONETH JESUS

¹ It came to pass, that when Jesus had said these words—Philip was sitting writing all the words that Jesus spake—it came to pass, therefore, after this, that Philip drew nigh, bowed himself, and worshipped the feet of Jesus, saying: "Master and saviour, grant me permission to speak before thee and to question thee on this word, before that thou tellest us of the regions whither thou didst go for thy ministry." The saviour, the compassionate, answered and said unto Philip: "Permission is given thee to speak what thou wilt." And Philip answered and said unto Jesus: "Master, on account of what mystery hast thou changed the manner in which were bound the rulers, their æons, and their fate, their sphere, and all their regions; and why hast thou plunged them into dire confusion in their path; and why do they wander in their course? Hast thou done this unto them for the salvation of the world, or hast thou not?"

² And Jesus answered and said unto Philip, and to all the disciples together: "I have changed their path for the salvation of all souls. Amen, amen, I say unto you, if I had not changed their path, they would have destroyed a host of souls, and a long period would have elapsed before the rulers of the æons would have been dissolved, together with the rulers of the fate and of the sphere, of all their regions, and of all their heavens, with those of all their æons; and the souls would have continued without this region a long period of time, and the number of perfected souls would have been kept back from its accomplishment, of those souls which shall be counted in the heritage of the height, by means of the mysteries, and shall dwell in the treasure of light. For this cause, therefore, I changed their path that they might be disturbed and thrown into confusion, so that they might lose their power, which is in the matter of their world, which they make into souls, in order that they might be quickly purified; that those who are to be saved, they and all their power, might be carried on high, while those who are not to be saved, might be quickly resolved."

³ It came to pass, when Jesus had said these things unto his disciples, that Mary, the fair in speech and the blessed one, drew nigh, she bowed herself at the feet of Jesus, saying: "Master, suffer me to speak in thy presence, and be not wroth with me, if I distress thee with frequent questioning." The saviour

answered with compassion, and said unto Mary: "Speak the word thou desirest, and I will explain it to thee in all freedom." Mary answered and said unto Jesus: "Master, how would the souls have delayed outside this region; and how will they be speedily purified?" ⁴ And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Well said, Mary; thou questionest fairly with a fair question, and thou approachest everything with diligence and precision. Now, therefore, henceforth from this hour, I will conceal nothing from you, but I will reveal everything unto you with certainty and all freedom. Harken, then, Mary, and ye all, my disciples, give ear. Before I had published [the tidings] to all the rulers of the æons, to all the rulers of the fate and of the sphere, they were all bound in their bonds, in their spheres, and in their seals, as Ieou, the overseer of the light, had bound them from the beginning; each of them remained in his order, and each of them went in his course, as Ieou, the overseer of the light, had placed them. And when the time of the number of Melchisedec, the great receiver of the light, had come, he came into the midst of the æons and of all the rulers, bound in the sphere and in the fate; he took away the bright light of all the rulers of the æons, and of all the rulers of the fate, and also of those of the sphere—for he took away that which troubled them—and he roused up the caretaker who was over them, to make their circles turn swiftly, and he took away the power which was in them, the breath of their mouth, the tears of their eyes, and the sweat of their bodies.

SECTION 11: THE COMING OF MELCHISEDEC

¹ "And Melchisedec, the receiver of light, purified all these powers, in order to carry their light into the treasure of light, while the workmen of all the rulers gathered together all their matter, and the workmen of all the rulers of the fate, with the rulers of the sphere, they who are beneath the æons, took it to make therefrom the souls of men, of cattle, of reptiles, of beasts, or of birds, and send them into the world of men. The receivers of the sun and the receivers of the moon also, having observed the heaven, and having seen the configurations of the paths of the æons, and the configurations of the fate, and those of the sphere, then took from them the power of the light, and the receivers prepared to set it apart, until they should hand it over to the receivers of Melchisedec, the purifier of light; and their material purification they carried into the sphere, which is below the æons, that they might make thence the souls of men, and make also the souls of reptiles, or of cattle, or of

beasts, or of birds, according to the cycle of the rulers of this sphere, and according to all the configurations of its revolution, in order to cast them into this world of men, so that they might be souls in this region, as I have just told you.

²"These things they accomplished perseveringly, before their power diminished in them and they became feeble, without energy, and powerless. It came to pass, therefore, that when they were without power, when their power began to diminish in them, and they became feeble in their power, that the light which was in their region, ceased, their kingdom was dissolved, and all quickly passed through it; it came to pass, therefore, when they began to understand these things in the course of time, and when the number of the reckoning of Melchisedec, the receiver, was accomplished, that he came again, he entered into the midst of the rulers of all the æons, and into the midst of all the rulers of the fate, as well as of those of the sphere, and he threw them into confusion, and caused their circles to be quickly abandoned. And forthwith they were constrained, and cast forth their power from themselves by the breath of their mouth, by the tears of their eyes and the sweat of their bodies.

³"And Melchisedec, the receiver of light, purified them, as he had constantly done; he carried their light into the treasure of light; and as to the matter of purgation, all the rulers of the æons, the rulers of the fate, and those of the sphere, surrounded it and devoured it. They did not let it go, to become souls in the world, for they had devoured their matter, so that they might not become without power, without energy, and that their power might not cease to be in them, and their kingdom might not be dissolved; but they devoured it, in order that they might not be destroyed, but that they might linger, and cause a long delay to the completion of the number of perfected souls, who shall dwell in the treasure of light.

SECTION 12: ADAMAS AND THE TYRANTS BATTLE AGAINST THE LIGHT-VESTURE

¹"It came to pass, therefore, as the rulers of the æons, and those of the fate, with those of the sphere, persevered in so doing, in turning on themselves, in devouring the purgation of their matter, and in preventing the birth of souls into the world of men, in order that they might be kings for a longer period, and that the powers, which are the powers in them, might be for a long time excluded from this world—they continued to do this persistently for two

cycles—it came to pass, therefore, when I set forth to accomplish the ministry, to which I had been called by commandment of the first mystery, that I passed through the midst of the tyrants of the rulers of the twelve æons, my vesture of light being on me, and shining exceedingly, there being no measure to the light which was in me. "It came to pass, therefore, when these tyrants had seen the great light which was in me, that great Adamas, the tyrant, and all the tyrants of the twelve æons, all began to battle against the light of my vesture, desiring to keep it with them, in order to remain the longer in their kingdom. And this they did, not knowing then against whom they fought.

2 "Then, when they had rebelled, fighting against the light, then, by commandment of the first mystery, I changed the path and course of their æons, the path of their fate and of their sphere; I caused them to face for six months their three angles to the left, their four angles, and those in front of them, and their eight configurations, as they had formerly been; but their manner of turning, and their manner of facing, I changed to another order, and caused them for the other six months to face the actions of their influences by the four angles of the right, and their three angles, and by them which are before them, and by their eight configurations. And I caused them to be in great confusion, and to wander in great error, the rulers of the æons, and all the rulers of the fate, with those of the sphere, and I greatly distressed them. And from that hour, they have not had the power to turn towards the purgation of their matter to devour it, in order that their regions should endure permanently, and they should still reign for a long period.

3 "But when I had taken away the third part of their power, I changed their revolution, so that for a period they faced the left, and for another period they faced the right; I changed the whole of their path and the whole of their course, and I caused the path of their course to be hastened, so that they might be quickly purified, and they might speedily rise. And I shortened their circles, and I caused their path to be lightened, and they were greatly hurried, and were thrown into confusion in their path; and from that hour, they have no more had the power of devouring the matter of the purgation of the brilliancy of their light. Moreover, their times and their periods were shortened, in order that the perfect number of souls who shall receive the mysteries, and dwell in the treasure of light, should be speedily completed. For had I not changed their course, had I not shortened their

times, they would not have permitted any soul to come into the world, because of the matter of their purgation, which they devoured, and they would have destroyed a host of souls. For this cause I said unto you before, 'I have shortened the times because of my elect,' for there would not have been a soul that could have been saved, if I had not shortened the times and the periods, because of the perfect number of souls who shall receive the mysteries, that is to say, the 'elect'; and had I not shortened their times, there would not have been a single material soul saved, but they would have perished in the fire which is in the flesh of the rulers. Such, then, is the matter on which thou hast questioned me straitly."

4 It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these things unto his disciples, that they bowed themselves together, and worshipped him, saying: "Blessed are we among all men, for unto us thou hast revealed these sublime immensities." And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "Give ear and hearken concerning the things which befell me amid the rulers of the twelve æons, amid all their rulers, their lords, their authorities, their angels, and their archangels. When, then, they had seen the vesture of light which was on me, they and their unpaired, each of them, saw the mystery of their name, which was in my vesture of light, with which I was clothed; they bowed themselves together, they adored the vesture of light, which was on me, and cried out all together saying, 'How hath the lord of the pleroma changed us without our knowing?' And they all sang together to the interior of the interiors. And all their triple powers, their great forefathers, their ungenerated, their self-generated, their generated, their gods, their sparks, their light-bearers, in a word, all their great ones, saw the tyrants of their region with their power diminished in them, and become feeble; and they also were in great and boundless fear, and they saw the mystery of their name in my vesture, and they strove to draw nigh to adore the mystery of their name, which was in my vesture, but they could not because of the great light that was with me; but they adored a little removed from me, they worshipped the light of my vesture, and they all cried out together, singing to the interior of the interiors.

5 "It came to pass, when this was done to the tyrants, who are amid the æons, that they lost courage, they fell down in their æons, and became as the men of the world who are dead, who have not in them any breath, just as when I took from them their power. It came to pass, therefore, after this,

when I had left these æons, that every one of those who were in the twelve æons was bound to his order, and they accomplished their works as it had been appointed them; so that they spent six months turning to the left, accomplishing their actions in their four angles, their three angles, and those in front of them, and that they spent also six months facing the right, [facing] their three angles, their four angles, and those in front of them. This, therefore, will be the path of those who are in the fate and in the sphere.

SECTION 13: JESUS ENTERETH THE THIRTEENTH ÆON AND FINDETH
PISTIS SOPHIA

¹ "It came to pass, after these things, that I came into the height, to the veils of the thirteenth æon. It came to pass, when I had arrived at its veils, that they were withdrawn of their own accord; they opened before me; I entered into the thirteenth æon, I found Pistis Sophia below the thirteenth æon, quite alone, no one being near her; she was sitting in that region, grieving and mourning, because she had not been brought into the thirteenth æon, her proper region in the height. And she was grieving because of the vexations which she had been made to suffer by Arrogant, who is one of the three triple powers. When I come to tell you of their emanation, I will tell you the mystery, how that that had come about. "It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia had seen me shining exceedingly, there being no measure to the light which was in me, that she was in great distress, and gazed into the light of my vesture; she saw the mystery of her name in my vesture, and all the glory of her mystery, for formerly she had been in the region of the height, in the thirteenth æon; so she began to sing a song to the light which is in the height, which she had seen in the veil of the treasure of light. It came to pass, therefore, when she had finished singing her song to the light which is in the height, that all the rulers, who were near the two great triple powers, and her invisible paired with her, gazed [upon my vesture], as well as the two and twenty remaining invisible emanations; for Pistis Sophia and her consort, together with the two and twenty remaining emanations, make up the four and twenty emanations, which were emanated by the great invisible forefather and the two great triple powers."

² It came to pass, when Jesus had spoken these things unto his disciples, that Mary came forward and said: "Master, I have heard thee say formerly that Pistis Sophia was also one of the four and twenty emanations. How, then, was she not in their region? For thou hast said, 'I found her below the

thirteenth æon." And Jesus answered and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia was in the thirteenth æon, in the region of all her brother invisibles, who are the four and twenty emanations of the great invisible; it came to pass, therefore, by order of the first mystery, that Pistis Sophia gazed into the height, she saw the light of the veil of the treasure of light, and she desired to go into that region, but she could not. She ceased to do the mystery of the thirteenth æon, and began to sing a song to the light of the height, which she had seen in the light of the veil of the treasure of light.

3 "It came to pass, therefore, when she began to sing her song to the region of the height, that all the rulers who are in the twelve æons, those who are below, hated her, because she had ceased in their mysteries, and because she had desired to go into the height and be above them all. For this cause, therefore, they were enraged against her and hated her. And the great triple power Arrogant, that is to say, the third triple power, who is in the thirteenth æon, the disobedient one, who had not emanated the purity of the power which was in him, and had not given the purity of his light at the time when the rulers gave their purity, for he wished to rule over all the thirteenth æon, and those who are below it— 4 "It came to pass, therefore, when the rulers of the twelve æons were enraged against Pistis Sophia, who is above them, and hated her exceedingly, that the great triple power Arrogant, of whom I have just been telling you, joined himself to the number of the twelve æons; he also became enraged against Pistis Sophia, and hated her exceedingly, because she had thought to go towards the light which was above him, so he emanated from himself a great lion-faced power; and from the matter which was in him, he emanated a host of other material emanations, very violent; he sent them into the lower regions, into the parts of the chaos, in order that they might lie in wait for Pistis Sophia, and take away the power that was in her, because she had thought to go to the height which is above them all; because she had ceased to do their mystery, and continued to lament, seeking the light which she had seen. And the rulers who stand, or remain, in the mystery which they do, hated her, and so also all the guardians who are at the gates of the æons.

SECTION 14: ARROGANT UNITETH HIMSELF WITH THE RULERS OF THE
TWELVE ÆONS AND EMANATETH A LION-FACED POWER TO PLAGUE
SOPHIA

¹ "It came to pass, therefore, after these things, by commandment of the first statute, that this great arrogant triple power, who is one of the three triple powers, pursued Sophia in the thirteenth æon, to cause her to gaze into the lower parts, in order that she might there see his light-power which hath the face of a lion, and that she might long after it, that she might betake herself to that region [of chaos], and that it might take from her the light which was in her. "It came to pass, therefore, after these things, that she gazed below; she saw the light-power of Arrogant in the lower parts, and she knew not that it belonged to this triple power Arrogant, but thought that it came from the light which she had seen from the beginning in the height, which came from the veil of the treasure of light; and she thought to herself, 'I will go into that region, without my consort, to take the light, which the æons of light have produced for me, so that I may go to the light of lights, which is in the height of heights.'

² "Thus pondering, she went forth from her own region, the thirteenth æon, and came into the twelve æons. The cruelers of the æons pursued after her; they were enraged against her, in that she had thought to come into the greatness. Thence she went forth from the twelve æons, and came into the regions of the chaos; she drew nigh to that lion-faced light-power to devour it. But all the material emanations of Arrogant surrounded her, and the great lionfaced light-power devoured all the light-powers which were in Sophia; it expelled her light and swallowed it, and as to her matter, they cast it into the chaos. So it became a lion-faced ruler in chaos, of which the one half is fire and the other darkness—that Ialdabaôth of which I have spoken to you many times. Now, when this was done, Sophia was most exceedingly weakened, and that lion-faced light-power began to take away from Sophia all her light-powers; and all the material powers of Arrogant surrounded Sophia at the same time, and constrained her; and Pistis Sophia cried out exceedingly, she cried on high to that light of lights, which she had seen from the beginning, in which she had trusted, and recited this repentance, saying:

³ " 'O light of lights, in whom I have trusted from the beginning, hearken now, therefore, O light, unto my repentance. Save me, O light, for evil thoughts have come upon me. I gazed, O light, into the lower parts; I

saw a light there, and I thought, I will go into that region, to take that light. And I went forth, and [fell] into the midst of the lower chaos, and I can no more leave it to go to my region, for I am oppressed by all the emanations of this Arrogant, and this lion-faced power hath taken away the light which was in me. And I have cried for help, but my voice ascended not in the darkness. And I have gazed into the height, that the light, in which I had trusted, might help me; and when I looked into the height, I saw all the rulers of the æons in great number, angered against me, rejoicing over me, although I had done them no ill; but they hated me without a cause. And when the emanations of Arrogant had seen the rulers of the æons rejoicing over me, they knew that the rulers of the æons would not aid me; they took courage, those emanations which constrained me with violence, and the light which I had not taken from them, they took from me. Now, therefore, O light of truth, thou knowest that I have done these things in my foolishness, believing that this lion-faced light-power belonged unto thee;

4 and the sin which I have done is clear in thy sight. Suffer me no more to be weakened, O lord, for I have trusted in thy light from the beginning. O lord, light of powers, suffer me no more to lack my light, for it is because of thy inducement and light that I am in this agony, and shame hath covered my face. And because of thy light, I am a stranger to my brethren, the invisibles, and also to the great emanations of Barbélô. These things have befallen me, O light, because I have ardently longed for thy dwelling; and the wrath of Arrogant is fallen upon me, of him who would not give ear to thy command to send forth the emanation of his power, for I dwelt in his æon, without doing its mystery, and all the rulers of the æons have held me in derision. And I am in this region, grieving, seeking after the light, which I saw in the height. And the guardians of the gates of the æons have questioned me, and all those who keep to their mystery have mocked me. But as for me, I gazed into the height, towards thee. O light of lights, I am oppressed in the darkness of this chaos, until it be thy good pleasure to come and save me. Great is thy mercy;

5 hear me in truth, and preserve me, save me from the matter of this darkness, that I may no longer be plunged therein, that I may be saved from the emanations of god Arrogant which constrain me, and from their evil doings. Let not this darkness cover me, and this lion-faced power, suffer it not to devour the whole of my power entirely, and let not this chaos hide my

power. ⁶ "Hear me, O light, for thy mercy is good, and look upon me according to the great mercy of thy light; turn not thy face from me, for I am exceedingly tormented. Haste thee hearken unto me, and preserve my power. Save me from the rulers which hate me, for thou knowest my afflictions, and my danger, and the peril of my power which they have taken from me. They who have set me in all these evils are in thy sight. Do unto them according to thy good pleasure. My power looketh forth from the midst of the chaos, and from the midst of the darkness I have gazed after my consort, to see if he would come and battle for me, and he came not, and I looked that he should come and give me power, and I found him not, and when I asked for light, they gave me darkness; and when I asked for my power, they gave me matter. Now, therefore, O light of lights, let the darkness and the matter, which the emanations of Arrogant have brought upon me, be snares for them, and let them be ensnared therein; recompense them, and let them meet with stumbling-blocks, in order that they may not come into the region of their own Arrogant. Let them remain in darkness, and let them not see the light; let them ever behold the chaos and look not into the height.

⁷ Bring upon them their [own] vengeance, and let thy judgment seize upon them, let them not henceforth enter into their region near their god Arrogant; let his emanations no longer enter into their region, for their god is impious and arrogant, and thought that he had brought these evils upon me of himself, not knowing that, hadst thou not humbled me by thy commandment, he would not have prevailed against me. But when thou hadst humbled me, they pursued the more after me, and their emanations added pains to my humiliation; they took from me of my light-power, and began again to be hostile to me; they have constrained me mightily to take away all the light which was in me. Because, therefore, of the evils in which they have planted me, suffer them not to enter into the thirteenth æon, (the region of righteousness. Let them not be reckoned in the number of those whose light is purified, let them not be reckoned in the number of those who will quickly repent, that they may speedily receive the mystery in the light; for they have taken my light from me. My power hath begun to cease in me, and I am destitute of my light.

⁸ "Now, therefore, O light—[light] which is with thee and is [also] with me—I sing thy name in glory. May my song please thee, O light, as an excellent mystery, which leadeth to the interior of the gates of light, and of

which they will tell who shall repent, and whose light shall be purified. Now, therefore, let all matter rejoice. Seek ye all the light, that the power of the stars which is in us may be revealed, for the light hath heard the matters, nor will it leave any without purging them. Let all souls and matters praise the lord of all the æons, and all that is therein, for God shall save their soul from all matter, and they shall prepare a city in the light, and all the souls that shall be saved shall dwell in that city, and shall inherit it. And the soul of them that shall receive the mystery shall dwell in that region, and they that shall have received the mystery in its name shall dwell therein."

9 It came to pass, when Jesus had spoken these things unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "This is the song which Pistis Sophia uttered in her first repentance, when she repented of her sin, reciting all things which had befallen her. Now, therefore, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

SECTION 15: MARY INTERPRETETH THE FIRST REPENTANCE FROM
PSALM LXVIII

1 And Mary came forward and said: "Master, my indweller of light hath ears, and I hear in my light-power, and thy spirit which is with me is sober. Hearken, therefore, I will speak concerning the repentance, which Pistis Sophia made, speaking of her sin and all that befell her. Thy light-power hath prophesied of old on this matter through the prophet David, in the sixty-eighth Psalm, saying: "'Save me, O God, for the waters are come in even unto my soul. I stick fast, or sink, in the mire of the abyss, and I have no power. I am come into the depths of the sea, a tempest hath overwhelmed me. I am a-wearied with crying, my throat is hoarse. My eyes failed me, when I set my heart on God. They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of my head. My foes have prevailed against me, they who pursued after me with violence. They asked me for that which I never took from them. God, thou knowest my simpleness, and my faults are not hid from thee. Let not them that wait on thee, O lord, be ashamed for my sake. O lord of powers, let not those who seek thee be confounded through me, O lord, God of Israel, O lord of powers; for it is for thy sake that I have suffered reproach, that shame hath covered my face, that I am become a stranger unto my brethren, even an alien unto my mother's children; for the heat of thy mansion hath devoured me, and the reproaches of them that reproached thee have fallen upon me. I bowed my soul with fasting, and that was turned to my reproach. I put on sackcloth; I became a bye-word among them. They

who sat at the gates mocked at me, and the drunkards made a song about me.

² "But as for me, I prayed in my soul to thee, O lord. The time is thine, O God. In the greatness of thy mercy, give ear unto my salvation, in truth. Take me out of this mire, that I sink not; let me be delivered from them that hate me, and from the pit of the waters. Let not the water-flood drown me, neither let the deep devour me, let not the pit seize me with its mouth. Hear me, O lord, for thy mercy is sweet. According to the multitude of thy mercies look upon me. Turn not thy face from thy servant, for I am oppressed. Hear me speedily. Give heed to my soul and save it. Save me from my enemies, for thou hast known my rebuke, my shame, and my affliction. All they who afflict me are in thy sight. My heart gazeth on rebuke and misfortune. I looked for him who should sorrow with me, but I found him not; for him who should comfort me, and I found him not. They have given me gall for meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink. Let their table be unto them a snare, a net, a retribution and a stumbling-block. Bend their back for all time. Trample them under foot in thy anger, let the wrath of thy displeasure seize hold upon them. Let their habitation be desolate, let no one dwell in their realm; for they have persecuted him whom thou hast smitten. They have added bitterness to their pain.

³ They have added iniquity to their iniquities. Let them not come into thy righteousness; let them be wiped out of the book of the living. Let them not be inscribed among the righteous. I am poor, an endurer of grief. The salvation of thy countenance hath received me unto itself. I will bless the name of God in a song, and I will magnify it with a benediction. This shall please the lord better than a calf new-born that putteth forth its horns, or than a young kid. Let the poor see and be glad. Seek ye God, that your souls may live; for the lord hath heard the poor, and despiseth not them who are in the bands of brass. Let heaven and earth bless the lord, the sea and all that is therein. For God will save and preserve in Sion, and they will build the cities of Judæa, that they may dwell in them, and find in them their inheritance. The seed of his servants shall possess it, and they who love his name shall dwell therein."

⁴ It came to pass, when Mary had spoken these words unto Jesus, in the midst of the disciples, that she said unto him: "Master, this is the interpretation of the mystery of the repentance of Pistis Sophia." It came to pass, when

Jesus had heard Mary speak these words, that he said unto her: "Well said, Mary, thou blessed one, the perfection of women, the most blessed of perfections, thou whom they shall beatify in every generation."

SECTION 16: THE SECOND REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

¹ And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said: "Pistis Sophia then sang her second repentance, saying: 'Light of lights, in whom I have trusted, leave me not in the darkness until the end of my time. Aid me, and save me, in thy mysteries. Incline thine ear unto me, and save me. May the power of thy light protect me, and carry me to the æons of the height; for it is thou who shalt save me, and take me into the height of thy æons. Preserve me, O light, from the hand of this lion-faced power, and from the hands of the emanations of god Arrogant; for thine is the light in which I have trusted; I have trusted in thy light from the beginning, I have trusted in it from the hour when it sent me forth; thou it is, who causedst me to emanate. As for me, I have trusted in thy light from the beginning. And when I trusted in thee, the rulers of the æons mocked at me, saying, She hath ceased in her mystery.' 'Tis thou who shalt save me, thou my saviour, thou my mystery, O light. My mouth hath been filled with praise, that I may tell of the mystery of thy greatness for all time. Now, therefore, O light, leave me not in chaos, until the end of all my time. Leave me not behind thee, O light, for they have taken from me my light-power entirely, and all the emanations of Arrogant have surrounded me.

² They sought to take away the whole of my light to the very exterior; they have set a watch on my power, saying one to another, together—for my light had abandoned me—"Seize her, take from her all the light which is in her. Therefore, O light, go not far from me; save me, O light, save me from the hands of these pitiless ones. Let them that would take away my power fall, and be without strength. Let them that would take away my light-power be clothed with darkness, and let them be impotent.' ³ "This is the second repentance which Pistis Sophia spake, singing a song to the light." It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Do ye understand how I speak unto you?" And Peter starting forward, said unto Jesus: "Master, we cannot endure this woman to thus take our place from us, and not suffer us to speak, but she speaks many times." And Jesus answered and said unto his disciples: "Let him in whom the power of his spirit seethes, to make him understand what I say, let him come

forward and speak. But as for thee, Peter, I see that thy power in thee understandeth the interpretation of the mystery of the repentance which Pistis Sophia spake. Now, therefore, Peter, expound the meaning of her repentance in the midst of thy brethren." And Peter answered and said unto Jesus:

4 " Master, give ear that I may expound the meaning of her repentance, of which of old thy power prophesied through David the prophet, who spake her repentance in the seventieth Psalm: " ' In thee, O God, my God, I have put my trust, let me not be put to confusion for ever. Preserve me in thy righteousness, and save me. Incline thine ear unto me to preserve me. Be thou unto me a strong God, and a stronghold to preserve me. For thou art my foundation and my refuge. O my God, save me from the hand of the sinner, from the hand of the transgressor of the law, and from the impious, for thou art my support, O lord, thou art my hope from my childhood; by thee have I been holden up from the beginning, when thou causedst me to come forth from my mother's womb. I will call thee to mind for ever. I was as one of the foolish for the crowd. Thou art my help and my support; thou art my saviour, O lord. My mouth is filled with blessing, that I may bless the glory of thy greatness all the day long. Cast me not away in the time of age, and cause not my soul to be without strength. Cast me not behind thee, for mine enemies speak evil against me; and they who keep watch on my soul have taken counsel together, saying, " God hath forsaken him. Run and take him, for there is no one to help him." O God, haste thee to my help. Let them be ashamed, let them cease to accuse my soul, let them be covered with shame and affliction who seek to do me evil.'

5 "This, then, is the interpretation of the second repentance which Pistis Sophia made."

SECTION 17: JESUS PROMISETH TO PERFECT THE DISCIPLES IN ALL
THINGS

1 The saviour answered and said unto Peter: "It is well, Peter; that is the interpretation of her repentance. Blessed are ye beyond all men who are on the earth, in that I have revealed unto you these mysteries. Amen, amen, I say unto you, I will perfect you in every perfection, from the mysteries of the interior to the mysteries of the exterior; I will fill you with the spirit, so that ye shall be called spiritual, perfect in all perfections. And, amen, amen, I say unto you I will give unto you all the mysteries of all the regions of my father, and of all the regions of the first mystery, so that he whom ye shall receive

on earth, shall be received in the light of the height; and he whom ye shall reject on earth, shall be rejected in the kingdom of my father who is in the heavens. Harken, therefore, and give ear to all the repentances which Pistis Sophia spake. She continued and spake her third repentance, saying:

2" 'O light of powers, give heed and save me. Let them that seek to take away my light be destitute, and let them dwell in the darkness. Let them that seek to take my power be turned into chaos, and let them be ashamed. Let them descend speedily into the darkness, who constrain me, saying, "We have mastered her." But let all those who seek for the light, rejoice and be glad; let them that desire thy mystery, say ever, May the mystery be exalted." Now, therefore, O light, preserve me, for I lack my light which they have taken away; and I am destitute of my power which they have taken from me. Thou, therefore, O light, thou art my saviour. 'Tis thou who preservest me, O light. Haste thee, save me from this chaos.'" It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, saying, "This is the third repentance of Pistis Sophia," that he said unto them: "Let him in whom a perceptive mind is awakened, come forward, and let him expound the meaning of the repentance which Pistis Sophia spake."

3It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking, that Martha came forward; she bowed herself at the feet of Jesus and kissed them; she cried aloud, and wept with groaning and humbleness, saying: "Master, have mercy upon me, and be compassionate unto me, and suffer me to expound the interpretation of the repentance which Pistis Sophia spake." And Jesus, taking Martha by the hand, said unto her: "Blessed is every one who humbleth himself, for on him they shall have mercy. Now, therefore, O Martha, thou art blessed. Expound, therefore, the interpretation of the meaning of the repentance of Pistis Sophia." And Martha answered and said unto Jesus, in the midst of the disciples: "Concerning the repentance uttered by Pistis Sophia, O Jesus, my master, thy light-power of old prophesied through David, in the sixty-ninth Psalm, saying: "'O lord, my God, haste thee to my help. Let them be ashamed and confounded that seek after my soul; let them be turned backward and be put to shame, who say unto me, There, there." But let all those that seek thee be joyful; let them rejoice for thy sake; let all them that love thy salvation, say ever, "The lord be exalted." But as for me, I am poor, I am destitute; O lord, be thou my help. Thou art my help and protection, O lord, make no long tarrying.'

⁴"This, then, is the interpretation of the third repentance spoken by Pistis Sophia, when she sang a song to the height." It came to pass, when Jesus had heard Martha speak these words, that he said unto her: "Well said, Martha; it is well."

SECTION 18: THE FOURTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

¹And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "Pistis Sophia continued with a fourth repentance, reciting it before they had constrained her a second time, so that they might once more take away all the light that was in her—that lion-faced power, and all the material emanations which were with it, those which Arrogant had sent into the chaos—she recited then her repentance as follows: " 'O light, in whom I have trusted, hear my repentance, and let my voice come into thy dwelling-place. Turn not thy image of light from me, but regard me. If they constrain me, haste thee, and save me, when I shall cry unto thee, for my time passeth away as vapour, and I am become as matter. They have taken away my light, and my power is dried up. I have forgotten my mystery which I performed in the beginning; because of the din of the fear and power of Arrogant, my power hath failed in me. I am become as a mere daemon dwelling in matter; I am become like the counterfeit of the spirit, which is in a material body, in which there is no light-power; I am become like as a mere decan of the air. The emanations of Arrogant have constrained me mightily, and my consort hath said to himself, "Instead of the light which was in her, they have filled her with chaos." I have myself devoured the sweat of my matter, and the anguish of the tears of the matter of my eyes, that they who were constraining me might not take what remains. All these things have been done unto me, O light, by thy order and commandment, and it is thy commandment that I am therein. Thy commandment hath brought me below, and I am descended like a power of chaos, my power hath grown cold in me.

²"But thou, lord, thou art the light eternal, and thou dost visit them whom they constrain, at all times. Now, therefore, O light, arise, seek my power and the soul which is in me. Thy commandment is accomplished, which thou didst decree for me in my afflictions. My time is come for thee to visit my power and my soul. This is the time which thou didst decree that thou wouldst visit me, so that the saviours should seek for the power which is in my soul (for its number is accomplished), and that they should also save the matter thereof. At that time, then, all the rulers of the material aeons

shall fear thy light, and all the emanations of the thirteenth material æon shall fear the mystery of thy light, and thus cause the others to put on the glory of their light, for the saviour shall visit the power of their soul. He hath revealed his mystery, for he will regard the repentance of them who inhabit the lower regions, nor will he disregard their repentance. This, then, is that mystery which hath become the type for the race which shall be engendered; and the race which shall be engendered will sing a song to the height, for the light hath regarded from the height of its light. It will regard every matter, to hear the sighs of them that are bound, to unloose the power of the souls whose power is bound, and to place his name in the soul, and his mystery in the power."

3 It came to pass that when Jesus had spoken these words unto his disciples, saying unto them, "This is the fourth repentance recited by Pistis Sophia; now, therefore, let him who understandeth, understand"—it came to pass when Jesus had spoken these words, that John came forward; he adored the breast of Jesus, and said unto him: "Master, give commandment to me also, and suffer me to utter the explanation of the fourth repentance recited by Pistis Sophia." And Jesus said unto John: "I give thee commandment, and I bid thee expound the interpretation of the repentance recited by Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 19: JOHN INTERPRETETH THE REPENTANCE FROM PSALM CI

1 And John answered and said: "My master, and saviour, concerning this repentance recited by Pistis Sophia, thy power of old which was in David hath prophesied, in the one hundred and first Psalm, saying: "Hear my prayer, O lord, and let my crying come unto thee. Turn not thy face from me; incline thine ear unto me in the day when I shall be constrained. Haste thee, and hear me, in the day when I shall cry unto thee, for my days are consumed like smoke, and my bones are parched like stone. I am mowed down like the grass, and my heart is withered, for I have forgotten to eat my bread. Because of the sound of my groaning, my bones have cleaved to my flesh. I am become like the pelican in the wilderness; like the owl in a house. I have passed the night long in watching; I am become as the sparrow alone upon the house-top. My enemies revile me all the day long, and they who honoured me, cursed me; for I have eaten ashes as though it were bread, and mingled my drink with tears, before thy indignation and thy wrath; for thou hast lif-

ted me up and cast me to the earth. My days have declined like a shadow, and I am dried up like the grass.

² "But thou, lord, thou art for ever, and thy remembrance is from generation to generation. Arise, therefore, and have mercy upon Sion, for the time hath come to have mercy upon her, yea, thy time hath come. Thy servants have sought her stones, and will take pity on her soil, that the nation may fear the name of the lord, and the kings of the earth thy glory; for the lord shall build Sion to reveal himself in his glory. He hath regarded the prayer of them that are humble, and hath not despised their supplication. Let them write this in another book, and the people that will be engendered shall bless the lord, for he hath looked down from his holy height. The lord hath gazed upon the heaven and the earth, to hear the sighs of them that are bound; to unloose the children of them whom they have killed, that they may utter the name of the lord in Sion and his praise in Jerusalem.'

³ "This, O Master, is the interpretation of the mystery of the repentance, recited by Pistis Sophia." It came to pass, when John had finished speaking these words to Jesus, in the midst of the disciples, that Jesus said unto him: "Well said, John, the virgin, who shall rule in the kingdom of light." And Jesus continued his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass again that the emanations of Arrogant once more constrained Pistis Sophia in the chaos, and the commandment had not yet come from the first mystery, to set her free from chaos. It came to pass, therefore, when the material emanations of Arrogant constrained her, that she cried out reciting this fifth repentance, saying:

SECTION 20: THE FIFTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

¹ "Light of my salvation, I send forth a song unto thee in the region of the height, and also in chaos. I will hymn thee in my song which I sang in the height; which I have sung too in chaos. Let it come into thy presence. Give heed, O light, to my repentance, for my power is filled with darkness, and my light hath come into chaos. I am become, also, like as the rulers of chaos, they who go into the lower darkness. I have become as a material body, which hath no one to save it in the height. I am become also like matter from which the power hath been taken; [matter] cast into chaos, which thou hast not preserved, which hath perished by thy commandment. Now, therefore, I have been set in the lower darkness; in darkness, and in dead matter, in which there is no power. Thou hast brought thy commandment upon me,

and upon everything as thou hast decreed. Thy spirit hath departed, and left me. Moreover, by thy commandment, the emanations of my æon have not come to my aid. They have held me in detestation, and kept themselves from me. Yet am I not utterly ruined, though my light is diminished in me. I have cried to the light with all the light that was in me, and I have stretched forth my hands unto thee.

2 "Now, therefore, O light, surely thou wilt fulfil thy commandment in chaos. Surely the saviours, who should come by thy command, surely they will arise in the darkness and come to learn of thee? Surely they will utter the mystery of thy name in chaos? Surely, at least, they will utter thy name in the matter of chaos, [the name] whereby thou wilt illuminate it? "But, as for me, I send forth a song unto thee, O light, and my repentance shall reach unto thee in the height. Let thy light come upon me, for they have taken away my light, and I am in affliction because of the light from the time I was made to emanate; when I gazed into the height towards the light, and I gazed below towards this light-power which is in chaos; when I rose up and fell down. Thy commandment hath come upon me, and the terrors, which thou didst decree, have thrown me into confusion; they have surrounded me in numbers like water, they have seized upon me by thy commandment, and thou hast not suffered my fellow-emanations to help me, nor hast thou permitted my companion to save me in my tribulations.'

3 "This is the fifth repentance which Pistis Sophia recited in the chaos, when all the material emanations of Arrogant began [again] to constrain her." Jesus, therefore, having spoken these words unto his disciples, said unto them: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear; and let him in whom his mind seethes, come forward, and expound the interpretation of the meaning of the fifth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 21: PHILIP, THE SCRIBE, COMPLAINETH

1 And when Jesus had finished speaking, Philip started forward, and rose up, and left on the ground the book which had been in his hands; for it was he who recorded all the discourse which Jesus uttered, and all that he did. Philip, therefore, came forward and said unto him: "Master, surely it is not on me alone that thou hast imposed the task of taking care of this world, to write all that we shall say and do, and hast not suffered me to come forward and interpret the mysteries of the repentance of Pistis Sophia. My spirit hath seethed in me many a time and oft; it hath revealed the interpretation, it

hath constrained me mightily to come forward to expound the interpretation of the repentance of Pistis Sophia; but I have not been able to do so, for it is I who write down all the words."

²It came to pass, when Jesus had heard Philip, that he said unto him: "Hearken, Philip, thou blessed one, while I speak unto thee, for 'tis thou, and Thomas, and Matthew, who have been charged, by the first mystery, to write down every word which I shall speak, and everything which I shall do, and everything which ye shall see. But as for thee, the tale of the words which thou hast to write, is not completed. But when it shall be completed, thou shalt come forward, thou shalt utter that which thou shalt desire. Now, therefore, it is ye three who shall write every word which I shall speak, and everything which I shall do and see, and I will bear witness to you of all things which are in the kingdom of the heavens." And when Jesus had spoken these words, he said unto his disciples: "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

³And Mary started forward again, she came into the midst, she stood by Philip, and said unto Jesus: "Master, my in-dweller of light hath ears, and I am ready to hear in my power, and I have understood the discourse which thou hast uttered. Now, therefore, my Master, hearken that I may speak in freedom. Thou hast said unto us, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.' Concerning the discourse which thou hast uttered unto Philip, 'It is to thee, and Thomas, and Matthew, to whom it hath been entrusted—to you three by the first mystery, to write down every word of the kingdom of light, in order that ye may bear witness thereof; hearken, therefore, while I expound the interpretation of this word, which thy light-power prophesied of old through Moses, saying, 'By two or three witnesses everything shall abound.' The three witnesses are Philip, Thomas, and Matthew."

⁴It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had heard these words, that he said: "Well said, Mary, this is the interpretation of the word. Now, therefore, do thou, Philip, come forward, expound the interpretation of the mystery of the fifth repentance of Pistis Sophia, and afterward, take thy seat, and write down every word which I shall utter until thou hast accomplished the number which hath fallen to thy lot, and which thou hast to write in the words of the kingdom of light. Afterwards, thou shalt come forward, and expound what thy spirit shall have understood. Now, therefore, expound the interpretation of the mystery of the fifth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 22: PHILIP INTERPRETETH THE FIFTH REPENTANCE FROM
PSALM XLVII

¹ And Philip answered and said unto Jesus: "Master, give ear, while I expound the interpretation of her repentance, for thy power hath prophesied of old concerning this through David, in the forty-seventh Psalm, saying: "O lord, God of my salvation, I have cried unto thee day and night. Let my prayer enter into thy presence. Incline thine ear, O lord, unto my supplication, for my soul is full of evil, and my life draweth nigh unto hell. I am counted among them that go down into the pit. I have become as a man who hath no help. Free among the dead, like unto the wounded, stretched out and sleeping in the tombs, of whom thou, in truth, thinkest not, and who have been laid low by thy hands. They have left me in a pit below, in darkness and in the shadow of death. Thy wrath is hard upon me, and all thy disquietude hath come upon me. (Diapsalma.) Thou hast put away mine acquaintance far from me; they have looked on me as an abomination. They have abandoned me, and I cannot get forth. My eye hath become feeble in my poverty, and I have cried unto thee, O lord, the whole day long; I have stretched forth my hands unto thee. Wilt thou not show thy wonders among the dead? Shall not the physicians arise to confess thee? Shall they not utter thy name in the tombs; and thy righteousness in a land which thou hast forgotten?

² "But as for me, I have cried unto thee, O lord, and my prayer shall reach thee early in the morning; turn not thy face far from me. For, as for me, I am poor, I am in misery from my childhood. When I exalted myself, I was abased; but I have risen up again. Thy wrath is come upon me, and thy fears have troubled me. They have surrounded me like water, they have seized upon me the whole day long. My comrades hast thou put away from me, and also my acquaintances, in my misery.' "This is the interpretation of the mystery of the fifth repentance, recited by Pistis Sophia, when she was constrained in chaos." It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had heard the words which Philip had spoken, that he said: "Well said, Philip, thou well-beloved. Now, therefore, go and take thy seat, and write thy portion of all the words which I shall speak, and of all things which I shall do, and of all that thou shalt see." And immediately Philip sat down and wrote.

³ It came to pass again, after that, that Jesus continued to speak. He said unto his disciples: "Then did Pistis Sophia cry to the light, in order that her sin might be forgiven her, in leaving her region and going into the dark-

ness. She recited her sixth repentance, saying: "I sing a song unto thee, O light, in the darkness of the lower regions; give ear to my repentance, and may thy light give heed to the voice of my prayer. O light, if thou bearest in mind my sin, I shall not be able to come nigh thee, and thou wilt abandon me; for thou, O light, thou art my saviour, because of the light of thy name. I have trusted in thee, O light, and my power hath trusted in thy mystery, and also my power hath trusted in the light which is in the height; it hath trusted also in the chaos below. Let all the powers which are in me, trust in the light, while I am in the lower darkness; may they also trust in the light, if they go into the region of the height, for it is [the light] which shall see and save us, and there is a great mystery of salvation in it. It is the light that shall save all the powers of chaos because of my transgression, for I have left my region. I am come into chaos.'

⁴"Now, therefore, he whose mind is exalted, let him understand." It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said: "Understand ye how I speak?"

SECTION 23: ANDREW INTERPRETETH THE SIXTH REPENTANCE FROM
PSALM CXXIX

¹And Andrew came forward and said: "Master, concerning the sixth repentance of Pistis Sophia, thy power hath prophesied of old through David, in the one hundred and twenty-ninth Psalm, saying: "I have cried unto thee, O lord, from the depth of the abyss. Hear my voice. Let thine ears give heed to the voice of my prayer. O lord, if thou remarkest my sins, who will be able to stand? For pardon is in thy hands. Because of thy name, I have waited, O lord. My soul hath waited for thy words; my soul hath trusted in the lord, from morning until evening. Let Israel trust in the lord from the morning until the evening, for mercy is in the hand of the lord, and there is great salvation in him; and he shall redeem Israel from all his sins." ²Jesus said unto him: "Well said, thou blessed one. That is the interpretation of her repentance. Amen, amen, I say unto you, I will perfect you in all the mysteries of light, and all the gnosés, from the interior of the interiors to the exterior of the exteriors, from the ineffable to the Andrew, darkness of darknesses, and from the light of lights to the depths of matter, from all the gods to all the dæmons, from all the lords to all the decans, from all the powers to all the workmen, from the creation of men to beasts, cattle and reptiles, in order that you may be called perfect, perfected in every perfection. Amen, amen, I

say unto you, in the region where I shall be in the kingdom of my father, there shall ye be also with me. And when the number of the perfect shall be completed, so that the mixture may be resolved, I shall give order for them to bring all the tyrant gods, who refused to give the glory of their light, and shall give commandment to the fire of wisdom, through which the perfect pass, to consume to the interior those tyrants until they shall have yielded up the last glory of their light."

³It came to pass, when Jesus had spoken these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And Mary said unto him: "Yea, Master, I have understood the word which thou hast spoken. Concerning, then, that which thou hast said, namely, that in the dissolution of the whole mixture, thou shouldst take thy seat on a light-power, and thy disciples, that is to say, ourselves, should sit at thy right, that thou shouldst judge the tyrant gods, those who have not given the glory of their light, and that the fire of wisdom should devour them, until they should have yielded the last light which is in them—concerning this word, thy light-power prophesied of old through David, in the eighty-first Psalm, saying, 'God shall sit in the congregation of the gods, to judge the gods.' Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Mary." And Jesus continued to speak unto his disciples, saying: "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia had finished reciting the sixth repentance for the remission of her sin, that she turned [again] toward the height, to see if they had pardoned her sin, and to see whether they would lead her upwards from chaos. (But, by commandment of the first mystery, not yet had they heard her, so that her sin should be pardoned, and she should be raised from chaos) And when she turned to see whether her repentance were accepted, she saw all the rulers of the twelve æons, mocking at her, and rejoicing that her repentance had not been accepted. When, therefore, she saw them mocking at her, she was in great tribulation, and raised her face to the height, saying, in her seventh repentance:

SECTION 24: THE SEVENTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

¹"O light, I have lifted up my face unto thee. O light, I have trusted in thee. Suffer me not to be put to confusion; let not the rulers of the twelve æons, who hate me, rejoice over me; for whosoever trusteth in thee shall not be ashamed. Let them that have taken away my power, dwell in darkness. They shall get from it no profit, but it shall be taken from their hands. O light, teach me thy paths, and I shall be preserved in them. Teach me thy ways, that

I may be preserved from the chaos, and guide me in thy light. Let me know, O light, that it is thou who wilt be my saviour. I will trust in thee for all my time. Apply thyself to my salvation, O light, for thy mercy is eternal. As to the transgression which I have committed, from the beginning, through my ignorance, impute it not to me, O light, but save me in thy great mystery that remitteth sins, because of thy goodness, O light, for thou art good and righteous, O light. For this cause, will [the light] show me my path, that I may be saved from my transgression; and my powers which were weakened through fear of the material emanations of Arrogant, shall be collected from them, by its commandment. My powers, which were weakened because of these merciless ones, shall be instructed in its gnosis;

² for all the gnoses of the light are means of salvation and mysteries for those who seek the region of its inheritance and its mysteries, because of the mystery of thy name, O light. Remit my transgression, for it is great. Whoever trusteth in the light, to him will it give the mystery that it will; and his soul shall be in the region of the light, and his power shall have its portion in the treasure of light. It is the light which giveth power to them that believe in it; and the name of its mystery is with them that trust in it. It shall instruct them concerning the region of the inheritance which is in the treasure of light. ³ "As for me, I have for ever trusted in thy light, for it is [the light] which shall preserve my feet from the bonds of the darkness. Give heed unto me, O light, and save me, for they have taken my name from me in chaos. Because of all the emanations, my tribulations and my affliction are multiplied exceedingly. Save me from my transgression and from this darkness, and look upon the grief of my affliction. Remit my transgression. Give heed to the rulers of the twelve æons who have hated me through jealousy; watch over my power and save me. Leave me not to dwell in this darkness, for I have trusted in thee, O light. Now, therefore, O light, save my powers from the emanations of Arrogant, whereby I am constrained.' Now, therefore, he that is sober, let him be sober."

SECTION 25: THOMAS INTERPRETETH THE SEVENTH REPENTANCE FROM
PSALM XXIV

¹ And when Jesus had spoken these things to his disciples, Thomas came forward and said: "Master, I am sober, I am more than sober, and my mind is quick in me, and I rejoice greatly that thou hast revealed these things unto us. Now, therefore, I have endured my brethren unto this moment, for I

have felt no wrath against them, but I have endured that each of them should come to thee and expound the interpretation of the repentance of Pistis Sophia.... Now, therefore, my Master, concerning the interpretation of the seventh repentance of Pistis Sophia, thy light-power hath prophesied through David, the prophet, in the twenty-fourth Psalm, saying: ²"Unto thee, O lord, have I lifted up my soul. My God, I have placed my heart in thee. O let me not be ashamed, and let not mine enemies mock at me; for whosoever hopeth in thee shall not be ashamed. Let them who do iniquity without a cause, be ashamed. Show me thy path, O lord, and teach me thy ways. Lead me in the way of truth, and teach me, for thou art my God, and my saviour. I will hope in thee all the day long. Call to remembrance, O lord, thy mercies, and thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old. O remember not the sins of my childhood and my ignorance. But think upon me according to the abundance of thy mercy, because of thy goodness, O lord. The lord is gracious and righteous; therefore shall he teach sinners in the way. He will guide the gentle with judgment, he will teach the gentle his ways. All the ways of the lord are good, in sooth, for them that seek his righteousness and his testimonies. For thy name's sake, O lord, pardon my sin, for it is very great. What man is he who feareth the lord, with him shall he establish a law in the way he shall choose. His soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall inherit the land. The lord is the support of them that fear him; and the name of the lord is with them that fear him, to teach them his covenant.

³Mine eyes gaze upon the lord for ever, for it is he who shall pluck my feet out of the snare. Look upon me, have mercy upon me, for I am an only son, I am a beggar, I. The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring me out of my constraints. Look upon my abasement, my misery, and forgive me all my sin. Consider mine enemies, how many they are, and they hate me with cruel hatred. O guard my soul, and save me; let me not be ashamed, for I have hoped in thee. The simple and the righteous clung to me, for I hoped in thee. O lord God, preserve Israel from all her troubles." ⁴And when Jesus had heard the words of he said unto him: "Well said, Thomas; it is well. This is the interpretation of the seventh repentance of Pistis Sophia. Amen, amen, I say unto you, all the families of the world shall proclaim you blessed on the earth, because I have revealed unto you these things, and that ye have received of my spirit, and have become understanding and spiritual, compre-

hending that which I have said unto you. Beyond this, I will fill you with all the light and all the power of the spirit, in order that ye may understand from this hour all that shall be said unto you, and which ye shall see. Yet a little while and I will tell you all that pertains to the height from the exterior to the interior, and from the interior to the exterior."

5 And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia had uttered her seventh repentance in the chaos, that although the commandment had not come to me from the first mystery to save her, and lead her upwards in the chaos, nevertheless, I, of myself, in pity, without commandment, I conducted her into a region slightly less confined in chaos. And when the material emanations of Arrogant saw that I had conducted her into a region slightly less confined in chaos, they ceased for a time to constrain her, thinking that she would be taken out of chaos entirely. Now, when this was done, Pistis Sophia knew not that it was I who was bringing her help, and she did not recognise me at all, but she continued singing a song to the light of the treasure, which she had seen of old, and in which she had trusted, thinking that it was the light of truth, and that it was because she had trusted in the light which belongeth to the truth of the treasure, that therefore she had been taken up in the chaos, and her repentance would be accepted. But the commandment of the first mystery was not yet fulfilled for her repentance to be accepted.

6 "But hearken while I tell you all things that happened unto Pistis Sophia. It came to pass, when I had led her to a region slightly less confined in chaos, that the emanations of Arrogant ceased to constrain her exceedingly, thinking that she would be taken out of chaos entirely. It came to pass, therefore, when the emanations of Arrogant discovered that Pistis Sophia had not been taken out of chaos, they returned all together constraining her exceedingly. And, therefore, she uttered her eighth repentance, in that they had ceased to constrain her, and that they had returned, and again constrained her mightily. And she spake this repentance, saying:

SECTION 26: THE EIGHTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

1 "I have placed my heart on thee, O light, leave me not in the chaos. Save me and deliver me by thy gnosis. Give heed unto me and save me. Be unto me a saviour, O light, and preserve me; lead me unto thy light, for thou art my saviour, and thou shalt lead me unto thee. Because of the mystery of thy name, lead me; give unto me thy mystery. Thou shalt save me from this lion-

faced power, with which they have lain in wait for me, for thou art my saviour; and I will give the glory of my light into thy hands. Thou shalt have set me free, O light, by thy gnosis. Thou art wroth with them that watch over me, who could not possess themselves of me entirely. But as for me, I have trusted in the light, I will rejoice; I will sing a song, for thou hast been compassionate unto me, and thou hast considered the affliction in which I am, and shalt save me. Moreover, thou shalt deliver my power from chaos, and thou hast not left me in the hands of the lion-faced power, but thou hast led me into a region where I am not constrained."

² And when Jesus had said these things unto his disciples, he continued in his conversation, and said: "It came to pass, therefore, when that lion-faced power discovered that Pistis Sophia had not been taken entirely out of chaos, that it came again with all the other material emanations of Arrogant. They constrained Pistis Sophia anew. It came to pass, therefore, when they had constrained her, that she cried out in the same repentance, saying: ³ "Have mercy upon me, O light, for they have constrained me anew. By thy commandment, the light which is in me, hath been troubled, and so also my power and mind. My power hath begun to cease, while I am in these afflictions, and the number of my time is in chaos. My light is enfeebled, for they have taken away my power, and all the powers which were in me have been tossed about. I am become without power before all the rulers of the æons, who hate me, and before the four and twenty emanations in whose region I dwell. And my brother, my consort, feared to help me, because of those among whom I have been set; and all the rulers of the height have regarded me as matter in which there is no light. I am become like a material power which hath fallen from the rulers, and of whom all they who dwell in the æons have said, She hath become chaos." And then all the pitiless powers surrounded me together, and plotted to take away all the light which was in me. But as for me, I have trusted in thee, O light, and I have said, "Thou art my saviour, and the commandment which thou hast decreed for me is in thy hands." Save me from the hands of the emanations of Arrogant, who constrain me, and persecute me. Send thy light upon me, for I am as nothing before thee, and save me by thy mercies. Let me not be ashamed; for it is to thee that I sing my song, O light. Let chaos cover the emanations of Arrogant, let them be led down into the darkness. Let the mouth of them that

wish to devour me with guile, who say, "Let us take all the light that is in her," although I have done them no ill, [let their mouth] be stopped."

SECTION 27: MATTHEW INTERPRETETH THE REPENTANCE FROM PSALM
XXX

¹ And when Jesus had spoken these things, Matthew came forward, and said: "Master, thy spirit hath roused me, and thy light moveth me to reveal this eighth repentance of Pistis Sophia, for thy power hath prophesied thereof of old through David, in the thirtieth Psalm, saying: ² "On thee, O Lord, have I set my heart, let me never be ashamed; save me in thy righteousness. Incline thine ear unto me, haste thee, save me. Be thou unto me a strong God, and a house of refuge to save me, for my support and my refuge. For thy name's sake thou shalt guide me, and thou shalt feed me, and thou shalt draw me out of this snare, which they have laid privily for me; for thou art my strength. I will place my spirit in thy hands; thou hast preserved me, O lord, God of truth. Thou hatest them that hold to vanity without a cause. But as for me, I have trusted, and I shall rejoice in my saviour. I shall be glad in thy spirit, for thou hast regarded my humbleness, and thou hast saved my soul from my constraints. Thou hast not closed my mouth, in the hands of the wicked, thou hast planted my feet steadily in a spacious region. Have mercy upon me, O lord, for I am in tribulation. My eye is confused because of their anger, and also my heart; for my years have been spent in sadness of heart, and my life is spent in groaning. My strength is enfeebled in poverty, and my bones are troubled. I am become an object of derision for all my enemies and them that draw nigh unto me. I am become an object of fear for them who knew me, and they who have seen me, have fled far from me.

³ They have forgotten me in their heart as a corpse, and I have been as a vessel that is lost. For I have heard the cursing of the hosts that surrounded thou art me, when they all massed themselves together against me; they laid plots to take away my soul. But as for me, I have trusted in thee, O lord, I have said, Thou art my God, my lot is in thy hands. Save me from the hand of mine enemies, and deliver me from them that persecute me. Show thy face unto thy servant, and save me in thy mercy, O lord. Let me not be ashamed, for I have cried unto thee. Let the unrighteous be ashamed, and let them descend into hell. Let the crafty lips be put to silence, which speak iniquity against the righteous with pride and cursing.'" ⁴ And when Jesus had heard these words, he said: "Well said, Matthew. Now, therefore, amen, I say

unto you, when the number of the perfect shall be fulfilled, and when the pleroma shall rise upwards, I shall take my seat in the treasure of light, and ye also, ye shall take your seats on twelve light-powers, until ye shall have restored all the orders of the twelve saviours in the region of the inheritance pertaining to each of them." And when he had spoken these things, he said: "Understand ye what I say?" And Mary came forward again, and said: "Master, on this matter thou hast spoken to us aforetime in parable, 'Ye have endured trials with me, and I will establish for you a kingdom, as my father established one for me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and ye shall sit on twelve thrones, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel.'" He said unto her: "Well said, Mary."

SECTION 28: THE NINTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

¹ And Jesus continued again and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, therefore, after this, when the emanations of Arrogant had constrained Pistis Sophia in chaos, that she uttered her ninth repentance, saying: ² "O light, smite them that have taken away my power, and take the power of them that have taken mine; for I am thy power and thy light. Come [unto me], and save me. Let the great darkness cover them that constrain me. Say unto my power, I will set thee free. Let all them be deprived of their power, who wish to take away my light entirely. Let their power be as dust; let Ieou, thy angel, smite them. And if they shall endeavour to go into the height, let the darkness seize them; let them fall, let them return into the chaos. Let thy angel Ieou pursue them; let him cast them down into the lower darkness. For they have set snares for me with a lion-faced power, although I have done them no ill, [a power] from which shall be taken the light that is in it. They have constrained the power that is in me, and which they could not take. Now, therefore, O light, take away the glory of the lion-faced power, without its knowing, and for the thought which Arrogant hath had to take my light, take from him also his [light]. Let the light be taken from the lion-faced power, which hath laid snares for me. My own power shall rejoice in the light, it shall be glad; for [the light] shall preserve it, and all the rays of my power shall say, "There is no saviour but thee";

³ for thou shalt save me from the hands of this lion-faced power which hath taken my power from me. Thou preservest me from them that have taken away my power and my light; for they have risen against me, they have lied against me, saying that I know the mystery of the light which is in the

height, [the light] in which I trusted; and they have constrained me, saying, "Tell unto us the mysteries of the light which is in the height"—[a thing] which I knew not. They have recompensed me with all these evils, because I trusted in the light of the height; and they have deprived my power of its light. As for me, when they constrained me, I was seated in the darkness, my soul humbled in mourning. ⁴ "But do thou, O light, to whom I sing my song, deliver me; I know that thou wilt deliver me, for I acted according to thy will, when I was in my æon. I did according to thy will, like those invisibles who are in my region, and as my consort. And I was in grief, looking, searching for the light. Now, therefore, all the emanations of Arrogant have surrounded me, they have rejoiced over me, and have mightily constrained me in my ignorance. They fled away, they left me, but they had no pity upon me; they returned, they tried me, they constrained me in great affliction; they gnashed their teeth against me, seeking to take away my light completely. How long, therefore, O light, wilt thou suffer them to constrain me? Save my power from their evil imaginations, and save me from the hands of this lion-faced power; for I alone of the invisibles, am in this region.

⁵ I will sing a song unto thee, O light, though I am in the midst of all them that are massed together against me; I will cry unto thee in the midst of them that constrain me. Now, therefore, O light, let not them that hate me, and desire to take away my power, rejoice over me—they that hate me and flash their eyes against me, though I have done nothing unto them; for they have spoken flattering words unto me, asking for the mysteries of the light which I knew not; speaking unto me with guile, and being enraged against me, because I trusted in the light which is in the height. They have opened their mouth against me, saying, "Yea, we will take from her her light." Now, therefore, O light, thou knowest their guile; suffer them not, and let not thy help be far from me. Haste thee, O light, bring about my retribution and my vindication, and judge me in thy goodness. Now, therefore, O light of lights, let them not take away my light, and let them not say among themselves, "Our power is glutted with her light." Let them not say, "We have devoured her power." But let darkness fall upon them, let them that desire to take away my light, become without power; let them be clothed with chaos and darkness, who say, "We will take away her light and her power." Now, therefore, save me that I may rejoice, for I long for the thirteenth æon, the place of righteousness, and I shall say for ever, "May the

light of thy messenger Ieou shine more and more," and my tongue shall sing a song in thy gnosis all my time in the thirteenth æon."

⁶ And when Jesus had said these words unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Let him who is sober among you, utter their interpretation."

SECTION 29: JAMES INTERPRETETH THE REPENTANCE FROM PSALM

XXXIV

¹ And James came forward, and kissed the breast of Jesus, and said: "Master, my spirit hath moved me, and I am eager to pronounce their interpretation. For this cause also thy power hath prophesied of old, through David, in the thirty-fourth Psalm, saying concerning the ninth repentance of Pistis Sophia: ² "'Pronounce judgment, O lord, against them that do me violence; and fight thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand on arm and buckler, and stand up to help me. Draw forth a sword, and sheathe it in them that constrain me. Say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Let them be ashamed and confounded who seek after my soul; let them be turned backward and put to shame who imagine evils against me; let them become as dust before the wind, and let the angel of the lord pursue after them. Let their way be dark and slippery, and let the angel of the lord constrain them; for without cause have they privily set a snare for me for their own hurt, and they have mocked at my soul in vain. Let a snare come upon them unawares, and let the nets that they have privily laid for me, seize hold upon them; and they shall fall into this snare. But my soul shall rejoice in the lord, and shall be joyful in his salvation. All my bones shall say, "Lord, who is like unto thee? Thou pre-servest the poor from the hand of him who is too strong for him, and thou deliverest the poor and him that is in misery from the hands of them that spoil him. False witnesses did rise up; they asked me things that I never knew. They rewarded me evil for good, to the making sterile of my soul.

³ But as for me, when they were violent against me, I put on sackcloth, and I humbled my soul in fasting, and my prayer shall return unto my bosom. I did that which pleased thee, as though to one of my kinsmen and my brother; and I humbled myself as one in mourning and one who is sad. But they rejoiced over me, and they were not ashamed. Evils have poured themselves upon me unawares; they held apart from me and were not sad. They have tried me and railed at me with mocking; they have gnashed their teeth against me. ⁴ "Lord, when wilt thou look upon me? Cause my soul to stand

out of their evil deeds, and save my sweet offspring from the lions. I will confess thee, O lord, in the great assembly, and I will praise thee in the midst of a countless people. O let not them that are my violent enemies, rejoice over me, them that hate me without a cause and wink with their eyes; for assuredly they have spoken unto me with words of peace, and imagined wrath with guile. They opened their mouths wide against me, saying, Ha, ha! our eyes are filled with the sight of him." Thou hast seen, O lord. O lord, keep no longer silence; go not far from me, O lord. Arise, O lord; give heed to my retribution; give heed to my vindication, my God and my lord. Let them not rejoice over me, O my God, and let them not say, "Well done, our soul." Let them not say, "We have devoured him." Let them be ashamed, and let them be also confounded, who rejoice at my evils. Let them be covered with shame and confusion who speak great words against me. Let them that favour my righteousness, rejoice and be glad; let them say, "May the lord be great"; let them be exalted who desire the peace of his servants. My tongue shall be joyful in thy righteousness and praise all the day long."

SECTION 30: JESUS COMMENDETH JAMES, AND PROMISETH THE FIRST
PLACE UNTO THE DISCIPLES

¹ And when James had spoken these words, Jesus said unto him: "Well said; it is well, James. This is the interpretation of the ninth repentance of Pistis Sophia. Amen, amen, I say unto you, ye shall be the first in the kingdom of the heavens before all the invisibles and all the gods, save only the rulers who are in the thirteenth æon, and they who are in the twelfth æon; and not only ye, but also every one who shall do my mysteries." And when he had thus spoken, he said unto them: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And Mary came forward again and said: "Yea, Master, this is what thou didst say to us aforetime, to wit, 'The last shall be first, and the first shall be last.' The first, they who were created before us, therefore, are the invisibles, for they were created before men, they and the gods, and the rulers; and the men who shall receive the mystery shall be with them in the region of the heavens."

² Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Mary." And Jesus continued and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia had recited her ninth repentance, that this lion-faced power compressed her again, wishing to take from her the whole power which was in her. She cried out again to the light, saying: 'O light, in whom I have trusted from the beginning, for thy sake have I endured this great affliction; aid me.' And in this hour her re-

pentance was accepted, the first mystery heard her, and I was sent by his commandment; I came and helped her; I led her out of chaos, in that she had repented and that she had also trusted in the light; that she had endured these great tribulations and these great perils; that they had tried to deceive her by the orders of this god Arrogant, and had not been able to deceive her in anything, save by a stream of light, because of its resemblance to the light in which she had trusted. For this cause was I sent by order of the first mystery, to succour her in secret, for I had not yet [openly] entered the region of the æons; but I had passed through the midst of them, without any power knowing it, either those of the interior of the interior, or those of the exterior of the exterior, save only the first mystery.

3 "It came to pass, therefore, on my entering into chaos to succour her, that she saw me, inasmuch as I was of an intellectual (noëric) nature, and shone exceedingly; and I was full of compassion for her, for I was not arrogant like that lion-faced power which had taken from Sophia the power of her light, and which still constrained her to take from her the whole light which was in her. Sophia, therefore, saw me shining more brightly than that power, tens of thousands of times; [she saw that I was] full of compassion for her, and she knew that I had come forth from the height of the heights, from him in whose light she had trusted from the beginning. Pistis Sophia, therefore, took confidence, and uttered her tenth repentance, saying:

SECTION 31: THE TENTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

1 "I have cried unto thee, O light of lights; save my power from the lips of the unrighteous and impious, and from the snares of guile. O light, that which they would have taken from me by perfidious snares, they would not have brought unto thee; for the snares of Arrogant are scattered about, and so are the traps of these merciless ones. Woe is me, for my dwelling is far off, and I am in the habitations of chaos. My power is in regions which are not mine, and I have entreated them that are without pity; and when I entreated them, they fought against me without a cause." And when Jesus had spoken these things unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Now, therefore, let him whose spirit urgeth him, come forward, and utter the interpretation of this tenth repentance of Pistis Sophia." And Peter answered and said: "Master, concerning this, thy light-power prophesied of old through David, in the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm, saying:

2 ""When I was in peril, I cried unto thee, O lord; and thou hast heard me. O lord, save my soul from violent lips and from a deceitful tongue. What will they give unto thee, or what will they add unto thee, like unto a deceitful tongue? The arrows of the powerful have been whetted with coals of the desert. Woe is me, for my dwelling is far off. I have dwelt in the habitations of Kedar; my soul hath been a stranger in many regions. I was peaceful with them that hate peace; if I spake unto them, they fought against me without a cause." "This, O Saviour, is the interpretation of the tenth repentance of Pistis Sophia, which she uttered when the material emanations of Arrogant constrained her, they and his lion-faced power, and when they mightily constrained her." And Jesus said unto him: "Well said, Peter; it is well. This is the interpretation of the tenth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

3 And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, therefore, when this lion-faced power saw me draw nigh unto Pistis Sophia, shining exceedingly, that it became the more and more enraged, and cast forth from itself other hosts of exceedingly evil emanations. And when these were produced, Pistis Sophia uttered her eleventh repentance, saying: "Why doth this mighty power boast itself in evils? It thought to take away my light for all time, like the iron that is smitten; they have taken away my power from me. I chose rather to descend into chaos than to dwell in the thirteenth æon, the region of righteousness; and they desired to take me with guile, in order to devour the whole of my light. For this cause, therefore, the light shall take away the whole of their light; all their matter hath been in confusion also; and it will take away their light, and not suffer it to dwell in the thirteenth æon, their dwelling place. It shall not set their name in the region of the living; and the four and twenty emanations shall see what hath befallen thee, O lion-faced power, that they may fear and no longer be disobedient, but yield the glory of their light. And they shall see thee; they shall rejoice over thee, they shall say, Lo, an emanation which hath not given the glory of its light, that it may be saved; but boasteth itself in the abundance of the light of its power, for it did not project in the power which was in it, and hath said, I will take away the light of Pistis Sophia,' which [light] they will now take from it."

4 "Now, therefore, let him in whom his power is aroused, come forward, and utter the interpretation of the eleventh repentance of Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 32: SALOME INTERPRETETH THE ELEVENTH REPENTANCE
FROM PSALM LI

¹ Then Salome came forward, and said: "Master, concerning this thy light-power prophesied of old, through David, in the fifty-first Psalm, saying: "'Why doth the mighty boast himself in his iniquity? Thy tongue hath imagined violence all the day long, like the sharp razor of a barber. Thou hast acted guilefully; thou lovedst evil more than good; thou lovedst violence more than to speak righteousness; thou hast loved all words that bring about destruction, and a deceitful tongue. Wherefore shall God destroy thee utterly, he shall pluck thee forth and uproot thee from thy dwelling, and he shall pluck up thy root to cast it from among the living. (Diapsalma.) The just shall see, and shall fear, and laugh at him; they shall say, Lo, a man that took not God for his help, but trusted unto the multitude of his riches, and grew strong in his vanity.'" But as for me, I am like a green olive tree in the house of the lord; and I have trusted in the mercy of the lord from eternity to eternity. I will confess thee, for thou hast dealt with me, and I will hope in thy name, for it is sweet in the presence of thy holy ones.'

² "This, then, O Master, is the interpretation of the eleventh repentance of Pistis Sophia, which thy light-power hath prompted me [to utter], and I have uttered it according to thy will." It came to pass, when Jesus had heard the speech which Salome had uttered, that he said: "Well said, Salome. Amen, amen, I say unto you, I will perfect you in all the mysteries of the kingdom of light." And Jesus continued his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass after this that I approached nearer to chaos than formerly, shining exceedingly, to take away the power from that lion-faced power. And as I shone exceedingly it feared and cried out to its god Arrogant, that he should come and aid it. And immediately, god Arrogant looked down from the thirteenth æon, he gazed downward into chaos, in exceeding wrath, desiring to aid his lion-faced power. And in this hour, his lion-faced power and all his emanations turned on Pistis Sophia, desiring to take away the whole of the light which was in Sophia. It came to pass, therefore, when Sophia was constrained, that she cried on high, crying to me that I should aid her. It came to pass, therefore, when she gazed on high, that she saw Arrogant mightily enraged, and she feared, she uttered her twelfth repentance because of Arrogant and his emanations. She cried unto me, saying:

3 "Forget not my song, O light, for Arrogant and his lion-faced power have opened their mouths against me; they have acted with deceit towards me; they have surrounded me, seeking to take away my power, and they have hated me, because I sang a song unto thee; instead of loving me, they have accused me; as for me, I sang a song. They have plotted together to take my power, because I sang to thee a song, O light; and they hated me, because I loved thee. Let darkness fall on Arrogant, and may the ruler of the outer darkness remain at his right hand. When thou passest sentence upon him, take from him his power, and that which he thought to do unto me, in taking away my light, [do thou unto him,] and take away his. May all the light-powers which are in him, cease; and may another take his greatness among the three triple powers; may all the powers of his emanations be without light, and may his matter have no light in it; suffer them not to enter into their region. May their light cease in them; may they not be allowed to enter into the thirteenth æon, their region. Let the receiver, the purifier of lights, purify all the light-powers that are in Arrogant, and take them from them. May the rulers of lower darkness have power over his emanations. Let no one receive them into his region; let no one give ear to the power of his emanations which are in chaos. Let them take away the light which is in his emanations, and let them hide their name in the thirteenth æon; aye, let them blot out his name for ever in that region.

4 "As for the lion-faced power, may the sin of him who sent it forth before the light, fall back upon him; may the iniquity of the matter which it hath produced, be never wiped away; nay, may their sin be ever before the light; may they never see beyond [chaos]; may their name be removed from every region, for they have not spared me; they have constrained him from whom they have taken his light and his power. Moreover, they among whom I have been sent, desired to take away my light; they loved to descend into the darkness; let them remain there, and let them not be brought forth therefrom from this hour. They sought for a habitation in the region of righteousness, and they shall no more be brought thither from this hour. He is robed in darkness as with a vesture, he hath entered into it as into water, and he is entered into all his powers like oil. Let him robe himself with chaos as a garment, and gird himself with darkness as with a girdle of skin for ever. Let this come upon them that have brought these things upon me because of the light, and on them that have said, Let us take from her all her

light." But as for thee, O light, be merciful unto me, because of the mystery of thy name, and save me in the goodness of thy mercy; for they have taken from me my light and my power, and my power hath been shaken in me; I could not stand in their midst. I have been like matter that is fallen, I have been driven this way and that like a daemon of the air. My power perished, because I had no mystery in that region; and my matter hath been bound, because of my light which they have taken away. They have mocked at me, they have winked upon me. Aid me according to thy mercy.'

5 "Now, therefore, let him whose spirit is active, come forward and utter the interpretation of the twelfth repentance of Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 33: ANDREW INTERPRETETH THE REPENTANCE FROM PSALM

CVIII

1 And Andrew came forward and said: "My Master and saviour, thy light-power hath prophesied of old through David, concerning this repentance which Pistis Sophia uttered; it spake thereof in the one hundred and eighth Psalm, saying: 2 "O God, hold not my mouth from my praise, for the mouth of the ungodly and deceitful is opened against me. They have spoken against me with a deceitful tongue, and have surrounded me with words of hate. They have fought against me without a cause; instead of loving me they have accused me. But as for me, I continued in prayer. They have raised up evil against me in return for good, and hate for love. Set thou an ungodly one over him, and may the accuser stand at his right hand. When sentence is given upon him, let him be condemned, and let his prayer be regarded as sin; may his days be shortened, and may another receive his over-seership; may his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. May the head of his children be bowed, may they be transported, may they beg, may they be cast out of their dwelling. May the money-lender sweep away all that he hath, and may strangers carry away all his labour. Let there be no man to give him a hand, and let there be no one to take mercy on his fatherless children. Let his children be blotted out, and let them blot out his name in a single generation. Let the sin of his fathers be remembered before the lord, and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out. Let them be ever before the lord. Let his memory be destroyed on the earth, in that he hath not thought of mercy;

3 for he hath persecuted the poor and helpless, he hath persecuted a wretched creature to put him to death. He hath loved cursing; let him fall into the midst thereof. He hath refused blessing, let it be far from him. He

hath clothed himself with cursing as with a garment, and it hath entered into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones. Let it be for him as a vesture with which he shall be clothed, and like a girdle with which he shall be girded for all time. This is the work of them that accuse before the lord, and who speak injustice against my soul. ⁴ "But as for thee, O lord God, have pity on me for thy name's sake. Save me, for I am poor and in misery. My heart is troubled within me; they have carried me away like a shadow that declineth, and they have frightened me away like [a swarm of] locusts. My feet have become feeble with fasting, and my flesh is dried from [want of] oil. I have become an object of derision unto them; they have gazed upon me, and wagged their heads. Help, O lord God, and save me according to thy mercy. Let them know that it is thy hand, and that thou hast created it, O lord.' "This is the interpretation of the twelfth repentance uttered by Pistis Sophia, when she was in chaos."

SECTION 34: THE THIRTEENTH REPENTANCE OF SOPHIA

¹ And Jesus continued, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass after this that Pistis Sophia cried unto me, saying: 'O light of lights, I have transgressed in the twelve æons, I have descended from them. Therefore, have I uttered these twelve repentances, [one] for each æon. Now, therefore, O light of lights, forgive me my transgression, for it is exceeding great, for I have left behind me the regions of the height, I have come to dwell in the regions of chaos.' When Pistis Sophia had said this, she continued to recite her thirteenth repentance, saying: "'Hear me when I sing a song unto thee, O light of lights; hear me when I make repentance for the thirteenth æon, the region whence I came forth, in order that the thirteenth repentance of the thirteenth æon may be accomplished. I have transgressed, I have descended from among them; now, therefore, O light of lights, hear me when I sing a song in the thirteenth æon, the region from which I came forth. Save me, O light, by thy great mystery; pardon me my transgression in thy remission; give unto me the baptism; remit my sins, and purify me from my transgression. And my transgression is this lion-faced power, which hath never been hidden from thee; for because of it am I descended. Tis I alone who have transgressed among the invisibles, in whose regions I was; I have descended into chaos, I have transgressed before thee, that thy statute might be accomplished.' This, then, Pistis Sophia said. Now, therefore, let him whose spirit

urgeth him to understand her words, come forward, and expound their meaning."

² And Martha came forward, and said: "Master, my spirit urgeth me to expose the interpretation of the things which Pistis Sophia hath spoken; thy power hath prophesied of old concerning them, through David, in the fiftieth Psalm, saying: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great mercy; and according to the multitude of thy mercies blot out my sin. Save me throughly from my wickedness; my sin is before thee every day, that thou mayest be justified in thy words, and mayest prevail when thou shalt judge me." "This is the interpretation of the words which Pistis Sophia spake." Jesus said unto her: "Well said; it is well, Martha, thou blessed one." And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia had said these words, that the time was fulfilled to draw her out of chaos; and of myself, without the first mystery, I produced from myself a light-power; I sent it forth into chaos to bring Pistis Sophia forth from the depths of chaos, until the command should come from the first mystery to take her entirely out of chaos. And my light-power led Pistis Sophia into the region which is above in the chaos. It came to pass, when the emanations of Arrogant discovered that Pistis Sophia had been conducted into the higher region of chaos, that they also sped after her into the height, seeking to bring her again into the lower regions of chaos; and my light-power, which I had sent unto Sophia in chaos, was shining exceedingly. It came to pass, therefore, when the emanations of Arrogant pursued Sophia, when she had been conducted into the higher region of chaos, that she again sang a song, and cried out unto me, saying:

SECTION 35: SOPHIA UTTERETH A SONG OF PRAISE

¹ "I will sing a song unto thee, O light, for I have desired to come unto thee; I will sing thee a song, O light, for thou art my saviour; leave me not. Save me, light of the height, for unto thee have I sung a song. Thou hast sent me thy light from thyself, and thou hast saved me. Thou hast brought me to the higher regions of chaos. Let the emanations of Arrogant, which pursue me, therefore, fall below into the lower regions of chaos, and let them not come into the higher regions of chaos to see me. Let great darkness cover them, and let the mighty gloom of darkness come upon them, and let them not see me in the light of thy power, which thou hast sent unto me to save me, that they may no longer have any power over me. And let the counsel which they

have imagined against me, to take away my power, no longer be accomplished for them; and as they have spoken about me to take away my light, take from them theirs in place of mine. They have designed to take away my light, and have not been able to take it; for thy light-power is with me, and they have taken counsel together without thy commandment, O light. For this cause have they not been able to take away my light, because I have trusted in the light. I shall not be afraid; the light is my saviour, and I will not fear.'

2 "Now, therefore, let him whose power is exalted, utter the interpretation of the words which Pistis Sophia spake." It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking those words unto his disciples, that Salome came forward, and said: "Master, my power constraineth me to utter the interpretation of the words which Pistis Sophia spake. Thy power hath prophesied of old through Solomon, saying: "I will confess myself unto thee, O lord, for thou art my God. Leave me not, O lord, for thou art my hope. Thou hast given me justice for naught; and I have been saved by thy hand. Let them that persecute me fall, and let them not see me. Let a cloud of darkness cover their eyes, and a tempest of wind blind them. Let them not see the day lest they should seize upon me. Let their counsel be impotent, and let their own conspiracy fall upon themselves. They have designed a plot, and it hath failed for them. The mighty have vanquished them, and the evils which they have prepared are fallen upon them. My hope is in the lord, and I will not fear, for thou art my God and my saviour.'"

3 It came to pass when Salome had finished speaking these words, that Jesus said unto her: "Well said, Salome; it is well. This is the interpretation of the words which Pistis Sophia spake." And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia had finished saying these words in the chaos, that I caused the light-power, which I had sent to help her, to form a crown of light on her head, in order that henceforth from that hour the emanations of Arrogant should not prevail against her. And when it had made a crown of light on her head, all the matters which were in her were shaken, and were all purified in her. They perished and remained in chaos, while the emanations of Arrogant gazed upon them and rejoiced. And the glories of pure light which were in Sophia, added their power of light to my light-power, which had become a crown upon her head. It came to pass, therefore, again, when [my light-power] sur-

rounded the pure light, which was in Sophia, and her pure light did not depart from the crown of power, the brilliant flame, so that the emanations of Arrogant should rob her of it—when this was done unto her, the power of unmixed light which was in Sophia began to sing a song. And she sang a song unto my light-power which was a crown unto her head, and she sang a song, saying:

4 "O light, be thou a crown unto my head; nor shall I ever cause it to depart, so that the emanations of Arrogant may assail me; and though all the matters be shaken, yet shall I not be shaken. And though all my matters be lost, and remain in chaos, and the emanations of Arrogant gaze upon them, yet shall I not perish, for the light is with me, and I am with the light." "These words, then, were spoken by Pistis Sophia. Now, therefore, let him who knoweth the meaning of these words come forward, and utter their interpretation."

SECTION 36: MARY, THE MOTHER, ASKETH AND RECEIVETH
PERMISSION TO SPEAK

1 Then Mary, the mother of Jesus, came forward, and said: "My son, according to the world, my God and saviour, according to the height, bid me utter the interpretation of the words which Pistis Sophia spake." And Jesus answered, and said unto her: "Thou also, O Mary, thou who didst receive the form which is in Barbêlô, according to matter, and didst receive the similitude of the regions of light, according to the light, thou and the other Mary, the blessed one; the darkness hath existed because of thee, and moreover from thee did come forth the material body in which I dwell, and which I have purified—now, therefore, I bid thee utter the interpretation of the words spoken by Pistis Sophia." And Mary, the mother of Jesus, answered, and said: "My Master, thy light-power hath prophesied of old concerning these words, through Solomon, in his nineteenth Ode, saying: "The lord is above my head as it were a garland, and I shall never be without it. The garland of truth hath been woven for me;

2 and he hath caused its branches to flourish in me, for it is not like unto a garland that withereth and flourish-eth not. Thy branches are full [of sap]; they are perfect, filled with thy salvation." It came to pass, when Jesus had heard these words which Mary, his mother, had spoken, that he said unto her: "Well said; it is well. Amen, amen, I say unto thee, they shall proclaim thee blessed from one end of the earth to the other, for the covenant of the

first mystery hath dwelt in thee, and by this covenant shall be saved all worlds and all heights, and this covenant is the beginning and the end."

³ And Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples; "It came to pass, when Pistis Sophia had uttered her thirteenth repentance, that in that hour was fulfilled the statute of all the tribulations with which Pistis Sophia had been disgracefully inflicted, for the consummation of the first mystery, which is from the beginning; and the time had come to rescue her from chaos, and lead her out of all the darkness, for her repentance had been accepted by the first mystery; and moreover that mystery sent me a mighty light-power from the height, that I might rescue Pistis Sophia and lead her out The first of chaos. And I gazed towards the mystery heights of the æons, I saw that lightand Jesus power which the first mystery had sent sent forth me, that I might rescue Pistis Sophia two streams from chaos. It came to pass, therefore, of lightpowers to when I had seen it, issuing forth from the æons help and coming towards me, I being in chaos, Sophia. that another power of light-powers also went forth from me, to aid Pistis Sophia. And the light-power which had issued from the heights, sent by the first mystery, descended upon the light-power which had issued from me, and they met together, and became a mighty stream of light."

⁴ And when Jesus had spoken these things unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And Mary started forward again, and said: Mary in- "Master, I understand that of which terpreteth thou speakest. Concerning the interthe myspretation of this word, thy light-power tery. hath prophesied of old through David, in the forty-fourth Psalm, saying: 'Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth hath flourished on the earth, and righteousness hath looked down from heaven.' Mercy, therefore, is this light-power which was sent by the first mystery; for the first mystery had heard Pistis Sophia, he had had mercy on her in all her tribulations. Truth, also, is that power which issued from thee, for that thou hast fulfilled the truth in order to save me from chaos. Righteousness, again, is that power which was sent by the first mystery, which will guide Pistis Sophia. Peace, also, is that power which issued from thee to enter into the emanations of Arrogant to take from them the light, which they had taken from Pistis Sophia; that is to say, in order that thou mightest gather them together into Sophia, and make them at peace with her power. Truth, also, is the power which issued from

thee, when thou wast in the lower regions of chaos. For this cause thy power hath said through David, 'Truth hath flourished on the earth,' for thou wert in the lower regions of chaos. 'Righteousness also hath looked down from heaven'; this is the power which issued from the height, [sent] by the first mystery, [the power] which entered into Sophia."

5 And when Jesus had heard these words, he said: "Well said, Mary, thou blessed one, who shalt inhabit every kingdom of light." Then also Mary, the mother of Jesus, came forward, and said: "My Master and my God, bid me also utter this word of interpretation." Jesus said unto her: "He whose spirit is intelligent, I will in no way prevent, but I the more and more urge him to utter the meaning which prompteth him. Now, therefore, O Mary, my mother according to matter, thou in whom I dwelt, I bid thee also utter the meaning of the word."

SECTION 37: THE STORY OF THE PHANTOM SPIRIT

1 And Mary answered and said: "My Master, concerning the word which thy power prophesied through David, to wit, 'Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other; truth hath flourished on the earth, and righteousness hath looked down from heaven,' —thy power prophesied this word of old concerning thee. "When thou wert a child, before the spirit had descended upon thee, when thou wert in the vineyard with Joseph, the spirit came down from the height, and came unto me in the house, like unto thee, and I knew him not, but thought that he was thou. And he said unto me, 'Where is Jesus, my brother, that I may go to meet him?' And when he had said this unto me, I was in doubt, and thought it was a phantom tempting me. I seized him and bound him to the foot of the bed which was in my house, until I had gone to find you in the field, thee and Joseph; and I found you in the vineyard; Joseph was putting up the vine poles. It came to pass, therefore, when thou didst hear me saying this thing unto Joseph, that thou didst understand, and thou wert joyful, and saidest, 'Where is he, that I may see him? Nay [rather], I am expecting him in this place.' And it came to pass, when Joseph heard thee say these words, that he was disturbed. We went together, we entered into the house, we found the spirit bound to the bed, and we gazed upon thee and him, and found that thou wert like unto him. And he that was bound to the bed, was unloosed, he embraced thee and kissed thee, and thou also didst kiss him; ye became one and the same being.

2 "This, then, is the word and its interpretation. Mercy is the spirit which came from the height, [sent] by the first mystery, to take pity on the human race; he sent his spirit to pardon the sins of the whole world, that they might receive the mystery, that they might inherit the kingdom of light. Truth, also, is the power which dwelt in thee, issued from Barbêlô. It became thy material body, and the herald below the region of truth. Righteousness is thy spirit which hath brought all the mysteries from on high, to give them to the race of men. Peace, also, is the power which dwelt in thy material body, according to the world, [the body] which hath baptised the human race, to make it a stranger to sin, and at peace with thy spirit, that they may be at peace with the emanations of light, that is to say, that mercy and truth may kiss each other. As to that which hath been said, 'Truth hath flourished on the earth,' truth is thy material body which germinated in me in the earth among men, and is the herald below the place of truth. Again, as to that which hath been said, 'Righteousness hath flourished out of heaven,' righteousness is the power which hath looked down from heaven, [the power] which will give the mysteries of light to the human race, and men shall become righteous, they shall be good, they shall inhabit the kingdom of life."

3 It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had heard these words which Mary, his mother, had spoken, that he said: "Well said; it is well, Mary."

SECTION 38: THE OTHER MARY FURTHER INTERPRETETH THE SAME
SCRIPTURE FROM THE BAPTISM OF JESUS

1 And the other Mary came forward, and said: "Master, suffer me, and be not wroth with me, nay, from the moment when thy mother uttered the interpretation of these words, my power hath urged me to come forward, and also expound their interpretation." And Mary said: "Master, 'Mercy and truth are met together.' Mercy, then, is the spirit which descended upon thee, when thou didst receive the baptism of John. Mercy is the spirit of divinity which descended upon thee, which had pity on the human race; it descended, it met with the power of Sabaôth which is in thee, which is the herald below the regions of truth. It hath been said again, 'Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' Righteousness, then, is the spirit of light which came upon thee, which hath brought the mysteries of the height, to give them unto the human race. Peace, also, is the power of Sabaôth the good, who is in thee, who hath baptised and hath pardoned the human race; it [the power] hath made

it at peace with the children of light. And again, as thy power hath said, through David, 'Truth hath flourished on the earth,' this is the power of Sabaôth the good.

2 "He hath said, 'Truth hath flourished on the earth,' [for] it hath flourished in Mary, thy mother, who dwelleth on earth. Righteousness, also, which 'hath looked down from heaven,' is the spirit which is in the height, which hath brought all the mysteries of the height, and hath given them to the human race; men have become righteous, they have become good, they have inherited the kingdom of light." And it came to pass, when Jesus had heard the discourse which Mary uttered, that he said: "Well said, Mary, inheritor of light." And again Mary, the mother of Jesus, came forward, she bowed herself at his feet, and kissed them, saying: "My Master, my son, and my saviour, be not wroth against me but pardon me, that I may tell thee once more the interpretation of these words. 'Mercy and truth are met together,' 'tis I, Mary, thy mother, with Elizabeth, mother of John, when I met her. Mercy, then, is the power of Sabaôth which is in me, [the power] which went forth from my mouth, that is to say, thyself. Thou hast had mercy on the whole human race. Truth, also, is the power which was in Elizabeth, that is to say, John, who came, and was the herald before the truth, that is to say, who was the herald before thee. And again, Mercy and truth are met together,' 'tis thou, my saviour, when thou didst meet John, on the day when thou wast to receive the baptism. Again tis thou and John who are righteousness and peace that kissed each other.

3 "'Truth hath flourished on the earth, and righteousness hath looked down from heaven,' this is the time when thou didst minister to thyself. Thou didst take the form of Gabriel, thou didst look down upon me from heaven, thou didst speak unto me, and when thou hadst spoken unto me, thou didst germinate in me. This is the truth, that is to say, the power of Sabaôth the good, which is in thy material body, it is this truth which hath flourished on the earth." It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had heard these words which Mary, his mother, spake, that he said: "Well said; it is well. This is the interpretation of all the words concerning which my light-power prophesied of old, through David, the prophet."

Pistis Sophia: The Second Book

TRANSLATED BY G. R. S. MEAD

3rd century

The second book of Pistis Sophia in Mead's English version, the longest part of the work. Jesus tells the story of Sophia's deliverance, describes the orders of the invisibles and the light-world, and answers the questions of Mary, Martha, Salome and the apostles about the mysteries, the forgiveness of sins, the fate of souls after death and the punishments of the dungeons. A short extract from the Books of the Saviour stands in the middle. It is a third-century Coptic Gnostic gospel, not scripture.

SECTION 1: JOHN FURTHER EXPLAINETH THE SAME SCRIPTURE

¹ And John also came forward and said: "Master, bid me as well expound the interpretation of the words which thy light-power prophesied of old through David." And Jesus answered and said unto John: "To thee also, John, I give commandment to expound the interpretation of the words of which my light-power prophesied by David, saying, 'Mercy and truth have met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth hath flourished on the earth, and righteousness hath looked down from heaven.'" John answered and said: "This is the word which thou didst say unto us John once on a time, 'I came forth from the further height, I entered into Sabaôth the good; I embraced the light-power which was in him.' Now, therefore, mercy is thyself, who wast sent from the regions of the height by thy father, the first mystery, looking within, which sent thee to have mercy on the whole world. Truth also is that power of Sabaôth the good, which was implanted in thee, which thou hast sent forth to the left, thou the first mystery looking within. And the little Sabaôth the good, hath received it; he sent it forth into matter and into Barbêlô, and became the herald of the regions of truth, in all the regions of those of the left. The matter of Barbêlô, then, is that which is in thy body to-day.

2 "Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' Righteousness is thyself, who didst bring all the mysteries, by order of thy father, the first mystery looking within; and thou didst baptise this power of Sabaôth the good, and thou didst go into the region of all the rulers; thou didst give them the mysteries of the height; they have become righteous, they have become good. "Peace is also the power of Sabaôth, which indeed is thy soul, which entered into the matter of Barbêlô, and all the rulers of the six æons, or Iab-raôth, made peace with the mystery of the light. "And 'truth which hath flourished on the earth' is that power of Sabaôth the good, which came forth from the region of the right, which is without the treasure of light, and came into the region of those of the left, it entered into the matter of Barbêlô, and proclaimed unto them the mysteries of the region of truth.

3 "Righteousness also which 'looked down from heaven,' is thyself the first mystery looking without, come forth from the spaces of the height, with the mysteries of the kingdom of light; and thou didst descend upon this light-vesture, which thou didst receive from the hands of Barbêlô, which [vesture] is Jesus, our saviour, descending upon him like a dove." The first mystery, then, continued: "It came to pass, therefore, that this power which had come forth from the height, that is to say, myself, whom my father sent to rescue Pistis Sophia from chaos, [that] I, therefore, [as Jesus, the saviour] with this other power which had issued from me, and the soul which I had taken from the hands of Sabaôth the good, we went all together, forming but a single stream of light, which shone exceedingly. I summoned Gabriel from above, from the æons, and also Michael, by order of my father, the first mystery looking within. I gave unto them the light-stream, and made them descend into chaos, to rescue Pistis Sophia, and seize upon the light-powers which the emanations of Arrogant had taken from her, in order to take them from them and give them unto Pistis Sophia.

4 "And the moment that the light-stream was led into chaos, it lit up mightily the whole of chaos, and extended itself in all their regions. And the emanations of Arrogant, when they had seen the great light of this stream, were terror-stricken one after the other; and the light-stream drew forth from them all the light-powers which they had taken from Pistis Sophia. The emanations of Arrogant durst not possess themselves of this light-stream in dark chaos; nor could they possess themselves of it [even] with the art of Arrogant, who rules over the emanations. "And Gabriel and Michael

led the light-stream over the material body of Pistis Sophia; they infused into it all the light-powers which had been taken from her. And her material body became shining throughout; and also all the powers which were in her, and from which the light had been taken, became radiant; they ceased to lack their light, for the light had been taken back from those who had taken it away, and had been given back again by my interposition. And Michael and Gabriel—they were in attendance upon me, and had led the light-stream into chaos, to give them the mysteries of light; for it was to them that the light-stream had been entrusted, [the same] which I gave unto them and brought into chaos—and Michael and Gabriel took no light for themselves from the light-powers of Sophia which they took from the hands of the emanations of Arrogant.

5 "It came to pass, therefore, when the light-stream had infused into Pistis Sophia all her light-powers, which it had taken from the hands of the emanations of Arrogant, that she became entirely radiant; and the other light-powers which were in Pistis Sophia, those which the emanations of Arrogant had not taken away, were also joyful, and full of light. And the light-powers which had been infused into Pistis Sophia vivified her material body, in which there had been no light; which was to perish, and had perished. They vivified all her powers which were not to perish. These powers also became light-powers; they became as they were originally. They were also exalted in their perceptions of the light, and all the light-powers of Sophia knew one another by the intervention of the light-stream; they were saved by the light of that stream. And when my light-stream had taken away the light-powers from the hands of the emanations of Arrogant, [the powers] which they had taken away from Pistis Sophia, it infused them into Pistis Sophia, and turned itself about and ascended in chaos."

6 This, then, is what the first mystery spake unto his disciples, concerning what had happened to Pistis Sophia in chaos. He continued, and said: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?"

SECTION 2: PETER INTERPRETETH THE NARRATIVE FROM THE ODES OF
SOLOMON

1 And Peter came forward, and said: "Master, concerning the interpretation of the words which thou hast spoken, thy light-power hath prophesied concerning them of old, through Solomon, in his Odes, [saying]: "A flood hath taken place; it hath become a great stream, strong and wide; it hath carried

all away. It hath turned towards the temple, nor could they hold it in with enclosures and structures. The skill of them that check the waters could not stop it; it spread over the whole land, and seized upon all of them. They that were in the sand of the desert have drunk; their thirst departed and was quenched, when they had received the draught from on high. Blessed are the ministers of that draught, to whom hath been entrusted the water of the lord. They have refreshed the parched lips. They who were perishing, have felt their heart rejoice; they who were breathing their last, have plucked up courage so as not to die. They have raised up the limbs which were fallen; they have given power to their countenance, and have given light to their eyes, for all of them know each other in the lord, and have been saved by the water of life everlasting.'

² "Hearken, therefore, my Master, that I may utter the word in freedom, as thy power prophesied, through Solomon. 'A flood hath come forth; it hath become a great stream, strong and wide'; this is the light-stream which spread itself in chaos, in all the region of the emanations of Arrogant. "And the word which thy power hath again uttered through Solomon, 'It hath carried all away; it poured them over the temple'; that is to say, it carried away all the light-powers from the emanations of Arrogant, which they had taken from Pistis Sophia, and it poured them again into Pistis Sophia. "And the word thy power again hath said, 'The enclosures and structures have not been able to hold it in'; that is to say, the emanations of Arrogant have not been able to hold the light-stream within the walls of the darkness of chaos. "And the word which it also uttered, 'It spread over the whole land, and filled everything'; that is to say, when Gabriel and Michael led it over the body of Pistis Sophia, it poured into Sophia all the light-powers which the emanations of Arrogant had taken from her, and her material body became radiant.

³ "And the word which it also spake, 'They who were in the parched land have drunk'; that is to say, all that were in Pistis Sophia have been illuminated, [the powers] from which the light had previously been taken away. "And the word which it uttered, 'Their thirst hath departed and is quenched'; that is to say, her powers ceased to lack their light, for they had had restored to them the light which had been taken away. "And, again, as to the utterance of thy power, 'They have given them a draught from on high'; that is, the light hath been given unto them by the light-stream 'which came forth

from myself, [who am] the first mystery.' "And as to the saying of thy power, 'Blessed are the ministers of that draught,' that is the word which thou hast spoken, 'Gabriel and Michael, they who were in attendance, led the stream into chaos and also brought it forth again.' The mysteries of light which had been entrusted to the light-stream will be given unto them.

4 "And as to the further utterance of thy power, 'They have refreshed the parched lips'; that is, Gabriel and Michael have taken nothing for themselves from the light-powers of Pistis Sophia, [the powers] which they had wrested from the emanations of Arrogant, but infused them into Pistis Sophia. "And again the word which it spake, 'They who were fainting, have felt their heart rejoice'; that is, all the other powers of Pistis Sophia, which had not been taken away by the emanations of Arrogant, rejoiced greatly; they were filled with light by their light-fellows, for they were infused into them. "And the word which thy power again uttered, 'They have revived the souls which were breathing their last, that they might not die'; that is, when they had poured their light into Pistis Sophia, they vivified her material body from which the light had previously been taken, but which was not destined to perish.

5 "And again the word which thy power spake, 'They have raised up firmly the limbs which were fallen, so that they might not perish'; that is, when they had poured into her her light-powers, they confirmed all the powers which [otherwise] would have perished. "And again as to the saying of thy light-power, 'They have had their light renewed, and they have become what they were of old,' and also the word which it spake, 'They have given light to their eyes'; that is, they have gained perception in the light, and have known the light-stream, for it was [previously] hidden in the height. "And again the word which it spake, 'And all knew each other in the lord'; that is, all the powers of Pistis Sophia knew one another through the light-stream. "And again the word which it uttered, 'They have been saved by the water of life everlasting; it hath drawn them over the temple'; that is, when the light-stream had taken all the light-powers of Pistis Sophia, and had wrested them from the emanations of Arrogant, it poured them into Pistis Sophia, and turned itself about, and departed from the chaos; it came upon thee, for thou art the temple.

6 "This is the interpretation of all the words which thy light-power spake in the Ode of Solomon." It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had heard all these words which Peter had spoken, that he said unto him:

"Well said, O blessed Peter; this is the interpretation of the words which have been spoken."

SECTION 3: THE EMANATIONS OF ARROGANT CRY ALOUD TO HIM FOR
HELP

¹ The first mystery continued, and said: "It came to pass, therefore, as Pistis Sophia had not yet [entirely] ascended out of chaos, because my father, the first mystery, looking within, had not yet given her commandment, that then, when the emanations of Arrogant discovered that my light-stream had taken unto itself the light-powers, which they had taken from Pistis Sophia, and had poured them again into Pistis Sophia, when they saw again Pistis Sophia radiant as she had been in former times, they were enraged against Pistis Sophia, they cried out, moreover, to Arrogant to make him come and help them, that they might again take away all the powers which were in Pistis Sophia. "And Arrogant sent from on high, from the thirteenth æon, he sent another great light-power. It descended into chaos like a winged arrow, to help his emanations, that they might once more take away the light-powers of Pistis Sophia. And when this power had descended, the emanations of Arrogant, which were in chaos and had caused Pistis Sophia all her woe, were mightily encouraged. They persecuted Pistis Sophia afresh with great fears and mighty pains; and some of the emanations of Arrogant constrained her. One of them changed itself into the form of a monster serpent; another changed itself also into the form of a seven-headed basilisk; another changed itself into the form of a dragon. Moreover, the first power of Arrogant, the lion-faced, and all his emanations, in mighty multitude, assembled together; they constrained Pistis Sophia, they brought her again into the lower regions of chaos, and harassed her afresh exceedingly.

² " It came to pass, thereafter, that there looked down from the height of the twelve æons, Adamas the tyrant, he who had been enraged against Pistis Sophia, because she had desired to enter into the light of lights, which was above them all, and therefore was he wroth against her. It came to pass, therefore, when Adamas the tyrant had looked down from the height of the twelve æons, that he saw the emanations of Arrogant which were constraining Pistis Sophia until they should take from her all the light-powers which were in her. It came to pass, when the power of Adamas descended into chaos unto the emanations of Arrogant, it came to pass, therefore, when this dæmonial power descended into chaos, that it dashed Pistis Sophia to the earth;

and the lion-faced power, and also the basilisk-headed one, and the dragon-faced, and all the emanations of Arrogant, in mighty multitude, surrounded Pistis Sophia all together, seeking to take from her again the powers which were in her; they mightily constrained Pistis Sophia, and threatened her. It came to pass, therefore, when they constrained her and harassed her mightily, that she cried out to the light, and sang a song unto it, saying:

3 " 'O light, tis thou who didst rescue me. Let thy light descend upon me, for thou hast received me unto thyself, and I was going unto thee, O light. I trust in thee, O light; for thou art my saviour against the emanations of Arrogant, and against Adamas the tyrant. Thou shalt relieve me from all his violent threats.' " And when Pistis Sophia had said this, then, by order of my father, the first mystery looking within, I sent again Gabriel and Michael, and that great light-stream, that they might rescue Pistis Sophia. I gave order to Gabriel and Michael to bear Pistis Sophia in their hands, so that her feet should not touch the lower darkness; and I gave them commandment further to guide her in the regions of chaos, from which they were taking her. " It came to pass, therefore, when the messengers descended into chaos, they and the light-stream, when all the emanations of Arrogant and the emanations of Adamas again saw the light-stream which shone mightily, there being no measure to the light therein, that they became terror-stricken and left Pistis Sophia. And the great light-stream surrounded Pistis Sophia on every side, on the right and on the left, on every side, and became a crown of light upon her head.

SECTION 4: THE TRANSFIGURATION OF SOPHIA

1 "It came to pass, therefore, when the light-stream had surrounded Pistis Sophia, that she took courage most exceedingly, and the stream ceased not to surround her on every side; and Pistis Sophia no longer feared the emanations of Arrogant, which were in chaos, nor did she any more fear that new power of Arrogant, which he had cast into chaos like a winged arrow; nor did she tremble before the dæmonial power of Adamas, which had come from the æons. " And again, by my order, [by order of] the first mystery looking without, the light-stream which had surrounded Pistis Sophia on all sides, became most exceedingly radiant; and Pistis Sophia was tabernacled in the midst of the light, a mighty light being on her left and on her right, and on all sides, forming a crown on her head. And all the emanations of Arrogant could no longer change their appearance, nor could they stand the shock

of the great light of the stream which formed a crown on the head of Sophia; and all the emanations of Arrogant collapsed, a host of them at its right, because of its mighty radiance, and other hosts of them at its left. They could no longer at all draw nigh unto Pistis Sophia because of the great light; but they fell all one on the other, and could do no harm unto Pistis Sophia, because she had trusted in the light.

² "And by order of my father, the first mystery looking within, I also descended into chaos, shining most exceedingly; I directed my attack against that lion-faced power, which was shining exceedingly, and took from it all its light; I prevented all the emanations of Arrogant from entering from that hour into their region, which is the thirteenth æon; I took away the power of all the emanations of Arrogant, and they all fell into chaos powerless. And I led forth Pistis Sophia, who was on the right of Gabriel and Michael; and the great light-stream entered into them. And Pistis Sophia gazed upon her enemies, from whom I had taken their light-power. And I led Pistis Sophia forth from chaos, treading under foot the serpent-headed emanation of Arrogant, and the seven-headed basilisk emanation, the lion-faced power, and the dragon-faced. I made Sophia stand upon the seven-headed basilisk emanation of Arrogant, which was more powerful than all of them in his evil doings. And I, the first mystery, stood over it; I took all the powers which were in it, and destroyed all its matter, so that no seed should arise from it from that hour."

³ The first mystery, having spoken these things unto his disciples, continued, and said: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And James came forward, and said: "Master, concerning the interpretation of the words which thou hast said, thy light-power prophesied concerning them of old, through David, in the ninetieth Psalm, saying: ⁴ "Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the most high shall abide under the shadow of the God of heaven. He will say unto the lord, Thou hast received me unto thyself; [thou art] my place of refuge." He is my God in whom I have trusted; for he shall save me from the snares of the hunters and from them that utter violent words. He shall shelter thee beneath his breast, and thou shalt take courage beneath his wings. His truth shall surround thee like a breast-plate; thou shalt not be afraid for the terror of the night nor for the arrow which flieth by day, for the thing that strideth in darkness, that proceedeth from the destruction of the dæmonial one at mid-day. A thousand shall fall on thy left, and ten thousand

at thy right hand; but they shall not come nigh thee. Thou shalt gaze upon them, thou shalt see them receive the payment of sinners; for thou, O lord, art my hope. Thou hast established for thyself places of refuge in the height; no one shall come nigh thee, no plague come nigh thy dwelling; for he hath given commandment to his messengers concerning thee to keep thee in all thy ways, to bear thee in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt mount on the serpent and basilisk; thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon. Because he hath trusted in me, I will save him; I will shelter him, because he hath known my name. He will cry unto me, and I shall hear him; I am with him in his afflictions, and I will save him to glorify him, and increase him with wealth of days, and teach him my salvation.'

5 "This, my Master, is the interpretation of the words which thou hast said. Hearken, therefore, that I may expound it unto thee in freedom. "The word, then, which thy power spake, through David, 'Who dwelleth under the defence of the most high shall abide under the shadow of the God of heaven'; that is, when Sophia trusted in the light, she abode under the light of the light-stream which came down from the height from thee. "And the word which thy power uttered, through David, 'I will say unto the lord, Thou hast received me unto thyself,' and my place of refuge is my God, in whom I have trusted'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake in her song, 'Thou hast received me unto thyself, and I was going unto thee.' "And, again, the word which thy power uttered, 'My God, I trusted in thee; for thou shalt save me from the snares of the hunters, and from them that utter violent words'; this is what Pistis Sophia said, 'O light, I have trusted in thee; for thou shalt save me from the emanations of Arrogant and from those of tyrant Adamas; thou, moreover, shalt save me from all their violent threats.'

6 "And, again, the word which thy power spake through David, 'He shall shelter thee under his breast, and thou shalt take courage beneath his wings,' meaneth that Pistis Sophia hath dwelt in the light of that light-stream which came forth from thee, and she was astonished in heart by the light which was on her left, and that which was at her right, that is to say, the wings of the light-stream. "And the word which thy light-power prophesied through David, 'Truth shall surround thee like a breast-plate'; that is, the light of the light-stream which surrounded Pistis Sophia like a breast-plate. "And the word which thy power uttered, 'He shall not be afraid for the terror of the night'; that is, that Pistis Sophia was not afraid before the terrors and

troubles into which she had been sent in chaos, which is night. "And the word which thy power spake, 'He shall not be afraid of the arrow which flieth by day'; that is, that Pistis Sophia was not afraid before that power which Arrogant had sent from the top of the heights, and which descended into chaos like a flying arrow, just as thy light-power prophesied, 'Thou shalt not be afraid of the arrow that flieth by day'; for this power came forth from the thirteenth æon which is lord of the twelve æons; he it is who is light for all the æons. Therefore he [David] hath used the word 'day.'

7 "And again the word which thy power uttered, 'He shall not be afraid of the thing that strideth in darkness'; that is, that Sophia did not fear before the serpent-headed emanation, which made her afraid in chaos, which is 'darkness.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'He will not fear for the destruction, the dæmonial one at mid-day'; that is, that Pistis Sophia was not afraid before the dæmonial emanation of tyrant Adamas, which cast Pistis Sophia to the earth in great destruction, that which came forth from Adamas, from the twelfth æon. Therefore, thy power prophesied, 'He will not fear the destruction of the dæmonial one at mid-day'; mid-day, because it came forth from the twelfth æon, which is mid-day [the twelfth hour]; and again because it descended into chaos, which is night, or rather the night which descended from the twelfth æon which is between the two. Therefore, thy light-power spake of mid-day, because the twelve æons are between the thirteenth and chaos.

8 "And again the word which thy light-power spake through David, 'A thousand shall fall on thy left, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but they shall not come nigh thee'; that is to say, when the emanations of Arrogant, which were very many in number, could not stand the great light of the light-stream, a host of them fell on the left hand of Pistis Sophia, and a host at her right, and they could not at all come nigh her to do her harm. "And the word which thy power spake through David, 'But thou shalt gaze upon them, and thou shalt see the reward of sinners; for thou, O lord, art my hope'; that is, that Pistis Sophia looked upon her enemies, which are the emanations of Arrogant, who had fallen all the one on the other; and not only did she gaze upon them in this state, but thou also, my Master, the first mystery, thou didst take away the light-power which was in that lion-faced power, and further thou didst take away the power of all the emanations of Arrogant, and moreover thou didst prevent them from that hour entering

their own region from chaos. Therefore did Pistis Sophia look on her enemies; that is to say, the emanations of Arrogant just precisely as David prophesied concerning her, saying, 'But thou shalt look upon them, and thou shalt see the payment of the sinners.' Not only did she look upon them fallen the one on the other, but she also beheld the payment which they have received. Just as the emanations of Arrogant thought to take away the light which was in Pistis Sophia, so hast thou recompensed them; thou hast paid them their payment, and thou hast taken the light-power which was in them, instead of the light of Sophia who had trusted in the light of the height.

9 "And as thy light-power spake through David, 'Thou hast established the height for thyself as a place of refuge; no evil shall come nigh thee, no plague shall enter into thy house'; that is to say, when Pistis Sophia trusted in the light, and when she was in peril, she sang unto it a song, and the emanations of Arrogant could not do her any harm, they could not injure her, they could not at all come nigh her. "And the word which thy light-power uttered through David, 'He will give commandment to his messengers concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, to bear thee in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone'; that is to say also, thou hast given commandment to Gabriel and Michael to guide Pistis Sophia in all the regions of chaos, to bear her in their hands until they had helped her rise up, so that her feet should not touch the lower darkness, and they of the lower darkness should not seize hold of her.

10 "And the word which thy light-power spake through David, 'Thou shalt trample on the serpent and the basilisk, and thou shalt tread under foot the lion and the dragon; because he hath had trust in me, I will save him, and I will shelter him, because he hath known my name'; that is to say, when Pistis Sophia was just leaving chaos, she trod under foot the emanations of Arrogant; she trampled on them that had serpent heads, and basilisk heads, and seven heads; and she trod under foot that lion-faced power, and that dragon-headed one, because she had trusted in the light, and it had saved her from them all. "This, O Master, is the interpretation of the words which thou hast said." It came to pass, when the first mystery had heard these words, that he said: "Well said, James, thou well beloved."

SECTION 5: SOPHIA SINGETH A SONG OF PRAISE

¹ And the first mystery again continued in his conversation, and said to his disciples: "It came to pass, when I had led Pistis Sophia out of chaos, that she cried out anew, saying: "'I have been rescued from chaos; I have been loosed from the bonds of darkness. I have come unto thee, O light, for thou hast been for me light on all sides, preserving and helping me. And the emanations of Arrogant, which fought against me, thou hast kept therefrom by thy light, and they have not been able to draw nigh unto me; for thy light was with me and preserved me through thy light-stream, because the emanations of Arrogant constrained me, they took away my power, and cast me into chaos deprived of my light, and I became as gross matter before them. Then came forth the power of the light-stream unto me from thee to save me; it shone on my left and on my right, surrounding me on all sides, so that no part of my being was without light, and thou didst hide me in the light of thy stream. Thou didst purge in me all my evil matters, and I rose superior to all my matters, because of thy light and of thy light-stream, which hath raised me up, and hath kept far from me the emanations of Arrogant which constrained me. I became stout of heart in thy light, and in the pure light of thy stream. And the emanations of Arrogant which constrained me withdrew themselves from me, and I became radiant in thy great power. Thou hast saved me and hast preserved me for ever.'

² "This is the repentance which Pistis Sophia uttered, when she came forth from chaos and was freed from the bonds of chaos. Now, therefore, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear." It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that Thomas came forward, and said: "Master, my light-dweller hath ears, and my spirit understandeth the words which thou hast said. Now, therefore, give commandment unto me to expound clearly the interpretation of the words." The first mystery answered, and said unto Thomas: "I give thee commandment to expound the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia sang in my honour." Thomas answered, and said: "My Master, concerning the song which Pistis Sophia uttered, because she was preserved from chaos, thy light-power prophesied of old concerning thee, through Solomon, the son of David, in his Odes, saying: ³ "'I have been loosed from my bonds; I have run unto thee, O lord, for thou wert at my right hand preserving me, preserving and helping me. Thou hast prevented them that fought against me, and they did not

show themselves because thy countenance was with me, preserving me by its beauty. I was despised before the crowd, and have been cast out; I was as lead in their presence. But a power came forth unto me from thee, helping me; for thou hast set lamps on my right hand and on my left, so that no part of my being should be without light. Thou didst shelter me under the shadow of thy mercy, and I was placed above the coats of skin. Thy right hand hath raised me up, and hath taken my sickness from me. I have become strong in thy truth, pure in thy righteousness. They that fought against me have withdrawn themselves from me, and I have been justified by thy goodness, for thy rest is from eternity to eternity.'

4 "This, O Master, is the interpretation of the repentance which Pistis Sophia spake, when she was preserved from chaos. Hearken, therefore, while I expound it in freedom. "The word, then, which thy power spake through Solomon, 'I have been loosed from bonds, I have run unto thee, O lord'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'I have been loosed from the bonds of darkness; I have come unto thee, O light.' "And the word which thy power uttered, 'Thou wert at my right hand, preserving and helping me'; this is again the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast been a light for me on all sides, and thou hast helped me.' "And the word which thy light-power spake, 'Thou hast prevented them that fought against me, and they did not show themselves'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And the emanations of Arrogant, which fought against me, thou hast prevented by thy light, and they have not been able to draw nigh unto me.'

5 "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thy countenance was with me, preserving me by its beauty'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thy light was with me, preserving me in thy light-stream.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'I was despised before the crowd, and have been cast out'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'The emanations of Arrogant constrained me, they took away my power, and I became for them an object of derision; they cast me into chaos, deprived of my light.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'I was as lead in their presence'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'When they had taken away my light-powers, I became as gross matter before them.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'But a power came forth unto me from thee, helping me'; this is again the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And then the power of the light-stream came forth unto me from thee, preserving me.'

6 "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thou hast set lamps on my right hand and on my left, so that no part of my being should be without light'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thy power shone on my right and on my left hand, surrounding me on all sides, so that no part of my being was without light.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thou didst shelter me under the shadow of thy mercy'; this is again the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And thou didst clothe me in the light of thy stream.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'I was placed above the coats of skin'; this is again the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And they have purged in me all my evil matters, and I rose superior to them by thy light.' "And the word which thy power spake through Solomon, 'Thy right hand hath raised me up, and hath taken my sickness from me'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia said, 'And thy light-stream hath raised me up in the light, and hath removed from me the emanations of Arrogant, who constrained me.'

7 "And the word which thy power spake, 'I have become strong in thy truth, and pure in thy righteousness'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'I became stout of heart in thy light, and I am become a pure light in thy light-stream.' And the word which thy power spake, 'They that fought against me, have withdrawn themselves from me'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And the emanations of Arrogant which constrained me, withdrew themselves from me.' "And the word which thy power spake through Solomon, 'And I have been justified by thy goodness, for thy rest is from eternity to eternity'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'I have been preserved in thy goodness; for thou dost preserve the whole world.' "This, then, O my Master, is the whole interpretation of the repentance which Pistis Sophia uttered, when she had been rescued from chaos and freed from the bonds of darkness."

8 It came to pass, when the first mystery had heard Thomas utter these words, that he said: "Well said; it is well, Thomas, thou blessed one. This is the interpretation of the song sung by Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 6: SOPHIA SINGETH ANOTHER SONG OF PRAISE

1 The first mystery continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "Pistis Sophia continued, and sung a song unto me, saying: "I sing a song unto thee, unto thee, who, by thy commandment, hast led me forth from a high æon which is above; and thou hast made me come into the lower regions; and again, by thy commandment, thou hast preserved me from the

lower regions. By thy grace thou hast removed the matter which was in my light-power, and I have seen. Thou hast scattered far from me the emanations of Arrogant, which constrained me and were my enemies. Thou hast given me power to unloose the bonds of the emanations of Adamas; and thou hast smitten the sevenheaded basilisk-serpent. Thou hast cast it far from my hands; and thou hast set me above its matter. Thou hast caused it to perish, so that its seed should not arise from this hour forth.

2 Thou wert with me, giving me power in all this [affliction]. And thy light hath surrounded me in all the region. And of thyself thou didst make all the emanations of Arrogant powerless; for thou hast taken away the light-power which was in them. Thou hast made straight my path to lead me out of chaos. Thou hast carried me far from this material darkness, and thou hast taken from it all my powers, from which the light had been taken. Thou hast infused into them a pure light, and unto my limbs, which had no light, thou hast given a pure light from the light of the height. Thou hast made straight the way before them, and the light of thy countenance hath become for me a life that can never be destroyed. Thou hast brought me forth from the higher part of chaos, the region of chaos and of destruction, in order that all the matters that were therein, might be scattered, [the matters] which are in that region. And, in order that all my powers might be renewed and thy light be in them all, thou hast set the light of thy stream in me; I have become a pure light-power.'

3 "This is the second song which Pistis Sophia uttered. Now, therefore, let him who understandeth the repentance come forward, and expound it." It came to pass, when the first mystery had finished speaking those words, that Matthew came forward, and said: "I have understood the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia uttered. Now, therefore, give commandment unto me, to expound it in freedom." The first mystery answered, and said: "I give thee commandment, O Matthew, to expound the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia uttered." And Matthew answered, and said: "Concerning the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia spake, thy light-power prophesied of old concerning it, through Solomon, saying: 4 "He who hath made me to descend from the lofty regions of heaven, and who hath led me into the regions which are in the lower foundation; who hath taken therefrom them that were in the middle region, and who hath instructed them; who hath scattered my enemies and my adversaries; who hath given

me power against the bonds to unloose them; who hath smitten the seven-headed serpent in my hands, and set me up upon his root, that I may blot out his seed—he is thyself who wert with me, and helped me in every region. Thy name hath surrounded me; thy right hand hath destroyed the venom of the speaker of evils; thy right hand hath opened the path for thy righteous; thou hast preserved them in the tombs, and hast borne them from the midst of the corpses. Thou hast taken dead bones, and hast clothed them with a body, and to them that stirred not thou hast given the energy of life. Thy way is void of destruction, and so also thy countenance. Thou hast led thine æon into destruction, that all might be destroyed and be again renewed, and that thy light might become a foundation for them all. Thou hast poured out thy wealth upon them, and they have become a holy place.'

5 "This is the interpretation, O Master, of the song which Pistis Sophia uttered. Harken, therefore, that I may expound it openly. "The word which thy power spake through Solomon, 'He who hath made me to descend from the lofty regions of heaven, and who hath, moreover, made me enter into the regions of the lower foundation'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'I sing a song unto thee, O thou, who, by thy commandment, hath made me come forth from this high æon above the heaven, and who hath led me into the lower regions; and thou hast preserved me also by thy commandment, thou hast made me rise up from the lower regions.' "And the word which thy power spake through Solomon, 'Who hath taken therefrom them that were in the middle region, and hath instructed me'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And also by thy commandment, thou hast caused the matter which was in the midst of my power to be purified; and I have seen it.'

6 "And also the word which thy power spake through Solomon, 'Who hath scattered my enemies and my adversaries'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast scattered far from me the emanations of Arrogant, which constrained me, and were my enemies.' "And also the word which thy power spake, 'Who hath given me wisdom over the bonds to unloose them'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'He hath given me wisdom to unloose the bonds of these emanations.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'Who hath smitten the seven-headed serpent in my hands, and set me up upon his root, that I may blot out his seed'; this is the word that Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast smitten the seven-headed serpent by my hands, and thou

hast set me up above his tribes; thou hast caused it to perish, so that its seed should not arise from this hour.'

7 "And the word which thy power spake, 'But thou wert with me, helping me'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou wert with me, giving me power in all this [affliction].' "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thy name hath surrounded me in every region'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And thy light hath surrounded me in all the regions.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thy right hand hath destroyed the venom of the speakers of evils'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And of thyself thou didst make all the emanations of Arrogant powerless; for thou hast taken from them their power.' "And the word which thy power hath said, 'Thy right hand hath opened the path for thy faithful'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast made straight my path to lead me out of chaos, for I have trusted in thee.'

8 "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thou hast rescued them from the tombs, and thou hast borne them from the midst of the corpses'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast rescued me from chaos, thou hast carried me far from this material darkness which is the murky emanation of chaos, from which thou hast taken away the light.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thou hast taken dead bones and hast clothed them with a body, and to them that stirred not thou hast given the energy of life'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And thou hast taken all my powers which had no light in them, and hast infused into them a pure light, and unto all my limbs which had no light in them, thou hast given a living light from on high.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thy way is void of destruction, and so also thy countenance'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast made straight thy way for me and the light of thy countenance; they have been a way void of destruction unto me.'

9 "And the word which thy power spake, 'Thou hast led thine æon into destruction, that all might be destroyed and be again renewed'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast brought me, thy power, into chaos and destruction, that all the matters which were in that region might be dissolved, and all my power be renewed in the light.' "And the word which thy power spake, 'And thy light hath become a foundation for them all'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'And thy light hath been in them all.' "And the word which thy light-power uttered through Solomon, 'Thou hast

poured out thy wealth upon him, and he hath become a place of holy habitation'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'Thou hast concentrated the light of thy stream upon me, and I have become a pure light-power.' This, then, my Master, is the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia spake."

¹⁰ It came to pass, when the first mystery had heard these words which Matthew had uttered, that he said: "Well said, Matthew; it is well, O well-beloved. This is the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia spake."

SECTION 7: SOPHIA CONTINUETH TO SING

¹ And the first mystery continued in his conversation, and said: "I will declare that it is thou, O light most high, that hast preserved me, and hast brought me unto thee; who hast prevented the emanations of Arrogant, which were my enemies, from taking my light, O light of light. I have sung a song unto thee; thou hast preserved me, O light; thou hast brought my power out of chaos; thou hast preserved me from them that descend into the darkness.' "These words Pistis Sophia uttered. Now, therefore, let him who hath a comprehending mind, and who hath understood the words uttered by Pistis Sophia, come forward and expound their interpretation." It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary came forward, and said: "Master, my mind is ever comprehending, so that I could come forward every time and expound the interpretation of the words which she spake; but I fear Peter, for he hath threatened me, and hateth our sex."

² And when she had spoken these words, the first mystery said unto her: "No one shall prevent whosoever shall be filled with the spirit of light from coming forward and expounding the interpretation of what I say. Now, therefore, O Mary, expound the interpretation of the words uttered by Pistis Sophia." And Mary answered and said unto the first mystery in the midst of the disciples: "Master, concerning the interpretation of the words uttered by Pistis Sophia, thy light-power prophesied of old, through David, saying: "I will magnify thee, O lord, for thou hast received me unto thyself, and thou hast not let mine enemies rejoice over me. O lord, my God, I have cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me. O lord, thou hast drawn my soul forth from hell, thou hast saved me from them that descend into the pit.'" When Mary had spoken these things, the first mystery said unto her, "Well said; it is well, Mary, thou blessed one."

³ He continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "And Sophia continued in her song, and said: "'The light hath been a saviour unto me; it hath changed my darkness into light; it hath cleft the darkness that surrounded me, and hath girded me with light.'" It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had finished speaking these words, that Martha came forward, and said: "Master, thy power hath prophesied of old through David, concerning this word, saying: "'The Lord hath been my succour; he hath changed my song of mourning into joy. He hath rent my sackcloth, and girded me with joy.'" It came to pass, when the first mystery had finished hearing the words which Martha had uttered, that he said: "Well said; it is well, Martha." And the first mystery continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "Pistis Sophia further continued with her song, and said:

⁴ "'Sing a song, O my power, to the light, and forget not all the light-powers which it hath given unto thee, and all the powers which are in thee. Sing the name of his holy mystery, which remitteth every transgression; [of him] who saveth thee from all the afflictions with which the emanations of Arrogant have constrained thee; who hath preserved their light from all the emanations of Arrogant, which are numbered for destruction; who hath bestowed a crown of light upon thy head to preserve thee; who hath filled thee with pure light, and thy source shall be renewed as an invisible of the heights.' "These words Pistis Sophia said, in that she had been preserved and remembered all things which had been done unto her." It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said unto them: "Let him who understandeth the interpretation of these words come forward and expound it in freedom."

SECTION 8: MARY INTERPRETETH FROM THE PSALMS

¹ Then Mary came forward, and said: "My Master, concerning the words which Pistis Sophia uttered in her song, thy light-power prophesied of old, through David, saying: "'Praise the lord, O my soul; let all that is within me praise his holy name and forget not all his recompenses; [for he it is] who remitteth all thy iniquities; who healeth all thy infirmities; who saveth thy life from destruction; who putteth on thy head a crown of mercy and loving kindness; who satisfieth thy desire with good things. Thy childhood shall be renewed like an eagle's.' "That is to say, Sophia shall be like those invisibles who are in the heights, for he said, 'like an eagle,' for the dwelling of an eagle is in the heights, and the invisibles are also in the heights; that is to say,

that Pistis Sophia shall become radiant like the invisibles, just as she was in the beginning."

2 It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had heard these words which Mary had spoken, that he said: "Well said, Mary, thou blessed one." It came to pass, therefore, after this, that the first mystery continued again in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "I took Pistis Sophia, I led her into a region below the thirteenth æon, and I gave unto her a new mystery which was not that of her own æon, [the mystery of] the invisible region. And I gave unto her also a song of light, so that from that hour the rulers of the æons should not prevail against her. And I left her in that region until I should come again to find her, and bring her into her region which is in the heights. It came to pass, when I had left her in that region, that she again uttered her song, saying:

3 "In faith have I trusted in the light; it hath accomplished my desire, it hath brought my power out of chaos and from the lower darkness of every matter. It hath led me on high, it hath set me in an æon lofty and firm. It hath set me on the path which leadeth to my region, and hath given unto me a new mystery, which is not that of my æon. It hath given unto me a song of light. Now, therefore, O light, the rulers shall see what thou hast done; they shall fear, and they shall believe in the light.' "This song, therefore, Pistis Sophia uttered, rejoicing that she had been led out of chaos and brought into regions below the thirteenth æon. Now, therefore, let him whose mind is stirred, and who understandeth the interpretation of the meaning of the song, which Pistis Sophia uttered, come forward and expound it."

4 And Andrew came forward and said: "My Master, this is what thy light-power prophesied of old concerning thee through David, saying: "'With tarrying I waited for the lord, and he hath inclined his ear unto me, and hath heard my prayer. He hath brought my soul out of the pit of wretchedness, and from the mire of the mud; he hath stablished my feet on a rock, and hath directed my steps. He hath put in my mouth a new song and benediction for our God. Many shall see and shall fear, and shall hope in the lord.'" It came to pass, when Andrew had expounded the meaning [of the song] of Pistis Sophia, that the first mystery said unto him: "Well said, Andrew, thou blessed one." He continued again in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "These are all the things which befell Pistis Sophia. It came to pass,

therefore, when I had brought her to the region which is below the thirteenth æon, that I was about to enter into the light and cease to busy myself concerning her. She said unto me:

5 " 'O light of lights, thou art about to go to the light and to cease to busy thyself concerning me, and tyrant Adamas will know that thou hast ceased to busy thyself on my behalf; he will know that he who should preserve me, is no longer [here], and he will come again to this region, he and all his rulers who hate me, and Arrogant will again give power unto his lion-faced emanation; they will all come and will constrain me together to take away all the light which is in me, that I may become powerless and again without light. Now, therefore, O light of my light, take from them their light, that they may no longer from this hour be able to constrain me.' "It came to pass, when I had heard these words which Pistis Sophia spake unto me, that I answered her, and said: 'My father, who caused me to emanate forth, hath not yet given me commandment to take their light from them; but I will seal the regions of Arrogant and of all his rulers who hate thee. And I will also seal the regions of Adamas and of his rulers, so that none of them may be able to fight against thee until their time is fulfilled, and until even the time hath come when my father shall give me commandment to take away their light.'

6 "Then I further said unto her: 'Hearken that I may tell unto thee their time, when that which I have just said unto thee shall come to pass. It shall come to pass when three times shall be accomplished.'

SECTION 9: HOW SOPHIA SHALL KNOW THAT THE TIME OF HER FINAL
DELIVERANCE HATH COME

1 "Pistis Sophia answered and said unto me: 'O light, how shall I know that three times are accomplished, so that I may rejoice, and be in gladness in that my time shall be nigh for thee to bring me into my region? Moreover, I shall rejoice when thou shalt take the lightpower from all them that hated me, for I have trusted in thy light.' "And I answered and said unto her: 'When thou shalt see the gate of the treasure of the great light—it openeth in the thirteenth æon, and is to the left— when this gate shall be opened, then will the three times be accomplished.' Pistis Sophia continued and said: 'O light, how shall I know in this region, that that gate is opened?' 2 "And I answered and said unto her: 'When that gate shall be opened, all who are in the æons will know thereof, because of the great light which will stream into

all their regions. Lo, then, I have set them so, that none shall venture any ill against thee, until the three times are accomplished. And thou shalt have the power of going into their twelve æons, whenever thou mayest wish, and also of returning into thy [own] region, which is below the thirteenth æon, and in which thou now art; but thou shalt not have the power of passing through the gate of the height, which is in the thirteenth æon, to come into thy region whence thou didst come forth [in the beginning]. Moreover, when the three times shall be fulfilled, Arrogant and all his rulers shall constrain thee, to take away the light that is in thee, being enraged against thee, thinking that it is thou who hast kept his power in chaos, and also that it is thou who didst take away the light which was in it. He will be enraged against thee to take from thee thy light and cast it into chaos, and give it to his emanation, in order that it may have the power to come forth from chaos and go into its own region. And Adamas will aid it in this; but I will take away all the light-powers which are in him, and I will give them unto thee; and I will come to take them away. Now, therefore, when they shall constrain thee at that time, sing a song to the light; I will hasten unto thy help; I will quickly come unto thee from the regions below thee; I will come to this region where I shall have left thee, and which is below the thirteenth æon, until I shall make thee once more quickly enter into thy region, whence thou didst come forth.'

3 "It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia had heard these words which I spake, that she rejoiced with great rejoicing. And so I left her in the region below the thirteenth æon; I passed into the light, and ceased to busy myself about her." All these things, therefore, the first mystery spake unto his disciples, for they had happened unto Pistis Sophia; he was seated on the Mount of Olives, narrating all these things in the midst of his disciples. He continued, therefore, in his conversation, and said unto them: "It came to pass, therefore, after all these things, when I was in the world of men, sitting beside the way, that is to say, in the place which is the Mount of Olives, before they had sent unto me my [first] vesture, which I had placed in the four and twentieth mystery of the interior, which is the first of the exterior, that is to say, the great uncontainable, from which I came forth, and before I had entered into the height, to receive my other two vestures, when I was seated near you in this place, which is the Mount of Olives, that the time of which I

had spoken unto Pistis Sophia—' Adamas with all his rulers will constrain thee'—was fulfilled.

SECTION 10: THE TIME FOR THE FINAL DELIVERANCE OF SOPHIA IS
FULFILLED

1 "It came to pass, therefore, when this time was fulfilled, that I was in the world of men, sitting near you, on this hill, which is the Mount of Olives. Adamas looked down from the height of the twelve æons; he saw his dæmonial power, which was in chaos, without any light at all in it; for I had taken from it its light. He saw that it was dark, and had not the strength to come to its own region, which is the twelfth æon. [Then] Adamas thought again on Pistis Sophia; he became most mightily enraged against her, thinking that it was she who had kept his power in chaos, thinking that it was she who had taken away its light; and he was exceedingly wroth, he piled rage on rage, he sent forth from himself an emanation of darkness, and also a little chaos exceedingly malignant, to plague Pistis Sophia therewith. And he created a region of darkness in his region, in order to constrain Pistis Sophia therein. He assembled the hosts of his rulers; they pursued after Pistis Sophia to make her enter into the dark chaos which [Adamas] had created, and to constrain her in that region, in order that the two emanations of darkness, which Adamas had created, might plague her, until they had taken from her all the light which was in her, and until Adamas should take the light from Pistis Sophia, and give it unto his two dark and malignant emanations, that they might carry it into the great lower chaos which is the darkness, and cast it into his power which is there, thinking that so it might come into its own region, for it was [now] exceedingly dark, because I had taken from it its light.

2 "It came to pass, therefore, when they pursued after her, that Pistis Sophia cried aloud, she sang a song to the light, for I had said unto her, 'If thou art constrained, sing unto me a song, and I will come in haste to aid thee.' It came to pass, therefore, when they constrained her—I was seated near you in this place, that is to say, on the Mount of Olives—that she sang a song to the light, saying: "'O light of lights, I have trusted in thee, save me from all these rulers who pursue after me, and preserve me, lest they should take from me my light, as that lion-faced power [once did]; for thy light is no longer with me, nor thy light-stream to preserve me. Nay, Adamas is enraged against me, saying, 'Tis thou who hast kept my power in the chaos.'"

Now, therefore, O light of lights, if I have done so, if I have kept it there, if I have done the least violence to that power, or if I have constrained it as it constrained me, let all these rulers which pursue after me, take away my light, let them leave me empty; let Adamas my foe pursue after my power, let him seize upon it, let him take from me my light, let him cast it into his dark power, which is in chaos, let him put my power in chaos. Now, therefore, O light, raise thou me up in thy [just] wrath, lift up thy power above mine enemies, who have raised themselves up against me unto the end. Haste thee, restore me, as thou saidst unto me, "I will help thee."

³ It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that he said: "Let him who hath understood the words which I have spoken, come forward and expound their interpretation."

SECTION 11: JAMES INTERPRETETH THE SONG FROM PSALM VII

¹ And James came forward, and said: "Master, concerning this song which Pistis Sophia sang, thy light-power prophesied of old, through David, in the seventh Psalm, saying: "'O lord, my God, in thee I have put my trust; save me from them that persecute me, and deliver me, lest they should tear my soul in pieces, like lions; for there is no saviour and no deliverer. O lord, my God, if I have done any such thing, if there hath been any malice in my hands, if I have exacted retribution from them that have recompensed me with evils; [then] let me fall beneath my enemies, and be empty; let mine enemy persecute my soul, let him seize it, let him trample down my life on the earth, and lay my glory in the dust. (Diapsalma.) Arise, O lord, in thy wrath; raise up thy power above my enemies; arise in the statute which thou hast decreed.'"

² It came to pass, therefore, when the first mystery had heard the words which James had spoken, that he said unto him: "Well said, James, thou well-beloved." The first mystery continued again in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia had finished uttering the words of her song, that she turned herself round to see whether Adamas and his rulers had turned themselves back to re-enter their æon; and she saw them pursuing after her. So she turned unto them and said: "'Why run ye after me, saying that I have no help to be preserved from you? Now, therefore, my judge is the light, and he is strong. He waiteth patiently until the time of which he said unto me, I will come to thy help.'" Shall he not pour out his wrath upon you in this very hour? Now is the time of which

he spake unto me. Now, therefore, if ye turn not back, if ye cease not to pursue after me, the light will prepare his power, he will make ready with all his powers, he will be ready in his power to take from you all that is light in you, and ye shall be dark. He hath created his powers to take from you your power which is in you, that ye may perish.'

³"When Pistis Sophia had said these words, she turned her gaze towards the region of Adamas; she saw the region of darkness and of chaos which he had created; she saw also the two exceedingly malignant emanations of darkness, which Adamas had sent forth to seize upon Pistis Sophia and cast her into the chaos which he had created, to constrain her in that region and plague her until they had taken from her her light. It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia had seen these two emanations of darkness and the dark region which Adamas had created, that she feared exceedingly, and cried aloud to the light, saying: "'O light, Adamas, the worker of injustice, is enraged against me; he hath created an emanation of darkness, and he hath also sent forth another chaos; he hath created another region of darkness and of chaos, and hath made it ready. Now, therefore, O light, in the [very] chaos which he hath created in order to cast me therein and then take from me my light, take from him his own; and for the plan that he devised to take away my light, his own shall be taken from him; and for the injustice of which he spake, to take away the light-powers which are in me, all of his shall be taken from him.'

⁴"These are the words which Pistis Sophia uttered in her song. Now, therefore, let him who is sober in mind come forward, and expound the interpretation of Pistis Sophia in her song."

SECTION 12: MARTHA INTERPRETETH THE WORDS OF SOPHIA FROM
PSALM VII

¹And Martha came forward and said: "I am sober in my mind, and I understand the words which thou hast said. Now, therefore, give unto me commandment to expound their interpretation in freedom." The first mystery answered, and said unto Martha: "I give unto thee commandment, O Martha, to expound the interpretation of the words which Pistis Sophia uttered in her song." And Martha answered and said: "My Master, these are the words which thy light-power prophesied of old through David, in the seventh Psalm, saying: "God is a righteous judge, strong and patient, who showeth not his wrath every day. But if ye will not turn, he shall whet his

sword, he shall bend his bow; he hath made it ready, he hath made ready therefor instruments of death. He hath created his arrows to burn them up. Behold, injustice hath been in labour, she hath conceived pain, she hath brought forth mischief. She hath digged a pit, she hath digged it deep. She shall fall into the pit which she hath digged; her pains shall fall on her own head, and her injustice on the midst thereof."

2 And when Martha had uttered these words, the first mystery looking without said unto her: "Well said; it is well, Martha, thou blessed one." It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished narrating to his disciples all the things which had befallen Pistis Sophia when she was in chaos, and how she had sung a song to the light until it had rescued her, and brought her forth from chaos, and led her into the twelve æons, and also how she had been preserved from all the afflictions with which the rulers of chaos had constrained her, because she had sought to go to the light, that Jesus continued in his conversation and said unto his disciples: "It came to pass, after these things, that I took Pistis Sophia, and led her into the thirteenth æon, shining most exceedingly, there being no measure to the light which was in me. I entered into the region of the four and twentieth invisible, shining most exceedingly. They were distressed with great perturbation; they looked and saw Sophia, who was with me. Her they recognised, but they knew not who I was, they thought that I was some emanation of the light-world.

3 "It came to pass, therefore, when Pistis Sophia saw her fellow invisibles, that she rejoiced with great joy, and was exceedingly glad. She longed to tell them of the wonderful things which I had done for her below in the world of men, until I had rescued her; [and so] she came forward into the midst of the invisibles, and in their midst she sang a song unto me, saying: "I will confess thee, O light, for thou art a saviour, thou art a deliverer for all time. I will utter this song to thy light, for it hath rescued me, and freed me from the hand of the rulers, mine enemies. Thou hast preserved me in all the regions, thou hast preserved me in the heights and in the depths of chaos, and in all the æons of the rulers of the sphere. And when I came forth from the heights, I gazed into regions where there is no light; nor could I return to the thirteenth æon, my abode, because there was no light in me, and no power, for my power was utterly afflicted; but the light hath preserved me in all my afflictions. I sang a song unto the light; it heard me when I was con-

strained, it guided me in the world of the æons, to bring me into the thirteenth æon, my abode.

⁴ "I will confess thee, O light, for thou hast preserved me, and thy wonderful works in the race of men. When I had need of my power, thou didst give my power unto me; and when I had need of my light, thou didst fill me with pure light. I have been in the darkness and the shadow of chaos, bound in the hard bonds of chaos, without light in me, for I had provoked the statute of light; I had transgressed, I had made wroth the statute of light, because I had come forth from my own region. And when I had descended, I was destitute of my light, and became without light, and there was no one to rescue me. And when they constrained me, I cried out unto the light, and it preserved me from all my afflictions. It also broke asunder all my bonds, and brought me forth from darkness and the anguish of chaos.

⁵ "I will confess thee, then, O light, for thou hast preserved me, and thy wonders have been wrought in the race of men; thou hast shattered the proud gates of darkness and the hard bolts of chaos, and thou hast turned me away from the region where I had transgressed, and when they had taken my light away from me, because I had transgressed and had ceased to perform my mystery. I have come forth from the gates of chaos, and when I was constrained, I sang a song to the light. It hath preserved me from all my afflictions. Thou hast sent unto me thy stream; it hath given me power, and hath saved me from all my anguish. "I will confess thee, O light, for thou hast preserved me, and thy wonders have been done in the race of men." "This, then, is the song which Pistis Sophia uttered, in the midst of the four and twenty invisibles, desiring to tell them of all the wonderful things which I had done with her, that they might know that I had descended into the world of men, and had given unto them the mysteries of the height. Now, therefore, let him who is exalted in his understanding, come forward, and expound the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia uttered."

SECTION 13: PHILIP INTERPRETETH THE SONG FROM PSALM CVI

¹ It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished speaking these words, that Philip came forward and said: "Jesus, my Master, my understanding is exalted, and I have understood the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia uttered, and David, the prophet, prophesied concerning it of old, in the one hundred and sixth Psalm, saying: " 'Confess ye the lord, for he is gracious, for his mercy endureth for ever; let them speak it forth whom the lord

hath preserved, for it is he who hath preserved them from the hand of their enemies. He hath gathered them together into their own land, from the east, from the west, from the north, and from the sea. They wandered in the desert, in a place where there is no water; they found not the way to the city where was their abode. They were hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them; he hath saved them from their constraints. They cried unto the lord, and he hath heard them in their danger. He hath led them into a straight way that they might come to the place of their abode.

2 "Let them confess the lord in his mercies, and his wonders among the children of men; for he satisfieth the hungry soul; he hath filled the hungry soul with good things. They who sat in darkness and the shadow of death, they who were bound in misery and chains, because they had provoked the word of the lord, and had made wroth the counsel of the highest—their heart is humbled in their suffering, they have become powerless, and there was no one to help them. They cried unto the lord when they were in peril, and he hath saved them out of their constraints; he hath brought them forth from darkness and the shadow of death, and hath broken their chains. "Let them confess the lord in his mercies and his wonders among the children of men; for he hath broken the gates of brass, he hath smitten the bolts of iron asunder. He hath received them unto himself in the way of their iniquity. For when they had been brought low because of their iniquities, their heart abhorred all nourishment, they were near to the gates of death. They cried unto the lord in their peril, —he preserved them from their afflictions.

3 "Let them confess the lord in his mercies, and his wonders among the children of men.' "This, then, my Master, is the interpretation of the song, which Pistis Sophia uttered. Harken, therefore, Master, that I may expound it clearly. The word, verily, which David spake, 'Confess ye the lord, for he is gracious, for his mercy endureth for ever'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'I will confess thee, O light, for thou art a saviour and a deliverer for all time.' And the word which David spake, 'Let them whom the lord hath preserved say, He hath preserved us from the hand of our enemies'; this is the word which Pistis Sophia spake, 'I will utter this song to the light, for it hath preserved me and freed me from the hand of the rulers, mine enemies.' And so for the rest of the Psalm. "This, then, my Master, is the interpretation of the song which Pistis Sophia uttered in the midst of the four and twenty invisibles, desiring to tell them of all the wonders which thou

hadst done for her, and that they might know that thou hast given thy mysteries to the race of men."

4 It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had heard these words which Philip had spoken, that he said: "Well said, Philip, thou blessed one; this is the interpretation of the song uttered by Pistis Sophia."

SECTION 14: MARY QUESTIONETH JESUS

1 It came to pass, therefore, after these things, that Mary came forward; she worshipped the feet of Jesus, and said unto him: "Master, be not wroth with me questioning thee, for we question concerning everything with earnestness and confidence. For thou hast said unto us aforetime, 'Seek that ye may find, knock that it may be opened unto you; for every one that seeketh shall find, and to whomsoever knocketh, it shall be opened.' Now, therefore, O Master, from whom shall we seek, or at whose door shall we knock? Who hath the power to give out the revelation of the words on which we question thee? Who knoweth the power of the words concerning which we make the questioning? For 'tis thou who has given us in our minds a mind of light; thou hast given unto us the highest perception and conception. Therefore, is there no one in the world of men, there is no one in the height of the æons, who can give out the revelation of the words on which we make our questionings, save thee alone, who knowest all, who art perfect in all; for I put not my questions like the men of the world, but we seek in the science of the height, which thou hast given unto us; and we frame our questions on the type of the excellent questioning which thou hast taught us, that we might frame our questions thereon. Now, therefore, Master, be not wroth with me, but reveal unto me the matter on which I question thee."

2 It came to pass, when Jesus had heard the words which Mary Magdalene had spoken, that he answered and said unto her: "Ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee with earnestness and confidence. Amen, amen, I say unto you, rejoice with great rejoicing, and be in exceeding great gladness, questioning me concerning everything with diligence; and I shall be in exceeding great gladness, because ye question me on every matter with earnestness, and that ye question in the manner in which ye ought to question. Now, therefore, ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee with joy." It came to pass, when Mary had heard the words which the saviour spake, that she rejoiced with great joy, and was in exceeding great gladness; she said unto

Jesus: "My Master and saviour, how, then, are the four and twenty invisibles; of what type, of what quality; or of what quality is their light?"

³ And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "What is there in this world which is comparable to them; or what region in this world is like unto them? Now, therefore, to what shall I liken them; or what shall I say concerning them? for there is nothing in this world with which I can compare them; nor is there a single form to which I can liken them. Indeed, there is nothing in this world which is of the quality of heaven. Amen, I say unto you, every one of the invisibles is nine times greater than the heaven and the sphere above it, and the twelve æons all together, as I have already told you on another occasion. [Again] there is no light in this world which is superior to that of the sun. Amen, amen, I say unto you, the four and twenty invisibles are more radiant than the light of the sun which is in this world, ten thousand times, as I have told you before on another occasion; for the light of the sun in its true form is not of this world, since its light has to pierce through a host of veils of [various] regions. But the light of the sun in its true form, which is in the region of the virgin of light, is more radiant than the four and twenty invisibles, and the great invisible forefather, and also the great triple-powered god, ten thousand times more radiant, as I have already told you on another occasion.

⁴ "Now, therefore, O Mary, there is no form in this world, nor any light, nor any shape, like unto the four and twenty invisibles, and with which I could compare them. Yet a little while and I will bring thee and thy fellow disciples, thy brethren, into the three spaces of the first mystery, but only as far as the space of the ineffable, and ye shall see all their configurations as they really are and without similitude. "And when I bring you into the height, you shall see the glory of them in the height; and ye shall be in most mighty wonderment. "And when I bring you into the regions of the rulers of the fate, ye shall see the glory in which they are, and compared with their greatly superior glory, ye will regard this world as the darkness of darkness; and when ye gaze down on the whole world of men, it will be as a speck of dust for you, because of the enormous distance by which [the fate-sphere] will be distant from it, and because of the enormous superiority of its quality over it.

SECTION 15: OF THE TWELVE ÆONS

1 "And when I shall have brought you into the twelve æons, ye shall see the glory in which they are; and compared with their greatly superior glory, the region of the rulers of the fate will appear to you as the darkness of darkness, and will become as a speck of dust for you, because of the enormous distance it will be distant from you, and because of the enormous superiority of the quality of the æons over it, as I have already said unto you on another occasion. "And, again, when I shall have brought you into the thirteenth æon, there shall ye see the glory in which [its inhabitants] are; the twelve æons shall appear to you like the darkness of darkness, and ye shall gaze down upon the twelve æons, and they will seem to you like a speck of dust because of the enormous distance they will be separated from you, because of the enormous superiority of its quality over them

2 "And when I shall have brought you to the region of them of the midst, ye shall see the glory in which they are; the thirteen æons shall seem to you like the darkness of darkness, and ye shall moreover look down on the twelve æons; and all the fate, and all the ordering, and all the spheres, and all the others which are in them all, shall be for you as a speck of dust, because of the enormous distance they will be distant, and because of the enormous superiority of its quality. "And when I shall have brought you into the region of them of the right, ye shall see the glory in which they are; the region of them of the midst shall seem to you like the night in this world of men; and when ye look down on the midst, it will seem to you like a speck of dust because of the enormous distance which the region of them of the right is distant from it.

3 "And when I shall have brought you to the light-world, which is the treasure of light, ye shall see the glory of them that dwell there; the region of them of the right shall seem to you like the mid-day light in the world of men, when there is no sun; and when ye look down on the region of them of the right, it shall seem to you like a speck of dust because of the enormous distance it is distant from the treasure of light. "And when I shall have brought you into the region of them that have received the inheritance, of them that have received the mysteries of light, ye shall see the glory of the light in which they are; the light-world shall seem to you like the light of the sun which is in the world of men; and when ye look down on the light-world, it will seem to you like a speck of dust because of the enormous dis-

tance the light-world is distant, and because of the magnitude with which it transcends it."

⁴It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these things unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward, and said: "O Master, be not wroth with me if I question thee, for we question concerning every matter with earnestness." And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it to thee freely, without parable; and everything which thou askest, I will tell unto thee with earnestness and certainty. I will perfect you in every power and every perfection, from the interior of the interiors, to the exterior of the exteriors, from that ineffable to the darkness of darkness, that ye may be called perfections perfected in every wisdom. Now, therefore, Mary, ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it to thee with great joy and great gladness." It came to pass, when Mary had heard these words which the saviour had said, that Mary again she rejoiced exceedingly and was glad, Jesus. and said: "Master, will the men of this world, who have received the mysteries of light, be higher than the emanations of the treasure in thy kingdom? For I have heard thee say, 'When I shall have brought you to the region for receiving the mysteries, the region of the light-world will seem to you like a speck of dust, because of the great distance that it will be [from you], and because of the great light which is in it'—[far greater than that of] the world of the treasure of light, the region in which are the emanations. Will, then, my Master, the men who shall have received the mysteries, be higher than the light-world, and will they be any higher than them in the kingdom of light?"

⁵Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Excellently, indeed, dost thou question concerning every matter with earnestness and confidence. But hearken, O Mary, that I may explain unto thee the completion of the æon and the ascension of the pleroma. There would be no place for this, had I not said unto you, 'When I shall have brought you into the region of the inheritances of those who shall have received the mystery of the light of the treasure of light, the region of the emanations shall seem to you like a speck of dust, and like the simple light of the day sun.'

SECTION 16: OF THE TWELVE SAVIOURS AND THEIR REGIONS IN THE
INHERITANCE

¹"It hath been said, 'These things shall come to pass at the time of the completion of the æon and of the ascension of the pleroma.' The twelve saviours

of the treasure, and the twelve orders of each of them, which are the emanations of the seven voices and of the five trees, shall be with me in the region of the inheritance of light; they shall be kings with me in my kingdom, each being king over his emanations, and each being king according to his glory, the great according to his greatness, and the little according to his littleness. "And the saviour of the emanations of the first voice shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the first mystery of the first mystery in my kingdom. "And the saviour of the emanations of the second voice shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the second mystery of the first mystery.

2 "In like manner, the saviour of the emanations of the third voice shall be in the region of the souls of them who shall have received the third mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light. "And the saviour of the emanations of the fourth voice of the treasure of light shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the fourth mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of the light. "And the fifth saviour of the fifth voice of the treasure of light shall be in the region of the souls who shall have received the fifth mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of the light. "And the sixth saviour of the emanations of the sixth voice of the treasure of light shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the sixth mystery of the first mystery.

3 "And the seventh saviour of the emanations of the seventh voice of the treasure of light shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the seventh mystery of the first mystery in the treasure of light. "And the eighth saviour, that is to say the saviour of the emanations of the first tree of the treasure of light, shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the eighth mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light. "And the ninth saviour, who is the saviour of the emanations of the second tree of the treasure of light, shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the ninth mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light. "And the tenth saviour, who is the saviour of the emanations of the third tree of the treasure of light, shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the tenth mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light.

4 "In the same manner, again, the eleventh saviour, who is the saviour of the fourth tree of the treasure of light, shall be in the region of the souls

which shall have received the eleventh mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light. "And the twelfth saviour, who is the saviour of the emanations of the fifth tree of the treasure of light, shall be in the region of the souls of them that shall have received the twelfth mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light. "And the seven amens, and the five voices, and the three amens, shall be on my right, being kings in the inheritance of light. And the saviour of the twins, that is to say, the child of the child, and the nine guardians shall remain also at my left, being kings in the inheritance of light. "And each of the saviours shall be king over the orders of his emanations in the inheritances of light, in the manner in which they are also in the treasure of light.

5 "And the nine guardians of the treasure of light shall be higher than the saviours in the inheritance of light. And the twin saviours shall be higher than the nine guardians in the kingdom [of light]. And the three amens shall be higher than the twin saviours in the kingdom [of light]. And the five trees shall be higher than the three amens in the inheritance of light. "And Ieou, with the guardian of the veil of the great light, and the receivers of light, and the two great leaders, and the great Sabaôth, the good, [all] shall be kings in the first saviour of the first voice of the treasure of light, who shall be in the region of them that shall have received the first mystery of the first mystery; for Ieou, and the guardian of the region of them that are to the right, and Melchisedec, the great receiver of light, and the two great leaders emanated from the select and ever exceedingly pure light of the first tree up to the fifth.

SECTION 17: OF THE POWERS OF THE LIGHT AND THEIR EMANATION
AND ASCENSION

1 "Ieou is the overseer of the light, who emanated from the beginning from the pure light of the first tree; the guardian also of them that are on the right emanated from the second tree; the two leaders emanated also from the pure and select light of the third and fourth trees in the treasure of light; Melchisedec also emanated from the fifth tree; Sabaôth, the good, also, whom I have called my father, emanated from Ieou, the overseer of the light. "These six, then, by the command of that first mystery, the last of the supporters made to dwell in the region of those of the right, according to the regulation of the assembly in the light which is above the æons of the rulers, in the worlds and in every race which they include, of each of which I will

tell you the mystery [lit., thing] which hath been placed above his head, in the emanation of the pleroma. Because, therefore, of the sublimity of the mystery which hath been placed in each, they shall be fellow kings in the first mystery of the first voice of the treasure of light, which shall be in the region of the souls which shall have received the first mystery of the first mystery.

2 "And the virgin of light, and also the great leader of the midst, whom the rulers of the æons have named the great Iaô, after the name of the great ruler who is in their region—he and the virgin of light and the twelve ministers from whom ye received your form, and from whom ye received your power, shall all also be kings with the first saviour of the first voice in the region of souls which shall have received the first mystery of the first mystery in the inheritance of light. "And the fifteen supporters of the seven virgins of light, who are in the midst, shall ascend from the [present] regions of the twelve saviours, with the rest of the angels, each according to his glory, that they may be kings with me in the inheritance of light. And I shall be king over them all in the inheritances of light.

3 "All this, however, which I have narrated unto you, shall not be at this time, but it shall come to pass in the completion of the æons, which is the ascension of the pleroma; this is the complete ascension of the number of perfect souls of the inheritances of light. "Before the completion of the æons, therefore, that which I have narrated unto you shall not take place, but each shall be in his own region where he hath been set since the beginning, until the number of the assembly of perfect souls shall be accomplished. "The seven voices, the five trees, the three amens, the twin saviours, the nine guardians, the twelve saviours, they of the regions of the right, and they of the regions of the left, each shall dwell in the region in which he shall have been placed, until all have arrived to make the perfect number of souls of the inheritance of light.

4 "And all the rulers who shall have repented shall moreover dwell in the region where they have been set, until all have arrived to make up the number of souls of the light. "They will all come, each in his proper time, when he shall receive the mystery. And all will be carried through the rulers who shall have repented, and they will come to the region of those of the midst; and they of the midst will baptise them, and will give unto them the spiritual unction; they will seal them with the seals of their mysteries. And they

shall be carried through those of all the regions of the midst, and they shall be carried through the regions of them of the right, and the region of the nine guardians, and the region of the twin saviours, and the region of the three amens, and of the twelve saviours, and the region of the five trees and of the seven voices. Each will give them the seal of its mystery, and they shall enter into all to come to the regions of the inheritance of light, that each may dwell in the region of which he shall have received the mystery in the inheritances of light.

5 "In a word, all the souls of men who shall have received the mystery of light shall take precedence of all the rulers who shall have repented, shall take precedence of all them of the region of those of the midst, and of all the region of them that are on the right; they shall take precedence of all the region of the treasure of light. In a word, they shall take precedence of all those of [that] region, and they shall take precedence of all them of the regions of the first statute. They shall all come in; they shall pass into the inheritance of light into the region of their mystery, that each may dwell in the region of which he shall have received the mystery. And so also they of the region of the midst, and they of the right, and they of the whole region of the treasure, each in the region of the order in which he hath been set from the beginning, until the pleroma should ascend; each of them accomplishing the regulation in which he hath been set, because of the assembly of the souls which have received the mystery, because of this regulation, that their seal should be given to all the souls which shall have received the mystery, and shall have passed through their interior towards the inheritance of light.

6 "Now, therefore, O Mary, this is the matter on which thou didst question me with earnestness and confidence. Now, then, moreover, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

SECTION 18: MARY INTERPRETETH THE NARRATIVE FROM THE
SCRIPTURES

1 It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished speaking these words, that Mary Magdalene came forward and said: "Master, my indweller of light hath ears, and I comprehend every word which thou speakest. Now, therefore, O Master, concerning the word which thou hast spoken, to wit, 'All the souls of human kind which shall receive the mysteries of light, shall, in the inheritances of light, take precedence of all the rulers who shall repent, and

all them of the region of those who are on the right, and the whole region of the treasure of light'; concerning this word, my Master, thou hast said unto us aforetime, 'The first shall be last and the last shall be first,' that is, the 'last' are the whole race of men who shall be first in the light-kingdom; so also they that are in the region of the height are the 'first.' For this cause, therefore, O Master, didst thou say unto us, 'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,' that is to say, that thou wouldst know whether we comprehended all the words which thou hast spoken unto us. Thus, then, O Master, stands the matter."

² It came to pass, therefore, when Mary had finished saying these words, that the saviour was greatly astonished at the exposition of the words which she had given, for she had become pure spirit entirely. And Jesus answered again and said unto her: "Well said, O spiritual and pure Mary; this is the interpretation of the word." It came to pass, therefore, after all these things, that Jesus continued in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "Hearken, while I speak unto you concerning the glory of them that are in the height, how they are, just as I have spoken to you concerning them up to this day. "Now, therefore, when I shall have brought you to the region of the last supporter, who encircles the treasure of light, when I shall have brought you to the region of this last supporter, in order that ye may see the glory in which he is, the region of the inheritance of light will seem to you simply like a city of this world, because of the magnitude of the last supporter, and because of the mighty light in which he is.

³ "Hereafter I will speak unto you further concerning the glory of the supporter who is above the little supporter; but I will not tell you of the region of them that are above all the supporters; for there is no kind of language for them in this world, nor any similitude in this world like unto them, to compare them therewith; there is neither quality nor light which resembleth them, not only in this world, but also no comparison in those of the height of righteousness from their lowest region upwards. For this cause, therefore, it is not possible to describe them in this world, because of the stupendous glory of them of the height, and because of their transcendently immeasurable quality. Therefore, indeed, there is no possibility of speaking of them in this world." It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward, and said unto Jesus: "Master, be not wroth with me if I question thee, for I

importune thee many a time and oft. Now, therefore, O Master, be not wroth with me if I question thee on every matter with earnestness and confidence; for my brethren will preach it unto the race of human kind, that they may hear and repent, and be saved from the harsh judgments of the evil rulers, that they may enter into the height and inherit the kingdom of light; for, O my Master, not only are we compassionate among ourselves, but we are also merciful minded to the whole race of human kind, that they may be saved from these harsh judgments. Now, therefore, O Master, this is why we question on every matter with earnestness and confidence, that my brethren may tell it forth to the whole human race, that they may not fall into the hands of the malignant rulers of the outer darkness."

SECTION 19: MARY FURTHER QUESTIONETH JESUS

1 It came to pass, when Jesus had heard the word which Mary spake, that the saviour answered with great compassion for her, and said unto her: "Ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee with earnestness and certainty, and without parable." It came to pass, therefore, when Mary had heard these words which the saviour spake, that she rejoiced with great rejoicing, and was in exceeding gladness; she said unto Jesus: "Master, by how much, then, is the second supporter greater than the first supporter? By what distance is the former separated from the latter? Or, again, how many times is the former more radiant than the latter?" Jesus answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, the second supporter is removed from the first supporter by an immeasurable distance, both with regard to height above and depth below, with regard to length and breadth; for he is enormously removed by a mighty distance which is not to be measured either by angels, or archangels, or gods, or invisibles. And the former is greater than the latter most exceedingly, by a measure which is not to be reckoned either by angels, or archangels, or gods, or invisibles. And the former is more radiant than the latter by a measure utterly impossible to compute; for there is no means of measuring the light which is in him, no possibility of computing it either by angels, or archangels, or gods, or invisibles, as I have already said unto you on another occasion.

2 "In like manner, the third supporter and the fourth and the fifth are greater the one than the other an infinite number of times; they are more radiant the one than the other, and are removed the one from the other by a stupendous distance, immeasurable by angels, and archangels, by gods and

all invisibles, as I have already said unto you on another occasion. Moreover, I will tell unto you the type of each of them in their emanation." It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward again, she continued [in her questioning] and said unto Jesus: "Master, of what type in the midst of the last supporter, will be they that shall have received the mystery of light?" And Jesus answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "They who shall have received the mystery of light, when they shall have quitted the body of the matter of the rulers, each of them shall be in his order, according to the mystery which he shall have received. They who shall have received a high mystery, shall be in a high order; and they who shall have received a low mystery, in a low order; in a word, of whatever regions each shall have received the mystery, he shall dwell in its order in the inheritance of light. For which cause I said unto you aforetime, 'In the region where is your heart, there also shall your treasure be'; that is to say, in the region of which each shall have received the mystery, there shall be rest."

³ It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that John came forward, and said unto Jesus: "My Master and saviour, give me also commandment to speak in thy presence, and be not wroth with me if I question thee on every matter with earnestness and confidence; for, O Master, thou hast promised to reveal unto us all that we should ask. Now, therefore, O Master, hide nothing from us at all of that on which we question thee." And Jesus answered with great compassion, and said unto John: "To thee, also, O blessed John, the well-beloved, I give commandment to speak the word which thou desirest, and I will reveal it unto thee face to face, without parable, and I will tell thee all that thou askest me with earnestness and certainty." And John answered and said unto Jesus: "Master, concerning the region, then, in which each shall have received the mystery and where he will have to rest, will there be no power of quitting it for other higher orders; and will there be no power of entering lower orders?"

⁴ And Jesus answered and said unto John: "Well, indeed, do ye question on every matter with earnestness and confidence; now, therefore, John, hearken while I speak unto thee. Whosoever shall have received the mystery of the light, every one will remain in the region where he shall have received

the mystery, and will not have the power of going into the heights, into the higher orders.

SECTION 20: OF THE FIRST STATUTE

1 "Thus he who shall have received the mystery in the first statute, shall have the power of going into the lower orders, which are all the orders of the third space; but will not have the power of going towards the height into the higher orders. "And he who shall have received the mystery of the first mystery looking without, which is the four and twentieth mystery and the head of the first space towards the exterior—he, then, shall have the power of going into all the exterior orders; but he will not have the power of going into the higher regions or of exploring them. "And they who shall have received the mystery in the orders of those four and twenty mysteries, each shall enter into the region where he shall have received the mystery, and each will have the power of exploring all the exterior orders and spaces; but will not have the power of going into the higher orders or of exploring them.

2 "And he who shall have received the mystery in the orders of the first mystery which is in the third space, shall have the power of going into all the lower orders, and of exploring them all, but he will not have the power of going into the higher regions or of exploring them. "And he who shall have received the mystery of the first trispiritual, which is above the four and twenty mysteries, one after the other, which belong to the space of the first mystery, of which I will tell you the regions in the emanation of the pleroma—he, then, who shall have received the mystery of this trispiritual, shall have the power of descending into all the lower orders; but he will not have the power of going into the height, to the higher orders, which are all the orders of the space of the ineffable. "And he who shall have received the mystery of the second trispiritual, shall have the power of going into all the orders of the first trispiritual, and of exploring them all and all the orders that are therein; but he will not have the power of going into the orders of the height of the third trispiritual.

3 "And he who shall have received the mystery of the third trispiritual, which leadeth to the three trispirituals and the three spaces of the first mystery, one after the other [shall enter therein]; but he will not have the power of going into the height, to the higher orders, which are the orders of the space of the ineffable. "But he who shall have received the absolute Mystery of the first mystery of the ineffable, that is to say, the twelve mysteries of the

first mystery, one after another, which bring him into the spaces of the first mystery—he, then, who shall have received this mystery, shall have the power of exploring all the orders of the spaces of the three trispirituals and of the three spaces of the first mystery, and also all their orders; and he shall have the power of exploring all the orders of the inheritance of light, of exploring from without within, and from within without, from above below, and from below above, from the height to the depth, and from the depth to the height, from the length to the breadth, and from the breadth to the length; in a word, he shall have the power of exploring all the regions of the inheritances of light, and he shall have the power of remaining in the region which he shall choose, in the inheritance of the light-kingdom.

4 "Amen, I say unto you, this man, in the dissolution of the world, shall be king over all the orders of the inheritance of light; and he who shall have received the mystery of the ineffable, that man is myself. "That mystery knoweth why there is darkness, and why light. "That mystery knoweth why there is the darkness of darknesses, and why the light of lights. "That mystery knoweth why the chaos existeth, and why the treasure of light. "That mystery knoweth why there are judgments, and why the light-world hath been created together with the region of the inheritances of light. "That mystery knoweth why are all the punishments of sinners, and why the rest of the kingdom of light. "That mystery knoweth why there are sinners, and why inheritances of light. "That mystery knoweth why there are unrighteous, and why there are good. "That mystery knoweth why there are sentences of punishment, and why are all the emanations of light.

5 "That mystery knoweth why sin existeth, and why there are baptisms and mysteries of light. "That mystery knoweth why the fire of punishment existeth, and why there are seals of light to escape the burning of the fire. "That mystery knoweth why blasphemy existeth, and why there are songs to the light. "That mystery knoweth why there are prayers to the light. "That mystery knoweth why cursing existeth, and why blessing. "That mystery knoweth why killing existeth, and why the enlivening of souls. "That mystery knoweth why adultery and fornication exist, and why there is purity. "That mystery knoweth why there is intercourse, and why continence. "That mystery knoweth why there is pride and boasting, and why humility and gentleness. "That mystery knoweth why there are tears, and why laughter.

"That mystery knoweth why there is slander, and why good conversation. "That mystery knoweth why there is readiness to hear, and why disregard.

6 "That mystery knoweth why there is murmuring, and why simpleness and holiness. "That mystery knoweth why there is sin, and why purity. "That mystery knoweth why there is strength, and why weakness. "That mystery knoweth why there is bodily impropriety, and why decency. "That mystery knoweth why there is poverty, and why riches. "That mystery knoweth why there is wealth in the world, and why bondage. "That mystery knoweth why there is death, and why life."

SECTION 21: THE GNOSIS OF THE MYSTERY OF THE INEFFABLE
CONTINUED

1 It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished saying these words unto his disciples, that they rejoiced with great joy, and were in gladness on hearing his words. And Jesus continued further in his conversation, and said unto them: "Hearken, therefore, now further, O my disciples, while I tell you the whole gnosis of the mystery of the ineffable. "That mystery of the ineffable knoweth why there is pitilessness, and why compassion. "That mystery knoweth why there is destruction, and why everlasting increase. "That mystery knoweth why there are reptiles, and why they shall be destroyed. "That mystery knoweth why there are wild beasts, and why they shall be destroyed. "That mystery knoweth why there are beasts of burden, and why birds. "That mystery knoweth why there are mountains, and why there are precious stones therein. "That mystery knoweth why there is the matter of gold, and why that of silver.

2 "That mystery knoweth why there is the matter of brass, and why that of iron and steel. "That mystery knoweth why there is the matter of lead. "That mystery knoweth why there is the matter of glass, and why the matter of wax. "That mystery knoweth why there are herbs and plants, and why all matters exist. "That mystery knoweth why there are waters on the earth, and why all the things that are in them, and why there is also earth. "That mystery knoweth why there are the seas with their waters, and why the wild denizens in the seas. "That mystery knoweth why there is the matter of the world, and why it shall be utterly resolved." And Jesus continued further in his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "Yet again, O my disciples, my comrades and my brethren, let each be sober in mind, let him hear and un-

derstand all the words which I shall say unto you; for, from this hour henceforth, I shall begin to speak with you concerning the gnosis of that ineffable.

3 "That mystery knoweth why there is a west, and why an east. "That mystery knoweth why there is a south, and why a north. "Yet again, O my disciples, hearken and continue to be sober, that ye may hear the entire gnosis of the mystery of that ineffable. "That mystery knoweth why there are demons, and why men. "That mystery knoweth why there is heat, and why the cool breeze. "That mystery knoweth why there are stars, and why clouds. "That mystery knoweth why the earth is dug out, and why the waters have come over it. "That mystery knoweth why the earth is dried up, and why the rain falleth upon it. "That mystery knoweth why there is famine, and why abundance. "That mystery knoweth why there is white frost, and why healthful dew. "That mystery knoweth why there is dust, and why delightful freshness. "That mystery knoweth why there is hail, and why pleasant snow.

4 "That mystery knoweth why there is a west wind, and why an east wind. "That mystery knoweth why there is a south wind, and why a north wind. "That mystery knoweth why there are the planets of heaven and the disks of the light-givers, and why there is the firmament with all its veils. "That mystery knoweth why there are rulers of the spheres, and why the sphere with all its types. "That mystery knoweth why there are rulers of the æons, and why the æons and their veils. "That mystery knoweth why there are rulers of the tyrant æons, and why there are repentant rulers. "That mystery knoweth why there are servants, and why decans. "That mystery knoweth why there are angels, and why archangels. "That mystery knoweth why there are lords, and why gods. "That mystery knoweth why there hath been rivalry in the height, and why there hath been lack of rivalry.

5 "That mystery knoweth why there is hate, and why love. "That mystery knoweth why there is discord, and why concord. "That mystery knoweth why there is avarice, and why renunciation of all things. "That mystery knoweth why there hath been love of possessions. "That mystery knoweth why there is love of fattening, and why satiety. "That mystery knoweth why there are paired, and why unpaired. "That mystery knoweth why there is impiety, [and why love of deity]. "That mystery knoweth why there are light-givers, and why sparks. "That mystery knoweth why there are triple-powers, and why invisibles. "That mystery knoweth why there are forefathers, and

why purities. "That mystery knoweth why is the great Arrogant, and why his faithful. "That mystery knoweth why there is the great triple-power, and why the great invisible forefather. "That mystery knoweth why there is the thirteenth æon, and why the region of them of the midst.

6 "That mystery knoweth why there are the receivers of the midst, and why the virgins of light. "That mystery knoweth why there are the ministers of the midst, and why the angels of the midst. "That mystery knoweth why there is the light-world, and why the great receivers of the light. "That mystery knoweth why there are the guardians of the region of them of the right, and why the leaders of these [guardians]. "That mystery knoweth why there is the gate of life, and why Sabaôth, the good. "That mystery knoweth why there is the region of them of the right, and why the light-world, which is the treasure of light. "That mystery knoweth why there are the emanations of light, and why the twelve saviours. "That mystery knoweth why there are the three gates of the treasure of light, and why the nine guardians. "That mystery knoweth why there are the twin saviours, and why the three amens.

7 "That mystery knoweth why there are the five trees, and why the seven amens. "That mystery knoweth why there is the mixture which once did not exist, and why it hath been purified." And Jesus continued further in his conversation and said unto his disciples: "Be sober still, my disciples, and let each of you bring the power of sensing the light before him, that ye may hear with earnestness; for henceforth from this time I will describe for you the entire region of the truth of the ineffable, and of the manner in which it is."

SECTION 22: THE DISCIPLES LOSE COURAGE

1 It came to pass, therefore, when the disciples had heard the words which Jesus had spoken, that they were cast down and lost courage entirely. Mary Magdalene came forward, she bowed herself at the feet of Jesus, and worshipped them; she cried aloud and wept, saying: "Have mercy upon me, Master; for have not my brethren heard and lost all courage because of the words which thou hast spoken? Now, therefore, O Master, concerning the gnosis of all the things which thou hast said are in the mystery of that ineffable, I heard thee say, 'Henceforth from this time I shall begin to tell unto you the entire gnosis of this mystery of that ineffable'—well then, as to these words thou hast not brought us to a perfect understanding thereof. Wherefore my brethren have heard; they have lost courage, they have ceased to sense the meaning of thy speech, and [that] because of the words thou hast employed.

Now, therefore, O Master, if the gnosis of all these things is in that mystery, who is the man in this world who shall be able to understand that mystery and all its gnoses, and the fashion of all the words which thou hast spoken concerning it?"

² It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had heard the words which Mary said, that he understood that the disciples had heard, but that they were beginning to lose courage. Therefore, he encouraged them, saying: "Grieve not, my disciples, concerning the mystery of that ineffable, thinking that ye will not understand it. Amen, I say unto you, that mystery is yours, and every one's who shall give ear unto you, and shall renounce the whole of this world, and all the matter therein, who shall renounce all the evil thoughts that are therein, and shall renounce all the cares of this æon. "Now, therefore, will I tell you: Whosoever shall renounce the whole world and all therein, and shall submit himself to the divinity, to him that mystery shall be far more easy than all the mysteries of the kingdom of light; it is far simpler to understand than all the rest, and it is far clearer than them all. He who shall arrive at a knowledge of that mystery, hath renounced the whole of this world and all its cares. For this cause have I said to you aforetime, 'Come unto me all ye that are oppressed with cares and labour under their weight, and I will give you rest, for my burden is light and my yoke easy.' Now, therefore, he who shall receive that mystery, hath renounced the whole world, and all the material cares that are therein.

³ "Wherefore, my disciples, grieve not, thinking that ye will never understand that mystery. Amen, I say unto you, that mystery is far simpler to understand than all mysteries; and amen, I say unto you, that mystery is yours and also his whosoever shall renounce the whole world and all the matter that is therein. "Now, therefore, hearken, O my disciples, my friends and my brethren, that I may impel you to the understanding of that mystery of the ineffable. These things I say unto you, because I have already instructed you in every gnosis in the emanation of the pleroma; for the emanation of the pleroma is its gnosis. "Now, therefore, that I may speak with you further for your understanding of these mysteries. "That mystery knoweth why the five supporters rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the great light of lights rent itself asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless.

4 "That mystery knoweth why the first statute rent itself asunder, and why it separated itself from the seven mysteries, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the great light and the impression of light rent themselves asunder, and why they remained without emanation, and why they came forth from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the first mystery rent itself asunder, that is to say, the four and twentieth mystery from the exterior, and why it equalled in itself the twelve mysteries according to the number of the uncontainable impassables, and why it emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the twelve immoveables rent themselves asunder, and why they were established with all their orders, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the unshakeables rent themselves asunder, and why they were established, separated from the [or into] twelve orders, and why they emanated from the parentless which pertain to the orders of the space of the ineffable.

5 "That mystery knoweth why the inconceivables which pertain to the two spaces [2 second space] of that ineffable rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the twelve unmanifestables rent themselves asunder, and why they were established after all the orders of the unrevealables, which are also uncontainable impassables, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why these unrevealables rent themselves asunder—[they] which did not reveal themselves, nor bring themselves into manifestation, according to the regulation of the one and only ineffable, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the super-depths rent themselves asunder, and why they set themselves in one order, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the twelve orders of the unspeakables rent themselves asunder, and why they were divided into three divisions, and why they emanated from the parentless.

6 "That mystery knoweth why all the indestructibles in their twelve orders rent themselves asunder, and why they were set in a single order, emanating one after the other, and why they were divided and formed separated orders, being also uncontainable impassables, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the impassables rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the impassables rent themselves asunder, and why they were formed into twelve impassable spaces, and were set in three orders of spaces,

according to the regulation of the one and only ineffable, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the twelve uncontainables which belong to the orders of the one and only ineffable, rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless, until they reached the space of the first mystery which is the second space. "That mystery knoweth why the four and twenty myriads of the laudables rent themselves asunder, and why they separated beyond the veil of the first mystery, which is the twin mystery, looking within and without, of the one and only ineffable, and why they also emanated from the parentless.

7 "That mystery knoweth why all the uncontainables which I have just enumerated—they which are in the regions of the second space of the ineffable, that is to say, the space of the first mystery—why they rent themselves asunder, and why these uncontainables and impassables emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the four and twenty mysteries of the first trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they are called the four and twenty spaces of the first trispiritual, and why they emanated from the second trispiritual. "That mystery knoweth why the four and twenty mysteries of the second trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the third trispiritual. "That mystery knoweth why the four and twenty mysteries of the third trispiritual rent themselves asunder—they which are the four and twenty spaces of the third trispiritual—and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the five trees of the first trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they developed in orderly sequence and mutual connection, they and all their orders, and why they emanated from the parentless.

8 "That mystery knoweth why the five trees of the second trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the five trees of the third trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the foreun-containables of the first of the three trispirituals rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the foreun-containables of the second trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why all the foreun-containables of the third trispiritual rent themselves asunder, and why they emanated from the parentless. "That mystery knoweth why the first trispiritual below, of them that pertain to the orders

of the one and only ineffable, rent itself asunder, and why it emanated from the second trispiritual. "That mystery knoweth why the third trispiritual, which is the first trispiritual from above, rent itself asunder, and why it emanated from the twelfth protrispiritual, which is in the last region of the parentless.

9 "That mystery knoweth why all the regions which are in the space of the ineffable were emanated, together with all them which are in them, and why they emanated from the last of the limbs of the ineffable. "That mystery knoweth why he himself also rent himself asunder to emanate from the ineffable—to wit, he who commands them all; he who caused them all to emanate according to their orders.

SECTION 23: JESUS PROMISETH TO EXPLAIN FURTHER ALL IN DETAIL

1 "All this will I explain unto you when speaking of the emanation of the pleroma. In a word, all that I have said unto you, both that which shall be, and that which shall come, they that are emanating, and they which have emanated, they which are without them, and they that act in them, they which shall be contained in the region of the first mystery, and they which shall be in the space of the ineffable—all these I will explain unto you, by region and order, when treating of the emanation of the pleroma; and I will reveal unto you all the mysteries which command them with their protrispirituals and supertrispirituals which command their mysteries and their orders. "Now, therefore, it is the mystery of the ineffable which knoweth why all of which I have spoken unto you hath come into existence; of a truth all this hath existed because of it. He is the mystery which is in them all; he is the emanation of them all, the re-absorption of them all, and the support of them all.

2 "This mystery of the ineffable is in all those of which I have spoken, and of which I shall speak in treating of the emanation of the pleroma. He is the mystery which is in them all, and he is the one mystery of the ineffable. And the gnosis of that which I have said unto you, and of what I have not yet spoken unto you, but of all of which I shall speak when treating of the emanation of the pleroma, and the whole gnosis of each of them, one after another, that is to say, why they exist—all this is the one word of the ineffable. "And I will tell unto you the emanation of all their mysteries, the types of each of them and the manner of perfecting them in all their configurations. And I will tell unto you the mystery of the one and only ineffable, and all its

types, all its configurations and all its regulation; and why also it emanated from the last of the limbs of the ineffable, for this mystery is the support of them all.

3 "And the mystery of the ineffable is also the one and only word, but there is another [word] on the tongue of the ineffable; it is the rule of the interpretation of all the words which I have spoken unto you. "And he who shall receive the one and only word of that mystery which I shall now tell unto you, with all its types, and all its configurations, and the manner of accomplishing its mystery—for ye are all perfect perfect ones, and ye shall achieve all the gnosis of this mystery with all its regulation and its utterance, for unto you all mysteries are entrusted. Hearken, then, now, while I tell you that mystery, which is this... He, therefore, who shall receive the one and only word of that mystery, of which I have told you, when he shall have come forth from the body of the matter of the rulers, when the receivers of wrath shall come and set him free from the body of matter of the æons—for the receivers of wrath are they who set free every soul which shall go forth from the body—when, then, the receivers of wrath shall have set free that soul which shall have received this absolute mystery of the ineffable, which I have just told unto you, then, in that hour when it shall be set free from the body of matter, it shall become a great light-stream in the midst of those receivers, and the receivers shall fear exceedingly before the light of that soul, they shall be thrown into consternation, and shall sink down, and desist entirely, for fear of the great light which they shall have seen.

4 "And the soul which shall have received the mystery of the ineffable, shall soar into the height as a great light-stream, and the receivers shall not be able to take hold upon it, nor will they know the way which it goeth, for it hath become a radiant stream, and fletch into the height, and no power shall be able to restrain it at all in any way, nor be able to come nigh it. "It shall pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the light-emanations; it shall give no explanation in any region, nor any apology, nor any symbol, for no power of the rulers, no power of the light-emanations, shall be able to come nigh that soul. But all the regions of the rulers, and all the regions of the light-emanations, each of them in its own region, shall sing a song unto it, in fear of the light of the stream that shall clothe that soul, until it hath passed through all of them, and entered into the region of the inheritance of the mystery which it hath received—the

mystery of that one and only ineffable—and become one with the limbs [of the ineffable]. Amen, I say unto you, it shall be in all the regions during the time a man can shoot an arrow.

SECTION 24: OF THE RANK OF SUCH A SOUL

¹ "Amen, I say unto you, every man who shall receive that mystery of the ineffable, and shall accomplish it in all its types and all its configurations, though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all angels, and shall far surpass them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all archangels, and shall far surpass them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all tyrants, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all lords, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all gods, and shall be exalted among them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all light-givers, and shall be exalted above them all.

² "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all purities, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all triple powers, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all forefathers, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all invisibles, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than all them of the midst, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than the emanations of the treasure of light, and shall be exalted above them all. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than the mixture, and shall be exalted above the whole of it.

³ "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he higher than the whole region of the treasure, and shall be exalted above the whole of it. "Though he be a man in the world, yet shall he be king with me in my kingdom. He is a man in the world, but a king in the light. "Though he be a man in the world, yet is he a man who is not of the world. "Amen, I say unto you, that man is myself, and I am that man. "And in the dissolution of the world, that is to say, when the pleroma shall achieve its ascension, when the number of all the perfect souls shall have ascended, and when I shall be king in the midst of the last supporter, king over all the light-emanations, king over the seven amens, the five trees, the three amens, and the nine guardians, king

over the child of the child, that is to say, over the twin saviours, king over the twelve saviours and the whole number of perfect souls which shall have received the mystery in the light—then, all those men who shall have received the mystery in that ineffable, shall be fellow-kings with me, they shall sit on my right hand and on my left in my kingdom.

4 "Amen, I say unto you, those men are myself, and I am these men. "Wherefore I said unto you aforetime, 'Ye shall sit on my right hand and on my left in my kingdom, and ye shall reign with me.' "For this cause, therefore, I have not hesitated, nor have I been ashamed to call you brethren and friends, for ye shall be fellow-kings with me in my kingdom. These things, then, I said unto you, knowing that I would give unto you the mystery of that ineffable; and that mystery is myself, and I am that mystery. "Now, therefore, not only shall ye reign with me in my kingdom, but all men who shall receive the mystery of that ineffable, shall be fellow-kings with me in my kingdom, and I am they and they are myself, but my throne shall be more excellent than theirs. And because ye shall suffer griefs in this world beyond all men, until ye shall have heralded forth all the words which I shall speak unto you, your thrones shall be close to mine in my kingdom.

5 "Wherefore have I said unto you aforetime, 'In the place where I shall be, there will be also my twelve ministers, but Mary Magdalene and John, the virgin, shall be higher than all the disciples.' "And all men who shall receive the mystery in that ineffable, shall be on my left hand and on my right, and I am they, and they are myself. "They shall be your equals in all things, and yet your thrones shall be more excellent than theirs, and my throne shall be more excellent than yours and [than those of] all men who shall have found the word of that ineffable.

SECTION 25: OF THE GNOSIS OF THE WORD OF THE INEFFABLE

1 "Amen, I say unto you, the man who shall know this word, shall know the gnosis of all the words which I have said unto you, both with regard to depth and height, with regard to length and breadth; in a word, they shall possess the gnosis of all the words which I have said unto you, and of those which I have not spoken unto you, but which I will tell unto you, region by region and order by order, as I explain the emanation of the pleroma. "Amen, I say unto you, they shall know how the world is constituted, and they shall know why all them of the height are constituted in such or such type, and they shall know wherefore the pleroma existeth." And when the saviour had said

these things, Mary Magdalene came forward and said: "Master, bear with me, and be not wroth with me, if I question on every matter with earnestness and confidence. Now, therefore, my Master, surely there is no other word of the mystery of that ineffable, nor any other word of the whole gnosis:"

2 The saviour answered and said: "Yea, verily; there is another mystery of that ineffable and another word of the whole gnosis." And Mary answered again and said unto the saviour: "Master, bear with me if I question thee, and be not wroth with me. Now, therefore, O Master, if we tarry not in life until we know the gnosis of the whole word of that ineffable, shall we not inherit the light-kingdom?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Yea, verily; every one of those who shall receive a mystery of the light, shall enter therein to inherit in the region of which he hath received the mystery; but he shall not know the whole gnosis, wherefore all things come into existence, unless he knoweth the only word of that ineffable, that is to say, the gnosis of the pleroma; further and in all openness, I am the gnosis of the pleroma. Nor is there any possibility of knowing the one and only word of gnosis, without receiving the first mystery of that ineffable; but all the men who shall receive a mystery of light, each shall enter therein to inherit up to the region of which he shall have received the mystery.

3 "Wherefore have I said unto you aforetime, 'He that believeth on a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward, and he that believeth on a just man, shall receive a just man's reward.' He shall enter into the region of which he shall receive the mystery. He who receiveth a lower mystery, shall inherit a lower region; and he who receiveth a higher mystery, shall inherit the region of the height. And each shall dwell in his region in the light of my kingdom, each shall have power over the lower orders, but he will not have power to enter into the higher orders; he shall dwell in the region of the inheritance of the light of my kingdom, in stupendous light which cannot be measured either by gods or all the invisibles; he shall be in great joy and great gladness. "Now, therefore, also, hearken, I will speak with you concerning the glory of those also who shall receive the mysteries of the first mystery.

4 "He, therefore, who shall receive the [first] mystery of that first mystery, when the time cometh for him to depart from the body of the matter of the rulers, the receivers of wrath shall come to lead the soul of that man out of the body, but his soul shall be a mighty light-stream, and these receivers

shall be in terror before the light of that soul. That soul shall enter into the height, that it may pass through all the regions of the light-emanations, and it shall give neither explanation, nor apology, nor symbol, in any of the light-regions, but it shall pass through all, and be higher than them all, so that it shall enter and reign over all the regions of the first saviour. ⁵ "In like manner, also, he who shall receive the second mystery of the first mystery, and the third, and the fourth, up to the twelfth mystery of the first mystery, when the time cometh for him to depart from the body of the matter of the rulers, the receivers of wrath shall approach him, to conduct his soul out of the body of matter; and those souls shall become mighty light-streams in the hands of the receivers of wrath, and these receivers will become terror-stricken before the light of those souls, they will be in consternation, they will sink down on their faces; and those souls shall straightway enter into the height, that they may be carried above all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the light-emanations; they shall give neither explanation, nor apology, in any region whatever, nor any symbol, but they shall pass through all the regions, they shall enter into all and shall reign over all the regions of the twelve saviours, so that they who shall have received the second mystery of the first mystery, shall reign over all the regions of the second saviour in the inheritances of light.

⁶ "In like manner, also, they who shall have received the third mystery of the first mystery, and also the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, up to the twelfth, each shall be king over all the regions of the saviour of which he shall have received the mystery. And he who shall have received, after the others, the twelfth mystery of the first mystery, that is to say, the authentic mystery, concerning which I will speak with you — he, then, who shall have received those twelve mysteries which pertain to the first mystery, when he shall depart from the world, shall pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the light, as a mighty light-stream, and he also shall be king over all the regions of the twelve saviours. [Such souls,] however, shall not be equal to them who shall have received this one mystery of that ineffable. But he who shall have received this mystery shall dwell in those orders, in that they are excellent, and he shall dwell in the orders of the twelve saviours."

SECTION 26: MARY QUESTIONETH JESUS

¹ It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward, and kissed the feet of Jesus, and

said unto him: "Master, bear with me and be not wroth with me, if I question thee; but have mercy upon us, O Master, and reveal unto us the matter on which we shall question thee. Now, therefore, O Master, how is it that the first mystery hath twelve mysteries, whereas that ineffable hath but one mystery?" Jesus answered and said unto her: "Indeed, it hath but one mystery; yet that mystery maketh three mysteries, although it is only one mystery; but the type of each of them is different. It also maketh five mysteries, while still remaining one; but the type of each is different, so that these five mysteries are equal to one another in the mystery of kingship in the inheritance of light, but the type of each of them is different, and their kingdom is higher and more exalted than all the kingdoms of the series of twelve mysteries of the first mystery; but they are not equal in the kingdom of the one and only mystery of the first mystery in the kingdom of light.

² "In like manner, also, the three mysteries are not equal in the kingdom which is in the light, but the type of each of them is different, and they also are not equal in the kingdom of that one and only mystery of the first mystery in the kingdom of light. "Different, moreover, is the type of each of these three; and the types of the configuration of each of them are different from one another. "For when thou shalt have accomplished the first mystery [of these three], after passing through the other [twelve], if thou shalt establish thyself, and accomplish it properly in all its configurations, then dost thou depart from thy body at the proper time, thou becomest a great flame of light, a light-stream thou passest through all the regions of the rulers and all the light-regions, which became terror-stricken before such a soul, until it shall have come into the region of its kingdom.

³ "When also thou shalt have properly accomplished the second mystery of the first mystery, in all its configurations—the man, then, who shall accomplish its mystery, if he uttereth the mystery over the head of any man who shall be on the point of departing out of the body, if he speaketh it into his two ears, even though the man who is on the point of departure should receive the mystery a second time, and though he should already be a partaker in the word of truth—amen, I say unto you, when that man shall depart from the body of matter, his soul shall become a great light-stream, it shall pass through every region until it hath come into the kingdom of that mystery. "But if that man hath not received the mystery, and if he is not a participator in the words of truth—when he who performeth that mystery,

uttereth those mysteries over the head of a man on the point of departure from the body, [even] of him who hath not received the mystery of light, and is not a participator in the words of truth—amen, I say unto you, that man, when he shall depart from the body, shall not be judged in any region whatever, he shall not be punished in any region at all, the fire shall not touch him because of the great mystery of that ineffable, which is with him.

⁴ "But they shall make great haste to pass him from one to the other in turn, to conduct him throughout the regions and throughout the orders, until he be brought before the virgin of light, all regions being terror-stricken before the mystery and the symbol of the kingdom of that ineffable, which is with him. "And when he shall have been brought unto the virgin of light, the virgin of light will see the symbol of the mystery of the kingdom of that ineffable which shall be with him; the virgin of light will be amazed and will prove him, but he will not be brought unto the light until he have performed the whole polity of the light of that mystery, that is to say, the strict observance of the renunciation of the world and also of all the matter that is therein. "The virgin of light will seal him with an excellent seal, which is this.... And no matter in what month he departed from the body of matter, she will have him sent into a righteous body, which shall find the divinity of truth and the higher mysteries, that he may receive them as his inheritance and that he may receive the light for ever, that is to say, the boon of the second mystery of the first mystery of that ineffable.

⁵ "And the man who shall perform this third mystery of that ineffable, not only when he [himself] shall have departed from the body, shall he inherit the kingdom of the mystery; but when he shall complete that mystery, and when he shall perform it with all its configurations, that is to say, when he shall have created that mystery for himself, and shall have properly accomplished it, [then] when he shall have pronounced the name of that mystery over a man, departing from the body with a knowledge of that mystery, such an one, whether he have delayed or have not delayed, [even if] he pass through the dire punishments of the rulers, their harsh judgments and their various fires—amen, I say unto you, on departing from the body, when this mystery shall have been uttered over him, they shall make great haste to pass him on and hand him from one to the other, until he be brought to the virgin of light, and the virgin of light shall seal him with an excellent seal, which is this.... And no matter in what month he departed from the body,

she will have him sent into a righteous body, which shall find the divinity of truth and the higher mystery, in order that he may inherit the kingdom of light. This, then, is the boon of the third mystery of that ineffable.

6 "Now, therefore, whosoever shall have received one of the five mysteries of that ineffable, when he departeth from the body, he shall inherit up to the region of that mystery. The kingdom of the five mysteries is higher than the kingdom of the twelve mysteries of the first mystery, and higher than every mystery below them. And the five mysteries of that ineffable are equal to one another in their own kingdom, but they are not equal to the three mysteries of that ineffable. "And he that receiveth one of these three mysteries of that ineffable, on departing from the body shall inherit up to the kingdom of that mystery. And these three mysteries are equal to one another in the kingdom, and are higher than the five mysteries of the ineffable in the kingdom, and more exalted than them; but they are not equal to the one and only mystery of that ineffable.

SECTION 27: OF THE ONE AND ONLY MYSTERY

1 "He that receiveth also the one and only mystery of that ineffable, shall inherit the region of the whole kingdom according to its glory of which I have already spoken unto you on another occasion. Whosoever shall receive the mystery which is in the whole space of that ineffable, and also all the other sweet mysteries which are in the limbs of that ineffable, of which I have not yet spoken unto you, both concerning their emanation, and the manner in which they are constituted, and the type of each of them as it is—I have not told you why it is called the ineffable, or why it lies stretched out with all its limbs, or how many limbs there are therein, or what are all its regulations, nor will I say this unto you immediately, but only when I come to speak of the emanation of the [whole] pleroma; [then] will I tell you every detail, one by one, for it hath emanated together with its own word, just as it is in itself, together with the sum total of all its limbs which belong to the regulation of the one and only one, the changeless god of truth—in the region, therefore, of which each shall receive the mystery in the space of that ineffable, there shall he inherit up to the region which he shall have received, and also [as far as] the whole region of the space of that ineffable; nor shall he give explanation throughout the regions, nor apology, nor symbol, for [such souls] are without symbol and have no receivers, but they shall pass through all the re-

gions until they arrive at the region of the kingdom of the mystery which they have received.

² "In like manner also, they who shall receive the mystery of the second space, they [also] require neither explanation, nor apology, nor symbol, for they have no symbol in that world; it is the space of the first mystery. "But of those of the third space towards the exterior, that is to say, the third space from the interior, every region in this space hath its receivers, its explanations, its apologies, and its symbols, [all of the mystery of the second space of] which I will tell you when I come to speak of this mystery, that is to say when I shall have finished explaining the emanation of the pleroma. "But when the pleroma is completed, that is to say, when the number of perfect souls shall be reached, and the mystery shall be accomplished according to which the pleroma is the pleroma, I shall pass a thousand years, according to the years of the light, reigning over all the emanations of the light and the whole number of perfect souls who shall have received all the mysteries."

³ It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary Magdalene came forward and said: "Master, how many years in years of the world is a year of the light?" Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "A day of the light is a thousand years in the world, so that thirty-six myriads of years and a half myriad of years of the world make a single year of the light. "I shall, therefore, pass a thousand years of the light reigning in the midst of the last supporter over all the emanations of the light, over the total number of the souls who shall have received the mysteries of the light. "And ye, my disciples, and whosoever shall have received the mystery of that ineffable, shall rest with me, on my right hand and on my left, reigning with me in my kingdom. "And they also who shall receive the three mysteries of the five mysteries of that ineffable, shall be fellow-kings with you, in the kingdom of light; they shall not be equal with you, with you and with them who shall have received the [one and only] mystery of that ineffable, but they shall be after you, and yet shall be kings.

⁴ "And they who shall have received the five mysteries of that ineffable, shall be after [them of] the three mysteries, and yet shall be kings. "And they who shall have received the twelve mysteries of the first mystery, shall also be after [them of] the five mysteries of that ineffable, and they shall be kings also, according to the order of each one of them. "And they who shall have received the mystery in all the regions of the space of that ineffable, shall also

be kings, but they shall be after those who shall have received the mystery of the first mystery, distributed according to the glory of each of them, so that they who shall have received a higher mystery, shall be in the higher regions, and they who shall have received a lower mystery shall be in a lower region, reigning in the light of my kingdom.

5 "These only constitute the inheritance of the kingdom of the first space of that ineffable.

SECTION 28: OF THEM OF THE SECOND SPACE

1 "They also who shall have received all the mysteries of the second space, which is the space of the first mystery, shall be also in the light of my kingdom, distributed according to the glory of each of them, and each shall be in the mystery which he shall have received; and they who shall have received a higher mystery, shall be in the higher regions, and they who shall have received a lower mystery, shall be in the lower regions in my kingdom of light. "This is the inheritance of the second king, for them who shall have received the mystery of the second space of the first mystery. "They also who shall receive all the mysteries of the second space [of the first mystery], which is the first space from the exterior, they also shall be after the second king, distributed also in the light of my kingdom, according to the glory of each of them, each being in the region of which he shall have received the mystery, so that they who shall have received higher mysteries, shall be in higher regions, and they who shall have received lower mysteries, shall be in lower regions.

2 "These are the three inheritances of the kingdom of light. "Now the mysteries of these three inheritances of light are exceedingly numerous. Ye shall find them in the two great Books of Ieou; but I will give you and tell you the great mysteries of each inheritance, those which are higher than all their regions, that is to say, those which are chief over all their regions and orders, those which can bring the whole human race into the higher regions, from space to space of the inheritance. "But as for the rest of the lower mysteries, ye have no need thereof, but ye shall find them in the two Books of Ieou, which Enoch wrote when I spoke with him from the tree of knowledge, and from the tree of life, which were in the Paradise of Adam. "Now, therefore, when I shall have finished explaining the whole of the emanation, I will give you and tell you the great mysteries of the three inheritances of my kingdom, those which are chief of the mysteries which I will give you. I

will tell them unto you in all their configurations, in all their types, and in all their numbers, together with the seals of the third space, which is the first space from the exterior; and I will tell you the explanations, apologies, and symbols of that space.

³ "As to the second space towards the interior, they [who reach thereto] have no need either of explanation, or apology, or symbol, or number, or seal; but only of types and configurations." When the saviour had finished saying these words unto his disciples, Andrew came forward and said: "Master, be not wroth with me, but have mercy upon me, and reveal unto me the mystery of the word concerning which I shall question thee, for it hath been hard for me, and I have not understood it." The saviour answered and said unto him: "Ask concerning that which thou desirest to question and I will reveal it unto thee face to face without parable." And Andrew answered and said: "I am in great wonderment and amazement, how men of this world and in bodies of matter when they depart from this world, shall pass through all those firmaments, and those rulers, all lords, all gods, all those great invisibles, and all those of the region of them of the midst, and those of the whole region of them that are on the right, and all the great emanations of them that are on the right, so that they pass through them and inherit the kingdom of light. This matter, then, is hard for me."

SECTION 29: THAT ALL MEN ARE POTENTIALLY ALL POWERS

¹ When Andrew had said these words, the spirit of the saviour was moved in him, and he cried out and said: "How long shall I bear with you, how long shall I suffer you? Do ye still not know and are ye ignorant? Know ye not, and do ye not understand that ye are all angels, all archangels, gods and lords, all rulers, all the great invisibles, all those of the midst, those of every region of them that are on the right, all the great ones of the emanations of the light with all their glory; that ye are all, of yourselves and in yourselves in turn, from one mass and one matter, and one substance; ye are all from the same mixture. "And by the commandment of the first mystery, the mixture is constrained until all the great light-emanations with all their glory are purified, until they are cleansed from the mixture, till they are purified not of themselves, but of necessity, according to the regulation of that one and only ineffable.

² "They indeed have not at all [in reality] undergone sufferings, nor changes of region, nor have they at all torn themselves asunder, nor poured

themselves into different bodies, nor have they been in any affliction. "Whereas ye others, ye are the purgations of the treasure, ye are the purgations of the region of them that are on the right, ye are the purgations of all the invisibles and of all the rulers; in a word, ye are the purgations of all of them. And ye have been in great afflictions and great tribulations, in your pourings into different bodies of this world. And after all these afflictions which came from yourselves, ye have struggled and fought, renouncing the whole world and all the matter that is in it; and ye have not held your hands in the fight, until ye found all the mysteries of the kingdom of light, which have purified you, and transformed you into refined light, most pure, and ye have become pure light itself.

3 "For which cause have I said unto you aforetime, 'Seek, that ye may find.' I said, therefore, unto you, 'Ye shall seek out the mysteries of light, which purify the body of matter, and they will transform you into light of exceeding great purity.' "Amen, I say unto you, the race of human kind is of matter. I tore myself asunder, I brought unto them the mysteries of light, to purify them, for they are the purgations of all the matter of their matter; otherwise, no soul in the whole of human kind would have been saved; nor could it have inherited the kingdom of light, unless I had brought unto them the purifying mysteries. "Now the light-emanations have no need of any mystery, for they are pure; but the human race hath need of purification, for all men are purgations of matter. For this cause I said unto you aforetime, 'They that are whole, need no physician, but they that are sick'; that is to say, they that are of the light have no need of the mysteries, for they are pure light-powers, but the human race hath need of them, for [men] are purgations of matter.

4 "For this cause, therefore, preach ye to the whole human race, saying, 'Cease not to seek day and night, until ye have found the purifying mysteries'; and say unto them, 'Renounce the whole world, and all the matter therein,' for he who buyeth and selleth in this world, he who eateth and drinketh of his own matter, who liveth in his own cares and in all his own associations, amasses ever fresh matter from his matter, in that the whole world, and all that is therein, and all its associations, are exceedingly material purgations, and they shall make enquiry of every one concerning his purity. "For which reason, then, I said to you aforetime, 'Renounce the whole world and all the matter therein,' that ye may not add other matter to the

matter which is already in you. Therefore, preach ye this to the whole human race, saying, 'Renounce the whole world and all its associations, that ye may not add fresh matter to the matter which is already in you';

⁵and say unto them, 'Cease not to seek day and night, and stay not your hands until ye have found the purifying mysteries which shall cleanse you, and will transform you into pure light, that ye may enter into the height and inherit the light of my kingdom.'

SECTION 30: THAT ALL WHO ARE PURIFIED SHALL BE SAVED

¹"Now, therefore, thou, O Andrew, and all thy brethren and co-disciples, because of your renunciations, and all the sufferings which ye have endured in every region, because of your repourings into different bodies, and because of all your tribulations, ye have, after all, received the purifying mysteries, and are become pure light exceedingly refined. For this cause, therefore, ye shall enter into the height, ye shall come to the interior of all the regions of all these great emanations of the light, ye shall be kings in the kingdom of light for ever. This is the explanation of the words on which ye question me. "Now, therefore, Andrew, still art thou in unbelief and ignorance; but when ye shall have departed from your bodies, and shall have entered into the height, and arrived at the region of the rulers, all the rulers shall be ashamed before you, in that ye are the purgations of their matter and yet have been transformed into purer light than all of them. And when ye shall have come into the region of the great invisible, and into the region of them of the midst, of them of the right, and into the regions of all those great emanations of the light, ye shall receive glory in the presence of all of them, in that ye are the purgations of their matter and are transformed into light purer than them all. And all the regions shall sing a song before you, until ye have entered into the region of the kingdom."

²When the saviour had said these things, Andrew knew clearly, and not only he but also all the other disciples, that they should inherit the kingdom of light. Then they all cast themselves on the ground, side by side, at Jesus' feet, they cried aloud, and wept, and besought the saviour, saying: "Master, forgive our brother the sin of ignorance." And the saviour answered and said: "I forgive and will forgive; for this cause hath the first mystery sent me, that I may forgive every one his sins."

SECTION 31: EXTRACT FROM THE BOOKS OF THE SAVIOUR

¹"AND they that are worthy of the mysteries which lie in that ineffable, that is to say, they that have not emanated— they are prior to the first mystery. To use a similitude and correspondence of speech that ye may understand, they are the members of that ineffable; and each is according to the dignity of its glory, the head according to the dignity of the head, the eye according to the dignity of the eye, the ear according to the dignity of the ear, and the rest of the members [in like fashion]; so that it is manifest that there are many members but only one body. Of this I speak to you in a paradigm, a correspondence, and a similitude, but not in the reality of its configuration; I have not revealed the [whole] word in truth. "But the mystery of that ineffable and every member which is in it—that is to say, they that dwell in the mystery of that ineffable, and they that dwell in [that ineffable]—and also the three spaces which follow after them, mystery by mystery, in truth and verity, all that [is myself]. I am the treasure of all of them, apart from which there is no treasure, apart from which there is no individuality in the world; but there are other words [besides the word of this world], other mysteries, other regions.

²"Now, therefore, blessed is he [among men] who hath found the mysteries of the space towards the exterior. He is a god, who hath found the words of the mysteries of the second space in the midst. He is a saviour and free of every space, who hath found the words of the mysteries, the words of the third space towards the interior. He is the very *pleroma* itself—the object of desire of all who are in that third space—who hath found the mystery in which they [all] are and in which they are [all] set. Wherefore is he equal to [all of them]. He hath found also the words of the mysteries, which I have written down for you by a similitude, namely the members of the ineffable. Amen, I say unto you, he who hath found the words of these mysteries in the truth of God, that man is chief in the truth, he is its peer, because of these words and mysteries. The *pleroma* verily oweth its being to that mystery. For which cause, he who hath found the words of these mysteries, is equal to the chief [of all]. It is the *gnosis* of the *gnosis* of the ineffable, concerning which I speak unto you this day."

SECTION 32: OF THE PREACHING OF THE DISCIPLES

¹Jesus continued in his conversation and said into his disciples: "When I shall have gone unto the light, preach unto the whole world and say unto them, 'Cease not day and night to seek until ye have found the mysteries of the kingdom of light, which will purify you and transform you into pure light, that ye may be brought to the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce the whole world and all the matter that is in it, all its cares, all its sins, in a word, all the associations that are in it, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and be saved from all the torments which are in the judgments.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce murmuring, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and be saved from the fire of the dogfaced one.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce superstition, that ye may escape the judgment of that dog-faced one.'

²"Say unto them, 'Renounce all spells, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape the torments of Ariel.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce calumny, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape the rivers of fire of the dog-faced one.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce false witness, that ye may become worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape, and be preserved from the rivers of fire of the dog-faced one.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce boasting and pride, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape the pits of fire of Ariel.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce gluttony, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape the judgments of Amenti.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce garrulity, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and preserved from the fires of Amenti.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce evil caresses, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and preserved from the torments which are in Amenti.'

³"Say unto them, 'Renounce the desires of avarice, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape from the rivers of fire of that dog-faced one.' Say unto them, 'Renounce the loves of the world, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape from the coats of pitch and fire of the dog-faced one.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce robbery, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and escape the rivers of fire of Ariel.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce evil words, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the torments of the rivers of smoke.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce wickedness, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the seas of fire of Ariel.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce pitilessness,

that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the judgments of the dragon-faced one.'

4 "Say unto them, 'Renounce wrath, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the rivers of smoke of the dragon-faced.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce reviling, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the fire of the seas of the dragon-faced.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce pillage, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the seething seas of the dragon-faced.' Say unto them, 'Renounce robbery, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from Ialdabaôth.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce slandering, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the rivers of fire of that lion-faced.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce quarrelling and broiling, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the seething rivers of Ialdabaôth.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce all ignorance, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the workmen of Ialdabaôth and the fires of his seas.'

5 "Say unto them, 'Renounce villainy, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from all the demons of Ialdabaôth and all his judgments.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce sloth, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the seething seas of pitch of Ialdabaôth.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce adultery, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of the kingdom of light, and saved from the seas of sulphur and pitch of the lion-faced.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce murder, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the crocodile-faced ruler, who dwelleth in ice, the first creation of the outer darkness.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce hardness of heart, and impiety, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the rulers of the outer darkness.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce atheism, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the weeping and gnashing of teeth.'

6 "Say unto them, 'Renounce [magic] potions, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the great frost and hail of the outer darkness.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce blasphemy, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from the great dragon of the outer darkness.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce the doctrines of error, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and saved from all the punishments of the great dragon of the outer darkness.' "Say unto them who teach the doctrines

of error, and to them who are taught by them, 'Woe unto you, for if ye repent not, and abandon not your errors, ye shall come into the torments of the great dragon of the inexorable outer darkness, and ye shall not be set free from the world for the eternity, ye shall be without existence until the end.' Say unto them that abandon the doctrines of truth of the first mystery, 'Woe unto you, for your torment shall be worse than that of all men, for ye shall dwell in the great ice, and frost, and hail, in the midst of the dragon and the outer darkness, and ye shall not be set free from the world henceforth for the eternity, ye shall be frozen up in that region, and in the ascension of the pleroma, ye shall be lost, ye shall be non-existent for the eternity.'

SECTION 33: WHAT MEN SHOULD PRACTISE

¹ "Say also unto the men of the world, 'Be diligent, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height of the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye loving unto men, that ye may be worthy of the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye gentle, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of the light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye peace-makers, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye merciful, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye compassionate, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.'

² "Say unto them, 'Minister unto the poor and sick and afflicted, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye loving unto God, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Be ye righteous, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "Say unto them, 'Renounce everything, that ye may receive the mysteries of light, and enter into the height, into the kingdom of light.' "These are all the boundary marks of the paths of them that are worthy of the mysteries of light. "Unto them, therefore, who shall have made this renunciation, give ye the mysteries of light; hide them not from them at all. Should they have been sinners, should they have been in all the sins and all the iniquities of the world, of which I have spoken unto you, nevertheless, if they turn themselves, and repent, and have made the renunciation which I have just described unto you, give ye

unto them the mysteries of the kingdom of light; hide them not from them at all.

3 "It is because of sin that I have brought these mysteries into the world, for the remission of all the sins which they have committed from the beginning. Wherefore have I said unto you aforetime, 'I came not to call the righteous.' Now, therefore, I have brought the mysteries that the sins of all men may be remitted, and they be brought into the kingdom of light. For these mysteries are the boons of the first mystery for the destruction of the sins and iniquities of all sinners." It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary came forward and said to the saviour: "Master, surely, then, the righteous perfect in all righteousness, the man in whom there is no sin at all, such a man will not be chastised in the torments and judgments? Will they not surely bring him into the kingdom of the heavens?"

4 The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "A righteous man who is perfect in all righteousness, who hath committed no sin at any time, should such a one not have received the mystery of light, when the time cometh for him to pass out of the body, the receivers of light of the one great triple power, who is the great one among them, shall immediately rescue the soul of that man from the hands of the receivers of wrath. Three days shall they journey round with it in all the creatures of the world, and after the three days they shall bring it from above into chaos, to pass it through the torments of the judgments, that they may instruct it in the torments. The fires of chaos, however, will not trouble it greatly; but they will trouble it somewhat for a short space. Quickly and with haste will they take pity on it, to bring it forth from chaos, and set it in the way of the midst of the rulers; they shall not torment it with their harsh judgments, but the fire of their regions shall trouble it somewhat. [So that] though they shall bring it into the region of these pitiless Achthanabas, they shall nevertheless not torment it in its harsh judgments, but [only] keep it there a short space, the fire of its torments troubling it [only] somewhat.

5 "And again with haste will they take pity on it, to bring it forth from the regions which belong to those rulers, and in like manner they will cause it to pass through all the torments. "They shall take it out of the æons entirely, lest the rulers of the æons should carry it off and ravish it; they shall lead it along the way of the sunlight, to bring it to the virgin of light. And

she will prove it, to find it free of all sin, but will not have it brought to the light, because the sign of the kingdom of the mysteries is not with it. But she will seal it with an excellent seal that it may be carried into a righteous body of the æons. And [that man] shall be good so that he may find the signs of the mysteries of light, and inherit the kingdom of light for ever.

6 "And if a man have sinned once, or twice, or thrice, he shall be sent back into the world according to the type of the sins he hath committed; I will tell you these types when I shall come to explain the emanation of the pleroma. "But amen, amen, I say unto you, even though a righteous man have not committed any sin at all, it is impossible to take him into the kingdom of light, because the sign of the kingdom of the mysteries is not with him. In a word, it is not possible to bring a soul into the light without the mysteries of light."

SECTION 34: JOHN QUESTIONETH JESUS

1 It came to pass, therefore, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that John came forward and said: "Master, if a man is a sinner, a transgressor, steeped in every iniquity, but hath left all this for the sake of the kingdom of the heavens, and hath renounced the whole world and all the matter therein, and we should give him the first of the mysteries of light which are in the first space from the exterior, and if a short time after he have received the mysteries, he should return to his transgression, and yet once again should repent and cease from all sin, and should renounce the whole world and all the matter therein, and if he should come [unto us], and be in great contrition, and if we should know really in truth that God willeth that we should give unto him the second mystery of the first space from the exterior; should he moreover in like manner turn again and transgress, and be in the sins of the world, and yet once more again repent and cease from the sins of the world, and again renounce the whole world and all the matter therein, and be in great contrition, and we should know it with certainty, and he is not a hypocrite, and we should again give him the mysteries of the first [space]; should he further, moreover, in like manner, turn again, and commit sin, and plunge into every type [of sin], wilt thou or not that we remit [his transgressions] unto seven times, and give him the mysteries which are in the first space from the exterior unto seven times?"

2 The saviour answered again and said unto John: "Remit ye his sin not only unto seven times, but amen, I say unto you, remit ye it unto him many

times seven times, and each time give ye him the mysteries from the beginning, [the mysteries] which are in the first space from the exterior; perchance ye will win the soul of that brother, so that he may inherit the kingdom of light. "For this cause, when ye questioned me afore-time, saying, 'If our brother sin against us, wilt thou that we forgive him unto seven times?' I answered and said unto you, 'Not only unto seven times, but unto seventy times seven.' "Now, therefore, remit ye his sin many times, and every time give unto him the external mysteries, those which are in the first space; perchance ye shall win the soul of that brother, so that he may inherit the kingdom of light.

³ "Amen, I say unto you, he who shall give life unto a single soul, and shall save it, in addition to his own proper light in the kingdom of light, he shall further receive an additional glory for the soul which he shall have saved, so that he who shall save a host of souls, in addition to his own proper glory in the glory, he shall receive a host of additional glories for the souls which he shall have saved." When, therefore, the saviour had spoken these words, John came forward and said: "Master, bear with me if I question thee, for I will begin from this hour to question thee on every matter, concerning the way in which we are to preach to human kind. "If, then, such a brother, after I shall have given him one of the mysteries of the beginning, which are in the first space from the exterior, after I have given him a number of mysteries—if, I say, such a brother] hath not become worthy of the kingdom of the heavens, wilt thou that we pass him on to the mysteries of the second space? Perchance we shall win the soul of that brother, he might repent, and be in contrition, and inherit the kingdom of the heavens; wilt thou or not that we pass him on to the mysteries which are in the second space?"

⁴ The saviour answered and said unto John: "If that brother is not a hypocrite, but longeth for God in truth, if ye shall have given him many times the mysteries of the beginning, and yet because of the necessity of the elements of the fate, he hath not proved worthy of the mysteries of the kingdom of light, [nevertheless] continue to remit his transgressions, pass him on, and give unto him the first mystery of the second space. Perchance ye shall win the soul of that brother. "[Even then] if he be not worthy of the mysteries of light, if he commit transgression and any kind of sin, and then again should repent and be in great contrition, and renounce the whole world, and cease from all the sins of the world, and ye know with certainty

that he is not a hypocrite, [then] turn ye [to him] again, and remit his sin, pass him on, give unto him the second mystery of the second space of the first mystery. Perchance, indeed, ye shall win the soul of that brother, that he may inherit the kingdom of the heavens.

5 "Yet again, if he show himself not worthy of the mysteries, but commit transgression and any kind of sin, and yet again repent and be in great contrition, and renounce the whole world and all the matter therein; and cease from the sin of the world, and ye know truly that he is not a hypocrite, but longeth for the truth, turn ye again [unto him], remit his sin and accept his repentance, for the first mystery is compassionate and merciful-minded; yet again pass him on, and give him, one after another, the three mysteries of the second space of the first mystery. "[But] if that man [again] transgresseth, and is in any kind of sin, ye shall not remit his sin again from that hour, nor any more accept his repentance; let him be for you as a stumbling-block and transgressor. "For, amen, I say unto you, those three mysteries shall witness against his last repentance, and there is no more repentance for him from that hour. Amen, I say unto you, the soul of that man shall have no more probation for the world of the height henceforth from that hour, but it shall dwell in the habitations of the dragon of outer darkness.

6 "It is because of the souls of men of this kind that I spake unto you aforetime in parable, saying unto you, 'If thy brother sin against thee, reprove him alone; if he hearken unto thee, thou shalt have won thy brother; if he hearken not unto thee, take with thee another [brother]; if he still will not hear thee or that other [brother], bring him before the assembly; if he hearken not unto the rest [of the brethren], let him be for you as a transgressor and a stumbling-block.' "If he prove not worthy in the first mystery, give him the second; and if he prove unworthy in the second, give him the three, one after the other—that is to say, the 'assembly'—and if he prove unworthy in the third mystery, let him be for you as a stumbling-block and a transgressor.

SECTION 35: A FORMER SAYING EXPLAINED

1 "And the word which I spake to you afore-time, 'By the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established,' signifieth that these three mysteries shall witness against his last repentance. Amen, I say unto you, [even] should that man repent, there is no mystery which can remit his sins and accept his repentance, there is not the least possibility of any mystery at

all listening unto him, save only the first mystery of the first mystery and the mysteries of that ineffable. They alone will accept the repentance of that man and will remit his sins, for those mysteries are compassionate and merciful-minded, and grant remission at any time." When the saviour had said these words, John continued [his questioning], and said to the saviour: "Master, if a brother, who is a very great sinner, hath renounced the whole world and all the matter therein, all its sins and all its interests, and we shall prove him, and know that he is not a deceiver and a hypocrite, but that he hath a real desire to be in the truth, and we should know that he is worthy of the mysteries of the second space or [even] the third, wilt thou or not that we give him of the [mysteries] of the second space and even of the third, before he have received any mystery at all of the inheritance of light; wilt thou that we give them unto him or no?"

2 And the saviour answered and said unto John in the midst of the disciples: "If ye know with certainty that that man hath renounced the whole world, all its interests, all its associations, and all its sins, if ye know of a certainty that he is not a deceiver or a hypocrite, or merely curious to know what kind of things the rites of the mysteries are, but that he desireth God in truth, ye shall not hide [the mystery] from this man, but ye shall give him the mysteries of the second space and [even] of the third; after ye have proved him to find out of what mystery he is worthy, then give him that mystery and hide it not from him, for should ye hide it from him, ye will be subject to a great judgment. "[Even] if, after ye have once given him [of the mysteries] of the second space or of the third, he should return again to his transgression, [nevertheless] ye shall again give them unto him a second time, and also a third time; but if he still transgress, ye shall no longer give him them, for then these mysteries shall be witnesses against him in his last repentance. Amen, I say unto you, he who shall give the mysteries again unto such a man in the second or in the third space, is subject to a great judgment. But let that man be for you as a transgressor and a stumbling-block.

3 "Amen, I say unto you, for the soul of that man there is no salvation in the world from that hour; his habitation shall be in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of outer darkness, the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth, and in the dissolution of the world, his soul shall be frozen up, and shall be lost in the pitiless ice and inexorable fire, and shall cease to exist for the eternity. "Even should he again repent and renounce the whole world, all its

interests, and all its sins, and be in severe penitential discipline and great contrition, [nevertheless] no mystery shall accept his repentance, none shall give ear unto him to accept his repentance, and grant him the remission of his sins, save only the mystery of the first mystery and the mystery of that ineffable. These alone will accept repentance from such a man, and grant him the remission of his sins, for these mysteries are compassionate and merciful-minded, and grant remission of sins at any time."

SECTION 36: JOHN CONTINUETH HIS QUESTIONING

¹ When the saviour had said these words, John continued [his questioning] further, and said unto him: "Master, bear with me, for I question thee on every matter with earnestness and confidence, as to the manner in which we are to preach to the men of the world." The saviour answered and said unto John: "Ask concerning every matter as thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee, face to face, with freedom, and without parable, and with certainty." And John answered and said: "Master, when we go forth to preach, and enter into a city or a town, and the people of that city come to meet us, and we know not who they are, if they employ great deception and hypocrisy, and receive us, and take us into their houses, wishing to make trial of the mysteries of light; if they are hypocrites with us in their submission, and we think that they love God, and we should give them the mysteries of the kingdom of light, and afterwards we should discover that they have not acted in a manner worthy of the mysteries, and we should find out that they have been hypocrites with us, and have deceived us and have afterwards made a [mere] mock of the mysteries of the several regions, mimicking us and [making forgeries of] our mysteries also, what, then, will happen to people of this kind?"

² The saviour answered and said unto John: "When ye shall have entered into a city or a town, unto the house into which ye shall enter and in which ye shall be received, give ye one of the mysteries; if they be worthy of it, ye shall surely win their souls and they shall inherit the kingdom of light; but if they be not worthy of it, but have deceived you, and have made a [mere] mock of the mysteries, mimicking you and the mysteries, [then] shall ye appeal to the first mystery of the first mystery who hath compassion on all the world, saying, 'The mystery which we have given unto these impious and iniquitous souls, they have not performed in a manner worthy of thy mystery, but they have [merely] copied [what we did]; give back [therefore] that mys-

tery unto us, and make them for ever strangers to the mystery of thy kingdom.' Shake ye off the dust of your feet as a testimony against them, and say unto them, 'May your souls be as the very dust of your house.' Amen, I say unto you, in that hour all the mysteries which ye have given unto them shall return unto you; every word and every mystery of which they shall have received the form shall be taken from them.

³ "Concerning people of this kind, verily, have I aforetime spoken unto you in parable, explained, saying, 'Into whatsoever house ye enter, and ye shall be received, say unto them, Peace be with you,' and if they are worthy, your peace shall rest upon them, and if they are not worthy, it shall return unto you again'—that is to say, if these people act in a manner worthy of the mysteries of the kingdom of light; but if they behave hypocritically and with deception towards you, without your being aware thereof, and ye give unto them the mysteries of the kingdom of light, and afterwards they make a mock of the mysteries, and mimic you and my mysteries, [then] ye shall celebrate the first mystery of the first mystery, and he will give back unto you every mystery that ye shall have given unto them, and will make them strangers to the mysteries of light for ever.

⁴ "Men of this kind shall have no more probation given them in this world from that hour; but, amen, I say unto you, their habitation shall be in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of outer darkness. And should they even have again a time of repentance, and should they renounce the whole world, and all the matter therein, and all the sins of the world, and should then make entire submission to the mysteries of the light, no mystery will give ear unto them or grant them remission of their sins, save only the one and only mystery of that ineffable, who hath compassion on the whole world and granteth the remission of the sins of the whole world."

SECTION 37: MARY AGAIN QUESTIONETH JESUS

¹ It came to pass, when Jesus had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary worshipped the feet of Jesus, and kissed them and said unto him: "Master, bear with me, if I question thee, and be not wroth with me." The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee with freedom." And Mary said: "Master, well then, supposing that a brother is good and righteous, and we have perfected him with all the mysteries of light, and that this brother hath a brother or a kinsman or some connection or other, and the latter is a sinner and impious—or even if

he be not a sinner—and on this person's passing from the body, the heart of the good brother grieves and mourns over him, in that [his friend] is in the judgments and torments; now, then, O Master, what shall we do to carry him out of the harsh torments and judgments?"

2 The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I have already spoken unto you on this subject on another occasion, but hearken while I tell you again, that ye may be perfected in every perfection. "Now, therefore, with regard to all who commit sin, or those who do not commit sin, if ye will not only that they be taken back out of the harsh judgments and torments, but also that they should be carried into a righteous body, which shall find the mysteries of the godhead, so as to enter into the height and inherit the kingdom of light—[then] celebrate the third mystery of that ineffable, saying, 'Set ye free the soul of the man of whom we think in our hearts, set ye it free from all the torments of the rulers; haste ye speedily to bring him unto the virgin of light; in this very month let the virgin of light seal him with an excellent seal, in this very month let the virgin of light cast him into a body that shall be righteous and good, that he may enter into the height, and inherit the kingdom of light.'

3 "And if ye say these words, amen, I say unto you, all those that are in service in all the orders of the judgments of the rulers, will set to work to pass that soul from one to the other, until they bring it unto the virgin of light. And the virgin of light shall seal it with the sign of the kingdom of that ineffable, and give it unto her receivers, and the receivers will cast it into a righteous body, and it will find the mysteries of light, and become good, and enter into the height and inherit the kingdom of light. This is the matter on which ye have questioned me." Mary continued and said: "Now, then, O Master, hast thou not brought the mysteries into the world that men may not be distressed by the death that shall come upon them from the rulers of the fate? For if it befalleth any one to die by the sword, or die by water, by tortures and questioning and the violence of the law, or by any other evil death, surely hast thou not brought the mysteries into the world that men may not thus die at the hands of the rulers of the fate, but may die by a sudden death, and not be tortured by such kinds of death? For they are in exceeding great number who persecute us because of thee, and multitudes pursue us because of thy name, so that if we be submitted to the torture, we shall

utter the mystery, that we may immediately depart from the body without suffering any pain."

SECTION 38: HOW AN INITIATE CAN ESCAPE FROM THE DEATH OF THE
BODY WITHOUT PAIN

¹ The saviour answered and said unto his disciples: "Concerning the matter on which ye question me, I have spoken unto you on another occasion; but hearken once more that I may tell it you again. Not only ye, but all men who shall accomplish that first mystery of the first mystery of that ineffable; [only] while a man is [still] engaged in completing that mystery in all its configurations and all its types and all its states, he shall not depart from the body [under such circumstances]; but after the perfect accomplishment of that mystery in all its configurations and all its types, [then] after this at any moment when he shall name that mystery, he shall be saved from all that might have befallen him at the hands of the rulers of the fate. In that moment he shall depart from the body of the matter of the rulers, and his soul shall become a great light-stream, it shall soar into the height, and shall pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of the light, until it come into the region of its kingdom, without presenting explanation or apology in any region, for it is free of [all] symbol."

² And when Jesus had spoken these words, Mary again hastened to cast herself at Jesus' feet, and kissed them, saying: "Master, I will question thee [yet] again; reveal it unto us and hide nothing from us." Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "Ask on whatever matter thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee with freedom, without parable." Mary answered and said: "Well, then, O Master, hast thou not [also] brought the mysteries into the world because of poverty and riches, of weakness and strength, of sickness and health, in a word because of all things of this kind, so that when we come into the regions of a country, and they do not believe in us or give ear to our words, we should perform these mysteries in those regions, in order that they may know truly that we preach the words of the perfection?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "The mystery on which ye question me, [behold] I gave it unto you on another occasion; but I will answer again and explain unto you the matter.

³ "Now, therefore, O Mary, not only ye, but all men who shall achieve the mystery of the resurrection of the dead which healeth from demonial possessions, and sufferings and every disease, [which also healeth] the blind, the

lame, the halt, the dumb, and the deaf, [the mystery] which I gave unto you aforetime—whosoever shall receive of these mysteries and achieve them, if he ask for anything whatever hereafter, poverty or riches, weakness or strength, disease or health, or the whole healing of the body, and the resurrection of the dead, the power of healing the lame, the blind, the deaf and the dumb, of every disease and every suffering—in a word, whosoever shall achieve this mystery, if he ask any of the things which I have just told unto you, they shall at once be granted unto him." When, therefore, the saviour had said these words, the disciples came forward and cried out all together, saying: "O saviour, thou excitest us with exceeding great frenzy because of the transcendent height which thou hast revealed unto us; and thou exaltest our souls, and they have become paths on which we travel to come unto thee, for they came forth from thee. Now, therefore, because of the transcendent heights which thou hast revealed unto us, our souls have become frenzied, and they travail mightily yearning to go forth from us into the height to the region of thy kingdom."

SECTION 39: HOW THE DISCIPLES SHALL PREACH

¹ And when the disciples had said these words, the saviour again continued his conversation, and said unto his disciples: "If ye enter into cities, or principalities, or countries, preach ye first unto them, saying: 'Seek ye ever, and cease not, until ye have found the mysteries of the light, which will bring you unto the kingdom of light.' Say unto them, 'Beware of the doctrines of error,' for many shall come in my name, saying, 'It is I,' and it shall not be so, and they shall lead astray many. "Now, therefore, to every one that cometh unto you, and shall believe in you, and hearken unto my words, and act worthily of the mysteries of light, unto him shall ye give the mysteries of light, and hide them not from him. Unto him that is worthy of the higher mystery, give ye thereof, and to him that is worthy of the lower mystery, give ye thereof, and hide nothing from him.

² "But as to the mystery of the resurrection of the dead, and of the healing of disease, give it unto none and teach it not, for that mystery pertaineth to the rulers, it and all its namings. For this cause, therefore, give it unto none, and teach it not until ye have established the faith in the whole world, in order that, when you enter into cities or countries, and they do not receive you, nor believe on you, nor give ear unto your words, ye may then raise the dead in those regions, and heal the lame, the blind, and all kinds of diseases in

those regions, and by all such means, they will believe on you, that ye preach the God of the perfection, and will have faith in all your words. For this cause have I given unto you this mystery, until ye shall have established the faith in the whole world."

3 And when the saviour had spoken these words he continued further in his conversation, and said unto Mary: "Now, therefore, give ear, O Mary. Concerning the word on which thou hast questioned me, to wit, 'Who constraineth a man to sin?'—now, therefore, [will I tell it thee]. When the babe cometh into the world, the power is feeble in it, the soul also is feeble in it, and the counterfeit of the spirit is also feeble in it; in a word, the three are all of them feeble. None of them hath sense enough for any work, whether good or evil, because of the exceeding great weight of oblivion; and the body too is feeble. And the babe eateth of the delights of the world of the rulers, and the power absorbeth from the portion of the power which is in the delights, and the soul absorbeth from the portion of the soul which is in the delights, and the counterfeit of the spirit absorbeth from the portion of the evil which is in the delights and their desires, and the body also absorbeth the unperceptive matter which is in the delights. As to the destiny, it taketh nothing from the delights, for it is not mingled with them, but it continueth of the same quality with which it came into the world.

4 "And little by little the power, the soul and the counterfeit of the spirit develop, and each of them senseth according to its nature. The power senseth after the light of the height; the soul also senseth after the region of mixed righteousness, which is the region of the mixture; the counterfeit of the spirit seeketh after all vices, and desires, and sins; but the body hath no power of sensing unless it be an impulse to gain strength from matter." And so forth—with the three develop sensation, each according to its nature. And the receivers of wrath also give order unto their workmen to follow them, and be witness to all the sins that they commit, with a view to the manner in which they shall punish them in the judgments.

SECTION 40: OF THE COUNTERFEIT OF THE SPIRIT

1 "Thereupon the counterfeit of the spirit deviseth and senseth after all the sins and evils which the rulers of the fate have decreed against that soul, and it bringeth them into operation against that soul." And so the power within impelleth the soul to seek after the region of light and the whole godhead; whereas the counterfeit of the spirit draggeth down the soul and persistently

constraineth it to commit every kind of iniquity and mischief and sin, and persisteth as something foreign to the soul, and is its enemy, and maketh it commit all these sins and evils. "It spurreth on the workmen of wrath, moreover, to bear witness to all the sins which it will constrain the soul to commit. And even when [the soul] sleepeth by night or by day, it plagueth it in dreams with the desires of the world, and causeth it to long after all the things of this world. In a word, it bindeth it to all the actions which the rulers have decreed for it, and is the enemy of the soul, causing it to do what it would not.

²"Now, therefore, Mary, this thing is the enemy of the soul; this is the one that constraineth it to commit all kinds of sin. "Now, therefore, when the life period of that man is fulfilled, first there cometh the destiny, and leadeth that man to his death, by means of the rulers and the bonds in which they have been bound by the fate. Next come the receivers of wrath, to lead that soul out of the body. "And for three days the receivers of wrath travel round with that soul through all the regions, taking it through all the aeons of the world, and the counterfeit of the spirit and destiny accompany that soul, but the power withdraws itself to the virgin of light. "And after three days, the receivers of wrath take that soul down into the depth of the hell of chaos, and when they have brought it to the depth of chaos, they hand it over to them that administer punishment, and the receivers return unto their own regions according to the regulation of the operations of the rulers concerning the going forth of the souls.

³"And the counterfeit of the spirit becometh the receiver of that soul, and haunteth it, rebuking it in every punishment because of the sins which it hath caused it to commit; it is in exceeding great enmity to that soul. "And when the soul hath endured the punishments in chaos according to the sins which it hath committed, the counterfeit of the spirit leadeth it forth from chaos, and haunteth it, confronting it in every region with the sins which it hath committed, and it bringeth it forth into the way of the rulers of the midst. And when it hath come unto them, [the rulers] confront it with the mysteries of the destiny, and if it have not discovered them, then they examine their destiny. And [then] these rulers punish that soul according to the sins of which it is guilty. I will tell you the type of their punishments in explaining the emanation of the pleroma.

⁴ "When, then, it cometh to pass that the period of torment of that soul in the judgments of the rulers of the midst is fulfilled, the counterfeit of the spirit leadeth the soul out of all the regions of the rulers of the midst, and bringeth it into the light of the sun, according to the commandment of the first man Ieou, and taketh it before the judge, that is to say, the virgin of light. And she proveth that soul; she findeth that it is a sinning soul, and casteth into it her light-power, to unite it with a body and common sensory. And I will tell you the type of all this in explaining the emanation of the pleroma. And the virgin of light sealeth that soul, and handeth it over to one of her receivers, and will have it carried into a body, which is the record of the sins which it hath committed.

⁵ "Amen, I say unto you, she will not suffer that soul to escape from trans-migrations into bodies until it hath given signs of [being in] its last cycle according to its record of demerit. And concerning all this I will tell you the types and also the types of bodies into which souls shall be cast according to their sins; all this will I tell you when I come to explain to you the emanation of the pleroma."

SECTION 41: OF THE GLORIOUS ASCENSION AFTER DEATH OF THE
RIGHTEOUS SOUL THAT HATH RECEIVED THE MYSTERIES

¹ And Jesus continued further in his conversation and said: "But [in the case of] a soul which hath not hearkened unto the counterfeit of the spirit in all its works, but hath become righteous, and hath received the mysteries of the light which are in the second space, or even those which are in the third space towards the interior; when the time of that soul is come for its passing from the body, then the spiritual counterfeit followeth after that soul, and also the destiny. They follow after it in the way whereby it shall pass into the height. "And before it getteth far into the height, it uttereth the mystery of the breaking of the seals and all the bonds of the counterfeit of the spirit whereby the rulers bind it to the soul; and when [the mystery] is uttered, the bonds of the counterfeit of the spirit are broken, so that it ceaseth to shackle that soul, and letteth the soul go, according to the injunctions which the rulers of the great fate have given unto it, saying, 'Let not that soul go until it hath told thee the mystery of the breaking of all the seals wherewith thou hast been bound to it.'

² "It shall come to pass, therefore, when a soul hath uttered the mystery of the breaking of the seals and all the bonds of the counterfeit of the spirit,

that the latter shall [at once] cease to impede that soul, and shall cease to be bound to it. "[So then] it uttereth the mystery and causeth the destiny to depart to its own region with the rulers who are in the way of the midst; and uttering the mystery, it dismisseth the counterfeit of the spirit unto the rulers of the fate, in the region in which it was bound to it. "And forthwith that soul becometh a mighty light-stream, exceedingly radiant, and the receivers of wrath, who have led it forth from the body, are terror-stricken before the light of that soul, and fall down upon their faces. Forthwith that soul becometh a mighty light-stream, it becometh entirely wings of light, and passeth through all the regions of the rulers and all the orders of light, until it arriveth at the region of its kingdom, of which it hath received the mystery.

³ "[Again in the case of] a soul which hath received the mystery in the first space towards the exterior, and after receiving the mysteries and perfecting them, it then turneth back and committeth sin once more even after the perfecting of the mysteries; when the time hath come for that soul to depart, the receivers of wrath come to lead that soul out of the body. "Then the destiny and the counterfeit of the spirit pursue after that soul, for the counterfeit of the spirit, being bound to it by the bonds of the rulers, followeth after that soul as it travellet on the ways of the counterfeit of the spirit. "It uttereth the mystery of the breaking of all the bonds and all the seals with which the rulers have bound the counterfeit of the spirit to the soul; and when the soul hath uttered the mystery of the breaking of the seals, forthwith the bonds of the seals are broken, which bind the counterfeit of the spirit to the soul within; and when the soul hath uttered the mystery of the breaking of the seals, then, forthwith, the counterfeit of the spirit is unbound and ceaseth to war against the soul. In that hour [then], the soul uttereth a mystery, which shall dominate the counterfeit of the spirit and the destiny, and suffer them [simply] to follow after it, so that they have no strength, while it hath all its strength.

⁴ "And in that hour the receivers of that soul and of the mysteries it hath received, come and wrest that soul from the receivers of wrath, and those receivers go back to the operations of the rulers according to the regulation of the leading forth of souls. "But the receivers of that soul, who pertain to the light, become wings of light for that soul, and will be a vesture of light for it; they will not lead it into chaos, for it is not lawful to bring into chaos a soul

that hath received the mysteries; but they will set it in the way of the rulers of the midst, and when it hath come unto the rulers of the midst the rulers advance to meet that soul, in mighty fear and terrible burning, in many forms, in a word, in mighty terror to which there is no measure.

5 "And in that hour the soul uttereth the mystery of their apology, and they are stricken with exceeding great fear, and fall on their faces, in terror of the mystery which it hath uttered and of their apology. And that soul dismisseth their destiny, saying unto them, 'Take ye unto yourselves your destiny; I will not set foot in your region henceforth from this hour. I will be a stranger unto you for all time, for I go unto the region of my inheritance.' "When the soul hath finished speaking these words, the receivers of light will fly up with it into the height, and bring it into the æons of the fate, where it will pronounce the apology of that region and present its seals, all of which I will explain to you in the emanation of the pleroma. And it will present the counterfeit of the spirit to the rulers, and pronounce for them the mystery of the bonds whereby they have bound it to it, saying unto them, 'Take ye unto yourselves your counterfeit of the spirit; I will not set foot in your region henceforth from this hour; I will be a stranger unto you for all time.' And it will present unto each his seal and his apology.

6 "And when the soul hath finished speaking these words, the receivers of light will fly with it into the height, and take it out of the æons of the fate, and carry it up into the rest of the æons. It will present the apology of every region—the apology of all the regions and seals and tyrants of king Adamas. It will present the apology of all the rulers of all the regions of the left, of whom I will tell you all the apologies and seals when I shall explain the emanation of the pleroma.

SECTION 42: OF THE ASCENSION OF THAT SOUL INTO THE
INHERITANCE

1 "And then the receivers will bring that soul unto the virgin of light, and then that soul presenteth unto the virgin of light the seals and the glory of its songs; and the virgin of light and also the seven virgins of light all examine that soul, that they may all find their signs in it, their seals, their baptisms and chrisms. And the virgin of light sealeth that soul, and the receivers of light baptise that soul to give it the spiritual chrism. And each of the virgins of light sealeth it with her seal. "And then the receivers of light mount up unto the great Sabaôth, the good, who is beside the gate of life in the re-

gion of them of the right, whom they call father; and that soul offereth unto him the glory of its songs, and also his seals and his apologies. And the great Sabaôth sealeteth it with his seals, and the soul presenteth its gnosis and the glory of its songs and the seals to every region of them that are on the right. And all seal it with their seals; and then Melchisedec, the great receiver of light, who inhabiteth the region of them of the right, sealeteth that soul, and all the receivers of Melchisedec seal that soul, and [Melchisedec] bringeth it into the treasure of light.

² "And it presenteth the glory and worship and honour of its songs, with all the seals of all the region of the light; and all they of the region of the treasure of light seal it with their seals, and it cometh unto the region of the inheritance." When, then, the saviour had spoken these things unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And Mary came forward again and said: "Yea, Master, I understand how thou speakest unto me, and I comprehend all these things. Now, therefore, concerning the words which thou hast said unto us, my mind hath had four intuitions; my indweller of light impelleth me, and blissfully seetheth within me, longing to come forth from me and enter into thee. Now, therefore, O Master, hearken while I tell thee the four intuitions which have come unto me." "The first intuition hath come unto me concerning the word which thou hast spoken, 'Now, therefore, the soul presenteth the apology and seal unto all the rulers who are in the region of king Adamas, and it presenteth the apology and honour and glory of all their seals and of the songs of the region of the light'—concerning this word, thou didst speak unto us aforetime, when that piece of money was brought unto thee, thou didst see that it was of silver and brass, and didst ask, 'Whose is this image?' and they answered,

³ 'It is the king's.' And when thou didst see that it was of silver and brass, thou saidst, 'Render unto the king that which is the king's, and unto God that which is God's'; that is to say, when the soul hath received the mystery, it presenteth an apology to all the rulers and to the region of king Adamas, it offereth also honour and glory to all them of the region of the light. And the word, 'It shineth,' when thou didst see that it was of silver and brass, this is the type of the man in whom is both the light-power, that is to say refined silver, and also the counterfeit of the spirit, that is to say the brass of matter. This, O Master, is the first intuition. ⁴ "The second intuition is concerning what thou hast just said unto us about the soul which hath received the mys-

teries, to wit, 'When it hath come into the region of the rulers of the way of the midst, then they advance to meet it in exceeding great terror, and the soul presenteth the mystery of fear unto them, and they are in terror before it; it dismisseth the destiny to its own region and dismisseth the counterfeit of the spirit to its own region, and it presenteth their apology and seals to each of the rulers who are in the ways, and proffereth the honour and glory and worship of the seals, and its songs to all them of the region of light'—concerning this word, O Master, thou didst say unto us aforetime by the mouth of Paul, our brother, 'Give revenue to whom revenue [is due], fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute, honour to whom honour, worship to whom worship; leave no account unpaid'; that is to say, the soul that hath received the mysteries giveth apology in every region. This, O Master, is the second intuition.

5 "The third intuition is concerning the word which thou hast just now spoken unto us, 'The counterfeit of the spirit is the enemy of the soul, and constraineth it to commit every kind of sin and mischief, and rebuketh it in the one's own torments because of all the sins which house. it hath caused it to commit; in a word, it is the foe of the soul in every way'—concerning this word, therefore, thou hast spoken unto us afore-time, saying, 'The foes of a man are the dwellers in his own house'; that is to say, the dwellers in the house of the soul are the counterfeit of the spirit and the destiny, who are ever the foes of the soul, and cause it to commit every kind of sin and iniquity. This, O Master, is the third intuition. 6 "The fourth intuition is concerning the word which thou hast said, 'When the soul hath come forth from the body and goeth on its way with the counterfeit of the spirit, if it hath not found the mystery of the breaking of all the bonds and the seals which are bound to the counterfeit of the spirit, so that it may cease to haunt it— if, then, it hath not found it, the counterfeit of the spirit bringeth the soul before the virgin of light who is the judge, and the virgin of light examineth the soul, to see if it hath sinned and to find out also if it hath with it the mysteries of light. [The virgin of light then] handeth it over to one of her receivers, and her receiver leadeth it forth and casteth it into a body, and it is not set free from transmigration into bodies before it hath given [signs of being in] its last cycle'—concerning this word, then, O Master, thou hast said unto us aforetime, 'Agree with thine enemy whilst thou art in the way with him, lest at any time thine enemy deliver thee to the judge, and the

judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison; thou shalt not come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.'

7 "Manifestly is thy word concerning this. Every soul which shall come forth from the body, and shall go on its way with the counterfeit of the spirit, and which hath not found the mystery of breaking all the seals and all the bonds, that it may be set free from the counterfeit of the spirit which is bound unto it; well, then, that soul which hath not received the mystery of light, and hath not found the mystery of detaching the counterfeit of the spirit which is bound to it within—if, then, that soul hath not found it, the counterfeit of the spirit bringeth that soul unto the virgin of light, and the virgin of light, the judge, handeth over that soul to one of her receivers, and her receiver casteth it into the spheres of the æons, and it is not set free from transmigrations into bodies, until it giveth signs of being in its last cycle. This, then, O Master, is the fourth intuition."

8 It came to pass, when Jesus had heard the words which Mary had spoken, that he said: "Well said, Mary, most blessed and spiritual. These are the interpretations of the words which I have spoken."

SECTION 43: MARY CONTINUETH TO QUESTION JESUS

1 And Mary answered and said: "Yet again, O Master, do I question thee, for henceforth from this hour I will begin to question thee on every matter with precision. Wherefore, then, O Master, be patient with us, reveal every matter on which we question thee as concerning the manner in which my brethren shall preach to the whole race of human kind." This she said to the saviour. And the saviour answered, in great compassion unto her, and said: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, not only will I reveal unto you every matter on which ye shall question me, but henceforth I will reveal unto you other matters of which ye think not to question me, matters which have not yet dawned upon the heart of man, of which even all the rest of the gods who are among men are ignorant. Now, therefore, O Mary, ask what thou wilt, and I will reveal it face to face, without parable."

2 Mary answered and said: "Well, then, O Master, of what type are the baptisms which remit sins? I have heard thee say, 'The workmen of wrath follow the soul, bearing witness to all its sins, that they may rebuke it in the judgments.' Now, therefore, O Master, do the mysteries of the baptisms cause the sins which are in the hands of the workmen of wrath to disappear so that they forget them? Now, therefore, O Master, tell unto us the types of the re-

mission of sins; nay, we would know them with precision." The saviour answered and said unto Mary: Of the "Well hast thou spoken. Assuredly workmen of the workmen [of wrath] are those who wrath. bear witness of all sins; they are ever in the judgments, seizing the souls, rebuking every soul that sinneth and hath received no mystery; they keep them in chaos and chastise them; but these receivers of wrath cannot go beyond chaos, so as to enter into the orders which are higher than chaos, to rebuke the souls which leave those regions. Now, therefore, it is not lawful to do violence unto the souls which have received the mysteries, or to bring them into chaos so that the workmen of wrath may rebuke them. The workmen of wrath rebuke [only] the souls of sinners; they seize upon those which have not received the mysteries and which have been brought into chaos. But as for the souls which have received the mysteries, they have no need of rebuking them, for they do not go into their regions, and even if they should go into their regions, they would not be able to keep them there; least of all have they the power of taking them into chaos.

3 "[But] hearken again that I may tell you the word in truth, of what type is the mystery of baptism which remitteth sins. Now, therefore, when souls have committed sin while still in the world, yea, verily, the workmen of wrath come to bear witness of every sin which a soul hath committed, lest souls should escape from the region of chaos, and in order that they may rebuke the soul in the judgments which are within chaos; and the counterfeit of the spirit beareth witness to every sin which the soul hath committed, that it also may rebuke it in the judgments which are without chaos; not only doth it bear witness concerning the sins of the souls, but it sealeth every sin that it may be stamped on the soul, so that all the rulers of the torments of sinners may know that it is the soul of a sinner, and may be informed of the number of sins which it hath committed, by the number of seals which the counterfeit of the spirit hath stamped upon it, so that they may chastise it according to the number of sins which it hath committed. This is the fashion in which they treat the soul of the sinner.

SECTION 44: HOW THE BAPTISMS PURIFY SINS

1 "Now, therefore, when a man receiveth the mysteries of the baptisms, those mysteries become a mighty fire, exceedingly fierce, wise, which burneth up sins; they enter into the soul occultly and devour all the sins which the spiritual counterfeit hath implanted in it. "And when [the fire] hath purified all

the sins which the counterfeit of the spirit hath implanted in the soul, [the mysteries] enter into the body occultly, that [the fire] may secretly pursue after the pursuers and cut them off with the body. They chase after the counterfeit of the spirit and the destiny, to separate them from the power and the soul, and place them with the body, so that the spiritual counterfeit, the destiny and the body may be separated into one group, and the soul and power into another. And the mystery of baptism remaineth between the two, and separateth the one from the other, in order that it may cleanse them and make them pure, that [the soul and power] may not be fouled in matter.

2 "Now, therefore, O Mary, this is the way in which the mysteries of the baptisms remit sins and every iniquity." And when the saviour had spoken these words he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And Mary came forward and said: "Yea, O Master, in truth I understand thoroughly all that thou hast said. As to the word, therefore, concerning the remission of sins, thou didst speak unto us in parable aforetime, saying, 'I am come to cast fire on the earth, and how can I not will that it should burn?' nay, thou didst explain it openly, saying, 'I have a baptism with which to baptise, and how shall I endure until it be perfected? Think ye that I have come to bring union on the earth? Nay, but I am come to bring separation; for, from this hour, five shall be in one house, three shall be separated against two, and two against three.' This, my Master, is the word which thou didst speak openly.

3 "And the word which thou spakest, 'I am come to cast fire on the earth, and how can I not will that it should burn?' that is to say, O Master, that thou hast brought the mysteries of the baptisms into the world, and how canst thou not will that it should burn up all the sins of the soul, and purify them? And afterwards thou didst explain it openly saying, 'I have a baptism with which to baptise, and how shall I endure until it be perfected?'—that is to say, thou shalt not remain in the world until the baptisms are perfected and have made the souls perfect." And again the word which thou didst speak unto us aforetime, 'Think ye that I am come to bring union on the earth? Nay, but I am come to bring separation; for, from this hour, five shall be in one house, three shall be separated against two, and two against three'; that is to say, that the mystery of the baptisms which thou hast brought into the world, hath brought about a division in the body of the world, for it hath separated the counterfeit of the spirit, the body and the destiny into one

group, and the soul with the power it hath separated into another; that is to say, that three shall be against two and two against three."

⁴ When Mary had spoken these words, the saviour said: " Well said, O Mary, the spiritual one of pure light, that is the interpretation of the word."

SECTION 45: MARY FURTHER QUESTIONETH JESUS

¹ And Mary answered again and said: " Master, I will continue further to question thee; now, therefore, O Master, bear with me if I question thee. We now know openly the type according to which the baptisms remit sins. Now, also, as to the mystery of those three spaces, the mysteries of that first mystery, and the mysteries of that ineffable, according to what type do they remit sins? Do they grant remission after the type of the baptisms or not?" The saviour answered and said: " Nay rather, all the mysteries of the three spaces remit to the soul, in every region of the rulers, all the sins which hath committed from the beginning. All these they remit, and also they remit unto it the sins which it shall hereafter commit until the time when every one of these mysteries shall be in its complete possession. I will tell you the time when each of the mysteries shall be in its complete possession when I treat of the emanation of the pleroma.

² "The mystery also of that first mystery and the mystery of that ineffable remit unto the soul, in every region, all the sins and every iniquity, which the soul shall have committed; and not only shall all be remitted unto it, but no sin shall be imputed unto it from that hour until the [end of] the æon of the æons, because of the boon of that great mystery and its exceeding great glory." When, then, the saviour had spoken these words, he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" And Mary answered and said: "Yea, Master, already have I seized on all the words which thou hast spoken. Now, therefore, my Master, as to the word which thou hast said, 'All the mysteries of the three spaces remit sins, they cover their transgressions'; David, the prophet, hath prophesied aforetime concerning this word, saying, 'Blessed are they whose sins have been pardoned, and whose iniquities have been covered.' Thus, then, he prophesied aforetime concerning this word.

³ "And the word which thou hast spoken, 'As to the mystery of that first mystery and the mystery of that ineffable, every one who shall receive those mysteries, not only shall the sins which he hath committed from the beginning, be remitted, but also they shall not be imputed to him henceforth from that hour for ever'; concerning this word David prophesied aforetime,

saying, 'Blessed are they to whom the lord shall not impute their sins,'—that is to say, their sins shall not be imputed from that hour to them who shall have received the mysteries of the first mystery, and to them that shall have received the mystery of that ineffable." He said: "Well said, Mary, thou spiritual one of pure light. That is the interpretation of the word." And Mary continued further and said: "Well, then, O Master, if a man receiveth the mystery in the mysteries of the first mystery, and turneth back once more, and committeth sin, and then turneth again and repenteth, and offereth prayers unto that mystery whatsoever [he have received], shall his sin be remitted or not?"

4 The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, who-soever shall receive the mysteries of the first mystery, and then shall turn back and transgress twelve times [even], and then should again repent twelve times, offering prayer in the mystery of the first mystery, he shall be forgiven. "But if he should transgress after twelve times, should he turn back and transgress, it shall not be remitted unto him for ever, so that he may turn again unto his mystery, whatever it be. For him there is no means of repentance unless he have received the mysteries of that ineffable, which hath compassion at all times and remitteth sins for ever and ever."

SECTION 46: OF SUCH INITIATED WHO DIE WITHOUT REPENTANCE

1 Mary continued further and said: "If even they who have received the mysteries of the first mystery turn back and commit sin, and if they pass out of the body without repentance, shall they inherit the kingdom or not?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, every one that shall have received the mysteries in the first mystery, and shall have transgressed for the first, second or third time, if he pass out of the body without repentance, his judgment is more severe than every other; for his dwelling is in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of the outer darkness, and last of all he shall be frozen up in the torments and shall be lost for ever, in that he hath received the boon of the first mystery and hath not continued therein." Mary answered and said: "Well, then, O Master, if a man shall receive the mystery in the mystery of that ineffable, and shall transgress and fall away in his faith, and afterwards, during his life, shall turn and repent, how many times will his sin be remitted?"

2 The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, every one who shall receive the mysteries of that ineffable, not only if he

transgress once and turn again and repent, shall his sin be remitted, but also if he transgress any number of times, and then, while still in life, turn again and repent, and should he not be a hypocrite, but turn again and repent and offer prayers in each of his mysteries, it shall be forgiven him every time, in that he hath received the boon of the mysteries of that ineffable, and in that those mysteries are compassionate and ever give pardon." And Mary answered again and said unto Jesus: "Well, then, O Master, as to those that receive the mysteries of that ineffable, and again turn back and commit sin, and fall away in their faith, and who also pass from the body without repentance, what will happen to men of that kind?"

³ The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, all men who shall receive the mysteries of that ineffable, blessed indeed are the souls that shall receive those mysteries, but if they turn back and sin, if they pass out of the body without repentance, for such men their judgment is worse than any, other, nay is the severest of all; even should such souls be new and it should be their first coming into the world, they shall not pass back into the transmigration of the world of bodies from that time forth, and shall have no further field for action, but they shall be cast forth without into the outer darkness, and they shall perish and be non-existent for the eternity." And when the saviour had said these things, he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" Mary answered and said: "Yea, Master, I have seized upon the words which thou hast said. Now, therefore, O Master, this is the word which thou hast said, 'They who shall receive the mysteries of that ineffable, blessed indeed are those souls; but if they turn back and sin, and if they fall away in their faith, and pass out of the body without repentance, from that moment, they are no more fit to pass back into the transmigrations of body, nor for anything else; but they shall be cast forth without into the outer darkness, they shall perish in that region, and be non-existent for the eternity.'

⁴ "Concerning this word thou hast spoken unto us aforetime, saying, 'Salt is good; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is fit neither for the dunghill nor for the earth; they cast it away'; that is to say, the soul that shall receive the mysteries of that ineffable, is [indeed] blessed, but should it once transgress [without repentance], it is no longer fit to come back into the body henceforth from that hour, nor [is it fit] for anything else, but it is cast out into the outer darkness, that it may perish there." And

when she had spoken these words, the saviour said: "Well said, Mary, thou spiritual one of pure light; that is the interpretation of the saying."

SECTION 47: OF THE ABSOLUTE COMPASSION OF THE ABSOLUTE
MYSTERY

¹ And Mary continued and said: "Again, O Master, as to them that shall have received the mysteries of the first mystery and the mystery of that ineffable, and who have not yet transgressed, whose faith in the mysteries is true without hypocrisy, but who by the necessity of fate shall come to sin again, and shall again turn and make repentance, and offer prayer anew in all the mysteries [they have received], how often shall it be remitted unto them?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of his disciples: "All those who shall have received the mysteries of the ineffable and also the mysteries of the first mystery, should they by the necessity of the fate sin no matter how many times, but, while still in life, should turn and repent, and should continue each in his several mysteries, it shall be remitted unto them no matter how many times, for those mysteries are compassionate and ever give pardon. For those mysteries shall not only remit the sins which they shall have committed from the beginning, but they shall not impute [sin] to them henceforth from that hour, [for] I have said unto you that they ever receive repentance, and that they give remission for sins that are committed again and again.

² "If, also, they who shall have received the mystery of that ineffable and the mysteries of the first mystery, turn back and commit sin, and if they pass out of the body without repentance, [then] they too shall be like those that have transgressed and have not repented. Their habitation also shall be in the midst of the jaws of the dragon of outer darkness, they shall perish, they shall be non-existent for ever. For this cause have I said unto you that every man who shall receive the mysteries, and who shall not know the time of his passing from the body, he shall receive guidance that he may not sin, and that he may inherit the kingdom of light for ever." When, then, the saviour had thus spoken unto his disciples, he said unto them: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" Mary answered and said: "Yea, Master, accurately and thoroughly have I seized every word which thou hast uttered. Concerning this saying, then, thou hast spoken unto us aforetime, 'If the master of the house should know at what hour the thief will come in the night to break into the

house, he would keep awake and not suffer the fellow to break into his house."

³ And when Mary had said these things the saviour said: "Well said, O Mary, thou spiritual one; that is the word." The saviour then continued and said unto his disciples: "Now, therefore, preach ye unto every man who shall receive the mysteries in the light, and speak unto them, saying, 'Beware of falling back into sin, lest ye be cast from one into another, and pass from your body without repentance, and be strangers to the kingdom of light for ever.'" And when the saviour had said these words Mary answered and said: "Master, great is the compassion of those mysteries which ever remit sins." The saviour answered and said unto Mary in the midst of the disciples: "If even a king of to-day, a man of the world, granteth boons unto them who are like unto him, if he moreover granteth pardon unto murderers, and them that are guilty of intercourse with males, and other horrible and capital crimes; if, I say, it is in the power even of one who is a man of the world to act thus, much more then have that ineffable and that first mystery, who are the lords of the whole pleroma, power over everything to do as they will, and grant remission of sin unto every one who shall have received the mystery.

SECTION 48: IF EVEN MEN ON EARTH ARE COMPASSIONATE, HOW MUCH
MORE THEN THE HIGHEST MYSTERY

¹ "Again, if even a king of to-day investeth a soldier with the royal mantle, and sendeth him to foreign regions, and the soldier there committeth murders and other grave offences, worthy of death, and yet they are not brought home to him, because he weareth the royal mantle, how much more, then, [is it the case with] them who are mantled in the mysteries of the vestures of that ineffable and those of the first mystery, that are lords over all them of the height and all them of the depth?" After this Jesus saw a woman, who drew near to make repentance; he had baptised her already three times, and yet she was not worthy of the baptisms. And the saviour desired to try Peter, to see if he were compassionate and would grant remission, as he had given commandment unto them; he said unto Peter; "Lo, thrice have I baptised this soul, and yet after three times is she not worthy of the mysteries of light; therefore hath she rendered her body unfit for baptism. Now, therefore, Peter, do thou perform the mystery which cutteth off souls from the inheritance of light; celebrate the mystery which cutteth off this woman from the inheritance of light."

² When, therefore, the saviour had said these words, he tried Peter to see whether he were compassionate and would grant remission. And when the saviour had spoken these words, Peter answered and said: "Master, pardon her yet once again this time, so that we may give unto her the higher mysteries; and, if she prove herself fit [for receiving them], thou wilt have her inherit the kingdom of light, but if she prove unfit, thou wilt cut her off from the kingdom of light." When, therefore, Peter had thus spoken, the saviour knew that Peter was compassionate like unto himself and would give pardon. And when all this was done, the saviour said unto his disciples: "Have ye understood all these words and also the type of this woman?" And Mary answered and said: "O Master, I have understood the mysteries of the words which have been spoken concerning this woman. Of the things, therefore, which have been done unto her thou didst speak unto us aforetime in parable, saying, 'A certain man had a fig-tree in his garden, and came to find if there were any fruit thereon, and found none. He said to the gardener, Lo three years that I come to find fruit on this fig-tree, and I find none thereon; therefore cut it down, for it wasteth the soil.' But he answered and said unto him, 'Master, let it remain one more year, until I dig about it, and manure it; and if it bear fruit next year, thou shalt let it remain, but if thou [still] find none thereon, thou shalt cut it down.'" This, O Master, is the interpretation of the saying."

³ The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Well said, thou spiritual one; that is [the interpretation of] the saying." And Mary continued and said unto the saviour: "Again, Master, as to the man, who hath received the mysteries, and hath not acted in a manner worthy of them, but hath turned back and sinned, and then again hath repented in great contrition, is it lawful for my brethren to give him once more the mystery which he hath received; and if not, may they give him one of the lower mysteries?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, neither the mystery which he hath received, nor any lower mystery can grant the remission of his sins; it must be the mysteries higher than those which he hath received, which can give ear unto him and grant the remission of his sins. Now, therefore, O Mary, let thy brethren give him a higher mystery than that which he hath received, and his repentance shall be heard and his sins be forgiven him. The mystery which he may receive a second time or any number of times, will not grant him the remission of his sin, but only a higher mystery to the one

he hath [previously] received will grant him remission. But if he have [already] received the three mysteries in the two spaces or in the third, and [then] turneth back and transgresseth, no mystery can give ear unto him to help him in his repentance, neither mysteries higher nor lower than the one he hath received, save only the mystery of the first mystery and the mystery of that ineffable. It is these that shall give ear unto him and receive his repentance".

SECTION 49: THERE IS NO LIMIT TO THE NUMBER OF MYSTERIES THE
FAITHFUL MAY RECEIVE

¹ And Mary answered and said: "Again, O Master, as to the man who hath received the mysteries twice or thrice in the two spaces and in the third, and hath not transgressed, but continueth in his faith truly and without hypocrisy, [what of him]?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Every one who hath received the mysteries in the two spaces or in the third, and who hath not transgressed, but remaineth in his faith without hypocrisy, it is lawful for such to receive the mysteries in any [of the rest of the] spaces they will, from the first to the last, for they have not transgressed." And Mary continued and said: "Again, Master, [as to] the man who hath known the godhead and hath received one of the mysteries of light, and [then] hath turned back and transgressed and done iniquity, and hath not turned again and repented, and also [as to] the man who hath not found the godhead, and hath not known it, and who is a sinner, and still an impious person; both of these men come to pass out of the body, which of the two, [then,] will suffer most in the judgments?"

² The saviour answered again and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto thee, the man who hath known the godhead, who hath received the mysteries of light, who hath sinned without turning again and repenting, he shall suffer in torments of the judgments, in pains and judgments far more numerous and far more terrible than the impious and sinning man who hath not known the godhead. Now, therefore, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear." When the saviour had spoken these words, Mary came forward and said: "Master, my indweller of light hath ears and I have understood every word which thou hast spoken. Concerning this saying thou didst speak unto us aforetime in parable, saying, 'The servant who knoweth the will of his master, and yet hath not made ready nor done the will of his master, shall receive many stripes, but he who hath not known and hath not done

[the will of his master], shall receive but few. For to whom more hath been entrusted, of him more shall be asked, and to whom many things have been committed, of him many shall be required.' That is to say, O Master, he who knoweth the godhead and hath found all the mysteries of the light, and [then] hath transgressed, he shall be punished with greater chastisements than him who hath not known the godhead. This, O Master, is the interpretation of the word."

3 And Mary continued further and said unto the saviour: "Master, if the faith and mysteries become generally known, now, therefore, if souls return to [birth in] the world for many cycles, and are indifferent so that they do not receive the mysteries, in the belief that when they return to the world in another cycle, they will receive them, shall they not, then, suffer misery in order that they may be brought to receive the mysteries?" The saviour answered and said unto his disciples: "Preach ye unto the whole world, saying unto men, 'Strive together that ye may receive the mysteries of light in this time of stress, and enter into the kingdom of light. Put not off from day to day, and from cycle to cycle, in the belief that ye will succeed in obtaining the mysteries when ye return to the world in another cycle.' "Such men know not when the number of perfect souls shall [be filled up]; for when the number of perfect souls shall be completed, I will then shut the gates of the light, and from that time none will be able to come in thereby, nor will any go forth thereafter, for the number of perfect souls shall be [completed], and the mystery of the first mystery is perfected—[the mystery] whereby all hath come into existence, and I am that mystery.

SECTION 50: THEY WHO PROCRASTINATE ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE
LIGHT

1 "From that hour no one shall any more enter into the light, and none shall come forth, in that the time of the number of perfect souls shall be fulfilled, [only just] before I set fire to the world, that it may purify the æons, and veils, the firmaments and the whole world, and also all the matters that are still in it, the race of human kind being still upon it. "At that time, then, the faith will show itself forth more and more, and also the mysteries in those days. And many souls shall pass through the cycles of transmigrations of body and come back into the world in those days; and among them shall be some who are now alive and hear me teach concerning the consummation of the number of perfect souls, [and in those days] they shall find the mysteries of light,

and shall receive them. They shall mount up to the gates of the light, and shall find that the number of perfect souls is complete, which is the consummation of the first mystery and the gnosis of the pleroma; they will find that I have shut the gates of the light, and that from that hour no one can come in or go forth thereby.

² "These souls then will cry within through the gates of the light, saying, 'Master, open unto us.' And I will answer unto them, saying, 'I know not whence ye are.' And they will say unto me, 'We have received the mysteries, and we have fulfilled all thy doctrine; thou didst teach us on the high ways.' And I will answer unto them saying, 'I know not who ye are, ye who have practised iniquity and evil even unto this day. Wherefore go [hence] into the outer darkness.' Forthwith they will depart to the outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. "For this cause, therefore, preach ye to the whole world, saying, 'Strive ye together; renounce the whole world and all the matter therein; receive the mysteries of light before the number of perfect souls is completed, that ye may not be left before the gates of the light and sent away into the outer darkness.'

³ "Now, therefore, he that hath ears to hear, let him hear." When the saviour had said these words, Mary came forward again and said: "O Master, not only hath my indweller of light ears, but my soul also hath heard and understood all the words which thou hast spoken. Now, therefore, O Master, concerning the words which thou hast spoken, to wit, 'Preach ye to the men of the world and say unto them, Strive ye together, receive ye the mysteries of the light, in this time of stress, that ye may inherit the kingdom of light,... And Mary continued further and said unto Jesus: "Again, Master, of what type is the outer darkness? How many regions of punishment are there therein?" And Jesus answered and said unto Mary: "The outer darkness is a huge dragon, with its tail in its mouth; it is outside the world and surroundeth it completely. There are many regions of punishment therein, for there are in it twelve [main] dungeons of horrible torment.

⁴ "In each dungeon there is a ruler; and the faces of the rulers are all different from one another. "The first ruler, in the first dungeon, is crocodile-faced, and it hath its tail in its mouth. From the jaws of this dragon there come forth cold of every kind and freezing, and all diseases of every kind: it is called by its authentic name, in its region, Enchthonin. "And the ruler in the second dungeon; its authentic face is a cat's: it is called, in its region,

Charachar. "And the ruler in the third dungeon; its authentic face is a dog's: it is called, in its region, Acharôch. "And the ruler in the fourth dungeon; its authentic face is a serpent's: it is called, in its region, Achrôchar. "And the ruler in the fifth dungeon; its authentic face is a black bull's: it is called, in its region, Marchour. "And the ruler in the sixth dungeon; its authentic face is a boar's: it is called, in its region, Lamchamôr.

5 "And the ruler in the seventh dungeon; its authentic face is a bear's: it is called, in its region, by its authentic name, Louchar. "And the ruler in the eighth dungeon; its authentic face is a vulture's: it is called, in its region, Laraôch. "And the ruler in the ninth dungeon; its authentic face is a basilisk's: it is called, in its region, Archeôch. "And in the tenth dungeon are many rulers; each of them, in its authentic face, hath seven dragons' heads: and that which is above them all, in their region, is called, Xarmarôch. "And in the eleventh dungeon, in this region also, are many rulers; each of them, with authentic faces, hath seven cats' heads: and the great one that is over them, is called, in their region, Rhôchar. "And in the twelfth dungeon there are also many rulers exceedingly numerous, each of them in its authentic face, hath seven dogs' heads: and the great one that is over them, is called in their region, Chrémaôr.

6 "These rulers, then, of these twelve dungeons, which are in the inside of the dragon of outer darkness, each hath a name for every hour, and each of them changeth its face every hour.

SECTION 51: OF THE DOORS OF THE DUNGEONS

1 "And each of these dungeons hath a door of the doors of the dungeons. which openeth to the height, so that the dragon of outer darkness containeth twelve dungeons of darkness, each of which hath a door that openeth to the height; and an angel of the height watcheth at each of the doors of the dungeons. "These Ieou, the first man, the overseer of the angels that watch at the doors. the light, the ancient of the first statute, hath set to watch over the dragon, lest the dragon and its rulers should turn the dungeons that are in it upside down." And when the saviour had thus spoken, Mary Magdalene answered and said: "Master, are the souls, then, that are brought into that region, led into it by these twelve doors, by each according to the judgment they have merited?" 2 The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "No soul is brought into the dragon by these doors; but the souls of blasphemers, and of them that remain in the doctrines of error, and of those

who teach such doctrines, and also of them that have intercourse with males, of the polluted and impious, atheists, murderers, adulterers, sorcerers, all souls, then, of this kind, if they have not repented while still in life, and have remained persistently in their sin, and all the other souls which have remained without [the light-world], that is to say, who have exhausted the number of the cycles apportioned to them in the sphere without repenting—they take hold of those souls, in their last cycle, them and all the souls which I have just enumerated for you, and carry them through the opening in the tail of the dragon into the dungeons of the outer darkness. And when they have finished bringing those souls into the outer darkness by the opening in its tail, it putteth back its tail again into its mouth and shutteth them in. This is the way in which souls are brought into the outer darkness.

³ "And the dragon of the outer darkness hath twelve authentic names which are written on its doors, a name for the door of every dungeon; and these twelve names are all different from one another, but all twelve are contained one in the other, so that he who uttereth one name will utter all. And these will I tell you, when I explain the 4 robes emanation of the pleroma. This, then, is the way in which is the outer darkness, which is also the dragon." When the saviour had spoken these things, Mary answered and said unto the saviour: "Master, are the torments of this dragon terrible beyond the punishment of all the judgments?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Not only are they more painful than all the chastisements of the judgments, but every soul that shall be carried into that region shall be imprisoned in relentless ice, in the hail and scorching fire which are therein. And in the dissolution of the world, that is to say in the ascension of the pleroma, these souls shall perish in the relentless ice and scorching fire, and shall be non-existent for the eternity."

⁴ Mary answered and said: "Woe for the souls of sinners! Now, therefore, O Master, whether is the fire in the world of human kind or the fire in Amenti the fiercer?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, I say unto thee, the fire in Amenti scorcheth far more than the fire among men, nine times more. "And the fire which is in the punishments of the great chaos is nine times fiercer than the fire in Amenti. "And the fire which is in the judgments of the rulers who are in the way of the midst, is nine times fiercer than the fire of the punishments which are in the great chaos. "And the fire which is in the dragon of outer darkness, and all the torments which

it containeth, are fiercer far than the fire which is in the chastisements and judgments of the rulers who are in the way of the midst—this fire is fiercer than they seventy times."

SECTION 52: THE DISCIPLES BEWAIL THE FATE OF SINNERS

¹ And when the saviour had said this unto Mary, she smote her breast, she cried out aloud, with tears, and all the disciples with her, saying: "Woe for the sinners, for their torments are exceedingly great." And Mary came forward, she threw herself at the feet of Jesus and worshipped them, saying: "Master, bear with me if I question thee, and be not wroth with me for troubling thee many times, for from this moment I will question thee on every matter with precision." The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Ask on every matter that thou wilt, and I will reveal it unto thee in openness without parable." Mary answered and said: "Again, O Master, [supposing] a righteous man, who hath accomplished all the mysteries, and he hath a kinsman, in a word some [dear] one, and this one is impious, and hath committed sins which deserve the outer darkness, and hath not repented, or if he have exhausted the number of the cycles of transmigration into body, and hath not done one useful action, and hath passed from the body, and if we know for certain that he hath deserved the outer darkness, what, then, shall we do to save him from the torments of the dragon of outer darkness, and have him carried into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of the kingdom of light, that he may continue righteous and enter into the height and inherit the kingdom of light?"

² The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "[In the case of] a sinner who hath deserved the outer darkness, or again of one who hath committed sin deserving any of the punishments of the rest of the punishments, and hath not repented, or [in the case of] a sinner who hath exhausted the number of cycles in the transmigration into body, and hath not repented—in the case of such men whom I have mentioned, when they pass out of the body, they are taken into the outer darkness; now, therefore, if you will have them taken out of the torments of the outer darkness and every judgment, and have them brought into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of the light, that they may enter into the height and inherit the kingdom of light, celebrate the one and only mystery of that ineffable which ever remit-teth sins, and when ye have finished the celebration of that mystery, say, 'May the soul of such or such a man of whom I think in my heart'—if it be

in the region of the torments of the dungeons of outer darkness or in the other torments of the dragons— 'be taken out of these [torments]'—or if it have exhausted the number of its cycles of transmigrations, 'may it be brought unto the virgin of light,' that the virgin of light may seal it with the seal of the ineffable, and no matter what month it be, pour it into a righteous body, which shall find the mysteries of light, that it may become good, and enter into the height, and inherit the kingdom of light.

3 "And if it have exhausted the cycles of transmigration, that soul shall be brought unto the seven virgins of light who preside over baptism, that they may baptise that soul, and seal it with the sign of the kingdom of that ineffable, and bring it into the orders of the light. This then will ye say when ye have celebrated the mystery. "Amen, I say unto you, if the soul for which ye shall pray, is in the dragon of outer darkness, [the dragon] shall take its tail out of its jaws and let that soul escape; and if it be in any region whatever of the judgments of the rulers, amen, I say unto you, the receivers of Melchisedec shall speedily take charge of it, whether the dragon have let it escape, or it be in the judgment of the rulers, in a word, the receivers of Melchisedec shall take charge of it, no matter in what region it be, and will bring it into the region of the midst unto the virgin of light, and the virgin of light will examine it to see if the sign of the kingdom of that ineffable is in that soul.

4 "And if it hath not yet completed the number of the cycles of changes of soul or of embodiments, the virgin of light will seal it with an excellent seal and will have it poured in that very month into a righteous body which shall find the mysteries of light, and it shall become good, that it may enter into the height into the kingdom of light. "And if that soul hath exhausted the number of the cycles, the virgin of light will test it, but will not suffer it to be chastised, although it have completed the number of its cycles, but will hand it over to the seven virgins of light, and the seven virgins of light will examine that soul, and will baptise it in their baptisms, they will give it the spiritual chrism, and will bring it into the treasure of light, to set it in the last order of the light, until the ascension of the whole number of perfect souls. And when they shall be about to draw aside the veils of the region of them of the right, they shall cleanse that soul anew and will purify it, they will make it pure so as to set it in the orders of the first saviour in the treasure of light."

SECTION 53: OF THE LIGHT-STREAMS

¹ It came to pass when the saviour had finished speaking these words unto his disciples, that Mary answered and said unto Jesus: "Master, I have heard thee say, 'He who shall receive the mysteries of that ineffable or who shall receive the mysteries of the first mysteries, they will become flames of light, or streams of light, that they may pass through all the regions until they come into the region of the inheritance.'" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "When they shall have received the mystery during their lifetime, and have passed from the body, they will become flames of light and streams of light, that they may pass through every region until they enter the region of the inheritance. "But if they be sinners who have passed from the body without repentance, and if ye celebrate the mystery of that ineffable for them, to have them taken out of every punishment, and poured into a righteous body which shall be good, and shall inherit the kingdom of light, or even be set in the last order of the light, [still] they will not be able [of themselves] to pass through the regions, for they have not celebrated the mystery themselves; but the receivers of Melchisedec shall come to find them, and shall bring them unto the virgin of light, and the workmen of the judge-rulers shall make exceeding great haste to hand them from one to the other in turn, until they bring them unto the virgin of light."

² And Mary continued further and said unto the saviour: "Again, Master, in the case of a man who hath received the mysteries of light, which are in the first space towards the exterior, and when the period for which those mysteries are efficacious is at an end, that man proceedeth to receive the mysteries which are in all the mysteries within the mysteries which he hath already received, and yet that man is negligent, and hath not uttered the prayer which removeth the evil of the delights which he hath eaten and drunk, and so by the evil of the delights he is bound to the wheel of the fate of the rulers, and by the necessity of the elements he hath again transgressed, after the period for which the mysteries were efficacious for him is at an end, in that he hath neglected to utter the prayer which removeth the evil of souls and purifieth them; [supposing] such a man passeth out of the body without again repenting, and without again receiving the mysteries in the mysteries which are within the mysteries which he hath previously received, [the mysteries] which are received again when a man repenteth in order that his sins may be remitted; when [then] such a man passeth out of the body, and we

know for certain that he hath been cast into the belly of the dragon of outer darkness because of the sins he hath committed, and he hath no help in the world, nor any one who in compassion may celebrate the mystery of that ineffable, to have him taken out of the belly of the dragon of outer darkness, and bring him unto the kingdom of light—now, then, O Master, what shall he do to be saved from the torments of the dragon of outer darkness? Abandon him not, O Master, for he hath endured pains in the persecutions, and because of the godhead in which he hath been.

3 "Now, therefore, O saviour, have pity upon me, that none of our kin may be of such a kind; and have mercy upon all the souls who shall be of this kind, for thou art the key that openeth the pleroma and shutteth the pleroma, and thy mystery containeth all. Have mercy upon such souls, O Master, for [even though] it were only for one day, they pronounced the mysteries, and really believed them and were not hypocrites. Yea, Master, grant them a boon in thy goodness, and give them rest in thy mercy." And when Mary had said these things, the saviour proclaimed her many many times blessed, because of the words which she had spoken; and the saviour was in great compassion, and said unto Mary: "Unto all who shall be of the type of which thou hast spoken, unto them while still in life, give ye the mystery of one of the twelve names of the dungeons of the dragon of outer darkness, which I will give unto you when I shall come to explain unto you the emanation of the pleroma from the interior to the exterior, and from the exterior to the interior.

SECTION 54: OF THE EFFICACY OF THE NAMES OF THE TWELVE RULERS
OF THE DUNGEONS

1 "And all those who shall obtain the mystery of one of the twelve names of that dragon of outer darkness, even though they be sinners, and though they should have previously received the mysteries of the light and then have transgressed, or even if they should not have performed any mystery at all, such men when they shall have come to the end of their cycles of transmigrations—such men, [then,] if they pass out of the body without again repenting, and if they have been carried into the torments which are in the belly of the dragon of outer darkness, and remain in its cycles, remain in the torments in the belly of the dragon, such [souls, I say,] if they know the mystery of one of the twelve names of the angels, during their life, while they are in the world, and then pronounce one of their names when they are in the

midst of the torments of the dragon, then, the moment they shall pronounce it, the whole dragon will be shaken and will be thrown into the greatest possible distress, and the door of the dungeon in which the souls of such men are, will open above, and the ruler of the dungeon in which they are, will cast the souls of such men out of the belly of the dragon of outer darkness, in that they have discovered the mystery of the name of the dragon.

2 "And when the ruler hath cast out those souls, one of the angels of Ieou, the first man, those that watch over the dungeons of that region, instantly hasteneth to take charge of such souls and bring them unto Ieou, the first man, the legate of the first order; and Ieou, the first man, inspecteth the souls, and testeth them, and findeth that they have exhausted their cycles—it is not lawful to bring them again into the world, for every soul that hath been cast into the outer darkness may not again be brought into the world—the receivers hand them over to Ieou, if they have exhausted the cycles of transmigrations into bodies, until the mystery of that ineffable is performed for them and they are put into a good body, which shall find the mysteries of light, that it may inherit the kingdom of light. 3 "If, then, after examining them, Ieou findeth that they have exhausted their cycles, and it is not lawful for them to go back again into the world, and that the sign of that ineffable is not with them, then Ieou hath compassion upon them, and bringeth them unto the seven virgins of light, who baptise them in their baptisms, but do not give them the spiritual chrism; they lead them into the treasure of light, but do not set them in the orders of the inheritance, because there is not in them the sign and seal of that ineffable. But they preserve them from every chastisement and set them in the treasure, separated and apart, until the ascension of the pleroma. And when the time cometh for drawing together the veils of the treasure of light, these souls shall be cleansed again and made exceedingly pure, they shall have the mystery given them again that they may be set in the last of the orders in the treasure, and these souls shall be preserved from all the chastisements of the judgments."

4 And when the saviour had thus spoken, he said unto his disciples: "Understand ye how I speak unto you?" Mary answered and said: "Master, this is the word which thou didst speak unto us aforetime, in parable, saying, 'Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity, that when ye are abandoned, it may bring you into everlasting habitations.' What, then, is the

mammon of iniquity, if not the dragon of outer darkness? That is to say, whosoever shall understand the mystery of one of the names of the dragons of outer darkness, if he is abandoned in the outer darkness, or if he hath exhausted the cycles of transmigration, and if he pronounceth the name of the dragon, he shall be saved, and come forth from the darkness, and receive the light of the treasure. This is the word, O Master." The saviour answered again and said unto Mary: "Well said, thou pure and spiritual one; that is the interpretation of the word."

SECTION 55: OF THE LIGHT OF THE SUN AND THE DARKNESS OF THE
DRAGON

1 Mary continued further and said: "Master, doth the dragon of outer darkness come into this world or not?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "When the light of the outer sun shineth, it hideth the darkness of the dragon; but if the sun is below this world, the darkness of the dragon veileth the sun and the exhalation of the darkness entereth this world like to smoke in the night; that is to say, that were the sun to withdraw its rays, it would not be possible for the world to endure the darkness of the dragon in its true form, without being dissolved and perishing." And when the saviour had spoken these things, Mary continued further and said to the saviour: "Yet further do I question thee; and hide it not from me. Now, therefore, O Master, who forceth a man to sin?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "It is those rulers of the fate who force a man to sin."

2 Mary answered and said unto the saviour: "Master, surely the rulers do not descend into the world to force a man to sin?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "No, they do not descend into the world in that fashion. But the rulers of the fate, when an old soul passeth through their hands and descendeth into the world, the rulers of that great fate [-sphere], who are in the region of the head of the æons—and this region is called the region of the kingdom of Adamas, and this region is before the virgin of light—the rulers of the region of that head give unto that old soul a draught of oblivion composed of the seed of iniquity, filled with all manner of desire and all forgetfulness. And the moment that that soul drinketh of that draught, it forgetteth all the regions through which it hath travelled, and all the chastisements through which it hath passed; and that deadly draught of oblivion becometh a body external to the soul, like unto the soul in every way, and its perfect resemblance, and hence they call it the counterfeit of the spirit.

3 "But if it be a new soul—they fashion [such souls] from the sweat of the rulers, or from the tears of their eyes, or from the breath of their mouths—in a word, if it be a new soul, one of the souls of this kind, [say] one fashioned out of sweat, the five great rulers of the great fate take of the sweat of all the rulers of their æons, and knead their sweatings together, and mix in a portion of each, and fashion it into a soul; or even if it be a purgation from the purified light which Melchisedec hath taken from the rulers, the five great rulers of the great fate knead this purgation together one after the other, and mix in a portion of each, and fashion it into a soul in such a way that every one of the rulers of the æons may mix his portion into that soul. They knead all together in order that each may have a share therein.

4 "And when the five great rulers have fashioned them into souls from the sweat of the rulers in proper proportion, or in the case of a soul [fashioned] from the purgation of the purified light, which Melchisedec, the great receiver of light, hath taken from the rulers, or in the case of a soul [fashioned] from the tears of their eyes or the breath of their mouths, in a word, in any of these cases, when the five rulers have portioned [the matter] out so as to fashion any soul of this kind, or also if it be an old soul, the ruler himself that [ruleth] over the heads of the æons, mixeth the draught of oblivion from the seed of iniquity, mixeth it with each of the new souls at the time when it is in the region of the head, and this draught of oblivion becometh the counterfeit of the spirit, and continueth without the soul as a vesture, like unto it in every way, being the envelope of the outer vesture.

SECTION 56: OF THE INBREATHING OF THE POWER

1 " And the five great rulers of the great fate of the æons, and the ruler of the disk of the sun, and the ruler of the disk of the moon, breathe within into the heart of that soul, and there cometh forth therefrom a portion of my power which the last supporter cast into the mixture, and the portion of this power remaineth apart in the soul, though at the same time retaining full power over itself, according to the regulation that hath been placed upon it, to give [a higher] sense unto the soul whereby it may seek after the works of the light of the height at any time. "And this power resembleth the configuration of the soul in every way, though while resembling it is in no way external to the soul, but remaineth within it, as I gave commandment unto it from the beginning; for when I cast it into the first statute, I gave it com-

mandment to dwell within souls, according to the regulation of the first mystery.

2 "And so I will explain all this to you when I come to speak of the emanation, both concerning the power and concerning the soul, after what type they fashion it, or again what is the ruler that fashioneth it, or what are all the different kinds of souls; so will I tell you in [the revelation of] the emanation of the pleroma how many they are that have fashioned the soul, and I will tell you the name of all them that have fashioned the soul, and I will tell you the types according to which they have created the counterfeit of the spirit and the destiny, and I will tell you the name of the soul before it is purified, and its name after it hath been purified and hath become pure, and I will tell you the name of the destiny, and I will tell you the name of all the bonds whereby the rulers have bound the counterfeit of the spirit to the soul, and I will tell you the name of all the decans that work upon the soul in the bodies which the soul hath in the world, and I will tell you how they work on the soul, and I will tell you the type of every soul; I will tell you the type of the souls of men, of those of birds, of those of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and I will tell you the type of all the souls and of those of the rulers who send them into the world, that ye may be perfect in every gnosis, that ye may be called perfect in every gnosis. All this will I tell you in explaining the emanation of the pleroma. And after that I will tell you the reason of the existence of all these things.

3 "Hearken, therefore, while I speak with you concerning the soul as to how I have said that the five great rulers of the great fate of the æons, and the rulers of the disk of the sun, and the rulers of the disk of the moon, breathe into that soul, and that there issueth therefrom a portion of my power, as I have just said unto you, and the portion of this power dwelleth within the soul so that it can endure, and the counterfeit of the spirit is stationed without the soul, watching over it and dogging it, and that the rulers bind it to the soul with their seals and their bonds, they seal it to it that it may force it at all times to commit its mischiefs and iniquities unremittingly, that it may be their slave for ever, and be under their subjection for ever in the transmigrations into bodies; and they seal it to it that it may be in every kind of sin and all the desires of the world.

SECTION 57: WHO ARE THE "PARENTS" WE ARE TO ABANDON

¹ "It is because of things of this kind, then, that I have brought the mysteries into this world, [mysteries] which break all the bonds of the counterfeit of the spirit and all the seals which are attached to the soul, which make the soul free, and ransom it from the hands of its parents, the rulers, and transform it into pure light, to bring it into the kingdom of the true father, the first father, the first everlasting mystery. "For this cause have I said unto you aforetime, 'He who shall not leave father and mother to follow after me is not worthy of me.' What I said then was, 'Ye shall leave your parents the rulers, that ye may be all children of the first everlasting mystery.'" And when the saviour had said these words, Salome came forward and said: "How, then, O Master, since the rulers are our parents, is it written in the Law of Moses, 'He who shall leave his father or mother, let him die the death'? Surely the Law doth not, then, speak of the same matter?"

² And when Salome had said these words, the light-power which was in Mary Magdalene, seethed in her, and she said to the saviour: "Master, bid me speak with my sister Salome, to tell her the interpretation of the word which she hath uttered." It came to pass, therefore, when the saviour had heard the words which Mary had said, that he proclaimed her blessed again and again. The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I bid thee, O Mary, utter the interpretation of the word which Salome hath spoken." And when the saviour had said these words, Mary hastened to Salome, and kissed her, saying: "Salome, sister, concerning the saying which thou hast uttered, to wit, that it is written in the Law of Moses, 'He who shall leave his father and mother, let him die the death'; now, therefore, sister Salome, the Law hath spoken this neither concerning the soul, nor concerning the body, nor concerning the counterfeit of the spirit, all of which are the children of the rulers, and come forth from them; but the Law hath spoken it concerning the power which came forth from the saviour, and which is the indweller of light in [each of] us unto this day. The Law hath further said, 'Whoever shall remain without the saviour and his mysteries which are all his parents, let him die the death, nay let him be lost in utter destruction.'"

³ And when Mary had said these words, Salome threw her arms round Mary and kissed her again. Salome said: "May the saviour make me illumined like unto thee!" It came to pass when the saviour had heard the words of Mary, that he proclaimed her blessed again and again. And the saviour con-

tinued again in his conversation, and said unto Mary in the midst of his disciples: "Hearken, therefore, O Mary, who [it is that] forceth a man to sin. "Now, therefore, the rulers seal the counterfeit of the spirit to the soul, not that it may agitate it every moment and make it commit every sin and every iniquity. But they have given commandment unto the counterfeit of the spirit, saying, 'If the soul passeth out of the body, do not agitate it, dogging it, reproaching it in all the regions of the judgments, region by region, because of all the sins which thou hast caused it to commit, that it may be chastised in all the regions of the judgments, and not be able to go on high towards the light, and be made to come back into transmigrations into bodies.'

⁴"In a word, they give commandment to the counterfeit of the spirit, saying, 'Do not agitate it at all at any time, unless it hath not received the breaking of all the seals and of all the bonds with which we have bound thee to it. But if it receiveth the mysteries, if it breaketh all the seals, all the bonds, with the apology of the region, and if it pass out, let it go, for it pertaineth to those of the light of the height, it hath become a stranger unto us and thee, thou canst not seize hold of it from that hour. But if it hath not received the mysteries of the breaking of thy bonds and of thy seals with the apologies of the region, seize hold upon it, and let it not go, rebuke it in the torments and all the regions of the judgments, because of all the sins which thou hast caused it to commit. After this, then, bring such souls unto the virgin of light, and she will send them round the cycle another time.' These are [the orders] which the rulers of the great fate have given unto the counterfeit of the spirit.

SECTION 58: OF THE CHARGE GIVEN UNTO THE BUILDERS

¹"Then the rulers summon the workmen of their æons, to the number of three hundred and sixty-five, and hand over to them the soul and counterfeit of the spirit bound together, the one to the other, the counterfeit of the spirit being outside the soul, and the compound of the power within the soul being inside both, that they may hold together, for the power holds the two together. And the rulers give commandment to the workmen, saying, 'This is the type which ye shall set in the body of the matter of the world. Set ye the compound of the power which is in the soul within all of them, that they may hold together, for it is their support, and outside the soul place the

counterfeit of the spirit.' This is the order which they have given to their workmen, that they may set the antitypes in bodies.

² "Following this plan the workmen of the rulers bring the power, the soul, and the counterfeit of the spirit, and pour them all three into the world, passing through the world of the rulers of the midst. The rulers of the midst also inspect the counterfeit of the spirit and also the destiny. The latter, whose name is the destiny, leadeth on a man until it hath him killed by the death which is destined for him. This the rulers of the great fate have bound to the soul. And the workmen of the sphere bind the soul with the power, with the counterfeit of the spirit and with the destiny. And the whole is divided so as to form two parts, to surround the man and also the woman in the world, in whom the sign hath been set for them to be sent unto them. And they give one part to the man and the other to the woman in the food of the world, either in the aery, or watery, or etheric substance which they imbibe.

³ "All this I will tell unto you, and the class of every soul, and the type whereby they come into bodies, either as men, or birds, or cattle, or wild beasts, or reptiles, or any other species that existeth in the world. I will tell you the type of [all of] them, and also how they enter into men, when I speak of the emanation of the pleroma. "Now, therefore, when the workmen of the rulers have cast one part into the woman and the other into the man in the manner which I have just related, even though [the pair] be removed a great distance from one another, the workmen compel them secretly to be united together in the union of the world. Then the counterfeit of the spirit which is in the male cometh unto the part [of itself] which hath been sent into the world in the matter of the body [of the man], and sacrificeth it and casteth it into the womb of the woman, a deposit of the seed of iniquity. And forthwith the three hundred and sixty-five workmen of the rulers enter into her, to take up their abode in her. The workmen of the two parts are all there together.

⁴ "And the workmen check the blood that cometh from all the nourishment that the woman eateth or drinketh, and keep it in the womb of the woman for forty days. And after forty days, they work the blood [that cometh] from the essence of all the Builders - Levies nourishment, and work it together carefully in the woman's womb. "After forty days, they spend another thirty days in building its members into the likeness of the body of a

man; each buildeth a member. I will tell you of the decans who thus build [the body]; I will tell them unto you, when I explain the emanation of the pleroma. "Afterwards, when the workmen have completed the body entirely with all its members in seventy days, they summon into the body which they have builded, first the counterfeit of the spirit, next they summon the soul within these, and finally they summon the compound of the power within the soul, and the destiny they place outside all, for it is not blended with them, but followeth after and accompanieth them.

5 "And then the workmen seal them one to the other with all the seals which the rulers have given unto them. So they seal them. The day on which they took up their abode in the womb of the woman, they seal on the left hand of the plasm; the day when they finished the body, they seal on the right hand; the day on which the rulers handed [the three] over into their hands, they seal on the top of the head of the plasm; the day on which the soul came forth from the rulers, they seal on the [left side of] the head of the plasm; the day when they kneaded the members and divided them out for the soul, they seal on the right side of the head of the plasm; the day on which they bound the counterfeit of the spirit to the soul, they seal on the back of the head of the plasm; the day when the rulers breathed the power into the body, they seal on the brain which is within the head of the plasm, and also within the heart of the plasm; and also the number of years which the soul shall pass in the body, they seal on the forehead of the plasm; and so they seal all these seals on the plasm. Of all these seals I will tell you the names when I speak of the emanation of the pleroma, that is to say, why every thing hath come into existence; and if ye would know it, I am that mystery.

6 "Now, therefore, when the workmen have finished the man entirely, and have set all these seals on his body, the workmen take note of the peculiarity [of the seals] and bring it unto the receivers of wrath who preside over all the punishments of the judgments, and they hand it over to their receivers so that they may be able to take the souls apportioned to them out of their bodies; [that is to say] those to whom the peculiarity of the seals is given that they may know the time when those souls shall be taken out of body, and also know the time when the body shall be born, so as to send their workmen to keep themselves near, and follow the soul, to bear witness of all sins it shall commit through the counterfeit of the spirit, to know how to

punish it in the judgments. "And when the workmen have given the peculiarity of the seals to the rulers of wrath, they withdraw to the administration of the works which have been imposed upon them by the æons of the great fate, and when the number of months of the child's conception is full, the babe is born, the compound of the power being small in it, the soul being small in it, and the counterfeit of the spirit being small in it; whereas the destiny, being vast, is not mingled with the body, according to the regulation of the three, but followeth after the soul, the body, and the counterfeit of the spirit, until the soul passeth from the body according to the type of death whereby he shall die, according to what hath been decreed unto him by the rulers of the great fate.

7 "If he have to die by a wild beast, the destiny leadeth on that wild beast against him to slay him; or if he have to die by a serpent, or if he have to fall into a pit to his destruction, or if he have to strangle himself, or if he have to be drowned in the water, or [die] by any death of this kind, or by one worse or better than any of the above, in a word, it is the destiny which forceth his death upon him. This is the work of the destiny, and it hath no other work but this. So the destiny followeth after a man until the day of his death."

SECTION 59: THERE IS NO ESCAPE FROM DESTINY

1 Mary answered and said: " Surely every jot which is set down in the account of every man in the world by the fate, whether good or bad, or sin, or death, or life, in a word, every jot which is set down in a man's account by the rulers of the fate, will not be worked out?" The 'saviour answered and said unto Mary: That is no escape from destiny. " Amen, I say unto you, every jot that is set down in the account of every man by the fate, be it every good, or be it every evil, in a word, every jot that hath been set down, will be worked out. " For this cause, therefore, have I brought the key of the mysteries of the kingdom of the heavens, without which no flesh could have been saved in the world; for without the mysteries no one shall enter into the kingdom of light, be he righteous or a sinner.

2 " For this cause, therefore, have I brought the keys of the mysteries into the world, that I may save the sinners who shall believe on me, and shall give ear unto me, that I may loose them from the bonds and seals of the æons of the rulers, and bind them to the seals and vestures and orders of the light; so that every one that I should set free in the world from the bonds and seals of the æons of the rulers should also be loosed in the height from the bonds

and seals of the æons of the rulers, and every one that I should bind in the world to the seals and vestures and orders of the light, should be bound in the light-land to the orders of the inheritances of the light. "It is for the sake of sinners, therefore, that I have torn myself open, at this time, and have brought unto them the mysteries, that I might free them from the æons of the rulers, and bind them unto the inheritances of light; and not only for the sake of sinners, but also of the just, to give them the mysteries and bring them unto the light, for without the mysteries they cannot be brought thither.

3 "For this cause, therefore, I have hidden nothing, but I have cried aloud, I have not separated out the sinners, but I have cried aloud, and have spoken to every man, unto sinners and unto the righteous, I have said, 'Seek that ye may find, knock that it may be opened unto you; for every one that seeketh in truth, shall find, and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.' For I have spoken unto all men, that they may seek out the mysteries of the kingdom of the light, which shall cleanse them and make them pure, that they may be brought unto the light. "For this cause, therefore, John the Baptist prophesied concerning me, saying, 'I indeed baptise you with water unto repentance and the remission of your sins. But he who cometh after me, is before me, whose fan is in his hand, and he shall purge his floor; the chaff he shall burn with fire unquenchable, but the wheat he shall gather into his garner.' The power which was in John, [thus] prophesied concerning me, knowing that I should bring the mysteries into the world, to cleanse the sins of those sinners who should believe in me, and give ear unto me, that I might transform them into pure light and bring them unto the light."

4 And when Jesus had thus spoken, Mary answered and said: "Again, O Master, if men begin to seek, and come upon the doctrines of error, how will they know whether they are thine or not?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I have said unto you aforetime, 'Be ye as wise money-changers,' that is to say, take ye what is good, but reject that which is evil.

SECTION 60: THE CRITERION OF ORTHODOXY

1 "Now, therefore, say ye unto every one that seeketh the godhead, 'When the wind cometh from the north, ye know that there will be cold; when the wind cometh from the south, ye know that there will be burning and heat.' "Now, therefore, say ye unto them, 'If [then] ye know the face of the heaven and of the earth from the winds, if any [then] shall come unto you, to preach

unto you the godhead, be very certain that their words unite and couple with all the words which we have spoken unto you according to the witness of two or of three, and agree in the constitution of the air, and heavens, and cycles, and stars and constellations, and of the whole earth and all that is therein'—say ye [then] unto them, 'All who come unto you, so that their words couple and unite with all the gnosis which hath been given unto you, receive ye them, they belong unto us.' This, then, is what ye shall say unto men, preaching unto them that they may keep themselves aloof from the doctrines of error.

2 "Now, therefore, for the sake of sinners have I torn myself asunder and come into the world, to save them, and also because it is necessary that the righteous, who have never done evil, and have never committed sin, should find the mysteries which are in the Books of Ieou, which I made Enoch write down in Paradise, when I spoke to him from the tree of knowledge, and from the tree of life, and which I made him deposit in the rock of Ararad; and I set Kalapataurôth, the ruler that is over Skemmut, on whose head is the foot of Ieou—the latter surroundeth all the æons and the fate [-sphere]—I set [then] this ruler to preserve the Books of Ieou from the flood, and [also] lest any of the rulers out of enmity should destroy them. Those [books] will I give unto you, when I have finished telling you the emanation of the pleroma."

3 When, then, the saviour had thus spoken, Mary answered and said: "Master, what man is there in the world who hath not committed sin, who is entirely spotless of any transgression? For if one is pure, will not another also be pure, so as to find the mysteries which are in the Books of Ieou? I, indeed, say that no man in this world will be pure of sin, for if one is pure, then why should not another be pure also?" The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "I tell you that there shall be found one in a thousand and two in ten thousand for the consummation of the mystery of the first mystery. These things will I tell unto you when I have finished explaining the emanation of the pleroma. For this cause, therefore, I have torn myself asunder and brought the mysteries into the world, for all are under sin, and all have need of the boon of the mysteries."

4 Mary answered and said unto the saviour: "Master, had no soul entered into the light, before thou didst come into the region of the rulers and before thou didst come into the world?" The saviour answered and said unto

Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, before I came into the world, no soul had entered into the light. But, now that I am come, I have opened the gates of the light, I have thrown open the ways that lead to the light; and now, therefore, he who acteth worthily of the mysteries, shall receive the mysteries, that he may enter into the light."

SECTION 61: NONE OF THE PROPHETS HAD BEEN INITIATED

¹ And Mary answered again and said: "But, Master, I have heard it said that the prophets are entered into the light." The saviour answered and said unto Mary: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, no prophet hath entered into the light, but the rulers of the æons who spake to them out of the æons, have given unto them the mysteries of the æons. And when I went into the region of the æons, I turned back Elias and despatched him into the body of John the Baptist, and the others also I turned back into righteous bodies, which will find the mysteries of the light, and mount into the height and inherit the kingdom of light. "Unto Abraham himself, and Isaac, and Jacob, I have remitted all their sins and their iniquities; I gave them the mysteries of the light in the æons, and placed them in the region of Iabraôth and of all the rulers who have repented, and when I ascend into the height, that moment when I shall enter into the light, I will take with me their souls into the light.

² "But, amen, I say unto you, O Mary, he [Abraham] shall not enter into the light, before I shall have taken thy soul and those of thy brethren into the light. "As to the rest of the patriarchs and of the righteous from the time of Adam unto this present time who are in the æons, and all the orders of the æons, when I shall ascend into the region of the æons, the region of light will see that all are sent back into bodies which will be righteous, and find the mysteries of the light, and enter into and inherit the kingdom of the light." Mary answered and said: "Blessed are we before all men because of these great [truths] which thou hast revealed unto us." The saviour answered and said unto Mary and all his disciples: "I will also reveal unto you all the grandeurs of the height, from the interior of the interiors to the exterior of the exteriors, that ye may be perfect in every gnosis, and in every pleroma, in every height of the heights and every deep of the depths."

³ And Mary answered and said to the saviour: "Now we know, O Master, freely, surely, plainly, that thou hast brought the keys of the mysteries of the

kingdom of light which remit the sins of souls, that they may be cleansed, and be transformed into pure light and be brought unto the light."

Extracts from the Books of the Saviour

TRANSLATED BY G. R. S. MEAD

3rd century

The last part of the book in Mead's English version: a long extract from the 'Books of the Saviour', a related Gnostic work, which is appended to Pistis Sophia in the Coptic manuscript. Jesus prays at the altar, takes his disciples through the ways of the midst, where the rulers carry off the souls of sinners, gives them the mystery of the remission of sins, and describes the punishments of various sins. It is a Coptic Gnostic text of about the third century, not scripture.

SECTION 1: THE DISCIPLES ASK A BOON OF JESUS

¹ It came to pass, therefore, after they had crucified Jesus, our Master, that he rose from the dead on the third day. And the disciples came together unto him and besought him, saying: "Master, have mercy upon us, for we have left father and mother, and the whole world, and have followed thee." Then Jesus stood by the sea of the Ocean, with his disciples, and made invocation with this prayer, saying: "Hear me, O father, father of all fatherhood, boundless light: aeëiouô iaô aôi ôia psinôther thernôps nôpsither zagourê pagourê nethmomaôth nepsiomaôth marachachtha thôbarrhabau tharnachachan zorokothora ieou sabaôth." And while Jesus was reciting this, Thomas, Andrew, James, and Simon, the Canaanite, stood on the west, with their faces turned towards the east; Philip and Bartholomew stood on the south, facing towards the north; the rest of the disciples with all the women disciples stood behind Jesus. But Jesus stood at the altar. And Jesus cried aloud, turning towards the four angles of the world, together with his disciples all clad in linen robes, saying:

² "iaô iaô iaô. This is the interpretation thereof: iôta, The pleroma hath gone forth; alpha, They shall return within; ômega, There shall be an end of ends." And when Jesus had thus spoken, he said: "iaphtha iaphtha mounaêr mounaêr ermanouêr ermanouêr. That is to say, O father of every fatherhood

of the boundless [spaces], hear me because of my disciples whom I have brought into thy presence, that they may believe in all the words of thy truth; grant unto them all things for which I have cried unto thee, for I know the name of the father of the treasure of light." Yet again did Jesus, that is to say Aberamenthō, cry aloud, invoking the name of the father of the treasure of light, and saying: "Let all the mysteries of the rulers, authorities, angels, archangels, and all the powers and all the works of the invisible gods, Agrammachamareg and Barbêlô Bdelê, withdraw themselves, and roll themselves on to the right."

3 And in that hour all the heavens moved to the west; all the æons, the spheres and their rulers and all their powers sped to the west to the left of the disk of the sun and the disk of the moon.

SECTION 2: THE FIGURE OF THE DISK OF THE SUN

1 And the disk of the sun was a vast dragon whose tail was in its mouth, mounted on seven powers of the left, drawn by four powers which bore the likeness of white horses. But the car of the moon was like a ship, whose helms were a male dragon and a female dragon, drawn by two white oxen. The figure of a babe was on the poop steering the dragons who seized the light from the rulers; and at the prow was the face of a cat. And the whole world, with its mountains and seas, sped to the west to the left. And Jesus and his disciples remained in the midst of an aerial region, in the paths of the way of the midst, which is below the sphere. And they came to the first order, on the way which is in the midst. And Jesus halted in the atmosphere of that region with his disciples.

2 The disciples said unto Jesus: "What is this region in which we are?" Jesus said unto them: "These are the regions of the way of the midst. It hath come to pass, that the rulers of Adamas, being in sedition, have persisted in congress and procreated rulers, and archangels, and angels, and workmen and decans. [So] Ieou, the father of my father, came forth from the right, and bound them to the fate of the sphere. "For there are twelve æons, Sabaôth Adamas ruling over six of them and his brother Iabraôth ruling over the remaining six. But Iabraôth and his rulers have believed in the mysteries of the light, and practising the mysteries of the light they have abandoned the mystery of congress. Whereas Sabaôth Adamas and his rulers have continued to practise [the mystery of] congress. "And when Ieou, the father of my father, saw that Iabraôth had believed, he took him up with all the rulers that

had believed with him. Receiving [his soul] in the sphere, he brought him unto a pure atmosphere, near the light of the sun, between the regions of them of the midst and the regions of the invisible god. Thus he set him with the rulers that had believed.

3 "But he took Sabaôth Adamas with his rulers, who had not practised the mysteries of the light, but had persisted in practising the mysteries of congress, and bound them to the sphere. "He bound eighteen hundred rulers in every aeon, and set three hundred and sixty over them, and [further] set five other great rulers to rule over the three hundred and sixty and all the other rulers that are bound. The [five] they call in the world of human kind by these names: the first is called Kronos; the second, Arês; the third, Hermês; the fourth, Aphrodite; the fifth, Zeus."

SECTION 3: OF THE POWERS THAT IEOU INFUSED INTO THE FIVE
REGENTS

1 And Jesus continued in his conversation and said: "Hearken further, that I may tell you their mystery. It came to pass, therefore, when Ieou had thus bound them, that he drew forth a mighty power from the great invisible, and bound it to him that is called Kronos; and he drew another power out of Ipsantachounchainchoucheôch, who is one of the three triple-powered gods, and bound it to Arês; and he drew a power out of Chainchôôch, who is also one of the three triple-powered gods, and bound it to Hermês; and again he drew a power out of Pistis Sophia, daughter of Barbêlô, and bound it to Aphrodite. "Moreover, reflecting that they had need of a helm to steer the world and the æons of the spheres, that they might not wreck them through their iniquity, he ascended into the midst, and drew out a power from the little Sabaôth, the good, who is in the midst, and bound it to Zeus, for he is good, so that he might direct them by his goodness. And he set the revolution of his order, so that he passeth three months in each [of the remaining four æons], establishing it, so that every ruler into which he cometh is freed from the evil of his iniquity. And he [Ieou] gave him [Zeus] two aeons for his habitation, near those of Hermês.

2 "I have first told you the names of these five great rulers, which the men of the world employ. Hearken further, I will now tell you their incorruptible names also: Ôrimouth is [the name] of Kronos; Mounichoua-phôr, of Arês; Tarpetanouph, of Hermês; Chôsi, of Aphrodite; Chônbal, of Zeus. These are their incorruptible names." When the disciples had heard these things, they

bowed down, and worshipped Jesus, saying: "Blessed are we beyond all men, for thou hast revealed unto us these mighty wonders." They continued further, and besought him, saying: "We beseech thee, reveal unto us why these ways exist." And Mary came unto him, she bowed herself, and worshipped his feet, and kissed his hands, saying: "Yea, Master, reveal unto us the need for the ways of the midst; for we have heard thee say that they are set over great torments. How, then, O Master, shall we go forth from them, or how shall we escape from them? Or how do they seize hold of souls? And how long are [souls] in their torments? Have mercy upon us, Master and saviour, lest the receivers carry off our souls to the judgments of the ways of the midst, and lest we be condemned in their evil torments, that we, too, may inherit the light of thy father, and may not be wretched and starving without thee."

³ And when Mary had spoken these words in tears, Jesus answered in great compassion and said unto them: "Of very truth, my brethren and well-beloved, ye who have left father and mother for my name's sake, unto you will I give all the mysteries and every gnosis.

SECTION 4: OF THE MYSTERIES WHICH JESUS WILL GIVE UNTO HIS
DISCIPLES

¹ "I will give unto you the mystery of the twelve æons of the rulers, their seals, their numbers, and the manner of invocation to enter into their regions. "I will give unto you, moreover, the mystery of the thirteenth æon, and the manner of invocation to enter into their regions; I will give unto you their seals and their numbers. "And I will give unto you the mystery of the baptism of them of the midst, and the manner of invocation to enter into their regions; and I will teach you their numbers and their seals. "And I will give unto you the baptism of them of the right, its numbers and its seals, and the manner of invocation to enter into its region. "And I will give unto you the great mystery of the treasure of light, and the manner of invocation for entering therein. "I will give unto you all the mysteries and every gnosis, that ye may be called the sons of the pleroma, perfect in every gnosis and every mystery. Blessed indeed are ye, beyond all men, who are on the earth, for the sons of light have come in your time."

² And Jesus continued in his conversation and said: "It came to pass, therefore, after these things, that the father of my father—the same is Ieou—descended and took further three hundred and sixty rulers of the rulers of Adamas, who had not believed in the mystery of the light, and bound them

in these aerial regions, in which we are now, below the sphere. He established, moreover, five great rulers over them, who are those who are in the way of the midst. "The first ruler of the way of the midst is called Paraplêx. She is a ruler of female form, whose hair reacheth unto her feet. Under her authority are five and twenty archdæmons, which rule over other hosts of dæmons. These dæmons enter into men and make them rage and curse and slander; and these also hurry off and ravish souls and cast them into the smoke of their darkness and their evil torments."

3 Mary said: "Shall I behave unseemly in questioning thee? Be not wroth with me searching out all things." Jesus said unto her: "Ask what thou wilt." Mary said unto him: "Master, reveal unto us how they hurry off and ravish souls, that my brethren also may know thereof."

SECTION 5: OF IEOU AND MELCHISEDEC

1 Jesus, that is to say, Aberamenthō, said: "When the father of my father—the same is Ieou—who is the providence of all the rulers and gods and powers, which are in the matter of the light of the treasure, and Zorokothora Melchisedec, who is the legate for all the light-powers which are purified among the rulers, to bring them into the treasure of light—these two alone are the great lights, and their appointed task is to descend below among the rulers and purify them, and then Zorokothora Melchisedec taketh away the pure radiance of their light from them whom they have cleansed among the rulers, that they may bring it unto the treasure of light. "[This is done] when the number and time of their task come to pass for them to descend among the rulers and cast them down and constrain them, taking away their radiance from the rulers. "But when the time cometh for them [Ieou and Melchisedec] to cease from casting them down and constraining them, and for them to return to the regions of the treasure of light, it cometh to pass, when they come unto the region of the midst, that Zorokothora Melchisedec beareth away the light-radiances and bringeth them unto the gate of them of the midst, to carry them into the treasure of light. Ieou, also, withdraweth into the regions of them of the right, until the time of the number cometh for them again to descend.

2 "Forthwith, then, the rulers rebel because of the wrath of their iniquity, and march against the light-powers [of the souls], because they [Ieou and Melchisedec] are then no longer among them, and they hurry off [all] the souls they can harry and ravish, to destroy them in the smoke of their dark-

ness and their evil fire. "Then it is that this power, the same Paraplêx, with the dæmons over which she rules, hurrieth off the souls of the passionate, blasphemers, and slanderers, that she may send them into the smoke of her darkness, and destroy them in her malignant fire, that they may begin to be undone and dissolved. Thirty and three years and nine months do they pass in the punishments of her regions, while she tormenteth them in the fire of her malignancy.

SECTION 6: OF THE TIME WHEN SOULS ARE FREED FROM THE
TORMENTS OF THEIR RULERS

¹ "It cometh to pass after these years, when the sphere of little Sabaôth, [that is to say] Zeus, revolveth so as to come into the first æon of the sphere, which is called in the world the Ram of Boubastis, that is to say Aphrodite; when, then, she [Aphrodite] shall have come into the seventh house of the sphere, which is the Balance, [it cometh to pass that] the veils between them of the right and them of the left are drawn aside, and there glanceth forth from the height, among them of the right, the great Sabaôth, the good, [lord] of the whole world and of all the sphere. But before he glanceth forth, he gazeth down on the regions of Paraplêx, that they may be dissolved and perish, and that all the souls which are in her torments, may be brought forth and again led into the sphere, for they are perishing in the torments of Paraplêx."

² He continued further in his conversation and said: "The second order [of the five dæmonial rulers], called Æthiopic Ariouth, is a female ruler, entirely black; and under her are fourteen [arch]dæmons, ruling over other hosts of dæmons. And these dæmons, under the sway of Æthiopic Ariouth, are they who enter into strife-makers, to stir up wars, so that there may be slaughter; who harden their hearts and inflame them for slaughter. "And the souls, which this power hurrieth off and ravisheth, will pass one hundred and thirteen years in her regions, while she torments them by the smoke of her darkness and her malignant fire, so that they are brought nigh unto destruction. "And then, when the sphere shall turn, and the little Sabaôth, the good, who is called in the world Zeus, when he shall come to the fourth æon of the sphere, that is to say the Crab, and when Boubastis shall come, who is called in the world Aphroditê, when she shall come into the tenth æon of the sphere, which is called the Goat, then the veils which are between them of the left and them of the right, are drawn apart, that Ieou may gaze forth from the right, that the whole world may be troubled and confused, and all

the æons of the sphere; and he will gaze on the habitations of Æthiopic Ariouth, so that her regions are dissolved and perish, and that all the souls which are in her torments may be restored to the sphere, for they are perishing in the smoke of her darkness and her malignant fire."

SECTION 7: THE REGENT OF THE THIRD DOMONIAL HIERARCHY

¹He continued further in his conversation and said: "Of the third order, called triple-faced Hekatê, there are also under her authority seven and twenty [arch]dæmons.... These are they who enter into men to cause them to commit perjury and speak lies, and covet what doth not belong to them. "The souls, then, which Hekatê will hurry off and ravish, she will hand over to the dæmons under her [sway], that they may be tormented by the smoke of the darkness, and its malignant fire, that they may be mightily constrained by the dæmons. One hundred and five years and six months do they spend in this region, chastised in its malignant torments, and they come nigh unto destruction and dissolution. "After this, when the sphere shall revolve and the little Sabaôth, the good, shall come, he of the midst, whom they call in the world Zeus, when he shall come into the eighth æon of the sphere, called the Scorpion, and when Boubastis, whom they call Aphroditê, shall come and enter into the second æon of the sphere called the Bull, [then] the veils which are between them of the right and them of the left are drawn aside, that Zorokothora Melchisedec may look down from on high, and the world be thrown into confusion, and its mountains, and the æons be troubled, that he may look down on all the regions of Hekatê, that her regions may be dissolved and perish, and that all the souls in her torments may be brought forth, and restored again to the spheres, for they are being undone in the fire of her torments."

²He continued further in his conversation and said: "The fourth order is called Typhôn, the assessor. He is a powerful ruler, having under his authority two and thirty dæmons. These are they who enter into men and make them lust, and commit fornication and adultery, and be ever engaged in intercourse. The souls, then, which this ruler will take and ravish, pass one hundred and twenty-eight years in his region, while his dæmons torment them with the smoke of the darkness and its malignant fire, so that they come nigh to dissolution and destruction. "But it cometh to pass, when the sphere turneth, and the little Sabaôth, the good, he of the midst, whom they call Zeus, cometh, when he shall have entered into the ninth æon of the

sphere, called the Bowman, and Boubastis, whom they call in the world Aphrodite, shall have come into the third of the æons of the sphere, called the Twins, that [then] the veils which are between them of the left and them of the right, are drawn aside, that Zarazaz, whom the rulers call Maskelli after the name of a powerful ruler of their own regions, may gaze down on the regions of the habitations of Typhôn, the assessor, so that his regions may be dissolved and perish, and that all the souls which are in his torments may be brought forth, and again restored to the sphere, for they are being undone in the smoke of his darkness and his malignant fire."

SECTION 8: THE REGENT OF THE FIFTH DOMONIAL HIERARCHY

¹ Again he continued further in his conversation and said unto his disciples: "Of the fifth order they call the ruler Iach-thanabas. He is a powerful ruler, having under him other hosts of dæmons. These are they who enter into men and make them corrupt—treating the just with injustice, favouring the cause of sinners, taking money for a just judgment, and then upsetting it, forgetting the poor and needy, increasing the forgetfulness of their own souls, and of anything of which there is no profit [to be made]— so that they should do nothing worthy of record in their lives, in order that when they have passed out of their bodies they may be hurried off bankrupt. "The souls, then, which this ruler shall carry off bankrupt, shall continue in his torments one hundred and fifty years and eight months, that he may destroy them by the smoke of his darkness and his malignant fire, that they may be mightily constrained by the flames of his fire.

² "And when the sphere turneth and there cometh the little Sabaôth, the good, whom they call in the world Zeus, when he cometh into the eleventh æon of the sphere, called the Waterer, and Boubastis cometh into the fifth æon of the sphere, called the Lion, then the veils which are between them of the left and them of the right, are drawn aside, that the great Iaô, the good, he of the midst, who presideth over the region of Iachthanabas, may gaze forth, that his regions may be dissolved and perish, and that all the souls which are in his torments may be brought forth and again restored to the sphere, for they are perishing in his torments. "These then are the operations of the ways of the midst concerning which ye have questioned me." And when the disciples had heard this, they bowed down and adored him saying: "Save us, O Master, have mercy upon us, that we may be preserved from these malignant torments which are prepared for sinners. Woe unto them! woe

unto the children of men! for they are like the blind feeling in the darkness, and seeing not.

³ Have mercy upon us, O Master, in the great blindness in which we are; and have mercy upon the whole race of human kind, for they lie in wait for their souls, as lions for their prey, to tear them in pieces and make food for their torments, because of the forgetfulness and ignorance in which they are. Have mercy, therefore, upon us, O Master, our saviour, have mercy upon us, preserve us from this great stupor."

SECTION 9: JESUS ENCOURAGETH HIS DISCIPLES

¹ Jesus said unto his disciples: "Have courage, fear not, for ye are blessed; nay, I will make you lords over all these, and place them in subjection under your feet. Ye remember, that I have already said unto you before my crucifixion, 'I will give unto you the keys of the kingdom of the heavens.' Now again I say unto you, I will give them unto you." When, then, Jesus had thus spoken, he chanted an invocation in the great name, and the regions of the ways of the midst were hidden from view, and Jesus and his disciples remained in an atmosphere of exceeding great light. Jesus said to his disciples: "Come unto me." And they came unto him. He turned towards the four angles of the world; he uttered the great name over their heads, and blessed them and breathed on their eyes. Jesus said unto them: "Look up, and mark what ye see!"

² And they raised their eyes unto the height, and saw a great light, exceedingly brilliant, which no man in the world could describe. He said unto them a second time: "Look into the light, and mark what ye see!" They said: "We see fire and water, and wine and blood." Jesus, that is to say Aberamenthò, said unto his disciples: "Amen, I say unto you, I have brought nothing into the world when I came, save this fire and water, this wine and blood. I brought down the water and fire from the region of the light of light, from the treasure of light; I brought down the wine and the blood from the region of Barbêlô. And shortly after my father sent unto me the holy breath in the form of a dove. "The fire, the water, and the wine are for cleansing all the sins of the world; the blood I had as a sign of the body of human kind, and I received it in the region of Barbêlô, the great power of the divine invisible; while the breath draweth all souls and bringeth them unto the region of light.

3 "For this cause have I said unto you, 'I am come to cast fire on the earth'; that is to say, I am come to purify the sins of the whole world with fire. "For this cause I said to the Samaritan woman, 'If thou hadst known of the gift of God, and who hath said unto thee, Give me to drink," thou wouldst have asked him to give thee living water, that thou mightest have had a fountain welling up in thee for life eternal.' "For this cause, also, I took a cup of wine, and blessed it, and gave it unto you, saying, 'This is the blood of the covenant which shall be poured out for you, for the remission of your sins.' "For this cause, also, they pierced my side with a spear, and there came forth water and blood. "These are the mysteries of the light which remit sins; that is to say, these are the appellations and names of [these mysteries of] the light."

SECTION 10: JESUS AND HIS DISCIPLES DESCEND TO THE EARTH

1 It came to pass after this, that Jesus gave the command, "Let all the powers of the left return to their regions." And Jesus and his disciples were [once more] on the Mount of Galilee. And the disciples continued further and besought him: "How long, then, will it be before thou shalt cause the sins and iniquities which we have committed, to be remitted, that we may be worthy of the kingdom of thy father?" And Jesus said unto them: "Amen, I say unto you, not only will I purify your sins, but I will also make you worthy of the kingdom of my father; and I will give unto you the mystery of the remission of sins on the earth, so that he to whom ye shall remit on earth, shall be pardoned in the heavens, and he whom ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in the heavens. I will give unto you the mystery of the kingdom of the heavens, that ye also may give it unto men."

2 And Jesus said: "Bring me some fire and vine branches." They brought them unto him. He set out the offering, placing two vessels of wine, the one on the right and the other on the left thereof. The offering was set in front [of the vessels]. He placed a cup of water in front of the vessel of wine on the right, and a cup of water in front of the vessel of wine on the left. Between the cups he set pieces of bread according to the number of the disciples. The cups were behind the bread. Jesus stood before the offering and grouped his disciples behind him, all clad in linen garments, holding in their hands the number of the name of the father of the treasure of light. He cried aloud, saying: "Hear me, O father, father of all fatherhood, boundless light; iaô iouô iaô aôî ôia psinôther therôpsin ôpsither nephthomaôth nephiomaôth marachachtha marmarachtha iëanamenaman amanêi of heaven israi hamên

hamên soubaibai appaap hamên hamên deraarai hapahou hamên hamên sasarsartou hamên hamên koukiamin miai hamên hamên iai iai touap hamên hamên hamên hamên mainmari mariê marei hamên hamên hamên.

³ "Hear me, O father, father of all fatherhood. I invoke you also, ye who remit sins and purify iniquities. Remit the sins of the souls of these my disciples who have followed me, and purge their iniquities; make them fit to be reckoned in the kingdom of my father, the father of the treasure of light, for they have followed me and kept my commandments. "Now, therefore, O father, father of all fatherhood, let them approach who remit sins; for these are their names: siphirepsnichieu zenei berimou sochabrichêr euthari nanai dieisbalmêrich meunipos chirie entair mouthiour smour peuchêr oouschous minionor isochobortha. "Hear me, I invoke you, remit the sins of these souls, and blot out their offences. Let them be fit to be counted in the kingdom of my father, the father of the treasure of light. "For I know the great powers and invoke them: auêr bebrô athroni êoureph êône souphen knitousochreôph mauônbi mnenôr souôni chôcheteôph chôcheeteôph memôch anêmph.

⁴ "Remit the sins of these souls, blot out their offences, both those which they have committed knowingly, and those they have committed unknowingly, and those which they have committed in fornication and adultery even unto this day, remit them unto them, and make them fit to be counted in the kingdom of my father, and worthy to receive of this offering. "Holy father, my father, if then thou hast heard me, if thou hast remitted the sins of these souls, and blotted out their offences, and made them fit to be reckoned in thy kingdom, give unto me the sign in this offering."

SECTION 11: THE RITE IS CONSUMMATED

¹ And the sign of which Jesus spake, was given. Jesus said unto his disciples: "Rejoice and be glad, for your sins are remitted, your offences blotted out, and ye have been numbered in the kingdom of my father." And when he had thus spoken, the disciples rejoiced with great joy. Jesus said unto them: "This is the rite and this is the mystery which ye shall celebrate for them who believe in you. If there be no deceit in them, if they hearken unto you in every good thing, their sins and their offences shall be blotted out up to the very day on which ye shall have celebrated for them this mystery. But hide ye this mystery, give it not unto every man, but unto him [only] who shall do all things which I have said unto you in my commandments. "This then is the

mystery of the reality of the baptism of them whose sins shall be remitted and their offences blotted out. This is the baptism of the first offering, which leadeth to the region of truth and into the region of light."

2 After this the disciples again said unto him: "Master, reveal unto us the mystery of the light of thy father, for we have heard thee say, 'There is a baptism of incense; there is a baptism of the holy breath of the light; and there is a spiritual chrism; these bring souls into the treasure of light.' Reveal unto us, therefore, their mystery, that we also may inherit the kingdom of thy father." Jesus said unto them: "As to these mysteries which ye seek after, there is no mystery which is higher than them. They will bring your souls into the light of lights, into the regions of truth and righteousness, into the region of the holy of all holies, into the region where there is neither female nor male, nor form in that region, but only light, unceasing, ineffable. No mystery is higher than these mysteries which ye seek after, save only the mystery of the seven voices and their nine and forty powers and numbers; the name which is higher than them all, the name which sums up all their names, all their lights and all their powers.

SECTION 12: OF THE EFFICACY OF THAT NAME

1 "If, then, a man knoweth that name, when he shall have passed from the body of matter, no smoke, no darkness, no authority, no ruler of the sphere of the fate, no angel, no archangel, no power, shall be able to hold back the soul that knoweth that name; but when it shall have passed out of the world, if it uttereth that name to the fire, it is quenched and the darkness retireth. "If it uttereth it to the dæmons and the receivers of the outer darkness, to their rulers, their authorities, or their powers, they shall all be destroyed, so that their flames consume [them], and they shall cry aloud, 'Thou art holy, thou art holy, most holy of all holies.' "And if a man uttereth that name to the receivers of the malignant torments, to their authorities and all their powers, and also to Barbêlô, to the invisible deity and the three triple-powered gods, the instant he shall utter that name in those regions, they shall all fall on their faces, and be dissolved and perish, and cry aloud, 'O light of lights, that are in the boundless lights, remember us also and purify us.'"

2 When Jesus had finished speaking these words, all the disciples cried aloud, with great sobs, saying: ...in order that they may chastise it for six more months and eight days, and then bring it up into the way of the midst,

that each of the rulers of the way of the midst may chastise it in his torments for six more months and eight days, and then bring it unto the virgin of light who judgeth the good and the evil, that she may judge it. And when the sphere shall turn, she will hand it over to her receivers, that they may cast it into the æons of the sphere. And the workmen of the sphere will cast it into the lake which is below the sphere, so that this [lake] becometh a seething fire and eateth into it, until it hath mightily purified it. ³ "Then cometh Ialuhām, the receiver of Sabaôth Adamas, who giveth the draught of oblivion unto the souls, to bring a draught full of the water of oblivion and give it unto the soul, that it may drink, and forget every place and every region through which it hath passed, so that it be cast into a body which shall live out its time in constant sorrow. "This is the punishment of him that curseth."

SECTION 13: OF THE PUNISHMENT OF THE SLANDERER

¹ Mary continued further and said: "Again, O Master, as to the man that persisteth in slander, when he passeth out of the body, whither shall he go, and what will be his punishment?" Jesus said: "When the time [marked] by the sphere cometh for a man that persisteth in calumny to pass out of the body, Abiout and Charmôn, the receivers of Ariel, come to draw that soul out of the body, and for three days travel round with it instructing it concerning the creatures of the world. "Then they take it below into Amenti unto Ariel, that he may chastise it in his torments eleven months and one and twenty days. "And then they bring it into chaos unto Ialdababôth and his nine and forty dæmons, that each of his dæmons may assail it for eleven more months and one and twenty days, scourging it with whips of smoke.

² "And then they cast it into rivers of smoke and boiling seas of fire, to chastise it therein for eleven more months and one and twenty days. "After that, they carry it into the way of the midst, that each of the rulers who are in the way of the midst, may chastise it in his torments for eleven months and one and twenty days. "After that, they take it unto the virgin of light, who judgeth the righteous and sinners, that she may judge it, and, when the sphere turneth, hand it over to her receivers, who will cast it into the æons of the sphere, and the workmen of the sphere will carry it into the lake below the sphere, so that this [lake] becometh a seething fire and eateth into it until it hath mightily purified it. "And then Ialuhām, the receiver of Sabaôth Adamas, bringeth a draught of oblivion, that it may drink it and forget

every place and every region through which it hath passed, so that it may be put into another body which shall pass all its time in affliction.

3 "This is the punishment of the slanderer." Mary said: "Woe, woe, unto sinners!"

SECTION 14: THE PUNISHMENT OF THE MURDERER

1 And Salome spake and said: "Jesus, Master, [in the case of] a murderer, who hath committed no other sin but that of murder, when he shall pass from the body, what will be his punishment?" Jesus answered and said: " [In the case of] a murderer, who hath committed no other sin but that of murder, when the time is fulfilled by the sphere for him to pass out of the body, the receivers of Ialdabaoth come to lead his soul out of the body, and bind it by the feet to a great dæmon with the face of a horse, to gallop round with it three days in the world. " And then it is carried into the regions of ice and snow, to be there chastised for three years and six months. " And then it is brought into chaos unto Ialdabaoth and his forty and nine dæmons, that each of his dæmons may scourge it for another three years and six months.

2 " After that it is brought into the chaos unto Persephonê, to be punished in her torments another three years and six months. " After that it is brought into the way of the midst, that each of the rulers of the midst may punish it in the torments of its regions another three years and six months. " After that it is brought unto the virgin of light, who judgeth the righteous and sinners, and, when the sphere turneth, she ordereth it to be cast into the outer darkness, until the darkness of the midst shall be removed, so that it may cease to exist and be dissolved. " This is the punishment of murderers." Peter said: " Master, let the women come to an end of their questions, that we also may question thee." Jesus said unto Mary and the [other] women: " Give place to your brethren, that they also may question."

3 Peter answered and said: " Again, Master, [in the case of] a thief, that stealeth secretly, and persisteth in his sin, when he passeth out of the body, what is his punishment?" Jesus said: "[In the case of] such a man, when his time shall be accomplished by the sphere, the receivers of Adônîs come after him, to lead his soul out of the body, and travel round with it three days instructing it in the creatures of the world. " Then it is carried below into Amenti unto Ariel, that he may chastise it in his torments three months, eight days and two hours. " Then it is brought into chaos unto Ialdabaoth and his nine and forty dæmons, in order that each of his dæmons may chas-

tise it for another three months, eight days and two hours. " After that, it is brought into the way of the midst, that each of the rulers of the way of the midst may chastise it with the smoke of his darkness and his malignant fire for another three months, eight days and two hours.

4 "After that, it is brought unto the virgin of light, who judgeth the righteous and the sinners, that she may judge it, and, when the sphere turneth, she handeth it over unto her receivers that they may cast it into the æons of the sphere, and bring it unto the lake below the sphere, so that this [lake] becometh a seething fire, which eateth into it, until it is mightily purified. "Then cometh Ialuhām, the receiver of Saba-ôth Adamas, to bring it the draught of oblivion, and give it unto the soul, that it may drink thereof and forget every place and every region through which it hath passed, and be cast into a body lame, halt and blind. "This is the punishment of the thief."

SECTION 15: THE PUNISHMENT OF THE CONTEMPTUOUS

1 Andrew spake and said: "[In the case of] one proud and contemptuous, when he shall have passed out of the body, what shall be done unto him?" Jesus said: "In the case of such a man, when his time is accomplished by the sphere, the receivers of Ariel come after him to lead out his soul, and travel round the world with it for three days, instructing it in the creatures of the world. "Then it is brought below into Amenti unto Ariel, that it may be chastised in his torments for twenty months. " After that, it is brought into the chaos of Ialdabaoth and his nine and forty dæmons, and he and his dæmons, each of them, chastise it another twenty months. " After that, it is carried into the way of the midst, that each of the rulers of the way of the midst may chastise it for another twenty months.

2 " And after that, it is brought unto the virgin of light, that she may judge it, and, when the sphere turneth, she handeth it over to her receivers to cast it into the æons of the sphere, and the workmen of the sphere bring it unto the lake below the sphere, so that this lake becometh a seething fire, which eateth into it, until it hath purified it. " And Ialuhām, the receiver of Sabaôth Adamas, cometh to bring it the draught of oblivion and give it to the soul, that it may drink, and forget everything and every region into which it hath entered, and be cast into a body, lame and contemptible, that every one may ever despise it. " This is the punishment of the proud and contemptuous man." Thomas said: "[In the case of] a man that blasphemeth persistently, what is his punishment?" 3 Jesus said: " [In the case of] such a man

when his time is accomplished by the spheres, the receivers of Ialdabaôth come to bind him by the tongue to a great horse-faced dæmon, and travel round with [that soul] through the world for three days, and punish him. "Then it is brought into the region of ice and snow, to be punished there for eleven years. "Then it is carried below into chaos unto Ialdabaôth and his nine and forty dæmons, that each of his dæmons may chastise it for another eleven years. "Then it is carried into the outer darkness, until the day when the great dragon-faced ruler who encircleth the darkness, shall be judged. And that soul becometh hard frozen, it perisheth and is dissolved. "This is the punishment of the blasphemers."

SECTION 16: THE PUNISHMENT OF HIM THAT HATH INTERCOURSE
WITH MALES

¹ Bartholomew said: "[In the case of] a man that lieth with a man, what is his punishment?" Jesus said: "[In the case of] the man that lieth with a man, and the man with whom he lieth, their sentence is the same as that of the blasphemer. "When the time is fulfilled by the sphere, the receivers of Ialdabaôth come to find their souls, that he and his dæmons may torment them for eleven years. "Then they are carried into the rivers of fire and seas of seething pitch, full of pig-faced dæmons that eat into them, and... them in the rivers of fire another eleven years. "Then they are carried into the outer darkness until the day of judgment when the great darkness shall be judged; and then they shall be dissolved and perish." Thomas said: "We have heard that there are men on the earth who take the sperm of men and the flux of women, and mix them with lentils and eat them, saying, 'We believe in Esau and Jacob.' Surely this is an unseemly deed?"

² Then was Jesus wroth with the world and said unto Thomas: "Amen, I say, this sin is more heinous than all sins and all iniquities. [As for] men of that kind, they shall be instantly taken into the outer darkness, nor shall they ever be brought back to the sphere, but they shall be destroyed, they shall perish in the outer darkness, in the region where there is no mercy and no light, but weeping and gnashing of teeth. And every soul that shall be [thus] carried into the darkness, shall never again return, but shall perish and be dissolved." John answered [and said]: "Again, [in the case of] a man who hath committed no sin, but who hath done righteousness persistently, without finding the mysteries, so as to be able to pass through the rulers, when he shall pass out of the body, what will be done unto him?"

³Jesus said: "[In the case of] such a man, when his time is accomplished by the sphere, the receivers of Chainchôôôch, who is one of the three triple-powered gods, come to find his soul, to lead forth his soul with joy and gladness, and travel round with it three days, instructing it in the creations of the world with joy and gladness. "Then they bring it below into Amenti to instruct it in the punishments that are in Amenti; they do not chastise it therein, but merely instruct it concerning them. The heat from the fire delayeth it only a little. "Then it is carried into the way of the midst, to be instructed in the punishments of the ways of the midst; the heat from the fire delaying it a little. "Then it is brought unto the virgin of light, that she may judge it, and set it near the little Sabaôth, the good, him of the midst, until the sphere turneth, and Zeus and Aphrodîtê come before the virgin of light, while Kronos and Arês are behind her.

⁴"Then she taketh the soul of that righteous person to entrust it to her receivers, for them to cast into the æons of the sphere, and for the workmen of the sphere to bring it into a lake below the sphere, so that this [lake] may become a seething fire, and eat into it until it be mightily purified. "Then cometh Ialuham, the receiver of Sabaôth Adamas, who giveth the draught of oblivion unto the souls; he bringeth the draught of oblivion and giveth it unto it, that it may forget everything and every region through which it hath passed.

SECTION 17: THE CUP OF WISDOM

¹"Then there cometh a receiver of the little Sabaôth, the good, him of the midst; he bringeth a cup full of intuition and wisdom, and also prudence, and giveth it to the soul, casteth the soul into a body which will not be able to fall asleep or forget because of the cup of prudence which hath been given unto it, but will be ever pure in heart and seeking after the mysteries of light, until it hath found them, by order of the virgin of light, in order [that that soul] may inherit the light for ever." Mary said: "Again, [in the case of a man] who hath committed all [these] sins and all [these] iniquities, will he suffer all these punishments together?" Jesus answered: "Yea, he shall suffer them; if he have committed three sins, he shall suffer three punishments." John said: "Again, [in the case of] a man who hath committed every sin and every iniquity, but at last hath found the mysteries of light, can he be saved?"

²Jesus said: "Such a man, who hath committed every sin and every iniquity, and hath found the mysteries of light, and hath performed them

and accomplished them, and hath not fallen away and committed sin [again], he shall inherit the treasure of light." Jesus said unto his disciples: "When the sphere shall turn and Kronos and Arês shall come behind the virgin of light, and Zeus and Aphrodite shall come before her, circling in their own æons, the veils of the virgin shall be drawn aside. In that hour she shall be filled with joy seeing these two stars of light before her, and every soul which at that time she shall cast into the cycle of the æons of the sphere, to descend into the world, shall be righteous and good, and shall find the mysteries of light in that birth, and even if it have to return to birth again, it shall find the mysteries of light.

3 "But if Arês and Kronos are before the virgin, and Zeus and Aphrodite behind her, so that she doth not see them, then every soul which she casteth into the creatures of the sphere at that time, shall be evil and wrathful and incapable of finding the mysteries of light." Jesus spake these words unto his disciples in the midst of Amenti; the disciples cried aloud with sobs saying: "Woe, woe unto sinners, on whom the indifference and forgetfulness of the rulers lie heavily, until they pass out of the body to suffer these torments! Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, son of holiness, that we may be saved from these torments and these judgments which are prepared for sinners, for we also have sinned, O Master, our light." the righteous. They went forth three by three to the four points of heaven; they preached the gospel of the kingdom in the whole world, the Christ being active with them in the words of confirmation and the signs and wonders which accompanied them. And thus was known the kingdom of God in all the land and in all the world of Israel, [and this kingdom] is a testimony for all the nations which are from the east even unto the west.

P A R T F O U R

Mani and the Manichaeans

*The debate in which Bishop Archelaus is said to have answered
Mani.*

The Acts of Archelaus: the Disputation with Manes

4th century

A fourth-century dialogue, set in Mesopotamia, in which Bishop Archelaus defeats the heresiarch Mani in open debate. It is an early source for the teaching of the Manichaeans, and it is not an exact record.

1. The true Thesaurus; to wit, the Disputation conducted in Carchar, a city of Mesopotamia, before Manippus and Aegialeus and Claudius and Cleobolus, who acted as judges. In this city of Mesopotamia there was a certain man, Marcellus by name, who was esteemed as a person worthy of the highest honour for his manner of life, his pursuits, and his lineage, and not less so for his discretion and his nobility of character: he was possessed also of abundant means; and, what is most important of all, he feared God with the deepest piety, and gave ear always with due reverence to the things which were spoken of Christ. In short, there was no good quality lacking in that man, and hence it came to pass that he was held in the greatest regard by the whole city; while, on the other hand, he also made an ample return for the good-will of his city by his munificent and oft-repeated acts of liberality in bestowing on the poor, relieving the afflicted, and giving help to the distressed. But let it suffice us to have said thus much, lest by the weakness of our words we rather take from the man's virtues than adduce what is worthy of their splendour. I shall come, therefore, to the task which forms my subject. On a certain occasion, when a large;

body of captives were offered to the bishop Archelaus by the soldiers who held the camp in that place, their numbers being some seven thousand seven hundred, he was harassed with the keenest anxiety on account of the large sum of money which was demanded by the soldiers as the price of the prisoners' deliverance. And as he could not conceal his solicitude, all aflame for the religion and the fear of God, he at length hastened to Marcellus, and explained to him the importance and difficulty of the case. And when that pat-

tern of piety, Marcellus, heard his narration, without the least delay he went into his house, and provided the price demanded for the prisoners, according to the value set upon them by those who had led them captive; and unlocking the treasures of his goods, he at once distributed the gifts of piety among the soldiers, without any severe consideration of number or distinction, so that they seemed to be presents rather than purchase-moneys. And those soldiers were filled with wonder and admiration at the grandeur of the man's piety and munificence, and were struck with amazement, and felt the force of this example of pity; so that very many of them were added to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and threw off the belt of military service, while others withdrew to their camp, taking scarcely a fourth part of the ransom, and the rest made their departure without receiving even so much as would defray the expenses of the way.

2. Marcellus, as might well be expected, was exceedingly gratified by these incidents; and summoning one of the prisoners, by name Cortynius, he inquired of him the cause of the war, and by what chance it was that they were overcome and bound with the chains of captivity. And the person addressed, on obtaining liberty to speak, began to express himself in these terms: "My lord Marcellus, we believe in the living God alone. And we have a custom of such a nature as I shall now describe, which has descended to us by the tradition of our brethren in the faith, and has been regularly observed by us up to the present day. The practice is, that every year we go out beyond the bounds of the city, in company with our wives and children, and offer up supplications to the only and invisible God, praying Him to send us rains for our fields and crops. Now, when we were celebrating this observance at the usual time and in the wonted manner, evening surprised us as we lingered there, and were still fasting. Thus we were feeling the pressure of two of the most trying things men have to endure, -namely, fasting and want of sleep. But about midnight sleep enviously and inopportunately crept upon us, and with necks drooping and unstrung, and heads hanging down, it made our faces strike against our knees.

Now this took place because the time was at hand when by the judgment of God we were to pay the penalty proper to our deserts, whether it might be that we were offenders in ignorance, or whether it might be that with the consciousness of wrong we nevertheless had not given up our sin. Accordingly at that hour a multitude of soldiers suddenly surrounded us, supposing

us, as I judge, to have lodged ourselves in ambush there, and to be persons with full experience and skill in fighting battles; and without making any exact inquiry into the cause of our gathering there, they threatened us with war, not in word, but at once by the sword. And though we were men who had never learned to do injury to any one, they wounded us pitilessly with their missiles, and thrust us through with their spears, and cut our throats with their swords. Thus they slew, indeed, about one thousand and three hundred men of our number, and wounded other five hundred. And when the day broke clearly, they carried off the survivors amongst us as prisoners here, and that, too, in a way showing their utter want of pity for us. For they drove us before their horses, spurring us on by blows from their spears, and impelling us forward by making the horses' heads press upon us. And those who had sufficient powers of endurance did indeed hold out; but very many fell down before the face of their cruel masters, and breathed out their life there;

and mothers, with arms wearied, and utterly powerless with their burdens, and distracted by the threats of those behind them, suffered the little ones that were hanging on their breasts to fall to the ground; while all those on whom old age had come were sinking, one after the other, to the earth, overcome with their toils, and exhausted by want of food. The proud soldiers nevertheless enjoyed this bloody spectacle of men continually perishing, as if it had been a kind of entertainment, while they saw some stretched on the soil in hopeless prostration, and beheld others, worn out by the fierce fires of thirst and with the bands of their tongues utterly parched, lose the power of speech, and beheld others with eyes ever glancing backwards, groaning over the fate of their dying little ones, while these, again, were constantly appealing to their most unhappy mothers with their cries, and the mothers themselves, driven frantic by the severities of the robbers, responded with their lamentations, which indeed was the only thing they could do freely. And those of them whose hearts were most tenderly bound up with their offspring chose voluntarily to meet the same premature fate of death with their children; while those, on the other hand, who had some capacity of endurance were carried off prisoners here with us.

Thus, after the lapse of three days, during which time we had never been allowed to take any rest, even in the night, we were conveyed to this place, in which what has now taken place after these occurrences is better known to

yourself." 3. When Marcellus, the man of consummate piety, had heard this recital, he burst into a flood of tears, touched with pity for misfortunes so great and so various. But making no delay, he at once prepared victuals for the sufferers, and did service with his own hand for the wearied; in this imitating our father Abraham the patriarch, who, when he entertained the angels hospitably on a certain occasion, did not content himself with merely giving the order to his slaves to bring a calf from the herd, but did himself, though advanced in years, go and place it on his shoulders and fetch it in, and did with his own hand prepare food, and set it before the angels. So Marcellus, in discharge of a similar office, directed them to be seated as his guests in companies of ten; and when the seven hundred tables were all provided, he refreshed the whole body of the captives with great delight, so that those who had strength to survive what they had been called to endure, forgot their toils, and became oblivious of all their ills. When, however, they had reached the fifteenth day, and while Marcellus was still liberally supplying all things needful for the prisoners, it seemed good to him that they should all be put in possession of the means of returning to their own parts, with the exception of those who were detained by the attention which their wounds demanded;

and providing the proper remedies for these, he instructed the rest to depart to their own country and friends. And even to all these charities Marcellus added yet larger deeds of piety. For with a numerous band of his own dependants he went to look after the burying of the bodies of those who had perished on the march; and for as many of these as he could discover, of whatsoever condition, he secured the sepulture which was meet for them. And when this service was completed he returned to Charra, and gave permission to the wounded to return thence to their native country when their health was sufficiently restored, providing also most liberal supplies for their use on their journey. And truly the estimate of this deed made a magnificent addition to the repute of the other noble actions of Marcellus; for through that whole territory the fame of the piety of Marcellus spread so grandly, that large numbers of men belonging to various cities were inflamed with the intensest desire to see and become acquainted with the man, and most especially those persons who had not had occasion to bear penury before, - to all of whom this remarkable man, following the example of a Marcellus of

old, furnished aid most indulgently, so that they all declared that there was no one of more illustrious piety than this man.

Yea, all the widows, too, who were believers in the Lord had recourse to him, while the imbecile also could reckon on obtaining at his hand most certain help to meet their circumstances; and the orphaned, in like manner, were all supported by him, so that his house was declared to be the hospice for the stranger and the indigent. And above all this, he retained in a remarkable and singular measure his devotion to the faith, building up his own heart upon the rock that shall not be moved. 4. Accordingly, as this man's fame was becoming always the more extensively diffused throughout different localities, and when it had now penetrated even beyond the river Stranga, the honourable report of his name was carried into the territory of Persia. In this country dwelt a person called Manes, who, when this man's repute had reached him, deliberated largely with himself as to how he might entangle him in the snares of his doctrine, hoping that Marcellus might he made an upholder of his dogma. For he reckoned that he might make himself master of the whole province, if he could only first attach such a man to himself. In this project, however, his mind was agitated with the doubt whether he should at once repair in person to the man, or first attempt to get at him by letter for he was afraid lest, by any sudden and unexpected introduction of himself upon the scene some mischance might possibly befall him. At last, in obedience to a subtler policy, he resolved to write; and calling to him one of his disciples, by name Turbo, who had been instructed by Addas, he handed to him an epistle, and bade him depart and convey it to Marcellus. This adherent accordingly received the letter, and carried it to the person to whom he had been commissioned by Manes to deliver it, overtaking the whole journey within five days. The above-mentioned Turbo, indeed, used great expedition on this journey, in the course of which he also underwent very considerable exertion and trouble.

For whenever he arrived, as a traveller in foreign parts, at a hospice,-and these were inns which Marcellus himself had supplied in his large hospitality, -on his being asked by the keepers of these hostels whence he came, and who he was, or by whom he had been sent, he used to reply: "I belong to the district of Mesopotamia, but I come at present from Persis, having been sent by Manichaeus, a master among the Christians. But they were by no means ready to welcome a name unknown to them, and were wont sometimes to

thrust Turbo out of their inns, refusing him even the means of getting water for drinking purposes. And as he had to bear daily things like these, and things even worse than these, at the hands of those persons in the several localities who had charge of the mansions and hospices, unless he had at last shown that he was conveying letters to Marcellus, Turbo would have met the doom of death in his travels.

5. On receiving the epistle, then, Marcellus opened it, and read it in the presence of Archelaus, the bishop of the place. And the following is a copy of what it contained: - Manichaeus, an apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the saints who are with me, and the virgins, to Marcellus, my beloved son: Grace, mercy, and peace be with you from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ; and may the right hand of light preserve you safe from this present evil world, and from its calamities, and from the snares of the wicked one. Amen. I was exceedingly delighted to observe the love cherished by you, which truly is of the largest measure. But I was distressed at your faith, which is not in accordance with the right standard. Wherefore, deputed as I am to seek the elevation of the race of men, and sparing, as I do, those who have given themselves over to deceit and error, I have considered it needful to despatch this letter to you, with a view, in the first place, to the salvation of your own soul, and in the second place also to that of the souls of those who are with you, so as to secure you against dubious opinions, and specially against notions like those in which the guides of the simpler class of minds indoc-trinate their subjects, when they allege that good and evil have the same original subsistence, and when they posit the same beginning for them, without making any distinction or discrimination between light and darkness, and between the good and the evil or worthless, and between the inner man and the outer, as we have stated before, and without ceasing to mix up and confound together the one with the other. But, O my son, refuse thou thus thoughtlessly to identify these two things in the irrational and foolish fashion common to the mass of men, and ascribe no such confusion to the God of goodness. For these men refer the beginning and the end and the pater-nity of these ills to God Himself,—"whose end is near a curse.

For they do not believe the word spoken by our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ Himself in the Gospels, namely, that "a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. And how they can be bold enough to call God the maker and contriver of Satan and his

wicked deeds, is a matter of great amazement to me. Yea, would that even this had been all the length to which they had gone with their silly efforts, and that they had not declared that the only-begotten Christ, who has descended from the bosom of the Father, is the son of a certain woman, Mary, and born of blood and flesh and the varied impurities proper to women! Howbeit, neither to write too much in this epistle, nor to trespass at too great length upon your good nature,-and all the more so that I have no natural gift of eloquence,-I shall content myself with what I have said. But you will have full knowledge of the whole subject when I am present with you, if indeed you still continue to care for your own salvation. For I do not "cast a snare upon any one," as is done by the less thoughtful among the mass of men. Think of what I say, most honourable son.

6. On reading this epistle, Marcellus, with the kindest consideration, attended hospitably to the needs of the bearer of the letter. Archelaus, on the other hand, did not receive very pleasantly the matters which were read, but "gnashed with his teeth like a chained lion," impatient to have the author of the epistle given over to him. Marcellus, however, counselled him to be at peace; promising that he would himself take care to secure the man's presence: And accordingly Marcellus resolved to send an answer to what had been written to him, and indited an epistle containing the following statements:- Marcellus, a man of distinction, to Manichaeus, who has made himself known to me by his epistle, greeting. An epistle written by you has come to my hand, and I have received Turbo with my wonted kindness; but the meaning of your letter I have by no means apprehended, and may not do so unless you give us your presence, and explain its contents in detail in the way of conversation, as you have offered to do in the epistle itself. Farewell.

This letter he sealed and handed to Turbo, with instructions to deliver it to the person from whom he had already conveyed a similar document. The messenger, however, was extremely reluctant to return to his master, being mindful of what he had to endure on the journey, and begged that another person should be despatched in his stead, refusing to go back to Manes, or to have any intercourse whatever with him again. But Marcellus summoned one of his young men, Callistus by name, and directed him to proceed to the place. Without any loss of time this young man set out promptly on his journey thither; and after the lapse of three days he came to Manes, whom he found in a certain fort, that of Arabion to wit. and to whom he presented

the epistle. On perusing it, he was glad to see that he had been invited by Marcellus; and without delay he undertook the journey; yet he had a presentiment that Turbo's failure to return boded no good, and proceeded on his way to Marcellus, not, as it were, without serious reflections. Turbo, for his part, was not at all thinking of leaving the house of Marcellus; neither did he omit any opportunity of conversing with Archelaus the bishop. For both these parties were very diligently engaged in investigating the practices of Manichaeus, being desirous of knowing who he was and whence he came, and what was his manner of discourse. And he, Turbo, accordingly gave a lucid account of the whole position, narrating and expounding the terms of his faith in the following manner: -

If you are desirous of being instructed in the faith of Manes by me, attend to me for a short space. That man worships two deities, unoriginated, self-existent, eternal, opposed the one to the other. Of these he represents the one as good, and the other as evil, and assigns the name of Light to the former, and that of Darkness to the latter. He alleges also that the soul in men is a portion of the light, but that the body and the formation of matter are parts of the darkness. He maintains, further, that a certain commingling or blending has been effected between the two in the manner about to be stated, the following analogy being used as an illustration of the same; to wit, that their relations may be likened to those of two kings in conflict with each other, who are antagonists from the beginning, and have their own positions, each in his due order. And so he holds that the darkness passed without its own boundaries, and engaged in a similar contention with the light; but that the good Father then, perceiving that the darkness had come to sojourn on His earth, put forth from Himself a power which is called the Mother of Life; and that this power thereupon put forth from itself the first man, and the five elements. And these five elements are wind, light, water, fire, and matter.

Now this primitive man, being endued with these, and thereby equipped, as it were, for war, descended to these lower parts, and made war against the darkness. But the princes of the darkness, waging war in turn against him, consumed that portion of his panoply which is the soul. Then was that first man grievously injured there underneath by the darkness; and had it not been that the Father heard his prayers, and sent a second power, which was also put forth from Himself and was called the living Spirit, and came down

and gave him the right hand, and brought him up again out of the grasp of the darkness, that first man would, in those ancient times, have been in peril of absolute overthrow. From that time, consequently, he left the soul beneath. And for this reason the Manichaeans, if they meet each other, give the right hand, in token of their having been saved from darkness; for he holds that the heresies have their seat all in the darkness. Then the living Spirit created the world; and bearing in himself three other powers, he came down and brought off the princes, and settled them in the firmament, which is their body, (though it is called) the sphere. Then, again, the living Spirit created the luminaries, which are fragments of the soul, and he made them thus to move round and round the firmament; and again he created the earth in its eight species. And the Omophorus sustains the burden thereof beneath;

and when he is wearied with bearing it he trembles, and in that manner becomes the cause of a quaking of the earth in contravention of its determinate times. On account of this the good Father sent His Son forth from His own bosom into the heart of the earth, and into these lowest parts of it, in order to secure for him the correction befitting him. And whenever an earthquake occurs, he is either trembling under his weariness, or is shifting his burden from one shoulder to the other. Thereafter, again, the matter also of itself produced growths; and when these were carried off as spoil on the part of some of the princes, he summoned together all the foremost of the princes, and took from all of them individually power after power, and made up the man who is after the image of that first man, and united the soul (with these powers) in him. This is the account of the manner in which his constitution was planned.

8. But when the living Father perceived that the soul was in tribulation in the body, being full of mercy and compassion, He sent His own beloved Son for the salvation of the soul. For this, together with the matter of Omophorus, was the reason of His sending Him. And the Son came and transformed Himself into the likeness of man, and manifested Himself to men as a man, while yet He was not a man, and men supposed that He was begotten. Thus He came and prepared the work which was to effect the salvation of the souls, and with that object constructed an instrument with twelve urns, which is made to revolve by the sphere, and draws up with it the souls of the dying. And the greater luminary receives these souls, and purifies them with

its rays, and then passes them over to the moon; and in this manner the moon's disc, as it is designated by us, is filled up. For he says that these two luminaries are ships or passage-boats. Then, if the moon becomes full, it ferries its passengers across toward the east wind, and thereby effects its own waning in getting itself delivered of its freight. And in this manner it goes on making the passage across, and again discharging its freight of souls drawn up by the urns, until it saves its own proper portion of the souls. Moreover, he maintains that every soul, yea, every living creature that moves, partakes of the substance of the good Father.

And accordingly, when the moon delivers over its freight of souls to the aeons of the Father, they abide there in that pillar of glory, which is called the perfect air. And this air is a pillar of light, for it is filled with the souls that are being purified. Such, moreover, is the agency by which the souls are saved. But the following, again, is the cause of men's dying: A certain virgin, fair in person, and beautiful in attire, and of most persuasive address, aims at making spoil of the princes that have been borne up and crucified on the firmament by the living Spirit; and she appears as a comely female to the princes, but as a handsome and attractive young man to the princesses. And the princes, when they look on her in her splendid figure, are smitten with love's sting; and as they are unable to get possession of her, they burn fiercely with the flame of amorous desire, and lose all power of reason. While they thus pursue the virgin, she disappears from view. Then the great prince sends forth from himself the clouds, with the purpose of bringing darkness on the whole world, in his anger. And then, if he feels grievously oppressed, his exhaustion expresses itself in perspiration, just as a man sweats under toil; and this sweat of his forms the rain.

At the same time also the harvest-prince, if he too chances to be captivated by the virgin, scatters pestilence on the whole earth, with the view of putting men to death. Now this body (of man) is also called a cosmos, i.e., a microcosm, in relation to the great cosmos, i.e., the macrocosm of the universe; and all men have roots which are linked beneath with those above. Accordingly, when this prince is captivated by the virgin's charms, he then begins to cut the roots of men; and when their roots are cut, then pestilence commences to break forth, and in that manner they die. And if he shakes the upper parts of the root mightily, an earthquake bursts, and follows as the consequence of the commotion to which the Omophorus is subjected. This is

the explanation of (the phenomenon of) death. 9. I shall explain to you also how it is that the soul is transfused into five bodies. First of all, in this process some small portion of it is purified; and then it is transfused into the body of a dog, or a camel, or some other animal. But if the soul has been guilty of homicide, it is translated into the body of the celephi; and if it has been found to have engaged in cutting; it is made to pass into the body of the dumb. Now these are the designations of the soul,-namely, intelligence, reflection, prudence, consideration, reasoning. Moreover, the reapers who reap are likened to the princes who have been in darkness from the beginning, since they consumed somewhat of the panoply of the first man. On this account there is a necessity for these to be translated into hay, or beans, or barley, or corn, or vegetables, in order that in these forms they, in like manner, may be reaped and cut. And again, if any one eats bread, he must needs also become bread and be eaten. If one kills a chicken, he will be a chicken himself. If one kills a mouse, he will also become a mouse himself. If, again, one is wealthy in this world, it is necessary that, on quitting the tabernacle of his body, he should be made to pass into the body of a beggar, so as to go about asking alms, and thereafter he shall depart into everlasting punishment.

Moreover, as this body pertains to the princes and to matter, it is necessary that he who plants a persea should pass through many bodies until that persea is prostrated. And if one builds a house for himself, he will be divided and scattered among all the bodies. If one bathes in water, he freezes his soul; and if one refuses to give pious regard to his elect, he will be punished through the generations, and will be translated into the bodies of catechumens, until he render many tributes of piety; and for this reason they offer to the elect whatever is best in their meats. And when they are about to eat bread, they offer up prayer first of all, addressing themselves in these terms to the bread: "I have neither reaped thee, nor ground thee, nor pressed thee, nor cast thee into the baking-vessel; but another has done these things, and brought thee to me, and I have eaten thee without fault. And when he has uttered these things to himself, he says to the catechumen, "I have prayed for thee; "and in this manner that person then takes his departure. For, as I remarked to you a little before, if any one reaps, he will be reaped; and so, too, if one casts grain into the mill, he will be cast in himself in like manner, or if he kneads he will be kneaded, or if he bakes he will be baked; and for this reason they are interdicted from doing any such work.

Moreover, there are certain other worlds on which the luminaries rise when they have set on our world. And if a person walks upon the ground here, he injures the earth; and if he moves his hand, he injures the air; for the air is the soul (life) of men and living creatures, both fowl, and fish, and creeping thing. And as to every one existing in this world, I have told you that this body of his does not pertain to God, but to matter, and is itself darkness, and consequently it must needs be cast in darkness. 10. Now, with respect to paradise, it is not called a cosmos. The trees that are in it are lust and other seductions, which corrupt the rational powers of those men. And that tree in paradise, by which men know the good, is Jesus Himself, or the knowledge of Him in the world. He who partakes thereof discerns the good and the evil. The world itself, however, is not God's work; but it was the structure of a portion of matter, and consequently all things perish in it. And what the princes took as spoil from the first man, that is what makes the moon full, and what is being purged day by day of the world. And if the soul makes its exit without having gained the knowledge of the truth, it is given over to the demons, in order that they may subdue it in the Gehennas of fire; and after that discipline it is made to pass into bodies with the purpose of being brought into subjection, and in this manner it is cast into the mighty fire until the consummation. Again, regarding the prophets amongst you, he speaks thus: Their spirit is one of impiety, or of the lawlessness of the darkness which arose at the beginning. And being deceived by this spirit, they have not spoken truth; for the prince blinded their mind. And if any one follows their words, he dies for ever, bound to the clods of earth, because he has not learned the knowledge of the Paraclete.

He also gave injunctions to his elect alone, who are not more than seven in number. And the charge was this: "When ye cease eating, pray, and put upon your head an olive, sworn with the invocation of many names for the confirmation of this faith. The names, however, were not made known to me; for only these seven make use of them. And again, the name Sabaoth, which is honourable and mighty with you, he declares to be the nature of man, and the parent of desire; for which reason the simple worship desire, and hold it to be a deity. Furthermore, as regards the manner of the creation of Adam, he tells us that he who said, "Come and let us make man in our image, after our likeness," or "after the form which we have seen," is the prince who addressed the other princes in terms which may be thus inter-

preted: "Come, give me of the light which we have received, and let us make man after the form of us princes, even after that form which we have seen, that is to say, the first man. And in that manner he created the man They created Eve also after the like fashion, imparting to her of their own lust, with a view to the deceiving of Adam. And by these means the construction of the world proceeded from the operations of the prince.

11. He holds also that God has no part with the world itself, and finds no pleasure in it, by reason of its having been made a spoil of from the first by the princes, and on account of the ill that rose on it. Wherefore He sends and takes away from them day by day the soul belonging to Him, through the medium of these luminaries, the sun and the moon, by which the whole world and all creation are dominated. Him, again, who spake with Moses, and the Jews, and the priests, he declares to be the prince of the darkness; so that the Christians, and the Jews, and the Gentiles are one and the same body, worshipping the same God: for He seduces them in His own passions, being no God of truth. For this reason all those who hope in that God who spake with Moses and the prophets have to be bound together with the said deity, because they have not hoped in the God of truth; for that deity spake with him in accordance with their own passions. Moreover, after all these things, he speaks in the following terms with regard to the end, as he has also written: When the eider has displayed his image, the Omophorus then lets the earth go from him, and so the mighty fire gets free, and consumes the whole world. Then, again, he lets the soil go with the new aeon, in order that all the souls of sinners may be bound for ever.

These things will take place at the time when the man's image has come. And all these powers put forth by God, -namely, Jesus, who is in the smaller ship, and the Mother of Life, and the twelve helmsmen, and the virgin of the light, and the third elder, who is in the greater ship, and the living spirit, and the wall of the mighty fire, and the wall of the wind, and the air, and the water, and the interior living fire,-have their seat in the lesser luminary, until the fire shall have consumed the whole world: and that is to happen within so many years, the exact number of which, however, I have not ascertained. And after these things there will be a restitution of the two natures; and the princes will occupy the lower parts proper to them, and the Father the higher parts, receiving again what is His own due possession.-All this doctrine he delivered to his three disciples, and charged each to journey to a

separate clime. The Eastern parts fell thus to the lot of Addas; Thomas obtained the Syrian territories as his heritage; and another, to wit, Hermeias, directed his course towards Egypt. And to this day they, sojourn there, with the purpose of establishing the propositions contained in this doctrine.

12. When Turbo had made this statement, Archelaus was intensely excited; but Marcellus remained unmoved, for he expected that God would come to the help of His truth. Archelaus, however, had additional cares in his anxiety about the people, like the shepherd who becomes concerned for his sheep when secret perils threaten them from the wolves. Accordingly Marcellus loaded Turbo with the most liberal gifts, and instructed him to remain in the house of Archelaus the bishop. But on that selfsame day Manes arrived, bringing along with him certain chosen youths and virgins to the number of twenty-two. And first of all he sought for Turbo at the door of the house of Marcellus; and on failing to find him there, he went in to salute Marcellus. On seeing him, Marcellus at first was struck with astonishment at the costume in which he presented himself. For he wore a kind of shoe which is usually called in common speech the quadrisole; he had also a party-coloured cloak, of a somewhat airy appearance; in his hand he grasped a very sturdy staff of ebony-wood; he carried a Babylonian book under his left arm; his legs were swathed in trousers of different colours, the one being red, and the other green as a leek; and his whole mien was like that of some old Persian master and commandant.

Thereupon Marcellus sent forthwith for Archelaus, who arrived so quickly as almost to outstrip the word, and on entering was greatly tempted at once to break out against him, being provoked to that instantly by the very sight of his costume and his appearance, though more especially also by the fact that he had himself been turning over in his mind in his retirement the various matters which he had learned from the recital of Turbo, and had thus come carefully prepared. But Marcellus, in his great thoughtfulness, repressed all zeal for mere wrangling, and decided to hear both parties. With that view he invited the leading men of the city; and from among them he selected as judges of the discussion certain adherents of the Gentile religion, four in number. The names of these umpires were as follows: Manippus, a person deeply versed in the art of grammar and the practice of rhetoric; Aegialeus, a very eminent physician, and a man of the highest reputation for learning; and Claudius and Cleobolus, two brothers famed as rhetoricians. A

splendid assemblage was thus convened; so large, indeed, that the house of Marcellus, which was of immense size, was filled with those who had been called to be hearers. And when the parties who proposed to speak in opposition to each other had taken their places in view of all, then those who had been elected as judges took their seats in a position elevated above all others: and the task of commencing the disputation was assigned to Manes.

Accordingly, when silence was secured, he began the discussion in the following terms: - 13. My brethren, I indeed am a disciple of Christ, and, moreover, an apostle of Jesus; and it is owing to the exceeding kindness of Marcellus that I have hastened hither, with the view of showing him clearly in what manner he ought to keep the system of divine religion, so that the said Marcellus verily, who at present has put himself, like one who has surrendered himself prisoner, under the doctrine of Archelaus, may not, like the dumb animals, which are destitute of intellect and understand not what they do, be fatally smitten to the ruin of his soul, in consequence of any failure in the possession of further facilities for setting about the right observance of divine worship. I know, furthermore, and am certain, that if Marcellus is once set right, it will be quite possible that all of you may also have your salvation effected; for your city hangs suspended upon his judgment. If vain presumption is rejected by every one of you, and if those things which are to be declared by me be heard with a real love for the truth, ye will receive the inheritance of the age to come, and the kingdom of heaven. I, in sooth, am the Paraclete, whose mission was announced of old time by Jesus, and who was to come to "convince the world of sin and unrighteousness.

And even as Paul, who was sent before me, said of himself, that "he knew in part, and prophesied in part," so I reserve the perfect for myself, in order that I may do away with that which is in part. Therefore receive ye this third testimony, that I am an elect apostle of Christ; and if ye choose to accept my words, ye will find salvation; but if ye refuse them, eternal fire will have you to consume you. For as Hymenaeus and Alexander were" delivered unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme," so will all ye also be delivered unto the prince of punishments, because ye have done injury to the Father of Christ, in so far as ye declare Him to be the cause of all evils, and the founder of unrighteousness, and the creator of all iniquity. By such doctrine ye do, indeed, bring forth from the same fountain both sweet water and bitter,-a thing which can in no possible way be either done or apprehen-

ded. For who ought to be believed? Should it be those masters of yours whose enjoyment is in the flesh, and who pamper themselves with the richest delights;

or our Saviour Jesus Christ, who says, as it is written in the book of the Gospels, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit," and who in another place assures us that the "father of the devil is a liar and a murderer from the beginning," and tells us again that men's desire was for the darkness, so that they would not follow that Word that had been sent forth in the beginning from the light, and (once more shows us) the man who is the enemy of the same, the sower of tares, and the god and prince of the age of this world, who blinds the minds of men that they may not be obedient to the truth in the Gospel of Christ? Is that God good who has no wish that the men who are his own should be saved? And, not to go over a multitude of other matters, and waste much time, I may defer till another opportunity the exposition of the true doctrine; and taking it for granted that I have said enough on this subject for the present, I may revert to the matter immediately before me, and endeavour satisfactorily to demonstrate the absurdity of these men's teaching, and show that none of these things can be attributed to the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour, but that we must take Satan to be the cause of all our ills.

To him, certainly, these must be carried back, for all ills of this kind are generated by him. But those things also which are written in the prophets and the law are none the less to be ascribed to him; for he it is who spake then in the prophets, introducing into their minds very many ignorant notions of God, as well as temptations and passions. They, too, set forth that devourer of blood and flesh; and to that Satan and to his prophets all these things properly pertain which he wished to transfer to the Father of Christ, prepared as he was to write a few things in the way of truth, that by means of these he might also gain credence for those other statements of his which are false. Hence it is well for us to receive nothing at all of all those things which have been written of old even down to John, and indeed to embrace only the kingdom of heaven, which has been preached in the Gospel since his days; for they verily but made a mockery of themselves, introducing as they did things ridiculous and ludicrous, keeping some small words given in obscure outline in the law, but not understanding that, if good things are mixed up

with evil, the result is, that by the corruption of these evil things, even those others which are good are destroyed.

And if, indeed, there is any one who may prove himself able to demonstrate that the law upholds the right, that law ought to be kept; but if we can show it to be evil, then it ought to be done away with and rejected, inasmuch as it contains the ministration of death, which was graven, which also covered and destroyed the glory on the countenance of Moses. It is a thing not without peril, therefore, for any one of you to teach the New Testament along with the law and the prophets, as if they were of one and the same origin; for the knowledge of our Saviour renews the one from day to day, while the other grows old and infirm, and passes almost into utter destruction. And this is a fact manifest to those who are capable of exercising discernment. For just as, when the branches of a tree become aged, or when the trunk ceases to bear fruit any more, they are cut down; and just as, when the members of the body suffer mortification, they are amputated, for the poison of the mortification diffuses itself from these members through the whole body, and unless some remedy be found for the disease by the skill of the physician, the whole body will be vitiated; so, too, if ye receive the law without understanding its origin, ye will ruin your souls, and lose your salvation. For "the law and the prophets were until John;

" but since John the law of truth, the law of the promises, the law of heaven, the new law, is made known to the race of man. And, in sooth, as long as there was no one to exhibit to you this most true knowledge of our Lord Jesus, ye had not sin. Now, however, ye both see and hear, and yet ye desire to walk in ignorance, in order that ye may keep that law which has been destroyed and abandoned. And Paul, too, who is held to be the most approved apostle with us, expresses himself to the same effect in one of his epistles, when he says: "For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a prevaricator. And in saying this he pronounces on them as Gentiles, because they were under the elements of the world, before the fulness of faith came, believing then as they did in the law and the prophets.

14. The judges said: If you have any clearer statement yet to make, give us some explanation of the nature of your doctrine and the designation of your faith. Manes replied: I hold that there are two natures, one good and another evil; and that the one which is good dwells indeed in certain parts proper to it, but that the evil one is this world, as well as all things in it, which are

placed there like objects imprisoned in the portion of the wicked one, as John says, that "the whole world lieth in wickedness," and not in God. Wherefore we have maintained that there are two localities,-one good, and another which lies outside of this, so that, having space therein in his, it might be capable of receiving into itself the creature, i.e., creation, of the world. For if we say that there is but a monarchy of one nature, and that God fills all things, and that there is no location outside of Him, what will be the sustainer of the creature, i.e., creation? where will be the Gehenna of fire? where the outer darkness? where the weeping? Shall I say in Himself? God forbid; else He Himself will also be made to stiffer in and with these. Enter-tain no such fancies, whosoever of you have any care for your salvation; for I shall give you an example, in order that you may have fuller understanding of the truth. The world is one vessel;

and if the substance of God has already filled this entire vessel, how is it possible now that anything more can be placed in this same vessel? If it is full, how shall it receive what is placed in it, unless a certain portion of the vessel is emptied? Or whither shall that which is to be emptied out make its way, seeing that there is no locality for it? Where then is the earth? where the heavens? where the abyss? where the stars? where the settlements? where the powers? where the princes? where the outer darkness? Who is he that has laid the foundations of these, and where? No one is able to tell us that without stumbling on blasphemy. And in what way, again, has He been able to make the creatures, if there is no subsistent matter? For if He has made them out of the non-existent, it will follow that these visible creatures should be superior, and full of all virtues. But if in these there are wickedness, and death, and corruption, and whatever is opposed to the good, how say we that they owe their formation to a nature different from themselves? Howbeit if you consider the way in which the sons of men are begotten, you will find that the creator of man is not the Lord, but another being, who is also himself of an unbegotten nature, who has neither founder, nor creator, nor maker, but who, such as he is, has been produced by his own malice alone.

In accordance with this, you men have a commerce with your wives, which comes to you by an occasion of the following nature. When any one of you has satiated himself with carnal meats, and meats of other kinds, then the impulse of concupiscence rises in him, and in this way the enjoyment of begetting a son is increased; and this happens not as if that had its spring in

any virtue, or in philosophy, or in any other gift of mind, but in fulness of meats only, and in lust and fornication. And how shall any one tell me that our father Adam was made after the image of God, and in His likeness, and that he is like Him who made him? How can it be said that all of Us who have been begotten of him are like him? Yea, rather, on the contrary, have we not a great variety of forms, and do we not bear the impress of different countenances? And how true this is, I shall exhibit to you in parables. Look, for instance, at a person who wishes to seal up a treasure, or some other object, and you will observe how, when he has got a little wax or clay, he seeks to stamp it with an impression of his own countenance from the ring which he wears; but if another countenance also stamps the figure of itself on the object in a similar manner, will the impression seem like?

By no means, although you may be reluctant to acknowledge what is true. But if we are not like in the common impression, and if, instead of that, there are differences in us, how can it fail to be proved thereby that we are the workmanship of the princes, and of matter? For in due accordance with their form, and likeness, and image, we also exist as diverse forms. But if you wish to be, fully instructed as to that commerce which took place at the beginning, and as to the manner in which it occurred, I shall explain the matter to you. 15. The judges said: We need not inquire as to the manner in which that primitive commerce took place until we have first seen it proved that there are two natural principles. For when once it is made clear that there are two unbegotten natures, then others of your averments may also gain our assent, even although something in them may not seem to fit in very readily with what is credible. For as the power of pronouncing judgment has been committed to us, we shall declare what may make itself clear to our mind. We may, however, also grant to Archelaus the liberty of speaking to these statements of yours, so that, by comparing what is said by each of you, we may be able to give our decision in accordance with the truth. Archelaus said: Notwithstanding, the adversary's intent is replete with gross audacity and blasphemy. Manes said: Hear, O judges, what he has said of the adversary. He admits, then, that there are two objects. Archelaus said: It seems to me that this man is full of madness rather than of prudence, who would stir up a controversy with me to-day because I chance to speak of the adversary. But this objection of yours may be removed with few words, notwithstanding that you have supposed from this expression of mine that I shall allow that

there are these two natures. You have come forward with a most extravagant doctrine; for neither of the assertions made by you holds good.

For it is quite possible that one who is an adversary, not by nature, but by determination, may be made a friend, and cease to be an adversary; and thus, when the one of us has come to acquiesce with the other, we twain shall appear to be, as it were, one and the same object. This account also indicates that rational creatures have been entrusted with free-will, in virtue of which they also admit of conversions. And consequently there cannot be two unbegotten natures. What do you say, then? Are these two natures inconvertible? or are they convertible? or is one of them converted? Manes, however, held back, because he did not find a suitable reply; for he was pondering the conclusion which might be drawn from either of two answers which he might make, tutoring the matter over thus in his thoughts: If I say that they are converted, he will meet me with that statement which is recorded in the Gospel about the trees; but if I say that they are not convertible, he will necessarily ask me to explain the condition and cause of their intermingling. In the meantime, after a little delay, Manes replied: They are indeed both inconvertible in so far as contraries are concerned; but they are convertible as far as properties are concerned. Archelaus then said: You seem to me to be out of your mind, and oblivious of your own propositions;

yea, you do not appear even to recognise the powers or qualities of the very words which you have been learning. For you do not understand either what conversion is, or what is meant by unbegotten, or what duality implies, or what is past, or what is present, or what is future, as I have gathered from the opinions to which you have just now given expression. For you have affirmed, indeed, that each of these two natures is inconvertible so far as regards contraries, but convertible so far as regards properties. But I maintain that one who moves in properties does not pass out of himself, but subsists in these same properties, in which he is ever inconvertible; while in the case of one who is susceptible of conversion, the effect is that he is placed outside the pale of properties, and passes within the sphere of accidents. 16. The judges said: Convertibility translates the person whom it befalls into another; as, for example, we might say that if a Jew were to make up his mind to become a Christian, or, on the other hand, if a Christian were to decide to be a Gentile, this would be a species of convertibility, and a cause of the same. But, again, if we suppose a Gentile to keep by all his own heathen properties, and

to offer sacrifices to his gods, and to do service to the temples as usual, surely you would not be of opinion that he could be said to be converted, while he yet holds by his properties, and goes on in them? What, then, do you say? Do they sustain convertibility or not? And as Manes hesitated, Archelaus proceeded thus: If, indeed, he says that both natures are convertible, what is there to prevent our thinking them to be one and the same object? For if they are inconvertible, then surely in natures which are similarly inconvertible and similarly unbegotten there is no, distinction, neither can the one of them be recognised as good or as evil. But if they are both convertible, then, forsooth, the possible result may be both that the good is made evil, and that the evil is made good. If, however, this is the possible result, why should we not speak of one only as unbegotten, which would be a conception in worthier accordance with the reckoning of truth?

For we have to consider how that evil one became so at first, or against what objects he exercised his wickedness before the formation of the world. When the heavens had not yet appeared, when the earth did not yet subsist, and when there was neither man nor animal, against whom did he put his wickedness in operation? whom did he oppress unjustly? whom did he rob and kill? But if you say that he first appeared in his evil nature to his own kin, then without doubt you give the proof that he comes of a good nature. And if, again, all these are also evil, how can Satan then cast out Satan? But while thus reduced to a dilemma on this point, you may change your position in the discussion, and say that the good suffered violence from the evil. But none the more is it without peril for you to make such a statement, to the effect of affirming the vanquishing of the light; for what is vanquished has destruction near it. For what says the divine word? "Who can enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he be stronger than he?"

" But if you allege that he first appeared in his evil nature to men, and only from that time showed openly the marks of his wickedness, then it follows that before this time he was good, and that he took on tiffs quality of conversion because the creation of man was found to have emerged as the cause of his wickedness. But, in fine, let him tell us what he understands by evil, lest perchance he may be defending or setting up a mere name. And if it is not the name but the substance of evil that he speaks of, then let him set before us the fruits of tiffs wickedness and iniquity, since the nature of a tree can never be known but by its fruit. 17. Manes said: Let it first be allowed on

your side that there is an alien root of wickedness, which God has not planted, and then I shall tell you its fruits. Archelaus said: Truth's reckoning does not make any such requirement; and I shall not admit to you that there is a root of any such evil tree, of the fruit whereof no one has ever tasted. But just as, when a man desires to make any purchase, he does not produce the money unless he first ascertains by tasting the object whether it is of a dry or a moist species, so I shall not admit to you that the tree is evil and utterly corrupt, unless the quality of its fruit is first exhibited; for it is written, that "the tree is known by its fruits. Tell us, therefore, O Manes, what fruit is yielded by that tree which is called evil, or of what nature it is, and what virtue it is, that we may also believe with you that the root of that same tree is of that character which you ascribe to it. Manes said: The root indeed is evil, and the tree is most corrupt, but the increase is not from God. Moreover, fornications, adulteries, murders, avarice, and all evil deeds, are the fruits of that evil root. Archelaus said: That we may credit you when you say that these are the fruits of that evil root, give us a taste of these things;

for you have pronounced the substance of this tree to be ungenerate, the fruits of which are produced after its own likeness. Manes said: The very unrighteousness which subsists in men offers the proof itself, and in avarice too you may taste that evil root. Archelaus said: Well, then, as you have stated the question, those iniquities which prevail among men are fruits of this tree. Manes said: Quite so. Archelaus proceeded: If these, then, are the fruits, that is to say, the wicked deeds of men, it will follow that the men themselves will hold the place of the root and of the tree; for you have declared that they, produce fruits of this nature. Manes said: That is my statement. Archelaus answered: Not well say you, That is my statement: for surely that cannot be your statement; otherwise, when men cease from sinning, this tree of wickedness will appear to be unfruitful. Manes said: What you say is an impossibility; for even though one or another, or several, were to cease sinning, there would yet be others doing evil still. Archelaus said: If it is at all possible for one or another, or several, as you admit, not to sin, it is also possible for all to do the same; for they are all of one parent, and are all men of one lump. And, not to follow at my ease those affirmations which you have so confusedly made through all their absurdities, I shall conclude their refutation by certain unmistakeable counter-arguments.

Do you allege that the fruits of the evil root and the evil tree are the deeds of men, that is to say, fornications, adulteries, perjuries, murders, and other similar things? Manes said: I do. Archelaus said: Well, then, if it happened that the race of men was to die off the face of the earth, so that they should not be able to sin any more, the substance of that tree would then perish, and it would bear fruit no more. Manes said: And when will that take place of which you speak? Archelaus said: What is in the future I know not, for I am but a man; nevertheless I shall not leave these words of yours unexamined. What say you of the race of men? Is it unbegotten, or is it a production? Manes said: It is a production. Archelaus said: If man is a production, who is the parent of adultery and fornication, and such other things? Whose fruit is this? Before man was made, who was there to be a fornicator, or an adulterer, or a murderer? Manes said: But if the man is fashioned of the evil nature, it is manifest that he is such a fruit, albeit he may sin, albeit he may not sin; whence also the name and race of men are once for all and absolutely of this character, whether they may do what is righteous or what is unrighteous. Archelaus said: Well, we may also take notice of that matter.

If, as you aver the wicked one himself made man, why is it that he practises his malignity on him? 18. The judges said: We desire to have information from you on this point, Manichaeus, to wit, to what effect you have affirmed him to be evil. Do you mean that he has been so from the time when men were made, or before that period? For it is necessary that you should give some proof of his wickedness from the very time from which you declare him to have been evil, Be assured that the quality of a wine cannot be ascertained unless one first tastes it; and understand that, in like manner, every tree is known by its fruit. What say you, then? From what time has this personality been evil? For an explanation of this problem seems to us to be necessary. Manes said: He has always been so. Archelaus said: Well, then, I shall also show from this, most excellent friends, and most judicious auditors, that his statement is by no means correct. For iron, to take an example, has not been an evil thing always, but only from the period of man's existence, and since his art turned it to evil by applying it to false uses; and every sin has come into existence since the period of man's being. Even that great serpent himself was not evil previous to man, but only after man, in whom he displayed the fruit of his wickedness, because he willed it himself.

If, then, the father of wickedness makes his appearance to us after man has come into being, according to the Scriptures, how can he be unbegotten who has thus been constituted evil subsequently to man, who is himself a production? But, again, why should he exhibit himself as evil just from the period when, on your supposition, he did himself create man? What did he desire in him? If man's whole body was his own workmanship, what did he ardently affect in him? For one who ardently affects or desires, desires something which is different and better. If, indeed, man takes his origin from him in respect of the evil nature, we see how man was his own, as I have frequently shown. For if man was his own, he was also evil himself, just as it holds with our illustration of the like tree and the like fruit; for an evil tree, as you say, produces evil fruit. And seeing that all were evil, what did he desire, or in what could he show the beginning of his wickedness, if from the time of man's formation man was the cause of his wickedness? Moreover, the law and precept having been given to the man himself, the man had not by any means the power to yield obedience to the serpent, and to the statements which were made, by him; and had the man then yielded no obedience to him, what occasion would there have been for him to be evil?

But, again, if evil is unbegotten, how does it happen that man is sometimes found to be stronger than it? For, by obeying the law of God, he will often overcome every root of wickedness; and it would be a ridiculous thing if he, who is but the production, should be found to be stronger than the unbegotten. Moreover, whose is that law with its commandment—that commandment, I mean, which has been given to man? Without doubt it will be acknowledged to be God's. And how, then, can the law be given to an alien? or who can give his commandment to an enemy? Or, to speak of him who receives the commandment, how can he contend against the devil? that is to say, on this supposition, how can he contend against his own creator, as if the son, while he is a debtor to him for deeds of kindness, were to choose to inflict injuries on the father? Thus you but mark out the profitlessness of man on this side, if you suppose him to be contradicting by the law and commandment him who has made him, and to be making the effort to get the better of him. Yea, we shall have to fancy the devil himself to have gone to such an excess of folly, as not to have perceived that in making man he made an adversary for himself, and neither to have considered what might

be his future, nor to have foreseen the actual consequence of his act; whereas even in ourselves.

who are but productions, there are at least some small gifts of knowledge, and a measure of prudence, and a moderate degree of consideration, which is sometimes of a very trustworthy nature. And how, then, can we believe that in the unbegotten there is not some little portion of prudence, or consideration, or intelligence? Or how can we make the contrary supposition, according to your assertion, namely, that he is discovered to be of the most senseless apprehension, and the dullest heart and in short rather like the brutes in his natural constitution? But if the case stands thus, again, how is it that man, who is possessed of no insignificant power in mental capacity and knowledge, could have received his substance from one who thus is, of all beings, the most ignorant and the bluntest in apprehension? How shall any one be rash enough to profess that man is the workmanship of an author of this character? But, again, if man consists both of soul and of body, and not merely of body without soul, and if the one cannot subsist apart from the other, why will you assert that these two are antagonistic and contrary to each other? For our Lord Jesus Christ, indeed, seems to me to have spoken of these in His parables, when He said: "No man can put new wine into old bottles, else the bottles will break, and the wine run out.

But new wine is to be put into new bottles, as there is indeed one and the same Lord for the bottle and for the wine. For although the substance may be different, yet by these two substances, in their due powers, and in the maintenance of their proper mutual relations. the one person of man subsists. We do not say, indeed, that the soul is of one substance with the body, but we aver that they have each their own characteristic qualities; and as the bottle and the wine are applied in the similitude to one race and one species of men, so truth's reckoning requires us to grant that man was produced complete by the one God: for the soul rejoices in the body, and loves and cherishes it; and none the less does the body rejoice that it is quickened by the soul. But if, on the other hand, a person maintains that the body is the work of the wicked one, inasmuch as it is so corruptible, and antiquated, and worthless, it would follow then that it is incapable of sustaining the virtue of the spirit or the movement of the soul, and the most splendid creation of the same. For just as, when a person puts a piece of new cloth into an old garment, the rent is made worse; so also the body would perish if it were to be

associated, under such conditions, with that most brilliant production the soul. Or, to use another illustration:

just as, when a man carries the light of a lamp into a dark place the darkness is forthwith put to flight and makes no appearance; so we ought to understand that, on the soul's introduction into the body the darkness is straightway banished, and one nature at once effected, and one man constituted in one species. And thus, agreeably therewith, it will be allowed that the new wine is put into new bottles, and that the piece of new cloth is not put into the old garment. But from this we are able to show that there is a unison of powers in these two substances, that is to say, in that of the body and in that of the soul; of which unison that greatest teacher in the Scriptures, Paul, speaks, when he tells us, that "God hath set the members every one of them in the body as it hath pleased Him."

19. But if it seems difficult for you to understand this, and if you do not acquiesce in these statements, I may at all events try to make them good by adducing illustrations. Contemplate man as a kind of temple, according to the similitude of Scripture: the spirit that is in man may thus be likened to the image that dwells in the temple. Well, then, a temple cannot be constituted unless first an occupant is acknowledged for the temple; and, on the other hand, an occupant cannot be settled in the temple unless the structure has been erected. Now, since these two objects, the occupant and the structure, are both consecrated together, how can any antagonism or contrariety be found between them, and how should it not rather appear that they have both been the products of subjects that are in amity and of one mind? And that you may know that this is the case, and that these subjects are truly at one both in fellowship and in lineage, He who knows and hears all has made this response, "Let us make man," and so forth. For he who constructs the temple interrogates him who fashions the image, and I inquire carefully about the measurements of magnitude, and breadth, and bulk, in order that he may mark off the space for the foundations in accordance with these dimensions; and no one sets about the vain task of building a temple without first making himself acquainted with the measurement needed for the placing of the image.

In like manner, therefore, the mode and the measure of the body are made the subject of inquiry, in order that the soul may be appropriately lodged in it by God, the Artificer of all things. But if any one say that he who

has moulded the body is an enemy to the God who is the Creator of my soul, then how is it that, while regarding each other with a hostile eye, these two parties have not brought disrepute upon the work, by bringing it about either that he who constructs the temple should make it of such narrow dimensions as to render it incapable of accommodating what is placed within it, or that he who fashions the image should come with something so massive and ponderous, that, on its introduction into the temple, the edifice would at once collapse? If such is not the case, then, with these things, let us contemplate them in the light of what we know to be the objects and intents of antagonists. But if it is right for all to be disposed with the same measures and the same equity, and to be displayed with like glory, what doubt should we still entertain on this subject? We add, if it please you, this one illustration more.

Man appears to resemble a ship which has been constructed by the builder and launched into the deep, which, however, it is impossible to navigate without the rudder, by which it can be kept under command, and turned in whatsoever direction its steersman may wish to sail. Also, that the rudder and the whole body of the ship require the same artificer, is a matter admitting no doubt; for without the rudder the whole structure of the ship, that huge body, will be an inert mass. And thins, then, we say that the soul is the rudder of the body; that both these, moreover, are ruled by that liberty of judgment and sentiment which we possess, and which corresponds to the steersman; and that when these two are made one by, union, and thus possess a unison of function applicable to all kinds of work, whatever may be the products of their own operation, they bear a testimony to the fact that they have both one and the same author and maker.

20. On hearing these argumentations, the multitudes who were present were exceedingly delighted; so much so, indeed, that they were almost laying hands on Manes; and it was with difficulty that Archelaus restrained them, and kept them back, and made them quiet again. The judges said: Archelaus has given us proof sufficient of the fact that the body and soul of man are the works of one hand; because an object cannot subsist in any proper consonance and unison as the work of one hand, if there is any want of harmony in the design and plan. But if it is alleged that one could not possibly have sufficed to develop both these objects, namely, body and soul, this is simply to exhibit the incapacity of the artificer. For thus, even though one should

grant that the soul is the creation of a good deity, it will be found to be but an idle work so far as the man is concerned, unless it also takes to itself the body. And if, again, the body is held to be the formation of an evil deity, the work will also none the less be idle unless it receives the soul; and, in truth, unless the soul be in unison with the body by commixture and due introduction, so that the two are in mutual connections, the man will not exist, neither can we speak of him.

Hence we are of opinion that Archelaus has proved by a variety of illustrations that there is but one and the same maker for the whole man. Archelaus said: I doubt not, Manes, that you understand this, namely, that one who is born and created is called the son of him who begets or creates. But if the wicked one made man, then he ought to be his father, according to nature. And to whom, then, did the Lord Jesus address Himself, when in these terms He taught men to pray: "When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven; " and again, "Pray to your Father which is in secret? " But it was of Satan that He spoke when He said, that He "beheld him as lightning fall from heaven; " so that no one dare say that He taught us to pray to him. And surely Jesus did not come down from heaven with the purpose of bringing men together, and reconciling them to Satan; but, on the contrary, He gave him over to be bruised beneath the feet of His faithful ones. However, for my part, I would say that those Gentiles are the more blessed who do indeed bring in a multitude of deities, but at least hold them all to be of one mind, and in amity with each other; whereas this man, though he brings in but two gods, does not blush to posit enmities and discordant sentiments between them.

And, in sooth, if these Gentiles were to bring in their counterfeit deities under conditions of that kind, we would verily have it in our power to witness something like a gladiatorial contest proceeding between them, with their innumerable natures and diverse sentiments. 21. But now, what it is necessary for me to say on the subject of the inner and the outer man, may be expressed in the words of the Saviour to those who swallow a camel, and wear the outward garb of the hypocrite, begirt with blandishments and flatteries. It is to them that Jesus addresses Himself when He says: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of uncleanness. Or know you not, that He that made that which is without, made that which is within also? " Now why did He speak of the cup and of the platter? Was He who uttered

these words a glassworker, or a potter who made vessels of clay? Did He not speak most manifestly of the body and the soul? For the Pharisees truly looked to the "tithing of anise and cummin, and left undone the weightier matters of the law; " and while devoting great care to the things which were external, they overlooked those which bore upon the salvation of the soul. For they also had respect to "greetings in the market-place," and "to the uppermost seats at feasts: " and to them the Lord Jesus, knowing their perdition, made this declaration, that they attended to those things only which were without, and despised as strange things those which were within, and understood not that He who made the body made also the soul.

And who is so unimpressible and stolid in intellect, as not to see that those sayings of our Lord may suffice him for all cases? Moreover, it is in perfect harmony with these sayings that Paul speaks, when he interprets to the following intent certain things written in the law: "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that tread-eth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith He it altogether for our sakes? " But why should we waste further time upon this subject? Nevertheless I shall add a few things out of many that might be offered. Suppose now that there are two unbegotten principles, and that we determine fixed localities for these: it follows then that God is separated, if He is supposed to be within a certain location, and not diffused everywhere; and He will consequently be represented as much inferior to the locality in which He is understood to be for the object which contains is always greater than the object which is contained in it: and thus God is made to be of that magnitude which corresponds with the magnitude of the locality in which He is contained, just as is the case with a man in a house. Then, further, reason asks who it is that has divided between them, or who has appointed for them their determinate limits; and thus both would be made out to be the decided inferiors of man's own power.

For Lysimachus and Alexander held the empire of the whole world, and were able to subdue all foreign nations, and the whole race of then; so that throughout that period there was no other in possession of empire besides themselves under heaven. And how will any one be rash enough to say that God, who is the true light that never suffers eclipse, and whose is also the kingdom that is holy and everlasting, is not everywhere present, as is the way with this most depraved man, who, in his impiety, refuses to ascribe to the Omnipotent God even equal power with men? 22. The judges said: We know

that a light shines through the whole house, and not in some single part of it; as Jesus also intimates when He says, that "no man lighting a candle puts it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that it may give light unto all that are in the house. If, then, God is a light, it must needs be that light (if Jesus is to be credited) shall shine on the whole world, and not on any portions of it merely. And if, then, that light holds possession of the whole world, where now can there be any ungenerated darkness? or how can darkness be understood to exist at all, unless it is something simply accidental? Archelaus said: Forasmuch, indeed, as the word of the Gospel is understood much better by you than by this person who puts himself forward as the Paraclete, although I could call him rather parasite than paraclete, I shall tell you how it has happened that there is darkness. When the light had been diffused everywhere, God began to constitute the universe, and commenced with the heaven and the earth; in which process this issue appeared, to wit, that the midst, which is the locality of earth covered with shadow, as a consequence of the interposition of the creatures which were called into being, was found to be obscure, in such wise that circumstances required light to be introduced into that place, which was thus situated in the midst.

Hence in Genesis, where Moses gives an account of the construction of the world, he makes no mention of the darkness either as made or as not made. But he keeps silence on that subject, and leaves the explanation of it to be discovered by those who may be able to give proper attention to it. Neither, indeed, is that a very arduous and difficult task. For to whom may it not be made plain that this sun of ours is visible, when it has risen in the east, and taken its course toward the west, but that when it has gone beneath the earth, and been carried farther within that formation which among the Greeks is called the sphere, it then ceases to appear, being overshadowed in darkness in consequence of the interposition of the bodies? When it is thus covered, and when the body of the earth stands opposite it, a shadow is superinduced, which produces from itself the darkness; and it continues so until again, after the course of the inferior space has been traversed in the night, it rolls towards the east, and is seen to rise once more in its wonted seats. Thus, then, the cause of the shadow and the night is discovered in the solidity of the body of the earth,-a thing, indeed, which a man may understand from the fact of the shadow cast by his own body.

For before the heaven and the earth and all those corporeal creatures appeared, the light remained always constant, without waning or eclipse, as there existed no body which might produce shadow by its opposition or intervention; and consequently one must say that nowhere was there darkness then, and nowhere night. For if, to take an illustration, it should please Him who has the power of all things to do away with the quarter which lies to the west, then, as the sun would not direct its course toward that region, there would nowhere emerge either evening or darkness, but the sun would be on its course always, and would never set, but would almost always hold the centre tract of heaven, and would never cease to appear; and by this the whole world would be illumined with the clearest light, in virtue of which no part of it would suffer obscuration, but the equal power of one light would remain everywhere. But on the other hand, while the western quarter keeps its position, and the sun executes its course in three parts of the world, then those who are under the sun will be seen to be illuminated more brightly; so that I might almost say, that while the people who belong to the diverse tract are still asleep, those former are in possession of the day's beginning.

But just as those Orientals have the light rising on them earlier than the people who live in the west, so they have it also more quickly obscured, and they only who are settled in the middle of the globe see always an equality of light. For when the sun occupies the middle of the heavens, there is no place that can appear to be either brighter or darker (than another), but all parts of the world are illuminated equally and impartially by the sun's effulgence. If, then, as we have said above, that portion of the western tract were done away with, the part which is adjacent to it would now no more suffer obscuration. And these things I could indeed set forth somewhat more simply, as I might also describe the zodiacal circle; but I have not thought of looking into these matters at present. I shall therefore say nothing of these, but shall revert to that capital objection urged by my adversary, in his affirming so strenuously that the darkness is ungenerated; which position, however, has also been confuted already, as far as that could have been done by us.

23. The judges said: If we consider that the light existed before the estate of the creatures was introduced, and that there was no object in an opposite position which might generate shadow, it must follow that the light was then diffused everywhere, and that all places were illuminated with its efful-

gence, as has been shown by what you have stated just now; and as we perceive that the true explanation is given in that, we assign the palm to the affirmations of Archelaus. For if the universe is clearly divided, as if some wall had been drawn through the centre of it, and if on the one side the light dwells, and on the other side the darkness, it is yet to be understood that this darkness has been brought accidentally about through the shadow generated in consequence of the objects which have been set up in the world; and hence again we must ask who it is that has built this wall between the two divisions, provided you indeed admit the existence of such a construction, O Manichaeus. But if we have to take account of this matter on the supposition that no such wall has been built, then again it comes to be understood that the universe forms but one locality, without any exception, and is placed under one power; and if so, then the darkness can in no way have an ungenerated nature. Archelaus said: Let him also explain the following subject with a view to what has been propounded.

If God is seated in His kingdom, and if the wicked one in like manner is seated in his kingdom, who can have constructed the wall between them? For no object can divide two substances except one that is greater than either, even as it is said in the book of Genesis, that "God divided the light from the darkness. Consequently the constructor of this wall must also be some one of a capacity like that: for the wall marks the boundaries of these two parties, just as among people who dwell in the rural parts a stone is usually taken to mark off the portion of each several party; which custom, however, would afford a better apprehension of the case were we to take the division to refer specially to the marking out of an inheritance failing to brothers. But for the present I have not to speak of matters like these, however essential they may appear. For what we are in quest of is an answer to the question, Who can have constructed the wall required for the designation of the limits of the kingdom of each of these twain? No answer has been given. Let not this perfidious fellow hesitate, but let him now acknowledge that the substance of his duality has been reduced again to a unity. Let him mention any one who can have constructed that middle wall. What could the one of these two parties have been engaged in when the other was building? Was he asleep? or was he ignorant of the fact?

or was he unable to withstand the attempt? or was he bought over with a price? Tell us what he was about, or tell us who in all the universe was the per-

son that raised the construction. I address my appeal to you, O judges, whom God has sent to us with the fullest plenitude of intelligence; judge ye which of these two could have erected the structure, or what the one could have been doing all the while that the other was engaged in the building. 24. The judges said: Tell us, O Manes, who designated the boundaries for the kingdom of each, and who made the middle wall? For Archelaus begs that due importance be attached, to the practice of interrogation in this discussion. Manes said: The God who is good, and who has nothing in common with evil, placed the firmament in the midst, in order to make it plain that the wicked one is an alien to Him. Archelaus said: How fearfully you belie the dignity of that name! You do indeed call Him God, but you do so in name only, and you make His deity resemble man's infirmities. At one time out of the non-existent, and at another time out of underlying matter, which indeed thus existed before Himself, you assert that He did build the structure, as builders among men are wont to do. Sometimes also you speak of Him as apprehensive, and sometimes as variable. It is, however, the part of God to do what is proper to God, and it is the part of man to do what is proper to man. If, then, God, as you say, has constructed a wall, this is a God who marks Himself out as apprehensive, and as possessed of no fortitude.

For we know that it is always the case that those who are suspicious of the preparation of secret perils against them by strangers, and who are afraid of the plots of enemies, are accustomed to surround their cities with walls, by which procedure they at once secure themselves in their ignorance, and display their feeble capacity. But here, too, we have something which ought not to be passed over by us in silence, but rather brought prominently forward; so that even by the great abundance of our declarations on the subject our adversary's manifold craftiness may be brought to nought, with the help of the truth on our side. We may grant, then, that the structure of the wall has been made with the purpose of serving to distinguish between the two kingdoms; for without this one division it is impossible for either of them to have his own proper kingdom. But granting this, then it follows further that in the same manner it will also be impossible for the wicked one to pass without his own proper limits and invade the territories of the good King, inasmuch as the wall stands there as an obstacle, unless it should chance first to be cast down, for we have heard that such things have been done by enemies, and indeed with our own eyes we have quite recently seen an achieve-

ment of that nature successfully carried out. And when a king attacks a citadel surrounded by a strong wall, he uses first of all the ballista and projectiles;

then he endeavours to cut through the gates with axes, and to demolish the walls by the battering-rams; and when he at last obtains an entrance, and gains possession of the place, he does whatever he listeth, whether it be his pleasure to carry off the citizens into captivity, or to make a complete destruction of the fortress and its contents, or whether, on the other hand, it may be his will to grant indulgence to the captured stronghold on the humble suit of the conquered. What, then, does my opponent here say to this analogy? Did no adversary substantially—which is as much as to say, designedly—overthrow the muniment cast up between the two? For in his former statements he has avouched that the darkness passed without its own limits, and supervened upon the kingdom of the good God. Who, then, overthrew that munition before the one could thus have crossed over to the other? For it was impossible for the evil one to find any entrance while the munition stood fast. Why are you silent? Why do you hesitate, Manichaeus? Yet, although you may hold back, I shall proceed with the task of my own accord. For if we suppose you to say that God destroyed it, then I have to ask what moved Him in this way to demolish the very thing which He had Himself previously constructed on account of the importunity of the wicked one, and for the purpose of preserving the separation between them?

In what fit of passion, or under what sense of injury, did He thus set about contending against Himself? Or was it that He lusted after some of the possessions of the wicked one? But if none of these things formed the real cause that led God to destroy those very things which He had constructed a long time before with the view of estranging and separating the wicked one from Him, then it must needs be considered no matter of surprise if God should also have become delighted with his society; for, on your supposition, the munition which had been set up with the purpose of securing God against trouble from him, will appear to have been removed just because now he is to be regarded no more as an enemy, but as a friend. And, on the other hand, if you aver that the wall was destroyed by the wicked one, tell Us then how it can be possible for the works of the good God to be mastered by the wicked one. For if that is possible, then the evil nature will be proved to be stronger than God. Furthermore, how can that being, seeing that he is pure and total

darkness, surprise the light and apprehend it, while the evangelist gives us the testimony that "the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not?" How is this blind one armed? How does the darkness fight against the kingdom of light?

For even as the creatures of God here cannot take in the rays of the sun with uninjured eye, so neither can that being bear the clear vision of the kingdom of light, but he remains for ever a stranger to it, and an alien. 25. Manes said: Not all receive the word of God, but only those to whom it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. And even now I know who are ours; for "my sheep," He says, "hear my voice. For the sake of those who belong to us, and to whom is given the understanding of the truth, I shall speak in similitudes. The wicked one is like a lion that sought to steal upon the flock of the good shepherd; and when the shepherd saw this, he dug a huge pit, and took one kid out of the flock and cast it into the pit. Then the lion, hungering to get at it, and bursting with passion to devour it, ran up to the pit and fell in, and discovered no strength sufficient to bring him out again. And thereupon the shepherd seized him and shut him up carefully in a den, and at the same time secured the safety of the kid which had been with him in the pit. And it is in this way that the wicked one has been enfeebled, -the lion, so to speak, possessing no more capacity for doing aught injurious; and so all the race of souls will be saved, and what once perished will yet be restored to its proper flock. Archelaus said: If you compare the wicked one to the lion, and God to the true shepherd, tell us, whereunto shall we liken the sheep and the kid? Manes said:

The sheep and the kid seem to me to be of one nature: and they are taken as figures of souls. Archelaus said: Well, then, God gave a soul over to perdition when He set it before the lion in the pit. Manes said: By no means; far from it. But He was moved by a particular disposition, and in the future He will save that other, the soul. Archelaus said: Now, surely it would be an absurd procedure, my hearers, if a shepherd who dreaded the inroad of a lion were to expose to the beast's devouring fury a lamb that he was wont to carry in his bosom, and if it were then to be said that he meant to save the creature hereafter. Is not this something supremely ridiculous? Yea, there is no kind of sense in this. For an the supposition implied in your similitude God thus handed over to Satan a soul that he might seize and ruin. But when did the shepherd ever do anything like that? Did not David deliver a sheep out of the

mouth of a lion or of a bear? And we mention this on account of the expression, out of the mouth of the lion; for, on your theory, this would imply that the shepherd can bring forth out of the mouth of the lion, or out of the belly of the same, the very object which it has devoured.

But you will perhaps make this answer, that it is of God we speak, and that He is able to do all things. Hear, however, what I have to say to that: Why then do you not rather assert His real capacity, and affirm simply His ability to overcome the lion in His own might, or with the pure power of God, and without the help of any sort of cunning devices, or by consigning a kid or a lamb to a pit? Tell me this, too, if the lion were to be supposed to come upon the shepherd at a time when he has no sheep, what would the consequence be? For he who is here called the shepherd is supposed to be unbegotten, and he who is here the lion is also unbegotten. Wherefore, when man did not yet exist—in other words, before the shepherd had a flock—if the lion had then come upon the shepherd, what would have followed, seeing that there could have been nothing for the lion to eat before the kid was in existence? Manes said: The lion certainly had nothing to devour, but yet he exercised his wickedness on whatever he was able to light upon as he coursed over the peaks of the mountains; and if at any time food was a matter of necessity with him, he seized some of the beasts which were under his own kingdom. Archelaus said:

Are these two objects, then, of one substance—the beasts which are under the kingdom of the wicked one, and the kids which are in the kingdom of the good God? Manes said: Far from it; not at all: they have nothing in common either between themselves or between the properties which pertain to them severally. Archelaus said: There is but one and the same use made of the food in the lion's eating. And though he sometimes got that food from the beasts belonging to himself, and sometimes from those belonging to the good God, there is still no difference between them as far as regards the meats furnished; and from this it is apparent that those are of but one substance. On the other hand, if we say that there is a great difference between the two, we do but ascribe ignorance to the shepherd, in so far as he did not present or set before the lion food adapted to his use, but rather alien meats. Or perchance again, in your desire to dissemble your real position, you will say to me that lion ate nothing. Well, supposing that to be the case, did God then in this way challenge that being to devour a soul while he knew not

how to devour aught? and was the pit not the only thing which God sought to employ with the view of cheating him?-if indeed it is at all worthy of God to do that sort of thing, or to contrive deceitful schemes.

And that would be to act like a king who, when war is made upon him, puts no kind of confidence in his own strength, but gets paralyzed with the fears of his own feebleness, and shuts himself up within the walls of his city, and erects around him a rampart and other fortifications, and gets them all equipped, and trusts nothing to his own hand and prowess; whereas, if he is a brave man, the king so placed will march a great distance from his own territories to meet the enemy there, and will put forth every possible exertion until he conquers and brings his adversary into his power. 26. The judges said: If you allege that the shepherd exposed the kid or the lamb to the lion, when the said lion was meditating an assault on the unbegotten, the case is closed. For seeing that the shepherd of the kids and lambs is himself proved to be in fault to them, on what creature can he pronounce judgment, if it happens that the lamb which has been given up through the shepherd's weakness has proved unable to withstand the lion, and if the consequence is that the lamb has had to do whatever has been the lion's pleasure? Or, to take another instance, that would be just as if a master were to drive out of his house, or deliver over in terror to his adversary, one of his slaves, whom he is unable afterwards to recover by his own strength. Or supposing that by any chance it were to come about that the slave was recovered, on what reasonable ground could the master inflict the torture on him, if it should turn out that the man yielded obedience to all that the enemy laid upon him, seeing that it was the master himself who gave him up to the enemy, just as the kid was given up to the lion? You affirm, too, that the shepherd understood the whole case beforehand. Surely, then, the lamb, when under the lash, and interrogated by the shepherd as to the reason why it had submitted to the lion in these matters, would make some such answer as this:

"Thou didst thyself deliver me over to the lion, and thou didst offer no resistance to him, although thou didst know and foresee what would be my lot, when it was necessary for me to yield myself to his commandments. And, not to dilate on this at greater length, we may say that by such an illustration neither is God exhibited as a perfect shepherd, nor is the lion shown to have tasted alien meats; and consequently, under the instruction of the truth itself, it has been made clear that we ought to give the palm to the

reasonings adduced by Archelaus. Archelaus said: Considering that, on all the points which we have hitherto discussed, the thoughtfulness of the judges has assigned us the amplest scope, it will be well for us to pass over other subjects in silence, and reserve them for another period. For just as, if a person once crushes the head of a serpent, he will not need to lop off any of the other members of its body; so, if we once dispose of this question of the duality, as we have endeavoured to do to the best of our ability, other matters which have been maintained in connection with it may be held to be exploded along with it. Nevertheless I shall yet address myself, at least in a few sentences, to the assertor of these opinions himself, who is now in our presence;

so that it may be thoroughly understood by all who he is, and whence he comes, and what manner of person he proves himself to be. For he has given out that he is that Paraclete whom Jesus on His departure promised to send to the race of man for the salvation of the souls of the faithful; and this profession he makes as if he were somewhat superior even to Paul, who was an elect vessel and a called apostle, and who on that ground, while preaching the true doctrine, said: "Or seek ye a proof of that Christ who speaks in me?" What I have to say, however, may become clearer by such an illustration as the following: -A certain man gathered into his store a very large quantity of corn, so that the place was perfectly full. This place he shut and sealed in a thoroughly satisfactory fashion, and gave directions to keep careful watch over it. And the master himself then departed. However, after a lengthened lapse of time another person came to the store, and affirmed that he had been despatched by the individual who had locked up and sealed the place with a commission also to collect and lay up a quantity of wheat in the same.

And when the keepers of the store saw him, they demanded of him his credentials, in the production of the signet, in order that they might assure themselves of their liberty to open the store to him and to render their obedience to him as to one sent by the person who had sealed the place. And when he could neither exhibit the keys nor produce the credentials of the signet, for indeed he had no right, he was thrust out by the keepers, and compelled to flee. For instead of being what he professed to be, he was detected to be a thief and a robber by them, and was convicted and found out through the circumstance that, although, as it seemed, he had taken it into his head to make his appearance a long time after the period that had been determined on beforehand, he yet could neither produce keys, or signet, or

any token whatsoever to the keepers, nor display any knowledge of the quantity of corn that was in store: all which things were so many unmistakable proofs that he had not been sent across by the proper owner; and accordingly, as was matter of course, he was forbidden admittance by the keepers.

27. We may give yet another illustration, if it seems good to you. A certain man, the head of a household, and possessed of great riches, was minded to journey abroad for a time, and promised to his sons that he would send them some one who would take his place, and divide among them equally the substance falling to them. And, in truth, not long after that, he did despatch to them a certain trustworthy and righteous and true man. And on his arrival, this man took charge of the whole substance, and first of all exerted himself to arrange it and administer it, giving himself great labour in journeying, and even working diligently with his own hands, and toiling like a servant for the good of the estate. Afterwards feeling that his end was at hand, the man wrote out a will, demitting the inheritance to the relations and all the next of kin; and he gave them his seals, and called them together one by one by name, and charged them to preserve the inheritance, and to take care of the substance, and to administer it rightly, even as they had received it, and to take their use of its goods and fruits, as they were themselves left its owners and heirs. If, moreover, any person were to ask to be allowed to benefit by the fruits of this field, they were to show themselves indulgent to such.

But if, on the other hand, any one were to declare himself partner in the heirship with them, and were to make his demands on that ground, they were to keep aloof from him, and pronounce him an alien; and further, they were to hold that the individual who desired to be received among them ought all the more on that account to do work. Well, then, granting that all these things have been well and rightly disposed of and settled, and that they have continued in that condition for a very long time, how shall we deal with one who presents himself well-nigh three hundred years after, and sets up his claim to the heirship? Shall we not cast him off from us? Shall we not justly pronounce such a one an alien—one who cannot prove himself to have belonged to those related to our Master, who never was with our departed Lord in the hour of His sickness, who never walked in the funeral procession of the Crucified, who never stood by the sepulchre, who has no knowledge

whatsoever of the manner or the character of His departure, and who, in fine, is now desirous of getting access to the storehouse of corn without presenting any token from him who placed it under lock and seal? Shall we not cast him off from us like a robber and a thief, and thrust him out of our number by all possible means?

Yet this man is now in our presence, and falls to produce any of the credentials which we have summarized in what we have already said, and declares that he is the Paraclete whose mission was presignified by Jesus. And by this assertion, in his ignorance perchance, he will make out Jesus Himself to be a liar; for thus He who once said that He would send the Paraclete no long time after, will be proved only to have sent this person, if we accept the testimony which he bears to himself, after an interval of three hundred years and more. In the day of judgment, then, what will those say to Jesus who have departed this life from that time on to the present period? Will they not meet Him with words like these: "Do not punish us rigorously if we have failed to do Thy works. For why, when Thou didst promise to send the Paraclete under Tiberius Caesar, to convince us of sin and of righteousness, didst Thou send Him only under Probus the Roman emperor, and didst leave us orphaned, notwithstanding that Thou didst say, 'I will not leave you comfortless (orphaned),' and after Thou hadst also assured us that Thou wouldst send the Paraclete presently after Thy departure? What could we orphans do, having no guardian? We have committed no fault; it is Thou that hast deceived us. But away with such a supposition in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of every soul.

For He did not confine Himself to mere promises; but when He had once said, "I go to my Father, and I send the Paraclete to you," straightway He sent (that gift of the Paraclete), dividing and imparting the same to His disciples, bestowing it, however, in greater fulness upon Paul. 28. Manes said: You are caught in the charge you yourself bring forward. For you have been speaking now against yourself, and have not perceived that, in trying to cast reproaches in my teeth, you lay yourself under the greater fault. Tell me this now, I pray you: if, as you allege, those who have died from the time of Tiberius on to the days of Probus are to say to Jesus, "Do not judge us if we have failed to do Thy works, for Thou didst not send the Paraclete to us, although Thou didst promise to send Him;" will not those much more use such an address who have departed this life from the time of Moses on to the

advent of Christ Himself? And will not those with still greater right express themselves in terms like these: "Do not deliver us over to torments, seeing that we had no knowledge of Thee imparted to us?" And will it only be those that have died thus far previously to His advent who may be seen making such a charge with right? Will not those also do the same who have passed away from Adam's time on to Christ's advent? For none of these either obtained any knowledge of the Paraclete, or received instruction in the doctrine of Jesus. But only this latest generation of men, which has run its course from Tiberius onward, as you make it out, is to be saved: for it is Christ Himself that "has re-deemed them from the curse of the law;

" as Paul, too, has given these further testimonies, that "the letter killeth, and quickeneth no man," and that "the law is the ministration of death," and "the strength of sin. Archelaus said: You err, not knowing the Scriptures, neither the power of God. For many have also perished after the period of Christ's advent on to this present period, and many are still perishing, -those, to wit, who have not chosen to devote themselves to works of righteousness; whereas only those who have received Him, and yet receive Him, "have obtained power to become the sons of God. For the evangelist has not said all have obtained that power; neither, on the other hand, however, has he put any limit on the time. But this is his expression: "As many as received Him. Moreover, from the creation of the world He has ever been with righteous men, and has never ceased to require their blood at the hands of the wicked, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias. And whence, then, did righteous Abel and all those succeeding worthies, who are enrolled among the righteous, derive their righteousness when as yet there was no law of Moses, and when as yet the prophets had not arisen and discharged the functions of prophecy? Were they not constituted righteous in virtue of their fulfilling the law, "every one of them showing the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing them witness?

" For when a man "who has not the law does naturally the things contained in the law, he, not having the law, is a law unto himself. And consider now the multitude of laws thus existing among the several righteous men who lived a life of uprightness, at one time discovering for themselves the law of God implanted in their hearts, at another learning of it from their parents, and yet again being instructed in it further by the ancients and the elders. But inasmuch as dull, few were able to rise by this medium to the

height of righteousness, that is to say, by means of the traditions of parents, when as yet there was no law embodied in writing, God had compassion on the race of man. and was pleased to give through Moses a written law to men, since verily the equity of the natural law filled to be retained in all its perfection in their hearts. In consonance, therefore, with man's first creation, a written legislation was prepared which was given through Moses in behoof of the salvation of very many. For if we reckon that man is justified without the works of the law, and if Abraham was counted righteous, how much more shall those obtain righteousness who have fulfilled the law which contains the things that are expedient for men?

And seeing that you have made mention only of three several scriptures, in terms of which the apostle has declared that "the law is a ministration of death," and that "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law," and that "the law is the strength of sin," you may now advance others of like tenor, and bring forward any passages which may seem to you to be written against the law, to any extent you please. 29. Manes said: Is not that word also to the same effect which Jesus spake to the disciples, when He was demonstrating those men to be unbelieving: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do?" By this He means, in sooth, that whatever the wicked prince of this world desired, and whatever he lusted after, he committed to writing through Moses, and by that medium gave it to men for their doing. For "he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it. Archelaus said: Are you satisfied with what you have already adduced, or have you other statements still to make? Manes said: I have, indeed, many things to say, and things of greater weight even than these. But with these I shall content myself. Archelaus said: By all means. Now let us select some instance from among those statements which you allege to be on your side; so that if these be once found to have been properly dealt with, other questions may also be held to rank with them; and if the case goes otherwise, I shall come under the condemnation of the judges, that is to say, I shall have to bear the shame of defeat.

You say, then, that the law is a ministration of death, and you admit that "death, the prince of this world, reigned from Adam even to Moses;" for the word of Scripture is this: "even over them that did not sin. Manes said: Without doubt death did reign thus, for there is a duality, and these two ant-

agonistic powers were nothing else than both unbegotten. Archelaus said: Tell me this then,—how can an unbegotten death take a beginning at a certain time? For "from Adam" is the word of Scripture, and not "before Adam. Manes said: But tell me, I ask you in turn, how it obtained its kingdom over both the righteous and the sinful. Archelaus said: When you have first admitted that it has had that kingdom from a determinate time and not from eternity, I shall tell you that. Manes said: It is written, that "death reigned from Adam to Moses. Archelaus said: And consequently it has an end, because it has had a beginning in time. And this saying is also true, that "death is swallowed up in victory. It is apparent, then, that death cannot be unbegotten, seeing that it is shown to have both a beginning and an end. Manes said: But in that way it would also follow that God was its maker. Archelaus said: By no means; away with such a supposition! "For God made not death; neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living. Manes said: God made it not;

nevertheless it was made, as you admit. Tell us, therefore, from whom it received its empire, or by whom it was created. Archelaus said: If I give the most ample proof of the fact that death cannot have the substance of an unbegotten nature, will you not confess that there is but one God, and that an unbegotten God? Manes said: Continue your discourse, for your aim is to speak with subtlety. Archelaus said: Nay, but you have put forward those allegations in such a manner, as if they were to serve you for a demonstration of an unbegotten root. Nevertheless the positions which we have discussed above may suffice us, for by these we have shown most fully that it is impossible for the substances of two unbegotten natures to exist together. 30. The judges said: Speak to those points, Archelaus, which he has just now propounded. Archelaus said: By the prince of the world, and the wicked one, and darkness, and death, he means one and the same thing, and alleges that the law has been given by that being, on the ground of the scriptural statement that it is "the ministration of death," as well as on the ground of other things which he has urged against it. Well, then, I say that since, as we have explained above, the law which was written naturally on men's hearts did not keep carefully by the memory of evil things, and since there was not a sufficiently established tradition among the elders, inasmuch as hostile oblivion always attached itself to the memory, and one man was instructed in the knowledge of that law by master, and another by himself, it easily came

about that transgressions of the law engraved by nature did take place, and that through the violation of the commandments death obtained its kingship among men. For the race of men is of such a nature, that it needs to be ruled by God with a rod of iron. And so death triumphed and reigned with all its power on to Moses, even over those who had not sinned, in the way which we have explained: over sinners indeed, as these were its proper objects, and under subjection to it, -men after the type of Cain and Judas; but also over the righteous, because they refused to consent to it, and rather withstood it, by putting away from themselves the vices and concupiscence of lusts, -men like those who have arisen at times from Abel on to Zacharias; - death thus always passing, up to the time of Moses, upon those after that similitude.

But after Moses had made his appearance, and had given the law to the children of Israel, and had brought into their memory all the requirements of the law, and all that it behoved men to observe and do under it, and when he delivered over to death only those who should transgress the law, then death was cut off from reigning over all men; for it reigned then over sinners alone, as the law said to it, "Touch not those that keep my precepts. Moses therefore served the ministration of this word upon death, while he delivered up to destruction all others who were transgressors of the law; for it was not with the intent that death might not reign in any territory at all that Moses came, inasmuch as multitudes were assuredly held under the power of death even after Moses. And the law was called a "ministration of death" from the fact that then only transgressors of the law were punished, and not those who kept it, and who obeyed and observed the things which are in the law, as Abel did, whom Cain, who was made a vessel of the wicked one, slew. However, even after these things death wished to break the covenant which had been made by the instrumentality of Moses, and to reign again over the righteous; and with this object it did indeed assail the prophets, killing and stoning those who had been sent by God, on to Zacharias.

But my Lord Jesus, as maintaining the righteousness of the law of Moses, was wroth with death for its transgression of the covenant and of that whole ministration, and condescended to appear in the body of man, with the view of avenging not Himself, but Moses, and those who in a continuous succession after him had been oppressed by the violence of death. That wicked one, however, in ignorance of the meaning of a dispensation of this kind, entered

into Judas, thinking to slay Him by that man's means, as before he had put righteous Abel to death. But when he had entered into Judas, he was overcome with penitence, and hanged himself; for which reason also the divine word says: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?" And again: "Death is swallowed up of victory. It is for this reason, therefore, that the law is called a "ministration of death" because it delivered sinners and transgressors over to death; but those who observed it, it defended from death; and these it also established in glory, by the help and aid of our Lord Jesus Christ.

31. Listen also to what I have to say on this other expression which has been adduced, viz., "Christ, who redeemed us from the curse of the law. My view of this passage is that Moses, that illustrious servant of God, committed to those who wished to have the right vision, an emblematic law, and also a real law. Thus, to take an example, after God had made the world, and all things that are in it, in the space of six days, He rested on the seventh day from all His works by which statement I do not mean to affirm that He rested because He was fatigued, but that He did so as having brought to its perfection every creature which He had resolved to introduce. And yet in the sequel it, the new law, says: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Does that mean, then, that He is still making heaven, or sun, or man, or animals, or trees, or any such thing? Nay; but the meaning is, that when these visible objects were perfectly finished, He rested from that kind of work; while, however, He still continues to work at objects invisible with an inward mode of action, and saves men. In like manner, then, the legislator desires also that every individual amongst us should be devoted unceasingly to this kind of work, even as God Himself is; and he enjoins us consequently to rest continuously from secular things, and to engage in no worldly sort of work whatsoever; and this is called our Sabbath.

This also he added in the law, that nothing senseless should be done but that we should be careful and direct our life in accordance with what is just and righteous. Now this law was suspended over men, discharging most sharply its curse against those who might transgress it. But because its subjects, too, were but men, and because, as happens also frequently I with us, controversies arose and injuries were inflicted, the law likewise at once, and with the severest equity, made any wrong that was done return upon the head of the wrong-doer; so that, for instance, if a poor man was minded to

gather a bundle of wood upon the Sabbath, he was placed under the curse of the law, and exposed to the penalty of instant death. The men, therefore, who had been brought up with the Egyptians were thus severely pressed by the restrictive power of the law, and they were unable to bear the penalties and the curses of the law. But, again, He who is ever the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, came and delivered those men from these pains and curses of the law, forgiving them their offences. And He indeed did not deal with them as Moses did, putting the severities of the law in force, and granting indulgence to no man for any offence;

but He declared that if any man suffered an injury at the hands of his neighbour, he was to forgive him not once only, nor even twice or thrice, nor only seven times, but even unto seventy times seven; but that, on the other hand, if after all this the offender still continued to do such wrong, he ought then, as the last resource, to be brought under the law of Moses, and that no further pardon should be granted to the man who would thus persist in wrong-doing, even after having been forgiven unto seventy times seven. And He bestowed His forgiveness not only on a transgressor of such a character as that, but even on one who did offence to the Son of man. But if a man dealt thus with the Holy Spirit, He made him subject to two curses, - namely, to that of the law of Moses, and to that of His own law; to the law of Moses in truth in this present life, but to His own law at the time of the judgment: for His word is this: "It shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. There is the law of Moses, thus, that in this world gives pardon to no such person; and there is the law of Christ that punishes in the future world. From this, therefore, mark how He confirms the law, not only not destroying it, but fulfilling it.

Thus, then, He redeemed them from that curse of the law which belongs to the present life; and from this fact has come the appellation "the curse of the law. This is the whole account which needs be given of that mode of speech. But, again, why the law is called the "strength of sin, we shall at once explain in brief to the best of our ability. Now it is written that "the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners. In these times, then, before Moses, there was no written law for transgressors; whence also Pharaoh, not knowing the strength of sin, transgressed in the way of afflicting the children of Israel with unrighteous burdens, and despised the Godhead, not only himself, but

also all who were with him. But, not to make any roundabout statement, I shall explain the matter briefly as follows. There were certain persons of the Egyptian race mingling with the people of Moses, when that people was under his rule in the desert; and when Moses had taken his position on the mount, with the purpose of receiving the law, the impatient people, I do not mean those who were the true Israel, but those who had been intermixed with the Egyptians, set up a calf as their god, in accordance with their ancient custom of worshipping idols, with the notion that by such means they might secure themselves against ever having to pay the proper penalties for their iniquities.

Thus were they altogether ignorant of the strength of their sin. But when Moses returned (from the mount) and found that out, he issued orders that those men should be put to death with the sword. From that occasion a beginning was made ill the correct perception of the strength of sin on the part of these persons through the instrumentality of the law of Moses, and for that reason the law has been called the "strength of sin." 32. Moreover, as to this word which is written in the Gospel, "Ye are of your father the devil," and so forth, we say in brief that there is a devil working in us, whose aim it has been, in the strength of his own will, to make us like himself. For all the creatures that God made, He made very good; and He gave to every individual the sense of free-will, in accordance with which standard He also instituted the law of judgment. To sin is ours, and that we sin not is God's gift, as our will is constituted to choose either to sin or not to sin. And this you doubtless understand well enough yourself, Manes; for you know that, although you were to bring together all your disciples and admonish them not to commit any transgression or do any unrighteousness, every one of them might still pass by the law of judgment. And certainly whosoever will, may keep the commandments; and whosoever shall despise them, and turn aside to what is contrary to them, shall yet without doubt have to face this law of judgment. Hence also certain of the angels, refusing to submit themselves to the commandment of God, resisted His will; and one of them indeed fell like a flash of lightning upon the earth, while others, harassed by the dragon, sought their felicity in intercourse with the daughters of men, and thus brought on themselves the merited award of the punishment of eternal fire.

And that angel who was cast down to earth, finding no further admittance into any of the regions of heaven, now flaunts about among men, deceiving them, and luring them to become transgressors like himself, and even to this day he is an adversary to the commandments of God. The example of his fall and ruin, however, will not be followed by all, inasmuch as to each is given liberty of will. For this reason also has he obtained the name of devil, because he has passed over from the heavenly places, and appeared on earth as the disparager of God's commandment. But because it was God who first gave the commandment, the Lord Jesus Himself said to the devil, "Get thee behind me, Satan; " and, without doubt, to go behind God is the sign of being His servant. And again He says, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve. Wherefore, as certain men were inclined to yield obedience to his wishes, they were addressed in these terms by the Saviour: "Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. And, in fine, when they are found to be actually doing his will, they are thus addressed: "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.

From all this, then, you ought to see how weighty a matter it is for man to have freedom of will, However, let my antagonist here say whether there is a judgment for the godly and the ungodly, or not. Manes said: There is a judgment. Archelaus said: I think that what we have said concerning the devil contains no small measure of reason as well as of piety. For every creature, moreover, has its own order; and there is one order for the human race, and another for animals, and another for angels. Furthermore, there is but one only inconvertible substance, the divine substance, eternal and invisible, as is known to all, and as is also borne out by this scripture: "No man hath seen God at any time, save the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father. All the other creatures, consequently, are of necessity visible,-such as heaven, earth, sea, men, angels, archangels. But if God has not been seen by any man at any time, what consubstantiality can there be between Him and those creatures? Hence we hold that all things whatsoever have, in their several positions, their own proper substances, according to their proper order. You, on the other band, allege that every living thing which moves is made of one, and you say that every object has received like substance from God, and that this substance is capable of sinning and of being brought under the judgment;

and you are unwilling to accept the word which declares that the devil was an angel, and that he fell in transgression, and that he is not of the same substance with God. Logically, you ought to do away with any allowance of the doctrine of a judgment, and that would make it clear which of us is in error. If, indeed, the angel that has been created by God is incapable of falling in transgression, how can the soul, as a part of God, be capable of sinning? But, again, if you say that there is a judgment for sinning souls, and if you hold also that these are of one substance with God; and if still, even although you maintain that they are of the divine nature, you affirm that, notwithstanding that fact, they do not keep the commandments of God, then, even on such grounds, my argument will pass very well, which avers that the devil fell first, on account of his failure to keep the commandments of God. He was not indeed of the substance of God. And he fell, not so much to do hurt to the race of man, as rather to be set at nought by the same. For He "gave unto us power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the strength of the enemy."

33. The judges said: He has given demonstration enough of the origin of the devil. And as both sides admit that there will be a judgment, it is necessarily involved in that admission that every individual is shown to have free-will; and since this is brought clearly out, there can be no doubt that every individual, in the exercise of his own proper power of will, may shape his course in whatever direction he pleases. Manes said: If (only) the good is from (your) God, as you allege, then you make Jesus Himself a liar. Archelaus said: In the first place, admit that the account of what we have adduced is true, and then I will give you proof about the "father of him. Manes said: ' If you prove to me that his father is a liar, and yet show me that for all that you ascribe no such (evil) notion to God, then credit will be given you on all points. Archelaus said: Surely when a full account of the devil has once been presented, and the dispensation set forth, any one now, with an ordinarily vigorous understanding, might simply, by turning the matter carefully over in his own mind, get an idea of who this is that is here called the father of the devil. But though you give yourself out to be the Paraclete, you come very far short of the ordinary sagacity of men. Wherefore, as you have betrayed your ignorance, I shall tell you what is meant by this expression, the "father of the devil.

Manes said: I say so...; and he added: Every one who is the founder or maker of anything may be called the father, parent, of that which he has made. Archelaus said: Well, I am verily astonished that you have made so correct an admission in reply to what I have said, and have not concealed either your intelligent apprehension of the affirmation, or the real nature of the same. Now, from this learn who is this father of the devil. When he fell from the kingdom of heaven, he came to dwell upon earth, and there he remained, ever watching and seeking out some one to whom he might attach himself, and whom, through an alliance with himself, he might also make a partner in his own wickedness. Now as long, indeed, as man was not yet existent, the devil was never called either a murderer or a liar together with his father. But subsequently, when man had once been made, and when further he had been deceived by the devil's lies and craftiness, and when the devil had also introduced himself into the body of the serpent, which was the most sagacious of all the beasts, then from that time the devil was called a liar together with his father, and then also the curse was made to rest not only on himself, but also on his father.

Accordingly, when the serpent had received him, and had indeed admitted him wholly into its own being, it was, as it were, rendered pregnant, for it bore the burden of the devil's vast wickedness; and it was like one with child, and under the strain of parturition, as it sought to eject the agitations of his malignant suggestions. For the serpent, grudging the glory of the first man, made its way into paradise; and harbouring these pains of parturition in itself, it began to produce mendacious addresses, and to generate death for the men who had been fashioned by God, and who had received the gift of life. The devil, however, was not able to manifest himself completely through the serpent; but he reserved his perfection for a time, in order that he might demonstrate it through Cain, by whom he was generated completely. And thus through the serpent, on the one hand, he displayed his hypocrisies and deceits to Eve; while through Cain, on the other hand, he effected the beginning of murder, introducing himself into the firstlings of the "fruits," which that man administered so badly. From this the devil has been called a murderer from the beginning, and also a liar, because he deceived the parties to whom he said, "Ye shall be as gods;" for those very persons whom he falsely declared destined to be gods were afterwards cast out of paradise.

Wherefore the serpent which conceived him in its womb, and bore him, and brought him forth to the light of day, is constituted the devil's first father; and Cain is made his second father, who through the conception of iniquities produced pains and parricide: for truly the taking of life was the perpetrating of iniquity, unrighteousness, and impiety all together. Furthermore, all who receive him, and do his lusts, are constituted his brothers. Pharaoh is his father in perfection. Every impious man is made his father. Judas became his father, since he conceived him indeed, though he miscarried: for he did not present a perfect parturition there, since it was really a greater person who was assailed through Judas; and consequently, as I say, it proved an abortion. For just as the woman receives the man's seed, and thereby also becomes sensible of a daily growth within her, so also did Judas make daily advances in evil, the occasions for that being furnished him like seed by the wicked one. And the first seed of evil in him, indeed, was the lust of money; and its increment was theft, for he purloined the moneys which were deposited in the bag. Its offspring, moreover, consisted of less vexations, and compacts with the Pharisees, and the scandalous bargain for a price; yet it was the abortion, and not the birth, that was witnessed in the horrid noose by which he met his death. And exactly in the same way shall it stand also with you:

if you bring the wicked one to light in your own deeds, and do his lusts, you have conceived him, and will be called his father; but, on the other hand, if you cherish penitence, and deliver yourself of your burden, you will be like one that brings to the birth. For, as in school exercises, if one gets the subject-matter from the master, and then creates and produces the whole body of an oration by himself, he is said to be the author of the compositions to which he has thus given birth; so he who has taken in any little leaven of evil from the prime evil, is of necessity called the father and pro-creator of that wicked one, who from the beginning has resisted the truth. The case may be the same, indeed, with those who devote themselves to virtue; for I have heard the most valiant men say to God, "For Thy fear, O Lord, we have conceived in the womb, and we have been in pain, and have brought forth the spirit of salvation. And so those, too, who conceive in respect of the fear of the wicked one, and bring forth the spirit of iniquity, must needs be called the fathers of the same. Thus, on the one hand, they are called sons of that wicked one, so long as they are still yielding obedience to his service;

but, on the other hand, they are called fathers if they have attained to the perfeCtion of iniquity.

For it is with this view that our Lord says to the Pharisees, "Ye are of your father the devil," thereby making them his sons, as long as they appeared still to be perturbed by him, and meditated in their hearts evil for good toward the righteous. Accordingly, while they deliberated in such a spirit with their own hearts, and while their wicked devices were made chargeable upon themselves, Judas, as the head of all the evil, and as the person who carried out their iniquitous counsels to their consummation, was constituted the father of the crime, having received at their hands the recompense of thirty pieces of silver for his impious cruelty. For "after the sop Satan entered into him" completely. But, as we have said, when his womb was enlarged, and the time of his travail came on, he delivered himself only of an abortive burden in the conception of unrighteousness, and consequently he could not be called the father in perfection, except only at that very time when the conception was still in the womb; and afterwards, when he betook himself to the hangman's rope, he showed that he had not brought it to a complete birth, because remorse followed.

34. I think that you cannot fail to understand this too, that the word "father" is but a single term indeed, and yet one admitting of being understood in various ways. For one is called father, as being the parent of those children whom he has begotten in a natural way; another is called father, as being the guardian of children whom he has but brought up; and some, again, are called fathers in respect of the privileged standing accruing through time or age. Hence our Lord Jesus Christ Himself is said to have a variety of fathers: for David was called His father, and Joseph was reckoned to be His father, while neither of these two was His father in respect of the actuality of nature. For David is called His father as touching the prerogative of time and age, and Joseph is designated His father as concerning the law of upbringing; but God Himself is His only Father by nature, who was pleased to make all things manifest in short space to us by His word. And our Lord Jesus Christ, making no tarrying, in the space of one year restored multitudes of the sick to health, and gave back the dead to the light of life; and He did indeed embrace all things in the power of His own word. And wherein, forsooth, did He make any tarrying, so that we should have to believe Him

to have waited so long, even to these days, before He actually sent the Paraclete?

Nay, rather, as has been already said above, He gave proof of His presence with us forthwith, and did most abundantly impart Himself to Paul, whose testimony we also believe when he says, "Unto me only is this grace given. For this is he who formerly was a persecutor of the Church of God, but who afterwards appeared openly before all men as a faithful minister of the Paraclete; by whose instrumentality His singular clemency was made known to all men, in such wise that even to us who some time were without hope the largess of His gifts has come. For which of us could have hoped that Paul, the persecutor and enemy of the Church, would prove its defender and guardian? Yea, and not that alone, but that he would become also its ruler, the founder and architect of the churches? Wherefore after him, and after those who were with Himself-that is, the disciples-we are not to look for the advent of any other (such), according to the Scriptures; for our Lord Jesus Christ says of this Paraclete, "He shall receive of mine. Him therefore He selected as an acceptable vessel; and He sent this Paul to us in the Spirit. Into him the Spirit was poured; and as that Spirit could not abide upon all men, but only on Him who was born of Mary the mother of God, so that Spirit, the Paraclete, could not come into any other, but could only come upon the apostles and the sainted Paul.

"For he is a chosen vessel," He says, "unto me, to bear my name before kings and the Gentiles. The apostle himself, too, states the same thing in his first epistle, where he says: "According to the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God. "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost. And again: "For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me by word and deed. "I am the last of all the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle. But by the grace of God I am what I am. And it, is his wish to have to deal with those who sought the proof of that Christ who spake in him, for this reason, that the Paraclete was in him: and as having obtained His gift of grace, and as being enriched with magnificent, honour, he says: "For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And He said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee; for strength is made perfect in weakness. Again, that it was the Paraclete Himself who was in Paul, is indicated

by our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel, when He says: "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray my Father, and He shall give you another Comforter.

In these words He points to the Paraclete Himself, for He speaks of "another" Comforter. And hence we have given credit to Paul, and have hearkened to him when he says, "Or seek ye a proof of Christ i speaking in me?" and when he expresses himself in similar terms, of which we have already spoken above. Thus, too, he seals his testament for us as for his faithful heirs, and like a father he addresses us in these words in his Epistle to the Corinthians: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; and that He was seen of Cephas, then of the eleven apostles: after that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that He was seen of James; then of all the apostles. And last of all He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the last of the apostles. "Therefore, whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed. And again, in delivering over to his heirs that inheritance which he gained first himself, he says:

"But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ. For if he that cometh preacheth another Christ, whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another Spirit, which we have not received, or another gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him. For I suppose that I did nothing less for you than the other apostles." 35. These things, moreover, he has said with the view of showing us that all others who may come alter him will be false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. And no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed, like an angel of light. What great thing therefore is it, if his ministers also be transformed into the ministers of righteousness?-whose end shall be according to their works. He indicates, further, what manner of men these were, and points out by whom they were being circumvented. And when the Galatians are minded to turn away from the Gospel, he says to them: "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from Him that called you unto another gospel: which is not another; but there be some that trouble you,

and would turn you away from the Gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which has been delivered to you, let him be accursed. And again he says: "To me, who am the least of all the apostles, is this grace given; " and," I fill up that which was behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh. And once more, in another place, he declares of himself that he was a minister of Christ more than all others, as though after him none other was to be looked for at all; for he enjoins that not even an angel from heaven is thus to be received.

And how, then, shall we credit the professions of this Manes, who comes from Persis, and declares himself to be the Paraclete? By this very thing, indeed, I rather recognise in him one of those men who transform themselves, and of whom the Apostle Paul, that elect vessel, has given us very clear indication when he says: "Now in the last times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; for-bidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving. The Spirit in the evangelist Matthew is also careful to give note of these words of our Lord Jesus Christ: "Take heed that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many. But if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false apostles, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: if they shall say, Behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not.

And yet, after all these directions, this man, who has neither sign nor portent of any kind to show, who has no affinity to exhibit, who never even had a place among the number of the disciples, who never was a follower of our departed Lord, in whose inheritance we rejoice,—this man, I say, although he never stood by our Lord in His weakness, and although he never came forward as a witness of His testament, yea rather, although he never came even within the acquaintance of those who ministered to Him in His sickness, and, in fine, although he obtains the testimony of no person whatsoever, desires us to believe this profession which he makes of being the

Paraclete; whereas, even were you to do signs and wonders, we would still have to reckon you a false Christ, and a false prophet, according to the Scriptures. And therefore it is well for us to act with the greater caution, in accordance with the warning which the sainted apostle gives us, when, in the epistle which he wrote to the Colossians, he speaks in the following terms: "Continue in the faith grounded and rooted, and not to be moved away from the hope of the Gospel, which we have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven. And again: "As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him; rooted and built up in Him, and stablished in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgiving.

Beware lest any one spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead. And after all these matters have been thus carefully set forth, the blessed apostle, like a father speaking to his children, adds the following words, which serve as a sort of seal to his testament: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love His appearing." 36. None of your party O Manes, will you make a Galatian; neither will you in this fashion divert us from the faith of Christ. Yea, even although you were to work signs and wonders, although you were to raise the dead, although you were to present to us the very image of Paul himself, you would remain accursed still. For we have been instructed beforehand with regard to you: we have been both warned and armed against you by the Holy Scriptures. You are a vessel of Antichrist; and no vessel of honour, in sooth, but a mean and base one, used by him as any barbarian or tyrant may do, who, in attempting to make an inroad on a people living under the righteousness of the laws, sends some select vessel on beforehand, as it were destined to death, with the view of finding out the exact magnitude and character of the strength possessed by the legitimate king and his nation: for the man is too much afraid to make the inroad himself wholly at unawares, and he also lacks the daring to despatch any person belonging to his own immediate circle on such a task, through fear that he may sustain some harm. And so it is that your king, Antichrist, has despatched you in a similar character, and as it were destined to death, to us who are a people

placed under the administration of the good and holy King. And this I do not say inconsiderately or without due inquiry;

but from the fact that I see you perform no miracle, I hold myself entitled to entertain such sentiments concerning you. For we are given to understand beforehand that the devil himself is to be transformed into an angel of light, and that his servants are to make their appearance in similar guise, and that they are to work signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived. But who, pray, are you then, to whose lot no such position of kinship has been assigned by your father Satan? For whom have you raised from the dead? What issue of blood do you ever staunch? What eyes of the blind do you ever anoint with clay, and thus cause them to have vision? When do you ever refresh a hungering multitude with a few loaves? Where do you ever walk upon the water, or who of those who dwell in Jerusalem has ever seen you? O Persian barbarian, you have never been able to have a knowledge of the language of the Greeks, or of the Egyptians, or of the Romans, or of any other nation; but the Chaldean tongue alone has been known to you, which verily is not a language prevalent among any great number of people, and you are not capable of understanding any one of another nationality when he speaks. Not thus is it with the Holy Spirit: God forbid;

but He divides to all, and knows all kinds of tongues, and has understanding of all things, and is made all things to all men, so that the very thoughts of the heart cannot escape His cognizance. For what says the Scripture? "That every man heard the apostles speak in his own language through the Spirit, the Paraclete. But why should I say more on this subject? Barbarian priest and crafty coadjutor of Mithras, you will only be a worshipper of the sun-god Mithras, who is the illuminator of places of mystic import, as you opine, and the self-conscious deity;" that is, you will sport as his worshippers do, and you will celebrate, though with less elegance as it were, his mysteries. But why should I take all this so indignantly? Is it not accordant with all that is fitting, that you should multiply yourself like the tares, until that same mighty father of yours comes, raising the dead, as he will profess to do, and persecuting almost to hell itself all those who refuse to yield to his bidding, keeping multitudes in check by that terror of arrogance in which he entrenches himself, and employing threatenings against others, and making sport of them by the changing of his countenance and his deceitful dealing?

And yet beyond that he shall proceed no further; for his folly shall be made manifest to all men, as was the case with Jamnes and Mambres. The judges said:

As we have heard now from you, as Paul himself also seems to tell us, and, further, as we have learned likewise from the earlier account given in the Gospel, an introduction to preaching, or teaching, or evangelizing, or prophesying, is not, in this life at least, held out on the same terms to any person in times subsequent to the apostle's: and if the opposite appears ever to be the case, the person can only be held to be a false prophet or a false Christ. Now, since you have alleged that the Paraclete was in Paul, and that He attested all things in him, how is it that Paul himself said, "We know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away?" What other one did he look for, when he uttered these words? For if he professes himself to be looking for some perfect one, and if some one must needs come, show us who it is of whom he speaks; lest that word of his perchance appear to carry us back to this man, Manes, or to him who has sent him, that is to say, Satan, according to your affirmation. But if you admit that that which is perfect is yet to come, then this excludes Satan; and if you look for the coming of Satan, then that excludes the perfect.

37. Archelaus said: Those sayings which are put forth by the blessed Paul were not uttered without the direction of God, and therefore it is certain that what he has declared to us is that we are to look for our Lord Jesus Christ as the perfect one, who is the only one that knows the Father, with the sole exception of him to whom He has chosen also to reveal Him, as I am able to demonstrate from His own words. But let it be observed, that it is said that when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. Now this man (Manes) asserts that he is the perfect one. Let him show us, then, what he has done away with; for what is to be done away with is the ignorance which is in us. Let him therefore tell us what he has done away with, and what he has brought into the sphere of our knowledge. If he is able to do anything of this nature, let him do it now, in order that he may be believed. These very words of Paul's, if one can but understand them in the full power of their meaning, will only secure entire credit to the statements made by me. For in that first Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul speaks

in the following terms of the perfection that is to come: "Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease;

whether there be knowledge, it shall be destroyed: for we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. Observe now what virtue that which is perfect possesses in itself, and of what order that perfection is. And let this man, then, tell us what prophecy of the Jews or Hebrews he has done away with; or what tongues he has caused to cease, whether of the Greeks or of others who worship idols; or what alien dogma she has destroyed, whether of a Valentinian, or a Marcion, or a Tatian, or a Sabellius, or any others of those who have constructed for themselves their peculiar systems of knowledge. Let him tell us which of all these he has already done away with, or when he is yet to do away with any one of them, in this character of the perfect one. Perchance he seeks some sort of truce—does he? But not thus inconsiderable, not thus obscure and ignoble, will be the manner of the advent of Him who is the truly perfect one, that is to say, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Nay, but as a king, when he draws near to his city, does first of all send on before him his life-guardsmen, his ensigns and standards and banners, his generals and chiefs and prefects, and then forthwith all objects are roused and excited in different fashions, while some become inspired with terror and others with exultation at the prospect of the king's advent; so also my Lord Jesus Christ, who is the truly perfect one, at His coming will first send on before Him His glory, and the consecrated heralds of an unstained and untainted kingdom: and then the universal creation will be moved and perturbed, uttering prayers and supplications, until He delivers it from its bondage. And it must needs be that the race of man shall then be in fear and in vehement agitation on account of the many offences it has committed. Then the righteous alone will rejoice, as they look for the things which have been promised them; and the subsistence of the affairs of this world will no longer be maintained, but all things shall be destroyed: and whether they be prophecies or the books of prophets, they shall fail; whether they be the tongues of the whole race, they shall cease; for men will no longer need to feel anxiety or to think solicitously about those things which are necessary for life; whether it be knowledge, by what teachers soever it be possessed, it shall also be destroyed: for none of all these things will be able to endure the advent of that mighty King.

For just as a little spark, if taken and put up against the splendour of the sun, at once perishes from the view, so the whole creation, all prophecy, all knowledge, all tongues, as we have said above, shall be destroyed. But since the capacities of common human nature are all insufficient to set forth in a few words, and these so weak and so extremely poor, the coming of this heavenly King, -so much so, indeed, that perchance it should be the privilege only of the saintly and the highly worthy to attempt any statement on such a subject, -it may yet be enough for me to be able to say that I have advanced what I have now advanced on that theme on the ground of simple necessity, -compelled, as I have been, to do thus much by this person's importunity, and simply with the view of showing you what kind of character he is.

38. And, in good truth, I hold Marcion, and Valentinian, and Basilides, and other heretics, to be sainted men when compared with this person. For they did display a certain kind of intellect, and they did, indeed, think themselves capable of understanding all Scripture, and did thus constitute themselves leaders for those who were willing to listen to them. But notwithstanding this, not one of these dared to proclaim himself to be either God, or Christ, or the Paraclete, as this fellow has done, who is ever disputing, on some occasions about the ages, and on others about the sun, and how these objects were made, as though he were superior to them himself; for every person who offers an exposition of the method in which any object has been made, puts himself forward as superior to and older than the subject of his discussion. But who may venture to speak of the substance of God, unless, it may be, our Lord Jesus Christ alone? And, indeed, I do not make this statement on the bare authority of my own words, but I confirm it by the authority of that Scripture which has been our instructor. For the apostle addresses the following words to us: "That ye may be lights in this world, holding the word of life for my glory against the day of Christ, seeing that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain. We ought to understand what is the force and meaning of this saying;

for the word may suit the leader, but the effectual work suits the king. And accordingly, as one who looks; for the arrival of his king, strives to be able to present all who are under his charge as obedient, and ready, and estimable, and lovely, and faithful, and not less also as blameless, and abounding in all that is good, so that he may himself get commendation from the king, and be deemed by him to be worthy of greater honours, as having

rightly governed the province which was entrusted to his administration; so also does the blessed Paul give us to understand our position when he uses these words: "That ye may be as lights in this world, holding the word of life for my glory against the day of Christ. For the meaning of this saying is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, when He comes, will see that his doctrine has proved profitable in us, and that, finding that he, the apostle, has not run in vain, neither laboured in vain, He will bestow on him the crown of recompense. And again, in the same epistle, he also warns us not to mind earthly things, and tells us that we ought to have our conversation in heaven; from which also we look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ.

And as the knowledge of the date of the last day is no secure position for us, he has given us, to that effect, a declaration on the subject in the epistle which he wrote to the Thessalonians, thus: "But of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that i write unto you; for yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. How, then, does this man stand up and try, to persuade us to emigrate his opinions, importuning every individual whom he meets to become a Manichæan, and going about and creeping into houses, and endeavouring to deceive minds laden with sins? But we do not hold such sentiments. Nay, rather, we should be disposed to present the things themselves before you all, and bring them into comparison, if it please you, with what we know of the perfect Paraclete. For you observe that sometimes he uses the interrogative style, and sometimes the deprecatory. But in the Gospel of our Saviour it is written that those who stand on the left hand of the King will say: "Lord, when saw we Thee an hungered, or athirst, or naked, or a stranger, or in prison, and did not minister unto Thee? " Thus they will implore Him to be indulgent with them. But what reply is that righteous Judge and King represented as making to them? "Depart from me into everlasting fire, ye workers of iniquity.

He casts them into everlasting fire, although they cease not to direct their entreaties to Him. Do you see, then, O Manes, what manager of event that advent of the perfect King is destined to be? Do you not perceive that it will not be such a perfection, or consummation, as you allege? But if the great day of judgment is to be looked for after that King surely this man is greatly inferior to Him. But if he is inferior, he cannot be perfect. And if he is not to be perfect, it is not of him that the apostle speaks. But if it is not of him that the apostle speaks, while he still makes the mendacious statement that it is of

himself that the said word of the apostle was spoken, then surely he is to be judged a false prophet. Much more, too, might be said to the same effect. But if we were to think of going over in detail all that might thus be adduced, time would fail us for the accomplishment of so large a task. Hence I have deemed it abundantly sufficient thus to have brought trader your notice only a few things out of many, leaving the yet remaining portions of such a discussion to those who have the inclination to go through with them.

39. On hearing these matters, those who were present gave great glory to God, and ascribed to Him such praise as it is meet for Him to receive. And on Archelaus himself they bestowed many tokens of honour. Then Marcellus rose up; and casting off his cloak. he threw his arms round Archelaus, and kissed him, and embraced him, and clung to him. Then, too, the children who had chanced to gather about the place began and set the example of pelting Manes and driving him off; and the rest of the crowd followed them, and moved excitedly about, with the intention of compelling Manes to take to flight. But when Archelaus observed this, he raised his voice like a trumpet above the din, in his anxiety to restrain the multitude, and addressed them thus: "Stop, my beloved brethren, lest mayhap we be found to have the guilt of blood on us at the day of judgment; for it is written of men like this, that 'there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you.'" And when he had uttered these words, the crowds of people were quieted again. -Now, because it was the pleasure of Marcellus that this disputation should have a place given it, and that it should also be described, I could not gainsay his wish, but trusted to the kind consideration of the readers, believing that they would pardon me if my discourse should sound somewhat inartistic or boorish:

for the great thing which we have had in view has been, that the means of knowing what took place on this occasion should not fail to be brought within the reach of all who desired to understand the subject. Thereafter, it must be added, when Manes had once taken to flight, he made his appearance nowhere there again. His attendant Turbo, however, was handed over by Marcellus to Archelaus; and on Archelaus ordaining him as a deacon, he remained in the suite of Marcellus. But Manes in his flight came to a certain village which was at a considerable distance from the city, and bore the name of Diodorus. Now in that place there was also a presbyter whose name likewise was Diodorus, a man of quiet and gentle disposition, and well re-

puted both for his faith and for the excellence of his general character. Now when, on a certain day, Manes had gathered a crowd of auditors around him, and was haranguing them, and putting before the people who were present certain outlandish assertions altogether foreign to the tradition of the fathers, and in no way apprehending any opposition that might be made to him on the part of any of these, Diodorus perceived that he was producing some effect by his wickedness, and resolved then to send to Archelaus a letter couched in the following terms:-

Diodorus sends greeting to Bishop Archelaus, 40. I wish you to know, most pious father, that in these days there has arrived in our parts a certain person named Manes, who gives out that he is to complete the doctrine of the New Testament. And in the statements which he has made there have been some things, indeed, which may harmonize with our faith; but there have been also certain affirmations of his which seem very far removed from what has come down to us by the tradition of our fathers. For he has interpreted some doctrines in a strange fashion, imposing on them certain notions of his own, which have appeared to me to be altogether foreign and opposed to the faith. On the ground of these facts I have now been induced to write this letter to you, knowing the completeness and fulness of your intelligence in doctrine, and being assured that none of these things can escape your cognizance. Accordingly, I have also indulged the confident hope that you cannot be kept back by any grudge from explaining these matters to us. As to myself, indeed, it is not possible that I shall be drawn away into any novel doctrine; nevertheless, in behalf of all the less instructed, I have been led to ask a word with your authority. For, in truth, the man shows himself to be a person of extraordinary force of character, both in speech and in action; and indeed his very aspect and attire also bear that out.

But I shall here write down for your information some few points which I have been able to retain in my memory out of all the topics which have been expounded by him: for I know that even by these few you will have an idea of the rest. You well understand, no doubt, that those who seek to set up any new dogma have the habit of very readily perverting into a conformity with their own notions any proofs they desire to take from the Scriptures. In anticipation, however, of this, the apostolic word marks out the case thus: "If any one preach any other gospel unto you than that which you have received, let him be accursed. And consequently, in addition to what has been once com-

mitted to us by the apostles, a disciple of Christ ought to receive nothing new as doctrine. But not to make what I have got to say too long, I return to the subject directly in view. This man then maintained that the law of Moses, to speak shortly, does not proceed from the good God, but from the prince of evil; and that it has no kinship with the new law of Christ, but is contrary and hostile to it, the one being the direct antagonist of the other. When I heard such a sentiment propounded, I repeated to the people that sentence of the Gospel in which our Lord Jesus Christ said of Himself: "I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.

The man, however, averred that He did not utter this saying at all; for he held that when we find that He did abrogate that same law, we are bound to give heed, above all other considerations, to the thing which He actually did. Then he began to cite a great variety of passages from the law, and also many from the Gospel and from the Apostle Paul, which have the appearance of contradicting each other. All this he gave forth at the same time with perfect confidence, and without any hesitation or fear; so that I verily believe he has that serpent as his helper, who is ever our adversary. Well, he declared that there in the law God said, "I make the rich man and the poor man;" while here in the Gospel Jesus called the poor blessed, and added, that no man could be His disciple unless he gave up all that he had. Again, he maintained that there Moses took silver and gold from the Egyptians when the people fled out of Egypt; whereas Jesus delivered the precept that we should lust after nothing belonging to our neighbour. Then he affirmed that Moses had provided in the law, that an eye should be given in penalty for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but that our Lord bade us offer the other cheek also to him who smote the one.

He told us, too, that there Moses commanded the man to be punished and stoned who did any work on the Sabbath, and who failed to continue in all things that were written in the law, as in fact was done to that person who, yet being ignorant, had gathered a bundle of sticks on the Sabbath-day; whereas Jesus cured a cripple on the Sabbath, and ordered him then also to take up his bed. And further, He did not restrain His disciples from plucking the ears of corn and rubbing them with their hands on the Sabbath-day, which yet was a thing which it was unlawful to do on the Sabbaths. And why should I mention other instances? For with many different assertions of a similar nature these dogmas of his were propounded with the utmost energy

and the most fervid zeal. Thus, too, on the authority of an apostle, he endeavoured to establish the position that the law of Moses is the law of death, and that the law of Jesus, on the contrary, is the law of life. For he based that assertion on the passage which runs thus: "In which also may God make us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. But if the ministration of death, engraven in letters on the stones, was made in glory, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance;

which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory. For even that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth. For if that which shall be done away is glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious. And this passage, as you are also well aware, occurs in the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Besides, he added to this another passage out of the first epistle, on which he based his affirmation that the disciples of the Old Testament were earthly and natural; and in accordance with this, that flesh and blood could not possess the kingdom of God. He also maintained that Paul himself spoke in his own proper person when he said: "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor. Further, he averred that the same apostle made this statement most obviously on the subject of the resurrection of the flesh. when he also said that "he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh," and that according to the letter the law has in it no advantage. And again he adduced the statement, that "Abraham has glory, but not before God; " and that "by the law there comes only the knowledge of sin.

And many other things did he introduce, with the view of detracting from the honour of the law, on the ground that the law itself is sin; by which statements the simpler people were somewhat influenced, as he continued to bring them forward; and in accordance with all this, he also made use of the affirmation, that "the law and the prophets were until John. He declared, however, that John preached the true kingdom of heaven; for verily he held, that by the cutting off of his head it was signified that all who went before him, and who had precedence over him, were to be cut off, and that what

was to come after him was alone to be maintained. With reference to all these things, therefore, O most pious Archelaus, send us back a short reply in writing: for I have heard that you have studied such matters in no ordinary degree; and that capacity which you possess is God's gift, inasmuch as God bestows these gifts upon those who are worthy of them, and who are His friends, and who show themselves allied to Him in community of purpose and life. For it is our part to prepare ourselves, and to approach the gracious and liberal mind, and forthwith we receive from it the most bountiful gifts.

Accordingly, since the learning which I possess for the discussion of themes like these does not meet the requirements of my desire and purpose, for I confess myself to be an unlearned man, I have sent to you, as I have already said more than once, in the hope of obtaining from your hand the amplest solution to this question. May it be well with you, incomparable and honourable father! 41. On receiving this epistle, Archelaus was astonished at the man's boldness. But in the meantime, as the case called for the transmission of a speedy reply, he immediately sent off a letter with reference to the statements made by Diodorus. That epistle ran in the following terms: - Archelaus sends greeting to the presbyter Diodorus, his honourable son. The receipt of your letter has rejoiced me exceedingly, my dearly beloved friend. I have been given to understand, moreover, that this man, who made his way to me before these days, and sought to introduce a novel kind of knowledge here, different from what is apostolic and ecclesiastical, has also come to you. To that person, indeed, I gave no place: for presently, when we held a disputation together, he was confuted. And I could wish now to transcribe for your behoof all the arguments of which I made use on that occasion, so that by means of these you might get an idea of what that man's faith is. But as that could be done only with leisure at my disposal, I have deemed it requisite, in view of the immediate exigency, to write a short reply to you with reference to what you have written me on the subject of the statements advanced by him. I understand, then, that his chief effort was directed to prove that the law of Moses is not consonant with the law of Christ; and this position he attempted to found on the authority of our Scriptures. Well, on the other hand, not only did we establish the law of Moses, and all things which are written in it, by the same Scripture;

but we also proved that the whole Old Testament agrees with the New Testament, and is in perfect harmony with the same, and that they form

really one texture, just as a person may see one and the same robe made up of weft and warp together. For the truth is simply this, that just as we trace the purple in a robe, so, if we may thus express it, we can discern the New Testament in the texture of the Old Testament; for we see the glory of the Lord mirrored in the same. We are not therefore to cast aside the mirror, seeing that it shows us the genuine image of the things themselves, faithfully and truly; but, on the contrary, we ought to honour it all the more. Think you, indeed, that the boy who is brought by his paedagogue to the teachers of learning when he is yet a very little fellow, ought to hold that paedagogue in no honour after he has grown up to manhood, simply because he needs his services no longer, but can make his course without any assistance from that attendant to the schools, and quickly find his way to the lecture-rooms? Or, to take another instance, would it be right for the child who has been nourished on milk at first, after he has grown to be capable of receiving stronger meats, then injuriously to spurn the breasts of his nurse, and conceive a horror of them?

Nay, rather he should honour and cherish them, and confess himself a debtor to their good services. We may also make use, if it please you, of another illustration. A certain man on one occasion having noticed an infant exposed on the ground and already suffering excessively, picked it up, and undertook to rear it in his own house until it should reach the age of youth, and sustained all the toils and anxieties which are wont to fall to the lot of those who have to bring up children. After a time, however, it happened that he who was the child's natural father came seeking the boy, and found him with this person who had brought him up. What ought this boy to do on learning that this is his real father? For I speak, of course, of a boy of the right type. Would he not see to it, that he who had brought him up should be recompensed with liberal gifts; and would he not then follow his natural father, having his proper inheritance in view? Even so, then, I think we must suppose that that distinguished servant of God, Moses, in a manner something like this, found a people afflicted by the Egyptians; and he took this people to himself, and nurtured them in the desert like a father, and instructed them like a teacher, and ruled them as a magistrate. This people he also preserved against the coming of him whose people they were.

And after a considerable period the father did come, and did receive, his sheep. Now will not that guardian be honoured in all things by him to

whom he delivered that flock; and will he not be glorified by those who have been preserved by him? Who, then, can be so senseless, my dearly beloved Diodorus, as to say that those are aliens to each other who have been allied with each other, who have prophesied in turn for each other, and who have shown signs and wonders which are equal and similar, the one to the other, and of like nature with each other; or rather, to speak in truth, which belong wholly to the same stock the one with the other? For, indeed, Moses first said to the people: "A Prophet will the Lord our God raise up unto you, like unto me. And Jesus afterwards said: "For Moses spake of me. You see how these twain give the fight hand to each other, although the one was the prophet and the other was the beloved Son, and although in the one we are to recognise the faithful servant, but in the other the Lord Himself. Now, on the other hand, I might refer to the fact, that one who of old was minded to make his way to the schools without the paedagogue was not taken in by the master. For the master said: "I will not receive him unless he accepts the paedagogue.

And who the person is, who is spoken of under that figure, I shall briefly explain. There was a certain rich man, who lived after the manner of the Gentiles, and passed his time in great luxury every day; and there was also another man, a poor man, who was his neighbour, and who was unable to procure even his daily bread. It happened that both these men departed this life, that they both descended into the grave, and that the poor man was conveyed into the place of rest, and so forth, as is known to you. But, furthermore, that rich man had also five brothers, living as he too had lived, and disturbed by no doubt as to lessons which they had learned at home from such a master. The rich man then entreated that these should be instructed in the superior doctrine together and at once. But Abraham, knowing that they still stood in need of the paedagogue, said to him: "They have Moses and the prophets. For if they received not these, so as to have their course directed by him, i.e., Moses, as by a paedagogue, they would not be capable of accepting the doctrine of the superior master.

42. But I shall also offer, to the best of my ability, some expositions of the other words referred to; that is to say, I shall show that Jesus neither said nor did aught that was contrary to Moses. And first, as to the word, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," -that is the expression of justice. And as to His injunction, that a man, when struck on the one cheek, should offer the

other also, that is the expression of goodness. Well, then, are justice and goodness opposed to each other? Far from it! There has only been an advance from simple justice to positive goodness. And again, we have the saying, "The workman is worthy of his hire. But if a person seeks to practise any fraud therein, it is surely most just that what he has got possession of by fraud should be required of him, most especially when the hire is large. Now this I say, that when the Egyptians afflicted the children of Israel by the taskmasters who were set over them in the process of making bricks, Moses required and exacted the whole at once, with penalties, within one moment of time. But is this, then, to be called iniquity? Far from it! Surely it is the abstinence of goodness, indeed, when one makes but a moderate use of what is really necessary, and gives up all that goes beyond that.

Let us look, again, at the fact that in the Old Testament we find the words, "I make the rich man and the poor man," whereas Jesus calls the poor blessed. Well, in that saying Jesus did; not refer to those who are poor simply in worldly substance, but to those who are poor in spirit, that is to say, who are not inflamed with pride, but have the gentle and lowly dispositions of humility, not thinking of themselves more than they ought to think. This question, however, is one which our adversary has not propounded correctly. For here I perceive that Jesus also looks on willingly at the gifts of the rich men, when they are put into the treasury. All too little, at the same time, is it if gifts are cast into the treasury by the rich alone; and so there are the two mites of the poor widow which are also received with gladness; and in that offering verily something is exhibited that goes beyond what Moses prescribed on the subject of the receipt of moneys. For he received gifts from those who had; but Jesus receives them even from those who have not. But this man says, further, that it is written, that "except a man shall forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Well, I observe again, that the centurion, a man exceedingly wealthy and well dowered with worldly influence, possessed a faith surpassing that of all Israel;

so that, even if there was any one who had forsaken all, that man was surpassed in faith by this centurion. But some one may now reason with us thus: It is not a good thing, consequently, to give up riches. Well, I reply that it is a good thing for those who are capable of it; but, at the same time, to employ riches for the work of righteousness and mercy, is a thing as acceptable as though one were to give up the whole at once. Again, as to the assertion that

the Sabbath has been abolished, we deny that He has abolished it plainly; for He was Himself also Lord of the Sabbath. And this, the law's relation to the Sabbath, was like the servant who has charge of the bridegroom's chamber, and who prepares the same with all carefulness, and does not suffer it to be disturbed or touched by any stranger, but keeps it intact against the time of the bridegroom's arrival; so that when he is come, the same may be used as it pleases himself, or as it is granted to those to use it whom he has bidden enter along with him. And the Lord Jesus Christ Himself gave His testimony to what we affirm, when He said with His heavenly voice, "Can ye make the children of the bride-chamber fast so long as the bridegroom is with them?" And again, He did not actually reject circumcision;

but we should rather say that He received in Himself and in our stead the cause of circumcision, relieving us by what He Himself endured, and not permitting us to have to suffer any pain to no purpose. For what, indeed, can it profit a man to circumcise himself, if nevertheless he cherishes the worst of thoughts against his neighbour? He desired, accordingly, rather to open up to us the ways of the fullest life by a brief path, lest perchance, after we had traversed lengthened courses of our own, we should find our day prematurely closing upon us in night, and lest, while outwardly indeed we might appear splendid to men's view, we should inwardly be comparable only to ravening wolves, or be likened to whited sepulchres. For far above any person of that type of character is to be placed the man who, although clad only in squalid and threadbare attire, keeps no evil hidden in his heart against his neighbour. For it is only the circumcision of the heart that brings salvation; and that merely carnal circumcision can be of no advantage to men, unless they happen also to be fortified with the spiritual circumcision. Listen also to what Scripture has to say on this subject: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." What need, therefore, is there for me to labour and suffer, seeing that I have been made acquainted with the compendious way of life, and know that it shall be mine if only I can be pure in heart?

And that is quite in accordance with the truth which we have learned now, to wit, that if one prevails in the keeping of the two commandments, he fulfils the whole law and the prophets. Moreover Paul, the chief of the apostles, after all these sayings, gives us yet clearer instruction on the subject, when he says, "Or seek ye a proof of that Christ who speaketh in me?" What have I then to do with circumcision, seeing that I may be justified in uncir-

cumcision? For it is written: "Is any man circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Or is any in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. For neither of these is anything, but only the keeping of the commandments of God. Consequently, as circumcision is incompetent to save any, it is not greatly to be required, especially when we see that if a man has been called in uncircumcision, and wishes then to be circumcised, he is made forthwith a transgressor of the law. For if I am circumcised, I also fulfil the commandments of the law with the view of being in a position to be saved; but if I am uncircumcised, and remain in uncircumcision, much more in keeping the commandments shall I have life. For I have received the circumcision of the heart, in the spirit, and not that of the letter in the mere ink, in which former there is praise, not of men, but of God. Wherefore let no charge of this kind be brought against me.

For just as the man of wealth, who possesses great treasures of gold and silver, so that he gets everything which is necessary for the uses of his house made of these precious metals, has no need to display any vessel of earthenware in anything belonging to his family and yet it does follow from this circumstance that the productions of the potter, or the art of making vessels of pottery, are to be held in abhor-fence by him; so also I, who have been made rich by the grace of God, and who have obtained the circumcision of the heart, cannot by any means stand in need of that most profitless fleshly circumcision, and yet, for all that, it does not follow that I should call it evil. Far be it from me to do so! If, however, any one desires to receive still more exact instruction on these matters, he will find them discussed with the greatest fulness in the apostle's first epistle.

43. I shall speak now with the utmost brevity of the veil of Moses and the ministration of death. For I do not think that these things at least can introduce very much to the disparagement of the law. The text in question, then, proceeds thus: "But if the ministration of death, engraven in letters on the stones, was made in glory, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; which glory was to be done away;" and so on. Well, this passage at any rate acknowledges the existence of a glory on the countenance of Moses, and that surely is a fact favourable to our position. And even although it is to be done away. and although there is a veil in the reading of the same, that does not annoy me or disturb me, provided there be glory in it still. Neither is it the case, that

whatever is to be done away is reduced thereby under all manner of circumstances to a condition of dishonour. For when the Scripture speaks of glory, it shows us also that it had cognizance of differences in glory. Thus it says: "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. Although, then, the sun has a greater glory than the moon, it does not follow that the moon is thereby reduced to a condition of dishonour.

And even thus, too, although my Lord Jesus Christ excelleth Moses in glory, as the lord excelleth the servant, it does not follow from this that the glory of Moses is to be scorned. For in this way, too, we are able to satisfy our hearers, as the nature of the word itself carries the conviction with it in that we affirm what we allege on the authority of the Scriptures themselves, or verily make the proof of our statements all the clearer also by illustrations taken from them. Thus, although a person kindles a lamp in the night-time, after the sun has once risen he has no further need of the paltry light of his lamp, on account of that effulgence of the sun which sends forth its rays all the world over; and yet, for all that, the man does not throw his lamp contemptuously away, as if it were something absolutely antagonistic to the sun; but rather, when he has once found out its use, he will keep it with all the greater carefulness. Precisely in this way, then, the law of Moses served as a sort of guardian to the people, like the lamp, until the true Sun, who is our Saviour, should arise, even as the apostle also says to us: "And Christ shall give thee light. We must look, however, to what is said further on: "Their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same veil in the reading of the Old Testament;

it is untaken away, because it is done away in Christ. For even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit. What, then, is meant by this? Is Moses present with us even unto this day? Is it the case that he has never slept, that he has never gone to his rest, that he has never departed this life? How is it that this phrase "unto this day" is used here? Well, only mark the veil, which is placed, where he says it is placed, on their hearts in their reading. This, therefore, is the word of censure upon the children of Israel, because they read Moses and yet do not understand him, and refuse to turn to the Lord; for it is He that was prophesied of by Moses as about to come. This, then, is the veil which was placed upon

the face of Moses, and this also is his testament; for he says in the law: "A prince shall not be wanting from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until He come whose he is; and He will be the expectation of the nations: who shall bind His foal unto the vine, and His ass's colt unto the choice vine; He shall wash His garments in wine, and His clothes in the blood of grapes; His eyes shall be suffused with wine, and His teeth white with milk;

"and so on. Moreover, he indicated who He was, and whence He was to come. For he said: "The Lord God will raise up unto you, a Prophet from among your brethren, like unto me: unto Him hearken ye. Now it is plain that this cannot be understood to have been said of Jesus the son of Nun. For there is nothing of this circumcision found in him. After him, too, there have still been kings from Judah; and consequently this prophecy is far from being applicable to him. And this is the veil which is on Moses; for it was not, as some among the unlearned perhaps fancy, any piece of linen cloth, or any skin that covered his face. But the apostle also takes care to make this plain to us, when he tells us that the veil is put on in the reading of the Old Testament, inasmuch as they who are called Israel from olden time still look for the coming of Christ, and perceive not that the princes have been wanting from Judah, and the leaders from his thighs; as even at present we see them in subjection to kings and princes, and paying tribute to these, without having any power left to them either of judgment or of punishment, such as Judah certainly had, for after he had condemned Tamar, he was able also to justify her. "But you will also see your life hang (in doubt) before your eyes."

44. Now this word also has the veil. For up to the time of Herod they did appear to retain a kingdom in some sort; and it was by Augustus that the first enrolment took place among them, and that they began to pay tribute, and to be rated. Now it was also from the time when our Lord Jesus Christ began to be prophesied of and looked for that there began to be princes from Judah and leaders of the people; and these, again, failed just at the approach of His advent. If, then, the veil is taken away which is put on in that reading of theirs, they will understand the true virtue of the circumcision; and they will also discover that the generation of Him whom we preach, and His cross, and all the things that have happened in the history of our Lord, are those very matters which had been predicted of that Prophet. And I could wish, indeed, to examine every such passage of Scripture by itself, and to point out its import, as it is meet that it should be understood. But as it is another subject

that is now urgent, these passages shall be discussed by us at some season of leisure. For at present, what I have already said may be sufficient for the purpose of showing, that it is not without reason that the veil is (said to be) put upon the heart of certain persons in the reading of the Old Testament.

But those who turn to the Lord shall all have the veil taken away from them. What precise force all these things, however, may possess, I leave to the apprehension of those who have sound intelligence. Let us come now again to that word of Moses, in which he says: "The Lord your God shall raise up a Prophet unto you, of your brethren, like unto me. In this saying I perceive a great prophecy delivered by the servant Moses, as by one cognizant that He who is to come is indeed to be possessed of greater authority than himself, and nevertheless is to suffer like things with him, and to show like signs and wonders. For there, Moses after his birth was placed by his mother in an ark, and exposed beside the banks of the river; here, our Lord Jesus Christ, after His birth by Mary His mother, was sent off in flight into Egypt through the instrumentality of an angel. There, Moses led forth his people from the midst of the Egyptians, and saved them; and here, Jesus, leading forth His people from the midst of the Pharisees, transferred them to an eternal salvation. There, Moses sought bread by prayer, and received it from heaven, in order that he might feed the people with it in the wilderness; here, my Lord Jesus by His own power satisfied with five loaves five thousand men in the wilderness. There, Moses when he was tried was set upon the mountain and fasted forty days;

and here, my Lord Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness when He was tempted of the devil, and fasted in like manner forty days. There, before the sight of Moses, all the first-born of the Egyptians perished on account of the treachery of Pharaoh; and here, at the time of the birth of Jesus, every male among the Jews suddenly perished by reason of the treachery of Herod. There, Moses prayed that Pharaoh and his people might be spared the plagues; and here, our Lord Jesus prayed that the Pharisees might be pardoned, when He said, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. There, the countenance of Moses shone with the glory of the Lord, so that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look upon his face, on account of the glory of his countenance; and here, the Lord Jesus Christ shone like the sun, and His disciples were not able to look upon His face by reason of the glory of His countenance and the intense splendour of the light. There,

Moses smote down with the sword those who had set up the calf; and here, the Lord Jesus said, "I came to send a sword upon the earth, and to set a man at variance with his neighbour," and so on. There, Moses went without fear into the darkness of the clouds that carry water; and here, the Lord Jesus walked with all power upon the waters. There, Moses gave his commands to the sea;

and here, the Lord Jesus, when he was on the sea, rose and gave His commands to the winds and the sea. There, Moses, when he was assailed, stretched forth his hands and fought against Amalek; and here, the Lord Jesus, when we were assailed and were perishing by the violence of that erring spirit who works now hi the just, stretched forth His hands upon the cross, and gave us salvation. But there are indeed many other matters of this kind which I must pass by, my dearly beloved Diodorus, as I am in haste to send veil this little book with all convenient speed; and these omissions of mine you will be able yourself to supply very easily by your own intelligence. Write me, however, an account of all that this servant of the adversary's cause may do hereafter. May the Omnipotent God preserve you whole insoul and in spirit!

45. On receipt of this letter, Diodorus made himself master of its contents, and then entered the lists against Manes. This he did too with such spirit, that he was commended greatly by all for the careful and satisfactory demonstration which he gave of the fact that there is a mutual relationship between the two testaments, and also between the two laws. Discovering also more arguments for himself he was able to bring forward many points of great pertinency and power against the man, and in defence of the truth. He also reasoned in a conclusive manner against his opponent on verbal grounds. For example, he argued with him in the following manner:-Did you say that the testaments are two? Well, then, say either that there are two old testaments, or that there are two new testaments. For you assert that there are two unbegottens belonging to the same time, or rather eternity: and if there are in this way two, there should be either two old testaments or two new testaments. If, however, you do not allow this, but affirm, on the contrary, that there is one old testament and that there is also another new restatement, that will only prove again that there is but one author for both; and the very sequence will show that the Old Testament belongs to Him to

whom also the New Testament pertains. We may illustrate this by the case of a man who says to some other individual, Lease me your old house.

For by such a mode of address does he not pronounce the man to be also-the owner of a new house? Or, on the other hand, if he says to him, Show me your new house; does he not by that very word designate him also as the possessor of an old house? Then, again, this also is to be considered, that since there are two beings, having an unbegotten nature, it is also necessary from that to suppose each of them to have (what must be called) an old testament, and thus there will appear to be two old testaments; if indeed you affirm that both these beings are ancient, and both indeed without a beginning. But I have not learned doctrine like that; neither do the Scriptures contain it. You, however, who allege that the law of Moses comes from the prince of evil, and not from the good God, tell me who those were who withstood Moses to the face-I mean Jamnes and Mambres? For, every object that withstands, withstands not itself, but some other one, either better or worse; as Paul also gives us to understand when he writes in the following terms in his second Epistle to Timothy: "As Jamnes and Mambres withstood Moses, so have these also resisted the truth: men of corrupt mind, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall proceed no further: for their folly is manifest unto all men, as theirs also was.

Do you observe how he compares Jamnes and Mambres to men of corrupt mind, and reprobate concerning the faith.; while he likens Moses, on the other hand, to the truth? But the holy John, the greatest of the evangelists, also tells us of the giving and diffusing of grace for grace; for he indicates, indeed, that we have received the law of Moses out of the fulness of Christ, and he means that for that one grace this other grace has been made perfect in us through Jesus Christ. It was also to show this to be the case that our Lord Jesus Christ Himself spake in these terms: "Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye hope. For had ye believed Moses, ye would indeed have believed me: for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words? And besides all these words, there are still many other passages that might be adduced both from the Apostle Paul and from the Gospels, by which we are able to prove that the old law belongs to no other one than that Lord to whom also the new testament appertains, and which it would suit us very

well to set forth, and to make use of in a satisfactory manner. Now, however, the evening prevents us from doing so;

for the day is drawing to its close, and it is right that we should now bring our disputation to an end. But an opportunity will be given you to-morrow to put questions to us on any points you are pleased to take up. And after these words they went their way. 46. Next morning, however, Archelaus suddenly made his appearance at this residence in which Diodorus was staying, before any one was yet stirring abroad. Manes accordingly, all unconscious of the fact that Archelaus was now on the spot again, challenged Diodorus publicly to engage in a disputation with him; his intention being to crush him with a verbal display, because he perceived that he was a man of a simple nature, and not very deeply learned in questions concerning the Scriptures. For he had now had a taste of the doctrine of Archelaus. When, therefore, the multitudes had again collected in the place usually set apart for the disputation, and when Manes had just begun to reason, all on a sudden Archelaus appeared among them, and embraced Diodorus, and saluted him with an holy kiss. Then truly were Diodorus, and all those who were present, filled with wonder at the dispensation of divine providence which thus provided that Archelaus should arrive among them at the very time when the question was just raised; for in reality, as must be confessed, Diodorus, with all his religiousness, had been somewhat afraid of the conflict. But when Manes caught sight of Archelaus, he at once drew back from his insulting attitude; and with his pride cast down not a little, he made it quite plain that he would gladly flee from the contest.

The multitude of hearers, however, looked upon the arrival of Archelaus as something like the advent of an apostle, because he had shown himself so thoroughly furnished, and so prompt and ready for a defence of the truth by speech. Accordingly, after demanding silence from the people by a wave of his right hand,-for no inconsiderable tumult had arisen,-Archelaus began an address in the following terms:-Although some amongst us have gained the honour of wisdom and the meed of glory, yet this I beg of you, that you retain in your minds the testimony of those things which have been said before my arrival. For I know and am certain, brethren, that I now take the place of Diodorus, not on account of any impossibilities attaching to him, but because I came to know this person here at a previous time, when he made his way with his wicked designs into the parts where I reside, by the fa-

vour of Marcellus, that man of illustrious name, whom he endeavoured to turn aside from our doctrine and faith, with the object, to wit, of making him an effective supporter of this impious teaching. Nevertheless, in spite of all his plausible addresses, he failed to move him or turn him aside from the faith in any one particular. For this most devout Marcellus was only found to be like the rock on which the house was built with the most solid foundations;

and when the rain descended, and the floods and the winds burst in and beat upon that house, it stood firm: for it had been built on the most solid and immoveable foundations. And the attempt thus made by this person who is now before you, brought dishonour rather than glory upon himself. Moreover, it does not seem to me that he can be very excusable if he proves to be ignorant of what is in the future; for surely he ought to know beforehand those who are on his own side: certainly he should have this measure of knowledge, if it be true indeed that the Spirit of the Paraclete dwells in him. But inasmuch as he is really a person blinded with the darkness of ignorance, he ran in vain when he journeyed to Marcellus, and he did but show himself to be like the stargazer, who busies himself with describing things celestial, while all the time he is ignorant of what is passing in his own home. But lest it should appear as if I were setting aside the question in hand by speaking in this strain, I shall now refrain from such discourse. And I shall also give this man the privilege of taking up any point which may suit him best as a commencement to any treatment of the subject and the question.

And to you, as I have said already, I only address the request that ye be impartial judges, so as to give to him who speaks the truth the proper honour and the palm. 47. Then Manes, after silence had been secured among all, thus began his address: Like others, Archelaus, you too smite me with the most injurious words, notwithstanding that my sentiments on the subject of God are correct, and that I hold also a proper conception of Christ; and yet the family of the apostles is rather of the character that bears all things and endures all things, even although a man may assail them with revilings and curses. If it is your intention to persecute me, I am prepared for it: and if you wish to involve me in punishment, I shall not shrink from it; yea, if you mean even to put me to death, I am not afraid: "For we ought to fear Him only who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell. Archelaus said: Far be that from me! Not such is my intention. For what have you ever had to suffer

at my hands, or at the hands of those who think with us, even when you were disparaging us and doing us injury, and when you were speaking in detraction of the traditions of our fathers, and when it was your aim to work the death of the souls of men that were well established in the truth, and that were kept with the most conscientious carefulness; for which, in truth, the whole wealth of the world would not serve as a sufficient compensation? Nevertheless, what ground have you for assuming this position? What have you to show?

Tell us this, -what signs of salvation have you to bring before us? For the bare bravado of words will not avail to satisfy the multitude here present, neither will it be enough to qualify them for recognising which of us holds the knowledge of the truth the more correctly. Wherefore, as you have got the opportunity of speaking first, tell us first to what particular head of the subject you wish us to direct the disputation. Manes said: If you do not offer a second time an unfair resistance to the positions which shall be stated with all due propriety by us, I shall speak with you; but if you mean to show yourself still in the character which on a former occasion I perceived you to take up, I shall address myself to Diodorus, and shall keep clear of your turbulence. Archelaus said: I have already expressed my opinion that we shall be simply abusing the occasion by the mere bandying of empty words. If any one on one side is formal to offer an unfair resistance, leave that to the decision of the judges. But now, tell us what you have got to advance. Manes said: If you do not mean a second time merely to gainsay the positions which are stated with all due correctness by me, I shall begin. Archelaus said: "If not this," and "if not that," are ways of speaking which mark out an ignorant man. You are ignorant, therefore, of what is in the future.

But as to this particular thing which you do declare to be still future, to gainsay or not to gainsay is a matter in my own power. How, then, will that argument about the two trees stand, in which you place your trust as in a buckler of the most approved strength? For if I am of the contrary side, how do you require my obedience? And if, on the other hand, there is in me the disposition of obedience, how are you so greatly alarmed lest I should gainsay you? For you maintain that evil remains evil always, and that good remains good always, in utter ignorance of the force of your words. Manes said: Have I employed you as the advocate of my words, so that you may determine also the intelligence that may suit my knowledge? And how will you be able to

explain what belongs to another person, when you cannot make what pertains to yourself clear? But if Diodorus now admits himself to be vanquished, my reasonings will then be addressed to you. If, however, he still stands out, and is prepared to speak, I beg you to give over and cease from interfering with the substantiating of the truth. For you are a strange sheep; nevertheless hereafter you will be introduced into the number of the same flock, as the voice of Jesus also intimates,—that Jesus, namely, who appeared in the form of man indeed, and yet was not a man. Archelaus said:

Are you not, then, of opinion that He was born of the Virgin Mary? Manes said: God forbid that I should admit that our Lord Jesus Christ came down to us through the natural womb of a woman! For He gives us His own testimony that He came down from the Father's bosom; and again He says, "He that receiveth me, receiveth Him that sent me;" and, "I came not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me;" and once more, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And there are also innumerable other passages of a similar import, which point Him out as one that came, and not as one that was born. But if you are greater than He, and if you know better than He what is true, how do we yet believe Him? Archelaus said: Neither am I greater than He, for I am His servant nor can I be even the equal of my Lord, for I am His unprofitable servant; I am a disciple of His words, and I believe those things which have been spoken by Him, and I affirm that they are unchangeable. Manes said: A certain person somewhat like you once said to Him, "Mary Thy mother, and Thy brethren, stand without;" and He took not the word kindly, but rebuked the person who had uttered it, saying, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?"

"And He showed that those who did His will were both His mothers and His brethren. If you, however, mean to say that Mary was actually His mother, you place yourself in a position of considerable peril. For, without any doubt, it would be proved on the same principles that He had brethren also by her. Now tell me whether these brethren were begotten by Joseph or by the same Holy Spirit. For if you say that they were begotten by the same Holy Spirit, it will follow that we have had many Christs. And if you say that these were not begotten by the same Holy Spirit, and yet aver that He had brethren, then without doubt we shall be under the necessity of understanding that, in succession to the Spirit and after Gabriel, the most pure and spotless virgin formed an actual marriage connection with Joseph. But if this

is also a thing altogether absurd-I mean the supposition that she had any manner of intercourse with Joseph-tell me whether then He had brethren. Are you thus to fix the crime of adultery also on her, most sagacious Marcelus? But if none of these suppositions suits the position of the Virgin undefiled, how will you make it out that He had brothers?

And if you are unable to prove clearly to us that He had brethren, will it be any the easier for you to prove Mary to be His mother, in accordance with the saying of him who ventured to write, "Behold, Thy mother and Thy brethren stand without?" Yet, although that man was bold enough to address Him thus, no one can be mightier or greater than this same person Himself who shows us His mother or His brethren. Nay, He does not deign even to hear it said that He is David's son. The Apostle Peter, however, the most eminent of all the disciples, was able to acknowledge Him on that occasion, when all were putting forth the several opinions which they entertained respecting Him: for he said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" and immediately He names him blessed, addressing him thus: "For my heavenly Father hath revealed it unto thee. Observe what a difference there is between these two words which were spoken by Jesus. For to him who had said, "Behold, Thy mother stands without," He replied, "Who is my mother, or who are my brethren?" But to him who said, "Thou art the Christ the Son of the living, God," He makes the return of a beatitude and benediction. Consequently, if you will have it that He was born of Mary, then it follows that no less than Peter, He is Himself thus proved to have spoken falsely.

But if, on the other hand, Peter states what is true, then without doubt that former person was in error. And if the former was in error, the matter is to be referred back to the writer. We know, therefore, that there is one Christ, according to the Apostle Paul, whose words, as in consonance at least with His advent, we believe. 48. On hearing these statements, the multitudes assembled were greatly moved, as if they felt that these reasonings gave the correct account of the truth, and that Archelaus could have nothing to urge against them; for this was indicated by the commotion which arose among them. But when the crowd of auditors became quiet again, Archelaus made answer in the following manner: No one, truly, shall ever be able to prove himself mightier than the voice of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither is there found any name equal to His, as it is written: "Wherefore God hath exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name. Nor, again, in the

matter of testimony can any one ever be equal to Him; and accordingly I shall simply adduce the testimonies of His own voice in answer to you,—first of all, indeed, with the view of solving those difficulties which have been enunciated by you, so that you may not say, as is your wont to do, that these are matters which are not in harmony with the Person Himself. Now, you maintain that the man who brought the word to Jesus about His mother and His brethren was rebuked by Him as if he was in error, as the writer was in error. Well, I affirm that neither was this person rebuked who brought Him the message about His mother and His brethren, nor was Peter only named blessed above him;

but each of these two parties received from Him the answer that was properly called forth by their several utterances, as the discourse will demonstrate in what follows. When one is a child, he thinks as a child, he speaks as a child; but when he becomes a mature man, those things are to be done away which are proper for a child: in other words, when one reaches forth unto those things which are before, he will forget those which are behind. Hence, when our Lord Jesus Christ was engaged in teaching and healing the race of men, so that all pertaining to it might not utterly perish together, and when the minds of all those who were listening to Him were intently occupied with these interests, it made an interruption altogether inopportune when this messenger came in and put Him in mind of His mother and His brethren. What then? Ought He, now, yourself being judge, to have left those whom He was healing and instructing, and gone to speak with His mother and His brethren? Would you not by such a supposition at once lower the character of the Person Himself? When, again, He chose certain men who were laden and burdened with sins for the honour of discipleship, to the number of twelve, whom He also named His apostles, He gave them this injunction, Leave father and mother, that you may be made worthy of me;

intending by this that thence forward the memory of father or mother should no more impair the steadfastness of their heart. And on another occasion, when a different individual chose to say to Him, "I will go and bury my father," He answered, "Let the dead bury their dead. Behold, then, how my Lord Jesus Christ edifies His disciples unto all things necessary, and delivers His sacred words to every one, in due accordance with what is meet for him. And just in the same way, too, on this other occasion, when a certain person came in with the inconsiderate message about His mother, He did not em-

brace the occurrence as an opportunity for leaving His Father's commission unattended to even for the sake of having His mother with Him. But in order to show you still more clearly that this is the real account of the matter, let me remind you that Peter, on a certain season, subsequent to the time of his receiving that declaration of blessedness from Him, said to Jesus, "Be it far from Thee, Lord: this shall not be unto Thee. This he said after Jesus had announced to him that the Son of man must go up to Jerusalem, and be killed, and rise again the third day. And in answer then to Peter He said: "Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men.

Now, since it is your opinion that the man who brought the message about His mother and His brethren was rebuked by Jesus, and that he who said a little before, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," obtained the word of blessing, mark you that Jesus (may be said to have) rather preferred that person to whom He condescended to give the more gracious and indulgent answer; whereas Peter, even after that benediction, now got no appellation expressive of indulgence addressed to him, by reason of his having failed carefully to observe the nature of the announcement that was made to him. For the error of that messenger was at once corrected by the tenor of the reply; but the dulness of this apostle's apprehension was condemned with a severer rebuke. And from this you may perceive that the Lord Jesus, observing what was proper and opportune with regard to the interrogations thus addressed to Him, gave to each the reply that was worthy of it, and suited to it. But supposing that, as you say, Peter was pronounced blessed on the ground of his having said what was true, and that that messenger was reprov'd on account of the error he committed, tell me then why it is, that when the devils confessed Him, and said, "We know Thee, who Thou art, the holy God," He rebuked them, and commanded them to be silent?

Why was it not the case, if He does indeed take pleasure in the testimonies borne to Him by those who confess Him, that He recompensed them also with benedictions, as He did to Peter when he gave utterance to the truth? But if that would be an absurd supposition, it only remains that we must understand the words spoken by Him always in accordance with the place, the time, the persons, the subjects, and the due consideration of the circumstances. For only this method will save us from falling into the error of pronouncing rashly on His sayings, and thus making ourselves liable to merited

chastisement: and this will also help me to make it more and more intelligible to you, that the man who brought the tidings of His mother was much rather the person honoured. However, in forgetfulness of the subject which was proposed to us for discussion, you have turned off to a different theme. Nevertheless listen to me for a brief space. For if you choose, indeed, to consider those words somewhat more carefully, we shall find that the Lord Jesus displayed great clemency in the case of the former of these two parties; and this I shall prove to you by illustrations stilted to your capacity. A certain king who had taken up arms, and gone forth to meet an enemy, was earnestly considering and planning how he might subdue those hostile and foreign forces.

And when his mind was occupied with many cares and anxieties, after he had forced his way among his adversaries, and when, further, as he began afterwards to make captives of them, the anxious thought was now also pressing upon him as to how he might secure the safety and interests of those who had toiled with him, and borne the burden of the war, a certain messenger broke inopportunistly in upon him, and began to remind him of domestic matters. But he was astonished at the man's boldness, and at his unseasonable suggestions, and thought of delivering such a fellow over to death. And had that messenger not been one who was able to appeal to his tenderest affections in bringing the news that it was well with those at home, and that all went on prosperously and successfully there, that punishment might have been his instant and well-merited doom. For what else should be a king's care, so long as the time of war endures, than to provide for the safety of the people of his province, and to look after military matters?

And even thus it also was that that messenger came inopportunistly in upon my Lord Jesus Christ, and brought the report about His mother and His brethren unseasonably, just when He was fighting against ills which had assailed the very citadel of the heart, and when He was healing those who for a long time had been under the power of diverse infirmities, and when He had now put forth His utmost effort to secure the salvation of all. And truly that man might have met with a sentence like that pronounced on Peter, or even one severer still. But the hearing of the name of His mother and His brethren drew forth His clemency. 49. But in addition to all that has been said already, I wish to adduce still further proof, so that all may understand what impiety is contained in this assertion of yours. For if your allegation is

true, that He was not born, then it will follow undoubtedly that He did not suffer; for it is not possible for one to suffer who was not also born. But if He did not suffer, then the name of the cross is done away with. And if the cross was not endured, then Jesus did not rise from the dead. And if Jesus rose not from the dead, then no other person will rise again. And if no one shall rise again, then there will be no judgment. For it is certain that, if I am not to rise again, I cannot be judged. But if there is to be no judgment, then the keeping of God's commandments will be to no purpose, and there will be no occasion for abstinence: nay, we may say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die. For all these consequences follow when you deny that He was born of Mary. But if you acknowledge that He was born of Mary, then His passion will necessarily follow, and His resurrection will be consequent on His passion, and the judgment on His resurrection: and thus the injunctions of Scripture will have their proper value for us. This is not therefore an idle question, but there are the mightiest issues involved in this word.

For just as all the law and the prophets are summed up in two words, so also all our hope is made to depend on the birth by the blessed Mary. Give me therefore an answer to these several questions which I shall address to you. How shall we get rid of these many words of the apostle, so important and so precise, which are expressed in terms like the following: "But when the good pleasure of God was with us, He sent His Son, made of a woman; " and again, "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us; " and once more, "God hath both raised up the Lord, and will raise up us together with Him by His own power? " And there are many other passages of a similar import; as, for example, this which follows: "How say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead? For if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is not Christ risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain. Yea, and we shall be found false witnesses of God; who have testified against God that He raised up Christ: whom He raised not up. For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ risen: and if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins: Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are more miserable than all men.

But now is Christ risen from the dead, the beginning of them that sleep; " and so on. Who, then, I ask, can be found so rash and audacious as not to make his faith fit in with these sacred words, in which there is no qualification nor any dubiety? Who, I ask you, O foolish Galatian, has bewitched you,

as those were bewitched "before whose eyes Jesus Christ was evidently set forth, crucified?" From all this I think that these testimonies should suffice in proof of the judgment, and the resurrection, and the passion; and the birth by Mary is also shown to be involved naturally and at once in these facts. And what matters it though you refuse to acquiesce in this, when the Scripture proclaims the fact most unmistakeably? Nevertheless I shall again put a question to you, and let it please you to give me an answer. When Jesus gave His testimony concerning John, and said, "Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist: notwithstanding, he that is less in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he," tell me what is meant by there being a greater than he in the kingdom of heaven. Was Jesus less in the kingdom of heaven than John? I say, God forbid! Tell me, then, how this is to be explained, and you will certainly surpass yourself. Without doubt the meaning is, that Jesus was less than John among those that are born of woman;

but in the kingdom of heaven He is greater than he. Wherefore tell me this too, O Manichaeus: If you say that Christ was not born of Mary, but that He only appeared like a man, while yet He was not really a man, the appearance being effected and produced by the power that is in Him, tell me, I repeat, on whom then was it that the Spirit descended like a dove? Who is this that was baptized by John? If He was perfect, if He was the Son, if He was the Power, the Spirit could not have entered into Him; just as a kingdom cannot enter within a kingdom. And whose, too, was that voice which was sent forth out of heaven, and which gave Him this testimony, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased?" Come, tell me; make no delay; who is this that acquires all these things, that does all these things? Answer me: Will you thus audaciously adduce blasphemy for reason, and will you attempt to find a place for it?

50. Manes said: No one, certainly, who may be able to give a reply to what has just been alleged by you need fear incurring the guilt of blasphemy, but should rather be deemed thoroughly worthy of all commendation. For a true master of his art, when any matters are brought under his notice, ought to prepare his reply with due care, and make all clearly to understand the points that are in question or under doubt; and most especially ought he to do so to uninstructed persons. Now since the account of our doctrine does not satisfy you, be pleased, like a thorough master of your art, to solve this question also

for me in a reasonable manner. For to me it seems but pious to say that the Son of God stood in need of nothing whatsoever in the way of making good His advent upon earth; and that He in no sense required either the dove, or baptism, or mother, or brethren, or even mayhap a father,-which father, however, according to your view, was Joseph; but that He descended altogether by Himself alone, and transformed Himself, according to His own good pleasure, into the semblance of a man, in accordance with that word of Paul which tells us that "He was found in fashion as a man. Show me, therefore, what thing He could possibly need who was able to transform Himself into all manner of appearances.

For when He chose to do so, He again transformed this human fashion and mien into the likeness of the sun. But if you gainsay me once more, and decline to acknowledge that I state the faith correctly, listen to my definition of the position in which you stand. For if you say that He was only man as born of Mary, and that He received the Spirit at His baptism, it will follow that He will be made out to be Son by increase and not by nature. If, however, I grant you to say that He is Son according to increase, and that He was made as a man, your opinion is that He is really a man, that is to say, one who is flesh and blood. But then it will necessarily follow that the Spirit also who appeared like a dove was nothing else than a natural dove. For the two expressions are the same,-namely, "as a man" and "like a dove;" and consequently whatever may be the view you take of the one passage which uses the phrase "as a man," you ought to hold that same view also of this other passage in which the expression "like a dove" is used. It is a clear matter of necessity to take these things in the same way, for only thus can we find out the real sense of what is written concerning Him in the Scriptures. Archelaus said:

As you cannot do so much for yourself, like a thorough master of your art, so neither should I care to put this question right and with all patience to make it clear, and to give the evident solution of the difficulty, were it not for the sake of those who are present with us, and who listen to us. For this reason, therefore, I shall also explain the answer that ought to be given to this question as it may be done most appropriately. It does not seem to you, then, to be a pious thing to say that Jesus had a mother in Mary; and you hold a similar view on certain other positions which you have now been discussing in terms which I, for my part, altogether shrink from repeating.

Now, sometimes a master of any art happens to be compelled by the ignorance of an opponent both to say and to do things which time would make him decline; and accordingly, because the necessity is laid upon me, by consideration for the multitude present, I may give a brief answer to those statements which have been made so erroneously by you. Let us suppose, now, your allegation to be that if we understand Jesus to be a man made of Mary after the course of nature, and regard him consequently as having flesh and blood, it will be necessary also to hold that the Holy Spirit was a real dove, and not a spirit.

Well, then, how can a real dove enter into a real man, and abide in him? For flesh cannot enter into flesh. Nay rather, it is only when we acknowledge Jesus to be a true man, and also hold him who is there said to be like a dove to be the Holy Spirit, that we shall give the correct account according to reason on both sides. For, according to right reason, it may be said that the Spirit dwells in a man, and descends upon him, and abides in him; and these, indeed, are things which have happened already in all due competence, and the occurrence of which is always possible still, as even you yourself admit, inasmuch as you did aforetime profess to be the Paraclete of God, you flint, as I may call you, and no man, so often forgetful of the very things which you assert. For you declared that the Spirit whom Jesus promised to send has come upon you; and whence can He come but by descending from Heaven? And if the Spirit descends thus on the man worthy of Him, then verily must we fancy that real doves descended upon you? Then truly should we rather discover in you the thieving dove-merchant, who lays snares and lines for the birds. For surely you well deserve to be made a jest of with words of ridicule.

However, I spare you, lest perchance I appear to offend the auditors by such expressions, and also most especially because it is beside my purpose to throw out against you all that you deserve to hear said about you. But let me return to the proper subject. For I am mindful of that transformation of thine, in virtue of which you say that God has transformed Himself into the fashion of a man or into that of the sun, by which position you think to prove that our Jesus was made man only in fashion and in appearance; which assertion may God save: any of the faithful from making. Now, for the rest, that opinion of yours would reduce the whole matter to a dream, so far as we are concerned, and to mere figures; and not that only, but the very name of

an advent would be done away: for He might have done what He desired to do, though still seated in heaven, if He is, as you say, a spirit, and not a true man. But it is not thus that "He humbled Himself, and took the form of a servant; " and I say this of Him who was made man of Mary. For what? Might not we, too, have set forth things like those with which you have been dealing, and that, too, all the more easily and the more broadly? But far be it from us to swerve one jot or one tittle from the truth.

For He who was born of Mary is the Son, who chose of His own accord to sustain this mighty conflict,-namely, Jesus. This is the Christ of God, who descended upon him who is of Mary. If, however, you refuse to believe even the voice that was heard from heaven, all that you can bring forward in place of the same is but some rashness of your own; and though you were to declare yourself on that, no one would believe you. For forthwith Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil; and as the devil had no correct knowledge of Him, he said to Him, "If thou be the Son of God. Besides, he did not understand the reason of this bearing of the Son of God by Mary, who preached the kingdom of heaven, whose was also indeed a great tabernacle, and one that could not have been prepared by any other: whence, too, He who was nailed to the cross, on rising again from the dead, was taken up thither where Christ the Son of God reigned; so that when He begins to conduct His judgment, those who have been ignorant of Him shall look on Him whom they pierced. But in order to secure your credence, I propose this question to you:

Why was it, that although His disciples sojourned a whole year with Him, not one of them fell prostrate on his face before Him, as you were saying a little ago, save only in that one hour when His countenance shone like the sun? Was it not by reason of that tabernacle which had been made for Him of Mary? For just as no other had the capacity sufficient for sustaining the burden of the Paraclete except only the disciples and the blessed Paul, so also no other was able to bear the Spirit who descended from heaven, and through whom that voice of the Father gave its testimony in these terms, "This is my beloved Son," save only He who was born of Mary, and who is above all the saints,-namely, Jesus. But now give us your answer to those matters which I bring forward against you. If you hold that He is than only in mien and form, how could He have been laid hold of and dragged off to judgment by those who were born of man and woman-to wit, the Pharisees-

seeing that a spiritual body cannot be grasped by bodies of grosser capacities? But if you, who as yet have made no reply to the arguments brought before you, have now any kind of answer to offer to the word and proposition I have adduced, proceed, I pray you, and fetch me at least a handful or some fair modicum of your sunlight.

But that very sun, indeed, inasmuch as it is possessed of a more subtle body, is capable of covering and enveloping you; while you, on the other hand, can do it no injury, even although you were to trample it under foot. My Lord Jesus, however, if He was laid hold of, was laid hold of as a man by men. If He is not a man, neither was He laid hold of. If He was not laid hold of, neither did He suffer, nor was He baptized. If He was not baptized, neither is any of us baptized. But if there is no baptism, neither will there be any remission of sins, but every man will die in his own sins. Manes said: Is baptism, then, given on account of the remission of sins? Archelaus said: Certainly. Manes said: Does it not follow, then, that Christ has sinned, seeing that He has been baptized? Archelaus said: God forbid! Nay, rather, He was made sin for us, taking on Him our sins. For this reason He was born of a woman, and for this reason also He approached the rite of baptism, in order that He might receive the purification of this part, and that thus the body which He had taken to Himself might be capable of bearing the Spirit, who had descended in the form of a dove.

51. When Archelaus had finished this speech, the crowds of people marvelled at the truth of his doctrine, and expressed their vehement commendations of the man with loud outcries, so that they exerted themselves most energetically, and would have kept him from his return. Thereafter, however, they withdrew. After some time, again, when they were gathered together, Archelaus persuaded them to accede to his desire, and listen quietly to the word. And among his auditors were not only those who were with Diodorus, but also all who were present from his province and from the neighbouring districts. When silence, then, was secured, Archelaus proceeded to speak to them of Manes in the following manner: You have heard, indeed, what is the character of the doctrine which we teach, and you have got some proof of our faith; for I have expounded the Scriptures before you all, precisely in accordance with the views which I myself have been able to reach in studying them. But I entreat you now to listen to me in all silence, while I speak with the utmost possible brevity, with the view of giving you to under-

stand who this person is who has made his appearance among us, and whence he comes, and what character he has, exactly as a certain man of the name of Sisinius, one of his comrades, has indicated the facts to me; which individual I am also prepared, if it please you, to summon in evidence of the statements I am about to make.

And, in truth, this person did not decline to affirm the very same facts which we now adduce, even when Manes was present; for the above-mentioned individual became a believer of our doctrine, as did also another person who was with me, named Turbo. Accordingly, all that these parties have conveyed in their testimony to me. and also all that we ourselves have discovered in the man, I shall not suffer to be kept back from your cognizance. Then, indeed, the multitudes became all the more excited, and crowded together to listen to Archelaus; for, in good sooth, the statements which were made by him offered them the greatest enjoyment. Accordingly, they earnestly urged him to tell them all that he pleased, and all that he had on his mind; and they declared themselves ready to listen to him there and then, and engaged to stay on even to the evening, and until the lights should be lit.

Stimulated therefore by their heartiness, Archelaus began his address with all confidence in the following terms:-My brethren, you have heard, indeed, the primary causes relating to my Lord Jesus,-I mean those which are decided out of the law and the prophets; and of the subsidiary causes also relating to my Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour, you are not ignorant. And why should I say more? From the loving desire for the Saviour we have been called Christians, as the whole world itself attests, and as the apostles also plainly declare. Yea, further, that best master-builder of His, Paul himself, has laid our foundation, that is, the foundation of the Church and has put us in trust of the law, ordaining ministers, and presbyters, and bishops in the same, and describing in the places severally assigned to that purpose, in what manner and with what character the ministers of God ought to conduct themselves, of what repute the presbyters ought to be possessed, and how they should be constituted, and what manner of persons those also ought to be who desire the office of bishop. And all these institutions. which were once settled well and rightly for us, preserve their prosper standing and order with us to this day, and the regular administration of these rules abides amongst us still.

But as to this fellow, Manes by name, who has at present burst boastfully forth upon us from the province of Persia, and between whom and me disputation has now for the second time been stirred, I shall tell you about his lineage, and that, too, in all fulness; and I shall also show you most lucidly the source from which his doctrine has descended. This man is neither the first nor the only originator of this type of doctrine. But a certain person belonging to Scythia, bearing the name Scythianus, and living in the time of the apostles, was the founder and leader of this sect, just as many other apostates have constituted themselves founders and leaders, who from time to time, through the ambitious desire of arrogating positions of superior importance to themselves, have given out falsehoods for the truth, and have perverted the simpler class of people to their own lustful appetencies, on whose names and treacheries, however, thee does not permit us at present to descant. This Scythianus, then, was the person who introduced this self-contradictory dualism; and for that, too, he was himself indebted to Pythagoras, as also all the other followers of this dogma have been, who all uphold the notion of a dualism, and turn aside from the direct course of Scripture: but they shall not gain any further success therein.

52. No one, however, has ever made such an unblushing advance in the promulgation of these tenets as this Scythianus. For he introduced the notion of a feud between the two unbegottens, and all those other fancies which are the consequences of a position of that kind. This Scythianus himself belonged to the stock of the Saracens, and took as his wife a certain captive from the Upper Thebaid, who persuaded him to dwell in Egypt rather than in the deserts. And would that he had never been received by that province, in which, as he dwelt in it for a period, he found the opportunity for learning the wisdom of the Egyptians! for, to speak truth, he was a person of very decided talent, and also of very liberal means, as those who knew him, have likewise testified in accounts transmitted to us. Moreover, he had a certain disciple named Terebinthus, who wrote four books for him. To the first of these books he gave the title of the Mysteries, to the second that of the Heads, to the third that of the Gospel, and to the last of all that of the Treasury. He had these four books, and this one disciple whose name was Terebinthus. As, then, these two persons had determined to reside alone by themselves for a considerable period, Scythianus thought of making an ex-

cursion into Judea, with the purpose of meeting with all those who had a reputation there as teachers;

but it came to pass that he suddenly departed this life soon after that, without having been able to accomplish anything. That disciple, moreover, who had sojourned with him had to flee, and made his way toward Babylonia, a province which at present is held by the Persians, and which is distant now a journey of about six days and nights from our parts. On arriving there, Terebinthus succeeded in giving currency to a wonderful account of himself, declaring that he was replete with all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and that he was really named now, not Terebinthus, but another Buddas, and that this designation had been put upon him. He asserted further that he was the son of a certain virgin, and that he had been brought up by an angel on the mountains. A certain prophet, however, of the name of Parcus, and Labdacus the son of Mithras, charged him with falsehood, and day after day unceasingly they had keen and elevated contentions on this subject. But why should I speak of that at length? Although he was often reprov'd, he continued, nevertheless, to make declarations to them on matters which were antecedent to the world, and on the sphere, and the two luminaries; and also on the question whither and in what manner the souls depart, and in what mode they return again into the bodies;

and he made many other assertions of this nature, and others even worse than these, - as, for instance, that war was raised with God among the elements, that the prophet himself might be believed. However, as he was hard pressed for assertions like these, he betook himself to a certain widow, along with his four books: for he had attached to himself no disciple in that same locality, with the single exception of an old woman who became an intimate of his. Then, on a subsequent occasion, at the earliest dawn one morning, he went up to the top of a certain house, and there began to invoke certain names, which Turbo has told us only the seven elect have learned. He ascended to the housetop, then, with the purpose of engaging in some religious ceremony, or some art of his own; and he went up alone, so as not to be detected by any one: for he considered that, if he was convicted of playing false with, or holding of little account, the religious beliefs of the people, he would be liable to be punished by the real princes of the country. And as he was revolving these things then in his mind, God in His perfect justice decreed that he should be thrust beneath earth by a spirit; and forthwith he was

cast down from the roof of the house; and his body, being precipitated lifeless to the ground, was taken up in pity by the old woman mentioned above, and was buried in the wonted place of sepulture.

53. After this event all the effects which he had brought with him from Egypt remained in her possession. And she rejoiced greatly over his death, and that for two reasons: first, because she did not regard his arts with satisfaction; and secondly, because she had obtained such an inheritance, for it was one of great value. But as she was all alone, she bethought herself of having some one to attend her; and she got for that purpose a boy of about seven years of age, named Corbicius, to whom she at once gave his freedom, and whom she also instructed in letters. When this boy had reached his twelfth year the old woman died, and left to him all her possessions, and among other things those four books which Scythianus had written, each of them consisting of a moderate number of lines. When his mistress was once buried, Corbicius began to make his own use of all the property that had been left him. Abandoning the old locality, he took up his abode in the middle of the city, where the king of Persia had his residence; and there altering his name, he called himself Manes instead of Corbicius, or, to speak more correctly, not Manes, but Mani: for that is the kind of inflection employed in the Persian language.

Now, when this boy had grown to be a man of well-nigh sixty years of age, he had acquired great erudition in all the branches of learning taught in those parts, and I might almost say that in these he surpassed all others. Nevertheless he had been a still more diligent student of the doctrines contained in these four books; and he had also gained three disciples, whose names were Thomas, Addas, and Hermas. Then, too, he took these books, and transcribed them in such wise that he introduced into them much new matter which was simply his own, and which can be likened only to old wives' fables. Those three disciples, then, he thus had attached to him as conscious participants in his evil counsels; and he gave, moreover, his own name to the books, and deleted the name of their former owner, as if he had composed them all by himself. Then it seemed good to him to send his disciples, with the doctrines which he had committed to writing in the books, into the upper districts of that province, and through various cities and villages, with the view of securing followers. Thomas accordingly determined to take possession of the regions of Egypt, and Addas those of Scythia, while Hermas

alone chose to remain with the man himself. When these, then, had set out on their course, the king's son was seized with a certain sickness;

and as the king was very anxious to see him cured, he published a decree offering a large reward, and engaging to bestow it upon any one who should prove himself capable of restoring the prince. On the report of this, all at haphazard, like the men who are accustomed to play the game of cubes, which is another name for the dice, Manes presented himself before the king, declaring that he would cure the boy. And when the king heard that, he received him courteously, and welcomed him heartily. But not utterly to weary my hearers with the recital of the many things which he did, let me simply say that the boy died, or rather was bereft of life, in his hands. Then the king ordered Manes to be thrust into prison, and to be loaded with chains of iron weighing half a hundredweight. Moreover, those two disciples of his who had been sent to inculcate his doctrine among the different cities were also sought for with a view to punishment. But they took to flight, without ever ceasing, however, to introduce into the various localities which they visited that teaching of theirs which is so alien to the faith, and which has been inspired only by Antichrist.

54. But after these events they returned to their master, and reported what had befallen them; and at the same time they got an account of the numerous ills which had overtaken him. When, therefore, got access to him, as I was saying, they called his attention to all the sufferings they had had to endure in each several region; and as for the rest, they urged it upon him that regard ought now to be had to the question of safety; for they had been in great terror lest any of the miseries which were inflicted on him should fall to their own lot. But he counselled them to fear nothing, and rose to harangue them. And then, while he lay in prison, he ordered them to procure copies of the books of the law of the Christians; for these disciples who had been despatched by him through the different communities were held in execration by all men, and most of all by those with whom the name of Christians was an object of honour. Accordingly, on receiving a small supply of money, they took their departure for those districts in which the books of the Christians were published; and pretending that they were Christian messengers, they requested that the books might be shown them, with a view to their acquiring copies. And, not to make a lengthened narrative of this, they

thus got possession of all the books of our Scriptures, and brought them back with them to their master, who was still in prison.

On receiving these copies, that astute personage set himself to seek out, all the statements in our books that seemed to favour his notion of a dualism; which, however, was not really his notion, but rather that of Scythianus, who had promulgated it a long time before him. And just as he did in disputing with me, so then too, by rejecting some things and altering others in our Scriptures, he tried to make out that they advanced his own doctrines, only that the name of Christ was attached to them there. That name, therefore, he pretended on this account to assume to himself, in order that the people in the various communities, hearing the holy and divine name of Christ, might have no temptation to execrate and harass those disciples of his. Moreover, when they came upon the word which is given us in our Scriptures touching the Paraclete, he took it into his head that he himself might be that Paraclete; for he had not read with sufficient care to observe that the Paraclete had come already, -namely, at the time when the apostles were still upon earth. Accordingly, when he had made up these impious inventions, he sent his disciples also to proclaim these fictions and errors with all boldness, and to make these false and novel words known in every quarter. But when the king of Persia learned this fact, he prepared to inflict condign punishment upon him.

Manes, however, received information of the king's intention, having been warned of it in sleep, and made his escape out of prison, and succeeding in taking to flight, for he had bribed his keepers with a very large sum of money. Afterwards he took up his residence in the castle of Arabion; and from that place he sent by the hand of Turbo the letter which he wrote to our Marcellus, in which letter he intimated his intention of visiting him. On his arrival there, a contest took place between him and me, resembling the disputation which you have observed and listened to here; in which discussion we sought to show, as far as it was in our power, that he was a false prophet. I may add, that the keeper of the prison who had let him escape was punished, and that the king gave orders that the man should be sought for and apprehended wherever he might be found. And as these things have come trader my own cognizance, it was needful that I should also make the fact known to you, that search is being made for this fellow even to the present day by the king of Persia.

55. On hearing this, the multitude wished to seize Manes and hand him over to the power of those foreigners who were their neighbours, and who dwelt beyond the river Stranga, especially as also some time before this certain parties had come to seek him out; who, however, had to take their leave again without finding any trace of him, for at that time he was in flight. However, when Archelaus made this declaration, Manes at once took to flight, and succeeded in making his escape good before any one followed in pursuit of him. For the people were detained by the narrative which was given by Archelaus, whom they heard with great pleasure; nevertheless some of them did follow in close pursuit after him. But he made again for the roads by which he had come, and crossed the river, and effected his return to the castle of Arabion. There, however, he was afterwards apprehended and brought before the king, who, being inflamed with the strongest indignation against him, and fired with the desire of avenging two deaths upon him,-namely, the death of his own son, and the death of the keeper of the prison,-gave orders that he should be flayed and hung before the gate of the city, and that his skin should be dipped in certain medicaments and inflated; his flesh, too, he commanded to be given as a prey to the birds.

When these things came under the knowledge of Archelaus at a later period, he added an account of them to the former discussion, so that all the facts might be made known to all, even as I, who have written narrative of these matters, have explained the circumstances in what precedes. And all the Christians, therefore, having assembled, resolved that the decision should be given against him transmitting that as a sort of epilogue to his death which would be in proper consonance with the other circumstances of his life. Besides that, Archelaus added words to the following effect:-My brethren, let none of you be incredulous in regard to the statements made by me: I refer to the assertion that Manes was not himself the first author of this impious dogma, but that it was only made public by him in certain regions of the earth. For assuredly that man is not at once to be reckoned the author of anything who has simply been the bearer of it to some quarter or other, but only he has a right to that credit who has been the discoverer of it. For as the helmsman who receives the ship which another has built, may convey it to any countries he pleases, and yet he remains one who has had nothing to do with the construction of the vessel, so also is this man's position to be under-

stood. For he did not impart its origin to this matter really from the beginning;

but he was only the means of transmitting to men what had been discovered by another, as we know on the evidence of trustworthy testimonies, on the ground of which it has been our purpose to prove to you that the invention of this wickedness did not come from Manes, but that it originated with another, and that other indeed a foreigner, who appeared a long time before him. And further, that the dogma remained unpublished for a time, until at length the doctrines which had thus been lying in obscurity for a certain period were brought forward publicly by him as if they were his own, the title of the writer having been deleted, as I have shown above. Among the Persians there was also a certain promulgator of similar tenets, one Basilides, of more ancient date, who lived no long time after the period of our apostles. This man was of a shrewd disposition himself, and as he observed that at that time all other subjects were preoccupied, he determined to affirm that same dualism which was maintained also by Scythianus. And as, in fine, he had nothing to advance which was properly his own, he brought the sayings of others before his adversaries. And all his books contain some matters at once difficult and extremely harsh. The thirteenth book of his Tractates, however, is still extant, which begins in the following manner: "In writing the thirteenth book of our Tractates, the wholesome word furnished us with the necessary and fruitful word.

Then he illustrates how it, the antagonism between good and evil, is produced under the figures of a rich principle and a poor principle, of which the latter is by nature without root and without place, and only supervenes upon things. This is the only topic which the book contains. Does it not then contain a strange word; and, as certain parties have been thus minded, will ye not also all be offended with the book itself, which has such a beginning as this?—But Basilides, returning to the subject after an introduction of some live hundred lines, more or less, proceeds thus: "Give up this vain and curious variations, and let us rather find out what inquiries tile foreigners have instituted on the subject of good and evil, and what opinions they have been led to adopt on all these subjects. For certain among them have maintained that there are for all things two beginnings, to which they have referred good and evil, holding that these beginnings are without beginning and ungenerate; that is to say, that in the origins of things there were light and darkness,

which existed of themselves. and which were not merely declared to exist. While these subsisted by themselves, they led each its own proper mode of life, such as it was its will to lead, and such as was competent to it; for in the case of all things, what is proper to any one is also in amity with the same, and nothing seems evil to itself.

But after they came to know each other, and after the darkness began to contemplate the light, then, as if fired with a passion for something superior to itself the darkness pressed on to have intercourse with the light."

A Fragment of the Same Disputation.

The fragment is introduced by Cyril in the following terms: -He, i.e., Manes, fled from prison and came into Mesopotamia; but there he was met by that buckler of righteousness, Bishop Archelaus. And in order to bring him to the test in the presence of philosophical judges, this person convened an assembly of Grecian auditors, so as to preclude the possibility of its being alleged that the judges were partial, as might have been the case had they been Christians. Then the matter proceeded as we shall now indicate: - 1. Archelaus said to Manes: Give us a statement now of the doctrines you promulgate.-Thereupon the man, whose mouth was like an open sepulchre, began at once with a word of blasphemy against the Maker of all things, saying: The God of the Old Testament is the inventor of evil, who speaks thus of Himself: "I am a consuming fire." -But the sagacious Archelaus completely undid this blasphemy. For he said: If the God of the Old Testament, according to your allegation, calls Himself a fire, I whose son is He who says, "I am come to send fire upon the earth?" If you find fault with one who says, "The Lord killeth and maketh alive," why do you honour Peter, who raised Tabitha to life, but also put Sapphira to death? And if again, you find fault with the one because He has prepared a fire, why do you not find fault with the other, who says, "Depart from me into everlasting fire?" If you find fault with Him who says, "I, God, make peace, and create evil," explain to us how Jesus says, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." Since both persons speak in the same terms, one or other of these two things must follow: namely, either they are both good because they use the same language; or, if Jesus passes without censure though He speaks in such terms, you midst tell us why you reprehend Him who employs a similar mode of address in the Old Testament.

2. Then Manes made the following reply to him: And what manner of God now is it that blinds one? For it is Paul who uses these words: "In whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the-Gospel should shine in them." But Archelaus broke in and refuted this very well, saying: Read, however, a word or two of what precedes that sentence, namely, "But if our Gospel be hid, it is hid in them that are lost." You see that it is hid in them that are lost. "For it is not meet to give the holy things to dogs." And furthermore, is it only the God of the Old Testament that has blinded the minds of them who believe not? Nay, has not Jesus Himself also said: "Therefore speak I to them in parables: that seeing, they may not see? " Is it then because He hated them that He desired them not to see? Or is it not on account of their unworthiness, since they closed their own eyes? For wherever wickedness is a matter self-chosen, there too there is the absence of grace. "For unto him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have."

3. But even although we should be under the necessity of accepting the exegesis advocated by some,-for the subject is not altogether unworthy of notice,-and of saying thus, that He hath actually blinded the minds of them that believe not, we should still have to affirm that He hath blinded them for good, in order that they may recover their sight to behold things that are holy. For it is not said that He hath blinded their soul, but only that He hath blinded the minds of them that believe not. And that mode of expression means something like this: Blind the whorish mind of the whore-monger, and the man is saved; blind the rapacious and thievish mind of the thief and the man is saved. But do you decline to understand the sentence thus? Well, there is still another interpretation. For the sun blinds those who have bad sight; and those who have watery eyes are also blinded when they are smitten by the light: not, however, because it is of the nature of the sun to blind, but because the eye's own constitution is not one of correct vision. And in like manner, those whose hearts are afflicted with the ailment of unbelief are not capable of looking upon the rays of the glory of the Godhead. And again, it is not said, "He hath blinded their minds lest they should hear the Gospel" but rather "lest the light of the glory of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ should shine unto them."

For to hear the Gospel is a thing committed to all; but the glory of the Gospel of Christ is imparted only to the sincere and genuine. For this reason the Lord spake in parables to those who were incapable of hearing, but to His disciples He explained these parables in private. For the illumination of the glory is for those who have been enlightened, while the blinding is for them who believe not. These mysteries, which the Church now declares to you who are transferred from the lists of the catechumens, it is not her custom to declare to the Gentiles. For we do not declare the mysteries touching the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit to a Gentile; neither do we speak of the mysteries plainly in presence of the catechumens; but many a time we express ourselves in an occult manner, so that the faithful who have intelligence may apprehend the truths referred to, while those who have not that intelligence may receive no hurt.

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Pistis Sophia: The First Book

English translation by G. R. S. Mead, from Pistis Sophia: a Gnostic Gospel (with extracts from the Books of the Saviour, appended), originally translated from Greek into Coptic and now for the first time Englished from Schwartz's Latin version of the Coptic text, by G. R. S. Mead (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1896); public domain. The text was read by machine (Mistral OCR) from a scan of the 1896 edition at the Internet Archive and has not been proofread against the printed book. SermonIndex has removed running heads and page numbers, joined words split across lines, and divided the text into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. Footnotes and the editor's introduction are left out. Mead's introduction, his table of summaries, the list of contents, the advertisements at the end and the scribal note of divine names after the first book are also left out. The headings of the sections are the short summaries that Mead printed in the margin of the book, and the numbers in brackets in the text, which are the page numbers of the Coptic manuscript, are removed. No modern English version has been made. *Licence: Public domain.*

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Extracts from the Books of the Saviour

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The Acts of Archelaus: the Disputation with Manes

English translation: an older public-domain translation as collected in the Writings-Database (HistoricalChristianFaith), mostly from the Ante-Nicene, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers and similar nineteenth-century editions. SermonIndex has only divided it into chapters and short sections; the wording is the translator's own. No modern English version has been made. *Licence: Public domain.*

