SAINT IRENAEUS OF LYON

Against Heresies

Adversus haereses

SABBATISMUS

Saint Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130–c. 202)
Adversus haereses · Against Heresies

Latin text: public domain.
Translation, alignment and edition © 2026 Inversiones San Juan Diego (Sabbatismus). Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International license (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Sabbatismus is the imprint of the Inversiones San Juan Diego foundation, San Pedro Sula, Honduras.
Set in EB Garamond and Cinzel.
sabbatismus.com

Book I

Preface

1. Inasmuch as certain men, rejecting the truth, bring in false words and endless genealogies, which furnish questions rather, as the Apostle says, than the edification of God which is in faith (1 Tim 1:4); and by a plausibility cunningly practised lead astray the understanding of the less experienced and take them captive, falsifying the words of the Lord, having made themselves evil interpreters of what was well said; and overthrow many, drawing them away, under the pretext of knowledge, from him who established and ordered this universe, as though they had something higher and greater to show than him who made heaven and earth and all that is in them: persuasively indeed they entice the simpler sort by the art of words to their manner of inquiry, but wickedly they ruin them, in that they make their mind blasphemous and impious towards the Fashioner, since they cannot tell the false from the true.

2. For error is not shown as it is in itself, lest, stripped bare, it should be detected; but, cunningly decked out in a persuasive covering, it presents itself (it is ridiculous even to say it) as truer than the truth itself, so as to deceive the

cruder sort by its outward show; as was said of such things by one better than we: "A precious stone, the emerald, of great price with some, is dishonoured by glass made like it by art, so long as no one is at hand who can test it and expose the craft, how cunningly it was done. For when brass has been mixed with silver, who, being unskilled, will easily be able to test it?" Therefore, lest through our fault some be carried off like sheep by wolves, not knowing them because of their outer clothing of sheep's skin, those whom the Lord charged us to beware of, who speak like us but think unlike us, I have thought it necessary, having read the commentaries of the disciples, as they themselves say, of Valentinus, and having met some of them and grasped their doctrine, to make known to you, dearly beloved, their most prodigious and most lofty mysteries, which not all contain, because not all have brains; so that you too, knowing them, may make them plain to all who are with you, and charge them to keep themselves from the depth of senselessness and of blasphemy against God. And as far as power is in us, we shall set out briefly and clearly the doctrine of those who now teach otherwise, I mean of those about Ptolemy, which is a kind of little flower of the school of Valentinus, and we shall give others occasions, according to our modest ability, to overthrow it, showing that what they say neither stands nor fits the truth; we who are neither accustomed to write nor have given ourselves to the art of words: but love urges us to make known to you and to all who are with you

their doctrines, which until now were hidden, but now, by the grace of God, have come into the open. For there is nothing covered that will not be made manifest, and nothing hidden that will not be known (Matt 10:26).

3. You will not ask of us, who live among the Celts and are mostly busied with a barbarous tongue, the art of oratory, which we have not learned, nor the force of a writer, which we have not cultivated, nor the adornment of words, nor persuasion, which we do not know; but what has been written to you with love, simply and truly and plainly, you will receive with love, and you yourself will make it grow in your own keeping, being more capable than we, taking it from us as a seed and as beginnings; and in the breadth of your understanding you will make to bear much fruit what has been said by us in few words, and you will set forth with power to those who are with you what has been weakly told by us. And as we have laboured, at your asking long since to learn their doctrine, not only to make it plain to you, but also to furnish help, that we might show it to be false; so you too will minister effectively to the rest, according to the grace given you by the Lord, so that men may no longer be drawn away by their persuasion, which is of this kind.

CHAPTER 1

What the disciples of Valentinus babbled about the genesis, name, order and conjugal offspring of their Aeons; and which places of Scripture they adapted to their contrivances.

1. They say that there is in the invisible and inexpressible heights a perfect Aeon, who was before; this one they call Proarche, and Propator, and Bythus; and that he is invisible, and that nothing can contain him. And since he was contained by none, and was invisible, everlasting and unbegotten, he was, they say, in silence and in great stillness through immeasurable ages. With him, they say, was also Ennoia, whom they also call Charis and Sige; and at one time this Bythus willed to emit from himself the beginning of all things (and he willed that this bringing forth be sent before as a seed), and he deposited it, as in a womb, in her who was with him, Sige. And she, they say, received this seed and, becoming pregnant, begot Nus, like and equal to him who had emitted him, and alone containing the greatness of the Father. This Nus they also call the Only-begotten, and Father, and the beginning of all things. Together with him, they say, Truth was emitted; and this, they say, is the first and firstborn Pythagorean quaternary, which they also call the root of all things. For there are Bythus and Sige, then Nus and Alethia. And this Only-begotten, perceiving for what he had been brought forth, himself emitted, they say, Logos and Zoe, the father of all who were to be after him, and the beginning and formation of the whole Pleroma. And from Logos and Zoe, by pairing, were emitted, they say, Man and Church; and this, they say, is the firstborn octonary, the root and substance of all things, named among them by four names, Bythus, and Nus, and Logos, and Anthropos. For

each of them, they say, is male-female, thus: first, Propator was united in pairing with his Ennoia, that is, Thought, whom they call Grace and Silence; the Only-begotten, that is, Nus, with Alethia, that is, Truth; Logos with Zoe, that is, Life; and Anthropos with Church.

2. These Aeons, they say, emitted for the glory of the Father, and wishing themselves also to glorify the Father with something of their own, emitted emissions in pairing: Logos and Zoe, after Man and Church had been emitted, emitted ten other Aeons, whose names they say are these: Bythius and Mixis, Ageratos and Henosis, Autophyes and Hedone, Acinetos and Syncrasis, Monogenes and Macaria. These are the ten Aeons who, they say, were emitted from Logos and Zoe. And Anthropos too, they say, emitted with Church twelve Aeons, to whom they give these names: Paracletus and Pistis, Patricos and Elpis, Metricos and Agape, Aenos and Synesis, Ecclesiasticus and Macariotes, Theletus and Sophia.

3. These are the thirty Aeons of their error, of whom silence is kept and who are not known. This, according to them, is the invisible and spiritual Pleroma, divided in three parts, into octonary, Decad and Dodecad; and for this reason, they say, the Saviour (for they will not call him Lord) did nothing openly for thirty years, showing the mystery of these Aeons. And in the parable too of the labourers who are sent into the vineyard, they say, these thirty Aeons are most plainly declared. For some are sent about the first hour, others about the third, others about the

sixth, others about the ninth, others about the eleventh. The hours mentioned, then, added together, make up the number thirty. For one, and three, and six, and nine, and eleven make thirty. By the hours they will have it that the Aeons are made manifest; and that these are the great and wonderful and hidden mysteries to which they themselves give fruit; and so wherever they can adapt and liken to their fiction anything of what is said in the Scriptures.

CHAPTER 2

The first Father known to the Only-begotten alone. Sophia's rivalry, disturbance, peril and formless offspring. She is restored by Horos. Who is Horos? Christ and Holy Spirit are emitted for the perfecting of the Aeons. Jesus is produced from the Aeons' contribution.

1. And their Propator, they say, is known only to him who was born of him, Monogenes, that is, Nus; and to all the rest he is invisible and incomprehensible. Nus alone, according to them, delighted in seeing the Father, and exulted in contemplating his immeasurable greatness, and was thinking how to share with the rest of the Aeons too the greatness of the Father: how great and how vast he was, and how he was without beginning, and uncontainable, and incomprehensible to sight. But Sige restrained him by the will of the Father, who wished to lead them all to the thought and desire of seeking out their Father. And the rest of the Aeons all, in a manner silently, longed to see him who brought forth

their seed, and to contemplate the root that is without beginning.

2. But far the last and youngest Aeon of the Dodecad that had been emitted by Anthropos and Church, that is, Sophia, leapt forward and suffered a passion without the embrace of her consort Theletus; it had begun in those about Nus and Alethia, but passed over into this Aeon, that is, Sophia, who was changed, under the pretext indeed of love, but in truth of rashness, because she had not been in fellowship with the perfect Father, as Nus was. And the passion, they say, was a seeking after the Father; for she wished, as they say, to comprehend his greatness. Then, they say, since she could not, because she was attempting an impossible thing, being in great agony because of the greatness of the depth, and because of what is unsearchable in the Father, and because of the love she bore him, as she strained ever forward, she would perhaps at last have been swallowed up by his sweetness and dissolved into the universal substance, had she not met the Power that makes all things firm and keeps them outside the inexpressible greatness. This Power they also call Horos; by it, they say, she was held back and made firm, and, having with difficulty returned to herself and being now persuaded that the Father is incomprehensible, she laid aside her former intention, together with the passion that had befallen her from that astonished wonder.

3. But some of them tell this passion and the return of Sophia like a fable: that, having

attempted an impossible and incomprehensible thing, she brought forth a formless substance, such as was the nature of a female to bring forth; and that when she looked upon it, she was first grieved, because of the incompleteness of the generation; then she feared lest this very thing should come to an end; then she was dismayed and at a loss, that is, confounded, seeking the cause, and how she might hide what had been born. And that, being in these passions, she received a turning back and tried to return to the Father; and having dared for a while, she yet failed, and became a suppliant of the Father. And together with her, they say, the rest of the Aeons also entreated, and above all Nus. From this, they say, the substance of matter had its first beginning: from ignorance, and weariness, and fear, and astonishment.

4. But the Father, they say, over and above these things, sends forth through Monogenes the aforesaid Horos, in his own image, without consort, male-female. For they will have it that the Father is at one time with his consort Sige, and at another stands for both male and female. This Horos they also call Stauros, and Lytrotes, and Carpistes, and Horothetes, and Metagogeus. Through this Horos, they say, Sophia was cleansed and made firm, and restored to her consort. For when the Intention, with the passion attached to it, had been separated from her, they say that she herself remained within the Pleroma; but that her desire, separated by Horos together with the passion, and crucified, and put

outside him, is indeed a spiritual substance, as being a natural impulse of an Aeon, but formless and without appearance, because it had apprehended nothing. And for this reason they say that her fruit is weak and female.

5. After this one had been separated outside the Pleroma of the Aeons, and her mother restored to her own pairing, Monogenes, they say, emitted once more another pairing, according to the providence of the Father, Christ and Holy Spirit, by whom the Aeons were perfected. For Christ, they say, taught them the nature of pairing, that those who know the comprehension of the Unborn are sufficient, or fit; and he declared among them the knowledge of the Father, that he is uncontainable and incomprehensible, and that it is not possible either to see him or to hear him except through Monogenes alone. And the cause of the eternal endurance of them all, they say, is the incomprehensible of the Father; but the cause of their generation and formation is the comprehensible of him, which is the Son. And these things Christ, who had just been emitted, worked in them.

6. And the Holy Spirit, having made them all equal, taught them to give thanks, and brought in true rest. And thus, they say, the Aeons were made alike in form and in mind, all of them becoming Nus, and Logos, and all Anthropos, and all Christ; and the females likewise all Alethia, and Zoe, and Spirit, and Church. And all things, being made firm in this and resting perfectly, sing hymns, they say, with great joy to the Propator,

who shares in the great exultation. And for this benefit, they say, the whole Pleroma of the Aeons, with one will and one mind, Christ and Spirit consenting, each of the Aeons bringing what it had in itself best and most flourishing, made a contribution; and fitting these things together aptly and carefully adapting them into one, they emitted a problema, in honour and glory of Bythus, a most perfect beauty as it were, and star of the Pleroma, the perfect fruit, Jesus, who is also called Saviour, and Christ, and Logos, patronymically, and All, because he was from all. And with him, they say, as his attendants, in their honour, angels of the same kind were brought forth.

CHAPTER 3

Which places of holy Scripture did the heretics use to maintain their contrivances?

1. This, then, is the business which is said to have taken place within their Pleroma: the calamity of the Aeon who suffered and was nearly lost, as in much matter, through the search for the Father; and the hexaeonia framework of Horos, and of their Cross, and of the Redeemer, and of Carpistes, and of Horothetes, and of Metagogeus; and the last genesis of the Aeons, that of the first Christ with the Holy Spirit, from their Father out of repentance; and the composite fashioning of the second Christ, whom they call Soter, out of the contribution. These things, they say, were not said openly, because not all contain their knowledge; but they were shown in a mystery by the Saviour through parables to those

who can understand. Thus, they say, the thirty Aeons are signified by the thirty years, as we said before, in which they say the Saviour did nothing openly, and by the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. And Paul, they say, most plainly names the Aeons very often, and even keeps their order, saying thus: To all generations of the age of ages (Eph 3:21). And indeed even we ourselves, in our thanksgivings, when we say "aeons of aeons", signify, they say, those Aeons; and wherever aeon or aeons are named, they will have it that it refers to them.

2. And the emission of the Dodecad of the Aeons, they say, was signified by the Lord's disputing with the teachers of the Law when he was twelve years old, and by the choosing of the apostles: for he chose twelve apostles. And that the remaining eighteen Aeons are made manifest by this, that after his resurrection from the dead, as they say, he lived with his disciples eighteen months. And also, they say, by the two letters that begin his name, Iota and Eta, the eighteen Aeons are significantly made manifest. And the ten Aeons likewise, they say, are signified by the letter Iota, which begins his name. And for this reason, they say, the Saviour said: One iota or one tittle shall not pass away, until all things come to pass (Matt 5:18).

3. And this passion which took place about the twelfth Aeon, they say, is signified by the apostasy of Judas, who was the twelfth of the apostles, and by his having suffered in the twelfth month; for they will have it that he preached for one year

after his baptism. And again in the woman who suffered a flow of blood, they say, this is most plainly signified; for she, having suffered twelve years, was healed by the Lord's coming, when she touched the hem of his garment; and for this reason, they say, the Saviour said: Who touched me? (Mark 5:31), teaching the disciples the mystery that had taken place among the Aeons, and the healing of the Aeon who suffered. For by her who suffered twelve years that Power is signified, because, as they say, she was stretched out and her substance was flowing into the immeasurable. And had she not touched the garment, that is, the garment of that Son, the Truth of the first Tetrad, which was shown through the hem, she would, they say, have poured out into the whole of her substance. But she stood still and ceased from her passion through the power of the Son that went forth. And they will have it that this is Horos, who healed her and separated the passion from her.

4. And that the Saviour, being from all, is the All, is shown, they say, by this answer: All that is male, opening the womb (Exod 13:2; Luke 2:23). He, since he is all things, opened the womb of the Excogitation of the Aeon who suffered, when she had been separated outside the Pleroma, whom they also call the second Ogdoad, of whom we shall speak a little later. And by Paul too, they say, it was plainly said for this reason: And he is all things (Col 3:11). And again: All things are to him, and from him are all things (Rom 11:36). And again: In him dwells all the fullness of the divinity (Col 2:9). And that: That all things have been

recapitulated in Christ through God (Eph 1:10). So they interpret these sayings, and all others of the kind.

5. And again, concerning their Horos (whom they call by very many names), they show that he has two workings, one that makes firm and one that separates: and that in so far as he makes firm and establishes, he is Cross; in so far as he divides, Horos. And the Saviour, they say, showed his workings thus: first the one that makes firm, where he says: He who does not take up his cross and follow me cannot be my disciple (Luke 14:27). And again: Taking up the cross, follow me (Mark 10:21). And the one that separates, where he says: I have not come to send peace, but a sword (Matt 10:34). And John, they say, showed this very thing, saying: The winnowing fan is in his hand, to cleanse the threshing floor, and he will gather the wheat into his barn, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire (Luke 3:17); and by this, they say, he signified the working of Horos. For that winnowing fan they interpret to be the cross, which consumes all material things as fire does the chaff, but cleanses those who are saved as the winnowing fan does the wheat. And Paul the apostle, they say, himself also recalls this cross, thus: For the word of the cross is foolishness to those who perish; but to those who are saved, the power of God (1 Cor 1:18). And again: But far be it from me to glory in anything except in the cross of Christ, through whom the world is crucified to me, and I to the world (Gal 6:14).

6. Such, then, are the things they say of their Pleroma and of the fabrication of all things, eager to adapt what was well said to what has been wickedly devised by them. And not only from the writings of the Gospels and of the apostles do they try to make proofs, turning interpretations about and adulterating expositions; but also from the Law and the Prophets: since many parables and allegories have been spoken, and what is ambiguous can be drawn to many meanings, they adapt it by their exposition, the more readily and cunningly, to their fiction, and lead captive away from the truth those who do not keep a firm faith in one God, the Father almighty, and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

CHAPTER 4

How the heretics would have the Mother Achamoth formed. They imagined that this visible world arose from her disturbances.

1. And the things which are said by them to be outside the Pleroma are of this kind: the Enthymesis of that upper Sophia, whom they also call Achamoth, separated from the upper Pleroma together with the passion, seethed out, they say, of necessity into places of shadow and of emptiness; for she was outside the light and outside the Pleroma, formless and without appearance, like an untimely birth, because she had apprehended nothing. And the upper Christ, they say, taking pity on her and stretched out through the Cross, gave her a form by his own power, a form according to substance only, but not

according to knowledge; and having done this he hastened back, withdrawing his power, and left her; so that, perceiving the passion that was hers through her separation from the Pleroma, she might desire the better things, having some fragrance of immortality left in herself by Christ and Holy Spirit. Wherefore she herself too, they say, is called by two names: Sophia, after her father (for her father is called Sophia), and Holy Spirit, from the Spirit who is about Christ. And when she had been formed and made sensible, but at once emptied of him who was invisibly with her, the Word, that is, Christ, she went out, they say, in search of that light which had abandoned her; and she could not apprehend it, because she was held back by Horos. And so Horos, they say, holding her back lest she rush further forward, said "Iao": whence the name Iao came to be. Since she could not pass through Horos, because she was entangled with the passion and had been left alone outside, she succumbed, they say, to every part of the passion, which is manifold and various: she suffered grief, because she had not apprehended; fear, lest life should leave her as the light had; and dismay besides; and all of it in ignorance. And she did not, like her mother, the first Sophia, an Aeon, undergo change in her passions, but contrariety. Besides these, there befell her, they say, another affection too, that of conversion towards him who had given her life.

2. This, they say, was the gathering and the substance of matter, of which this world consists. For from the conversion, they say, every soul of

the world and of the Demiurge took its genesis; and from fear and grief the rest had their beginning. For from her tears, they say, all moist substance was made, and from her laughter the luminous; and from grief and terror the bodily elements of the world. For at times she wept and was sad, as they say, because she had been left alone in the darkness and in the void; at times, coming to the thought of the light that had left her, she brightened and laughed; at times again she feared; at times she was dismayed and suffered ecstasy.

3. And indeed there is a great deal of tragedy here already, and of the fantasy of each of them, as each sets forth gravely, one this way and one that, from what passion and from what element substance took its origin. And fittingly, it seems to me, they are unwilling to teach these things openly to all, but only to those who can also pay large fees for such mysteries. For what they say is no longer like the things of which our Lord said: Freely you have received, freely give (Matt 10:8); but mysteries set apart, and prodigious, and deep, sought out with great labour by deceivers. For who would not spend all he has to learn that from the tears of Enthymesis, who comes from the passion of the Aeon, the seas, and the springs, and the rivers, and all moist matter took their origin; and from her laughter the light; and from her terror and instability the bodily elements of the world?

4. I too would like to contribute something to their fruit-bearing. For since I see that some

waters are sweet, such as springs and rivers and rains and the like, and that those in the sea are salt, I find that not all were emitted from her tears, since tears are salt in quality. It is plain, then, that these salt waters are from the tears. But I suppose that, being in agony and in great instability, she also sweated. Hence, following their own argument, we must suppose that the springs and the rivers, and any other sweet waters there are, had their origin from her sweat. For it is not persuasive that, tears being of one quality, some salt and some sweet waters came out of them. This is more persuasive: that some are from her tears, and others from her sweat. And since there are also some hot and harsh waters in the world, you must understand what she was doing, and from which member she emitted these. For fruits of this kind are well suited to their plot.

5. When, then, their Mother had passed through every passion and had with difficulty risen up, she turned, they say, to supplication of that light which had abandoned her, that is, Christ; and he, having gone back into the Pleroma, was himself, as one is given to understand, too lazy to come down a second time, but sent to her the Paraclete, that is, the Saviour, the Father giving him all power and handing over all things under his authority, and the Aeons likewise, so that in him all things might be created, visible and invisible, thrones, divinities, dominions (Col 1:16). And he is sent to her with the angels who are his peers. And this Achamoth, they say, in awe of him, first put a

covering on herself out of reverence; but then, when she had seen him with all his fruit-bearing, she ran to him, having received power from the sight of him. And he, they say, gave her the formation that is according to knowledge, and wrought the healing of her passions, separating them from her, and did not neglect them. For it was not possible for them to be done away with, as those of the former had been, because they had already become habitual and powerful; but, they say, setting them apart, he mingled and congealed them separately, and transferred them from incorporeal passion into incorporeal matter; and so he put into them aptness and nature, so that they might come into compounds and bodies, and two substances might come to be, one evil, from the passions, and the other, that of the conversion, passible: and for this reason they say that the Saviour fashioned potentially. And this Achamoth, they teach, having come out of passion, conceived from her joy the vision of the lights that are with him, that is, of the angels who were with him, and, delighting in the sight of them, brought forth fruits after his image, a spiritual offspring made after the likeness of the Saviour's attendants.

CHAPTER 5

The Demiurge is formed. Who and what is he? He is the creator of all the rest that is outside the Pleroma.

1. These three things, then, being in existence, according to them, one from the passion, which

was matter, another from the conversion, which was the animal, and another which she brought forth, which is the spiritual, she turned in this way to forming them. But the spiritual, they say, she could not form, because it was of the same substance as herself. And turning to the formation of the animal substance, which had come to be from her conversion, she emitted, they say, the teachings from the Saviour as well. And first, they say, she formed from the animal substance God the Father and Saviour, and king of all that is of the same substance as he, that is, of the animal things, which they call those of the right, and of those that are from passion and from matter, which they call those of the left. For the things that come after him, they say, he formed, moved secretly by his mother. Hence they call him Metropator, and Apator, and Demiurge, and Father: calling him Father of those of the right, that is, of the psychic; and Demiurge of those of the left, that is, of the hylic; and king of all. For this Enthymesis, wishing to make all things in honour of the Aeons, made, they say, images of them, or rather the Saviour did through her. And she herself, they say, was kept in the image of the invisible Father, unknown to the Demiurge; he in that of the only-begotten Son; and the angels and archangels made by him, in that of the rest of the Aeons.

2. They say, then, that he was made Father and God of the things outside the Pleroma, and is the fashioner of all psychic and hylic things. For, they say, separating the two substances that

were confused, and making bodily things out of incorporeal, he fashioned the things of heaven and of earth, and was made the fashioner of the hylic and the psychic, of those of the right and of the left, of the light and the heavy, of those that fly upward and those that sink downward; and he made seven heavens, above which, they say, the Demiurge is. And for this reason they call him Hebdomad, and the Mother Achamoth Ogdoad, as she keeps the number of the firstborn and primal Ogdoad of the Pleroma. And the seven heavens, which they say are intellectual, they hold to be angels; and the Demiurge himself also an angel, but like God; as also they say that paradise, which is above the third heaven, is in power a fourth archangel, and that Adam received something from it while he lived in it.

3. They say that the Demiurge thought he had fashioned these things wholly of himself, but that Achamoth made them. For he made heaven without knowing heaven, and moulded man without knowing man, and brought earth to light without knowing earth; and in all things, they say, he was thus ignorant of the forms of what he was making, and of the mother herself, and thought that he himself was all things. And the cause of such an opinion in him, they say, was his mother, who wished to produce him thus: head and beginning of his own substance, and lord of the whole working. This Mother they also call Ogdoad, and Sophia, and Earth, and Jerusalem, and Holy Spirit, and Lord, in the masculine. And she has, they say, the place of the Midst, and is

above the Demiurge, but below, or outside, the Pleroma, until the end.

4. Since, then, they say that the material substance consists of three passions, fear, and grief, and aporia: from fear and from the conversion the animal things received their subsistence; from the conversion, they will have it, the Demiurge had his genesis; and from fear all the rest of the animal substance, of dumb beasts and of men. And for this reason, they say, he, being higher, foreknows the things that are spiritual, and thought that he alone was God, and said through the prophets: I am God, and besides me there is no one (Isa 45:5; 46:9). From grief, they teach, the spiritual things of wickedness were made: whence the devil too had his genesis (whom they also call Cosmocrator), and the demons, and all the spiritual substance of wickedness. But they say that the Demiurge is the psychic son of his mother, and the Cosmocrator the creature of the Demiurge: and that the Cosmocrator knows the things that are above him, because he is a spiritual wickedness; but that the Demiurge does not know them, since he is animal. Their Mother, they say, dwells in what is the heavenly place, that is, in the Midst; the Demiurge in the place that is in heaven, that is, in the Hebdomad; and the Cosmocrator in the world which is ours. And from fright and aporia, as from what is madder, the bodily elements of the world, they say, were made, as we said before: earth according to the stillness of fright, water according to the movement of fear, air according to the fixity of grief;

and fire, they teach, is in all of them as death and corruption, as ignorance too lies hidden in the three passions.

5. Having fashioned the world, then, he made also the choic man, taking him not from this dry earth, but from an invisible substance, and from matter that can be poured out and is fluid; and into him, they lay down, he breathed the psychic man. And this man, they say, was made according to the image and likeness: according to the image, the hylic, near indeed, but not of the same substance as God; according to the likeness, the psychic; whence also his substance was called the spirit of life, since it is from a spiritual outflow. Then afterwards, they say, the coat of skin was put round him: and this they will have it is the sensible flesh.

6. And the offspring of their Mother, who is Achamoth, which she bore after the contemplation of the angels who are about the Saviour, being of the same substance as its mother, spiritual, the Demiurge too, they say, did not know; and it was, they say, secretly deposited in him, without his knowing, so that, sown through him into the soul that came from him, and into this material body, carried in them as in a womb and enlarged, it might become ready for the reception of perfect reason. So the spiritual man, as they say, sown by Sophia together with his breathing, escaped the notice of the Demiurge, by an inexpressible power and providence. For as he did not know his mother, so neither did he know her seed. And this too, they say, is the Church, the

copy of the Church above: and they will have it that this is the man within themselves, so that they have the soul from the Demiurge, the body from the slime, the fleshly part from matter, but the spiritual man from the mother Achamoth.

CHAPTER 6

The heretics' threefold man. They said that good works were useless to themselves and necessary to Catholics alone. They thought that no outrage could defile them. Their abandoned morals.

1. There being, then, three things, they say that the material (which they also call the left) must of necessity perish, since it can receive no breath of incorruption; that the animal (which they also call the right), being midway between the spiritual and the material, goes whichever way it inclines; and that the spiritual was emitted in order that, joined here to the animal, it might be formed, being trained together with it in its way of life. And this, they say, is the salt and the light of the world (Matt 5:13–14). For the animal needed sensible teachings. For this reason, they say, the world was fashioned, and the Saviour came to the animal for this purpose, since it is of its own power, that he might save it. For he took up, they say, the firstfruits of those whom he was to save: from Achamoth the spiritual; from the Demiurge he put on the psychic (that is, animal) Christ; and from the disposition a body was put round him, having animal substance, but prepared by inexpressible art so as to become vis-

ible, and palpable, and passible. And of the hylic he took up nothing at all: for the hylic, they say, is not capable of salvation. And the consummation will come, they say, when all that is spiritual has been formed and perfected in science, that is, the men who have the perfect knowledge of God, and those who have been initiated into the mysteries by Achamoth; and these, they say, are themselves.

2. And the psychic things (that is, animal) are instructed, the psychic (that is, animal) men, who are made firm through action and bare faith, and do not have perfect knowledge. And these, they say, are we, who are of the Church. Wherefore they answer that for us a good way of life is necessary; for otherwise, they say, it is impossible to be saved. But they themselves, they say, are saved in every way, not through action, but because they are spiritual by nature. For as it is impossible for the choic to receive salvation (for they say it is not capable of salvation), so again it is impossible, they say, for the spiritual (which they will have it that they themselves are) to receive corruption, whatever deeds they may have been in. For as gold laid in mud does not lose its beauty but keeps its own nature, since the mud can do the gold no harm, so they say of themselves that, whatever material works they may be in, they themselves are in nothing harmed, nor do they lose their spiritual substance.

3. Wherefore those among them who are perfect do fearlessly all the things that are forbidden, of which the Scriptures affirm that those who do

them shall not inherit the kingdom of God (Gal 5:21). For they eat things sacrificed to idols without distinction, thinking that they are in no way defiled by them, and they are the first to assemble at every festival of the heathen held for pleasure in honour of the idols; so that they do not abstain even from what is hateful to God and to men, the murderous spectacle of the gladiatorial games. And some, serving the pleasures of the flesh insatiably, say that carnal things are rendered to the carnal and spiritual things to the spiritual. And some of them secretly corrupt the women who learn this doctrine from them; as many women, often persuaded by them and afterwards converted to the Church of God, have confessed this too, along with the rest of their error. Others again, openly and without even blushing, have taken whatever women they fell in love with away from their husbands and made them their own wives. Others again, very modestly at first, pretending to live with them as with sisters, were found out as time went on, when the sister had been made pregnant by the brother.

4. And while they do many other hateful and irreligious things, they reproach us, who through the fear of God are afraid to sin even in our thoughts and words, as unlettered men who know nothing; and they exalt themselves, calling themselves perfect, and the seeds of election. For they say that we receive grace on loan, and that therefore it is taken away from us; but that they themselves possess it as their own, having grace that comes down from above, from the inexpress-

ible and unnameable syzygy, and that therefore it is added to them. Wherefore, they say, they must in every way always practise the mystery of the syzygy. And they persuade the senseless of this, speaking in these words: "Whoever is in the world and does not love a wife so as to be joined to her, is not of the truth and will not pass into the truth. But he who is of the world and has been mingled with a woman does not pass into the truth, because he has been mingled with a woman in lust." Wherefore for us, whom they call psychic and say are of the world, continence and good action, they say, are necessary, that through it we may come to the place of the Midst; but for themselves, who are called spiritual and perfect, in no way. For it is not action, they say, that brings into the Pleroma, but the seed, which was emitted from there very small, but is made perfect here.

CHAPTER 7

That when all the seed is perfected the Mother Achamoth will pass with the spiritual men into the Pleroma; the Demiurge with the animal men into the place of the Midst; but the choic man will go into corruption. Matter to be consumed by fire. Blasphemy against Christ's true Incarnation from the Blessed Virgin. The division of the prophecies, and their origin. The Demiurge's supine ignorance.

1. And when all the seed has been perfected, their Mother Achamoth, they say, passes from the place of the Midst and enters within the

Pleroma, and receives her bridegroom, the Saviour, who was made from all, so that a syzygy comes to be of the Saviour and Sophia, who is Achamoth. And this, they say, is the bridegroom and the bride; and the Nymphon is the whole Pleroma. And the spiritual, stripped of their souls and become intellectual spirits, entering within the Pleroma, they say, beyond grasp and invisibly, are given as brides to the angels who are about the Saviour. And the Demiurge too, they say, passes into the place of his mother Sophia, that is, into the Midst. And the souls of the just too, they say, are refreshed in the place of the Midst. For nothing psychic, they say, passes within the Pleroma. And when these things have been done thus, the fire that lies hidden in the world, blazing up and seizing all matter, consumes it, and itself, they say, consumed together with it, passes away so as to be no more. And they show that the Demiurge knew none of these things before the coming of the Saviour.

2. And there are some who say that he also emitted Christ, his own Son, but an animal one; and that he spoke of him through the prophets. And this, they say, is the one who passed through Mary as water passes through a tube; and upon him at his baptism there descended he who was from the Pleroma, from all, the Saviour, in the figure of a dove; and there was in him also that which is from Achamoth, the spiritual seed. Our Lord, then, they say, was composed of these four, keeping the type of the firstborn and first quaternary: of the spiritual, which was from Achamoth;

and of the animal, which was from the Demiurge; and of the disposition, which had been made by inexpressible art; and of the Saviour, which was that dove which descended upon him. And this one, they say, remained impassible (for it was not possible for him to suffer, since he was incomprehensible and invisible); and for this reason, they say, when he was being dragged before Pilate, that which had been deposited in him, the spirit of Christ, was taken away. Nor did even the seed that was from the mother suffer, they say. For that too was impassible, being spiritual, and invisible even to the Demiurge himself. But according to them, the animal Christ suffered, and he who was fashioned from the disposition in a mystery, so that through him the mother might show the type of the upper Christ, of him who was stretched out on the Cross and formed Achamoth with the formation according to substance: for all these things, they say, are copies of those.

3. And the souls that had the seed which is from Achamoth, they say, were better than the rest; wherefore they were loved more by the Demiurge, who did not know the cause, but thought they were such because of himself. Wherefore, they say, he distributed them among the prophets, and priests, and kings. And they expound many things said through the prophets about this seed, since it was of a higher nature. And the mother too, they say, said many things about the higher things; but through him, and through the souls made by him. And further they

divide the prophecies, teaching that one part was spoken by the mother, one by the seed, and one by the Demiurge himself; and likewise that Jesus spoke one part [through] the Saviour, one by the mother, one by the Demiurge, as we shall show as our discourse goes on.

4. And the Demiurge, they say, since he did not know the things above him, was moved indeed by what was said, but despised it, thinking it had now one cause and now another other than the spirit that prophesies (which itself also has some motion of its own), either the man, or the confusion of the worse; and so he remained ignorant until the coming of the Saviour. But when the Saviour had come, he learned all things from him, they say, and went over to him joyfully with all his power; and he, they say, is that centurion in the Gospel who says to the Saviour: For I too have soldiers and servants under my authority, and what I command, they do (Matt 8:9; Luke 7:8). And he will bring to completion, they say, the creation of the world that falls to him, until the due time, chiefly because of his diligent care for the Church, and because of the knowledge of the reward prepared for him, that he will pass into the place of the mother.

5. They say that there are three kinds of men, spiritual, psychic, choic, as were Cain, Abel, Seth; so as to show from these too the three natures, no longer in each one, but in the kind. And the choic, they say, goes into corruption; the animal, if it chooses the better, will be refreshed in the place of the Midst; but if the worse, it too will

pass to things like them. And the spiritual things Achamoth sows, from that time until now; and for this reason the souls too will be instructed here; and the seeds, nourished, because they are emitted very small, and afterwards held worthy of perfection, are given, they answer, as brides to the Saviour's angels, while their souls of necessity will be refreshed for ever in the Midst with the Demiurge. And subdividing the souls themselves again, they say that some are good by nature and some evil by nature. And the good, they say, are those that become capable of the seed; but the others, wicked by nature, never contain that seed.

CHAPTER 8

How the Valentinians twisted the Scriptures to what they impiously imagined.

1. Their plot, then, being such as neither the prophets preached, nor the Lord taught, nor the apostles handed down, and of which they boast that they know more abundantly than the rest, reading from things that are not written, and, as the saying goes, striving to twist ropes of sand, they try to fit, in a way that would win belief, to what was said either the Lord's parables, or the prophets' sayings, or the apostles' words, so that their fiction may not seem to be without a witness; overstepping the order and the texture of the Scriptures, and, as far as in them lies, dissolving the members of the truth. And they transfer and refashion, and, making one thing out of another, they lead many astray, through what they

fit from the oracles of the Lord to their ill-composed phantasm. It is as if someone, taking a fine image of a king, made carefully of precious gems by a skilled craftsman, should break up the figure of the man that lies beneath it, and transfer those gems, and, rearranging them, make of them the form of a dog or of a fox, and that badly arranged; and should then affirm and say that this is that fine image of the king which the skilled craftsman fashioned, pointing to the gems, which had been well put together by the first craftsman into the image of the king, but badly transferred by the later one into the figure of a dog; and by the show of the gems should deceive the unlettered, who have no comprehension of the king's form, and persuade them that this ugly figure of a fox is that fine image of the king: in the same way these men too, stitching together old wives' fables, and then plucking words, and sayings, and parables from here and there, wish to adapt the oracles of God to their fables. And how much they fit to those who are within the Pleroma, we have said.

2. And what they try to insinuate to their own from the Scriptures concerning those of theirs who are outside the Pleroma is of this kind: the Lord, they say, came to his passion in the last times of the world for this reason, to show the passion that took place about the last of the Aeons, and by his end to make manifest the end of the disposition that concerns the Aeons. And that virgin of twelve years, the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue, whom the Lord, standing over her, freed from the dead, they relate is a

type of Achamoth, whom their Christ, stretched out, gave figure to and brought to the perception of the light that had abandoned her. And that the Saviour manifested himself to her while she was outside the Pleroma, as in the birth of an untimely offspring, Paul, they say, declared in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: And last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared to me also (1 Cor 15:8). And the coming of the Saviour with his peers to Achamoth he likewise made manifest, they say, in the same Epistle, saying: That a woman ought to have a veil on her head, because of the angels (1 Cor 11:10). And that, when the Saviour came to her, Achamoth put a veil over her face for modesty. And the passions that she suffered, they say, the Lord signified (in this, namely, that she was abandoned by the light) where he says on the cross: My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? (Matt 27:46); by this, they say, he made manifest that Sophia was abandoned by the light, and was prevented by Horos from rushing forward. And her weariness, in his having said: How sorrowful is my soul! (Matt 26:38) And her fear, in his having said: Father, if it is possible, let the cup pass from me (Matt 26:39). And her aporia (that is, dismay) likewise, in his having said: And what I shall say, I do not know (John 12:27).

3. And he showed, they teach, the three kinds of men: the hylic, in his answer to the one who said: Shall I follow you? The Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head (Luke 9:57–58). And the animal, in what he said to one who said: I will

follow you, but allow me to go and bid farewell to those at home: No one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for the kingdom of heaven (Luke 9:61–62). And this one, they say, is of those in the middle. And likewise that man who professed that he had done many parts of justice, but afterwards would not follow, but was overcome by riches, so that he did not become perfect, this one too they will have it was of the psychic kind. And the spiritual, in that he says: Leave the dead to bury their dead, but you go and proclaim the kingdom of God (Luke 9:60); and saying to Zacchaeus the tax collector: Make haste and come down, for today I must stay in your house (Luke 19:5). And the parable of the leaven, which a woman is said to have hidden in three measures of flour, they say shows the three kinds. The woman, they teach, is said to be Sophia; the three measures of flour, the three kinds of men, spiritual, animal, choic. And the leaven, they say, is said to be the Saviour himself. And Paul, they say, plainly spoke of choic, animal, spiritual men. In one place: As was the choic, so are the choic (1 Cor 15:48). In another: The animal man does not perceive the things that are of the Spirit (1 Cor 2:14). In another: The spiritual man examines all things (1 Cor 2:15). But the animal does not perceive the things that are of the Spirit was said, they say, of the Demiurge, who, being psychic, did not know either the mother, who is spiritual, or her seed, or the Aeons who are in the Pleroma. And that the Saviour received the beginnings of those whom he was to save, Paul, they

say, declared: And if the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump (Rom 11:16). The firstfruit, they teach, is said of what is spiritual; and the dough is we, that is, the psychic Church, whose substance, they say, he assumed and raised up with himself, since he himself was the leaven.

4. And that Achamoth wandered outside the Pleroma, and was formed by Christ, and was sought by the Saviour, he made manifest, they say, in saying that he had come to the sheep that had strayed. For by the straying sheep, they relate, their mother is meant, from whom they will have it that the Church here was sown; and by the straying, her lingering outside the Pleroma in all the passions, from which they teach that matter was made. And that woman who sweeps the house and finds the drachma, they relate, is said to be the upper Sophia, who, having lost her Intention, afterwards, when all things had been cleansed through the Saviour's coming, found it; for she too, according to them, is restored within the Pleroma. And Simeon, who took Christ into his hands and gave thanks to God and said: Now you dismiss your servant, Lord, according to your word, in peace (Luke 2:29), they say is a type of the Demiurge, who at the Saviour's coming learned of his own removal and gave thanks to Bythus. And by Anna, who in the Gospel is said to have lived seven years with her husband and to have remained a widow all the rest of her time, until she saw the Saviour and recognised him and spoke of him to all, Achamoth, they say, is most plainly signified: who, having then seen the Sav-

iour for a little while with his peers, remaining all the time after in the Midst, was awaiting him, when he should come again and restore her to her pairing. And her name, they say, was signified by the Saviour when he said: Wisdom is justified by her children (Luke 7:35); and by Paul thus: We speak wisdom among the perfect (1 Cor 2:6). And the pairings that are within the Pleroma, they say, Paul spoke of, showing them in one. For, writing of the pairing that belongs to this life, he says: For this mystery is great: but I say, in Christ and the Church (Eph 5:32).

5. Further, they teach that John, the disciple of the Lord, signified the first Ogdoad and the generation of all things in these very words: "So he laid down a certain Beginning, which was the first thing made by God; which he also calls Nus and Son, and calls the Only-begotten of the Lord, in whom the Father sent forth all things before, in seed. From this one," they say, "the Word was emitted, and in him the whole substance of the Aeons, which the Word himself afterwards formed. Since, then, he is speaking of the first genesis, he rightly begins his teaching from the Beginning, that is, from the Son and the Word. And he speaks thus: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: he was in the beginning with God (John 1:1–2). Having first distinguished three, God, and the Beginning, and the Word, he united them again, so as to show both the emission of each of the two, that is, of the Son and of the Word, and their union with each other and at the same time

with the Father. For in the Father and from the Father is the Beginning, and in the Beginning and from the Beginning is the Word.

"He said well, then: In the beginning was the Word; for he was in the Son: and the Word was with God; for so was the Beginning: and the Word was God (John 1:1), consequently; for what is born of God is God. For he was in the beginning with God (John 1:2) shows the order of the emission. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3); for to all the Aeons that are after him the Word became the cause of formation and generation. But what was made in him, he says, is life (John 1:3–4); here he made the syzygies manifest: for all things, he says, were made through him, but life is in him. This, then, which came to be in him, is closer than the things that were made through him; for it is with him, and bears fruit through him. Since he adds: And the life was the light of men (John 1:4). Now Man and Church he signified by a like name, so as to make manifest by one name the communion of the syzygy. For from Logos and Zoe are generated Man and Church. And he called Life the light of men, because they were enlightened by her, that is, formed and made manifest. And Paul too says this: For all that is made manifest is light (Eph 5:13). Since, then, Life made manifest and generated Man and Church, she was called their light. Openly, then, did John make manifest by these words, among other things, the second quaternary too: Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Church.

"But he signified the first Tetrad as well. For in telling of the Saviour, and teaching that all things outside the Pleroma were formed through him, he says too that he is the fruit within the Pleroma: for he called him the light that shines in the darkness, and is not comprehended by it (John 1:5), since, while forming all the things that came to be from the passion, he was not known by them. And he calls him Son, and Truth, and Life, and the Word made flesh (whose glory we have seen, he says, and his glory was such as that of the Only-begotten, which was given him by the Father), full of grace and truth. And he speaks thus: And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, and we have seen his glory, glory as of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth (John 1:14). Carefully, then, he showed the first quaternary, naming the Father, and Grace, and Monogenes, and Truth. So John spoke of the first Ogdoad, the mother of all the Aeons. For he named the Father, and Grace, and Monogenes, and Truth, and Word, and Life, and Man, and Church." Thus far Ptolemy.

CHAPTER 9

The heretics' impious interpretations are attacked.

1. You see, then, dearly beloved, the device by which they lead themselves astray, slandering the Scriptures, as they strive to make their fiction stand on them. For this reason I have set down their very wiles and sayings, so that from them you may consider the malice of the invention

and the wickedness of the error. For, first, if it had been John's purpose to show that octonary which is above, he would certainly have kept the order of the emission, and would certainly have put the first quaternary, since it is the more venerable (as they say), among the first names, and so would have joined the second to it, so that by the order of the names the order of the octonary might be shown; and he would certainly not have mentioned the first quaternary last, after so long an interval, as though he had forgotten and then remembered. Then again, if he had wished to signify the pairings as well, he would not have passed over the name of Church; but either in the other pairings too he would have been content with the appellation of the males, since the others could likewise be understood with them, so as to keep the unity throughout; or, if he was enumerating the pairings of the rest, he would certainly have made manifest the consort of Anthropos (that is, of Man) as well, and would certainly not have left us to take her name by divination.

2. Plain, then, is the refashioning of their exposition. For while John sets forth one God, and proclaims one Only-begotten, Christ Jesus, through whom he says all things were made, saying that this one is the Word of God, this one the Only-begotten, this one the Maker of all things, this one the true light that enlightens every man, this one the Fashioner of the world, this one he who came to his own, this same one he who was made flesh and dwelt in us: these men, turning the

exposition aside by plausibility, will have it that one is Monogenes by emission, whom they also call the Beginning; that another was Soter (that is, Saviour), and another Logos (that is, Word), son of Monogenes (that is, of the only-begotten), and another Christ, emitted for the setting right of the Pleroma; and taking each of the things that were said away from the truth, and misusing the names, they have transferred them into their own argument: so that, according to them, in all these words John made no mention of the Lord Christ Jesus. For if he named the Father, and Charis, and Monogenes, and Alethia, and Logos, and Zoe, and Anthropos, and Church, then according to their argument he spoke of the first Ogdoad, in which there was as yet no Jesus, as yet no Christ, John's master. But that the apostle did not speak of their syzygies, but of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he also knows to be the Word of God, he himself has made plain. For, recapitulating concerning that Word of whom he had spoken in the beginning, he further sets forth: And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14). But according to their argument it was not the Word that was made flesh, since he never even came outside the Pleroma, but he who was made from all and is later than the Word, the Saviour.

3. Learn, then, you senseless men, that Jesus, who suffered for us, who dwelt in us, is himself the very same who is the Word of God. For if another of the Aeons was made flesh for our salvation, it would be right to think that the apostle spoke of another. But if the Word of the Father,

who descended, is himself also he who ascended, the only-begotten Son from the one God, incarnate for men according to the good pleasure of the Father, then John did not speak of any other, nor of the Ogdoad, but of the Lord Christ Jesus. For neither, according to them, was the Word made flesh principally. For they say that Soter put on an animal body, fitted from the disposition by inexpressible providence, so that he might become visible and palpable. But the flesh is that ancient moulding from the slime, made by God according to Adam, which John showed the Word of God truly became. And their first and firstborn octonary is undone. For when one and the same is shown to be Logos, and Monogenes, and Zoe, and Phos, and Soter, and Christ the Son of God, and this same one incarnate for us, the framework of their octonary is undone. And once this is undone, their whole argument falls: dreaming it under a false name, they defame the Scriptures to fabricate an argument of their own.

4. Then, gathering up sayings and names scattered here and there, they transfer them, as we said before, from what is according to nature to what is against nature: doing like those who propose to themselves any themes whatever and then try to work them up with Homer's verses too, so that the unlettered think that Homer made the verses on that theme declaimed for the occasion; and many are carried away by the well-knit sequence of the verses into thinking that perhaps Homer did make them so. So one who describes, out of Homer's verses, Hercules sent

by Eurystheus to the dog that is in the underworld, writes thus (for nothing prevents us from recalling these too by way of example, since the argument is alike and the same in both): "When he had said these words, he sent forth from the threshold, weeping, / Hercules the unconquered, not unversed in mighty deeds, / Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, of the stock of Perseus, / To lead from Erebus the dog of black Dis to the upper air. / But he goes, like a fierce lion bred in the mountains, / Through the midst of the city: his friends all went along together, / Both old men, and boys, and girls not yet wed, / Weeping much, as though he were going to death itself. / Mercury and grey-eyed Pallas send him on his way: / For she knew how grief was troubling her brother." Who among the simple would not be carried away by such verses, and think that Homer made them so on this plot? But he who knows Homer's poems will recognise the verses, but will not recognise the plot, knowing that one of them was said of Ulysses, another of Hercules, another of Priam, another of Menelaus and Agamemnon. And if he takes them and gives each back to its own book, he will do away with the present plot. So too he who keeps unmoved within himself the rule of truth which he received through baptism will recognise the names, and sayings, and parables that are from the Scriptures, but will not recognise their blasphemous plot. For even if he recognises the gems, he will not accept the fox in place of the king's image. And restoring each of the words to its own order, and fitting it to the

body of the truth, he will lay bare their fiction and show it to be without substance.

5. But since this stage-play lacks its redemption, namely, that someone, unravelling their mime, should bring in the word that overthrows it, we have thought it well to show first in what points the very fathers of this fable disagree among themselves, as being from different spirits of error. For from this, and from the proof, one can know accurately both that the truth preached by the Church is firm, and that what they feign is lying talk.

CHAPTER 10

That the whole Church, as widely as it extends through the whole world, has one and the same faith and doctrine; and that from some in the Church being more understanding than others no variety or change of faith can be inferred.

1. For the Church, sown through the whole world to the ends of the earth, received from the apostles and from their disciples that faith which is in one God, the Father almighty, who made heaven and earth and the sea and all things that are in them; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets proclaimed the dispositions of God, and the coming, and the generation that is from the Virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension in the flesh into the heavens of the beloved Jesus Christ our Lord, and his coming from the heavens in the glory of the Father to

recapitulate all things and to raise up all flesh of the human race, so that to Christ Jesus our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee should bow, of those in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess him, and that he should do just judgement in all things: that he should send into eternal fire the spirits of wickedness, and the angels who transgressed and became apostates, and the impious and unjust and lawless and blasphemous among men; but that, granting life to the just and the upright, and to those who keep his precepts and persevere in his love, some from the beginning and some from repentance, he should bestow on them incorruption as a gift and surround them with eternal glory.

2. Having received this preaching and this faith, as we said before, the Church, though scattered through the whole world, carefully guards it, as if dwelling in one house; and she believes these things in the same way, as if having one soul and one heart, and she preaches them and teaches them and hands them on in harmony, as if possessing one mouth. For although the languages in the world are unlike, yet the power of the tradition is one and the same. And neither do the churches founded in Germany believe otherwise or hand down otherwise, nor those among the Iberians, nor those among the Celts, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those established in the middle of the world; but as the sun, a creature of God, is one

and the same in the whole world, so also the light, the preaching of the truth, shines everywhere and enlightens all men who wish to come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will one of those who preside over the churches who is very powerful in speech say other things than these (for no one is above the master), nor will one who is weak in speaking diminish the tradition. For since the faith is one and the same, neither does he who can say much about it add to it, nor does he who can say less diminish it.

3. But that some, according to their prudence, know more or less in understanding does not come about by the subject itself being changed and another God being devised beside the Fashioner and Maker and Nourisher of this universe, as if he were not enough for us, or another Christ, or another Monogenes; but in this: in searching out all that has been said in parables and joining it to the subject of the truth, and in recounting the dealings and the disposition of God wrought in the human race; and in explaining that God was long-suffering both in the apostasy of the angels who transgressed and in the disobedience of men; and in announcing why one and the same God made some things temporal and others eternal, some heavenly and some earthly; and in attending to why, being invisible, he appeared to the prophets of God not in one form but to some in one way and to others in another; and in announcing why many testaments were handed down to the human race, and in teaching what is the stamp of each of the testaments;

and in searching out why God has shut up all things in unbelief, that he may have mercy on all (Rom 11:32); and in giving thanks for why the Word of God was made flesh and suffered; and in announcing why the coming of the Son of God appeared in the last times, that is, at the end, and not at the beginning; and in unfolding whatever is laid down in the Scriptures about the end and about the things to come; and in not keeping silent about why God made the nations that had been despaired of co-heirs, and of one body, and partakers with the saints; and in announcing how this mortal flesh shall put on immortality, and the corruptible incorruption (1 Cor 15:54); and in proclaiming how he who was not a people became a people, and the beloved, beloved (Hos 2:25; Rom 9:25), and how more are the children of her who is desolate than of her who has a husband (Isa 54:1; Gal 4:27). For it is in such things and in things like them that the Apostle exclaimed: O the depth of the riches, and of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgements, and his ways past finding out (Rom 11:33). But it is not in this, that you should devise above the Creator and Fashioner a mother of him and of them, the Enthymesis of an Aeon gone astray, and so come to so great a blasphemy; nor in lying that above her again there is a Pleroma, now of thirty, now of innumerable multitudes of Aeons, as those teachers say who are truly bereft of divine judgement; whereas the Church universal, as we said

before, has one and the same faith in the whole world.

CHAPTER 11

What the doctrine of Valentinus is, and in what his disciples differ from him. The dogmas of Secundus, of Epiphanes and of certain others.

1. Let us now look also at the inconstant view of these men: how, though they are only two or three, they do not say the same things about the same things, but give answers contrary both in names and in matters. For the first of them, Valentinus, who carried the ancient doctrines over from what is called the Gnostic heresy into a stamp of his own, defined it thus: that there is a certain unnameable duality, of which one part is called the Inexpressible and the other Sige. Then, that from this duality a second duality was emitted, of which he calls one part Father and the other Alethia. And that from this quaternary Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Church were brought forth as fruit. And that this is the first octonary. And from Logos and Zoe, he says, ten Powers were emitted, as we said before. And from Anthropos and Church twelve, of which one, departing and left destitute, made the rest of the disposition. He posits two Boundaries: one between Bythus and the Pleroma, marking off from the unmade Father the Aeons who were born; the other separating their Mother from the Pleroma. And that Christ was not emitted by the Aeons who are in the Pleroma, but that the Mother, having come to be outside, brought him forth

with a kind of shadow, according to her memory of the better things. And that he, being male, cut the shadow off from himself and went back into the Pleroma. And that the Mother, left behind under the shadow and emptied of the spiritual substance, emitted another son; and that this is the Demiurge, whom he also calls almighty over the things that lie beneath him. And that together with him was emitted also a ruler of the left, like those who will be spoken of by us as the falsely so-called Gnostics. And Jesus, he says, was emitted sometimes by him who was separated from their Mother and was united with the rest, that is, by Theletus; sometimes by him who ran back up into the Pleroma, that is, by Christ; and sometimes by Anthropos and Church. And the Holy Spirit, he says, was emitted by Truth for the testing and the fruit-bearing of the Aeons, entering into them invisibly, so that through him the Aeons might bring forth the leaves of truth. Thus far he.

2. Secundus handed down the first Ogdoad thus, saying that there is a quaternary of the right and a quaternary of the left, light and darkness; and he says that the Power that departed and was left destitute was not from the thirty Aeons, but from their fruits.

3. Another, who is also an illustrious teacher of theirs, reaching out to a greater height and, as it were, to a greater knowledge, spoke of the first quaternary thus: "There is before all things a Proarche, proanennoetos, both inexpressible and unnameable, which I call Monotes. With

this Monotes there is a Power, which I also call Henotes. This Henotes and Monotes, being one, emitted, while emitting nothing, a beginning of all things, noeton, and agenneton, and aoraton, which Arche the word calls Monad. With this Monad there is a Power of the same substance with it, which I also call Hen. And these Powers, that is, Monotes and Henotes and Monad and Hen, emitted the remaining emissions of the Aeons."

4. Iou iou! And pheu pheu! Truly one must cry out in the tragic manner over this making of names and over such audacity: how without a blush he has set names on his lie. For in saying: "There is before all things a Proarche, proanennoetos, which I call Monotes"; and again: "With this Monotes there is a Power, which I also call Henotes", he has plainly confessed that whatever he has said is fiction, and that he himself set names on his fiction which had been set by no one else; and if he had not dared this, truth, according to him, would have had no names today. Nothing therefore prevents another also, on such a subject, from fixing names in this way: "There is a certain Proarche, royal, proanennoetos, a proanhypostatos Power, proprocylindomene. With her there is a Power which I call Gourd; and with this Gourd there is a Power which I also call Superemptiness. This Gourd and Superemptiness, being one, emitted, while not emitting, a fruit visible in every part, edible and sweet, which fruit the word calls Cucumber. With this Cucumber there is a Power of the same potency with

it, which I also call Melon. These Powers, Gourd and Superemptiness and Cucumber and Melon, emitted the remaining multitude of the delirious melons of Valentinus." For if the account that is given of all things must be transferred to the first quaternary, and anyone may set the names himself as he wishes, who forbids these names, which are far more credible, and in common use, and known to all?

5. Others of them again have named their first and first-begetting octonary with these names: first Proarche, then Anennoetos, the third Arrhetos, and the fourth Aoratos. And that from the first, Proarche, there was emitted in the first and fifth place Arche; from Anennoetos in the second and sixth place Acataleptos; from Arrhetos in the third and seventh place Anonomastos; and from Aoratos in the fourth and eighth place Agennetos. This is the Pleroma of the first Ogdoad. These Powers, they will have it, existed before Bythus and Sige, so that they may appear more perfect than the perfect and truer gnostics than the Gnostics; to whom one might justly say this: "O weaklings, contemptible sophists, and not true ones!" For indeed about Bythus himself there are various views among them. For some say that he is without pairing, neither male nor female, nor anything at all. Others, saying that he is both male and female, give him the genesis of a hermaphrodite. Others again add Sige to him as his consort, so that the first pairing may come about.

CHAPTER 12

The doctrine of the disciples of Ptolemy and of the Colorbasians.

1. But the more knowing of those about Ptolemy say that Bythus has two consorts, which they also call dispositions, Ennoia and Thelesis. For first he conceived in his mind to emit something, as they say, and afterwards he willed it. Wherefore, these two affections and powers, that is, of Ennoia and of Thelesis, being as it were mingled with each other, the emission of Monogenes and Alethia came about by way of a pairing. And that these went forth as types and images of the two affections of the Father, visible ones of the invisible: Nus of Thelema, and Alethia of Ennoia; and for this reason the image of the adventitious Will is male, and that of the unborn Ennoia female, since Will became as it were the power of Ennoia. For Ennoia was always thinking of an emission, yet she could not herself, by herself, emit what she was thinking. But when the power of Will came, then she emitted what she was thinking.

2. Do not these men seem to you, O dearly beloved, to have had in mind Homer's Jupiter, who for his concern could not sleep but was taking thought how he might honour Achilles and destroy many of the Greeks, rather than him who is the God of all things? He, the moment he has thought, also accomplishes what he has thought; and the moment he has willed, he also thinks what he has willed: thinking then when he wills, and willing then when he thinks; since he is all

thought, and all understanding, and all eye, and all hearing, and all the fountain of all good things.

3. Those of them who are thought to be more prudent say that the first octonary was not emitted by degrees, one Aeon from another, but they affirm that they themselves acted as midwives at the emission of the Aeons, at once and together, from the Propator and his Ennoia, when they were being created. And they say that it was no longer Anthropos and Church that were begotten from Logos and Zoe, but Logos and Zoe from Anthropos and Church, speaking in this way: "When the Propator thought of emitting something, this was called Father; but when what he emitted was true, this was called Alethia. So when he willed to show himself, this was called Anthropos. And those whom he had thought of beforehand, once he had emitted them, this was called Church. Anthropos spoke Logos: this is the firstborn son. And Zoe follows upon Logos; and thus the first octonary was completed."

4. There is also much strife among them about the Saviour. For some say that he was begotten from all, and that for this reason he is called Well-pleasing, because the whole Pleroma was well pleased to glorify the Father through him. Others, that he came from the ten Aeons alone who were emitted by Logos and Zoe; and that for this reason he is called Logos and Zoe, keeping the names of his parents. Others, from the twelve Aeons who were made by Anthropos and Church; and that for this reason he confesses himself the Son of Man, as being the after-born of Anthropos.

Others say that he was made by Christ and Holy Spirit, who were emitted for the firm establishing of the Pleroma, and for this reason, they say, he is called Christ, keeping the name of his Father, by whom he was emitted. And there are others who say that the Propator of all himself, the Proarche, the Proanennoetos, is called Anthropos; and that this is the great and hidden mystery, that the Power which is above all things and contains all things is called Anthropos; and that for this reason the Saviour calls himself the Son of Man.

CHAPTER 13

On the juggleries and wicked arts of Marcus.

1. Another of those among them, boasting that he is the corrector of his master (Marcus is his name), most expert in magical imposture, by which, leading astray many men and not a few women, he made them turn to him as to one most knowing and most perfect, and having the greatest power from the invisible and inexpressible places, being, as it were, truly a forerunner of Antichrist. For, mingling the tricks of Anaxilaus with the wickedness of those who are called magi, by these means he is thought to work mighty works among those who have no understanding and have gone out of their minds.

2. For, pretending to give thanks over a cup mixed with wine, and drawing out at great length the word of invocation, he makes it appear purple and red, so that the Grace from the things that are above all may be thought to drip her own blood into his cup through his invocation, and

that those present may long greatly to taste of that cup, so that on them also may drip she who through this magician is called Grace. Again, giving cups that have been mixed to women, he bids them give thanks themselves in his presence. And when this has been done, he himself brings out another cup much larger than the one in which the deceived woman makes the Eucharist, and, pouring from the smaller one, which has been made the Eucharist by the woman, into the much larger one brought by himself, he at once says this: "May that Grace who is before all things, unthinkable and inexpressible, fill your inner man and multiply in you her knowledge, sowing the grain of mustard seed in the good ground"; and saying such things, and driving the unhappy woman into madness, he appears as a worker of wonders, when the larger cup is filled from the smaller cup so that it even overflows from it. And doing certain other things like these, he has driven many out of their wits and drawn them away after him.

3. It is given to be understood that he also has a certain familiar demon, through whom he himself seems to prophesy, and he makes to prophesy as many women as he thinks worthy to become partakers of his Grace. For he busies himself most of all about women, and that about those who are well-born, and clothed in purple, and very rich, whom he often tries to lead away, saying to them with flattery: "I wish you to share in my Grace, since the Father of all always sees your angel before his face. The place of

your greatness is in us: we must come together into one. Receive first from me and through me Grace. Make yourself ready as a bride awaiting her bridegroom, so that you may be what I am, and I what you are. Establish in your bridal chamber the seed of light. Receive from me the bridegroom, and contain him, and be contained in him. Behold, Grace has descended upon you: open your mouth and prophesy." And when the woman answers: "I have never prophesied, and I do not know how to prophesy", he makes certain invocations anew, to the astonishment of the one he is leading astray, and says to her: "Open your mouth and speak whatever it may be, and you will prophesy." And she, led astray and elated by what has been said, her soul heated by the expectation that she is about to prophesy, her heart beating far more than it should, ventures, and speaks ravings, and whatever comes to her, all of it emptily and boldly, inasmuch as she has been heated by a spirit (as one better than we says of such prophets, that the soul is bold and shameless which has been heated by empty air); and from then on she thinks herself a prophetess, and gives thanks to Marcus, who has made her a partaker of his Grace; and she is eager to repay him, not only by the giving of her substance (whence he has also gathered a great abundance of riches), but also by the coupling of the body, and she desires to be united to him in all things, so that she may descend with him into one.

4. But some of the most faithful women, who have the fear of God and are not to be led astray,

whom he tried to lead astray like the rest, bidding them prophesy, blowing upon him and anathematising him, have separated themselves from such a madman, who pretended to breathe out the divine; knowing for certain that prophesying is not put into men by Marcus the magician, but that those on whom God from above has sent his grace have prophecy given by God, and that they speak where and when God wills, and not when Marcus bids. For what commands is greater and more lordly than what is commanded, since the one rules and the other is subject. If, then, Marcus commands, or someone else, as these men are accustomed at their suppers to play at lots and to order one another to prophesy, and to have them prophesy for them according to their own desires, he who commands will be both greater and more lordly than the prophetic Spirit, though he is a man; which is impossible. But such spirits as are commanded by them, and speak when they themselves will, are earthly and weak, bold and shameless, sent by Satan for the leading astray and the perdition of those who do not keep firm the faith which they received from the beginning through the Church.

5. Moreover, this same Marcus also makes love-potions and enticements for certain women, though not for all, so as to bring outrage even upon their bodies. These, having very often returned to the Church of God, have confessed both that they had been driven out of their wits by him in body, as by desire, and that, inflamed, they had loved him greatly; so that a certain dea-

con also, one of our people in Asia, receiving him into his house, fell into a calamity of this kind. For his wife, who was beautiful, was corrupted in judgement and in body by this magician, and followed him for a long time; and afterwards, when the brothers had converted her with great labour, she spent all her time in exomologesis, weeping and lamenting over this corruption which she had suffered from this magician.

6. And certain of his disciples, occupied with the same things, have led astray and corrupted many silly women, calling themselves perfect, as if no one could equal the greatness of their knowledge, not even if you name Paul or Peter or any other of the apostles; but they say that they have known more than all, and that they alone have drunk in the greatness of the knowledge of that inexpressible power. And that they are on high, above every power; and that for this reason they do all things freely, having no fear of anything in anything. For because of the redemption, they say, they become both incomprehensible and invisible to the judge. And if he should seize them, standing before him with the redemption they will say this: "O assessor of God and of that mystical Sige before the aeons, through whom the Greatnesses, who always see the face of the Father, using you as guide of the way and as the one who leads them in, draw their forms up on high, the forms which that very bold one, led on by an apparition, because of the goodness of the Propator, emitted, us, the images of them, having then the intention of those who

are above as if in a dream: behold, the judge is at hand, and the herald bids me be present for my defence. But you, as one who knows the account of both of us, as being one, stand by the judge." And the Mother, hearing this, at once put the Homeric helmet of the underworld upon them, so that they might escape the judge invisibly; and at once, snatching them away, she led them into the bridal chamber and gave them back to their bridegrooms.

7. Saying and doing such things, they have led astray many women also in our own regions of the Rhone; who, having their consciences seared, some even make their exomologesis openly; while others, ashamed of this very thing, withdraw themselves little by little in silence, despairing of the life of God; some have fallen away altogether, and others hesitate between the two and have suffered what the proverb says, being neither inside nor outside, having this as the fruit of the seed of the children of knowledge.

CHAPTER 14

The hypothesis of Marcus. He imagines that the supreme Tetrad came down to him in the likeness of a woman, to disclose secrets revealed to no one until then. Under a riddling farrago of letters, syllables, sounds and characters he hands on the Pleroma and the contrivances of the Valentinians.

1. This Marcus, then, saying that he alone was the womb and receptacle of the Silence of Colorbasus, being only-begotten, brought forth

in this way the seed of the deficiency which was deposited in him. And that the quaternary itself came down to him from the highest, invisible and unnameable places in a woman's form (since, he says, the world could not bear its male form), and showed him also what she herself was, and recounted to him alone the genesis of all things, which she had never revealed to anyone, either of gods or of men, speaking thus: "When first the Father, who has no father, who is unthinkable and without substance, who is neither male nor female, willed that his inexpressible should become expressible, and that what is invisible in him should take form, he opened his mouth and brought forth a Word like himself; which, standing by him, showed him what he himself was, since it had appeared as the form of the invisible. And the utterance of the name came about thus: he spoke the first word of his name; it was ἀρχή, and its syllable was of 4 letters. He joined the second also, and this was of 4 letters. Then he spoke the third also, and this was of 10 letters. And he spoke the one that comes after these, and it was of 12 letters. So the utterance of the whole name came to be of 30 letters, and of four syllables." And that each of the elements has its own letters, and its own stamp, and its own utterance, and shapings, and images; and that there is none of them that sees the form of that which is above the element itself. And that none knows him, nor does each even know the utterance of its neighbour; but that what it utters itself, it utters all of it as though it were naming

the whole. For each of them, being a part of the whole, names its own sound as if it were all; and they do not cease sounding until they come to the last letter of the last element, uttered singly. And then, he says, the reintegration of all things will come about, when all things, arriving at one letter, sound one and the same consonance; and he has taught that the image of this cry is the Amen that we say together. And that the sounds are those which form the Aeon who is without substance and unbegotten, and that these are the forms which the Lord called angels, who unceasingly see the face of the Father (Matt 18:10).

2. And the common and expressible names of the elements he called Aeons, and words, and roots, and seeds, and fullnesses, and fruits. And the several things of each of them, and what is proper to each, he says are contained and understood in the name of Church. Of these elements, the last letter of the last element sent forth its voice, whose sound, going out, begot elements of its own after the image of the elements; from which, he says, both the things that have been disposed here and those which are before them were begotten. And the letter itself, whose sound followed the sound downward, he says was taken back up by its own syllable for the filling of the whole; but that the sound remained below, as if cast outside. And the element itself, from which the letter came down below with its utterance, he says is of 30 letters, and that each of these 30 letters has in itself other letters, through which the name of the letter is named. And that again

the others are named through other letters, and others through others, so that the multitude of the letters falls away into the immeasurable. You will learn more plainly in this way what is meant. The element delta has in itself five letters, δ itself, and ε, and λ, and τ, and α; and these letters again are written through other letters, and the others through others. If, then, the whole substance of delta falls away into the immeasurable, letters begetting other letters and following one upon another, how much greater must be the sea of letters of that element? And if one letter is so boundless, see the depth of the letters of the whole name, of which Marcus's Silence taught that the Propator consists. And that for this reason the Father also, knowing what in him is uncontainable, granted to the elements, which he also calls Aeons, that each of them should cry out its own utterance, because one could not utter the whole.

3. And that the quaternary, having set out these things to him, said: "I wish also to show you Truth herself. For I have brought her down from the dwellings above, so that you may look at her naked and gaze upon her beauty, and also hear her speaking and marvel at her wisdom. See, then, what is in her head above: first A and Ω; her neck, B and Ψ; her shoulders with her hands, Γ and X; her breast, Δ and Φ; her girdle, E and Y; her belly, Z and T; her private parts, H and Σ; her thighs, Θ and P; her knees, I and Π; her shins, K and O; her legs, Λ and Ξ; her feet, M and N." This is the body of her who, according to the

magician, is Truth; this the figure of the element, this the stamp of the letter. And he calls this element Man, and says that it is the fountain of every word, and the beginning of every voice, and the expression of all that is inexpressible, and the mouth of the silent Silence. And this is her body. "But you, raising higher the intelligence of your understanding, hear from the mouth of Truth the word, self-begetter and father-giver."

4. And that, when she had said this, Truth, looking towards him and opening her mouth, spoke a word; and that the word became a name, and that the name is this which we know and speak, Christ Jesus; and having named it, she at once fell silent. And when Marcus thought she would say something more, the quaternary, coming again into the midst, said: "You have thought the word which you heard from the mouth of Truth to be, as it were, contemptible. This, which you know and think you possess, is not the name of old. For you have only its sound, but you do not know its power. Jesus is a signal name, having 6 letters, known by all who are of the calling. But that which is among the Aeons of the Pleroma, being manifold, is of another form and of another type, and is understood by those who are akin to it, whose greatnesses are always with it.

5. Know, then, that these 24 letters which are among us are emanations, images of the three Powers which contain the whole number of the elements that are above. For take the 9 mute letters to be of the Father and of Truth, since they are without voice, that is, inexpressible and

unutterable. And the semivowels, since they are 8, to be of Logos and Zoe, since they are, as it were, midway between the mutes and the vowels, and receive the emanation of those above them and the elevation of those below them. And the vowels, they too being 7, to be of Anthropos and Church, since the voice going forth through Anthropos formed all things. For the sound of the voice put form around them. Logos, then, and Zoe have 8, Anthropos and Church 7, and Father and Alethia 9. But from the smaller reckoning, he who was with the Father came down, sent thither whence he had been separated, for the correction of what had been done, so that the unity of the Pleromas, having equality, might bring forth as fruit in all the one power which is from all. And so he who is of the number 7 received the power of those who are 8, and the three places became alike in number, being octonaries; and these, coming three times into themselves, showed the number 24." And the three elements (which he himself says exist in the pairing of three Powers, which make 6, from which the 24 letters emanated), when multiplied fourfold by the account of the inexpressible quaternary, make the same number; and these he says belong to him who is unnameable. And that they are clothed by the three Powers, in the likeness of him who is invisible; and that the images of the images of these elements are the double letters among us, which, counted with the 24 letters, by the power that is according to analogy, make the number 30.

6. The fruit of this account and disposition, he says, appeared in the likeness of an image: he who after six days went up the mountain as the fourth and became the sixth; who came down and was held fast in the Hebdomad, though he was the signal octonary and had in himself the whole number of the elements, which he made manifest when he himself had come to baptism, the descent of the dove, which is Ω and A. For its number is 1 and 800. And that for this reason Moses said that man was made on the sixth day; and that the disposition, the last man, appeared on the sixth day, which is the pure supper, for the regeneration of the first man. And that the beginning and the end of this disposition was the sixth hour, in which he was fastened to the tree; for the perfect Understanding, knowing that the number which is six has the power of fashioning and of regeneration, made manifest to the children of light that generation which came about through him who was manifested as signal in that number. Hence also, he says, the double letters have the signal number. For the signal number, mingled with the 24 elements, unfolded the name of 30 letters.

7. And he made use, as his servant, of the greatness of the seven numbers, as Marcus's Sige says, so that the fruit of the thought conceived by himself might be made manifest. And this signal number, he says, is for the present to be understood as him who was shaped by the signal one, him who was as it were divided into parts, or cut off, and remained outside; who by his own power

and prudence, through the emission which is from him, animated this world, which is of seven Powers, in imitation of the power of the Hebdomad, and set a soul to be that of this universe which is seen. And this one himself also uses this work as if it had been made spontaneously by him; but the rest, being imitations of the inimitable, serve the Enthymesis of the Mother. And the first heaven sounds A, the one after it E, the third H, and the fourth, which is the middle of the number 7. It tells forth the power of iota; the fifth sounds O, the sixth Y, and the seventh, the fourth from the middle, cries out the element Ω, as Marcus's Sige affirms, who sets forth many things with great loquacity but speaks nothing true. And these Powers, he says, all embracing one another together, sound and glorify him by whom they were emitted; and the glory of the sound is sent up to the Propator. And the sound of this glorification, carried down to the earth, he says became the Moulder and begetter of the things that are on the earth.

8. And he brings as proof the infants who are now being born, whose soul, as soon as it has come forth from the womb, cries out this sound of each element. As, then, the seven Powers, he says, glorify the Word, so too the soul in infants, weeping and wailing, glorifies him, Marcus. And that for this reason David also said: Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings you have perfected praise (Ps 8:3). And again: The heavens tell the glory of God (Ps 19:2). And that for this reason, when the soul is in pains and calamities, for its

relief it says Ω as a sign of praise, so that the soul above, recognising what is akin to it, may send it help below.

9. Concerning the whole name, which is of 30 letters, and concerning Bythus, who receives increase from its letters; and further concerning the body of Truth, which is of twelve members, each member consisting of two letters; and concerning her voice, which she spoke without speaking; and concerning the resolution of that name which has not been expressed; and concerning the soul of the world and of man, inasmuch as they have that disposition which is after the image, thus he raved. Next we shall relate how their quaternary shows a power made equal from the names; so that nothing may be hidden from you, dearly beloved, of what has come to us of the things said by them, as you have often asked of us.

CHAPTER 15

Sige goes on to tell Marcus the generation of the twenty-four elements and of Jesus. Irenaeus confutes these ravings.

1. Thus, then, their exceedingly wise Sige proclaims the generation of the 24 elements. That with Solitude there is Unity, from which there are two emissions, as was said before, Monad and Hen, which, doubled, became 4: for twice 2 is 4. And again 2 and 4, put together into the same, showed the number 6. And these 6, multiplied fourfold, begot 24 figures. And the names of the first quaternary are understood as holy of holies,

which cannot be expressed; and they are understood by the Son alone, and the Father knows what they are. But the others, which are named with gravity and honour and faith, are with him these: Ἄῤῥητος and Σιγή, Πατήρ and Ἀλήθεια. And the whole number of this quaternary is of 24 letters: for the name Ἄῤῥητος has in itself 7 letters, Σειγή 5, and Πατήρ 5, and Ἀλήθεια 7; and these, put together, twice 5 and twice 7, filled up the number 24. In the same way the second quaternary also, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Church, showed the same number of elements. And the expressible name of the Saviour, Ἰησοῦς, is of 6 letters; but his inexpressible name is of 24 letters. Υἱός and Χριστός, of 12 letters; but that which is inexpressible in Christ, of 30 letters. And for this reason he says that he is A and Ω, so as to show the περιστερά, since this bird has this number.

2. And Jesus, he says, has this inexpressible genesis. For from the Mother of all things, that is, from the first quaternary, the second quaternary came forth in the place of a daughter, and the octonary came to be, from which the Decad came forth: thus 18 came to be. So the Decad, joined to the octonary and making it tenfold, made the number 80; and again 80 taken ten times made the number 800; so that the whole number of the letters, proceeding from the octonary into the Decad, is 8 and 80 and 800, which is Jesus. For the name Jesus, according to the reckoning of the Greek letters, is 888. There you have, plainly, the genesis of the supercelestial Jesus according

to them. Wherefore also, they say, the A B of the Greeks has 8 units, and 8 tens, and 8 hundreds, showing the number 888, that is, Jesus, who is made up of all numbers; and for this reason he is named A and Ω, since these signify his generation from all. And again thus: from the first quaternary, put together into itself according to the progression of number, the number 10 appeared. For A and B and Γ and Δ, put together into themselves, make 10, which is I; and this they will have to be Jesus. But Christ also, he says, is of 8 letters, by which the first octonary is signified, which, with the iota joined to it, begot the number 888. And he is also called, he says, Son Christ, that is, the Dodecad: for the name υἱὸς is of 4 letters, and Χριστὸς of 8; and these, put together, showed the greatness of the Dodecad. But before the signal of this name, that is, Jesus, appeared to the sons, he says, men were in great ignorance and error. But when the name of 6 letters was made manifest, this name which was clothed in flesh so as to come down to man's perception, having in itself also the 6 and the 24, then, knowing him, they ceased from their ignorance and went up from death into life, the name having become for them a guide to the Father of truth. For the Father of all, he says, willed to undo ignorance and to destroy death. And the undoing of ignorance was the knowledge of him. And for this reason it was said that, according to his will, the man was disposed who is after the image of him, the power that is above.

3. For the Aeons came forth from the quaternary. And in the quaternary were Anthropos and Church, Logos and Zoe. From these, then, he says, the Powers emanated and begot him who was manifested on earth, Jesus. And that the angel Gabriel filled the place of Logos, the Holy Spirit that of Zoe, and the power of the Most High that of Anthropos; and the Virgin showed the place of Church. And thus, in his teaching, the man who is according to the disposition is born through Mary; and him, as he passed through the womb, the Father of all chose through the Word for the knowledge of himself. And that when he came to the water, there descended upon him, as a dove, he who had run back up on high and filled the number 12; in whom was the seed of those who were sown together with him, and came down with him and went up with him. And the Power itself which descended he says is the seed of the Father, having in itself both the Father, and the Son, and that unnameable Power of Sige which is known through them, and all the Aeons. And that this is the Spirit who spoke through the mouth of Jesus, who confessed himself the Son of Man and made the Father manifest; and that, descending into Jesus, he was united with him. And he who was the Saviour of the disposition, Jesus, he says, destroyed death; but he knew the Father, Christ. So he says that Jesus is the name of the man of the disposition, but that it was set for the assimilation and shaping of the Man who was to descend into him; and that, containing him, he had both Man himself, and Logos himself, and the Father,

and Arrhetos, and Sige, and Alethia, and Church, and Zoe.

4. These things are now beyond Iou iou! and beyond Pheu! and beyond every tragic exclamation and cry of grief. For who would not hate him who is the wicked composer of such great lies, a poet, when he sees the truth made into an idol by Marcus, and that branded with the letters of the alphabet? Only lately, as compared with what is from the beginning, as the saying goes, yesterday and the day before, the Greeks confess that they first received sixteen letters from Cadmus; and that afterwards, as time went on, they themselves invented now the aspirates, now the double letters; and last of all, they say, Palamedes added the long ones for them. Before these things came about among the Greeks, then, was there no truth? For her body, according to you, Marcus, is later in time than Cadmus and those who were before him; later too than those who added the remaining elements; and later in time even than you yourself. But you alone have brought down into an idol her who is proclaimed by you as truth.

5. And who will endure that Sige of yours, who has been so wordy, who names the unnameable Aeon, expounds the inexpressible, utters him who is unsearchable, and says that he opened his mouth whom you call incorporeal and without figure, and that he emitted a Word as though he were one of the living creatures that are compounded; and that his Word, like him who emitted him, and become the form of the invisi-

ble, is of 30 elements and of four syllables? Then the Father of all, according to the likeness of the Word, as you say, will be of 30 elements and of four syllables. Or again, who will endure you, shutting up in figures and numbers, now 30, now 24, now only 6, the Creator and Demiurge and Maker of all things, the Word of God, and reducing him to four syllables and 30 elements; and bringing down the Lord of all, who made firm the heavens, to the number 888, like the alphabet; and dividing up the Father himself, who contains all things and is contained by none, into a quaternary, an octonary and a Dodecad, and by multiplications of this kind expounding that of the Father which is, as you say, inexpressible and unknowable? And of him whom you name incorporeal and without substance you fashion the matter and the substance out of many letters, begotten one from another, yourself a Daedalus, a modeller, become a wicked craftsman of the most sublime power; and dividing into mute and vowel and semivowel sounds the substance which you call indivisible, lyingly ascribing what is mute among them to the Father of all and to his Intention, you have cast all who believe you into the utmost blasphemy and great impiety.

6. Wherefore justly and fittingly the elder of divine inspiration and herald of the truth inveighed against such rashness of yours, speaking thus: "Marcus, fashioner of idols and observer of portents, versed in astrology and the magic art, by which you confirm the doctrines of error, showing signs to those who are led astray by

you, works of apostate power, which your father Satan grants you to do through the angelic power Azazel, having you as forerunner of the wickedness that is set against God."

Thus far the elder who loves God. We, for our part, shall try to set out briefly the rest of their mysteries, which are long, and to bring into the open what has been hidden for a long time. For so it comes about that they can easily be refuted and convicted by all.

CHAPTER 16

The insipid explanation of the parables of the lost sheep and drachma, invented by the Marcosians. The author's warning on their astounding madness.

1. So, uniting into one the generation of the Aeons, and the straying of the sheep, and its finding, these men who have brought all things down to numbers dare to proclaim them mystically, saying that all things consist of the Monad and the duality; and counting from the Monad up to 4, they thus beget the Decad. For 1 and 2 and 3 and 4, put together into one, have begotten the number of the 10 Aeons. And again the duality, proceeding from itself up to the episemon, 2 and 4 and 6, shows the Dodecad. And again, as we count in the same way from the duality up to 10, the number 30 is shown, in which are the Ogdoad, the Decad and the Dodecad. The Dodecad, then, because it has the episemon following upon it, they call the passion, on account of the episemon. And that for this reason, when a certain

defect had come about around the number 12, the sheep frisked away and went astray; since they say that the apostasy came about from the Dodecad. In the same way they divine that one Power, departing from the Dodecad, was lost; and that this is the woman who lost the drachma, and lit a lamp, and found it. So, then, the remaining numbers also, the 9 in the drachma and the 11 in the sheep, interwoven with one another, beget the number 99; since 9 times 11 make 99. Wherefore they say that the Amen also has this number.

2. I shall not be slow to tell you how they also interpret it otherwise, so that you may see their fruit from every side. For they will have the letter H, with the episemon, to be the Ogdoad, since it is set in the eighth place from alpha beta; and again, counting the number of the letters themselves without the episemon and adding them up as far as H, they show the Triacontad. For if one begins from A and ends at H, through the numbers of the letters, but leaves out the episemon and adds together the increase of the letters, he will find the number 30. For up to the letter E they make 15; then the number 7 added to them makes 22; and when H, which is 8, has been added to these, it has filled up the wonderful Triacontad. And from this they show that the Ogdoad is the mother of the thirty Aeons. Since, then, the number 30 has been united out of three powers, being made threefold it made 90. And the triad itself, put together with itself, begot 9. Thus the Ogdoad begot the number 99. And since the twelfth Aeon, departing, left 11 above, they say that conse-

quently the type of the letters was set in the figure of Logos (for the eleventh among the letters is Λ, which is the number 30), and that it was set after the image of the disposition above; since, from alpha without the episemon, the number of the letters themselves added up as far as Λ, according to the increase of the letters, with Λ itself, makes the number 90 and 9. And that Λ, which is in the eleventh place in the order, came down in search of what is like itself, so as to fill up the number 12, and, when it had found it, was filled up, this, they say, is plain from the very shaping of the letter. For Λ, coming as it were in search of what is like itself, and finding it, and snatching it into itself, filled up the twelfth place, the letter M consisting of two lambdas, ΛΛ. Wherefore, they say, they themselves through knowledge flee the place of the 99, that is, the diminution, the type of the left hand; and follow the one which, added to the ninety-nine, has transferred them to the right hand.

3. You indeed, dearly beloved, as you go through these things, will, I know very well, laugh much at their foolishness, so wise in its own swelling. But they are worthy of lamentation who utter so great a religion of God, and the greatness of the truly inexpressible power, and such great dispositions of God, through A and B, and through numbers so cold and wrung out by force. And as many as stand aloof from the Church and assent to these old wives' fables are truly condemned by themselves; and Paul bids us

avoid them after a first and a second correction. For John, the disciple of the Lord, extended their condemnation further, not wishing even that Hail should be said to them by us: For he who says Hail to them, he says, shares in their most wicked works (2 John 11). And rightly: for there is no rejoicing for the impious, says the Lord (Isa 48:22). And impious above all impiety are these, who say that the Maker of heaven and earth, the one God almighty, above whom there is no other God, was emitted from a defect, and that itself made from another defect; so that now, according to them, he is the emission of a third defect. Blowing upon and anathematising this doctrine as it deserves, we must flee far from them to some other place; and the more they affirm these things and rejoice in these devices of theirs, the more let us know that they are driven by the most wicked spirits of the Ogdoad. Just as those who have fallen into a frenzy, the more they laugh, and think themselves well, and do everything as if they were sound, and some things even as if they were more than sound, the worse off they are: so also these, the more they are thought to be wise, exhausting themselves, shooting beyond the stretch of the bow, the more they are without wisdom. For the unclean spirit of ignorance, going out, and then finding them empty, not for God but for worldly questions, taking with it seven other spirits more wicked than itself, and besotting their mind, as if they could devise the things that are above God, a mind fitly disposed for exclusion, has set in them

the Ogdoad of ignorance of the most wicked spirits.

CHAPTER 17

How the Marcosians imagined that created things were created after the image of the invisible ones.

1. And I wish to relate to you how they say that the creation itself was fashioned after the image of the invisible ones by the Demiurge, as though he did not know it, through the Mother. First, they say that the four elements, fire, water, earth and air, were emitted as an image of the upper quaternary; and that their workings, counted with them, that is, hot and cold, moist and dry, carefully image the Ogdoad; and from this they enumerate ten Powers thus: seven bodies carried round, which they also call heavens; then the circle that contains them, which they call the eighth heaven; then the sun and the moon. These, since they are ten in number, they say are images of that invisible Decad which came forth from Logos and Zoe. And that the Dodecad is shown through the circle that is called the Zodiac. For they say that the twelve signs most plainly painted, as if through a kind of shadow, the daughter of Man and Church, the Dodecad. And since, they say, the heaven that is set above, joined in contrariety upon the burden of all things, being the swiftest, weighs down upon the vault itself, and by its contrariety tempers their swiftness with its own slowness, so that it makes its circuit from sign to sign in thirty years, they

say that it is an image of Horos, who encircles their Mother, the thirtieth in name. And again that the moon, going round its heaven in thirty days, signifies by the days the number of the thirty Aeons. And that the sun, going round in twelve months and completing its circular apocatastasis, manifests the Dodecad through the twelve months. And that the days themselves, having a measure of twelve hours, are a type of the Dodecad that does not appear. And they say that the hour too, which is the twelfth part of the day, is adorned with thirty parts, because of the image of the Triacontad. And that the circumference of the zodiacal circle itself is of three hundred and sixty parts; for each of the signs has thirty parts. Thus also, they say, through the circle the image of the coupling of the twelve with the thirty is preserved. And further, saying that the earth is divided into twelve zones, and that in each zone it receives one power from the heavens by its sending down, and begets children like the power that sent down the distillation, they assert that it is a most manifest type of the Dodecad and its children.

2. And besides this they say that the Demiurge, wishing to imitate the boundlessness, eternity, infinity and timelessness of the Ogdoad above, and being unable to shape its endurance and perpetuity, because he is the fruit of a defect, set its eternity down into spaces of time, and seasons, and numbers of many years, thinking to imitate its boundlessness by a multitude of times. Here, they say, when the truth escaped him, falsehood

followed; and for this reason his work, when the times are fulfilled, receives destruction.

CHAPTER 18

Which places of Moses the heretics twisted to their hypothesis.

1. And while they say such things about the creation, each of them every day devises something new, as best he can. For no one is perfect among them unless he has brought forth the greatest lies as fruit. And whatever they transform from the prophetic writings and fit to their purpose, it is necessary to make it manifest and bring a refutation against them. For Moses, they say, beginning the work of the creation, at once in the beginning showed the Mother of all things, saying: In the beginning God made heaven and earth (Gen 1:1). Naming these four, God and beginning, heaven and earth, he figured their quaternary, as they themselves say. And that, showing what is invisible and hidden in it, he said: And the earth was invisible and unformed (Gen 1:2). And they will have it that he spoke thus of the second quaternary, the offspring of the first quaternary, naming the abyss and the darkness, in which are also the waters, and the spirit that was borne over the waters. After this, they say, making mention of the Decad, he speaks of light, and day, and night, and the firmament, and evening, and what is called morning, and the dry land, and the sea, and further the herb, and in the tenth place the tree; and thus by ten names he made manifest the ten Aeons. And the power

of the Dodecad is formed thus with them: for he speaks of the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the seasons, and the years, and the sea-monsters, and further the fishes, and the creeping things, and the birds, and the four-footed beasts, and the wild beasts too, and above all these, in the twelfth place, man. Thus they teach that the Triacontad was spoken by the spirit through Moses. And also that man, formed after the image of the power above, has in himself the power which is from the one fountain. And that it is set in the place that is in the brain, from which flow down four powers after the image of the Tetrad above, which are called: one sight, the second hearing, the third smell, and the fourth taste. And they say that the octonary is signified through man thus: he has two ears, and as many eyes, and two senses of smell too, and a double taste, of bitter and of sweet. And they teach that the whole man has the whole image of the Triacontad thus: in his hands he carries the Decad through his fingers; and in his whole body, since it is divided into twelve members, the Dodecad. And they divide it as the body of Truth is divided among them, of which we spoke before. And that the Ogdoad, inexpressible and invisible, is understood as hidden in the inward parts.

2. They say again that the sun, which is the great light, was made on the fourth day because of the number of the quaternary. And the courts of the tabernacle made by Moses, of fine linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, have shown the same image with them. And they declare

that the priest's long robe, adorned with four rows of precious stones, signifies the quaternary. And whatever such things at all are set down in the Scriptures that can denote the number 4, they say were made because of their quaternary. Again, the octonary is shown thus: they say that man was formed on the eighth day; for sometimes they will have it that he was made on the sixth day, and sometimes on the eighth; unless perhaps they say that the choic man was formed on the sixth day, and the carnal on the eighth; for these are distinguished among them. And some will have it that there is another man, the one who was made after the image and likeness of God, male-female, and that this is the spiritual one; and another, who was moulded from the earth.

3. And they say that the disposition of the ark in the flood, in which eight persons were saved, most plainly shows the Ogdoad. And that David also signifies the same, since he was born the eighth among his brothers. And further, that circumcision, which takes place on the eighth day, manifests the circumcision of the Ogdoad above. And in general, whatever things are found in the Scriptures that can be brought round to the number eight, they say fulfil the mystery of the Ogdoad. And they say that the Decad is signified also by the ten nations which God promised to give to Abraham as a possession; and that the disposition concerning Sarah, how after ten years she gives him her handmaid Hagar so that he may have a son by her, signifies the same. And the

servant of Abraham sent to Rebekah and giving her at the well bracelets of ten gold pieces, and her brothers keeping her for ten days; further, Jeroboam, who received ten sceptres, and the ten courts of the tabernacle, and the pillars of ten cubits, and the ten sons of Jacob sent into Egypt the first time to buy grain, and the ten apostles to whom the Lord was manifested after the resurrection, when Thomas was not present: these, according to them, figured the invisible Decad.

4. And the Dodecad, about which also the mystery of the passion of the defect took place, from which passion they will have it that the visible things were fashioned, they say is set down everywhere strikingly and most plainly. And they will have it that the twelve sons of Jacob, from whom also come the twelve tribes, and the many-coloured oracle having twelve stones and twelve bells, and the twelve stones set by Moses beneath the mountain, and likewise those set by Joshua in the river, and the others set on the far side, and those who carried the ark of the testament, and those set by Elijah at the burnt offering of the calf, and the number of the apostles too, and absolutely everything that keeps the number twelve, signify their Dodecad. And the unity of all these, which is called the Triacontad, through the ark whose height was thirty cubits in the time of Noah; and through Samuel making Saul recline … who hid for thirty days in the field; and through those who went in with him into the cave; and because the length of the holy tabernacle was thirty cubits; and whatever other things

are found equal to these numbers: by assertions of this kind they show their Triacontad.

CHAPTER 19

By which testimonies of Scripture they proved that the supreme Father was unknown before the coming of Christ.

1. And I have thought it necessary to add to these also how much they strive to persuade, choosing it out of the Scriptures, concerning their Propator, who was unknown to all before the coming of Christ, so as to show that our Lord proclaimed another Father besides the Fashioner of this universe, whom, as we said before, impiously blaspheming, they say is the fruit of a defect. So they fit the prophet Isaiah, saying: But Israel has not known me, and the people has not understood me (Isa 1:3), to mean that he spoke of ignorance of the invisible Bythus. And what was said in Hosea: There is no truth in them, nor knowledge of God (Hos 4:1), they try to bend to the same thing. And: There is none who understands or seeks God; all have turned aside, together they have become useless (Ps 14:2–3; Rom 3:11–12): this they apply to the ignorance of Bythus. And what was said through Moses: No one shall see God and live (Exod 33:20), they would persuade us has reference to him.

2. And they say that the Fashioner was seen by the prophets; but they will have it that what is written, No one shall see God and live (Exod 33:20), was said of the invisible greatness, unknown to all. That it was said of the invisible

Father, the Maker of all things: No one shall see God, is plain to all of us; but that it was said not of him who was devised by them, Bythus, but of the Demiurge (and he is the invisible God), is shown as our discourse proceeds. And that Daniel signifies the same, in that he asks the angel for the solutions of the parables, as one who does not know. And that the angel, hiding from him the great mystery of Bythus, said to him: Go back, Daniel; for these words are shut up, until those who understand understand, and the white are made white (Dan 12:9–10); and they boast that they themselves are the white and those who understand.

CHAPTER 20

On the apocryphal and forged writings of the Marcosians, and on the places of the Gospel they abused.

1. Besides these things, they bring forward an inexpressible multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they themselves have forged, to the astonishment of the senseless and of those who do not know the letters of the truth. And they take up for this purpose that forgery too: that the Lord, when he was a child and was learning his letters, when his teacher, as is the custom, said: "Say A", answered: "A". Again, when the teacher bade him say B, the Lord answered: "You tell me first what A is, and then I will tell you what B is." And they expound this as though he

alone knew the Unknown, which he made manifest in the type of the alpha.

2. And certain of the things set down in the Gospel they transform into this stamp: such as what he answered to his mother when he was twelve years old, saying: Do you not know that I must be in the things that are my Father's? (Luke 2:49) This Father, whom they did not know, they say, he was proclaiming to them; and for this reason he sent the disciples to the twelve tribes, proclaiming to them the unknown God. And that to him who had said to him: Good Master, he confessed the God who is truly good, answering: Why do you call me good? One is good, the Father in the heavens (Matt 19:17; Mark 10:18; Luke 18:19); and the heavens, they say, are now called Aeons. And for this reason, they interpret, he did not answer those who said to him: By what power do you do this? (Matt 21:23; Mark 11:28; Luke 20:2), but on the contrary confounded them by his own question; and that, in not saying it, he did not show the inexpressible of the Father. And again, in his having said: Often have I desired to hear one of these words, and I had no one to say it to me, they say that through this "one" he was making manifest him who is truly the one God, whom they had not known. Further, they say, in his having wept over Jerusalem as he drew near to it and said: If you also had known today the things that make for peace; but they are hidden from you (Luke 19:42), by that word which is "hidden" he made manifest the apocryphon of Bythus. And again, saying: Come to me, all you

who labour and are burdened, and I will refresh you, and learn from me (Matt 11:28–29), he proclaimed, they say, the Father of Truth. For what they did not know, they say, he promised to teach them.

3. And as a proof of the things above, and as it were the crown of their rule, they bring forward these words: I confess to you, Father, Lord of earth and of the heavens, that you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them to little ones. Even so, my Father, for so it has been well-pleasing in your sight. All things have been delivered to me by the Father; and no one has known the Father except the Son, and the Son except the Father, and anyone to whom the Son has revealed him (Matt 11:25–27; Luke 10:21–22). For in these words, they say, he showed most plainly that before his coming no one had plainly known the Father of Truth; and they would have it fit that the Fashioner and Creator was, as it were, always known by all; and that the Lord said these things of the Father unknown to all, whom they themselves proclaim.

CHAPTER 21

What the heretics' redemption is, and in how many forms.

1. Now it has come about that the tradition of their redemption is invisible and incomprehensible, inasmuch, of course, as it is the mother of incomprehensible and invisible things. And for this reason, since it is unstable, it cannot be related simply or in one account, since each

of them hands it on as they themselves please. For as many as are the mystical prelates of this doctrine, so many also are the redemptions. And because this kind has been sent forth by Satan for the denial of the baptism of that regeneration which is into God, and for the destruction of the whole faith, we shall relate them, refuting them, in a more fitting place.

2. And they say that it is necessary for those who have received perfect knowledge, so that they may be regenerated into that Power which is above all things. For otherwise it is impossible for us to enter within the Pleroma, since it is this which leads down into the depth of Bythus, according to them. And that the baptism of the visible Jesus is for the remission of sins, but the redemption of the Spirit who descended in him is for perfection; and they promise that the former is animal, but the latter spiritual. And that the baptism proclaimed by John was for repentance, but the redemption of the Christ who is in him was set for perfection; and that this is what he speaks of: I have another baptism to be baptised with, and I am hastening greatly towards it (Luke 12:50). And they say that to the sons of Zebedee also, when their mother asked that he would make them sit on the right and on the left with him in the kingdom, the Lord set forth this redemption, saying: Can you be baptised with the baptism with which I am to be baptised? (Mark 10:38) And they say that Paul plainly and very often showed the redemption which is in Christ

Jesus; and that this is the one which is handed on by them variously and without harmony.

3. For some of them prepare a kind of bridal chamber and perform, as it were, a mystic rite, with certain profane words, for those who are being initiated; and they say that what is done by them is a spiritual marriage, after the likeness of the pairings above. Others lead them to water, and as they baptise they say this: "Into the name of the unknown Father of all, into Truth the Mother of all, into him who descended into Jesus, for union, and redemption, and communion of the powers." Others again pronounce Hebrew names over them, so as to astonish or to terrify those who are being initiated, thus: "Basyma cacabasa eanaa, irraumista diarbada, caeota bafobor camelanthi." And their interpretation is this: "I invoke that which is above every power of the Father, which is called light, and spirit, and life, because you have reigned in the body." Others again pronounce the redemption thus: "The name which is hidden from all deity, and dominion, and truth, which Jesus of Nazareth put on in the zones of light, Christ the Lord of the living one, through the Holy Spirit, for the angelic redemption. The name of restoration: Messia ufar magno in seenchaldia mosomeda, eaacha faronepseha Jesu Nazarene." And the interpretation of these words is this: "I do not divide the spirit of Christ, the heart, and the supercelestial merciful power; may I enjoy your name, Saviour of truth." And these things those who initiate pronounce themselves; and he who

is being initiated answers: "I am confirmed, and I am redeemed, and I redeem my soul from this aeon and from all things that are from it, in the name of Iao, who redeemed his soul for redemption in the living Christ." Then those who stand by pronounce: "Peace to all on whom this name rests." After that they anoint the initiate with balsam. For they say that this ointment is a type of that sweetness which is above all things.

4. Some of them say that it is superfluous to lead them to water; but, mixing oil and water together, with certain profane words like those we spoke of before, they pour it on the heads of those who are being initiated; and they will have this to be the redemption; and they too anoint with balsam. Others, rejecting all these things, say that the mystery of the inexpressible and invisible power ought not to be performed through visible and corruptible creatures, nor the things that cannot be conceived by the mind, and are incorporeal and imperceptible, through things perceptible and corporeal. And that the perfect redemption is the very knowledge of the inexpressible greatness. For since the things that are from the ignorance of the defect came about also through passion, the whole state of ignorance, they say, is dissolved through knowledge; so that knowledge is the redemption of the inner man. And that it is neither bodily, for the body is corruptible; nor animal, since the soul too is from the defect, a dwelling, as it were, of the spirit: therefore the redemption too must be spiritual. For the inner, spiritual man, they say, is redeemed

through knowledge, and the knowledge of all things is enough for them; and this is the true redemption.

5. There are others who redeem the dead at the end of their departure, putting oil and water on their heads, or the ointment spoken of before with water, together with the invocations mentioned above, so that they may become incomprehensible and invisible to the rulers and the authorities, and that their inner man may ascend above the invisible things, as though their body were left in the creation of the world, while their soul is cast forth to the Demiurge. And they instruct them, when they come to the Authorities after they have died, to say this: "I am a son from the Father, the Father who was before, and a son in him who was before. And I have come to see all things, mine and others'; yet not altogether others', but they are Achamoth's, who is female, and she made these things for herself; for she draws her lineage from him who was before; and I am going back to my own, whence I came." And they say that, saying this, he escapes and flees from the Authorities. And that he comes also to those about the Demiurge and says to them: "I am a precious vessel, more than the female who made you. If your mother does not know her root, I know myself, and I know whence I am, and I invoke the incorruptible Sophia, who is in the Father, and who is the mother of your mother, who has no father nor consort; a male-female, born of a female, made you, not knowing even her own mother, and thinking that she herself is

alone; but I invoke her mother." And that those about the Demiurge, hearing this, are greatly troubled, and blame their root and the lineage of their mother; but that they themselves go away to their own, casting off their bonds, that is, the soul. And this is what has come to us about their redemption. But since they differ from one another both in doctrine and in tradition, and those of them who are known as the more recent strive every day to devise something new and to bring forth as fruit what no one ever thought out, it is hard to describe the views of them all.

CHAPTER 22

What the rule of truth is, and in what all the heretics turn aside from it.

1. Now since we hold the rule of truth, that is, that there is one God almighty, who created all things through his Word, and fitted them together, and made them from what was not, so that all things might be, as the Scripture says: for by the Word of the Lord the heavens were made firm, and all their power by the Spirit of his mouth (Ps 33:6); and again: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3) (and from all things nothing has been withdrawn; but the Father made all things through him, whether visible or invisible, whether sensible or intelligible, whether temporal, for the sake of a certain disposition, or everlasting and eternal); not through angels, nor through any powers cut off from his judgement, for God needs none of all things, but making all

things through his Word and Spirit, and disposing them, and governing them, and giving being to them all: this is he who made the world (for the world too is among all things), this is he who moulded man, this is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, above whom there is no other God, nor Beginning, nor Power, nor Pleroma; this is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, as we shall show: holding, then, this rule, however varied and many the things they say, we easily prove that they have strayed from the truth. For almost all the heresies there are say indeed that God is one, but by evil doctrine they alter him, being ungrateful to him who made them, as the nations also are through idolatry. And they despise the handiwork of God, speaking against their own salvation, being themselves their own most bitter accusers and false witnesses. They indeed will rise in the flesh, though they do not wish it, so that they may acknowledge the power of him who raises them from the dead; but they will not be numbered with the just, because of their unbelief.

2. Since, then, the exposure and refutation of all the heretics is varied and manifold, and it is our purpose to contradict them all according to their own stamp, we have thought it necessary first to set out their source and root, so that, knowing their most sublime Bythus, you may understand the tree from which such fruits have flowed down.

CHAPTER 23

The doctrine and morals of Simon Magus and of Menander.

1. For Simon the Samaritan, that magician of whom Luke, the disciple and follower of the apostles, says: But a certain man named Simon, who before was in the city practising the art of magic and leading astray the nation of the Samaritans, saying that he was someone great, to whom they listened from the least to the greatest, saying: This is the power of God which is called great (Acts 8:9–10). And they gave heed to him, because for a long time he had driven them out of their wits with his magic arts (Acts 8:11). This Simon, then, who feigned faith, thinking that the apostles too worked their cures by magic and not by the power of God; and suspecting that this too, their filling with the Holy Spirit, through the laying on of hands, those who believed in God through him of whom they bring the good news, Christ Jesus, was done by some greater magical knowledge; and offering money to the apostles so that he too might receive this power of giving the Holy Spirit to whomever he would, heard from Peter: May your money go with you to perdition, since you thought that the gift of God could be possessed with money: you have no part nor lot in this word, for your heart is not right before God (Acts 8:20–21). For I see that you are in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of injustice (Acts 8:23). And when he had believed God still less than before, he set himself eagerly to contend against the apostles, so that he too might seem glorious, searching still further into the whole of

magic, so as to drive many men into amazement; for he lived under Claudius Caesar, by whom he is even said to have been honoured with a statue because of his magic. This man, then, was glorified by many as God, and he taught that it was he himself who had appeared among the Jews as the Son, had come down in Samaria as the Father, and had come among the other nations as the Holy Spirit. He taught, too, that he was the most sublime Power, that is, he who is Father above all things, and that he allowed himself to be called whatever men call him.

2. Now Simon the Samaritan, from whom all the heresies took their rise, has matter for his sect of this kind. Having himself bought back a certain Helen, a harlot, from Tyre, the city of Phoenicia, he took her about with him, saying that she was the first conception of his mind, the mother of all, through whom in the beginning he conceived in his mind to make angels and archangels. For this Ennoia, he said, leaping forth from him and knowing what her father wills, went down to the lower regions and begot Angels and Authorities, by whom also this world was made. And after she had begotten them, she was held captive by them out of envy, since they did not wish to be thought the offspring of any other. For he himself, he says, was wholly unknown to them, but his Ennoia was held fast by the Authorities and Angels that had been emitted by her; and she suffered every outrage at their hands, so that she should not run back up to her father, to the point of being shut up even in a human body and of passing through the

ages, as from vessel to vessel, into other bodies of women. She was also, he says, in that Helen on whose account the Trojan war was waged; wherefore Stesichorus, who reviled her in his poems, was deprived of his eyes, and afterwards, repenting and writing the so-called palinodes, in which he sang her praise, saw again. And passing from body to body, and therefore always suffering outrage, at the last she even stood for hire in a brothel; and she, he says, is the lost sheep.

3. Wherefore, he says, he himself came, to take her up first and free her from her bonds, and to bestow salvation on men through his own knowledge. For since the Angels governed the world badly, because each of them coveted the first place, he came, he says, to set things right, and came down transfigured and made like the Powers, the Authorities and the Angels, so that among men too he appeared a man, though he was not a man, and was thought to have suffered in Judaea, though he had not suffered. The prophets, he says, uttered their prophecies inspired by the world-fashioning Angels; wherefore those who have their hope in him and in his Helen need pay them no further heed, and may do as free men what they will; for men are saved, he says, according to his grace, but not according to just works. For deeds are not just by nature, he says, but by accident, as the Angels who made the world laid them down, leading men into servitude by such precepts. Wherefore he promised that the world would be dissolved,

and that those who are his would be set free from the rule of those who made the world.

4. So the mystic priests of these people live in lust and practise magic arts, each of them as far as he can. They use exorcisms and incantations. Love-potions too, and love-charms, and what are called familiar spirits and dream-senders, and whatever other magic arts there are, are zealously practised among them. They also have an image of Simon made in the figure of Jupiter, and one of Helen in the figure of Minerva, and these they worship; and they have their name too from Simon, the head of this most impious doctrine, being called Simonians, from whom the knowledge falsely so called took its beginnings, as one may learn from their own assertions.

5. His successor was Menander, a Samaritan by race, who also himself reached the height of magic. He says that the first Power is unknown to all, but that he himself is the one who has been sent from the invisible ones as Saviour, for the salvation of men. And the world, he says, was made by Angels, whom he too, like Simon, says were emitted by Ennoia. He says too that through the magic which he teaches he gives a knowledge for this end, that one may overcome even the Angels who made the world. For his disciples, he says, receive the resurrection through the baptism into him, and can no longer die, but endure without growing old, and immortal.

CHAPTER 24

On Saturninus and Basilides.

1. Taking their occasions from these, Saturninus, who was from Antioch, the one by Daphne, and Basilides set forth doctrines far apart: the one in Syria, the other in Alexandria. Saturninus, like Menander, set forth one Father unknown to all, who made Angels, Archangels, Powers, Authorities. The world, he says, and all that is in it, was made by certain seven Angels. And man, he says, is a thing made by the Angels: a shining image appeared from above, from the supreme Authority, and when they could not hold it, he says, because it at once ran back up, they exhorted one another, saying: Let us make man to the image and likeness (Gen 1:26); and when he had been made, and the handiwork could not stand upright because of the frailty of the Angels, but wriggled like a worm, the Power above, pitying him because he had been made in its likeness, emitted a spark of life, which raised the man up, gave him joints and made him live.

This spark of life, then, he says, runs back after death to the things that are of the same kind, and the rest, of which those men were made, is dissolved.

2. The Saviour he declared to be unborn, incorporeal and without shape, and seen as a man in seeming; and he said that the God of the Jews is one of the angels. And because all the princes wished to destroy his Father, Christ came, he says, for the destruction of the God of the Jews and for the salvation of those who believe in him; and these are those who have the spark of his life. For he was the first to say that two kinds of

men were moulded by the Angels, the one wicked and the other good. And since the demons help the worst, the Saviour came, he says, for the dissolution of evil men and of the demons, but for the salvation of the good. To marry and to beget, they say, is from Satan. And many of those who are from him abstain also from animals, leading many astray by a feigned continence of this kind. Some prophecies, he says, were spoken by the Angels who fashioned the world, and some by Satan, whom he declares to be himself an angel, the adversary of the fashioners of the world, and above all of the God of the Jews.

3. Basilides, so that he might seem to have found something loftier and more plausible, stretched out the opinion of his doctrine without measure, setting forth that Nus was born first from the unborn Father, and from him was born Logos, then from Logos Phronesis, and from Phronesis Sophia and Dynamis, and from Dynamis and Sophia the Powers, the Princes and the Angels, whom he also calls the first, and that by them the first heaven was made. Then others, made by derivation from these, made another heaven like the first; and when in like manner others had been made by derivation from them, antitypes of those above them, they shaped a third heaven; and from the third, of those coming down below, a fourth; and so on in the same manner, they say, other and other Princes and Angels were made, and three hundred and sixty-five heavens. Wherefore, they say, the year has

as many days, according to the number of the heavens.

4. And the Angels, they say, who hold the last heaven, the one which is seen by us too, established all the things that are in the world, and made portions for themselves of the earth and of the nations that are upon it. Their prince, they say, is he who is thought to be the God of the Jews. And since he wished to subject the other nations to his own men, that is, to the Jews, all the other princes stood against him and worked against him. Wherefore the other nations recoiled from his nation. And the unborn and unnamed Father, seeing their ruin, sent his first-born Nus (and this, they say, is he who is called Christ) to free those who believe in him from the power of those who fashioned the world. And to their nations he appeared on earth as a man, and worked mighty works. Wherefore, they say, he did not suffer, but a certain Simon of Cyrene, pressed into service, carried his cross for him; and this man was crucified in ignorance and error, having been transfigured by him so that he might be thought to be Jesus himself; and Jesus himself took the form of Simon, and stood by and laughed at them. For since he was an incorporeal power, and the Nus of the unborn Father, he was transfigured as he wished, and so went up to him who had sent him, mocking them, since he could not be held and was invisible to all. So those who know these things, they say, have been set free from the princes, the fashioners of the world; and one must not confess him who was crucified, but

him who came in the form of a man, and was thought to be crucified, and was called Jesus, and was sent by the Father, to dissolve by this disposition the works of the fashioners of the world. "If anyone, then," he says, "confesses the crucified, he is still a slave, and under the power of those who made bodies; but whoever has denied him is set free from them, and knows the disposition of the unborn Father."

5. Salvation, they say, is of the soul alone, for the body is by nature corruptible. The prophecies too, he says, came from the Princes, the fashioners of the world, and the Law in particular from their Prince, who led the people out of the land of Egypt. They hold that one should despise things sacrificed to idols too, and think them nothing, but use them without any fear; and that the practice of every other deed, and of every lust, is indifferent. These too use magic, and images, and incantations, and invocations, and every other magic art; and, inventing certain names as though of Angels, they proclaim that these are in the first heaven and those in the second; and so on they strive to set out the names, the beginnings, the Angels and the Powers of three hundred and sixty-five feigned heavens. As the world too is a name, so the name in which, they say, the Saviour came down and went up is Caulacau.

6. So whoever has learnt these things, and come to know all the Angels and their causes, becomes, they say, invisible and incomprehensible to all the Angels and Authorities, as Caulacau also

was. And as the Son is unknown to all, so they too, they hold, must be known by no one; but while they themselves know all and pass through all, they are invisible and unknown to all. For "you," they say, "know all, but let no one know you." Wherefore those who are such are ready to deny, or rather they cannot even suffer for the name, since they are like everyone. Not many, they say, can know these things, but one in a thousand and two in myriads. And they say that they are no longer Jews, and not yet Christians; and that their mysteries must not be spoken out at all, but kept hidden in silence.

7. They distribute the local positions of the three hundred and sixty-five heavens as the astrologers do. For, taking over their theorems, they have carried them over into the stamp of their own doctrine; and they say that the prince of those heavens is Abraxas, and that for this reason he holds three hundred and sixty-five numbers in himself.

CHAPTER 25

On Carpocrates.

1. Carpocrates and those who are from him say that the world and the things that are in it were made by Angels far inferior to the unbegotten Father. Jesus, they say, was born of Joseph, and though he was like other men, he differed from the rest in this, that his soul, being steadfast and pure, remembered the things it had seen in that circuit which had been with the unbegotten God; and that for this reason a power was sent to it

by him, so that it might escape the fashioners of the world and, passing through them all and set free in all, ascend to him; and likewise the souls that embrace things like it. And they say that the soul of Jesus, brought up in the customs of the Jews, despised them, and for this reason received powers, through which it made void the passions that were in men as punishments.

2. So the soul which, like that soul of Jesus, can despise the archons, the fashioners of the world, receives, they say, powers in like manner for working like things. Wherefore they have advanced to such a height of pride that some of them say that they are like Jesus, and others that they are even stronger than he in some respect, excelling still more than his disciples, as for instance than Peter and Paul and the other apostles; and that these are in nothing less than Jesus. For their souls, they say, coming from the same circuit, and therefore despising the fashioners of the world in like manner, have been held worthy of the same power, and go back again to the same place. And if anyone, they say, has despised the things here more than he did, he can be better than he.

3. For they too practise magic arts and incantations, philtres too and charitesia, and familiar spirits and dream-senders, and the other evil devices, saying that they have power to rule even now over the princes and fashioners of this world; and not only over them, but also over all the things that have been made in it. These too, like the nations, have been sent forth by Satan

to defame the divine name of the Church, so that men, hearing in one way and another the things that are theirs and thinking that we are all such, may turn their ears away from the proclamation of the truth; or, seeing what is theirs, may blaspheme us all, though we share nothing with them, neither in doctrine, nor in morals, nor in our daily way of life. But, living a self-indulgent life and holding an impious opinion, they abuse the name as a veil for their wickedness: their judgement is just (Rom 3:8), since they receive from God a recompense worthy of their works.

4. And they have run unbridled into such madness that they say they have it in their power to do all things whatsoever that are irreligious and impious, and that they do them. For they say that deeds are evil and good by human opinion alone. And indeed, they say, by transmigrations into bodies souls must come to be in every life and in every act (unless someone, getting beforehand, does all things at once and together in one coming: things which it is not lawful for us not only to speak or to hear, but even to let come into the conception of the mind, nor to believe, if any such thing is done among men who live in the cities which are ours), so that, as their writings say, their souls, having been in every use of life, may on going out have nothing whatever still lacking to be done in it; lest perhaps, because something is wanting to their freedom, they be forced to be sent again into a body. For this reason they say that Jesus spoke this parable: When you are with your adversary on the way, take pains to be freed

from him, lest he hand you over to the judge, and the judge to the officer, and he put you in prison (Luke 12:58; Matt 5:25). Amen I say to you, you will not come out from there until you pay the last farthing (Matt 5:26; Luke 12:59). And the adversary, they say, is one of the angels who are in the world, whom they call the devil, saying that he was made for this, to lead the souls that have perished from the world to the prince (and this one, they say, is the first of the fashioners of the world); and that he hands such souls over to the other angel, who serves him, to shut them up in other bodies; for the body, they say, is the prison. And the saying, You will not come out from there until you pay the last farthing (Matt 5:26), they interpret as meaning that no one comes out from the power of the angels who fashioned the world, but passes thus from body to body for ever, until he has been in absolutely every deed that is in the world; and when nothing is lacking to him, then his soul, set free, is raised up to that God who is above the angels, the fashioners of the world. So too, they say, all souls are saved, whether they themselves, getting beforehand, are mingled in all deeds in one coming, or, passing from body to body, or sent into each kind of life, are set free by fulfilling and paying their debts, so that they no longer act in a body.

5. And that these things, which are irreligious, unjust and forbidden, are really done among them, I for my part will by no means believe. But in their writings it is so written, and they themselves so expound it, saying that Jesus spoke in a

mystery to his disciples and apostles apart, and that they insisted that these things be handed on apart to the worthy and to those who assent. For men are saved, they say, by faith and charity; the rest, being indifferent, are called some good and some evil according to men's opinion, since nothing is evil by nature.

6. Others of them mark their disciples, branding them on the back part of the lobe of the right ear. Hence also Marcellina, who came to Rome under Anicetus, being of this doctrine, drove many out of their wits. They call themselves Gnostics; and they have images, some painted and some fashioned of other material, saying that the form of Christ was made by Pilate at the time when Jesus was with men. And these they crown, and set them up with the images of the philosophers of the world, namely with the image of Pythagoras, and of Plato, and of Aristotle and the rest; and they pay them the rest of their observance as the nations do.

CHAPTER 26

On Cerinthus, the Ebionites and the Nicolaitans.

1. And a certain Cerinthus, in Asia, taught that the world was not made by the first God, but by a certain Power far separated and distant from that Pre-eminence which is above the universe, and ignorant of the God who is above all things. Jesus he put forward as not born of the Virgin (for this seemed to him impossible), but as having been the son of Joseph and Mary like all other men,

and as having been more powerful than men in justice and prudence and wisdom. And after the baptism, he says, Christ came down into him from that Pre-eminence which is above all things, in the figure of a dove; and then he proclaimed the unknown Father and worked mighty works; but at the end Christ flew back again from Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose again, while Christ remained impassible, being spiritual.

2. Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but what concerns the Lord they do not hold in the same way as Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They use only the Gospel according to Matthew, and reject the apostle Paul, calling him an apostate from the Law. What is prophetic they strive to expound with excessive curiosity; and they are circumcised, and persevere in the customs that are according to the Law and in the Jewish stamp of life, so far as even to worship Jerusalem as though it were the house of God.

3. The Nicolaitans have as their master Nicolas, one of the seven who were the first ordained to the deaconship by the apostles; they live without discrimination. Who they are is made known most fully through the Apocalypse of John: they teach that it makes no difference to commit adultery and to eat what is sacrificed to idols. Wherefore the word said of them too: But this you have, that you hate the works of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate (Rev 2:6).

CHAPTER 27

On Cerdo and Marcion.

1. And a certain Cerdo, taking his occasion from those about Simon, having come to Rome under Hyginus, who held the eighth place of the episcopate by succession from the apostles, taught that the God proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the one, he taught, is known, and the other unknown; and the one is just, and the other good.

2. Succeeding him, Marcion of Pontus enlarged the doctrine, shamelessly blaspheming the God who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, saying that he is a maker of evils and a lover of wars, inconstant too in his judgement and contrary to himself. And Jesus, he says, came from that Father who is above God the fashioner of the world into Judaea in the times of Pontius Pilate the governor, who was procurator of Tiberius Caesar, and was manifested in the form of a man to those who were in Judaea, dissolving the Prophets and the Law and all the works of that God who made the world, whom he also calls Cosmocrator. And besides this, cutting down the Gospel according to Luke, and removing everything written about the generation of the Lord, and removing much of the teaching of the Lord's discourses, in which the Lord is written as confessing most plainly that the Creator of this universe is his Father, he persuaded his disciples that he himself was more truthful than the apostles who handed down the Gospel, handing on to them not the Gospel but a scrap

of the Gospel. Likewise he mutilated the Epistles of the apostle Paul too, removing whatever is said plainly by the Apostle of the God who made the world, that he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and whatever the Apostle taught by recalling the prophetic writings that foretold the coming of the Lord.

3. Salvation, he says, will be of souls alone, of those that have learnt his doctrine; but the body, evidently because it was taken from the earth, cannot share in salvation. On top of his blasphemy against God he added this too, truly taking up the devil's mouth and saying everything contrary to the truth: that Cain, and those who are like him, and the Sodomites, and the Egyptians, and those like them, and absolutely all the nations that have walked in every mingling of wickedness, were saved by the Lord when he had descended to the underworld and they had run to him, and that he took them up into his kingdom; but that Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and the other just, and those about the patriarch Abraham, with all the prophets and those who pleased God, did not share in salvation: so the serpent that was in Marcion proclaimed. "For since they knew," he says, "that their God was always testing them, they suspected that he was testing them then too, and did not run to Jesus nor believe his proclamation"; and therefore, he said, their souls remained in the underworld.

4. But to him, since he alone has dared openly to cut down the Scriptures and shamelessly, beyond all others, to disparage God, we shall

make our answer separately, refuting him from his own writings; and from those discourses of the Lord and of the Apostle which he has kept and which he himself uses, we shall bring about his overthrow, God granting it. Now, however, we have had to mention him, so that you might know that all who in any way adulterate the truth and harm the Church's proclamation are disciples and successors of Simon Magus the Samaritan. Although, to lead the rest astray, they do not confess the name of their master, yet it is his doctrine that they teach: putting forward the name of Christ Jesus as a bait, and bringing in in various ways the impiety of Simon, they put many to death, spreading their own doctrine wickedly by means of a good name, and through the sweetness and beauty of the name holding out to them the bitter and malignant poison of the serpent, the prince of apostasy.

CHAPTER 28

On Tatian and the Continent, and on certain others.

1. From those whom we have named, many offshoots of many heresies have now arisen, because many of them, or rather all, wish to be teachers, and to depart from the heresy in which they were; and, composing one dogma from one opinion and then another from another, they insist on teaching in a new way, declaring themselves the devisers of whatever opinion they have put together. To speak by way of example: starting from Saturninus and Marcion, those

who are called the Continent have proclaimed abstinence from marriage, setting aside God's ancient moulding and indirectly accusing him who made male and female for the generation of men; and they have brought in abstinence from what among them are called animals, being ungrateful to God, who made all things. They also speak against the salvation of him who was first moulded; and this has now been devised among them, a certain Tatian being the first to bring in this blasphemy. He was a hearer of Justin, and as long as he was with him he set forth nothing of the kind; but after Justin's martyrdom he withdrew from the Church, and, lifted up and puffed up by the conceit of being a teacher, as though he were above the rest, he established a stamp of doctrine of his own: telling, as a fable, of certain invisible Aeons, as those from Valentinus do; calling marriage, as Marcion and Saturninus do, corruption and fornication; and on his own account speaking against the salvation of Adam.

2. Others again, taking their occasions from Basilides and Carpocrates, have brought in indiscriminate intercourse and many marriages, and indifference about eating things sacrificed to idols, saying that God does not greatly care about these things. And what then? It is not possible to tell the number of those who in one way and another have fallen away from the truth.

CHAPTER 29

On the various sects of the Gnostics, and first on the Barbeliotes, or Borborians.

1. Besides these, out of the Simonians of whom we have spoken, a multitude of Gnostics of Barbelo has risen up, and they have appeared like mushrooms out of the earth; of these we relate the principal opinions held among them. For some of them posit a certain Aeon that never grows old, in a virginal spirit, whom they name Barbelo. There, they say, is a certain unnameable father; and he wished to manifest himself to Barbelo herself. And this Ennoia, they say, having come forth, stood in his sight and asked for Prognosis. And when Prognosis too had come forth, at their asking again Incorruption came forth, and after that Eternal Life; and Barbelo, they say, glorying in these and gazing into the greatness and the conception, and delighting in it, begot a light like it. This, they say, is the beginning both of illumination and of the generation of all things; and the Father, seeing this light, anointed it with his kindness, so that it might become perfect. And this one, they say, is Christ; who in turn asks, as they say, that Nus be given him as a helper; and Nus came forth. Besides these the Father emits Logos. And the pairings come to be of Ennoia and Logos, and of Aphtharsia and Christ; and everlasting Zoe is joined to Thelema, and Nus to Prognosis. And these magnified the great light and Barbelo.

2. After that, they say, Autogenes was emitted from Ennoia and Logos, to represent the great light; and they say that he was greatly honoured, and that all things were made subject to him. And Alethia was emitted together with him, and there

is a pairing of Autogenes and Alethia. And from the light, which is Christ, and from Incorruption, four luminaries, they say, were emitted to stand about Autogenes; and again from Thelema and everlasting Zoe four emissions were made, to minister to the four luminaries, which they name Charis, Thelesis, Synesis, Phronesis. And Charis is joined to the great and first luminary; and they will have it that this one is Soter, and they call him Harmogenes; Thelesis to the second, whom they also name Raguel; Synesis to the third luminary, whom they call David; Phronesis to the fourth, whom they name Eleleth.

3. All things having thus been established, Autogenes besides these emits a perfect and true man, whom they also call Adamas, because neither was he himself subdued, nor were those from whom he was; and he was withdrawn, with the first light, by Harmogenes. And with the man, they say, perfect knowledge was emitted by Autogenes and joined to him (whence he too knew him who is above all things); and an invincible power was given him by the virginal spirit; and all things find refreshment in him, to sing hymns to the great Aeon. Hence, they say, were manifested Mother, Father, Son; and from Anthropos and Gnosis was born the tree, which they also call Gnosis.

4. Then from the first angel, who stands by Monogenes, they say that the Holy Spirit was emitted, whom they also call Sophia and Prunicus. This Spirit, then, seeing all the others with a pairing and himself without a pairing, sought

one to be united with; and not finding one, strained, and stretched out, and looked down to the lower parts, thinking to find a consort there; and, not finding one, leapt forth, wearied too, because the onset had been made without the good will of the Father. After that, moved by simplicity and kindness, she begot a work in which there was ignorance and audacity. This work of hers, they say, is Proarchon, the fashioner of this creation; and they relate that he took great power away from his mother, and withdrew from her into the lower regions, and made the firmament of heaven, in which also, they say, he dwells. And being ignorance, he made the authorities that are under him, and the angels, and the firmaments, and all earthly things. Then, they say, being united with Authadia, he begot Kakia, Zelos, and Phthonos, and Erinnys, and Epithymia. And when these had been begotten, the mother Sophia, grieved, fled and withdrew to higher places, and for those counting from below there comes to be an octonary. So, when she had withdrawn, he thought, they say, that he alone existed, and for this reason said: I am a jealous God, and besides me there is no one (Exod 20:5; Isa 45:5–6; 46:9). Such, then, are the lies these people tell.

CHAPTER 30

On the Ophites and Sethians.

1. Others again speak monstrous things: that there is a certain first light in the power of Bythus, blessed, incorruptible and boundless; and that

this is the Father of all, and is called the First Man. His Ennoia, going forth, they call the son of him who emits her, and they say that she is the Son of Man, the Second Man. Below these, they say, is the Holy Spirit, and below the higher spirit the elements set apart, water, darkness, abyss, chaos, over which, they say, the Spirit is borne, and they call it the First Woman. Afterwards, they say, as the First Man with his son exulted over the beauty of the Spirit, that is, of the woman, and shed light upon her, he begot from her an incorruptible light, a third male, whom they call Christ, the son of the First and the Second Man, and of the Holy Spirit, the First Woman.

2. And when the father and the son lay with the woman, whom they also call the Mother of the living, since she could not bear nor contain the greatness of the lights, she was, they say, filled to overflowing and boiled over on the left side; and so their son, Christ alone, as being of the right and lifted up to the higher regions, was at once caught up with his mother into the incorruptible Aeon. And this, they say, is the true and holy Church, which was the naming, and the gathering, and the union of the Father of all, the First Man, and of the Son, the Second Man, and of Christ their son, and of the woman spoken of.

3. And the Power that boiled over from the woman, having the moisture of light, fell down, they teach, from the fathers, but having the moisture of light by its own will; and this they call the Left, and Prunicus, and Sophia, and male-female. And descending in its simplicity into the waters

while they were motionless, it set them moving too, acting wantonly as far as the abysses, and took a body from them. For to its moisture of light, they say, all things ran, and clung, and held it round about; and had it not had this, it would perhaps have been wholly swallowed up and sunk by matter. So, bound by the body, which was from matter, and greatly weighed down, she came to her senses at some time, they say, and tried to flee the waters and go up to her mother; but she could not, because of the weight of the body laid round her. And being in very sore straits, she contrived to hide that light which was from above, fearing lest it too should be harmed by the lower elements, as she herself had been. And when she had received power from the moisture of the light that was hers, she sprang back and was carried up on high; and having come to be on high, she spread out and covered over, and made this visible heaven out of her body; and she remained under the heaven that she made, still having the type of a watery body. When she had received a desire for the higher light, and had taken power through all things, she laid the body aside, they say, and was set free from it. They say that she put off this body, and they name it woman from woman.

4. And her son too, they say, had in himself a certain breathing of incorruption left him by his mother, through which he works; and having become powerful, he too emitted, as they say, from the waters a son without a mother; for they will have it that he did not know his mother. And his

son, in imitation of his father, emitted another son. This third in turn begot a fourth, and the fourth too begot a son; from the fifth, they say, a sixth son was begotten; and the sixth begot a seventh. So in their system the Hebdomad was completed, the mother holding the eighth place; and as in their generations, so too in dignities and powers, they say, they take precedence of one another.

5. And in their lie they have given them names of this kind: the one who is first from the mother, they say, is called Ialdabaoth; the one who is from him, Iao; and the one from him, great Sabaoth; the fourth, Adoneus; and the fifth, Eloeus; and the sixth, Horeus; and the seventh and last of all, Astaphaeus. And these they posit as heavens, and areothas, and Powers, and Angels, and creators, sitting in order in heaven according to their generation, not appearing, and ruling also things heavenly and earthly; the first of them, Ialdabaoth, despising his mother, in that he made sons and grandsons without anyone's leave, and besides them Angels, and Archangels, and Powers, and Authorities, and Dominions. When these had been made, his sons, they say, turned to strife and quarrel against him over the first place; and for this reason Ialdabaoth, grieved and despairing, looked down upon the dregs of matter lying beneath, and fixed his desire upon it, and from this, they say, a son was born (and this, they say, is Nus himself, twisted in the form of a serpent); and after that spirit, and soul, and all the things of the world; and from there were begotten all

forgetfulness, and malice, and jealousy, and envy, and death. And this serpent-shaped and twisted Nus of theirs, they say, perverted the Father still more by his crookedness, when he was with their Father in heaven and in paradise.

6. Hence, they say, Ialdabaoth, exulting, gloried in all these things that were under him, and said: I am Father and God, and above me there is no one. And his mother, hearing this, cried out against him: "Do not lie, Ialdabaoth: for above you is the Father of all, the First Anthropos, and Anthropos the son of Anthropos." And when all were thrown into confusion at the new voice and the unexpected name, and were asking whence the cry came, Ialdabaoth, they say, to call them to himself and draw them to his side, said: Come, let us make man to our image (Gen 1:26). And the six Powers, hearing this, while the mother gave them the thought of the man, so that through him she might empty them of the principal Power, came together and formed a man immense in breadth and length; and as he could only wriggle, they brought him to their father, Sophia working this too, so that she might empty him also of the moisture of light, so that, having power, he might not be able to rise up against those who are above. And when he breathed into the man the spirit of life, he was secretly emptied, they say, of his power; and the man thereby had Nus and Enthymesis (and these, they say, are what is saved), and at once gave thanks to the First Man, leaving the fashioners behind.

7. And Ialdabaoth, being jealous, wished to devise a way to empty the man through a woman, and brought forth a woman from his own Enthymesis; and that Prunicus, taking her up, invisibly emptied her of power. And the others, coming and marvelling at her beauty, called her Eve, and desiring her, begot sons by her, who, they say, are also the angels. And their mother contrived through the serpent to lead Eve and Adam astray into overstepping the precept of Ialdabaoth; and Eve, hearing this as though from a son of God, readily believed, and persuaded Adam to eat of the tree of which God had said not to eat. And when they ate, they say, they knew the Power that is above all things, and withdrew from those who had made them. And Prunicus, seeing that they had been overcome even through their own handiwork, took great joy, and cried out again that, since there was an incorruptible Father, he who long ago called himself Father had lied; and that, since Man and the First Woman existed long ago, this woman too had sinned by adulterating.

8. And Ialdabaoth, they say, because of the forgetfulness that surrounded him, not even attending to these things, cast Adam and Eve out of paradise, because they had transgressed his precept. For he wished sons to be begotten for him from Eve, and did not obtain it, because his mother opposed him in all things, and secretly emptied Adam and Eve of the moisture of light, so that he who was from the pre-eminence of the Spirit should share neither in the curse nor in the

reproach. So, they teach, being made empty of the divine substance, they were cursed by him, and cast down from heaven into this world. And the serpent too, working against his father, was cast down by him into the world below; and bringing under his power the angels that are here, he too begot six sons, he himself being the seventh, in imitation of the Hebdomad that is about the Father. And these, they say, are the seven worldly demons, always opposing and resisting the human race, because on their account their father was cast down below.

9. Adam and Eve, they say, at first had light and bright and, as it were, spiritual bodies, such as they were moulded with; but coming here, they changed into something darker and grosser and more sluggish; and their soul too was slack and languid, since they had from the maker only a worldly inbreathing; until Prunicus, taking pity on them, gave back to them the sweet odour of the moisture of light, through which they came to remember themselves, and knew that they were naked, and knew the matter of the body, and knew that they carry death; and they became long-suffering, knowing that the body had been put about them for a time; and they found food too, Sophia leading the way for them, and being sated they came together carnally, and begot Cain, whom the serpent that had been cast down, with his sons, at once took up and overthrew, and he filled the things of the world with forgetfulness, driving Cain into foolishness and audacity, so that, in killing his brother Abel, he was the first

to show jealousy and death. After these, they say, Seth was begotten by the providence of Prunicus, then Norea; from whom, they say, the rest of the multitude of men was begotten, and was cast by the lower Hebdomad into every wickedness, and into an apostasy stronger than the holy Hebdomad, and into idolatry, and into every other contempt, while the mother was always invisibly against them, and saved what was her own, that is, the moisture of light. And the holy Hebdomad, they will have it, is the seven stars which they call planets; and the serpent that was cast out, they say, has two names, Michael and Samael.

10. And Ialdabaoth, they say, angry with men because they did not worship him nor honour him as Father and God, brought the flood upon them, to destroy them all together. But Sophia opposing him here too, those about Noah in the ark were saved, because of the moisture of that light which was from her, through which the world was filled with men again; and from these Ialdabaoth himself chose a certain Abraham, and made a testament with him, that if his seed persevered in serving him, he would give him the inheritance of the earth. Afterwards, through Moses, he led out of Egypt those who were from Abraham, and gave them the Law, and made them Jews; and from these the seven days, which they also call the holy Hebdomad, chose each of them his own herald, to glorify himself and to proclaim God, so that the others too, hearing their glories, might themselves also serve those who were proclaimed as gods by the prophets.

11. And they distribute the prophets thus: Moses, they say, was Ialdabaoth's, and Joshua son of Nun, and Amos, and Habakkuk; Iao's were Samuel, and Nathan, and Jonah, and Micah; Sabaoth's, Elijah, and Joel, and Zechariah; Adoneus's, Isaiah, and Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, and Daniel; Eloeus's, Tobias and Haggai; Horeus's, Micah and Nahum; Astaphaeus's, Ezra and Zephaniah. Each of these, then, they say, glorifies his own father and God. And Sophia herself, they say, spoke through them many things of the First Man, and of the incorruptible Aeon, and of that Christ who is above, forewarning men and recalling them to the incorruptible light, and to the First Man, and concerning the descent of Christ; and while the princes were terrified at these things and marvelled at the novelty in what was proclaimed by the prophets, Prunicus worked through Ialdabaoth, who did not know what he was doing, so that emissions of two men were made, the one from the barren Elizabeth, the other from Mary the virgin.

12. And since she herself had no rest either in heaven or on earth, she, being grieved, called on her mother for help. And her mother, the First Woman, took pity on her daughter's repentance, and asked the First Man that Christ be sent to help her; and he, being emitted, came down to his sister and to the moisture of light. And the Sophia who is below, knowing that her brother was coming down, proclaimed his coming through John, and prepared the baptism of repentance, and fitted Jesus beforehand, so that Christ, com-

ing down, might find a clean vessel, and so that through her son Ialdabaoth the woman might be proclaimed by Christ. And he came down, they say, through the seven heavens, made like their sons, and little by little emptied them of their power. For the whole moisture of light, they say, ran together to him; and Christ, coming down into this world, first put on his sister Sophia, and both exulted, finding refreshment in one another; and this, they define, is the bridegroom and the bride. And Jesus, they say, inasmuch as he was begotten of the Virgin by the working of God, was wiser and purer and more just than all men; Christ, entwined with Sophia, came down into him, and so Jesus Christ came to be.

13. Many of his disciples, then, they say, did not know of the descent of Christ into him; but when Christ came down into Jesus, then he began to work mighty works, and to heal, and to proclaim the unknown Father, and to confess himself openly the son of the First Man. Angry at these things, the princes and the father of Jesus worked to kill him; and while he was being led to it, they say, Christ himself, with Sophia, withdrew into the incorruptible Aeon, and Jesus was crucified; but Christ did not forget his own, but sent down from above a certain power into him, which raised him up in a body, which they call an animal and spiritual body; for the worldly parts he left behind in the world. And the disciples, seeing that he had risen, did not know him, nor even Jesus himself, for whose sake he rose from the dead. And this, they say, was the greatest

error among his disciples, that they thought he had risen in a worldly body, not knowing that flesh and blood do not lay hold of the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50).

14. They want to confirm the descent and the ascent of Christ from this, that the disciples say that Jesus did nothing great either before the baptism or after the resurrection from the dead, not knowing that Jesus had been united to Christ, and the incorruptible Aeon to the hebdomadal; and the worldly body they call animal. After the resurrection, they say, he lingered eighteen months, and, perception having come down into him, he learnt what is clear; and he taught these things to a few of his disciples, whom he knew to be capable of such great mysteries; and so he was received into heaven, Christ sitting at the right hand of the father Ialdabaoth, so that he may receive into himself the souls of those who have known them, after they have laid aside the worldly flesh, enriching himself while his Father is unaware of it and does not even see him; so that, in so far as Jesus enriches himself in holy souls, in so far his Father, suffering loss, may be diminished, emptied of his power through the souls. For he will no longer, they say, have holy souls to send down again into the world, but only those that are from his own substance, that is, those that are from the inbreathing. And the consummation will come, they say, when the whole moisture of the spirit of light is gathered together and carried off into the Aeon of incorruptibility.

15. Such, according to them, are their opinions; and from them, like the Lernaean hydra, the many-headed beast of the school of Valentinus has been begotten.

For some say that Sophia herself became the serpent; and that for this reason she stood against Adam's maker, and put knowledge into men; and that for this reason the serpent was said to be wiser than all. And also because of the position of our intestines, through which food is taken in, since they have such a shape, showing in us the hidden substance that begets the serpent's figure.

CHAPTER 31

On the Cainites.

1. Others again say that Cain is from the higher Pre-eminence; and they confess Esau, and Korah, and the Sodomites, and all such as their kinsmen; and that for this reason, though attacked by the maker, none of them suffered harm. For Sophia, they say, snatched away from them to herself that which was her own from her. And they say that Judas the traitor knew these things well, and that he alone, knowing the truth above the others, accomplished the mystery of the betrayal; through whom, they say, all things both earthly and heavenly were dissolved. And they bring forward a concoction of this kind, calling it the Gospel of Judas.

2. And I have also collected their writings, in which they urge men to dissolve the works of Hystera; and Hystera they call the fashioner of

heaven and earth; for they cannot be saved, they say, otherwise than by going through all things, as Carpocrates also said. And in each of the sins and shameful deeds, they say, an angel stands by, and the one who does it dares the daring deed and ascribes the uncleanness to him, and says in the angel's name what is in that deed: "O you, Angel, I make use of your work; O you, such-and-such Authority, I accomplish your working." And this, they say, is perfect knowledge: to go without fear into such deeds as it is not lawful even to name.

3. That those who are from Valentinus come from such mothers and fathers and forefathers, as their very opinions and rules show them to do, it was necessary to prove openly, and to bring their dogmas into the open, in case some of them perhaps, repenting and turning to the one only Creator, and God the Maker of the universe, may be saved; and so that the rest may no longer be drawn away by their depraved persuasion, plausible as it seems, thinking that they will learn from them some greater and loftier mystery, but, learning well from us what is badly taught by them, may laugh at their doctrine and pity those who still, in these most wretched and unstable fables, have assumed such pride as to think themselves better than the rest because of such knowledge, or rather ignorance. And this is the exposure of them, or the victory over them: the bringing to light of their opinions.

4. Wherefore we have endeavoured to bring into the open the whole little body of this ill-

made fox, and to make it manifest through you. For there will be no need now of many words to overthrow their doctrine, now that it has been made manifest to all. As when some beast is hiding in a wood, and from there makes its attacks and lays many waste: whoever clears and strips the wood and brings the beast itself into view has no further labour to take it, for men see that the beast is a beast; for they can see and guard against its attacks, and shoot at it from every side, and wound and kill that destructive beast. So too for us: when we have brought into the open their hidden things and the mysteries they keep silent among themselves, it will no longer be necessary to destroy their opinion with many words. For it is now open to you, and to all who are with you, to exercise yourselves on what has been said, and to overthrow their wicked and disordered doctrines, and to set forth the dogmas that fit the truth. Since, then, these things are so, as I promised, we shall bring about their overthrow according to our power, contradicting them all in the following book (for the account runs on at length, as you see); and we shall also give provisions for the journey towards their overthrow, meeting all their opinions in the order of the account; so that we may not only show the beast but also wound it from every side.

Book II

Preface

1. In the first book, the one before this, in refuting the knowledge falsely so called, we showed you, dearly beloved, that the whole lying talk of those who come from Valentinus has been devised in many and contrary ways; we also set out the doctrines of those who arose before them, showing them at variance with themselves, and much more so with the truth itself. The doctrine of Marcus the magician too, since he is one of them, we set out with his works with all diligence; and we related with diligence how many things they pick out of the Scriptures and try to adapt to their fiction; and we went through in detail the way in which, by numbers and by the twenty-four letters of the alphabet, they try and dare to affirm the truth. And we reported how they say that the creation was made after the image of the Pleroma, which among them is invisible, and how much they think and teach of the Demiurge; and we laid bare the doctrine of their forefather, Simon Magus the Samaritan, and of all those who succeeded him. We spoke too of the multitude of the Gnostics who come from him, and noted their differences, their doctrines and their successions; and we set out all the heresies

that were founded by them. And we showed that all the heretics, taking their beginnings from Simon, have brought impious and irreligious doctrines into this life; and we laid bare their redemption, and how they initiate those who are made perfect, and their formulas and mysteries; and that God the Creator is one, and that he is not the fruit of the hindmost, and that there is nothing either above him or after him.

2. In this book we shall build up what suits our purpose and what time allows, and we shall overthrow their whole rule by great chapters; wherefore, since it is an exposure and overthrow of their doctrine, we have titled the writing of this work as we have. For their hidden pairings, through the disclosure and overthrow of the pairings made manifest, must dissolve Bythus; and we must receive the proof that he neither ever was nor is.

CHAPTER 1

That God is one, and that there can be no other God above or below him, nor Beginning, nor Pleroma, nor Authority.

1. It is well, then, for us to begin with the first and greatest chapter, with God the Demiurge, who made heaven and earth and all things that are in them, whom these men in their blasphemy call the fruit of the extremity; and to show that there is nothing either above him or after him; that he was moved by no one, but by his own judgement and freely made all things, since he is the only God, and the only Lord, and the only

Creator, and the only Father, and the only one who contains all things, and himself grants to all things that they should be.

2. For how could there be above him another Fullness, or Beginning, or Authority, or another God, when God, the Pleroma of all these things, must in his immensity enclose all things round, and be enclosed round by none? But if there is anything outside him, he is no longer the Pleroma of all things, nor does he contain all things. For the Pleroma, or the God who is above all things, will lack what they say is outside him. And what lacks something, and has had something taken from it by another, is not the Pleroma of all things. And he will also have a boundary, and a middle, and an end, over against those who are outside him. And if there is an end towards what is below, there is a beginning also towards what is above. Likewise, on the remaining sides too, there is every necessity that he should undergo the same, and be contained, determined and shut in by those who are outside. For he who is the end below of necessity in every way circumscribes and surrounds him who is bounded by him. For according to them the Father of all (whom they also call Proon and Proarche), together with their Pleroma, and Marcion's good God, will be laid up in something, and shut in, and surrounded from outside by another pre-eminence, which must be greater; since what contains is greater than what is contained; and what is greater is also firmer and more truly Lord; and what is greater, and firmer, and more truly Lord, that will be God.

3. For since, according to them, there is also something else, which they say is outside the Pleroma, into which they suppose that the higher wandering Power descended, it is in every way necessary either that what is outside contain, and the Pleroma be contained (otherwise it will not be outside the Pleroma: for if there is something outside the Pleroma, the Pleroma will be within this very thing which they say is outside the Pleroma, and the Pleroma will be contained by what is outside; and with the Pleroma the first God is understood as well); or again that they be immeasurably distant and separated from each other, that is, both the Pleroma and what is outside it. But if they say this, there will be some third thing which immeasurably separates the Pleroma and what is outside it; and this third thing bounds round and will contain both, and this third thing will be greater than both the Pleroma and what is outside it, as holding both in its bosom; and the discourse will fall into infinity about what is contained and what contains. For if this third thing has its beginning towards what is higher and its end towards what is lower, there is every necessity that it be bounded on the sides as well, either beginning or ceasing at certain other things; and those again, and others which are above and below, will have their beginnings at certain other things, and so on to infinity; so that their thinking will never come to rest in the one God, but through the occasion of seeking more than there is, will fall away into what is not, and depart from the true God.

4. These things likewise are fitted against those who come from Marcion. For his two Gods too will be contained and bounded round by the immeasurable interval that separates them from each other. And so one is forced to devise, on every side, many gods standing apart by an immeasurable separation, beginning from one another and ending at one another; and by the same reasoning by which they strive to teach that above the Fashioner of heaven and earth there is some Pleroma, or God, anyone using the same reasoning will maintain that above the Pleroma there is another Pleroma, and above that yet another, and above Bythus another ocean of God, and on the sides likewise the same; and so, the thought falling away into the immeasurable, there will always be the necessity of devising other Pleromas and other Bythuses, and of never coming to rest at any time, always seeking others besides those spoken of. And it will be uncertain whether these things of ours are below, or whether they themselves are the higher; and whether the things they call above are above or below; and no standing-place, no firmness will hold our understanding, but it will be forced to go out into immeasurable worlds and undetermined gods.

5. And since this is so, each God will be content with his own and will not meddle with what belongs to others; otherwise he will be unjust and covetous, and will cease to be what God is. And each creation will glorify its own Fashioner, and will be satisfied with him, and will not

know another; otherwise, judged most justly by all to be apostate, it will incur the most deserved punishment. For either there must be one who contains all things, and in his own made each of the things that have been made, as he himself willed; or else there must again be many and undetermined makers and gods, beginning from one another and ending at one another on every side; and it will be necessary to confess that all the others are contained from outside by some other greater one, and that each of them is as it were shut in and abiding in its own; and that none of them all is God. For each of them, having the smallest part in comparison with all the rest, will be lacking, and the name of Almighty will be undone, and such an understanding is bound to fall into impiety.

CHAPTER 2

That the world was not fashioned by angels, or by anyone else, against the judgement of the supreme Father of all, but was created by the same Father through the Word.

1. Those who say that the world was fashioned by angels, or by some other fashioner of the world, against the judgement of him who is Father above all things, sin first in this very point, that they say angels made so great and such a creation against the will of the first God: as though angels were more effective than God; or again as though he were negligent, or inferior, or had no care for what happens in his own domain, whether it happens badly or well, so as to scatter

and forbid the one and praise and rejoice in the other: and this one would not attribute even to a careful man, how much less to God?

2. Next, let them tell us: were these things fashioned in what is contained by him and in his own domain, or in what is foreign to him and set outside him? If they say outside him, all the absurdities mentioned before will likewise meet them, and the first God will be shut in by what is outside him, in which he must also come to an end. But if in his own domain, it will be utterly vain to say that the world was fashioned against his judgement, in his own domain, by angels who are themselves in his power, or by some other; or as though he himself did not foresee all things that are in his own, so as not to know what was to be done by the angels.

3. But if it was not against his will, but with his willing and knowing it, as some think, then the angels or the fashioner of the world will no longer be the causes of this fashioning, but the will of God. For if he is the fashioner of the world, he himself made the angels, or at least was himself the cause of their creation; and he who prepared the causes of its fashioning will himself be seen to have made the world. Though they say that the angels, or the fashioner of the world, were made by the first Father through a long succession downwards, as Basilides says, none the less the cause of the things that were made will go back to him who brought forth such a succession: just as the success of a war is referred to the king who prepared what caused the victory, and the

founding of this city, or of this work, to him who prepared the causes for the completion of what was made lower down. Wherefore we do not say that the axe cuts the wood, or the saw saws it; but one would most rightly say that the man cuts and saws, he who made the axe itself and the saw for this purpose, and, much earlier, all the tools by which the axe and the saw were fashioned. So, then, by their own reasoning the Father of all will justly be called the fashioner of this world, and not the angels, nor any other fashioner of the world besides him who brought forth and was the first cause of the making of such a preparation.

4. This talk may perhaps be persuasive, or seductive, with those who do not know God, and who liken him to needy men, and to those who cannot fashion anything at once out of what is ready, but need many tools for fashioning it; but it is not at all likely with those who know that God, who needs none of all things, created all things by the Word and made them; needing neither angels as helpers for what is made, nor some Power far inferior to him and ignorant of the Father, nor any defect or ignorance, so that he who was to know him might become man; but he himself in himself, in a way inexpressible and inconceivable to us, predestining all things, made them as he willed, giving to all things harmony, and their own order, and the beginning of their creation: to the spiritual a spiritual and invisible, to the supercelestial a celestial, to the angels an angelic, to the animal an animal, to the swim-

ming an aquatic, to the earthborn an earthborn, to all a substance of quality fitted to them; and all things that have been made he made by his tireless Word.

5. For this is proper to the surpassing greatness of God, not to need other tools for the creation of the things that are made; and his own Word is fit and sufficient for the forming of all things, as John too, the disciple of the Lord, says of him: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3). And among all things is this world too, the one that is ours. This too, then, was made by his Word, as the Scripture of Genesis says that God made all things that are ours through his Word. And David likewise goes on: For he spoke, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created (Ps 33:9; 148:5). Whom, then, shall we rather believe about the fashioning of the world: these heretics we have spoken of, who babble such foolish and inconsistent things; or the disciples of the Lord, and Moses, the faithful servant of God and prophet? He it is who first told the genesis of the world, saying: In the beginning God made heaven and earth (Gen 1:1), and then all the rest in order; but not gods, nor angels.

6. And that this God is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the apostle Paul too has therefore said: One God the Father, who is above all, and through all things, and in us all (Eph 4:6). We have already shown that God is one; we shall show it further from the apostles themselves and from the Lord's words. For what sort of thing is

it, to leave the voices of the prophets, and of the Lord, and of the apostles, and to attend to these men who say nothing sound?

CHAPTER 3

That the Bythus and Pleroma of the Valentinians, and the God of Marcion, are self-contradictory. That the world was made by the same one by whom it was conceived in mind, and is not the fruit of defect and ignorance.

1. Unstable, then, is the Bythus that is theirs, that which is this one's Pleroma, and the God of Marcion. If indeed, as they say, he has outside himself something lying beneath, which they call the void and the shadow, then this void is shown to be greater than their Pleroma. And it is unstable too to say that, while he contains all things within himself, the creation was fashioned by some other. For they must of necessity confess some void and formless thing, beneath the spiritual Pleroma, in which this universe was fashioned; and as to this formless thing, did the Demiurge leave it so on purpose, the Propator knowing what was to be in it, or not knowing? And if not knowing, God will no longer foreknow all things. Nor will they even be able to give the reason why he left this place so idle for such long ages. But if he foreknows, and contemplated in mind the creation that was to be in that place, he himself made it, who also formed it beforehand in himself.

2. Let them cease, then, to say that the world was made by another; for as soon as God con-

ceived it in mind, that also was made which he had conceived in mind. For it was not possible for one to conceive in mind, and for another to make what had been conceived in mind by him. But either God, according to these heretics, conceived in mind an eternal world, or a temporal one: both of which are incredible. For if he conceived it in mind as eternal, and spiritual, and visible, such too it would have been made. But if it is such as it is, he himself also made it such, who had conceived it such in mind. Or else he willed that it should be such in the presence of the Father, according to the conception of the mind: composite, and mutable, and passing. And since it is such as the Father had shaped it within himself, it is a fashioning worthy of the Father. But to say that what was conceived in mind by the Father of all, and formed beforehand just as it was also made, is the fruit of defect and the bringing forth of ignorance, is a great blasphemy. For according to them the Father of all, by the conception of his mind, will be begetting in his own breast emissions of defect and fruits of ignorance: for what he had conceived in mind, that too was made.

CHAPTER 4

The absurdity of the heretics' void and defect is demonstrated.

1. The cause, then, of such a disposition of God must be sought, but the fashioning of the world must not be ascribed to another; and all things must be said to have been prepared beforehand by God so as to come to be, just as

they were made; but no shadow and emptiness is to be invented. Besides, it will be asked: whence the emptiness? Was it too, according to them, brought forth by the Father of all things, he who brings forth; and is it equal in honour and akin to the other Aeons, and perhaps even older than they? But if it was emitted by the same one, it is like him who emitted it, and like those with whom it was emitted. There will therefore be every necessity that their Bythus, together with Sige, is like the void, that is, is void; and that the other Aeons, since they are brothers of the void, have a void substance as well. But if it was not emitted, it was born of itself, and begotten of itself, and is equal in time to him who according to them is Bythus, the Father of all; and so the void will be of the same nature and of the same honour as him who according to them is the Father of all. For it must either have been emitted by someone, or have been begotten of itself and born of itself. But if the void was emitted, then Valentinus too, he who brings it forth, is void, and his followers are void. But if it was not brought forth, but begotten of itself, then what is void is both like, and brother, and of the same honour as that Father of whom Valentinus spoke; but older, and existing long before, and more honourable than the other Aeons of Ptolemy himself, and of Heracleon, and of all the others who hold the same opinions.

2. But if, being at a loss in these matters, they confess that the Father of all contains all things, and that there is nothing outside the Pleroma (for there is every necessity that he be bounded

and circumscribed by something greater), and that they speak of outside and inside according to knowledge and ignorance, and not according to distance of place; and that in the Pleroma, or in what is contained by the Father, the things made by the Demiurge or by the angels, all that we know to have been made, are contained by the inexpressible greatness, like the centre in a circle, or like a stain in a tunic: first, what kind of Bythus will he be, who allows a stain to come to be in his bosom, and permits another to create or bring forth in his own domain against his mind? This would indeed bring unseemliness on the whole Pleroma, since he could have cut off from the beginning the defect and the emissions that took their beginning from it, and not have permitted the constitution of the creation to come about in ignorance, or in passion, or in defect. For he who afterwards mends the defect, and cleanses away the defect like a stain, could much earlier have taken care that no such stain should come to be in his own domain even at the beginning. Or if at the beginning he allowed it, because the things that were made could not come to be otherwise, they must always come to be so. For how will the things that cannot receive amendment at the beginning receive it afterwards? Or how do they say that men are called to what is perfect, when the very things that are the causes from which men were made, the Demiurge himself or the angels, are said to be in defect? And if, because he is kind, he took pity on men in the last times and gives them what is perfect, he ought first to have taken

pity on those who were the makers of man, and to have given them what is perfect. So men too would surely have received mercy, made perfect by the perfect. For if he took pity on their work, much earlier he ought to have taken pity on them, and not have let them come to such blindness.

3. Their discourse too about the shadow and the void, in which they say the creation that is ours was made, will be undone, if these things were made in what is contained by the Father. For if they think their Father's light to be such that it can fill all things that are within it and illuminate all things, how could there be a void or a shadow in what is contained by the Pleroma and by the Father's light? For they must show a place within the Propator, or within the Pleroma, not illuminated and not occupied by anything, in which either the angels or the Demiurge made whatever he willed. For it is no small place in which so great and such a creation was made. There will therefore be every necessity that they become, in place, within the Pleroma or within their Father, something void, and formless, and dark, in which the things fashioned were fashioned. Their Father's light too will receive the accusation of being unable to illuminate and fill what is within it. And further, by calling these things the fruit of defect and the work of error, they will bring defect and error into the Pleroma, and into the bosom of the Father.

CHAPTER 5

That within what is contained by the Father this world was not made by others.

1. Against those, then, who say that this world was made outside the Pleroma, or under the good God, what we said a little before is fitting; and such men will be shut in, together with their Father, by what is outside the Pleroma, in which they too must come to an end. But against those who say that this world was made by certain others within what is contained by the Father, all the absurdities and contradictions just spoken of will arise; and they will be forced either to confess that all the things within the Father are luminous, and full, and active; or to accuse the Father's light of being unable to light up all things; or to confess that, like the part, so their whole Pleroma is void, and unordered, and dark. And all the rest, whatever belongs to the creation, they accuse as being temporal: they must either be eternal-and-choic or blameless, since they are within the Pleroma and in the bosom of the Father; or else the accusations will come likewise upon the whole Pleroma; and their Christ is found to be the cause of ignorance. For, as they say, when he had formed their Mother according to substance, he cast her out of the Pleroma, that is, separated her from knowledge. He, then, who separated her from knowledge made ignorance in her. How, then, could the same one give knowledge to the other Aeons, those who were earlier than he, and yet be to his Mother the cause of ignorance? For he put her outside knowledge in casting her outside the Pleroma.

2. Again, if they speak of within the Pleroma and outside the Pleroma according to knowledge and ignorance, as some of them say that he who is in knowledge is within that which he knows, they must agree that the Saviour himself (whom they call the All) was in ignorance. For they say that he formed their Mother when he had come out of the Pleroma. If, then, they call what is outside the ignorance of all things, and the Saviour went out to form their Mother, he came to be outside the knowledge of all things, that is, in ignorance. How, then, could he give knowledge to her, when he himself was outside knowledge? For they say that we too are outside the Pleroma, since we are outside their knowledge. And again: if, then, the Saviour went out of the Pleroma to seek the lost sheep, and the Pleroma is knowledge, he came to be outside knowledge, that is, in ignorance. For either they must agree that what is outside the Pleroma is outside in place, and all the contradictions mentioned before will meet them; or, if they call what is inside knowledge and what is outside ignorance, their Saviour, and long before him Christ, will have come to be in ignorance, having gone out of the Pleroma to form their Mother, which is outside knowledge.

3. These things will be adapted likewise against all who say in any way that the world was made either by angels or by some other besides the true God. For the accusation they make about the Demiurge, and about the things that were made material and temporal, will recoil upon the Father: since how were things made in the

womb of the Pleroma that were soon after to be dissolved, by the allowance and according to the good pleasure of the Father? No longer, then, is the fashioner the cause of this working, though he is fully persuaded that it is he himself who fashions; but he who in his own domain allows and approves that bringings forth of defect and works of error should come to be: in eternal things temporal ones, and in incorruptible things corruptible ones, and in the things of truth those of error. But if these things were made without the Father of all allowing or approving them, then he who made, in what is properly the Father's, whatever the Father did not allow is more powerful, and stronger, and more lordly. But if their Father allowed it without approving, as some say, either he allowed it because of some necessity while able to prevent it, or not able. But if he was not able, he is weak and feeble; if able, a seducer, and a hypocrite, and the slave of necessity: not consenting, indeed, but allowing as though he consented. And allowing error at the beginning to stand and to grow, he tries in later times to undo it, when many have already perished miserably because of the defect.

4. It is not fitting to say of him who is God above all, since he is free and of his own power, that he served necessity, so that something should come about by allowance against his judgement; otherwise they will make necessity greater and more lordly than God, since what is more powerful would be older than all things. And he ought at once, in the beginning, to have

cut off the causes of the necessity, and not to have shut himself up into having necessity, by allowing something beyond what befits him. For it was much better, and more consistent, and more befitting God, to cut off in the beginning the beginning of such a necessity, than afterwards, as if out of repentance, to try to root out so great a crop of necessity. And if the Father of all is to be the servant of necessity, and is to fall under fate, chafing at the things that happen, and cannot do anything outside necessity and fate (just like Homer's Jupiter, who says under necessity: "For I too gave it to you as though willing, with an unwilling mind"), then by this reasoning of necessity and fate their Bythus will be found a slave.

CHAPTER 6

That the supreme God could not have been unknown to the angels or to the fashioner of the world.

1. And how were the angels, or the fashioner of the world, ignorant of the first God, when they were in his domain, and were his creatures, and were contained by him? Invisible to them he could indeed be, because of his eminence; but by no means unknown, because of his providence. For although by their descent they were very far separated from him, as they say, yet, since his dominion extends over all, they ought to have known their ruler, and to know this very thing, that he who created them is the Lord of all. For what is invisible of him, since it is mighty, grants to all a great intuition of mind and perception

of his most powerful and almighty eminence. Hence, even if no one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son has revealed him (Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22), yet all things know this very thing, when reason, implanted in their minds, moves them and reveals to them that there is one God, the Lord of all.

2. And for this reason all things are subject to the name of the Most High and Almighty; and by the invocation of him, even before the coming of our Lord, men were saved both from the most wicked spirits, and from all demons, and from every apostasy: not as though the earthly spirits or the demons had seen him, but because they knew that he is the God who is above all, at whose invocation they trembled, and all creation trembles, and the principality, and the might, and every subject virtue. Or will those who are under the empire of the Romans, though they have never seen the Emperor, but are very far separated from him by land and by sea, know, because of his dominion, him who holds the greatest power of rule; and will the angels who were above us, or he whom they call the fashioner of the world, not know the Almighty, when even the dumb animals tremble and yield to such an invocation? And though they have not seen him, yet all things are subject to the name of our Lord: so too to the name of him who made and created all things, since he is no other than he himself who made the world. And for this reason the Jews to this day drive out demons by this very formula,

since all things fear the invocation of him who made them.

3. If, then, they do not wish the angels to be more irrational than dumb animals, they will find that, though these had not seen the God who is above all, they ought to have known his might and dominion. For it will appear truly ridiculous if they say that they themselves, who are on earth, know the God who is above all, whom they have never seen, but will not allow him who made them and the whole world, according to them, though he is in the heights and above the heavens, to know what they themselves know, though they are in the low places. Unless perhaps they say that their Bythus is under the earth in Tartarus, and that for this reason they knew him before the angels who dwelt on high; coming to such madness that they declare the fashioner of the world to be out of his mind: they are truly to be pitied, since in such madness they say that he knew neither the Mother nor her seed, nor the Pleroma of the Aeons, nor the Propator, nor what the things were that he fashioned; but that they are images of the things that are within the Pleroma, the Saviour working secretly that they should come to be so in honour of those who are above.

CHAPTER 7

That created things are not images of the Aeons who are above within the Pleroma.

1. Since, then, the Demiurge was ignorant of all things, they say that the Saviour honoured

the Pleroma in the creation through the Mother, emitting likenesses and images of the things that are above. But that it was impossible for there to be anything outside the Pleroma, in which they say the images of those within the Pleroma were made, or for this world to be fashioned by any other than the first God, we have shown. But if it is pleasant to overthrow them on every side and to convict them as liars, we shall say against them that, if these things were made by the Saviour after their image in honour of the things that are above, they must always endure, so that the things that were honoured may always be in honour. But if they pass away, what use is this honour of so very short a time, which once was not and again will not be? The Saviour, then, is shown by us to be a seeker of vainglory rather than one who honours the things that are above. For what honour are temporal things to the eternal things that always are; things that pass to those that stand; corruptible things to the incorruptible? For even among men, who are temporal, there is no thanks for an honour that passes quickly, but for one that endures as long as it can. And the things that are destroyed as soon as they are made will justly be said to have been made rather as an insult to those who are thought to be honoured; and what is eternal to be treated insultingly, when its image is corrupted and dissolved. And what if their Mother had not wept, and laughed, and been at a loss: would the Saviour not have had the means to honour the Fullness, since her extreme

confusion had no substance of its own through which he might honour the Propator?

2. O honour of vainglory, which passes at once and is seen no more! There will be some Aeon in whom such honour will be reckoned never to have been at all, and then the things that are above will be without honour; or else it will be necessary to emit yet another Mother, weeping and at a loss, in honour of the Pleroma. O image not unlike, and at the same time blasphemous! You tell me that the image of the Only-begotten was emitted by the fashioner of the world, and you will have it belong to the Nus of the Father of all; and that this image is ignorant of itself, and ignorant of the creation, and ignorant of the Mother, and of everything whatsoever among the things that are and the things made by him: and are you not ashamed before yourselves, bringing ignorance up to Monogenes himself? For if these things were made by the Saviour after the likeness of the things that are above, while he who was made after the likeness is ignorant of so much, then such ignorance must exist spiritually both in respect of him, and in conformity with him, after whose likeness he who is ignorant was made. For it is not possible, since both were emitted spiritually, neither moulded nor compounded, that it should have kept the likeness in some things, and in others have corrupted the image of the likeness, which was emitted for this very purpose: to be after the likeness of the emission that is above. And if it is not like, the accusation will fall on the Saviour, who emitted

an unlike image, as a craftsman to be rejected. For they cannot say that the Saviour, whom they call the All, did not have the power of emission. If, then, the image is unlike, the craftsman is bad, and the fault is the Saviour's, according to them. But if it is like, the same ignorance will be found in respect of the Nus of their Propator, that is, Monogenes: and the Nus of the Father was ignorant of himself, and ignorant of the Father, and ignorant of the things made by him. But if he knows, then he who was made after his likeness by the Saviour must know the things that are like; and their greatest blasphemy is undone by their own rule.

3. And even apart from this, how can the things of the creation, so varied and many and innumerable, be images of the thirty Aeons who are within the Pleroma, whose names too, as they give them, we set down in the book before this one? And not only the variety of the whole creation, but not even that of a single part of it, whether of the heavenly things, or of those upon the earth, or of those in the waters, will they be able to adapt to the smallness of their Pleroma. For that their Pleroma is thirty Aeons, they themselves bear witness; but that in a single part of the things mentioned there are not thirty but many thousands of kinds, everyone who counts them will confess can be shown. How, then, can things of so manifold a creation, which subsist from contraries, and fight one another, and kill one another, be images and likenesses of the thirty Aeons for the Pleroma, if indeed these, as they

say, are of one nature, made of what is equal and like, and have no difference? But if these are their images, then, just as they say that some men are evil by nature and others again good by nature, they ought also to have shown such differences among the Aeons themselves, and to have said that some of them were emitted good by nature and some evil by nature, so that their device of the image might fit the Aeons. Further, since in the world some things are tame and others wild, some harmless and some harmful and destructive of the rest; some upon the earth, some in the waters, some winged, some heavenly: they ought likewise to show that the Aeons have such affections, if indeed these things are their images. And they must also interpret of which of the Aeons that are above the eternal fire, which the Father prepared for the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41), is the image: for it too is numbered in the creation.

4. But if they say that these things are images of the Excogitation of the Aeon who suffered, first they will act impiously against their Mother, saying that she is the initiator of evil and corruptible images. And then, how will things that are many, and unlike, and contrary in nature be images of one and the same? And if they say that the angels of the Pleroma are many, and that the things that are many are their images, not even so will their reasoning hold. For first they must show that the differences of the angels of the Pleroma are contrary to one another, as the images below are of a nature contrary to one another. And then,

since the angels about the Maker are many and innumerable, as all the prophets confess, that ten thousands of ten thousands stand by him, and many thousands of thousands minister to him (Dan 7:10), then, according to them, the angels of the Pleroma will have the angels of the Maker as their images, and the creation remains whole in the image of the Pleroma, the thirty Aeons no longer corresponding to the manifold variety of the creation.

5. Further still, if these things were made after the likeness of those, after whose likeness again will those have been made? For if the fashioner of the world did not make these things of himself, but, like a craftsman of no account and like a boy just learning, copied them from others' archetypes, whence did their Bythus get the form of the disposition that he first emitted? It follows, then, that he received the pattern from some other who is above him, and that one again from another. And none the less the discourse about images will fall away into the immeasurable, as it does also about gods, unless we fix our understanding on one craftsman, as on one God, who of himself made the things that were made. Or does one grant to men that they have devised of themselves something useful for life, and not grant to the God who completed the world that he made of himself the form of the things that were made, and the device of their ordered disposition?

6. And how can these things be their images, when they are contrary to them and can share in nothing with them? For things that are contrary

can indeed be destructive of those to which they are contrary, but in no way images: as water and fire, and again light and darkness, and so many others, will never be images of one another. So neither will things that are corruptible, and earthly, and composite, and passing be images of those that, according to them, are spiritual; unless they confess that these too are composite, and in circumscription, and in shaping, and no longer spiritual, and diffused, and abounding, and incomprehensible. For they must be in shaping and in circumscription to be true images; and it is plain that they are not spiritual. But if they say that those are spiritual, and diffused, and incomprehensible, how can things that are in figure and in circumscription be images of those who are without shaping and incomprehensible?

7. But if they say that these things are images [not] according to shaping, nor according to formation, but according to the number and order of the emission, first, these things should not be called images and likenesses of the Aeons who are above. For how are things that have neither their bearing nor their figure images of them? Next, let them fit the numbers and emissions of the higher Aeons, the same and like, to the things of the creation. But as it is, showing thirty Aeons, and calling so great a multitude of the things in the creation images of the thirty, they are justly convicted by us as senseless.

CHAPTER 8

How far from likelihood it is that created things are the shadow of the Pleroma.

1. But if they say that these things are the shadow of those, as some of them dare to say, so as to be images in that sense, they will be bound to confess that the things above are bodies. For the things that are above cast a shadow as bodies, but no longer as spiritual things, since these can darken nothing. But even if we grant them this, which is impossible, that there is a shadow of the things that are spiritual and luminous, into which they say their Mother descended: yet, since those are eternal, the shadow cast from them also endures for ever, and these things no longer pass away, but endure with those that overshadow them. But if these pass away, those too of which these are the shadow must pass away; but if those endure, their shadow endures too.

2. But if they say that it is a shadow not in the sense of being overshadowed, but in the sense that these things are far separated from those, they will accuse their Father's light of smallness and weakness, as not reaching as far as these things, but failing to fill what is void and to dissolve the shadow, and that when nothing stands in its way. For according to them their Father's light will be turned into darkness and blinded, and will fail in the places of emptiness, since it can by no means fill all things. Let them no longer say, then, that their Bythus is the Pleroma of all things, since he has neither filled nor illuminated what is void and shadow; or else let them give

up the shadow and the void, since their Father's light fills all things.

3. Neither, then, can there be anything outside the first Father, that is, the God who is above all, or outside the Pleroma, into which they say the Enthymesis of the Aeon who suffered descended, without its being bounded and circumscribed by what is outside, and the Pleroma itself, or the first God, being contained; nor can there be a void, nor will he contain a shadow, since the Father is already before them, so that his light may not fail and be bounded at the void. And it is irrational and impious to devise a place in which he ceases and has an end who according to them is the Propator, and Proarche, and the Father of all, and of this Pleroma. Nor, again, is it lawful to say that some other fashioned so great a creation in the Father's bosom, whether with his consent or without it, for the reasons given before. For it is equally impious and mad to say that angels, or some emission ignorant of the true God, fashioned so great a creation in what is his own; nor is it possible that earthly and choic things were made beneath their Pleroma, since it is wholly spiritual; nor even is it possible that, after the image of those who are said to be few, and of like formation, and one, things of manifold creation and contrary to one another were made. And their discourse about the shadow of the kenoma, that is, of the void, has appeared false in every respect. So their fiction has been shown to be void, and their doctrine inconsistent; and void too are

those who attend to them, truly going down into the depth of perdition.

CHAPTER 9

That there is one Creator of the world, God the Father; and that all the ancients agree with the Church in this tradition.

1. That God is the Fashioner of the world is agreed even by those who contradict him in many ways, and they confess him, calling him Fashioner and saying that he is an angel; not to mention that all the Scriptures cry it aloud, and that the Lord teaches that this is the Father who is in heaven, and no other, as we shall show as the discourse goes on. But for the present the witness of those who say things contrary to us suffices, since all men agree at least in this: the ancients first, who kept this persuasion from the tradition of the protoplast and sang hymns to one God, the Fashioner of heaven and earth; the rest after them, who received the remembrance of this from the prophets of God; and the heathen, who learn it from the creation itself. For the creation itself shows him who created it; and the thing made itself suggests him who made it; and the world makes manifest him who set it in order. And the whole Church throughout the whole world has received this tradition from the apostles.

2. Since, then, this God is established, as we have said, and receives witness from all that he is, that Father who is devised according to them is without doubt unestablished and without a wit-

ness: Simon Magus first saying that he himself was God above all, and that the world was made by his angels; and then those who succeeded him, as we showed in the first book, spinning out in various opinions impious and irreligious doctrines against the Fashioner; and since these men are their disciples, they make those who agree with them worse than the heathen. For those, serving the creature rather than the Creator (Rom 1:25), and those who are not gods (Gal 4:8), nevertheless attribute the first place of godhead to God, the Fashioner of this universe. But these, calling him the fruit of defect, and calling him animal, and ignorant of the Power that is above him, and saying that when he says: I am God, and besides me there is no other God (Isa 45:5; 46:9), he lies, they themselves lying; heaping all wickedness on him, and inventing that he who is not above him exists, are exposed by their own doctrine, blaspheming him who is God, and inventing as God him who is not, to their own condemnation. And those who call themselves perfect, and claim to have the knowledge of all things, are found worse than the heathen, and more blasphemous in understanding even against their own Maker.

CHAPTER 10

How badly the Scriptures are explained by the heretics. God created all things from nothing, not from underlying matter.

1. It is utterly irrational, then, to pass over him who is truly God and who has the witness of all,

and to inquire whether there is above him one who is not and who has never been proclaimed by anyone. For that nothing has been said openly of him, they themselves bear witness; and it is plain that, by wrongly transferring to him whom they devised parables which are themselves the subject of inquiry as to how they were spoken, they now beget another, who was never sought before. For through wishing to solve ambiguous Scriptures (ambiguous not as pointing to another God, but as pointing to the dispositions of God), they have fashioned another God; as we said before, plaiting ropes out of sand, and begetting a greater question on a lesser one. But no question will have its resolution through another thing that is itself sought, nor will an ambiguity be resolved through another ambiguity among those who have understanding, nor riddles through another, greater riddle; but such things receive their solutions from things that are manifest, and in harmony, and clear.

2. But these, seeking to solve the Scriptures and the parables, bring in another, greater and impious question: whether there is indeed another God above God the Fashioner of the world; not solving the questions (for whence could they?), but tying a great question to a lesser one, and inserting an insoluble knot. For, so that they may know that they know this very thing, that the Lord came to the baptism of truth at thirty years of age, while not learning this, they impiously despise God the Fashioner himself, who sent him for the salvation of men; and, so that

they may be thought able to tell whence the substance of matter came, not believing that God, as he willed, made all things from things that were not, so that the things made should be, using his will and power as substance, they have gathered empty words, truly showing their unbelief: for since they do not believe the things that are, they have fallen into what is not.

3. For when they say that from the tears of Achamoth came forth the moist substance, from her laughter the luminous, from her sadness the solid, and from her fear the mobile, and in these things they think high thoughts and are puffed up, how is this not worthy of derision and truly ridiculous? They do not believe that God, being mighty and rich in all things, created matter itself, not knowing how much a spiritual and divine substance can do; but they believe that their Mother, whom they call a female from a female, emitted from the passions mentioned so great a matter for the creation; and they ask whence the substance was supplied to the Fashioner of the creation, but do not ask whence their Mother, whom they call the Enthymesis and impulse of the wandering Aeon, got so many tears, or sweats, or sorrows, or the rest of the emission of matter.

4. For to attribute the substance of the things that were made to the power and will of him who is God of all is both credible, and acceptable, and consistent; and in this it will rightly be said that the things that are impossible with men are possible with God (Luke 18:27). For men cannot

make anything from nothing, but from underlying matter; but God is in this first superior to men, that he himself devised the matter of his fashioning when before it was not. But to say that matter was brought forth from the Enthymesis of the wandering Aeon, and that the Aeon is far separated from her Enthymesis, and again that her passion and affection are matter outside herself: this is incredible, and foolish, and impossible, and inconsistent.

CHAPTER 11

That the heretics, not believing the truth, have fallen into the depth of error. Why does Irenaeus resolve to question them?

1. And not believing that the God who is above all fashioned by the Word, in what is his, things various and unlike, as he himself willed, since he is the Fashioner of all things, like a wise architect and a very great king; but believing that angels, or some Power separated from God and ignorant of him, made this universe: so, not believing the truth, but wallowing in falsehood, they have lost the bread of true life, falling into the void and into the depth of the shadow; like Aesop's dog, which left the bread and went for its shadow, and lost its food. And from the very words of the Lord it is easy to show that he confesses one Father, the Maker of the world and the Moulder of man, who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, and knows no other, and that this one is God above all; and that he teaches, and through himself be-

stows on all the just, the adoption of sons that is with the Father, which is eternal life.

2. But since they love to accuse, and like calumniators assail things that are beyond calumny, bringing against us a multitude of parables and questions, we have thought it well first to question them in turn on their own doctrines, and to show what is unlikely in them, and to cut down their rashness; and then to bring in the Lord's words; so that they may not be free merely to put things forward, but, being unable to answer with reason what they are asked, and seeing their argument dissolved, may either turn back to the truth, and humble themselves, and cease from their manifold fantasy, and appease God for the things they blasphemed against him, and be saved; or, if they persevere in the vainglory that has taken hold of their mind, may change their argument.

CHAPTER 12

That the heretics' Triacontad both falls short and overflows. That, since their pairings are united and inseparable, Sophia could not have suffered or generated anything without the mingling of her consort. That Logos and Sige cannot exist together.

1. First, then, we shall say this of their Triacontad: that the whole of it fails wonderfully on both sides, both by what it has too little and by what it has too much; the Triacontad on account of which they say that the Lord came to baptism at thirty years of age. And once this is said, the

overthrow of their whole line of argument will be plain. As to the diminution, then, it is thus: first, in that they count the Propator with the rest of the Aeons. For the Father of all ought not to be counted with the rest of the emission: he who was not emitted, with that which was emitted; the unborn, with that which was born; he whom no one contains, and who is for that reason uncontainable, with that which is contained by him; he who is without figure, with that which has been given figure. For inasmuch as he is better than the rest, he ought not to be counted with them; and that, he who is impassible and does not err, with an Aeon who is passible and set in error. For that, beginning from Bythus, they count the Triacontad as far as Sophia, whom they call the erring Aeon, we have shown in the book before this one, and we have set down the names they give: but if he is not counted, there are no longer thirty emissions of Aeons according to them, but they come to twenty-nine.

2. Next, when they call the first emission Ennoia, whom they also call Sige, from whom again they say that Nus and Alethia were emitted, they go astray on both counts. For it is impossible that anyone's ennoia, or his silence, should be understood apart from him, and, emitted outside him, have a shaping of its own. But if they say that she was not emitted outside, but united to the Propator, why do they count her with the rest of the Aeons, who are not united, and for that reason do not know his greatness? And if she is united too (let us consider this as well), it is altogether nec-

essary that from a pairing united, and inseparable, and existing as one, the emission that comes from it should be undivided and united, so that it is not unlike him who emitted it. And this being so, they will be one and the same, Nus and Alethia just as Bythus and Sige, clinging to each other always. And since the one cannot be understood without the other, just as neither water without wetness, nor fire without heat, nor stone without hardness (for these are united with each other), and the one cannot be separated from the other but always co-exists with it: so too Bythus must be made one with Ennoia, and Nus with Alethia in the same way. Again, Logos and Zoe, emitted from united ones, must be united and must be one. And on these grounds Man and Church too, and the whole emission of the pairing of the rest of the Aeons, must be united, and the one must always co-exist with the other. For the female Aeon must exist together with the male, according to them, since she is as it were his affection.

3. And although this is so, and although they themselves say this, again they shamelessly dare to teach that the youngest Aeon of the Dodecad, whom they also call Sophia, suffered a passion without the mingling of her consort, whom they call Theletus, and apart from him generated a fruit, which they call a female from a female; they have gone so far in madness that they most plainly hold two contrary opinions about the same thing. For if Bythus is united with Sige, and Nus with Alethia, and Logos with Zoe, and the rest in order, how could Sophia suffer anything,

or generate, without the embrace of her consort? And if she suffered without him, the rest of the pairings too must undergo a parting and a separation from themselves: which is impossible, as we said before. It is impossible, therefore, that Sophia suffered without Theletus: and again their whole line of argument is undone. For on the passion that they say she suffered without the embrace of her consort they have again fastened on all the rest, like the composition of a tragedy.

4. But if, shamelessly, they say that the rest of the pairings too are disjoined and separated from each other, on account of the last pairing, so that their empty talk may not be undone: first, they rest upon a thing that is impossible. For how will they separate the Propator from his Ennoia, or Nus from Alethia, or Logos from Zoe, and the rest likewise? And how do they themselves say that they return to unity, and that all are one, if the pairings within the Pleroma do not keep their unity, but stand apart from each other, so far that they both suffer and generate without each other's embrace, like hens without cocks?

5. Lastly, in this way too their first and first-begetting Ogdoad will be undone. For there will be, each in its own right, in the same Pleroma, Bythus and Sige, Nus and Alethia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Church. But it is impossible that Sige should be where Logos is present, or again that Logos should be shown where Sige is present. For these consume each other, just as light and darkness will never be in the same place: if there is light, there is no darkness; and

where there is darkness, there will be no light: for when light comes, darkness is undone. So where Sige is, Logos will not be; and where Logos is, Sige certainly is not. But if they say that Logos is endiathetos, Sige too will be endiathetos; and none the less she will be undone by the endiathetos Logos. But that he is not endiathetos, the very order of their emission signifies.

6. Let them no longer say, then, that the first and principal Ogdoad consists of Logos and Sige, but let them reject either Sige or Logos: and their first and principal Ogdoad is undone. For if they say that the pairings are united, their whole line of argument is undone. For how, when they were united, did Sophia generate the defect without her consort? But if they say that each of the Aeons has its own substance, as in an emission, how can Sige and Logos be shown in the same place? So much for the lessening.

7. And as to what is more, their Triacontad is again undone thus: for they say that Horos, whom they call by very many names, as we said before in the book before this one, was emitted by Monogenes, as the rest of the Aeons were. And this Horos some say was emitted by Monogenes, but others by the Propator himself, in his own likeness. They say besides that an emission, Christ and Holy Spirit, was made by Monogenes, and these they do not count in the number of the Pleroma: nor yet the Saviour, whom they also say is the All. For this is plain even to a blind man, that according to them not only thirty emissions were emitted, but four as well along with these

thirty. For they count in the Pleroma the Propator himself, and those who were emitted from one another in succession. What is the reason that these will not be counted with those, though they exist in the same Pleroma and have had the same emission? For what just cause can they declare why they do not count with the rest of the Aeons either Christ, who they say was emitted by Monogenes at the Father's will, or the Holy Spirit, or Horos, whom they also call Soter; nor yet the Saviour himself, who came to the help and the forming of their Mother? Is it on the ground that they are lower than those, and therefore unworthy of the name and the number of the Aeons; or on the ground that they are better and different? But how will they be lower, who were emitted even for the establishing and the correction of the rest? Nor again can they be better than the first and principal Tetrad, by which they were also emitted: for that Tetrad too is counted in the said number. These, then, ought to have been counted in the Pleroma of the Aeons too; or else the honour of such a name should have been taken from those Aeons as well.

8. Since, then, their Triacontad has been undone, as we have shown, both by what is too little and by what is too much (for in such a number, if there is one more or one less, it will make the number worthless; how much more, so many?): unstable, therefore, is the fable that they tell of their Ogdoad and of the Dodecad. Unstable too is their whole rule, since their very foundation has been scattered and dissolved into Bythus, that is,

into what is not. Let them seek, then, from now on, to show other reasons why the Lord came to baptism at thirty years of age; and for the Dodecad of the apostles; and for the woman who suffered the flow of blood; and for all the rest over which they rave, labouring in vain.

CHAPTER 13

That the heretics' first order of emission cannot be defended on any ground.

1. And that their very first order of emission is worthless, we show thus. For they say that Nus and Alethia were emitted from Bythus and his Ennoia, whereas the contrary is shown; for Nus is that very thing which is principal, and highest, and as it were the beginning and the source of all understanding. And ennoia, which comes from it, is a motion of any kind, made about any kind of thing. It cannot be, then, that Nus was emitted from Bythus and Ennoia: for it would have been more likely for them to say that Ennoia was emitted as a daughter from the Propator and from this Nus. For Ennoia is not the mother of Nus, as they say; but Nus becomes the father of Ennoia. And how indeed was Nus emitted from the Propator, Nus who holds the principal and first place of that inward, hidden and invisible affection? from which are generated understanding, and ennoia, and enthymesis, and such things, which are nothing other than Nus; but, as we said before, are motions of any kind of that very Nus, ordered in thought about something; taking their names according to their endurance and growth, not

according to a change, and brought to their end in knowledge, and emitted together into a word, while the understanding remains within, and creates, and administers, and governs freely and by its own power, as it wills, the things that have been mentioned.

2. For its first motion about something is called ennoia; and when it endures and has grown, and lays hold of the whole soul, it is called enthymesis. And this enthymesis, when it spends much time on the same thing and has been as it were tested, is named perception. And this perception, much enlarged, has become counsel; and the growth and movement of counsel, much enlarged, is the weighing of thought: which, enduring in the mind, will most rightly be called word; and from it the word that can be emitted is emitted. And all the things that have been mentioned are one and the same, taking their beginning from Nus, and taking on their names according to their growth. Just as a man's body too, at one time young, at another manly, and at another old, has received its names according to its growth and endurance, but not according to a change of substance, nor according to a loss of the body: so too with these. For what one contemplates, about that he thinks; and what he thinks about, that he also discerns; and what he discerns, about that he also takes counsel; and what he takes counsel about, that he also turns over in his mind; and what he turns over in his mind, that he also speaks. And all these things, as we said, Nus governs, being himself invisible, and

from himself, through the things that have been mentioned, as through a ray, emitting the word; but he himself is not emitted by another.

3. And these things may indeed be said of men, since they are composite by nature, and subsist of body and soul. But those who say that Ennoia was emitted from God, and Nus from Ennoia, and then Logos from these, are to be refuted, first, as having used emissions improperly; and next, as describing the affections and passions and intentions of the mind of men, while they do not know God: they apply to the Father of all what befalls men when they speak, the Father whom they also say is unknown to all, denying that he himself made the world, so that he may not be thought even petty; but giving him the affections and passions of men. But if they had known the Scriptures and been taught by the truth, they would surely know that God is not as men are, and that his thoughts are not as the thoughts of men. For the Father of all is far removed from the affections and passions that befall men: he is simple, and not composite, and like in all his members, and wholly like and equal to himself; since he is all understanding, and all spirit, and all power of sensing, and all ennoia, and all reason, and all hearing, and all eye, and all light, and all the source of all good things; as it befits the religious and the pious to say of God.

4. But he is also above these things, and for that reason inexpressible. For he will well and rightly be called understanding that contains all things, but not like the understanding of men;

and he will most rightly be called light, but nothing like the light which is ours. So too in all the rest the Father of all will be in no way like the littleness of men: and he is spoken of in these terms because of love, but he is perceived to be above them according to his greatness. If, then, even in men the understanding itself is not emitted, nor is he who emits the rest separated from the living being, but its motions and affections come forth into the open; much more will the understanding of God, who is all understanding, never be separated from himself, nor is one thing emitted as from another.

5. For if he emitted understanding, he who emitted the understanding is, according to them, understood to be composite and corporeal, so that God, who emitted, is one thing apart, and understanding, which was emitted, another thing apart. But if they say that understanding was emitted from understanding, they cut off the understanding of God and divide it. And where was it emitted to, and from where? For what is emitted from something is emitted into something that lies beneath it. And what lay beneath, older than the understanding of God, into which they say it was emitted? And how great was the place, that it should receive and contain the understanding of God? But if they say that it is as a ray from the sun, then, just as the air here lies beneath as its receiver, and will be older than the ray itself: so let them show something lying beneath there, into which the understanding of God was emitted, able to contain it and older

than it. Then, just as we see that the sun is smaller than the whole, and emits its rays far from itself, so they will have to say that the Propator emitted the ray outside and far from himself. But what can be thought of as outside God, or far from him, into which he emitted the ray?

6. But if they say that it was not emitted outside the Father, but within the Father himself, first, it will be superfluous even to say that it was emitted. For how was it emitted, if it was within the Father? For emission is the showing forth, outside him who emits, of what is emitted. Next, if this was emitted, the Logos that comes from it will also be within the Father; and likewise the rest of the emissions of Logos. Then they will no longer be ignorant of the Father, since they are within him; nor will anyone know him less according to the descent of the emissions, all being encompassed by the Father equally on every side; but all will likewise remain impassible, since they are in the Father's inmost parts, and none of them will be in diminution. For the Father is not diminution: unless perhaps, as in a great circle a smaller circle is contained, and within this again another smaller one, or after the likeness of a sphere, or of a square, they say that the Father contains within himself on every side the rest of the emission of the Aeons in the likeness of a sphere, or a square one, each of them encompassed by the one above it, which is greater, and encompassing the one after it, which is smaller, and that for this reason the smallest and last of all, set in the middle and far separated

from the Father, did not know the Propator. But if they say this, they will shut up their Bythus in a figure and a circumscription, both encompassing and encompassed; for they will be forced to confess that there is also something outside him which encompasses him. And none the less the discourse will fall into the immeasurable, about those who contain and are contained: and all will plainly appear to be bodies enclosed.

7. Further, they will either confess that he is empty; or all, whatever is within him, will equally partake of the Father. Just as, if someone makes circles in water, or round or square figures, all these will equally partake of the water; just as what is fashioned in the air must partake of the air, and what is fashioned in light, of the light: so too those who are within him will all equally partake of the Father, ignorance having no place among them. For where is the participation of the Father who fills them? But if he has filled them, there will be no ignorance there. Undone, then, will be their work of diminution, and the emission of matter, and the rest of the fashioning of the world, which, they will have it, had its substance from passion and ignorance. But if they confess that he is empty, falling into the greatest blasphemy, they will deny that which is spiritual in him. For how is he spiritual who cannot even fill the things that are within him?

8. And what has been said of the emission of understanding is fitted likewise against those who are from Basilides, and against the rest of the Gnostics, from whom these too, as they were

convicted in the first book, took the beginnings of their emissions. But that the first emission, that of Nus, that is, of their Understanding, is worthless and impossible, we have plainly shown. Let us look, then, at the rest as well. For they say that from him were emitted Logos and Zoe, the fashioners of this Pleroma; and they take the emission of Logos, that is, of the Word, from the affection of men, and divine against God, as though they had found out something great in saying that Logos was emitted by Nus: which all, of course, know can consistently be said of men; but in God who is above all, since he is all Nus and all Logos, as we said before, and has in himself nothing older or later, nor one thing from another, but remains wholly equal and like and one, such an emission in this order no longer follows. Just as he who says that he is all sight and all hearing (for in that by which he sees, in that he also hears; and in that by which he hears, in that he also sees) does not sin; so too he who says that he is all understanding and all word, and that in that in which understanding is, in that word also is, and that this Nus is his word, will indeed still think less than is due of the Father of all; but more fittingly than these, who transfer the generation of the uttered word of men to the eternal Word of God, and give it a beginning of bringing forth and a genesis, as to their own word. And in what will the Word of God, or rather God himself, since he is the Word, differ from the word of men, if he has had the same order and emission of generation?

9. They have sinned too regarding Zoe, saying that she was emitted in the sixth place, she whom they ought to have set before all, since God is life, and incorruption, and truth. And it is not by descent that such things received their emissions; but they are names of those powers which are always with God, as far as it is possible and fitting for men to hear and to speak of God. For in the name of God will be heard together understanding, and word, and life, and incorruption, and truth, and wisdom, and goodness, and all such things. And no one can say that understanding is older than life, for understanding itself is life; nor that life is later than understanding, so that he who is the understanding of all, that is, God, should at some time be without life. But if they say that life was indeed in the Father, but was brought forth in the sixth place so that the Word might live, much earlier it ought to have been emitted in the fourth place, so that Nus might live, and earlier still than he, with Bythus, so that their Bythus might live: for to count Sige with their Propator, and to give her to him as his consort, and not to count Zoe with him, how is this not beyond all folly?

10. And about the second emission, which comes from these, that of Man and Church, their very fathers, the falsely so-called Gnostics, fight against one another, each claiming his own, and convicting themselves of being bad thieves; saying that it is more suited to emission, as being likely, that the Word was emitted from Man, and not Man from the Word; and that Man is prior to

the Word, and that he is the God who is above all. And so far, as we said before, drawing plausible conjectures from all the affections of men, and the motions of the mind, and the generations of intentions, and the emissions of words, they have lied implausibly against God. For by carrying over to the divine account the things that happen to men, and whatever they themselves recognise from what they undergo, they seem to say what is fitting among those who do not know God; and leading the understanding of these through these human passions, recounting of the Word of God a genesis and a probole in the fifth place, they say that they teach wonderful mysteries, inexpressible and lofty, known to no one else, about which, they say, the Lord said: Seek, and you will find (Matt 7:7); meaning, of course, that they should seek how Nus and Alethia proceeded from Bythus and Sige; and whether Logos and Zoe in turn are from them, and then, from Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Church.

CHAPTER 14

That Valentinus and his followers took the principles of their doctrine from the Gentiles, changing only the names.

1. Antiphanes, one of the old comic poets, spoke far more plausibly and more pleasingly of the genesis of all things in his Theogony. For he says that from Night and Silence Chaos was emitted, then from Chaos and Night Love, and from him light, then, according to him, the rest of the first genesis of the gods. After these again

he brings in a second generation of the gods, and the fashioning of the world; then he tells of the moulding of men by the second gods. From this they took the fable for themselves and have contrived it as if it were an inquiry into nature, only changing the names, but setting out the very same beginning of the generation of all things and the same emission: in place of Night and Silence they name Bythus and Sige; in place of Chaos, Nus; and in place of Love (through whom, says the comic poet, all the rest was set in order), these have drawn in the Word; and in place of the first and greatest gods they have formed the Aeons, and in place of the second gods they recount the disposition of their Mother, which is outside the Pleroma, calling it the second Ogdoad; and from it, just as he does, they proclaim the fashioning of the world and the moulding of men, saying that they alone know these inexpressible and unknown mysteries: things which are played as comedy everywhere in the theatres by actors with most resounding voices; they carry them over into their own plot, or rather teach with the same plots, changing only the names.

2. And not only are they convicted of putting forward as their own what is set down among the comic poets; but also what has been said by all who do not know God and are called philosophers, this they gather together, and, as if stitching a patchwork out of many wretched rags, they have prepared for themselves with subtle eloquence a feigned covering: bringing in a doctrine new, indeed, in that it has now been put

together by a new art; but old and useless, since these same things have been sewn together out of old opinions that smell of ignorance and irreligion. Thales of Miletus said that water was the generation and the beginning of all things. And to say water is the same as to say Bythus. And the poet Homer laid it down as doctrine that Oceanus was the genesis of the gods, and Thetis their mother: and these men have carried this over into Bythus and Sige. And Anaximander laid down as the beginning of all things that which is immeasurable, holding in itself seminally the genesis of all things, from which he says the immeasurable worlds are made up; and this too they have transformed into Bythus and into their Aeons. And Anaxagoras, who was also surnamed the Atheist, taught as doctrine that living creatures were made by seeds falling from heaven to earth: this too these men have carried over into the seeds of their Mother, and they say that they themselves are this seed: thereby confessing at once, before those who have sense, that they themselves are the seeds of the irreligious Anaxagoras.

3. And their shadow and void they took from Democritus and Epicurus and fitted to themselves, since those men first spoke at length of the void and of the atoms, of which they called the one something that is, and the other what is not: just as these men too call the things within the Pleroma being, as those called the atoms; and the things outside the Pleroma not being, as those called the void. So they have assigned themselves, since they are in this world and outside

the Pleroma, to a place that is not. And when they say that these things are images of the things that are, again they most plainly set forth the opinion of Democritus and of Plato. For Democritus was the first to say that many and various figures, stamped out from the universe, came down into this world. And Plato again speaks of matter, and the pattern, and God; and these men, following them, have called his figures and pattern images of the things above, boasting, by a change of name, that they themselves are the inventors and makers of such an imaginary fiction.

4. And this too, that they say the fashioner made the world out of underlying matter, Anaxagoras and Empedocles and Plato said first, before these men; as we are, of course, given to understand, they too were inspired by their Mother. And that each thing of necessity departs into those things from which they say it was also made, and that God is the slave of this necessity, so that he cannot add immortality to what is mortal, nor give incorruption to what is corruptible, but each departs into a substance like its own nature: this is affirmed both by those who are called Stoics, from the Porch, and by all the poets and writers who do not know God. These men, having the same unbelief, have assigned to the spiritual their own region, that which is within the Pleroma; to the animal, that of the Midst; and to the corporeal, the choic; and they affirm that God can do nothing beyond this, but that each of those aforesaid departs to the things that are of the same substance.

5. And when they say that the Saviour was made from all the Aeons, all of them laying down in him as it were their flower, they bring forward nothing new beyond Hesiod's Pandora. For what he says of her, these men insinuate of the Saviour, bringing him in as Pandoros, as though each of the Aeons had given him what it had best. And their very opinion that foods and all other acts are indifferent, and their thinking that by reason of their noble birth they can in no way be defiled by anyone, whatever they eat or do, they have taken over from the Cynics, since they share the same testament with them. And hair-splitting talk and subtlety about questions, since it is Aristotelian, they try to bring into the faith.

6. And that they would transfer this universe into numbers, they took from the Pythagoreans. For these first set down numbers as the beginning of all things, and as the beginning of the numbers themselves the even and the odd, from which they laid down both the things that are perceived by sense and those that are not. And they say that some are the principles of constitution, and others of perception and of substance; and that from these first principles all things were completed, as a statue is from bronze and from shaping. And these men have fitted this to the things outside the Pleroma. And they called principles of perception that by which the understanding, understanding what was first taken up, searches until, wearied, it comes together to the one and indivisible. And that the beginning of all things and the substance of all generation is

Hen, that is, one; and from this the dyad, and the tetrad, and the pentad, and the manifold generation of the rest. These things these men say word for word of their Fullness and of Bythus; whence also they strive to bring in the pairings that come from the one, which Marcus, boasting of them as his own, seemed to have found out as something newer than the rest, setting out the quaternary of Pythagoras as the genesis and mother of all things.

7. And we shall say against them: Did all these who have been mentioned, with whom you are convicted of saying the same things, know the truth, or did they not know it? And if they knew it, the descent of the Saviour into this world is superfluous. For why did he come down? Was it to bring the truth that was known into knowledge for men who know it? But if they did not know it, how is it that, saying the same things as those who did not know the truth, you boast that you alone have the knowledge that is above all things, which even those who do not know God have? By antiphrasis, then, they call ignorance of the truth knowledge: and Paul says well, novelties of words of false knowledge (1 Tim 6:20). For truly their knowledge has been found false. But if, acting shamelessly beyond this, they say that men indeed did not know the truth, but that their Mother, [or] the paternal seed, declared the mysteries of the truth through such men, as also through the prophets, without the Demiurge knowing it: first, the things that have been mentioned were not such that they could

not be understood by anyone at all: for the men themselves knew what they were saying, and so did their disciples, and the successors of these. Next, if either the Mother or the seed knew and recounted the things of the truth, and the truth is the Father, then the Saviour, according to them, will have lied when he said: No one has known the Father except the Son (Matt 11:27). For if he has been known either by the Mother or by her seed, that saying is undone, No one has known the Father except the Son; unless they say that their seed, or the Mother, is no one.

8. And so far, through human affections, and through saying things like those said by many who do not know God, they have seemed plausibly to draw some away; drawing them, through what they are accustomed to, into the discourse that is about all things, setting out the genesis of the Word of God, and of Life, and further of Understanding, and acting as midwives to the emissions of God. But what follows from these they have lied implausibly and without proof, all of it out of everything. Just as those who, to catch some animal, set out before it the food it is accustomed to, to lure it, coaxing it little by little with familiar fodder until they take it; and when they have taken it captive, they bind it most cruelly and drag it off by force wherever they will: so too these men, persuading little by little those who have grown used to them, by plausible talk, to accept the said emission, bring in things neither fitting nor credible, the forms of the rest of the emissions; saying that ten Aeons were emitted

from Logos and Zoe, and twelve from Anthropos and Church: and having neither proof of these, nor testimonies, nor plausibility, nor anything at all of the kind, but in vain and at random they want it believed that from Logos and Zoe, who are Aeons, were emitted Bythius and Mixis, Ageless and Union, Natural and Delight, Immovable and Tempering, Monogenes and Macaria. And that from Anthropos and Church, who are likewise Aeons, were emitted Paracletus and Pistis, Patricos and Elpis, Metricos and Agape, Aenos and Synesis, Ecclesiasticus and Macariotes, Theletus and Sophia.

9. The passions and the error of this Sophia, and how, as they say, she was in danger of perishing because of her search for the Father, and her busy labour outside the Pleroma, and from what kind of defect they teach that the fashioner of the world was emitted, we have set out with all diligence in the book before this one, recounting the opinions of the heretics: and Christ, who they say was emitted after all these, born later, and Soter; or that he had his substance from the Aeons who came to be in the defect. And we have of necessity recalled these names now, so that from them their absurd falsehood may be plain, and the confusion of their feigned naming. And they themselves disparage their own Aeons by many such names; since the heathen give plausible and credible names to those who are called their twelve gods, of whom these men will have it that they too are images of the twelve Aeons; the images having names far more seemly and more

powerful for leading, by their etymology, to the thought of divinity.

CHAPTER 15

That no reason can be given for the emissions.

1. But let us return to the question of the emissions that we spoke of before. And first, let them tell us the cause of such an emission of Aeons, without touching anything of the things that belong to the creation. For they say that those things were not made for the sake of the creation, but the creation for their sake; and that those are not images of these, but these of those. As, then, they give the cause of the images, saying that the month has thirty days because of the thirty Aeons, and the day twelve hours, and the year twelve months, because of the twelve Aeons who are within the Pleroma, and whatever other such ravings they utter; so now let them tell us the cause of this emission of Aeons, why it was made such: and why the first and first-begetting octonary of all things was emitted, and not a quinary, or a ternary, or a septenary, or any of those that are bounded by another number? And why were ten Aeons emitted from Logos and Zoe, and not more or fewer; and again twelve from Anthropos and Church, when these too could have been more or fewer?

2. The whole Pleroma too, why is it divided into three, into an octonary, and a Decad, and a Dodecad, and not into some other number besides these? And the division itself, why was it made into three, and not into four, or five, or

six, or some other number, if they touch nothing of the numbers that belong to the creation (for they say that those are older than these, and that they must have their own reason, the one that is before the constitution, and not the one that is according to the constitution), and agree with the harmony?

3. And this harmony we, when we speak of the creation, say things fitted to this rhythmic order (for this rhythmic order is fitted to the things that were made); but they, having no cause of their own to declare for the things that are prior and complete in themselves, must fall into the utmost aporia. For what they ask us about the constitution of things, as though we did not know, they themselves, when asked in turn about the Pleroma, will either recount human affections or come down to the discourse about the harmony that is in the creation, answering improperly about the second things, and not about the things that, according to them, are the first. For we are not asking them about the harmony that is according to the creation, nor about human affections; but since their Pleroma, of which they say the creation is the image, is eightfold, and tenfold, and twelvefold, they will confess that their Father made a Pleroma of such a figure in vain and without forethought, and they will invest the Father with unseemliness, if he made anything without reason. Or again, if they say that the Pleroma was emitted thus by the Father's providence, for the sake of the creation, so that its very being might be well set in order by

him who gives it rhythm, then the Pleroma will no longer have been made for its own sake, but for the sake of the image that was to be after its likeness (just as the statue of clay is not shaped for its own sake, but for the sake of the one that is to be made of bronze, or gold, or silver), and the creation will be more honoured than the Pleroma, if those things were emitted for its sake.

CHAPTER 16

That either the creator of the world took from himself the images of the things to be created, or the Pleroma was made after the image of some other, higher disposition, and that one after the image of another, and so to infinity.

1. But if they will agree to none of these, since they will be convicted by us of having no cause to give for such an emission of their Pleroma, they will be forced to be shut in, so as to confess that above the Pleroma there is some other disposition, more spiritual and more sovereign, after which their Pleroma was shaped. For if the Demiurge did not fashion such a shaping of the creation from himself, but after the figure of the things that were above; their Bythus, who made the Pleroma to be of such a shaping, from whom did he receive the figure of the things that were made before him? For either one must hold firm to the opinion, regarding the God who made the world, that by his own power and from himself he received the pattern of the fashioning of the world; or, if one is moved from this, there will always be the necessity of asking whence came to

him who is above him the shaping of the things that were made, what the number of the emissions was, and the substance of the pattern itself. But if Bythus was free to complete such a shaping of the Pleroma from himself, why was the Demiurge not free to make such a world from himself? Again, then, if the creation is the image of those things, what prevents us from saying that those are images of the things that are above them, and that the things above them are in turn images of others, and so falling away into images of images without end?

2. As happened to Basilides, who, since he had by no means attained to the truth, and thought to escape such an aporia by an endless succession of things made from one another, declared that 365 heavens were made from one another by succession and likeness, and that the proof of these is the number of the days of the year, as we said before; and above these a Power, whom they also call the Unnameable, and his disposition: and not even so did he escape such an aporia. For if he is asked whence came the image of its shaping to that heaven which is above all, from which he will have the rest made in succession? From that disposition, he will say, which is according to the Unnameable. And either he will say that the Unnameable made it from himself; or he will have to admit that there is some other power above him, from which his Unnameable received so great a shaping of the things that are according to him.

3. How much safer and more careful, then, to confess at once at the beginning what is true, that

this God, the Fashioner who made the world, is the only God, and that there is no other God besides him, he himself receiving from himself the pattern and the shaping of the things that were made; than, wearied after so much irreligion and wandering, to be forced at last to fix their understanding on some one being, and to confess that the shaping of the things made came from him?

4. For the very thing that those who are from Valentinus charge against us, saying that we remain in the Hebdomad below, as not lifting the mind on high, nor perceiving the things above, because we do not accept their monstrous talk, this same thing those who are from Basilides charge against them, as though they were still rolling about among the things below, as far as the first and the second octonary, and as though after the thirty Aeons they ignorantly thought that they had at once found the Father who is above all, not searching out with their understanding the Pleroma that is above the 365 heavens, which is above forty-five ogdoads. And someone in turn might justly charge the same against them, feigning 4,380 heavens, or Aeons, since the days of the year have so many hours. And if someone adds the hours of the nights too, doubling the said hours, and thinks that he has found a great multitude of octonaries and some countless busy labour of Aeons against the Father who is above all, supposing himself more perfect than all, he will charge the same against all: that the multitude of heavens or of Aeons that they spoke of does not reach up to his height, but

that, falling short, they remain either among the things below or in the Midst.

CHAPTER 17

It is asked what the emission of the Aeons is like, and it is shown that, however it is imagined, it is self-contradictory on every side; and that on the heretics' hypothesis Nus himself, and even the Father, is stained with the defect of ignorance.

1. Since, then, we have so many contradictions and aporias against the disposition that is according to their Pleroma, and above all against that which is according to the first Ogdoad, let us look at the rest as well; we too, because of their senselessness, inquiring about things that are not; but doing this of necessity, since the charge of this matter has been entrusted to us, and since we wish all men to come to the knowledge of the truth: and because you yourself have asked to receive from us many and all the means of overthrowing them.

2. It is asked, then, how the rest of the Aeons were emitted. Were they united to him who emitted them, as rays from the sun, or effectively and severally, so that each of them is separate and has its own shaping, as man from man and beast from beast? Or by budding, as branches from a tree? And were they of the same substance as those who emitted them, or did they have their substance from some other substance? And were they emitted at the same time, so as to be of the same age as one another; or in some order, so that

some of them were older and others younger? And were they emitted simple and uniform, and on every side equal and like to themselves, as spirits and lights are; or composite and different, unlike in their members?

3. But if each of them was emitted actually and according to his own genesis, after the likeness of men, either the Father's offspring will be of the same substance as he and like their begetter; or, if they appear unlike, it must be confessed that they are from some other substance. And if the Father's offspring are like their emitter, the things that were emitted will remain impassible, as he too who emitted them; but if they are from some other substance, which is capable of passions, whence comes this unlike substance within the Pleroma, which is of incorruption? Further, on this reckoning each of them will be understood to be separately divided from the other, as men are, not mingled nor united one with another, but each of them formed in a distinct shaping, and a defined circumscription, and a quantity of magnitude: which are proper to a body, and not to spirit. Let them no longer say, then, that the Pleroma is spiritual, nor that they themselves are spiritual; if indeed their Aeons sit feasting with the Father like men, and he himself exists in such a shaping as those who were emitted from him show him to be.

4. But if the Aeons are from Logos as lights kindled from a light, and Logos from Nus, and Nus from Bythus, as, for example, torches from a torch, they will perhaps differ from one another

in generation and in size; but since they are of the same substance as the head of their emission, either all remain impassible, or their Father too will share in the passions. For the torch that was kindled later will not have a light other than that which was before it. Wherefore their lights too, put together into one, run back into the original union, since there comes to be one light, which was also from the beginning. And what is younger and older cannot be understood either in the light itself (for the whole light is one), or in the torches themselves that have received the light (for as to the substance of their matter they have the same time; for the matter of the torches is one and the same): but only as to the kindling, since the one was kindled a little time before, and the other now.

5. The defect, then, of the passion that is according to ignorance will either befall their whole Pleroma alike, since they are of the same substance, and the Propator will be in the defect of ignorance, that is, ignorant of himself; or all the lights within the Pleroma will alike remain impassible. Whence, then, the passion around the youngest Aeon, if it is the Father's light, from which all the lights were constituted, that is by nature impassible? And how can any Aeon among them be called younger or older, since there is one light of the whole Pleroma? And if someone says that they are stars, none the less they will all appear to partake of the same nature. For if star differs from star in brightness (1 Cor 15:41), yet it is not in quality, nor in substance, according to

which a thing is passible or impassible; but either all of them, since they are from the Father's light, must be by nature impassible and immutable, or all of them, together with the Father's light, are both passible and capable of the changes of corruption.

6. And the same reasoning will follow even if they say that the emission of the Aeons was born from Logos as branches from a tree, since Logos has his generation from their Father; for all are found to be of the same substance as the Father, differing from one another only in size, and not in nature, and filling up the greatness of the Father, as the fingers fill up the hand. If, then, the Father is in passion and ignorance, so surely are the Aeons who were begotten from him. But if it is impious to attach ignorance and passion to the Father of all, how can they say that a passible Aeon was emitted by him, and, attaching this same impiety to the very Sophia of God, call themselves religious?

7. But if they say that their Aeons had their emissions as rays from the sun, then, since all are of the same substance and from the same source, either all will be capable of passion together with him who emitted them, or all will remain impassible. For from such an emission they can no longer confess some to be impassible and others passible. If, then, they say that all are impassible, they themselves undo their own plot. For how did the lesser Aeon suffer, if all were impassible? But if they say that all shared in this passion, as some dare to say, that it began from Logos

but flowed down into Sophia, then, carrying the passion back into Logos, and into this Nus of the Propator, they will be convicted of confessing that both the Nus of the Propator and the Father himself were in passion. For the Father of all is not some composite living being, apart from Nus, as we have shown before; but Nus is the Father, and the Father is Nus. It is necessary, therefore, that the Logos who is from him too, or rather Nus himself, since he is Logos, should be perfect and impassible; and that the emissions that are from him, since they are of the same substance as he is, should remain perfect, and impassible, and always like him who emitted them.

8. It is no longer true, then, that Logos, as having the third order of generation, was ignorant of the Father, as these men teach: for this might perhaps be thought likely in the generation of men, because they are often ignorant of their parents; but in the Logos of the Father it is in every way impossible. For if, existing in the Father, he knows him in whom he is, he is not ignorant of himself: and the emissions that are from him, being his powers and standing always beside him, will not be ignorant of him who emitted them, any more than rays are ignorant of the sun. It cannot be, then, that the Sophia of God, she who is within the Pleroma, since she is from such an emission, fell under passion and conceived such ignorance. But it is possible that the wisdom which is from Valentinus, since it is of the devil's emission, should come to be in every passion, and bring forth as its fruit a depth of ignorance.

For when they themselves bear witness of their Mother, saying that she is the offspring of an erring Aeon, there is no longer any need to seek the cause why the sons of such a Mother should swim for ever in the deep of ignorance.

9. Besides these emissions, I for my part do not see what other they can name; nor have they themselves ever been known to us to give some other particular property of their emission, though we have had a great deal of debate with them about such kinds: this alone they say, that each of them was emitted, and knew only him who emitted it, but was ignorant of him who was before him. But they do not go on, with proof, to show how they were emitted, or how such a thing can happen among spiritual beings. For whichever way they go, they will be bound fast, and, going round about the truth away from right reason, they go so far as to say that the Discourse emitted from the Nus of their Propator was emitted in diminution (for Nus, they say, begotten perfect from the perfect Bythus, could no longer make the emission that comes from him perfect, but blinded as to the knowledge and the greatness of the Father: and the Saviour showed a symbol of this mystery in the man who was blind from his birth, since in this way the Aeon was emitted blind by Monogenes, that is, ignorance), contriving ignorance and blindness for the Word of God, who according to them has the second emission from the Propator. Admirable sophists, searching out the heights of the unknown Father, and recounting the supercelestial mysteries into

which angels long to look (1 Pet 1:12)! so that they may learn that the Word emitted from the Nus of the Father who is above all was emitted blind, that is, ignorant of the Father who emitted him.

10. And how, O most vain sophists, did the Nus of the Father, or rather the Father himself, since he is Nus and perfect in all things, emit his Logos as an imperfect and blind Aeon, when he could at once have emitted the knowledge of the Father along with him? Just as you say that Christ, though born after the rest, was emitted perfect; much more, then, would the Logos, who is older in age than he, have been emitted perfect by the same Nus, and not blind: nor would he in turn have emitted Aeons blinder than himself, until your Sophia, blinded for ever, brought forth so great a substance of evils. And the cause of this wickedness is your Father; for you say that the greatness and the power of the Father are the causes of the ignorance, likening him to Bythus, and attaching this name to the unnameable Father. But if ignorance is an evil, and you lay it down that all evils have sprung from it, and say that its cause is the greatness and the power of the Father, you show him to be the maker of evils. For you say that the cause of evil is this, that one could not contemplate his greatness. But if it was impossible for the Father to make himself known from the beginning to those who were made by him, he was blameless, since he could not take away the ignorance of those who come after him. But if afterwards, when he willed, he could take away the ignorance that had grown with the pro-

gression of the emissions and had been sown in the Aeons, much more would he, had he willed it, not have allowed that ignorance, which did not yet exist, to come into being earlier.

11. Since, then, when he willed, he was known, not only to the Aeons but also to the men who were in the last times; but, since he did not will to be known from the beginning, he was unknown: the cause of the ignorance, according to you, is the will of the Father. For if he foreknew that these things would be so, why did he not cut off their ignorance before it came to be, the ignorance that afterwards, as though out of repentance, he heals by the emission of Christ? For the knowledge that he gave to all through Christ he could have given much earlier through Logos, who was also the firstborn of Monogenes. Or if, foreknowing it, he willed these things to come to be, the works of ignorance endure for ever, and never pass away. For the things that were made by the will of your Propator must endure along with the will of him who willed them; or, if they pass away, along with them will pass away the will of him who willed that they should have substance. For what was it that the Aeons came to rest on learning, and so received perfect knowledge? That the Father is uncontainable and incomprehensible? But this knowledge they could have had before they came to be in passions: for the greatness of the Father would not have been diminished if they had known from the beginning that the Father is uncontainable and incomprehensible. For if he was unknown

because of his immeasurable greatness, he ought also, because of his immeasurable love, to have kept impassible those who had been born of him: since nothing prevented, but rather it was more useful, that they should have known from the beginning that the Father is uncontainable and incomprehensible.

CHAPTER 18

That Sophia could not have laboured under ignorance, nor suffered anything in searching for the Father, nor come into open danger. That her Enthymesis could not have been separated from her, much less have had affections of its own.

1. And how is it not vain that they say that his Sophia too was in ignorance, and in diminution, and in passion? For these things are foreign to Sophia, and contrary to her; nor are they affections of hers. For where there is improvidence and ignorance of what is useful, there Sophia is not. Let them no longer, then, call the Aeon who suffered Sophia; but let them give up either her name or her passions. And let them not call the whole Fullness spiritual, if this Aeon, while she was in such passions, lived within it. For not even a strong soul, not to say a spiritual substance, will undergo these things.

2. And how again could her Enthymesis, going forth with the passion, come to be separately? For Enthymesis is understood as existing in relation to someone; by itself it will never come to be. For an evil enthymesis is driven out and swallowed up by a good one, as sickness is by health.

For what was the Enthymesis that came before the passion? To search out the Father, and to consider his greatness. And of what was she persuaded afterwards, so that she recovered? That the Father is incomprehensible, and one who cannot be found. It was not good, then, that she wished to know the Father; and for this reason it is also passible; but when she was persuaded that the Father was unsearchable, then she was recovering too. But Nus himself, who was seeking the Father, ceased, according to them, to seek any more, learning that the Father is incomprehensible.

3. How, then, could Enthymesis, separated, conceive passions, which were themselves her affections? For an affection comes to be in relation to someone; by itself it cannot be, nor subsist. And not only is this unstable, but it is also contrary to what was said by our Lord: Seek, and you will find (Matt 7:7). For the Lord makes his disciples perfect by their seeking and finding the Father; but he who is above, their Christ, made the Aeons perfect by commanding them not to seek the Father, persuading them that, even if they laboured much, they would not find him. And so they say that they themselves are perfect in that they claim to have found their Bythus; but that the Aeons are perfect in that they were persuaded that he whom they were seeking is unsearchable.

4. Since, then, Enthymesis herself could not subsist separately without the Aeon, they bring in a still greater lie about her passion, dividing it

off separately again, and saying that it is the substance of matter. As though God were not light, and there were no word at hand that could refute them and overthrow their wickedness. For surely whatever the Aeon felt, that it also suffered; and what it suffered, that it also felt: and with them its Enthymesis was nothing else than the passion of one who was contriving to comprehend the incomprehensible, and the passion was the Enthymesis: for it was feeling things impossible. How, then, could the affection and the passion be separated off from Enthymesis, and become the substance of so much matter, when Enthymesis herself was the passion, and the passion was Enthymesis? Neither, then, can Enthymesis without the Aeon, nor the affections without Enthymesis, have substance separately; and here too their rule is again undone.

5. And how was the Aeon both being dissolved and suffering? If indeed it was of the same substance as the Pleroma; and the whole Pleroma is from the Father. For what is like will not be dissolved into nothing in what is like it, nor will it be in danger of perishing, but rather it will endure and grow; as fire in fire, and spirit in spirit, and water in water: but things that are contrary suffer from contraries, and are changed, and destroyed. And so, if it had been an emission of light, it would not have suffered, nor been in danger, in a light like itself, but rather it would have shone forth and grown, as the day does from the sun: for they say that Bythus is the image of its Father. Whatever living things are foreign and

strange to one another, and contrary by nature, are endangered and corrupted; but those that are accustomed and akin to one another suffer no danger in living together, but even gain safety and life from it. If, then, this Aeon had been emitted from it of the same substance as the whole Pleroma, it would never have undergone a change, since it was living among things like it and accustomed to it, a spiritual being among spiritual beings. For fear, and fright, and passion, and dissolution, and such things, may perhaps arise from contraries in the things which are ours, and in bodies; but in spiritual beings, and those that have light spread abroad in them, such calamities no longer follow. But they seem to me to have wrapped their Aeon in the passion of the man in the comic poet Menander who is deeply in love and hated. For those who feigned these things had in mind the apprehension and the conception of some unhappy lover rather than of a spiritual and divine substance.

6. Moreover, to think of seeking the perfect Father, and to wish to be within him, and to have comprehension of him, could not produce ignorance or passion, and that in a spiritual Aeon; but rather perfection, and impassibility, and truth. For they themselves, though they are men, when they think about him who is before them, and as though they already comprehended the perfect one, and were set within the knowledge of him, do not say that they are in a passion of dismay, but rather in knowledge and the apprehension of the truth. For they say that the Saviour said to the

disciples, Seek, and you will find (Matt 7:7), for this reason, that they should seek him who was feigned by them, by excogitation, above the fashioner of all things, the inexpressible Bythus: and they will have it that they themselves are perfect because by searching they have found the perfect one, while they are still on earth; but they say that the Aeon who is within the Pleroma, wholly spiritual, seeking the Propator, and striving to come within his greatness, and longing to have comprehension of the Father's truth, fell into passion: and into such a passion that, had it not met with the Power that makes all things firm, it would have been dissolved into the universal substance, and destroyed.

7. This presumption is mad, and truly that of men whose understanding is bereft of the truth. For that this Aeon is better than they, and older, they themselves also confess, according to their own rule, saying that they are the conception of the Enthymesis of that Aeon who suffered; so that this Aeon is the father of their Mother, that is, their grandfather. And for the later grandsons the search for the Father brings about truth, and perfection, and strengthening, and the refining away from flowing matter, as they say, and reconciliation with the Father; but in their grandfather this same inquiry produced ignorance, and passion, and fright, and fear, and dismay, from which they say the substance of matter too was made. To say, then, that to search out and investigate the perfect Father, and the desire of fellowship with him and of unity, becomes saving for them-

selves; but that for the Aeon from whom they have their very origin it was the cause of dissolution and perdition: how is this not in every way incongruous, and foolish, and irrational? And those who agree with them, truly blind, using blind guides, justly fall too into the depth of ignorance that lies beneath.

CHAPTER 19

That what the heretics assert about their seed is futile and empty. That it is utterly foreign to all reason that the Demiurge received this seed into himself and yet knew neither it nor the things that are above, and is animal, while they boast that, having received only a particle of it, they are spiritual and understand all things.

1. And what sort of account is theirs of the seed, that it was conceived by the Mother after the shaping of the angels who are about the Saviour, shapeless, and without form, and imperfect; and deposited in the Demiurge without his knowing it, so that, sown through him into the soul that was from him, it might receive perfection and formation? First, it must be said that these angels who are about their Saviour are imperfect, and unshaped, and formless, if indeed such a thing, conceived after their form, was generated.

2. Next, that they say the Fashioner did not know of the sending down of the seed into him, nor again of the sowing into man that was made through him, is a futile and empty word, which can in no way be shown. For how did he not

know of it, if the seed itself had some substance and quality of its own? But if it was without substance, and without quality, and was nothing, it follows that he did not know of it. For things that have some motion and quality of their own, whether of heat, or of swiftness, or of sweetness, or some distinction of brightness, would not escape even men, when they are with men; much less God, the Fashioner of this universe; by whom their seed was justly not known, since it is without the quality of any use, and without the substance of any action, and being nothing at all. And for this reason the Lord too seems to me to have said: Every idle word that men have spoken, they will render an account for it on the day of judgement (Matt 12:36). For all who are such, pouring idle words into the ears of men, will stand in the judgement to render an account of what they have vainly conjectured, and of the lies they have told against God; so far that they say that because of the substance of the seed they themselves know the spiritual Pleroma, the inner man showing them the true Father (for the animal man, they say, needs instructions perceived by sense): but that the Demiurge, receiving into himself this whole seed when the Mother deposited it, knew nothing at all, and had no understanding of the things about the Pleroma.

3. And that they themselves are spiritual, because a certain particle of the Father of the universe has been deposited in their soul, though, as they say, they have their souls from the same substance as the Demiurge; but that he, having

once received the whole seed from the Mother and holding it in himself, remained animal, and perceived nothing at all of the things that are above, which these men boast that they understand while they are still on earth: how is this not beyond all unreason? For to think that the very same seed gave knowledge and perfection to the souls of these men, but gave ignorance to God who made them, is truly the part of madmen, and of men wholly bereft of mind.

4. Further, it is most vain, what they say, that in this deposit it is shaped, and grows, and is made ready for the reception of perfect reason. For the mingling with matter, which, they will have it, had its substance from ignorance and defect, will then be more fitting and more useful to it than their Father's light was: if indeed, born according to the beholding of that light, it was formless and unshaped, but from this mingling it took on formation, and form, and growth, and perfection. For if the light that is from the Pleroma was the cause to the spiritual of its having neither form nor size of its own; while the descent hither added all these to it and brought it to perfection: then the way of life here, which they also call darkness, will seem far more effective and more useful than their Father's light was. And how is it not ridiculous to say that their Mother was endangered in matter, so that she was almost suffocated and all but corrupted, had she not barely then stretched herself out above and leapt out of herself, receiving help from the Father; but that her seed grows in this same

matter, and is formed, and is made fit and ready for the reception of the perfect word; and that while bubbling up in things unlike and unaccustomed: since they themselves say that the earthly is contrary to the spiritual, and the spiritual to the earthly? How, then, could a little thing emitted among contraries and unaccustomed things, as they say, both grow, and be formed, and come to perfection?

5. Further still, this too will be asked about what has been said: did their Mother bring forth the seed all at once, when she saw the angels, or part by part? But if it was together and all at once, what was conceived from then on will now no longer be infant: superfluous, then, is its descent into the men who now exist. But if part by part, then she did not conceive after the figure of the angels she saw; for seeing them and conceiving them together and at once, she ought to have brought forth once those whose figures she had once conceived from them.

6. And why is it that, seeing the angels together with the Saviour, she conceived their images, but not the Saviour's, who is more beautiful than they? Did he perhaps not please her; and was it for this reason that she did not conceive on looking at him? And how was the Demiurge, whom they call psychic, having, according to them, a greatness and a figure of his own, emitted perfect according to his substance; while that which is spiritual, which must be more effective than the animal, was emitted imperfect; and it needed to come down into a soul, to be formed

in it, and so, being perfect, to become ready to receive the perfect word? If, then, it is formed in earthly men, and in animal men, it is no longer after the likeness of the angels, whom they call lights, but after that of the men who are here. For it will have the likeness and the form not of the angels but of the souls in which it is formed (as water poured into a vessel will have the form of the vessel itself; and if it freezes in it, it will have the form of the vessel in which it froze), since the souls themselves have the figure of the body; for they have been adapted to the vessel itself, as we said before. If, then, that seed too is curdled and formed here, it will have the figure of a man, and not the form of the angels. How, then, is that seed after the images of the angels, when it is shaped after the likeness of men? And why, since it was spiritual, did it need to come down into flesh? For the flesh needs the spiritual, if indeed it is to be saved, that in it it may be sanctified, and glorified, and what is mortal may be swallowed up by immortality; but the spiritual has no need at all of the things that are here. For it is not we who make it better, but it makes us better.

7. Further, their account of their seed is still more plainly convicted of falsehood, and can be seen through by anyone at all, in that they say that the souls which have had the seed from the Mother become better than the rest: and that for this reason they are honoured by the Demiurge and appointed princes, and kings, and priests. For if this were true, Caiaphas the high priest would surely have been the first to believe in the

Lord, and Annas, and the rest of the high priests, and the teachers of the Law, and the rulers of the people, running together to that kinship; and before them Herod the king as well. But since neither he, nor the high priests, nor those who were in authority, nor the notable among the people ran to him; but on the contrary those who sat begging by the roads, the deaf and the blind, and those who were trampled upon and despised by the rest, as Paul too says: For see your calling, brothers, that not many among you are wise, nor noble, nor mighty; but the things that were contemptible in the world God chose (1 Cor 1:26–27). Such souls, then, were not better because of the depositing of the seed, nor were they honoured by the Demiurge on that account.

8. And on this, that their rule is weak and unstable, and empty besides, what has been said is enough. For, as the saying goes, he who wishes to learn that the water of the sea is salt need not drink up the whole sea. But just as, with a statue made of clay and coloured on its surface so that it may be thought to be gold when it is clay, whoever takes any small piece of it and, laying it open, shows the clay, will free those who seek the truth from a false opinion: in the same way we too, undoing not a small part, but the heads which are the chief contents of their rule, have shown to all who knowingly wish not to be led astray what is wicked, and deceitful, and seductive, and pernicious in the school of those who are from Valentinus, and of the rest of the heretics, all who wrong the Demiurge, that is, the Fashioner and

Maker of this universe, who alone is God, making plain that their way can be undone.

9. For who that has understanding, and touches even a little of the truth, will endure those who say that above God the Demiurge there is another Father; and that Monogenes is one, and the Word of God another, whom they also say was emitted in diminution; and Christ another, whom they also say was made later than the rest of the Aeons together with the Holy Spirit; and the Saviour another, whom they say was brought together and heaped up not even by the Father of all things, but by the Aeons who came to be in diminution, and was of necessity emitted because of the diminution? so that, had the Aeons not been in ignorance and diminution, according to them neither Christ would have been emitted, nor the Holy Spirit, nor Horos, nor Soter, nor the Angels, nor their Mother, nor her seed, nor the rest of the fashioning of the world; but all things would have been left deserted and bereft of so many good things. So they are irreligious not only towards the Fashioner, calling him the fruit of the defect, but also towards Christ and the Holy Spirit, saying that they were emitted because of the defect; and likewise the Saviour too, after the defect. For who will endure the rest of their empty talk, by which, cunningly trying to adapt it to the parables, they have turned both themselves and those who believe them to the greatest impiety?

CHAPTER 20

He demonstrates that the proofs are empty by which they asserted the disturbances and distress of the twelfth Aeon, and that these cannot be confirmed by the apostasy and defection of Judas. Lastly he shows by various antitheses that the passion of our Lord has nothing in common with, or akin to, the feigned passion of the Aeon.

1. That they bring both the parables and the deeds of the Lord into their fiction improperly and inconsistently, we show thus. For that passion which they say befell the twelfth Aeon they try to show from this: that the Saviour's passion was brought about by the twelfth of the apostles, and in the twelfth month. For they will have it that he preached for one year after his baptism. And in the woman who suffered a flow of blood, they say, it was plainly shown; for the woman suffered for twelve years, and by touching the hem of the Saviour she obtained healing from that power which went out from the Saviour, which they say presides. For that power which suffered, stretched out and flowing away into the immeasurable, so that it was in danger of being dissolved through its whole substance, when it touched the first quaternary, which is signified by the hem, stood still and ceased from its passion.

2. As for what they say, then, that the passion of the twelfth Aeon is shown through Judas: how can Judas be brought into comparison as a likeness, he who was cast out of the number of the twelve and was not restored to his place? For the Aeon of whom they say Judas is the type was restored, or recalled, once its Enthymesis had been

separated from it; but Judas was deposed and cast out, and Matthias was ordained in his place, according to what is written: And let another take his episcopate (Acts 1:20; Ps 109:8). They ought, then, to have said that the twelfth Aeon was cast out of the Pleroma, and that another was brought forth, or emitted, in its place; if indeed it is shown in Judas. Moreover, they say of the Aeon itself that it suffered; but of Judas, that he was the traitor. But it was Christ, the one who suffered, who came to the passion, and not Judas; and they themselves confess it. How then could Judas, the betrayer of him who was to suffer for our salvation, be the type and image of the Aeon that suffered?

3. But neither is Christ's passion like the passion of the Aeon, nor did it take place in like circumstances. For the Aeon suffered a passion of dissolution and of perdition, so that he who suffered was himself in danger even of being corrupted; but our Lord Christ suffered a passion that was strong and would not give way: not only was he himself in no danger of being corrupted, but he even strengthened corrupted man by his own strength and called him back to incorruption. And the Aeon suffered a passion while himself seeking the Father and not able to find him; but the Lord suffered in order to bring those who had strayed from the Father to knowledge, and close to him. And to that one the search for the greatness of the Father became a passion of perdition; but to us the Lord, by suffering and bestowing the knowledge of the Father, gave sal-

vation. And that one's passion bore a female fruit, as they say, weak, and feeble, and formless, and ineffectual; but this one's passion bore as its fruit strength and power. For the Lord, ascending on high through his passion, led captivity captive, gave gifts to men (Eph 4:8; Ps 68:19), and granted to those who believe in him to tread on serpents and scorpions, and on all the power of the enemy (Luke 10:19), that is, of the prince of apostasy. And the Lord by his passion destroyed death, and dissolved error, and banished corruption, and destroyed ignorance; but he manifested life, and showed the truth, and bestowed incorruption. But their Aeon, when it had suffered, put ignorance in its place and gave birth to a formless substance, from which all material works were brought forth, according to them: death, corruption, error and the like.

4. Judas, then, the twelfth disciple, was not a type of the Aeon that suffered; nor was our Lord's passion; for in every respect they have been shown to be unlike and unsuited to each other, not only in what we have said above, but also in the number itself. For that Judas the traitor was the twelfth all agree, since twelve apostles are named in the Gospel; but this Aeon is not the twelfth, but the thirtieth: for not twelve Aeons only were brought forth by the will of the Father, according to these things, nor was it emitted twelfth in order; they count it as emitted in the thirtieth place. How then can Judas, twelfth in order, be the type and image of that Aeon which is in the thirtieth order?

5. But if they say that Judas perishing is the image of its Enthymesis, not even so will the image be like the truth that answers to it. For Enthymesis, separated from the Aeon, afterwards herself formed by Christ, then made prudent by the Saviour, and having wrought all things that are outside the Pleroma after the image of those that are in the Pleroma, is said by them to have been received at the last into the Pleroma, and to have been united according to the pairings to the Saviour, him who was made from all. But Judas, once cast out, never returns into the number of the disciples: otherwise another would never have been counted in his place. And the Lord also said of him: Woe to the man by whom the Son of Man will be betrayed (Matt 26:24). And: It would have been better for him if he had not been born (Mark 14:21); and he was called by him the son of perdition (John 17:12). But if they say that Judas is the type, not of the Enthymesis separated from the Aeon, but of the passion entwined with it, not even so can the number twelve be a type of the number three. For here Judas was cast out, and Matthias ordained in his place; but there the Aeon is said to have been in danger of being dissolved and to have perished, and there are Enthymesis and the passion; for they separate Enthymesis too from the passion, and they make the Aeon to be restored, Enthymesis to be formed, and the passion, separated from them, to be matter. Since, then, these are three, the Aeon, and Enthymesis, and the passion, Judas and Matthias, being two, cannot be their type.

CHAPTER 21

That the twelve apostles are not a type of the Aeons.

1. But if they say that the twelve apostles are a type of that bringing forth alone of twelve Aeons which Man brought forth with Church, then let them produce ten other apostles as the type of the remaining ten Aeons, who, as they say, were brought forth by Word and Life. For it is unreasonable that the younger Aeons, and for this reason the lesser, should be shown forth by the Saviour through the election of the apostles, while those older than these, and for this reason better, are not shown beforehand: since the Saviour could (if indeed he chose the apostles for this, to show through them the Aeons who are in the Pleroma) have chosen ten other apostles as well, and before these also eight others, to show that principal and first Ogdoad, a type made by the number of the apostles; he could have shown the second Decad too: for after the twelve apostles our Lord is found to have sent seventy others before him; but seventy can be a type neither of the number eight, nor of ten, nor of thirty. What reason is there, then, that the lesser Aeons, as I said before, should be shown through the apostles, but the better ones, from whom these too were made, should not be prefigured? And if the twelve apostles were chosen for this, that through them the number of the twelve Aeons might be signified, then the seventy too ought to have been chosen as a type of seventy Aeons:

let them say, then, that the Aeons made are no longer thirty in number, but eighty-two. For he who makes the election of the apostles after the type of the Aeons who are in the Pleroma would never make it of some and not of others; but he would have tried to keep the image through all the apostles, and to show the type of the Aeons who are in the Pleroma.

2. But neither must we be silent about Paul; rather we must demand of them of which Aeon the Apostle was given to us as the type: unless perhaps of their compound Saviour, who subsists from the contribution of all, whom they also call the All, because he is from all; of whom Hesiod the poet too gave a splendid sign, naming him Pandora, that is, the gift of all, because the best gift of all was placed in him. In which the account is this: Hermes (as it is put in the Greek tongue) Αἰμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος Ἐς αὐτοὺς κάτθετο, to say this very thing in the Latin tongue: "Words of fraud, or of seduction, and stealthy ways he put into their understanding," to lead astray the foolish among men, so that they may believe their fictions. For the Mother, that is, Leto, secretly moved them (whence she is also called Leto, according to the signification of the Greek tongue, because she moved men secretly), without the Demiurge's knowing, to utter deep and inexpressible mysteries to those whose ears itch. And not only through Hesiod did their Mother work to have this mystery spoken, but also, very wisely, through the words of Pindar the lyric poet, so as to hide it from

the Demiurge, in Pelops, whose flesh was divided into parts by his father, and was gathered, and brought, and fitted together by all the gods: in this way she signified Pandora; and these men too, stirred by her and saying the same things as those poets, are of the same race and spirit with them.

CHAPTER 22

That the thirty Aeons are not represented by the thirtieth year in which they say that Christ was baptised; and that Christ did not suffer in the twelfth month after his baptism, but died when older than forty: which is an opinion peculiar to Irenaeus.

1. That their whole number of thirty falls to the ground, since according to them sometimes fewer, and sometimes very many, Aeons are at once found in the Pleroma, we have shown. There are not, then, thirty Aeons, nor did the Saviour on this account come to baptism when he was thirty years old, to show their thirty silent Aeons: otherwise they will be setting him himself apart first of all, and casting him out of the Pleroma of all. And they say that he suffered in the twelfth month, so that he was preaching for one year after his baptism, and they try to confirm this very thing from the prophet (for it is written: To call the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompense (Isa 61:2)), truly blind, they who say that they have found out the depths of Bythus, and not understanding the acceptable year of the Lord spoken of by Isaiah, nor the day of recom-

pense. For it was not of a day that has the span of twelve hours that the prophet spoke, nor of a year that has the measure of twelve months. For that the prophets said most things in parables and allegories, and not according to the sound of the words themselves, they too confess.

2. The day of recompense, then, is the one in which the Lord will render to each according to his works (Rom 2:6), that is, the judgement. And the acceptable year of the Lord is this time in which those who believe him are called by him and become acceptable to God: that is, the whole time from his coming until the consummation, in which he gains as fruit those who are saved. For according to the words of the prophet the day of recompense follows the year; and the prophet will have lied, if the Lord preached for one year only, and it is of that year that he speaks. For where is the day of recompense? For the year has passed, and it is not yet the day of recompense; but still he makes his sun rise on the good and the evil, and sends rain on the just and the unjust (Matt 5:45). And the just suffer persecution, and are afflicted, and are slain; but sinners live in abundance, and drink with harp and psaltery, but do not regard the works of the Lord (Isa 5:12). But according to the words they must be joined, and the day of recompense must follow the year. For it is said: to call the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompense (Isa 61:2). Rightly, then, is this time, in which men are called and saved by the Lord, understood as the acceptable year of the Lord, which is followed by the day

of recompense, that is, the judgement. And not only is this time called a year; it is also named a day, both by the Prophet and by Paul; and among them the Apostle too, mindful of Scripture, says in the Epistle to the Romans: As it is written: For your sake we are put to death all the day; we are reckoned as sheep for the slaughter (Rom 8:36). Now all the day is said for all this time in which we suffer persecution and are slain like sheep. As, then, this day does not signify the one that consists of twelve hours, but all the time in which those who believe in Christ suffer and are slain for his sake: so there too the year is not said of the one that consists of twelve months, but of the whole time of faith, in which men hear the preaching and believe, and become acceptable to the Lord, those who join themselves to him.

3. It is greatly to be wondered at how, while saying that they have found out the depths of God, they have not searched in the Gospels how many times at the season of the Pasch the Lord went up to Jerusalem after his baptism, as it was the custom of the Jews from every region, every year, to come together at this season in Jerusalem and to celebrate there the feast of the Pasch. And first, when he had made wine from water in Cana of Galilee, he went up to the feast of the Pasch, when it is also written that many believed in him, seeing the signs which he did (John 2:23), as John the disciple of the Lord records. After this, withdrawing again, he is found in Samaria, when he also talked with the Samaritan woman, and cured the centurion's son while absent, by a

word, saying: Go, your son lives (John 4:50). And after this he went up again, a second time, to the feast of the Pasch in Jerusalem, when he healed the paralytic who lay beside the pool thirty-eight years, bidding him rise and take up his bed and go. And again, withdrawing from there across the sea of Tiberias, where a great crowd had followed him, he fed all that multitude with five loaves, and twelve baskets of fragments were left over. Then, after he had raised Lazarus from the dead, and plots were laid by the Pharisees, he withdraws to the city of Ephraim; and from there, six days before the Pasch, he is written to have come to Bethany, and going up from Bethany to Jerusalem, and eating the Pasch, and suffering on the following day. That these three seasons of the Pasch are not one year, anyone at all will confess. And that the very month in which the Pasch is celebrated, in which the Lord also suffered, is not the twelfth but the first, those who boast that they know all things can learn from Moses, if they do not know it. False, then, has their solution both of the year and of the twelfth month been shown to be, and they must reject either their solution or the Gospel: otherwise, how did the Lord preach for one year only?

4. Being thirty years old when he came to baptism, then having the full age of a teacher, he came to Jerusalem, so that he might justly be called teacher by all: for he did not seem one thing and was another, as those say who bring in a seeming one; but what he was, that he also seemed. Being a teacher, then, he had also the

age of a teacher, not rejecting nor surpassing man, nor abolishing in himself the law of the human race, but sanctifying every age by that likeness which it had to him. For he came to save all through himself: all, I say, who through him are reborn into God, infants, and little ones, and children, and young men, and elders. Therefore he came through every age, becoming an infant for infants, sanctifying infants; a little one among little ones, sanctifying those who have this very age, and at the same time becoming for them an example of piety, and of justice, and of submission; a young man among young men, becoming an example to young men, and sanctifying them to the Lord. So also an elder among elders, that he might be a perfect teacher in all things, not only in the setting forth of the truth, but also in age, sanctifying at the same time the elders too, becoming an example to them also; then he came even to death, that he might be the firstborn from the dead, himself holding the first place in all things (Col 1:18), the prince of life, before all, and going before all.

5. But they, in order to establish their fiction from what is written, to call the acceptable year of the Lord, say that he preached for one year and suffered in the twelfth month: they have forgotten themselves, to their own undoing, destroying his whole work and taking away his more necessary and more honourable age, that more advanced age, I say, in which, teaching also, he was over all. For how did he have disciples, if he did not teach? And how did he teach, if he

did not have the age of a teacher? For he came to baptism not as one who had already completed thirty years, but as one who was beginning to be about thirty years old (for so Luke, who indicated his years, set it down: Now Jesus was about thirty years old, beginning, when he came to baptism (Luke 3:23)); and from his baptism he would have preached for one year only; completing his thirtieth year he would have suffered, while still a young man, and one who did not yet have a more advanced age. But that the age of thirty years is the first of a young man's prime, and extends as far as the fortieth year, anyone at all will confess; but from the fortieth and fiftieth year it already declines towards old age, which our Lord had while he taught, as the Gospel and all the elders testify, who in Asia met with John the disciple of the Lord, that John handed down this very thing to them. And he remained with them until the times of Trajan. And some of them saw not only John but also other apostles, and heard these same things from them, and bear witness to such an account. Whom ought we rather to believe? These men, or Ptolemy, who never saw the apostles, and never followed the footstep of an apostle even in his dreams?

6. But even the Jews who were disputing with the Lord Jesus Christ at that time signified this very thing most plainly. For when the Lord said to them: Abraham your father rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad, they answered him: You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham? (John 8:56–57) Now this is

fittingly said to one who has already passed 40 years, but has not yet reached the fiftieth year, though he is not far from the fiftieth year. But to one who was 30 years old it would surely have been said: "You are not yet forty years old." For those who wished to show him a liar would surely not stretch the years far beyond the age they saw him to have; but they spoke of what was near his age, whether they truly knew it from the record of the census, or were conjecturing from the age which they saw him to have, above forty; but certainly not an age of thirty years. For it is altogether unreasonable that they should have lied by twenty years, wishing to show him younger than the times of Abraham. And what they saw, that they also spoke; and he who was seen was not a seeming one, but the truth. He was not, then, far from fifty years; and that is why they said to him: You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham? (John 8:57) He did not, then, preach for one year, nor suffer in the twelfth month of the year. For the time from the thirtieth year to the fiftieth will never be one year, unless among their Aeons such great years are allotted to those who sit in order beside Bythus in the Pleroma, of whom Homer the poet also spoke, he too inspired by their Mother of error:

Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορόωντο
Χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ.

Which we shall render in Latin thus:

"And the gods, sitting beside Jove, held council / On a golden floor."

CHAPTER 23

That the woman labouring under a flow of blood is not a type of the disturbed Aeon.

1. But in the matter of that woman too who, labouring under a flow of blood, touched the hem of the Lord's garment and was healed, their ignorance is laid bare (for they say that through her that twelfth Power was shown which suffered and flowed away into infinity, that is, the twelfth Aeon): first, because, according to their own sect, this Aeon is not the twelfth, as we have shown. But even if this too be granted them out of abundance, that there were twelve Aeons, of whom eleven are said to have remained impassible, while the twelfth suffered: the woman, on the contrary, was healed in the twelfth year, and it is plain that for eleven years she had an enduring passion, and was healed in the twelfth. If indeed eleven Aeons were said to have been in an incurable passion, and the twelfth healed, it would have been persuasive to say that the woman was their type. But since she suffered for eleven years and was not healed, but was healed in the twelfth year, how can she be a type of the twelfth Aeon, when of them eleven suffered nothing at all, and the twelfth alone shared the passion? For a type and image is sometimes different from the truth in matter and in substance; but in outward form and outline it must keep the likeness, and in like manner show through things present those which are not present.

2. And not only in this woman are years of infirmity recorded, which they say fit their fiction, but behold, another woman too, likewise infirm for 18 years, was healed, of whom the Lord says: But this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan bound for eighteen years, ought she not to be loosed on the day of the Sabbath? (Luke 13:16) If, then, the one was a type of the twelfth Aeon that suffered, this one too must be a type of an eighteenth Aeon that suffered. But they cannot show it: otherwise their first and principal Ogdoad will be counted among the Aeons that suffered together. And another man too is healed by the Lord, who had spent 38 years in his passion: let them say there is a thirty-eighth Aeon that suffered. For if they say that the things done by the Lord are types of those that are in the Pleroma, the type must be kept in all. But neither the woman who was cured after 18 years, nor the man who was cured after 38 years, can they adapt to their fiction. And it is altogether senseless and unfitting to say that the Saviour kept the type in some cases, but did not keep it in others. The type of the woman, then, is also shown to be unlike the business of the Aeons.

CHAPTER 24

That the arguments the heretics draw from numbers, letters and syllables are empty and insipid.

1. Moreover, this very thing too shows their contrivance to be false and their fiction unstable, that they try to bring in proofs, sometimes

through numbers and through the syllables of names, sometimes through the letters of syllables, and sometimes through the numbers which, according to the Greeks, are contained in letters. Most plainly do they show the dismay, or confusion, and the instability of their knowledge, and its distortion. For transferring the name Jesus, which belongs to another language, to the numbering of the Greeks, they say sometimes that it is the episemon, having six letters; and sometimes that it is the fullness of the Ogdoads, having the number 888. But his Greek name, which is Soter, that is, Saviour, they have kept silent about, because it does not fit their fiction, either by number or by letters. And indeed, if the Lord's names had been received by the providence of the Father, signifying by number and by letters the number in the Pleroma, Soter, being a Greek name, should, according to the Greek idiom, have shown the mystery of the Pleroma both by its letters and by its numbers. But it is not so, because it is of five letters, and its number is 1408. And these things have nothing in common with their Pleroma: that business, then, which they say goes on in the Pleroma is not true.

2. But the name Jesus, in the proper tongue of the Hebrews, is of two letters and a half, as their learned men say, signifying the Lord who contains heaven and earth: because Jesus in the ancient Hebrew tongue is heaven, while earth again is called sura user. The Word, then, which contains heaven and earth, is himself Jesus. False, therefore, is their rendering of the episemon

too, and their number is plainly overthrown. For in their own language Soter, a Greek word, is of five letters; but Jesus again, in the Hebrew tongue, has two letters and a half. The number of their reckoning, then, which is set at 888, falls to the ground. And in every way the letters of the Hebrews do not agree with the number of the Greeks, though they above all ought, being older and firmer, to preserve the reckoning of the names. For the ancient and first letters of the Hebrews, which are also called priestly, are ten in number (but they are written by ten and five), the last letter being joined to the first. And therefore they write some things in order, as we also do, but others backwards, turning the letters back from the right side to the left. And Christ too, who was brought forth for the stability and correction of their Pleroma, according to what they say, ought to have had a reckoning of his name agreeing with the Aeon of their Pleroma. And the Father too, likewise, ought to have contained, both by letters and by number, the number of the Aeons who were brought forth by him; and Bythus likewise; and no less the Only-begotten too; and above all, the name that is called God, which in Hebrew is said Baruch, and it too has two letters and a half. From this, then, that the firmer names, in the Hebrew and in the Greek tongue, agree with their fiction neither by the number of letters nor by the reckoning, the reckoning they have shamelessly wrested from the rest is manifest.

3. For they choose from the Law whatever agrees with the number of their sect, and try

to make proofs by violence. But if it was the purpose of their Mother, or of the Saviour, to show through the Demiurge types of the things that are in the Pleroma, they would have caused the types to be made in truer and holier things: and above all in the very ark of the Testament, through which the whole tabernacle of witness was also put together. Now this was made with its length two cubits and a half, its breadth one cubit and a half, and its height one cubit and a half: and this number of cubits agrees in nothing with their fiction, though a type ought to have been shown in it above all. And the propitiatory likewise agrees in nothing with their expositions. Moreover, the table of proposition, two cubits in length and one cubit in breadth, and its height one cubit and a half (these were before the holy of holies): by which not one quantity of number contains the signification of the quaternary, or of the octonary, or of the rest of their Pleroma. And what of the lampstand, which had seven branches and seven lamps? And if indeed these things had been made according to the type, it ought to have had eight branches, and as many lamps, after the type of the first octonary, which shines forth among the Aeons and illuminates the whole Fullness.

The courts, which are ten, they have counted carefully, saying that they are a type of the ten Aeons; but the skins, which were made eleven in number, they no longer counted. Nor have they measured the size of the courts themselves, each court having a length of twenty-eight cubits. And

they expound the length of the pillars, made ten cubits, on account of the Decad of the Aeons; but that the breadth of each pillar was one cubit and a half they no longer expound, nor the number of all the pillars, nor of their bars, because it does not agree with their plot. And what of the oil of anointing, which sanctified the whole tabernacle? Perhaps it escaped the Saviour, or else, while their Mother was asleep, the Demiurge of his own accord gave orders about the weight: whence it is out of tune with their Pleroma, having five hundred shekels of myrrh, of iris 500, of cinnamon 250, of aromatic cane 250, and besides these oil, so that it consists of five ingredients. And the incense likewise was made of stacte, and onycha, and galbanum, and mint, and frankincense, which can agree in nothing with their plot, either in their mixtures or in their weight. It is unreasonable, then, and altogether boorish, that in the sublime and finer things of the Law the types should not have been kept, but that in the rest, wherever some number agrees with what they themselves say, they should assert that these are types of the things that are in the Pleroma, when every number is set down in many ways in the Scriptures: so that whoever wishes could construct from the Scriptures not only an octonary, and a Decad, and a Dodecad, but any number whatever, and say that it is a type of the error he has contrived.

4. But that this is true, this number which is called five, which has nothing in common with their plot, nor agrees with their fiction, nor fits

their typical demonstration of the things that are in the Pleroma, will receive its proof from the Scriptures thus. Soter is a name of five letters, and Pater too has five letters; and the name Agape also is five letters; and our Lord, blessing five loaves, fed five thousand men; five wise virgins were spoken of by the Lord, and likewise five foolish. Again, five men are said to have been with the Lord when he met the testimony of the Father, namely Peter, and James, and John, and Moses, and Elijah; and the Lord going in as the fifth to the dead girl raised her: For he allowed no one, it says, to go in but Peter, and James, and the father and the mother of the girl (Luke 8:51). The rich man in the underworld says that he has five brothers, to whom he asks that one rising from the dead may go. The pool of the bath had five porches, whence the Lord bade the paralytic, made sound, go to his own house. And the very form of the cross has five ends and tips, two in length, and two in breadth, and one in the middle, on which rests he who is fixed with the nails. Each of our hands has five fingers; and we have five senses too; and the things that are in our inward parts can be counted as five: the heart, and the liver, the lungs, the spleen and the kidneys. Further, the whole man can be divided into this number: head, breast, belly, thighs, feet. Mankind passes through five ages: first an infant, then a child, then a little one, and after this a young man, and so then an elder.

In five books Moses handed down the Law to the people. Each table that he received from God

had five precepts. The veil that covered the holy of holies had five pillars. And the altar of burnt offering: its height was five cubits. Five priests were chosen in the wilderness, namely Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. The ankle-length robe, and the oracle, and the rest of the priestly vesture were woven of five things; for they had gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen. And Joshua son of Nun, shutting up five kings of the Amorites in the caves, gave their heads to the people to be trampled on. And anyone can gather many thousands of other things of this kind, both in this number and in any he may wish, whether from the Scriptures or from the works of nature that lie before us: and yet we do not on this account say that there are five Aeons above the Demiurge, nor do we consecrate the quinary as if it were something divine, nor do we try to establish unstable things and ravings through that vain labour of theirs, nor do we force the creation, well fitted together by God, to be wrongly transferred into types of things that do not exist, and to bring in impious and wicked doctrines, since their exposure and overthrow can be achieved by all who have understanding.

5. For who would grant them that the year has only 365 days, so that there are twelve months of thirty days, as a type of the twelve Aeons, when the type too is unlike? For there each of the Aeons is the thirtieth part of the whole Pleroma, while the month is said by them to be the twelfth part of the year. If indeed the year were divided into thirty, and the month into twelve, the type might

be thought suited to their lie. But as it is, it is the contrary. Their Pleroma is divided into thirty, and a part of it into twelve; but here the whole year is divided into twelve parts, and a part of it into thirty. Senselessly, then, did the Saviour make the month a type of the whole Pleroma, and the year a type of the Dodecad that is in the Pleroma; for it would have been more fitting to divide the year into thirty, as the whole Pleroma is, and the month into twelve, as the Aeons in their Pleroma are. And they divide the whole Pleroma into three, that is, into the octonary, and the Decad, and the Dodecad; but here the year is divided into four, that is, spring, summer, autumn and winter. Nor do the months, which they say are a type of the thirty, have a fixed thirty days each, but some have more and others fewer, because five days are added over them. And the day too does not always have a fixed twelve hours, but rises from nine up to 15, and again goes down from 15 to nine. The months, then, were not made of thirty days because of the thirty Aeons; otherwise they would have a fixed thirty days: nor again the days of these, so as to figure the twelve Aeons by twelve hours; for then they too would always have a fixed twelve hours.

6. Moreover, since they call material things the left, and say that what is of the left necessarily passes into corruption, and that the Saviour came to the lost sheep, to transfer it to the right, that is, to the ninety-nine sheep which are of salvation, which did not perish but remained in the fold: they must agree that the things which fall to the

counting of the left hand are not of salvation. And whatever does not have that same number they will be forced to confess to be of the left, that is, of corruption: and this name which in Greek is called Agape, having the number ninety-three according to the letters of the Greeks, by which the reckoning is marked among them, is likewise the counting of the left hand; and Alethia too likewise, by the reason given above, having the number sixty-four, subsists in the portion of material things: and they will be forced to confess that absolutely all the names of holy things which do not fill up the number one hundred, but have only the numbers of the left, are corruptible and material.

CHAPTER 25

He answers an objection, and shows that God is not to be measured by letters, syllables and numbers, but that numbers, and the things that have been made, must be weighed by the rule of truth. That all things are from one and the same God, and that what surpasses the grasp of the human mind, far below God, is not to be searched out too curiously.

1. But if anyone says to this: "What then? Is it in vain and by chance that the giving of names, and the election of the apostles, and the working of the Lord, and the composition of the things that have been made came about?" We shall say to them: "Not so; but with great wisdom and care all things have been made by God, fitted and adorned to perfection, both the ancient things

and whatever his Word has wrought in the last times; and they ought to join them, not to the number 30, but to the underlying argument, or reason; nor to take up the inquiry about God from numbers, and syllables, and letters (for this is weak, because of their manifold variety, and because any argument contrived by anyone today could equally draw from them testimonies contrary to the truth, since they can be transferred to many things); but they ought to fit the numbers themselves, and the things that have been made, to the underlying argument of the truth." For the rule does not come from the numbers, but the numbers from the rule; nor God from the things made, but the things that have been made from God. For all things are from one and the same God.

2. But the things that have been made are various and many; and in relation to the whole thing made they are well fitted and well in harmony, but as regards each one of them they are contrary to one another and do not agree: as the sound of the lyre, through the interval of each note, produces one harmonious melody, subsisting from many and contrary sounds. The lover of truth, then, must not be led astray by the interval of each sound, nor suspect that there is one craftsman and maker of this and another of that, nor that one fitted the higher notes, another the deeper, and another the middle ones; but one and the same, for the showing of the whole work and of wisdom, and of justice, and of goodness, and of gift. And those who hear the melody ought to

praise and glorify the Craftsman, and to admire the tension of some notes, and to attend to the slackness of others, and to listen to the blending of others between the two, and to consider the type of others, and to what each one refers, and to inquire into their cause; never shifting the rule, nor straying from the Craftsman, nor casting away the faith which is in one God who made all things, nor blaspheming our Creator.

3. And if anyone does not find the cause of all the things that are sought, let him consider that man is infinitely inferior to God, and has received grace in part, and is not yet equal or like to his Maker, and cannot have the experience and the thought of all things, as God has; but that by as much as he who was made today and received the beginning of his making is inferior to him who was not made and who is always the same, by so much is he inferior to him who made him in knowledge and in searching out the causes of all things. For you are not unmade, O man, nor did you always co-exist with God, as his own Word did; but because of his surpassing goodness, now receiving the beginning of your making, you learn little by little from the Word the dispositions of God who made you.

4. Keep, then, the order of your knowledge, and do not, as one ignorant of good things, go beyond God himself; for he cannot be passed beyond: nor seek what there is above the Demiurge; for you will not find it. For your Craftsman is without bounds: and do not, as though you had measured him wholly, and as though you

had gone through all his workmanship, and had considered all the depth that is in him, and the height, and the length, devise another Father above him. For you will not devise him; but thinking against nature, you will be foolish; and if you persevere in this, you will fall into madness, reckoning yourself higher and better than your Maker, and that you can pass beyond his realms.

CHAPTER 26

That the unskilled and the unlettered who love God sincerely are to be preferred to those who are puffed up with the conceit of vain knowledge. That one must refrain from curious and superfluous questions.

1. It is better, then, and more profitable, to be unlettered and to know little, and to draw near to God through charity, than to think that one knows much and, having much experience, to be found blasphemers against one's own God, fashioning another God as Father. And therefore Paul cried out: Knowledge puffs up, but charity builds up (1 Cor 8:1); not that he found fault with the true knowledge of God, otherwise he would have accused himself first; but because he knew that some, lifted up on the pretext of knowledge, fall away from the love of God, and for this reason think themselves perfect while bringing in an imperfect Demiurge, cutting off their haughtiness on account of such knowledge, he says: Knowledge puffs up, but charity builds up. And there is no greater puffing up than this, that anyone should think himself better and more perfect

than he who made him, and moulded him, and gave him the breath of life, and granted him this very being. It is better, therefore, as I said before, that one should know nothing at all, not even a single cause of any of the things that have been made, why it was made, and believe God, and persevere in his love, than, puffed up by such knowledge, fall away from the love that gives man life; and seek nothing for knowledge but Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was crucified for us, rather than fall into impiety through the subtleties of questions and hair-splitting.

2. For what if someone, a little lifted up by such attempts, because the Lord said that even the hairs of your head are all numbered (Matt 10:30), should wish to inquire curiously into the number of the hairs of each head, and to search out the cause why this man has so many and that man so many, since not all have them equally, but many thousands upon thousands of different numbers are found, because some have larger heads and others smaller; and some always have thick hair, others thin, and others very little hair at all; and those who think they have found the number of the hairs should try to refer it to the testimony of the sect they have devised? Or again, if someone, because it was said in the Gospel: Are not two sparrows sold for a penny? And not one of them will fall upon the earth without the will of your Father (Matt 10:29), should wish to count the sparrows caught every day everywhere, or in each region, and to seek the cause why yesterday so many, and the day before so many, and today

again so many have been caught; and should tie the number of the sparrows to his own argument: does he not lead himself astray altogether, and drive those who listen to him into great madness, since men are always ready to be thought to have found in such things something more than their teachers?

3. And what if someone should ask us whether every number of all the things that have been made and are being made is known to God, and whether each of them has received, according to his providence, the quantity that belongs to it; and, when we agree and confess that nothing at all of the things that have been made, and are being made, and will be made escapes the knowledge of God, but that through his providence each of them receives and has received its own form, and order, and number, and quantity, and that nothing at all has been made or is made in vain or by chance, but with great fitness and sublime awareness, and that there is a wonderful and truly divine reason which can both discern such things and declare their proper causes: then, having received from us such testimony and assent, should go on to count the sand too, and the pebbles of the earth, and the waves of the sea as well, and the stars of heaven, and to think out the causes of the number he supposes he has found: would not such a man justly be called by all who have understanding one who labours in vain, and raving, and without reason? And the more he busies himself beyond the rest in questions of this kind, and the more he thinks that he finds out

beyond others, calling the rest unskilled, and unlettered, and animal, because they do not take up so vain a labour of his, the more is he insane and stupid, as though struck by lightning, yielding to God in nothing; but through the knowledge which he thinks he has found he changes God himself, and hurls his own opinion above the greatness of the Maker.

CHAPTER 27

That obscure things are not to be explained from the parables, which may bear many senses, but from what is set down clearly and openly in the Scriptures.

1. A sound understanding, one that is without danger, and devout, and loving the truth, will readily ponder the things that God has given into the power of men and made subject to our knowledge, and will advance in them, making the knowledge of them easy by long-continued study. And these are the things that meet our eyes, and whatever has been set down openly and without ambiguity in the very words of the Scriptures. And therefore the parables ought to be adapted to things that are not ambiguous; for so he who solves them solves them without danger, and the parables will receive a like solution from all; and the body of truth remains whole, with a like fitting of its members, and without shock. But to tie things that are not said openly, nor set before our eyes, to solutions of parables which each man devises as he pleases! For so no one will have the rule of truth; but as many as there

are who solve the parables, so many truths will be seen fighting one another, and setting up doctrines contrary to one another, like the questions of the philosophers of the Gentiles.

2. And so, by this method, man will always be seeking and will never find, because he has cast away the very discipline of finding. And when the bridegroom comes, he who has his lamp unprepared, shining with no brightness of manifest light, runs back to those who sell the solutions of the parables in darkness, leaving him who through open preaching gives entrance to him freely, and he is shut out of his bridal chamber. Since, then, the whole of the Scriptures, both the Prophecies and the Gospels, can be heard openly, and without ambiguity, and alike by all, although not all believe; and they proclaim that one and only God, to the exclusion of others, made all things through his Word, whether visible or invisible, heavenly or earthly, in the water or under the earth, as we have demonstrated from the very words of the Scriptures; and since the very creation in which we are, through the things that come into view, bears witness to this same thing, that there is one who made it and rules it: those will appear very dull who blind their eyes to so lucid an opening, and will not see the light of the preaching; but they bind themselves fast, and each of them thinks that, through dark solutions of parables, he has found a God of his own. For that nothing has been said openly, nor without controversy, in any Scripture at all about the Father devised by those who hold contrary

opinions, they themselves bear witness, saying that the Saviour taught these same things in secret, not to all, but to some of the disciples who can contain them, and that they were signified by him through allusions, and riddles, and parables to those who understand. And they come to this, that they say that the God who is preached is one, and the Father who is signified through parables and riddles is another.

3. But since parables can admit many solutions, who among the lovers of truth will not confess that to make affirmations from them in the inquiry about God, leaving what is certain, and undoubted, and true, is the part of men who throw themselves headlong into danger and are without reason? And is not this to build one's house, not on a rock that is firm, and strong, and set in the open, but on the uncertainty of shifting sand? Whence the overthrow of such a building is easy.

CHAPTER 28

That the mysteries of God are to be so inquired into that we never turn aside from the rule of truth and from the true knowledge of God. That faith is to be given to the sacred Scriptures, and that we must not rashly search out more things, which ought to be committed to God and exceed the limits of our mind. And that this is the vice of the heretics, that they reserve nothing to God but rashly search out everything. Hence he demonstrates that they have fallen into such monstrous errors.

1. Having, then, the truth itself as our rule, and the testimony about God set openly before us, we ought not, by turning aside through questions to one solution after another, to cast out the firm and true knowledge of God; but rather, directing the solution of questions to this stamp, it is fitting to exercise ourselves in the inquiry into the mystery and the disposition of the God who is, and to grow in the charity of him who has done and does such great things for us, and never to fall away from that conviction by which it is most plainly proclaimed that this one alone is truly God and Father, who both made this world and moulded man, and gave growth in his creation, calling him from his own lesser things to the greater things that are with him, as he brings out the infant conceived in the womb into the light of the sun, and lays up the wheat in the barn after he has strengthened it on the stalk. And one and the same is the Demiurge, who both moulded the womb and created the sun; and one and the same is the Lord, who both brought up the stalk, and, increasing the wheat, multiplied it, and prepared the barn.

2. But if we cannot find the solutions of all the things that are sought in the Scriptures, let us not, for all that, seek another God besides him who is. For this is the greatest impiety. But we ought to leave such things as these to God, who also made us, knowing most rightly that the Scriptures are indeed perfect, since they were spoken by the Word of God and his Spirit; but we, inasmuch as we are inferior to and later than the Word of

God and his Spirit, are by so much in need of the knowledge of his mysteries. And it is no wonder if we suffer this in spiritual and heavenly things, and in those that are to be revealed: since even of the things that are before our feet (I mean those that are in this creation, which are both handled by us and seen, and are with us), many have escaped our knowledge, and we commit these very things to God. For he must excel above all. For what if we try to explain the cause of the rising of the Nile? We say many things, perhaps persuasive, perhaps not persuasive: but what is true, and certain, and firm, lies with God. And the dwelling of the birds too, those that come to us in springtime and at once withdraw again in autumn, though this very thing happens in this world, escapes our knowledge. And what can we explain about the flow and the ebb of the Ocean, though it is agreed that there is a sure cause? Or what can we declare about the things that are beyond it, of what kind they are? Or what can we say of how rains, and lightnings, and thunders, and the gatherings of clouds, and mists, and the blowing forth of winds, and the like, are brought about; or tell of the storehouses of snow, and of hail, and of the things that are nearest to these: and what is this preparing of the clouds, or what the state of the mist, and what the cause by which the moon waxes and wanes, or what the cause of the difference of waters, and of metals, and of stones, and of things like these? In all these things we shall be talkative, seeking their causes; but he who makes them, God alone, speaks the truth.

3. If, then, even among the things of creation some lie with God, and others have come within our knowledge, what harm is there if, of the things that are sought in the Scriptures, the whole of the Scriptures being spiritual, we solve some according to the grace of God, and commend others to God, and that not only in this age but also in the age to come, so that God may always teach, and man may always learn the things that are from God? As the Apostle too said that, when the other parts have been done away, these then remain: faith, hope and charity (1 Cor 13:13). For faith, which is towards our teacher, always remains firm, assuring us that he alone is truly God, and that we should love him truly always, since he alone is Father; and that we should hope ever to receive and to learn something more from God, because he is good, and has riches without bounds, and a kingdom without end, and teaching without measure. If, then, in the way we have said, we commit some of the questions to God, we shall both keep our faith and persevere without danger, and all Scripture given us by God will be found by us to be in harmony, and the parables will be in harmony with what is said plainly, and what is said plainly will solve the parables; and through the many voices of the sayings one harmonious melody will be heard in us, praising in hymns the God who made all things. For instance, if anyone asks: "What was God doing before he made the world?" we say that this answer rests with God. But that this world was made apotelestos by God, receiv-

ing a beginning in time, the Scriptures teach us; but what God wrought before this, no Scripture shows. This answer, then, rests with God, and it is not fitting to wish to devise bringings forth so foolish, and so undisciplined and blasphemous, and, by thinking that you have found the bringing forth of matter, to reject God himself, who made all things.

4. For consider, all you who devise such things: since the Father alone is called God, he who also truly is, whom you call the Demiurge; and since the Scriptures, too, know him alone as God; and since the Lord, too, confesses him alone as his own Father, and knows no other, as we shall show from his own words: when you call this very one the fruit of a defect, and the bringing forth of ignorance, and ignorant of the things that are above him, and whatever else you say of him, consider the greatness of the blasphemy against him who truly is God. You seem to say gravely and honourably that you believe in God; then, since you are by no means able to show another God, this very one in whom you say you believe you pronounce the fruit of a defect and the bringing forth of ignorance. And this blindness and foolish talk come to you from this, that you reserve nothing to God. But you wish to proclaim the births and the bringings forth of God himself, and of his Ennoia, and of Word, and of Life, and of Christ; and you take them from nowhere else but from the affections of men: and you do not understand that in man, who is a composite animal, it is admissible to speak in this way, as we said before, of

the understanding of man and the ennoia of man; and that from the understanding comes ennoia, from ennoia enthymesis, from enthymesis logos (but which logos? for, according to the Greeks, the logos which is the principal part that thinks is one thing, and the instrument through which the logos is emitted is another); and that man is sometimes at rest and silent, and sometimes speaks and acts: but since God is all mind, all reason, and all active spirit, and all light, and always the same and existing alike, as it is both profitable for us to think of God and as we learn from the Scriptures, such affections and divisions will no longer fittingly follow in his regard. For the tongue, being fleshly, is not sufficient to serve the swiftness of men's understanding, because of its spiritual nature: whence our word is also stifled within, and is brought forth not all at once, as it was conceived by the understanding, but part by part, as far as the tongue is able to minister.

5. But God, being all mind and all Logos, what he thinks, that he also speaks; and what he speaks, that he also thinks. For his thought is Logos, and Logos is mind, and mind that encloses all things is the Father himself. He, then, who speaks of the mind of God, and grants to the mind a bringing forth of its own, pronounces him composite, as though God were one thing, and the principal mind another. And likewise again, granting to the Logos too a third bringing forth from the Father (whence he is also ignorant of his greatness), he has separated the Logos far from God. And the prophet indeed says of him: Who

shall tell his generation? (Isa 53:8) But you, divining his generation from the Father, and transferring to the Word of God the bringing forth of men's word that is made by the tongue, are justly exposed by yourselves as knowing neither things human nor things divine.

6. But you, puffed up without reason, boldly say that you know the inexpressible mysteries of God: since even the Lord, the Son of God himself, granted that the Father alone knows the very day and hour of judgement, saying plainly: But of that day and hour no one knows, not even the Son, but the Father alone (Matt 24:36; Mark 13:32). If, then, the Son was not ashamed to refer the knowledge of that day to the Father, but said what is true, neither let us be ashamed to reserve to God those things in questions that are too great for us. For no one is above the teacher (Matt 10:24; Luke 6:40). If anyone, then, says to us: "How then was the Son brought forth by the Father?" we tell him that this bringing forth, or generation, or naming, or opening, or by whatever name one may call his generation, which is inexpressible, no one knows: not Valentinus, not Marcion, nor Saturninus, nor Basilides, nor angels, nor archangels, nor principalities, nor powers, but only the Father who begot, and the Son who was born. Since, then, his generation is inexpressible, all who strive to tell of generations and bringings forth are not in their right mind, promising to tell what is inexpressible. For that a word is emitted from thought and understanding, all men surely know. Those, then, who

devised emissions have found nothing great, nor a hidden mystery, if they have transferred to the only-begotten Word of God what is understood by all: and him whom they call inexpressible and unnameable, they, as though they had themselves acted as midwives, declare the bringing forth and generation of his first generation, likening him to the emission of men's word.

7. And if we say this same thing about the substance of matter too, we shall not sin: that God brought it forth. For we have learned from the Scriptures that God holds the first place over all things. But whence, or how, he emitted it, neither has any Scripture set forth, nor ought we to fancy it, conjecturing endless things about God from our own opinions; but this knowledge must be left to God. Likewise also the cause why, though all things were made by God, some transgressed and fell away from subjection to God, while others, indeed the greatest number, persevered and persevere in subjection to him who made them; and of what nature those are that transgressed, and of what nature those that persevere: this we ought to leave to God and to his Word, to whom alone he said: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet (Ps 110:1). But we are still living on earth, not yet sitting beside his throne. For although the Spirit of the Saviour who is in him searches all things, and the depths of God (1 Cor 2:10), yet as for us, there are divisions of graces, and divisions of ministries, and divisions of operations (1 Cor 12:4–6); and we on earth, as Paul too says, know in part, and we

prophesy in part (1 Cor 13:9). As, then, we know in part, so also concerning all questions we ought to yield to him who gives us grace in part. That eternal fire has been prepared for the transgressors, both the Lord has plainly said and the rest of the Scriptures show. And that God foreknew that this would be, the Scriptures likewise show, as also that he prepared eternal fire from the beginning for those who would transgress; but the very cause of the nature of those who transgress no Scripture has related, nor has the Apostle said, nor has the Lord taught. We ought, then, to leave this knowledge to God, as the Lord too leaves that of the hour and the day; and not to run into such danger that we leave nothing to God; and that while we receive grace in part. But in this, when we seek the things that are above us, and which it is not given us to reach, to come now to such audacity as to lay God open, and, as though we had already found what has not yet been found, through the empty talk of emissions to assert that God himself, the Maker of all things, had his substance from deficiency and ignorance, and so to fashion a plot impious against God!

8. Moreover, they have no testimony for that fiction of theirs, which has been newly devised by them: now through any numbers whatever, now through syllables, sometimes also through names; at times too through the letters that are in letters, and sometimes through parables not rightly solved, or through certain surmises, they try to establish that fabulous narrative which they have feigned. For if anyone should seek the

reason why the Father, who shares with the Son in all things, has been declared by the Lord to be the only one who knows the hour and the day, he will not find at present any other more suitable, or more fitting, or free from danger, than this (since indeed the Lord is the only true teacher): that we may learn through him that the Father is above all. For the Father, he says, is greater than I (John 14:28). And so in knowledge too the Father has been proclaimed by our Lord to be set above, to this end, that we also, as long as we are in the fashion of this world, should leave perfect science, and such questions, to God: and lest perhaps, seeking to search out the depth of the Father, we should fall into such danger as to ask whether there is another God above God.

9. But if anyone, loving contention, should contradict what we have said, and what the Apostle has related, that we know in part, and we prophesy in part (1 Cor 13:9), and should think that he has received, not in part but universally, the universal knowledge of the things that are, being some Valentinus, or Ptolemy, or Basilides, or one of those who say that they have searched out the depths of God: let him not, adorning himself with empty boasting, glory that he has known more than the rest in the things that are invisible, or that cannot be shown; but, diligently searching into the causes of the things that are in this world, which we do not know, such as the number of the hairs of his own head, and about the sparrows that are caught every day, and about the rest of the things not foreseen by

us, and learning them from the Father, let him proclaim them to us, so that we may believe him about the greater things too. But if those who are perfect do not yet know the things that are in their hands, and before their feet, and in their eyes, and earthly things, and above all the disposition of the hairs of their own head, how shall we believe them about spiritual things, and supercelestial, and about the things which with vain conviction they affirm to be above God? And let so much be said by us about numbers, and names, and syllables, and their questions about the things that are above us, and about their improperly expounding the parables, since more can be said by you.

CHAPTER 29

That what the heretics assert is self-contradictory, that some souls will go into the Pleroma and others into the Midst, the bodies having no share in salvation.

1. But let us return to the rest of their argument. For they say that at the consummation their Mother returns within the Pleroma and receives her bridegroom, the Saviour; that they themselves, since they say they are spiritual, having stripped off their souls and become intellectual spirits, will be the brides of the spiritual angels; that the Demiurge, since they say he is animal, will pass into the Mother's place; and that the souls of the just rest in the place of the Midst. Saying in psychic fashion that like is gathered to like, the spiritual to the spiritual, while the

material remains among the material, they lay down what contradicts itself: they say that souls pass into the Midst, to their like, no longer on account of their substance but on account of their action, saying that those of the just pass there, while those of the impious remain for the fire. For if all souls pass into refreshment on account of their substance, and all belong to the Midst inasmuch as they are souls, since they are of the same substance, then believing is superfluous, and superfluous too is the descent of the Saviour. But if it is on account of justice, then it is no longer because they are souls, but because they are just. But if souls were to perish had they not been just, justice is able to save bodies too: why indeed will it not save those which themselves also shared in justice? For if nature and substance save, all souls will be saved; but if justice and faith, why should it not save the bodies, which, in like manner with the souls, are to pass into corruption? For justice will appear either powerless or unjust in such things, if it saves some on account of their participation in it, but not others.

2. For since the things of justice are accomplished in bodies, it is plain: either, then, all souls will of necessity pass into the place of the Midst, and there is judgement nowhere; or the bodies too, which shared in justice, will obtain the place of refreshment together with the souls which shared in it alike, if indeed justice is able to bring there the things that shared in it; and the word concerning the resurrection of bodies will come forth true and firm. And this we believe: that God,

raising up our mortal bodies too, which keep justice, will make them incorrupt and immortal. For God is better than nature, having in himself the willing, because he is good; and the being able, because he is mighty; and the accomplishing, because he is rich and perfect.

3. But these men say what is contrary to itself in every respect, defining that not all souls pass into the Midst, but only those of the just. For they say that three kinds were emitted by the Mother naturally and according to substance: the first, which comes from aporia, from weariness and fear, which is matter; the second from impulse, which is the animal; and what she brought forth according to the vision of the angels who are about Christ, which is the spiritual. If, then, the things that she brought forth enter within the Pleroma in every way, since it is something spiritual; and what is material stays below, since it is material, and, when the fire that is in it blazes up, will be wholly consumed: why will the animal not pass wholly into the place of the Midst, into which they also send the Demiurge? And what is it of theirs that will pass within the Pleroma? For they say that souls endure in the Midst; and that bodies, since they have a material substance, are dissolved into matter and burned by the fire that is in it. And when their body has been corrupted, and the soul remains in the Midst, nothing of the man is left any longer to pass within the Pleroma. For the understanding of man, the mind, and thought, and the intention of the mind, and the like, are nothing other than the soul, but move-

ments and workings of the soul itself, having no substance without the soul. What then of theirs will there still be to pass into the Pleroma? For they themselves too, in so far as they are souls, remain in the Midst; and in so far as they are body, they will burn with the rest of matter.

CHAPTER 30

He rebukes the mad impiety of the heretics who said that they themselves were spiritual and the Demiurge animal.

1. And this being so, the senseless men say that they themselves ascend above the Demiurge; and in that they declare themselves better than that God who made and adorned the heavens, and the earth, and the seas, and all things that are in them, and would have themselves be spiritual, to their dishonour, though they are carnal by reason of their so great impiety; and in that they say that he who made his angels spirits, and is clothed with light as with a cloak (Ps 104:4, 2), and holds as it were in his hand the circle of the earth, before whom its inhabitants are reckoned as locusts (Isa 40:12, 22), is both the Demiurge of all spiritual substance and an animal God: they show their madness beyond doubt and in truth; and, like men truly struck by thunder, more than the Giants of whom the fables tell, they raise their opinions against God, swollen with vain presumption and unstable glory, men for whom all the hellebore of the earth would not suffice for a purge, that they might vomit up their so great foolishness.

2. For the better must be shown from his works. Whence, then, do they show themselves better than the Demiurge (so that we too, by the necessity of the discussion, turn aside towards impiety, making a comparison between God and insane men, and coming down into their argument, often refuting them by their own dogmas; but may God be gracious to us: for we say these things not comparing him with them, but refuting and overthrowing their madness), they at whom many of the senseless are amazed, as though they could learn from them something more than the truth itself? And that which is written, Seek, and you will find (Matt 7:7), they interpret as said to this end, that they should find themselves above the Demiurge, calling themselves greater and better than God, and themselves spiritual, but the Demiurge animal; and that for this reason they ascend above God, and that they themselves pass within the Pleroma, but God into the place of the Midst. Let them, then, show themselves better than the Demiurge from their works. For it is not in what is said, but in what is, that the better must be shown.

3. What work, then, will they point to, made through themselves by the Saviour or by their Mother, greater, or more splendid, or more reasonable than the things that were made by him who disposed all these things? What heavens have they made firm? What earth have they made solid? What stars have they emitted? Or what luminaries have they made to shine? And with what orbits have they bridled them? Or what

rains, or cold, or all things fitted to each season and to each region, have they brought upon the earth? And what heat and dryness have they set against these in turn? Or what rivers have they made to overflow? What springs have they brought forth? And with what flowers and trees have they adorned that which is under heaven? Or what multitude of animals have they formed, some rational and some irrational, all adorned with beauty? And all the rest, which were established by the power of God and are governed by his wisdom, who will be able to number them one by one, or to search out the greatness of the wisdom of God who made them? And what of the things that are above heaven, and that do not pass away, how great they are: angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers without number? Against which single one of these works, then, do they set themselves in comparison? What such thing have they to show, made through themselves or by themselves, when they too are his thing made and moulding? For whether the Saviour or their Mother (to speak in their own terms, refuting them as liars by their very own words) made use of him, as they say, to make the image of the things that are within the Pleroma, and of all the contemplation which she saw about the Saviour, she made use of him as of one better and fitter for doing her will through him: for she would by no means have shaped the images of such great things through an inferior, but through a better.

4. For they themselves too, as they themselves say, existed then as a spiritual conception according to the contemplation of the attendants who are set about Pandora. And these remained idle (the Mother accomplishing nothing through them by the Saviour), a useless conception, fit for nothing: for nothing appears to have been made through them. But the God who was emitted, according to them, being inferior to them by their argument (for they will have him be animal), was the worker in all things, effective and apt, so that through him the images of all things should come to be: and not only these things that are seen, but the invisible too, angels, archangels, dominions, powers, virtues, all were made through him, as evidently through one better, and able to serve the will. But the Mother appears to have made nothing through these, as they themselves also confess: so that one might justly reckon them to have been the miscarriage of their Mother, who laboured ill. For no midwives attended her delivery, and therefore they were cast out like a miscarriage, useful for nothing, made for no work of the Mother's. And they call themselves better than him through whom so many and such great things were made and disposed, when even by their own argument they are found to be very far inferior?

5. And just as, when there are two working tools, or two instruments, of which the craftsman always has the one in his hands and in use, and makes through it whatever he wills, and shows his art and his wisdom, while the other remains

empty and idle and without working, the craftsman being seen to make nothing at all through it, and using it for no action: if then someone were to say that this useless, empty and idle one is better and of more worth than the one which he uses in his work, through which the craftsman himself is also glorified, the man who is such will justly be reckoned dull and not in his right mind. So too these men, saying that they themselves are spiritual and better, and the Demiurge animal, and that for this reason they ascend above, and penetrate within the Pleroma to their husbands (for they are women, as they themselves confess), and that God is inferior and for this reason remains in the Midst, while they bring no proof of this (for he who is better is shown from his works; and all works were made by the Demiurge, while they have nothing worthy of reason to show made by themselves): they are insane with a supreme and incurable insanity.

6. But if they insist on saying that whatever things are material, such as the heaven and the whole world contained beneath it, were made by the Demiurge, while all those more spiritual than these, those that are above the heaven, such as principalities, powers, angels, archangels, dominions, virtues, were made through the spiritual birth (which they say they themselves are): first of all, we have shown from the Lord's Scriptures that all the things that have been named, visible and invisible, were made by one God. For these men are not more trustworthy than the Scriptures; nor ought we, leaving aside the

oracles of the Lord, and Moses, and the other prophets, who proclaimed the truth, to believe these, who say nothing sound but rave unstable things. Next, even if the things that are above the heavens were made through them, let them tell us what the nature of the invisible things is; let them recount the number of the angels and the order of the archangels; let them show the mysteries of the thrones, and teach the differences of the dominions, principalities, and powers and virtues. But they have nothing to say: therefore they were not made through them. But if these were made by the Demiurge, as indeed they were made, and they are spiritual and holy, then he who perfected the spiritual things is not animal; and their great blasphemy is undone.

7. For that there are spiritual creations in the heavens all the Scriptures cry out; and Paul too bears witness that there are spiritual things, when he signifies that he was caught up as far as the third heaven, and again, that he was carried into paradise and heard inexpressible words, which it is not lawful for a man to speak (2 Cor 12:2–4). And what would either the entry into paradise or the taking up as far as the third heaven have profited him, since all those things are under the power of the Demiurge, if he was to become a beholder and hearer of the mysteries that are said to be above the Demiurge, as some dare to say? For if he was to learn the disposition that is above the Demiurge, he would by no means have stayed among the things that are the Demiurge's, without having surveyed even

these themselves entire (for, by their account, there still remained for him the fourth heaven, that he might draw near to the Demiurge and see the septenary set beneath him); but he would perhaps have been received even as far as the Midst, that is, to the Mother, that he might learn from her the things that are within the Pleroma. For his inner man, who also spoke in him, being invisible, as they say, could have reached not only as far as the third heaven, but as far as their Mother. For if they say that they themselves, that is, their man, at once pass beyond the Demiurge and go off to the Mother, much more would this have befallen the man of the Apostle: for the Demiurge would not have hindered him, being himself already subject to the Saviour, as they say. And even had he hindered him, he would have achieved nothing. For it is not possible that he should be stronger than the providence of the Father, and that, too, when the inner man is said to be invisible even to the Demiurge. But since he related, as something great and glorious, the taking up that went as far as the third heaven, these men certainly do not ascend above the seventh heaven: for they are not better than the Apostle. If they say that they are more excellent, they will be refuted from their works: for nothing of the kind has been boasted of by them. And for this reason he added, Whether in the body or out of the body, God knows (2 Cor 12:3), so that neither should the body be thought to share in his vision, as though it too were to share in the things that he had seen and heard; nor, again, should anyone say that it

was because of the weight of the body that he was not taken up further; but rather that for this reason it is granted, as far as that place, even without the body, to behold the spiritual mysteries, which are the workings of God who made the heavens and the earth, and moulded man and set him in paradise: that those should become beholders of them who, like the Apostle, are very perfect in the love of God.

8. And so this one made the spiritual things too, of which the Apostle became a beholder as far as the third heaven, and the inexpressible words which it is not lawful for a man to speak, since they are spiritual; and he himself bestows them on the worthy as he wills; for paradise is his: and he is truly spirit of God, and not an animal Demiurge; otherwise he would never have perfected spiritual things. But if he through whom the spiritual things were made is animal, let them explain it to us. But neither have they anything to show that was made through the birth of their Mother (which they say they themselves are). For these men can perfect not only nothing of the spiritual things, but not even a fly, or a gnat, or any such thing among the little animals that are of no account, except in the way in which, from the beginning, by God, through the sowing of seeds within those of the same kind, animals were made naturally, and are made. Indeed, not even by the Mother alone was anything made: they say that this one was emitted as the Demiurge and Lord of all working. And him who is the Demiurge and Lord of all working they say

is animal; but themselves they say are spiritual, they who are fashioners or lords of no working, not only of the things outside them, but not even of their own bodies. Indeed, they often suffer many things in the body against their will, while they call themselves spiritual and better than the Demiurge.

9. Justly, then, are they refuted by us as having turned aside far, far from the truth. For either the Saviour made through him the things that have been made, and then he is shown not to be inferior to them but better, since he is found to be the maker of these very men too: for they themselves too are among the things that have been made. How then is it consistent that these men should be spiritual, and he himself, through whom they too were made, animal? Or else (which alone is true, as we have shown by very many things, as by the clearest proofs) he himself from himself made freely and by his own power, and disposed and perfected all things, and his will is the substance of all things: then he alone is found to be God, who made all things, alone almighty, and alone Father, creating and making all things, both visible and invisible, both sensible and insensible, both heavenly and earthly, by the Word of his power (Heb 1:3); and he fitted and disposed all things by his wisdom, and contains all things, while he alone can be contained by none: he himself the Fashioner, he himself the Creator, he himself the Inventor, he himself the Maker, he himself the Lord of all; and there is nothing besides him or above him: neither the Mother,

whom those men falsely allege, nor another God, whom Marcion contrived, nor a Pleroma of thirty Aeons, which has been shown to be vain, nor Bythus, nor Proarche, nor heavens, nor a virginal light, nor an unnameable Aeon, nor anything at all of the things that are raved by these and by all the heretics.

But there is one God alone, the Fashioner, he who is above every principality, and power, and dominion, and virtue: he is the Father, he is God, he the Creator, he the Maker, he the Fashioner, who made them through himself, that is, through his Word and through his Wisdom: heaven, and earth, and the seas, and all things that are in them; he is just, he is good; he it is who formed man, who planted paradise, who fashioned the world, who brought the flood, who saved Noah; he is the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the God of the living (Matt 22:32), whom the Law too announces, whom the prophets proclaim, whom Christ reveals, whom the apostles hand down, in whom the Church believes. He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: through his Word, who is his Son, through him he is revealed and made manifest to all to whom he is revealed; for those to whom the Son has revealed him know him. And the Son, always co-existing with the Father, of old and from the beginning always reveals the Father, to angels, and archangels, and powers, and virtues, and to all to whom God wills to reveal him.

CHAPTER 31

He briefly runs over nearly everything he has argued at length in this whole book, especially against the Valentinians, confirming that the same can be said against the other heretics too.

1. With those, then, who are from Valentinus destroyed, the whole multitude of the heretics has been overthrown. For what we said, and how much, against their Pleroma and with regard to the things that are outside it, showing that the Father of all will be enclosed and circumscribed by what is outside him (if indeed there is anything outside him); and that there must be many Fathers, and many Pleromas, and many fashionings of worlds, begun by some and failing at others, on every side; and that all of them, remaining in their own domains, take no busy concern for the others, with whom they have neither participation nor any communion; and that there is no other who is God of all, but that the name of Almighty is a name alone: this will likewise be fitted against those who are from Marcion, and Simon, and Menander, or whoever others there are who likewise divide our creation from the Father. And how much, again, we said against those who say that the Father of all encompasses all things, but that our creation was not made by him but by some other Power, or by angels who did not know the Propator, a creation circumscribed in the immense greatness of the universe as a centre, like a stain on a cloak, showing that it is not likely that anyone other than the Father of all made our creation: the same will be said against those who are from Saturninus, and Basilides,

and Carpocrates, and the rest of the Gnostics, who likewise say the same things. And the things that were said about the bringings forth, and the Aeons, and the diminution, and how unstable their Mother is, likewise overthrow Basilides and all who are falsely called Knowers, who say the same things likewise under other names, and even more than these, transferring to the stamp of their own doctrine the things that are outside the truth. And whatever we said about numbers will be said against all who bring the things of the truth down into such a form. And whatever has been said of the Demiurge, showing that he alone is God and Father of all, and whatever will yet be said in the following books, I say against all the heretics. The milder and more humane of them you will turn back and confound, so that they do not blaspheme their Creator, and Maker, and Nourisher, and Lord, nor ascribe to him a genesis from defect and ignorance; but the fierce, and the dreadful, and the unreasoning you will put to flight far from you, so that you no longer endure their wordiness.

2. Besides this, those who are from Simon and Carpocrates, and any others who are said to work mighty works, are refuted: for it is not in the power of God, nor in truth, nor as benefactors of men that they do what they do, but for ruin and error, through magical illusions and every fraud, doing more harm than they bring profit to those who believe them, in that they lead them astray. For they cannot give sight to the blind, nor hearing to the deaf, nor put to flight all the demons,

except those who are sent in by themselves, if indeed they do even this; nor heal the weak, or the lame, or the paralytic, or those afflicted in some other part of the body, as often comes to be done in the case of a bodily infirmity; nor restore good health after the infirmities that befall from outside.

But they are so far from raising a dead man (as the Lord raised the dead, and the apostles by prayer; and in the brotherhood very often, on account of some necessity, when the whole church of the place has asked it with fasting and much supplication, the spirit of the dead man has returned, and the man has been granted to the prayers of the saints) that they do not even believe that this can be done at all, but believe that the resurrection from the dead is the knowledge of what they call the truth.

3. Since, then, among them error, and seduction, and magical show are impiously wrought in the sight of men, while in the Church compassion, and mercy, and steadfastness, and truth are accomplished for the help of men, not only without reward and freely, but with us ourselves spending what is ours for the health of men, and with those who are healed very often receiving from us what they need and do not have: truly by this mark too they are convicted of being wholly strangers to the divine substance, and to the kindness of God, and to spiritual power, and of being filled in every way with all fraud, and apostate inspiration, and demonic working, and the phantasm of idolatry. And they are the forerun-

ners of that dragon who by such a show will make a third part of the stars fall away with his tail, and will cast them down to the earth (Rev 12:4); whom we must shun in like manner as him; and the greater the phantasm with which they are said to work, the more we must beware of them, as having received a greater spirit of wickedness. If anyone observes this prophecy, he will find that the daily action of their way of life is one and the same thing with their converse with demons.

CHAPTER 32

He confutes the shameful dogmas of those who impiously asserted that every kind of deed must be experienced, that actions are just or unjust by human opinion alone, and that their soul is like the soul of Jesus, indeed sometimes better.

1. And this impious doctrine of theirs concerning deeds, which says that they must be engaged in all works, even any evil ones, will be undone by the Lord's teaching; with whom not only is he who commits adultery cast out, but also he who wishes to commit adultery; and not only will he who kills be liable to condemnation for killing, but also he who is angry with his brother without cause; who also commanded not only not to hate men, but even to love enemies; and enjoined not only not to swear falsely, but not even to swear; and not only not to speak evil of neighbours, but not even to call anyone "Racha" and "fool", otherwise such men are liable to the fire of Gehenna; and not only not to strike, but, when struck, even to offer the other cheek; and

not only not to refuse what belongs to others, but even if one's own things are taken away, not to demand them back; and not only not to harm neighbours, nor to do them any evil, but, when ill treated, to be long-suffering, and to show kindness towards them, and to pray for them, that by repenting they may be saved (Matt 5:21–44); so that we imitate in nothing the insolence, and lust, and pride of the rest. When, then, he whom these men boast of as their master, and who, they say, had a soul much better and stronger than the rest, with great care commanded some things to be done as good and excellent, and to abstain from others, not only from the deeds but even from the thoughts that lead to the deeds, as evil, and harmful, and wicked: how are they not ashamed, calling such a master stronger and better than the rest, and then plainly enjoining the things that are contrary to his teaching? And if there were nothing evil, or again good, but some things were thought unjust and others just by human opinion alone, he would certainly not have said, dogmatising, that is, teaching: But the just will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (Matt 13:43); but the unjust, and those who do not do the works of justice, he will send into the eternal fire, where their worm will not die, and the fire will not be quenched (Matt 25:41; Mark 9:48).

2. Further, saying that they must be in every work and in every way of life, so that, if possible, by accomplishing all things in a single coming into life, they may pass over to the perfect: of the things that pertain to virtue, and are labori-

ous, and glorious, and skilful, which are also approved as good by all, they are by no means found to have attempted to do any. For if one must go through every work and through all action, then first of all they ought to learn all the arts: whichever are carried through either in the reasonings of speech or in works, or are taught by self-restraint and acquired by labour, and practice, and perseverance; such as every kind of music, and of reckoning, and of geometry, and of astronomy, and all the arts that are occupied with the reasonings of speech; and further, the whole of medicine, and the knowledge of herbs, and the arts that have been worked out for human health; and painting, and the fashioning of statues, and the bronzesmith's art, and the marble-worker's, and those like them; and after these every kind of husbandry, and of the care of beasts, and of the shepherd's life, and the craftsmen's arts, which are said to run through all the arts, and the arts that are busied with the sea, and that attend to the body, and those of hunting, and of war, and of kings, and as many as there are, of which, labouring all their life long, they could not learn thoroughly a tenth or a thousandth part. And of these they attempt to learn nothing, they who say that they must be in every work; but they turn aside to pleasures and lust and shameful deeds, being judged by themselves according to their own doctrine. For since they lack all the things that have been named, they will go to the correction of fire. These men, emulating the philosophy of Epicurus and the indifference of the Cynics,

boast of Jesus as their master, who turned his disciples away not only from evil deeds but even from words and thoughts, as we have shown.

3. And though they say that they have souls from the same circuit as Jesus, and that they are like him, and sometimes even better, when they are brought to the works which he did for the profit and the strengthening of men, they are found to accomplish nothing of the kind, nor anything similar, nor anything that could come into comparison in any respect. And even if they do something, working by magic (as we have said), they strive fraudulently to lead astray the senseless, bringing no fruit or profit to those on whom they say they work mighty works; but bringing forward beardless boys, and deluding the eyes, and showing phantasms that cease at once and do not endure even for a drop of time, they are shown to be like, not Jesus our Lord, but Simon Magus. And also from this, that the Lord rose from the dead on the third day (which is certain), and manifested himself to his disciples, and was received into heaven as they looked on: since they themselves die and do not rise again, nor are manifested to anyone, they are convicted of having souls in no way like Jesus'.

4. And if they say that the Lord too did such things through phantasms, we shall lead them back to the prophetic writings and shall demonstrate from them that all things concerning him were both foretold thus and done most firmly, and that he alone is the Son of God. Wherefore also in his name those who are truly his disci-

ples, receiving grace from him, perform works for the benefit of the rest of men, according as each has received the gift from him. For some drive out demons most firmly and truly, so that very often those who have been cleansed of the most wicked spirits themselves believe too, and are in the Church. Others have foreknowledge of things to come, and visions, and prophetic utterances. Others heal those who labour under some infirmity by the laying on of hands, and restore them to health. Indeed, as we have said, even the dead have risen and have remained with us many years. And what then? It is not possible to tell the number of the graces which the Church throughout the whole world, receiving them from God in the name of Christ Jesus, crucified under Pontius Pilate, accomplishes day by day for the help of the nations, neither leading anyone astray nor taking money from him. For as she has received freely from God, freely too does she minister.

5. Nor does she do anything by invocations of angels, nor by incantations, nor by any other wicked curiosity; but directing prayers to the Lord who made all things, cleanly and purely and openly, and calling on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, she works mighty works for the benefit of men, and not for leading them astray. If, then, even now the name of our Lord Jesus Christ bestows benefits, and heals most firmly and truly all who everywhere believe in him, but not that of Simon, nor of Menander, nor of Carpocrates, nor of anyone else whatever: it is plain that, having been made man and having lived with his own

handiwork, he truly did all things by the power of God, according to the good pleasure of the Father of all, as the prophets foretold. And what these things were will be related in the proofs that are drawn from the prophets.

CHAPTER 33

That souls pass from bodies into bodies: an absurd dogma attacked on many grounds.

1. Their transmigration from body to body let us overturn from this, that souls remember nothing at all of the things that were before. For if they were sent forth for this, that they might be in every action, they ought to remember the things that were done before, so that they might fill up what was lacking, and not, turning ever about the same things without a break, labour miserably (for the mingling with the body could not wholly extinguish all their memory and contemplation of the things they had had before), and above all when they come for this very purpose. For as now, when men are asleep and the body is at rest, whatever the soul itself sees within itself and does in a phantasm, remembering many of these things it communicates them to the body; and sometimes even after a very long time a man, when awake, reports whatever he saw in a dream: so too it would certainly remember the things that it did before it came into this body. For if this, which was seen in a very short time, or conceived in a phantasm by the soul alone in a dream, is remembered after it has been mingled with the body and spread through every member: much

more would it remember those things in which it lingered for times so long and for the whole age of its past life.

2. To this Plato, that old Athenian, who was also the first to bring in this opinion, since he could not explain it away, brought in the cup of forgetfulness, thinking by this to escape such an aporia; making no proof, but answering dogmatically that souls entering into this life are given forgetfulness to drink by the daemon who is set over the entrance, before they enter into bodies. And he did not notice that he was falling into another, greater aporia. For if the cup of forgetfulness, once it has been drunk, can blot out the memory of all deeds, how do you know this very thing, O Plato, since your soul is now in the body: that before it entered the body it was given the potion of forgetfulness to drink by the daemon? For if you remember the daemon, and the cup, and the entrance, you ought to know the rest too; but if you are ignorant of those things, then neither is the daemon true, nor the cup of forgetfulness so artfully composed.

3. And against those who say that the body itself is the potion of forgetfulness, this will stand in the way. How, then, does the soul itself remember whatever it sees by itself, both in dreams and in thought, by the intention of the mind, while the body is at rest, and report it to those near it? Nor would the soul, existing in the body, remember even the things that had been known long before, either through the eyes or through hearing, if the body were forgetfulness; but as

soon as the eye was away from the things seen, the memory of them too would certainly be taken away. For the soul, existing in forgetfulness itself, could know nothing else but only what it saw at present. And how would it both learn divine things and remember them while existing in the body, when (as they say) the body itself is forgetfulness? But the prophets themselves too, while they were on earth, whatever they see or hear spiritually in the visions of heavenly things, they too remember when they have returned to being men, and announce it to the rest; and it is not the body that brings about in the soul forgetfulness of the things that were spiritually seen, but the soul teaches the body, and gives it a share in the spiritual vision that was granted to it.

4. For the body is not stronger than the soul, since it is breathed into by it, and quickened, and increased, and articulated; but the soul possesses the body and rules over it. And it is hindered in its swiftness so far as the body shares in its motion; but it does not lose its knowledge. For the body is like an instrument, and the soul holds the place of the craftsman. As, then, the craftsman quickly devises a work within himself, but carries it out more slowly in the instrument, because of the immobility of the thing that lies before him, and the swiftness of his mind, mingled with the slowness of the instrument, produces a tempered work: so too the soul, sharing in its body, is hindered a little, its swiftness being mingled with the slowness of the body; yet it does not wholly lose its powers, but, as it were imparting life to the body,

it does not itself cease to live. So too, sharing the rest with it, it loses neither the knowledge of them nor the memory of the things it has seen.

5. If, then, it remembers none of the things that are past, but receives here the knowledge of the things that are, then it was never at any time in other bodies, nor did it do things which it does not even recognise, nor know things which it does not even see. But as each of us receives his own body through the art of God, so too he has his own soul. For God is not so poor or needy that he would not give to each body its own soul, as also its own stamp. And therefore, when the number is fulfilled which he himself fixed beforehand with himself, all who are written down for life will rise, having their own bodies, and their own souls, and their own spirits, in which they pleased God. But those who are worthy of punishment will go into it, they too having their own souls and their own bodies, in which they withdrew from the goodness of God. And both will then cease to beget and to be begotten, to take a wife and to be given in marriage; so that the multitude of the human race, measured out and fixed beforehand by God, the multitude of the perfected, may keep the Father's framework, or fitting together.

CHAPTER 34

That souls not only remember what they did in the body, but also endure immortal, although they had a beginning.

1. And the Lord taught most fully that souls not only endure, not passing from body to body, but also keep the same stamp of the body to which they are also fitted, and remember the works that they did here and those from which they abstained, in the account that is written of the rich man and of that Lazarus who was refreshed in the bosom of Abraham: in which he says that the rich man knew Lazarus after death, and Abraham likewise, and that each of them remains in his own order, and that he asked that Lazarus be sent to bring him help, Lazarus with whom he did not share even the crumbs from his table; and of the answer of Abraham, who knew not only what concerned himself but also what concerned the rich man, and bade those who would rather not come into that place of punishment to give assent to Moses and the prophets, and to receive the proclamation of him who should rise from the dead (Luke 16:19–31). For by these things it is plainly declared both that souls endure, and that they do not pass from body to body, and that they have the form of a man, so that they are even recognised, and remember the things that are here; and that the prophetic gift too was present with Abraham, and that each kind receives a fitting dwelling, even before the judgement.

2. But if some should say in this place that souls which began to be only a little before cannot endure for a long time, but that they must either be unborn by nature, in order to be immortal, or, if they have received a beginning

of generation, die with the body itself: let them learn that without beginning and without end, truly and always the same, and holding himself in the same way, is God alone, who is Lord of all. And all things that are from him, whatever have been made and are made, receive indeed their own beginning of generation, and by this they are inferior to him who made them, since they are not unbegotten; but they endure and are extended into the length of ages according to the will of God their Maker; so that he grants them thus to come into being at the beginning, and afterwards to be.

3. For as the heaven that is above us, the firmament, and the sun, and the moon, and the other stars, and all their adornments, were made when before they were not, and endure for a long time according to the will of God: so too whoever thinks thus of souls, and of spirits, and in general of all the things that have been made, will by no means err: since all things that have been made have indeed the beginning of their making, but endure as long as God wills them both to be and to endure. The prophetic Spirit too bears witness to these statements, saying: For he spoke, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created (Ps 148:5). He established them for ever, and for ever and ever (Ps 148:6). And again, of the man who is to be saved, he says thus: He asked life of you, and you gave him length of days for ever and ever (Ps 21:5); since the Father of all grants to those who are saved endurance too, for ever and ever. For life is not from us, nor from our nature;

but it is given according to the grace of God. And therefore he who keeps the gift of life, and gives thanks to him who granted it, will receive length of days too, for ever and ever. But he who casts it away, and proves ungrateful to his Maker for having been made, and does not know him who grants it, deprives himself of endurance for ever and ever. And therefore the Lord said to those who were ungrateful towards him: If you have not been faithful in what is little, who will give you what is great? (Luke 16:11), signifying that those who in the little temporal life have proved ungrateful to him who granted it will justly not receive from him length of days for ever and ever.

4. And as the animal body is not itself the soul, but partakes of the soul as long as God wills; so the soul too is not itself life, but partakes of the life granted it by God. Whence also the prophetic word says of the Protoplast: He became a living soul (Gen 2:7); teaching us that it is by participation in life that the soul has become living: so that the soul is understood on its own, and its life on its own. Since God, then, grants life and perpetual endurance, it is possible for souls too, which at first did not exist, thereafter to endure, since God has willed them both to be and to subsist. For the will of God must rule and have dominion in all things, and all the rest must yield to it, and be subject, and be given over to its service. And let this much be said thus far of the making and the endurance of the soul.

CHAPTER 35

He refutes the hypothesis of Basilides, and the error of the Gnostics, who said that the prophets poured out their oracles inspired by different gods.

1. And Basilides himself too, over and above what has been said, will be forced to say, according to his own rule, not only that 365 heavens were made in succession, one from another, but that an immense and innumerable multitude of heavens has always been made, and is being made, and will be made, and that such a building of heavens never fails. For if the second heaven was made from the outflow of the first, after its form, and the third after that of the second, and likewise all the rest that follow: then from the outflow of this one too, which is ours, which he also calls the last, another must have been made like itself, and from that again another; and neither the outflows of those already made nor the makings of the heavens must ever fail, but they must fall into an immeasurable, and not a predetermined, number of heavens.

2. And the rest too, who are called Gnostics by a false name, who say that the prophets made their prophecies from different gods, will easily be destroyed by this, that all the prophets preached one God and Lord, and him the Maker of heaven and earth and of all things that are in them, and that they signified the coming of his Son, as we shall demonstrate from the Scriptures themselves in the following books.

3. But if some, going by the Hebrew language, object the various words set down in the Scrip-

tures, such as Sabaoth, and Eloe, and Adonai, and whatever others there are of the kind, labouring to show from them different Powers and gods, let them learn that all such things are significations and appellations of one and the same. For what is said Eloe, in the Jewish tongue, signifies "God", and Eloe "True", and Elloeuth, in the Hebrew language, signifies "That which contains all things". And what it says, Adonai, sometimes signifies "Nameable" and "Admirable", and sometimes, with the letter delta doubled and with aspiration, as Addhonai, "He who bounds and separates the earth from the water, so that the water may not rise up against it". Likewise Sabaoth too, when it is written with a Greek ω in the last syllable, signifies "Voluntary"; but with a Greek ο, as Sabaoth, it denotes "the first heaven". In the same way Jaωth too, with the last syllable lengthened with aspiration, denotes "a measure fixed beforehand"; but when it is shortened with a Greek ο, as Jaoth, it signifies "him who puts evils to flight". And all the rest belong to one and the same appellation: as in Latin, Lord of powers, and Father of all, and God almighty, and Most High, and Lord of the heavens, and Creator, and Fashioner, and the like; these are not of one and of another, but appellations and titles of one and the same, through which one God and Father is shown, who contains all things and grants to all that they should be.

4. Since, then, the preaching of the apostles, and the teaching of the Lord, and the proclamation of the prophets, and the dictation of the

apostles, and the ministration of the lawgiving are in harmony with what we have said, all of them praising one and the same God, the Father of all, and not one and another, nor one who has his substance from different gods or powers, but all things from one and the same Father (who nevertheless fits them according to the natures of the things that underlie them, and their disposition), and neither from angels nor from some other Power, but from God the Father alone, things visible and invisible, and absolutely all things whatever that have been made: I think it has indeed been sufficiently shown by these things too, so many as they are, once the one God the Father, the Maker of all, has been shown. But lest we be thought to flee the proof that is from the Lord's Scriptures, since the Scriptures themselves proclaim this very thing much more plainly and clearly, at least to those who do not attend to them perversely, we shall, rendering to them a book of its own which follows these Scriptures, set forth in the midst, for all who love the truth, the proofs from the divine Scriptures.

Book III

Preface

You indeed, dearly beloved, had bidden me bring into the open the opinions of those who are from Valentinus, hidden, as they themselves suppose; and show their variety, and set forth a discourse that would destroy them. And we undertook, refuting them from Simon, the father of all heretics, both to make plain their doctrines and successions and to contradict them all: wherefore, since the exposure of them is the work of one book, but their destruction of many, we have sent you books, of which the first contains the opinions of them all, and shows their customs and the stamp of their way of life. In the second, what they wrongly teach has been destroyed and overthrown, and laid bare and shown to be such as it is. In this third we shall bring proofs from the Scriptures, so that nothing of what you had bidden may be wanting to you on our part; but that, beyond what you expected, you may receive from us the means of refuting and overthrowing those who in any way teach wrongly. For the charity that is in God, being rich and without envy, gives more than anyone asks of it. Remember, then, what we said in the two previous books; and, adding these things to them,

you will have from us a most complete contradiction of all the heretics, and you will resist them boldly and most steadfastly for the only true and life-giving faith, which the Church has received from the apostles and distributes to her children. For the Lord of all gave to his apostles the power of the Gospel, through whom we too have known the truth, that is, the teaching of the Son of God; to whom also the Lord said: He who hears you hears me; and he who despises you despises me, and him who sent me (Luke 10:16).

CHAPTER 1

That the apostles did not preach the Gospel, or commit it to writing, before they had been furnished with the gifts and powers of the Holy Spirit. That by them one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, was proclaimed.

1. For we have known the disposition of our salvation through no others than those through whom the Gospel came to us: which they first proclaimed, and afterwards, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be the foundation and pillar of our faith. For it is not right to say that they preached before they had perfect knowledge, as some dare to say, boasting that they are the correctors of the apostles. For after our Lord rose from the dead, and they were clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon them from on high, they were filled with all things and had perfect knowledge; they went out to the ends of the earth, preaching the good news of the good things that come to us from God, and

proclaiming heavenly peace to men, they who both all together and each one of them had the Gospel of God. Thus Matthew published among the Hebrews, in their own language, a writing of the Gospel, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome and founding the Church. And after their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he too handed down to us in writing what had been proclaimed by Peter. And Luke too, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the Gospel that was preached by him. Afterwards John too, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, he too published a Gospel, while he was living at Ephesus in Asia.

2. And all these handed down to us one God, the Maker of heaven and earth, proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God: and if anyone does not assent to them, he despises the companions of the Lord, he despises Christ the Lord himself too, he despises the Father too, and he is condemned by himself, resisting and fighting against his own salvation: which all the heretics do.

CHAPTER 2

That the heretics submit neither to the Scriptures nor to the traditions.

1. For when they are refuted from the Scriptures, they turn to accusing the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not right, nor of authority, and on the ground that they were spoken in various ways, and that the truth cannot be found from them by those who do not know the tradi-

tion. For it was handed down, they say, not by letters but by the living voice: for which reason Paul too, they say, said: But we speak wisdom among the perfect; but a wisdom not of this world (1 Cor 2:6). And each of them says that this wisdom is the one he has devised from himself, a fiction, to be sure, so that, according to them, the truth is fittingly at one time in Valentinus, at another in Marcion, at another in Cerinthus: then afterwards it was in Basilides, or even in that one who disputes against him, who could say nothing saving. For each of them, perverse in every way, is not ashamed to preach himself, depraving the rule of truth.

2. But when we challenge them in turn with that tradition which is from the apostles, which is guarded in the churches through the successions of the presbyters, they oppose the tradition, saying that they, being wiser not only than the presbyters but even than the apostles, have found the unalloyed truth. For the apostles, they say, mixed the things of the Law with the Saviour's words: and not only the apostles, but even the Lord himself spoke his words now from the Demiurge, now from the Midst, and at times from the Height: whereas they themselves know the hidden mystery without doubt, undefiled and unalloyed: which is indeed most shamelessly to blaspheme their own Maker. So it comes about that they no longer agree either with the Scriptures or with the tradition.

3. Against such is our contest, O dearly beloved, who like slippery serpents try to escape

on every side. Wherefore they must be resisted on every side, in the hope that, confounding some of them by blunting them, we may bring them to turn to the truth. For although it is not easy for a soul seized by error to come to its senses, yet it is not altogether impossible to escape error when the truth is set before it.

CHAPTER 3

By the tradition of the apostles, preserved in the churches by the unbroken succession of the bishops appointed by them, he confutes the heretics beyond answer.

1. The tradition of the apostles, then, made manifest in the whole world, is there to be seen in every church by all who wish to see the truth: and we can enumerate those who were appointed bishops by the apostles, and their successors down to us, who taught nothing, and knew nothing, like the ravings of these men. For if the apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they taught to the perfect apart and secretly from the rest, they would have handed them down above all to those to whom they were entrusting the churches themselves. For they wished those whom they were leaving as their successors, handing over to them their own place of teaching, to be very perfect and blameless in all things: for if these acted faultlessly great profit would come of it, but if they fell, the utmost calamity.

2. But since it would be very long, in a volume such as this, to enumerate the successions of all the churches, we put to confusion all those who

in any way, whether through self-pleasing, or vainglory, or through blindness and an evil mind, gather otherwise than they ought, by pointing out the tradition which the greatest and most ancient Church, known to all, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, has from the apostles, and the faith proclaimed to men, which comes down to us through the successions of bishops. For with this Church, by reason of its more powerful preeminence, it is necessary that every Church agree, that is, the faithful who are from everywhere; in which the tradition that is from the apostles has always been preserved by those who are from everywhere.

3. The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, handed over to Linus the episcopate of administering the Church. Paul mentions this Linus in the letters to Timothy. Anacletus succeeds him; after him, in the third place from the apostles, the episcopate falls to Clement, who had both seen the apostles themselves and conferred with them, and who still had the preaching of the apostles ringing in his ears and their tradition before his eyes; and not he alone, for many were still left then who had been taught by the apostles. Under this Clement, then, when no small dissension had arisen among the brothers who were at Corinth, the Church which is at Rome wrote a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, gathering them together into peace, and restoring their faith, and proclaiming the tradition it had lately received from the apostles,

which proclaims one God almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Moulder of man, who brought on the flood and called Abraham, who led the people out of the land of Egypt, who spoke with Moses, who disposed the Law and sent the prophets, who prepared fire for the devil and his angels. That this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is proclaimed by the churches, those who wish can learn from the writing itself, and can understand the apostolic tradition of the Church; for the letter is older than these who now teach falsely and contrive another God above the Demiurge and Maker of all the things that are. To this Clement succeeds Evaristus, and to Evaristus Alexander, and then, the sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed, and after him Telesphorus, who also bore a most glorious martyrdom; and then Hyginus, after him Pius, after whom Anicetus. And when Soter had succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius now holds the episcopate in the twelfth place from the apostles. In this order and by this succession, the tradition that is in the Church from the apostles, and the proclamation of the truth, have come down to us. And this is a most complete proof that it is one and the same life-giving faith which has been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now, and handed down in truth.

4. And Polycarp too, who was not only taught by the apostles and lived with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was also appointed by the apostles in Asia bishop in the church which is at Smyrna, whom we too saw in our early youth (for

he remained a long time, and, very old, departed this life after bearing a most glorious and most noble martyrdom), always taught these things which he had learned from the apostles, which he also handed down to the Church, and which alone are true. To these things all the churches that are in Asia bear witness, and those who have succeeded Polycarp down to this day: a man who is a witness of the truth of much greater authority, and more faithful, than Valentinus and Marcion and the rest, who are of a perverse doctrine. For it was he who, coming to the city under Anicetus, turned many of the heretics we have spoken of to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the apostles this one and only truth, which he also handed down to the Church. And there are those who heard him say that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus inside, rushed out of the bath-house without bathing, saying that he feared the bath-house might fall in, since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was inside. And Polycarp himself, when Marcion once met him and said: "Do you know us?", answered: "I know you, the first-born of Satan." So great was the fear that the apostles and their disciples had, that they would not share even a word with any of those who had adulterated the truth, as Paul too says: A man who is a heretic, after one correction, avoid, knowing that he who is such is perverted, and is condemned by himself (Titus 3:10–11). There is also a most perfect letter of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which

those who wish, and who have a care for their own salvation, can learn both the stamp of his faith and the preaching of the truth. And the church which is at Ephesus too, founded by Paul, and with John remaining among them until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.

CHAPTER 4

That the truth is to be sought from the catholic Church alone, the guardian of the apostolic tradition and teaching. That the heresies are new, and cannot trace their origin to the apostles.

1. Since, then, there are such great proofs, we must not still seek among others the truth which it is easy to take from the Church; since the apostles, as into a rich storehouse, have most fully brought into her all things that are of the truth: so that everyone, whoever will, may take from her the drink of life. For she is the entrance to life; and all the others are thieves and robbers. Wherefore we must avoid them; but love with the utmost diligence what is of the Church, and lay hold of the tradition of the truth. What then? Even if there were a dispute about some small question, would we not have to have recourse to the most ancient churches, in which the apostles lived, and take from them what is certain and clear in the matter of the present question? And what if the apostles had not even left us Scriptures, would it not have been necessary to follow the order of the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they entrusted the churches?

2. To this order assent many nations of barbarians, of those who believe in Christ, having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit without paper and ink, and carefully guarding the ancient tradition; believing in one God, the Fashioner of heaven and earth and of all things that are in them, through Christ Jesus the Son of God. Who, because of his most eminent love for what he had formed, underwent the generation from the Virgin, himself through himself uniting man to God, and suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and was received up in glory, and will come in glory, the Saviour of those who are saved and the Judge of those who are judged, and sending into eternal fire those who transform the truth and despise his Father and his coming. Those who have believed this faith without letters are barbarians as far as our speech goes; but as to doctrine, custom and way of life, they are, because of the faith, most wise, and they please God, living in all justice and chastity and wisdom. If anyone were to proclaim to them what the heretics have devised, speaking to them in their own language, they would at once stop their ears and flee far, far away, not even enduring to hear the blasphemous talk. So, through that ancient tradition of the apostles, they do not admit even into the conception of their mind whatever monstrous talk these men have: for not yet had there been any assembly among them, nor any doctrine established.

3. For before Valentinus there were none of those who are from Valentinus; nor before Mar-

cion were there those who are from Marcion; nor at all did the other malign notions which we enumerated above exist, before the initiators and inventors of their perversity came into being. For Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus; he flourished under Pius, and lasted until Anicetus. And Cerdo, who came before Marcion, he too under Hyginus, who was the eighth bishop, often coming into the Church and making exomologesis, ended thus: now teaching in secret, now making exomologesis, now exposed by some for what he taught wrongly, and he was separated from the assembly of religious men.

And Marcion, succeeding him, grew strong under Anicetus, who held the tenth place of the episcopate. And the others, who are called Gnostics, taking their beginnings from Menander, the disciple of Simon, as we have shown, have each one of them appeared as father and prelate of the doctrine in which he took part. But all these rose up into their apostasy much later, when the times of the Church were already half run.

CHAPTER 5

That Christ and the apostles, without any falsehood, pretence or hypocrisy, and without fitting their teaching to the opinion of their hearers, proclaimed one God, the Father, the Creator of all things.

1. The tradition, then, which is from the apostles, standing thus in the Church and abiding among us, let us return to the proof from the Scriptures of those apostles who wrote the

Gospel, in which they wrote down their doctrine of God, showing that our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth, and that there is no lie in him. As David too, prophesying his generation from the Virgin and his resurrection from the dead, says: Truth has sprung from the earth (Ps 85:12). And the apostles, being disciples of the truth, are outside every lie; for a lie does not share with the truth, as darkness does not share with light; but the presence of the one shuts out the other. Our Lord, then, being the truth, did not lie: and him whom he knew to be the fruit of a defect he would certainly not have confessed as God, and God of all, and supreme King and his own Father, he the perfect, the imperfect; he the spiritual, the animal; he who was in the Pleroma, him who was outside the Pleroma. Nor would his disciples have named any other God, or called any other Lord, than him who was truly God and Lord of all: as these say, who are most vain sophists, that the apostles with hypocrisy framed their teaching according to the capacity of their hearers, and their answers according to the suspicions of those who questioned them, conversing in blind words with the blind according to their blindness, with the sick according to their sickness, and with the erring according to their error; and that to those who thought the Demiurge to be the only God they proclaimed him; but to those who can contain the unnameable Father they made the inexpressible mystery known through parables and riddles: so that, they say, the apostles too delivered their

teaching not as the truth itself has it, but in hypocrisy, and as each one could contain it.

2. But this is not the part of those who heal or give life, but rather of those who aggravate and increase their ignorance: and the Law will be found much truer than these, which says that everyone is accursed who sends the blind man astray on the way. For the apostles, who had been sent to find those who were astray, and to give sight to those who did not see, and healing to the sick, certainly did not speak to them according to their opinion of the moment, but according to the manifestation of the truth. For no men whatever would act rightly if they urged the blind, already about to be carried over a precipice, to keep on that most dangerous road, as if it were truly the right one, and as if they would arrive safely. And what physician, wishing to cure a sick man, would act according to the desires of the sick, and not according to what befits medicine? And that the Lord came as the physician of those who are ill, he himself testifies, saying: It is not the healthy who need a physician, but those who are ill. I did not come to call the just, but sinners to repentance (Luke 5:31–32). How then will those who are ill be made strong? And how will sinners repent? By persevering in those very same things? Or, on the contrary, by undergoing a great change and a passing over from their former way of life, through which they had brought upon themselves no small sickness and many sins? Now ignorance, the mother of all these, is done away by knowledge. Knowledge, then, the Lord imparted

to his disciples, through which he both cured the suffering and restrained sinners from sinning. So he did not speak to them according to their former opinion, nor did he answer according to the suspicion of those who questioned him; but according to the saving teaching, and without hypocrisy, and without respect of persons.

3. This is also shown from the Lord's words: to those who were of the circumcision he showed the Son of God, the one who had been preached by the prophets, the Christ; that is, he manifested himself, who has restored liberty to men and granted the inheritance of incorruption. The nations, again, the apostles taught to forsake vain wood and stones, which they supposed to be gods, and to worship the true God, who had established and made the whole human race, and through his creation nourishes, increases and strengthens it, and grants it being; and to await his Son Jesus Christ, who redeemed us from the apostasy by his blood, so that we too might be a sanctified people, who will come down from heaven in the power of the Father, who will also judge all, and will give the good things that come from God to those who have kept his precepts. He, appearing in the last times, the chief cornerstone, gathered into one and united those who were far off and those who were near, that is, the circumcision and the uncircumcision, enlarging Japheth and establishing him in the house of Shem.

CHAPTER 6

That neither did the Holy Spirit in the scriptures of the Old Testament name any other God and Lord than him who is truly God, that is, the Father and his Son.

1. Neither the Lord, then, nor the Holy Spirit, nor the apostles would ever have named definitively and absolutely as God one who was not God, unless he were truly God; nor would they have called anyone Lord in their own person but him who rules over all, God the Father, and his Son, who received from his Father dominion over the whole creation, as that saying has it: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet (Ps 110:1). For it shows the Father speaking with the Son: who gave him the inheritance of the nations, and subjected all his enemies to him. Since, then, the Father is truly Lord, and the Son is truly Lord, the Holy Spirit rightly marked them with the name of Lord. And again, in the overthrow of the Sodomites, Scripture says: And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah fire and sulphur from the Lord out of heaven (Gen 19:24). For here it signifies that the Son, who had also spoken with Abraham, received from the Father power to judge the Sodomites for their iniquity. In like manner that saying: Your throne, O God, is for ever; the rod of uprightness is the rod of your kingdom. You have loved justice and hated iniquity: therefore God, your God, has anointed you (Ps 45:7–8). For the Spirit marked both with the name of God, both him who is anointed, the Son, and him who anoints, that is, the Father.

And again: God stood in the synagogue of gods, and in the midst he discerns the gods (Ps 82:1). He speaks of the Father and the Son, and of those who have received adoption: and these are the Church. For this is the synagogue of God, which God, that is, the Son himself, gathered through himself. Of whom again he says: The God of gods, the Lord, has spoken, and has called the earth (Ps 50:1). Which God? Him of whom he said: God will come manifestly, our God, and will not keep silence (Ps 50:3); that is, the Son, who came to men in manifestation, who says: I appeared openly to those who do not seek me (Isa 65:1). And of which gods? Those to whom he says: I said: You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High (Ps 82:6); those, namely, who have obtained the grace of adoption, through which we cry: Abba, Father (Rom 8:15).

2. No other, then, as I said before, is named God or called Lord but he who is the God and Lord of all, who also said to Moses: I am who am. And thus you shall say to the sons of Israel: He who is has sent me to you (Exod 3:14); and his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who makes sons of God those who believe in his name. And again, when the Son speaks to Moses: I have come down, he says, to deliver this people (Exod 3:8). For it is he who came down and went up for the salvation of men. Through the Son, then, who is in the Father and has the Father in himself, He who is, God, has been made manifest; the Father bearing witness to the Son, and the Son proclaiming the Father. As Isaiah too says: And I, he says, am witness,

says the Lord God, and the servant whom I have chosen, that you may know and believe and understand that I am (Isa 43:10).

3. But when Scripture names those who are not gods, it does not, as I said before, show them to be gods wholly, but with some addition and signification, through which they are shown not to be gods. As in David: The gods of the nations are idols of demons (Ps 96:5). And: You shall not follow strange gods (Ps 81:10). For by saying the gods of the nations (and the nations do not know the true God), and naming them strange gods, he took away their being gods. And what they are he says of them in his own person: For they are idols, he says, of demons. And Isaiah: Let all be confounded who blaspheme God and carve useless things; and I am witness, says the Lord (Isa 44:9). He took away their being gods; but he uses the name alone, so that we may know of whom he speaks. And Jeremiah says this very thing: The gods, he says, who did not make heaven and earth, let them perish from the earth which is under heaven (Jer 10:11). For by adding their perdition he showed that they are not gods. And Elijah too, when he had called all Israel together on Mount Carmel, wishing to turn them away from idolatry, says to them: How long will you go lame on both your hams? If the Lord God is one, come after him (1 Kgs 18:21). And again, over the holocaust, he says thus to the priests of the idols: You shall call on the name of your gods, and I will call on the name of the Lord my God; and the God who hears today, he is God (1 Kgs 18:24). For

by saying these things the prophet proved that those who were thought gods among them are not gods. And he turned them to that God who was believed in by him, and who was truly God, on whom he called and cried out: Lord, God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob, hear me today: and let all this people understand that you are the God of Israel (1 Kgs 18:36).

4. And so I too call upon you, Lord, God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob and of Israel, who are the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, God who in the multitude of your mercy have been well pleased in us, that we should know you; who made heaven and earth, who rule over all, who are the only and true God, above whom there is no other God: through our Lord Jesus Christ grant also the dominion of the Holy Spirit: grant to everyone who reads this writing to know you, that you alone are God, and to be strengthened in you, and to stand aloof from every heretical, godless and impious doctrine.

5. And the apostle Paul too, saying: For if you served those who were not gods, now knowing God, or rather being known by God (Gal 4:8–9), separated those who were not from him who is God. And again, speaking of the Antichrist: Who opposes and exalts himself, he says, above all that is called God, or that is worshipped (2 Thess 2:4); he signifies those who are called gods by those who do not know God, that is, idols. For the Father of all is called God, and is God: and the Antichrist will not exalt himself above him, but above those who are indeed called gods but

are not gods. And that this is true, Paul himself says: But we know that an idol is nothing, and that there is no God but one. For although there are those who are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth; for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we towards him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him (1 Cor 8:4–6). For he distinguished and separated those who are indeed called gods but are not gods from the one God the Father, from whom are all things; and he confessed most firmly in his own person one Lord Jesus Christ. As for whether in heaven or on earth, he does not mean, as these expound, the fashioners of the world; but it is like what was said by Moses: You shall not make for yourself any likeness for a god, of whatever is in heaven above, and whatever is on earth beneath, and whatever is in the waters under the earth (Deut 5:8). And what the things in heaven are, he himself explains: Lest, he says, looking up to heaven, and seeing the sun and the moon and the stars and all the ornament of heaven, you go astray and worship them and serve them (Deut 4:19). And Moses himself, being a man of God, was indeed given as a god before Pharaoh; but he is not truly called Lord, nor is he called God by the prophets, but he is called by the Spirit Moses, the faithful attendant and servant of God (Heb 3:5; Num 12:7): which he also was.

CHAPTER 7

He answers the objection drawn from Paul's words in 2 Cor 4:4, and proves that the Apostle often uses hyperbata.

1. As for what they say, that Paul said plainly in the second to the Corinthians: In whom the God of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers (2 Cor 4:4); and they say that one God is of this world, and another is he who is above every principality and beginning and power: we are not to blame if these, who say that they know the mysteries that are above God, do not even know how to read Paul. For if anyone, according to Paul's custom, using hyperbata as he does, as we have shown from many places and elsewhere, reads thus: in whom God; then, making a pause and a slight interval, reads the rest together as one, of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, he will find the truth, so that what is said is: God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world. And this is shown by the pause. For Paul does not speak of a God of this world, as if he knew some other above him; but he confessed God as God; and he speaks of the unbelievers of this world, because they shall not inherit the coming world of incorruption. And how God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers we shall show from Paul himself as our discourse proceeds, so as not now to call our mind far away from our purpose.

2. That the Apostle often uses hyperbata, because of the swiftness of his words and because of the impetus of the Spirit that is in him, may be found from many other places. And in the letter

to the Galatians, too, he speaks thus: What then is the law of deeds? It was set, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made, ordained through angels in the hand of a Mediator (Gal 3:19). For the order is this: What then is the law of deeds? Ordained through angels in the hand of a Mediator, it was set until the seed should come to whom the promise was made: so that it is man asking and the Spirit answering. And again in the second to the Thessalonians, speaking of the Antichrist, he says: And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus Christ will slay with the spirit of his mouth, and will destroy by the presence of his coming, him whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and wonders of falsehood (2 Thess 2:8–9). For in these words the order of what is said is this: And then the lawless one will be revealed, whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and wonders of falsehood, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the spirit of his mouth, and will destroy by the presence of his coming. For he does not say that the coming of the Lord takes place according to the working of Satan, but the coming of the lawless one, whom we also call the Antichrist. If, then, anyone does not attend to the reading, and does not mark the intervals for breath in what is said, there will be not only incongruities but even blasphemies, as he reads as though the coming of the Lord took place according to the working of Satan. As, then, in such places the hyperbaton must be shown by the reading, and the sequence

of the Apostle's sense preserved, so there too we do not read "the God of this world", but "God", whom we call truly God; and we shall understand "the unbelieving and blinded of this world", because they shall not inherit the coming world of life.

CHAPTER 8

He answers another objection drawn from Christ's words in Matt 6:24, and shows that God alone, since he lacks beginning and end, can truly be called God and Lord; that all other things, since they were made through his Word, cannot receive the name of God and Lord.

1. This calumny of theirs having been refuted too, then, it has been plainly shown that neither the prophets nor the apostles ever named another God, or called another Lord, than the true and only God. Much more the Lord himself, who bids render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's (Matt 22:21), naming Caesar Caesar, but confessing God as God. In like manner that saying of his: You cannot serve two lords; he himself interprets it, saying: You cannot serve God and Mammon (Matt 6:24), confessing God as God, but naming Mammon as what he also is. He does not call Mammon lord when he says: You cannot serve two lords; but he teaches the disciples, who serve God, not to be subjected to Mammon nor to be ruled by him. For he who commits sin, he says, is the servant of sin (John 8:34). As, then, he calls those who serve sin servants of sin, yet does not call sin itself God, so

too he calls those who serve Mammon servants of Mammon, without calling Mammon God. Now Mammon, in the Jewish speech which the Samaritans also use, is "covetous, and wishing to have more than is fitting" (but in Hebrew it is said with an addition, "Mam"), or it signifies "gluttonous", that is, one who cannot restrain himself from gluttony; according to both, then, of the things signified, we cannot serve God and Mammon.

2. And when he had called the devil strong, not absolutely, but as it were in comparison with us, the Lord showed himself to be strong in all things and truly, saying: No one can plunder the goods of the strong man unless he first binds the strong man himself; and then he will plunder his house (Matt 12:29). (Now we were his goods and his house when we were in apostasy; for he used us as he wished; and an unclean spirit dwelt in us.) For he was not strong against him who was binding him and plundering his house, but against those who were in his use, men; because he had made their mind depart from God. These the Lord delivered, as Jeremiah too says: The Lord has redeemed Jacob, and delivered him from the hand of one stronger than he (Jer 31:11). If, then, he had not signified him who binds and plunders his goods, but had called him only strong, the strong one would be unconquered. But he also added the one who prevails over him: for he who binds holds, and he who is bound is held. And he did this without comparison, so that the servant who is an apostate should not be compared to the Lord: for not only he, but nothing at all of

the things that have been established and are in subjection will be compared to the Word of God, through whom all things were made, who is our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. For that angels, or archangels, or thrones, or dominions were both established and made by him who is God above all, through his Word, John signified thus. For when he had said of the Word of God that he was in the Father, he added: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3). David too, when he had enumerated the praises, naming one by one all the things we have mentioned, both the heavens and all their powers, added: For he commanded, and they were created; he spoke, and they were made (Ps 148:5; 33:9). To whom, then, did he give the command? To the Word, that is: through whom, he says, the heavens were made firm, and all their power by the spirit of his mouth (Ps 33:6). And that he himself made all things freely and as he willed, David says again: But our God is in the heavens above, and on earth: he has made all things whatsoever he willed (Ps 115:3). But the things that were established are other than him who established them, and the things that were made other than him who made them. For he himself is unmade, without beginning and without end, needing nothing, sufficient to himself, and moreover granting to all the rest this very thing, that they are; but the things that have been made by him have taken a beginning. And whatever has taken a beginning can also receive dissolution, and is subject, and needs him

who made it; it is altogether necessary that such things should have a different term even among those who have even a little sense in discerning such matters: so that he who made all things should, together with his Word, justly be called God and Lord alone; but the things that have been made should not be partakers of the same term, nor justly take that term which belongs to the Creator.

CHAPTER 9

That one and the same God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who was preached by the prophets, was also proclaimed by the evangelists. This is proved first from the Gospel of Matthew.

1. This having been plainly shown, then (and it will be shown yet more clearly), that neither the prophets, nor the apostles, nor the Lord Christ confessed in their own person any other Lord or God, but chiefly God and Lord: the prophets and apostles confessing the Father and the Son, but naming no other as God nor confessing any other as Lord; and the Lord himself handing down to his disciples the Father alone as God and Lord, him who alone is God and ruler of all; we must follow, if indeed we are their disciples, their testimonies, which stand thus. For Matthew the apostle, knowing one and the same God, who made the promise to Abraham that he would make his seed as the stars of heaven, who through his Son Christ Jesus called us from the worship of stones to the knowledge of himself, so that what was not a people should become a

people, and she who was not beloved, beloved (Rom 9:25), says that John, preparing the way for Christ, said to those who gloried in their kinship according to the flesh, but had an understanding fickle and full of all wickedness, proclaiming that repentance which calls back from wickedness: Offspring of vipers, who showed you how to flee from the wrath to come? Bear, then, fruit worthy of repentance. And do not say within yourselves: We have Abraham as our father; for I say to you that God is able from these stones to raise up sons to Abraham (Matt 3:7–9). He proclaimed to them, then, the repentance that turns from wickedness; but he did not announce another God than him who had made the promise to Abraham, he, the forerunner of Christ; of whom Matthew says again, and Luke likewise: For this is he who was spoken of by the Lord through the prophet: The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall become straight, and the rough ways plain: and all flesh shall see the saving power of God (Matt 3:3; Luke 3:4–6). There is, then, one and the same God, the Father of our Lord, who also promised through the prophets that he would send the Forerunner; and his saving power, that is, his Word, he caused to become visible to all flesh, he too being incarnate, that he might become manifest in all things as their king. For the things that are judged had to see the judge, and to know him by whom they are judged; and

the things that attain glory had to know him who gives them the gift of glory.

2. And again, speaking of the angel, Matthew says: An angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in sleep (Matt 1:20). Of which Lord, he himself interprets: That what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled: Out of Egypt I have called my Son (Matt 2:15). Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which means, God with us (Matt 1:23; Isa 7:14). Of him who is Emmanuel from the Virgin David said: Do not turn away the face of your Christ. The Lord has sworn truth to David, and will not spurn him: of the fruit of your womb I will set upon your throne (Ps 132:10–11). And again: God is known in Judaea, and his place has been made in peace, and his dwelling in Zion (Ps 76:2–3). One and the same God, then, who was preached by the prophets and proclaimed by the Gospel, and his Son, who is of the fruit of David's womb, that is, of the Virgin of David, and Emmanuel: whose star Balaam prophesied thus: A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a leader shall arise in Israel (Num 24:17). And Matthew says that the Magi, coming from the East, said: For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him (Matt 2:2); and that, led by the star into the house of Jacob, to Emmanuel, they showed by the gifts they offered who it was that was worshipped: myrrh, because it was he who would die and be buried for the mortal human race; gold, because he is a King of whose kingdom there is no end

(Luke 1:33); and frankincense, because he is God, who also has been made known in Judaea, and manifest to those who did not seek him.

3. Again, Matthew says at the baptism: The heavens were opened to him, and he saw the Spirit of God coming upon him like a dove. And behold a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased (Matt 3:16–17). For it was not Christ who then came down upon Jesus; nor is Christ one and Jesus another; but the Word of God, who is the Saviour of all and ruler of heaven and earth, who is Jesus (as we have shown before), who also assumed flesh and was anointed by the Father with the Spirit, became Jesus Christ; as Isaiah too says: A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up from his root, and the Spirit of God shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit of the fear of God shall fill him. He shall not judge according to glory, nor reprove according to speech; but he shall do judgement for the lowly, and reprove the glorious of the earth (Isa 11:1–4). And again Isaiah himself, foreshowing his anointing and why he was anointed, says: The Spirit of God is upon me, for which reason he has anointed me; he has sent me to bring the good news to the lowly, to heal the broken in heart, to proclaim remission to captives and sight to the blind, to call the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of recompense, to console all who mourn (Isa 61:1–2). For in so far as the Word of God was

man, of the root of Jesse and son of Abraham, in that respect the Spirit of God rested upon him, and he was anointed to bring the good news to the lowly. But in so far as he was God, he did not judge according to glory, nor reprove according to speech: For he had no need that anyone should bear witness of man, since he himself knew what was in man (John 2:25). And he called to himself all men who mourn, and, granting remission to those who had been led into captivity by their sins, he loosed them from the bonds of which Solomon says: But each one is bound fast with the cords of his own sins (Prov 5:22). The Spirit of God, then, came down upon him, the Spirit of him who had promised through the prophets that he would anoint him, so that we, receiving from the abundance of his anointing, might be saved. So much for Matthew.

CHAPTER 10

Arguments from the Gospels of Luke and Mark.

1. And Luke, the follower and disciple of the apostles, telling of Zechariah and Elizabeth, from whom John was born according to the promise of God, says: And they were both just before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord without blame (Luke 1:6). And again, speaking of Zechariah: And it came to pass, while he was exercising the priesthood in the order of his course before God, according to the custom of the priesthood, that his lot came out to put the incense, and he came to sacrifice,

entering into the temple of the Lord (Luke 1:8–9). He who stands in the presence of the Lord: simply, absolutely and firmly confessing in his own person as God and Lord him who chose Jerusalem and made the lawgiving of the priesthood, whose angel too Gabriel is. For he knew no other above him: for if he had had an understanding of some more perfect God and Lord besides him, he would certainly not have confessed absolutely and wholly as Lord and God him whom he knew to be the fruit of a defect, as we have shown before. And speaking of John he says thus: For he will be great in the presence of the Lord, and he will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God, and he will go before in his presence, in the spirit and power of Elijah, to prepare for the Lord a perfect people (Luke 1:15–17). For whom, then, did he prepare a people, and in the presence of which Lord was he made great?

Surely of him who said: John had something even more than a prophet, and among those born of women there is none greater than John the Baptist (Matt 11:9, 11): who also prepared the people for the coming of the Lord, foretelling it to his fellow servants and proclaiming repentance to them, so that they might receive remission from the Lord when he was present, being turned to him from whom they had been estranged by sins and transgression; as David too says: Sinners have been estranged from the womb; they have gone astray from the belly (Ps 58:4). And for this reason, turning them to their Lord, he prepared

for the Lord a perfect people, in the spirit and power of Elijah.

2. And again, telling of the angel, he says: And in that very time the angel Gabriel was sent from God, who also said to the Virgin: Do not fear, Mary, for you have found grace with God (Luke 1:26, 30). And of the Lord he says: He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God shall give him the throne of David his father, and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end (Luke 1:32–33). And who else is it that reigns in the house of Jacob without interruption for ever, but Christ Jesus our Lord, the Son of God Most High, who through the Law and the Prophets promised that he would make his saving power visible to all flesh, that he might become Son of Man, so that man too might become a son of God? For which reason Mary too, exulting, cried out, prophesying on behalf of the Church: My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in my saving God. For he has taken to himself Israel his servant, to remember mercy: as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever (Luke 1:46–47, 54–55).

Through these things, then, and so many more, the Gospel shows that the God who spoke to the fathers is he who through Moses made the giving of the Law, through which giving of the Law we know that he spoke to the fathers. This same God, according to his great goodness, poured out his mercy upon us, in which mercy the Dawn from on high has looked upon us, and has

appeared to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death, and has directed our feet into the way of peace (Luke 1:78–79); as Zechariah too, ceasing to be mute, which he had suffered because of his unbelief, newly filled with the Spirit, blessed God in a new way. For all things that were present were new, the Word disposing in a new way his carnal coming, that he might enrol with God that man who had gone away from God: for which reason they were also taught to worship God in a new way; but not another God, since indeed one is God, who justifies the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith (Rom 3:30).

And Zechariah, prophesying, said: Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, because he has visited and made redemption for his people. And he has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his servant. As he spoke through the mouth of his holy prophets, who are from of old. Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all who hate us. To show mercy to our fathers, and to remember his holy testament. The oath which he swore to Abraham our father, to grant us that, delivered from the hand of the enemies, we might serve him without fear in holiness and justice before him all our days (Luke 1:68–75). Then he says to John: And you, child, will be called prophet of the Most High: for you will go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways. To give understanding of salvation to his people, for the remission of their sins (Luke 1:76–77). For this is the knowledge of salvation which they

lacked, which is that of the Son of God, which John imparted, saying: Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world. This was he of whom I said: After me comes a man who was made before me, because he was before me; and of his fullness we have all received (John 1:29–30, 15–16). This, then, is the knowledge of salvation; but not another God, nor another Father, nor Bythus, nor the Pleroma of thirty Aeons, nor the Mother of the Ogdoad: but the knowledge of salvation was the knowledge of the Son of God, who both is called and truly is salvation, and Saviour, and saving power. Salvation, thus: For your salvation I have awaited you, O Lord (Gen 49:18). Saviour, again: Behold my God, my Saviour; I will trust in him (Isa 12:2). And saving power, thus: God has made known his saving power in the sight of the nations (Ps 98:2). For he is Saviour, because he is the Son and Word of God; saving power, because he is Spirit: The Spirit, he says, of our face, Christ the Lord (Lam 4:20); salvation, because he is flesh: For the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14). This knowledge of salvation, then, John imparted to those who repented and believed in the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.

4. There appeared also to the shepherds, he says, an angel of the Lord, proclaiming joy to them, that there has been born in the house of David a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord. Then a multitude of the heavenly army, praising God and saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will (Luke 2:9–14).

These angels, the falsifying Gnostics say, came from the Ogdoad and made manifest the descent of the upper Christ. But they fall again when they say that he who is above, Christ and Saviour, was not born, but that after the baptism of him who is of the disposition, Jesus, he descended upon him like a dove. The angels of the Ogdoad, then, lie, according to them, when they say: For there has been born to you today a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David (Luke 2:11). For according to them neither Christ nor the Saviour was born then; but that Jesus who is of the disposition, who belongs to the fashioner of the world, into whom, they say, the Saviour from above descended after the baptism, that is, after thirty years.

And why did they add in the city of David, if not to announce as good news that the promise made by God to David, that of the fruit of his womb there would be an eternal king, had been fulfilled? For the Fashioner of the whole universe had made the promise to David, as David himself says: My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth (Ps 121:2). And again: In his hand are the ends of the earth, and the heights of the mountains are his. For the sea is his, and he made it, and his hands founded the dry land. Come, let us worship and fall down before him, and weep in the presence of the Lord who made us, for he is the Lord our God (Ps 95:4–7). The Holy Spirit declaring plainly through David to those who hear him that there will be those who despise him who moulded us, who alone is God. For which reason

he also said what was foretold, signifying: Do not go astray; besides him, or above him, there is no other God to whom one ought rather to attend; preparing us to be religious and grateful towards him who made and established us and nourishes us. What, then, will become of those who have devised so much blasphemy against their own Maker? And the angels say this same thing. For in saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace (Luke 2:14), they glorified with these words him who is the Maker of the highest, that is, of the things above the heavens, and the Creator of all the things that are upon the earth: who sent from heaven to his handiwork, that is, to men, his kindness of salvation. For which reason also the shepherds, he says, returned, glorifying God for all that they had heard and seen, as it had been told them (Luke 2:20). For the Israelite shepherds did not glorify another God, but him who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, the Maker of all things, whom the angels too glorified. But if the angels who were from the Ogdoad glorified one, and the shepherds another, then those angels who were from the Ogdoad brought them error and not truth.

5. Again, Luke says of the Lord: When the days of purification were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord, as it is written in the Law of the Lord: Every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord; and to offer a sacrifice, according to what is said in the Law of the Lord, a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons (Luke 2:22–24); in

his own person most plainly calling Lord him who made the lawgiving. And Simeon, he says, blessed God and said: Now you dismiss your servant, Lord, in peace: for my eyes have seen your saving power, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples; a light for the revelation of the nations, and the glory of your people Israel (Luke 2:28–32). And Anna too, the prophetess, he says, likewise glorified God when she saw the Christ; and she spoke of him to all who were awaiting the redemption of Jerusalem (Luke 2:36, 38). Through all these things, then, one God is demonstrated, opening to men a new disposition of liberty through the new coming of his Son.

6. Wherefore Mark too, the interpreter and follower of Peter, made the beginning of his written Gospel thus: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as it is written in the Prophets: Behold, I send my angel before your face, who will prepare your way. The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths before our God (Mark 1:1–3). He says plainly that the voices of the holy prophets are the beginning of the Gospel; and he points out beforehand that he whom they confessed as Lord and God is this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who also promised him that he would send his angel before his face; who was John, crying in the desert in the spirit and power of Elijah: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths before our God. For the prophets did not proclaim one God and then another, but one and the same, though under

various significations and many names: for rich and manifold is the Father, as we have shown in the book before this one; and we shall show it from the prophets themselves as our discourse proceeds. And at the end of the Gospel Mark says: And so the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was received up into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God (Mark 16:19); confirming what was said by the Prophet: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet (Ps 110:1). Thus one and the same is God and Father, who was proclaimed by the prophets and handed down by the Gospel, whom we Christians worship and love with all our heart, the Maker of heaven and earth and of all things that are in them.

CHAPTER 11

He proves from the Gospel of John the same that he has already proved from the other three. Then he concludes that the Gospels are four, neither more nor fewer, and gives the mystical reasons of this number.

1. John, the disciple of the Lord, proclaiming this faith, and wishing by the proclamation of the Gospel to take away the error which had been sown among men by Cerinthus, and much earlier by those who are called Nicolaitans, who are an offshoot of the knowledge falsely so called (1 Tim 6:20), so as to confound them and persuade them that there is one God, who made all things through his Word; and not, as they say, that one is the fashioner and another the Father of the

Lord; and that one is the son of the fashioner and another, from those above, Christ, who, they say, also remained impassible, descending upon Jesus the son of the fashioner, and flew back again into his own Pleroma; and that the Beginning is Monogenes, but Logos the true son of the Only-begotten; and that this creation which is ours was made not by the first God, but by some Power lying very far below, and cut off from fellowship with the things that are invisible and unnameable. The disciple of the Lord, then, wishing to cancel all such things, and to establish in the Church the rule of truth, that there is one God almighty, who made all things through his Word, both visible and invisible; signifying also that through the Word, through whom God perfected the creation, in him too he granted salvation to men, those who are in the creation; began thus in the teaching that is according to the Gospel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: he was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made. What was made, in him was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. All things, he says, were made through him (John 1:1–5). In all things, then, is this creation too which is ours: for it will not be granted to them that the things below their Pleroma are called all things. For if their Pleroma contains these things too, this so great creation is not outside, as we have shown in the book

before this one; but if these things are outside the Pleroma, which indeed has been seen to be impossible, their Pleroma is no longer all things: so this so great creation is not outside.

2. And John himself took away all disputes from us, saying: He was in this world, and the world was made through him, and the world did not know him. He came to his own things, and his own did not receive him (John 1:10–11). But according to Marcion and those who are like him, neither was the world made through him, nor did he come to his own things, but to things not his own. And according to some of the Gnostics, this world was made by angels, and not through the Word of God. And according to those who are from Valentinus, again, it was not made through him, but through the Demiurge. For he, as they say, was at work that such likenesses should come to be, in imitation of the things that are above; but the Demiurge accomplished the fashioning of the creation. For they say that he was emitted by the Mother as Lord, and as Demiurge of that disposition which is according to the creation, through whom they will have it that this world was made: whereas the Gospel says plainly that all things were made through the Word, which was in the beginning with God: which Word, he says, was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14).

3. But according to them, neither was the Word made flesh, nor Christ, nor the Saviour who was made from all. For they will have it that the Word and Christ did not even come into this

world; and that the Saviour was not incarnate nor suffered, but descended like a dove upon that Jesus who had been made of the disposition, and, having proclaimed the unknown Father, went up again into the Pleroma. Some say that it was he who is of the disposition, Jesus, who was incarnate and suffered, who they say passed through Mary like water through a tube; others, that it was the son of the Demiurge, upon whom that Jesus who is of the disposition descended; others again say that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, and that upon him descended the Christ who is from those above, being without flesh and impassible. But according to no doctrine of the heretics was the Word of God made flesh. For if anyone searches out the rules of them all, he will find that the Word of God, and the Christ who is in the regions above, is brought in by all of them as without flesh and impassible. For some think that he was manifested as a man transfigured, but they say that he was neither born nor incarnate; and others, that he did not even take the figure of man, but descended like a dove upon that Jesus who was born of Mary. Showing them all, then, to be false witnesses, the disciple of the Lord says: And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14).

4. And so that we may not inquire of which God the Word was made flesh, he himself teaches us besides, saying: There was a man sent from God, whose name was John: he came for witness, to bear witness to the light. He was not himself the light, but came to bear witness to the light

(John 1:6–8). John the Forerunner, then, who bears witness to the light, by which God was he sent? Surely by him whose angel Gabriel is, who also announced the good news of his generation: who also promised through the prophets that he would send his angel before the face of his Son, and that he would prepare his way, that is, bear witness to the light, in the spirit and power of Elijah. And Elijah, again, whose servant and prophet was he? Of him who made heaven and earth, as he himself also confesses. Sent, then, by the Creator and Fashioner of this world, how could John bear witness to that light which descended from the things that are unnameable and invisible? For all the heretics have decreed that the Demiurge did not know that Power which is above him, of which John is found to be the witness and the one who shows it. For this reason the Lord said that he had more than a prophet. For all the other prophets proclaimed the coming of the Father's light, and desired to be worthy to see him whom they preached; but John both foretold it, as the others did, and saw him when he came, and pointed him out, and persuaded many to believe in him, so that he himself held the place both of prophets and of apostles. For this is more than a prophet; since first apostles, secondly prophets (1 Cor 12:28); but all things from one and the same God himself.

5. For good too was that wine which was made by God in the vineyard through creation, and was drunk first. For none of those who drank it found fault with it; and the Lord too took of it:

but better was the wine that was made through the Word, in brief and simply, out of water, for the use of those who had been invited to the wedding. For although the Lord could, without anything underlying from the things that belong to creation, have supplied wine to the banqueters and filled the hungry with food, he did not do so: but, taking the loaves that came from the earth and giving thanks, and again making water wine, he satisfied those who were reclining and gave drink to those who were invited to the wedding: showing that the God who made the earth and commanded it to bear fruit, and established the waters and brought forth the springs, he it is who in the last times grants to the human race, through his Son, the blessing of food and the grace of drink, the incomprehensible through the comprehensible, and the invisible through the visible; since he is not outside him, but exists in the bosom of the Father.

6. For no one, he says, has ever seen God, except the only-begotten Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father; he has made him known (John 1:18). For the Father, who is invisible, he who is in his bosom, the Son, makes known to all. For this reason they know him to whom the Son has revealed him: and again the Father, through the Son, gives the knowledge of his Son to those who love him. Learning from him, Nathanael too came to know, to whom the Lord also bore witness that he is a true Israelite, in whom there is no guile (John 1:47). The Israelite recognised his king, and said to him: Rabbi, you are the Son

of God, you are the king of Israel (John 1:49). Taught by him, Peter too knew Christ, the Son of the living God, by him who says: Behold my most beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: I will put my Spirit upon him, and he will proclaim judgement to the nations. He will not contend, nor cry out, nor will anyone hear his voice in the streets: a bruised reed he will not break, and smoking flax he will not quench, until he sends forth judgement into the contest; and in his name the nations will hope (Matt 12:18–21).

7. And these are the beginnings of the Gospel, proclaiming one God, the Fashioner of this universe, him who was also proclaimed through the prophets, and who through Moses made the disposition of the Law, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and knowing no other God besides him, nor another Father. And so great is the firmness concerning these Gospels that the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and each of them, setting out from them, tries to confirm his own doctrine. For the Ebionites, using only the Gospel that is according to Matthew, are refuted from that very one, as not presuming rightly about the Lord. And Marcion, cutting down that which is according to Luke, is shown from what is still preserved by him to be a blasphemer against the only existing God. And those who separate Jesus from Christ, and say that Christ remained impassible but that Jesus suffered, preferring the Gospel that is according to Mark, can be corrected if they read it with a love of the truth. And those who are from Valentinus, using that which is according to John

most fully for the proof of their pairings, will be exposed from it as saying nothing rightly, as we have shown in the first book. Since, then, those who contradict us bear witness to us and use these, our proof from them is firm and true.

8. But it is not possible that the Gospels should be more in number than these are, nor again fewer. For since there are four regions of the world in which we are, and four principal winds, and the Church is scattered over all the earth, and the pillar and foundation of the Church is the Gospel and the Spirit of life; it follows that she has four pillars, breathing incorruptibility from every side and giving life to men. From which it is plain that the Word, the Craftsman of all things, who sits upon the cherubim and contains all things, having been manifested to men, gave us the fourfold Gospel, which is held together by one Spirit. As David too, asking for his coming, says: You who sit upon the cherubim, appear (Ps 80:2). For the cherubim are fourfold, and their forms are images of the disposition of the Son of God. For the first living creature, he says, is like a lion, signifying what is effective, princely and royal in him; the second like a calf, signifying his sacrificial and priestly order; the third having a face as of a man, plainly describing his coming according to man; the fourth like a flying eagle, making manifest the grace of the Spirit flying down upon the Church (Rev 4:7).

And the Gospels, then, are in harmony with these, on which Christ Jesus is seated. For one tells of his princely, effective and glorious gener-

ation from the Father, saying thus: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God (John 1:1); and: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3). For this reason too this Gospel is full of all boldness; for such is its face. That which is according to Luke, since it is of a priestly stamp, began with Zechariah the priest sacrificing to God. For already the fatted calf was being made ready, which was to be slain for the finding of the younger son. And Matthew tells of his generation according to man: The book, he says, of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham (Matt 1:1). And again: Now the generation of Christ was thus (Matt 1:18). This Gospel, then, is of human form: for this reason too, throughout the whole Gospel, he is kept a man lowly of mind and meek. And Mark made his beginning from the prophetic Spirit coming upon men from on high: The beginning, he says, of the Gospel, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet (Mark 1:1–2), showing the winged and feathered image of the Gospel: for this reason too he made his proclamation brief and running ahead: for this is the prophetic stamp.

And the Word of God himself spoke with the patriarchs who were before Moses according to his divinity and glory; for those who were under the Law he provided a priestly and ministerial action; and afterwards, having been made man for us, he sent the gift of the heavenly Spirit into all the earth, protecting us with his wings. Such, then, as is the disposition of the Son of God, such

also is the form of the living creatures; and such as is the form of the living creatures, such also is the stamp of the Gospel. Fourfold are the living creatures, and fourfold is the Gospel, and fourfold the disposition of the Lord. And for this reason four testaments were given to the human race: one before the flood, under Adam; the second after the flood, under Noah; the third, the lawgiving, under Moses; and the fourth, which renews man and recapitulates all things in itself, which is through the Gospel, raising men and giving them wings for the heavenly kingdom.

9. These things being so, then, vain are all those, and unlearned, and audacious besides, who set aside the form of the Gospel, and bring in either more faces of the Gospel than have been named, or again fewer: some, that they may seem to have devised more than there is of the truth; others, that they may reject the dispositions of God. For Marcion, rejecting the whole Gospel, or rather truly cutting himself off from the Gospel, boasts all the same that he has the Gospel; and others, so as to reject the gift of the Spirit, which in the last times was poured out upon the human race according to the good pleasure of the Father, do not admit that form which is according to John's Gospel, in which the Lord promised that he would send the Paraclete; but they reject at once both the Gospel and the prophetic Spirit. Wretched indeed are those who would be false prophets, but drive the prophetic grace away from the Church: suffering the like of those who, because of those who come in hypocrisy, abstain

even from fellowship with the brothers. And it is given us to understand that men of this kind do not receive the apostle Paul either. For in the Epistle which is to the Corinthians he spoke carefully of the prophetic charisms, and he knows men and women prophesying in the Church. Sinning, then, through all these things against the Spirit of God, they fall into the unforgivable sin. And those who are from Valentinus, again, being outside all fear, putting forward their own writings, boast that they have more than the Gospels themselves are. Indeed, they have gone so far in audacity as to entitle what was written by them not long ago the Gospel of Truth, though it agrees in nothing with the Gospels of the apostles, so that not even the Gospel is among them without blasphemy. For if what is brought forward by them is the Gospel of Truth, and this is unlike those which have been handed down by the apostles, those who wish can learn, as is shown from the Scriptures themselves, that what has been handed down by the apostles is no longer the Gospel of Truth. But that these alone are true and firm, and that it is not possible that the Gospels should be more than those mentioned before, nor fewer, we have shown by so many and such great proofs. For since God made all things well ordered and fitted, the form of the Gospel too had to be well composed and well fitted together. Having examined, then, the doctrine of those who handed down the Gospel to us, from their very beginnings, let us come also to the other apostles, and search out their doctrine about

God; and after that let us hear the very words of the Lord.

CHAPTER 12

What the teaching of the other apostles is.

1. Peter the apostle, then, after the resurrection of the Lord and his taking up into heaven, wishing to make up the number of the twelve apostles and to choose another in place of Judas, one chosen by God, from among those who were present, said: Men, brothers, this Scripture had to be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit foretold by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who became the leader of those who seized Jesus, for he was numbered among us: Let his dwelling be desolate, and let there be no one to dwell in it; and let another take his bishopric (Acts 1:16–17, 20; Ps 69:26; 109:8): so completing the number of the apostles according to what had been said by David. Again, when the Holy Spirit had come down upon the disciples, so that they all prophesied and spoke in tongues, and some mocked them as men drunk with new wine, Peter said that they were not drunk, since it was the third hour of the day, but that this was what had been spoken through the prophet: It shall be in the last days, says the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy (Acts 2:17; Joel 3:1). God, then, who promised through the prophet that he would send his Spirit upon the human race, is the one who also sent it; and it is God himself whom Peter proclaims as having fulfilled his own promise.

2. For Peter says: Men of Israel, hear my words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by God among you by mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did through him in your midst, as you yourselves know: this man, delivered up by the fixed counsel and foreknowledge of God, you fastened up by the hands of the wicked and killed; whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of hell, because it was not possible for him to be held by them (Acts 2:22–24). For David says of him: I foresaw the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand, that I may not be moved. Therefore my heart was glad and my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh also shall rest in hope. For you will not leave my soul in hell, nor give your holy one to see corruption (Acts 2:25–27; Ps 16:8–10). Then again he speaks boldly to them of the patriarch David, that he died and was buried, and that his tomb is among them to this day. But being a prophet, he says, and knowing that God had sworn to him with an oath that of the fruit of his womb one should sit upon his throne, he spoke with foresight of the resurrection of Christ, that he was not left in hell, nor did his flesh see corruption (Acts 2:30–31; Ps 132:11). This Jesus, he says, God raised up, and of him we are all witnesses: being exalted by the right hand of God, and receiving from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this gift which you now see and hear (Acts 2:32–33). For David did not ascend into heaven; but he himself says: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your

feet (Acts 2:34–35; Ps 110:1). Let all the house of Israel, therefore, know most surely that God has made this Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ (Acts 2:36). When, then, the crowds had said: What then shall we do? (Acts 2:37) Peter said to them: Repent, and let each one of you be baptised in the name of Jesus for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38). Thus the apostles did not proclaim another God, nor another Fullness; nor one Christ who suffered and rose again and another who flew up on high and remained impassible; but one and the same God the Father, and Christ Jesus, who rose from the dead; and they proclaimed faith in him to those who did not believe in the Son of God; and from the prophets they urged on them that the one whom God had promised to send as the Christ he had sent: Jesus, whom they themselves crucified, whom God raised up.

3. Again, when Peter, together with John, had seen the man who was lame from birth sitting before the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful and asking for alms, he said to him: Silver and gold I have none; but what I have, this I give you: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise and walk. And at once his steps and his soles were made firm, and he walked, and went into the temple with them, walking and leaping and glorifying God (Acts 3:6–8).

When the whole multitude had gathered to them because of the unexpected deed, Peter said to them: Men of Israel, why do you wonder at

this, and why do you gaze at us, as though by our own power we had made this man walk? (Acts 3:12) The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, the God of our fathers, has glorified his Son, whom you indeed delivered up to judgement and denied before the face of Pilate, when he wished to release him. But you oppressed the holy and just one, and asked that a murderer be granted to you; and you killed the prince of life, whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses. And by faith in his name, his name has made strong this man whom you see and know, and the faith which is through him has given him this soundness in the presence of you all (Acts 3:13–16). And now, brothers, I know that you did evil in ignorance. But the things which God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he has fulfilled. Repent therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, and that times of refreshment may come to you from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send you Jesus Christ, who has been prepared for you, whom heaven must indeed receive until the times of the disposition of all things, which God spoke through his holy prophets (Acts 3:17–21). Moses indeed says to our fathers: The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your brothers, like me; him you shall hear in all things whatever he shall say to you (Acts 3:22; Deut 18:15). And it shall be: Every soul that does not hear that prophet shall perish from among the people (Acts 3:23). And all from Samuel onwards, as many as

have spoken, have also proclaimed these days (Acts 3:24). You are the sons of the prophets, and of the testament which God disposed for our fathers, saying to Abraham: And in your seed all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed (Acts 3:25; Gen 22:18). To you first God, raising up his Son, has sent him to bless you, that each one may turn from his wickedness (Acts 3:26). Peter, then, with John, proclaimed to them an open proclamation, bringing them the good news that the promise which God made to the fathers had been fulfilled through Jesus: not announcing another God, but the Son of God, who was also made man and suffered, and leading Israel into knowledge; announcing too the resurrection from the dead in Jesus, and signifying that all that the prophets had announced concerning the Passion of Christ, God had fulfilled.

4. For this reason, when the chief priests had again been called together, Peter said boldly to them: Rulers of the people and elders of Israel, if we are being called to account by you today for a good deed done to a sick man, by which this man has been made whole, be it known to all of you and to all the people of Israel that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, by him this man stands here before you whole (Acts 4:8–10). This is the stone rejected by you, the builders, which has become the head of the corner (Acts 4:11; Ps 118:22). And there is no other name under heaven given to men in which we must be saved (Acts 4:12). Thus the apostles did not change God, but

proclaimed to the people that the Christ was Jesus who was crucified, whom God raised up. The same God who sent the prophets raised him up, and gave salvation in him to men.

5. Confounded, then, both by the healing (for the man, says the Scripture, on whom the sign of healing had been done was more than forty years old (Acts 4:22)) and by the teaching of the apostles and their exposition of the prophets, the chief priests released Peter and John; and when these had returned to the rest of their fellow apostles and to the disciples of the Lord, that is, into the church, and had related what had been done and how boldly they had acted in the name of Jesus, hearing it, he says, the whole church with one accord lifted up their voice to God and said: Lord, you are the God who made heaven and earth and the sea and all that is in them, who through the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of David our father, your servant, said: Why did the nations rage, and the peoples devise vain things? (Acts 4:24–25; Ps 2:1) The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ (Acts 4:26; Ps 2:2). For truly there gathered together in this city against your holy Son Jesus, whom you anointed, Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the nations and the peoples of Israel, to do whatever your hand and your will had predestined to be done (Acts 4:27–28). These are the voices of the church from which every church has had its beginning; these are the voices of the great city, of the citizens of the New Testament; these are the voices of the

apostles, these the voices of the disciples of the Lord, of those who after the taking up of the Lord were made perfect through the Spirit, and called upon God, who made heaven and earth and the sea, who was proclaimed through the prophets, and upon his Son Jesus, whom God anointed, knowing no other. For Valentinus was not there then, nor Marcion, nor the rest, subverters of themselves and of those who agree with them. Therefore God, the Maker of all things, also heard them. For the place, he says, in which they were gathered was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spoke the word of God with boldness (Acts 4:31) to everyone who wished to believe. For with great power, he says, the apostles gave testimony to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (Acts 4:33), saying to them: The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you seized and killed, hanging him on a tree. Him God exalted with his glory as Prince and Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and the remission of sins; and we are witnesses in him of these words, and so is the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who believe in him (Acts 5:30–32). And every day, he says, in the temple and at home they did not cease teaching and proclaiming the good news of Christ Jesus (Acts 5:42), the Son of God. For this was the knowledge of salvation, which makes perfect towards God those who know the coming of his Son.

6. But since some of them impudently say: "When the apostles proclaimed among the Jews, they could not announce to them another God

besides the one in whom they had believed", we say to them that, if the apostles spoke to men according to the opinion long implanted in them, no one learned the truth from them, and much less from the Lord; for they say that he too spoke in this way. So neither do these men themselves know the truth; but since their mind about God was such, they received the teaching as they were able to hear it. By this reasoning, then, the rule of truth will be with no one, but all disciples will lay it to the account of all, that as each one thought and as each one could contain it, so the word was spoken to him. And the coming of the Lord will appear superfluous and useless, if indeed he came to allow and to preserve the opinion about God long implanted in each one. Moreover, it was a far harder thing to proclaim that the man whom the Jews had seen and fastened to the cross was the Christ, the Son of God, their eternal king. So they did not speak to them according to their former opinion. For those who told them to their face that they were the murderers of the Lord would much more boldly have proclaimed to them too the Father who is above the Demiurge, and not what each one thought; and the sin would have been much less, if indeed they had not fastened to the cross a higher Saviour, to whom they ought to ascend, since he was impassible. For just as they did not speak to the nations according to their opinion, but told them with boldness that their gods were not gods but idols of demons, so in like manner they would have proclaimed to the Jews also, if they had

known another, greater and more perfect Father, not nourishing or increasing their untrue opinion about God. And when they dissolved the error of the heathen and took them away from their gods, they certainly did not bring in another error for them; but, taking away those who were not gods, they showed him who alone was God and the true Father.

7. From the words of Peter, then, which he spoke at Caesarea to Cornelius the centurion and to the Gentiles who were with him, to whom the word of God was first declared, we are to learn what the apostles proclaimed, what their preaching was, and what doctrine they held concerning God. For this Cornelius, he says, was devout and feared God with all his house, and gave many alms to the people, and prayed to God always. So about the ninth hour of the day he saw an angel of God coming in to him and saying: Your alms have gone up for a remembrance in the sight of God. Therefore send to Simon, who is called Peter (Acts 10:2–5). When Peter had seen the vision in which the heavenly voice answered him: What God has cleansed, do not call common (Acts 10:15), this was so because the God who through the Law had distinguished between clean and unclean, the God whom Cornelius also worshipped, is the one who cleansed the nations through the blood of his Son. Coming to him, Peter said: In truth I have found that God is not a respecter of persons, but in every nation whoever fears him and works justice is acceptable to him (Acts 10:34–35). He signified plainly that the God whom Cornelius

had feared before, of whom he had heard through the Law and the Prophets, for whose sake he also gave alms, is in truth God. But he lacked knowledge. That is why he added: You know the word that went through all Judaea: for, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power; he went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem; whom they killed, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised up on the third day, and granted that he should be made manifest, not to all the people, but to witnesses predestined by God, to us, who ate and drank with him after the resurrection from the dead. And he commanded us to proclaim to the people and to testify that he is the one predestined by God as judge of the living and the dead. To him all the prophets bear witness, that everyone who believes in him receives remission of sins through his name (Acts 10:37–43).

The apostles, then, proclaimed the Son of God, whom men did not know, and his coming, to those who had already been instructed about God; but they did not bring in another God. For if Peter had known any such thing, he would freely have preached to the nations that the God of the Jews was one and the God of the Christians another; and they, all terrified as they were by the vision of the angel, would have believed whatever he told them. From Peter's words, however,

it is plain that he kept to the God known to them beforehand; but he testified to them that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, the judge of the living and the dead, into whom he also commanded them to be baptised for the remission of sins; and not only this, but he testified that Jesus himself was the Son of God, who, having also been anointed with the Holy Spirit, is called Jesus Christ. And he is the same who was born of Mary, as Peter's testimony contains. Or did Peter not yet have, at that time, the perfect knowledge which these men devised afterwards? So, according to them, Peter was imperfect, and imperfect too were the rest of the apostles; and they will have to come back to life and become disciples of these men, so that they too may be made perfect. But this is laughable. These men are proved to be disciples not of the apostles but of their own evil doctrine. And for this reason each of them has his own various doctrines, each taking in error as he was able to contain it. But the Church throughout the whole world, having its firm beginning from the apostles, perseveres in one and the same doctrine concerning God and his Son.

8. Philip, again: whom did he proclaim to the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians, as he was returning from Jerusalem and reading the prophet Isaiah, he alone to him alone? Was it not him of whom the prophet said: Like a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is without voice, so he did not open his mouth? But who shall tell his birth? For his life shall be taken away from the earth (Acts 8:32–

33; Isa 53:7–8). That this was Jesus, and that the Scripture had been fulfilled in him: as the eunuch himself, believing and at once asking to be baptised, said: I believe that Jesus is the Son of God (Acts 8:37). He was also sent into the regions of Ethiopia to preach what he himself had believed: that there is one God, preached by the prophets, and that his Son had made his coming according to man, and was led like a sheep to the slaughter, and all the other things that the prophets say of him.

9. Paul too, after the Lord had spoken to him from heaven and shown him that in persecuting his disciples he was persecuting his own Lord, and had sent Ananias to him that he might see again and be baptised: In the synagogues at Damascus, he says, he preached Jesus with all boldness, that he is the Christ, the Son of God (Acts 9:20). This is the mystery which he says was made manifest to him by revelation: that he who suffered under Pontius Pilate is the Lord of all, and King, and God, and judge, receiving power from him who is the God of all, because he was made subject even to death, and that the death of the cross (Phil 2:8).

And because this is true, when he was bringing the good news to the Athenians on the Areopagus, where, the Jews not being present, he was free to preach the true God with boldness, he said to them: God, who made the world and all that is in it, being the Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples made by hands, nor is he handled by human hands as though he needed

anything, since he himself has given to all life and breath and has made all things; who made of one blood the whole race of men to dwell upon the face of all the earth, fixing beforehand the times according to the bounds of their dwelling, that they should seek the divine, if in any way they might handle it or find it, though indeed it is not far from each one of us; for in him we live and move and are; and as some among you have said: For we are also his offspring. Being, then, the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the divine is like gold or silver or stone, shaped by the art or the desire of man. God, then, overlooking the times of ignorance, now commands all men everywhere to repent towards him, because he has appointed a day for the world to be judged in justice, in the man Jesus, in whom he has established faith, raising him from the dead (Acts 17:24–31). In this place he not only proclaims to them God, the Maker of the world, the Jews not being present, but also that he made the one human race to dwell upon all the earth, as Moses too says: When the Most High divided the nations, as he scattered the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God (Deut 32:8); but that the people which believes God is no longer under the power of angels but under the Lord's: For the portion of the Lord has become his people Jacob, Israel the line of his inheritance (Deut 32:9).

And again, when Paul was at Lystra in Lycia with Barnabas, and had made a man lame from birth walk in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,

and the crowd wished to honour them as gods because of the wonderful deed, he said to them: We are men like you, bringing you the good news of God, that you may turn from these vain idols to the living God, who made heaven and earth and the sea and all that is in them; who in past times allowed all the nations to go their own ways, though he did not leave himself without testimony, doing good, giving you rains from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness (Acts 14:15–17). And that all his epistles are in harmony with these proclamations of his, we show from the epistles themselves in the fitting place, when we expound the Apostle. And as we labour together with these proofs which are from the Scriptures, and proclaim briefly and concisely things that have been said in many ways, do you too give heed to them with long-suffering, and do not think it long-winded: understanding this, that the proofs which are in the Scriptures cannot be shown except from the Scriptures themselves.

10. Stephen, again, who was chosen by the apostles as the first deacon, who also was the first of all men to follow in the footsteps of the martyrdom of the Lord, the first to be killed for confessing Christ, speaking boldly among the people and teaching them, saying: The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, and said to him: Go out from your land and from your kindred, and come into the land which I will show you; and he removed him into this land, in which you too now dwell, and he gave him no inheritance

in it, not even a footstep; but he promised to give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him. And God spoke to him thus: that his seed would be a sojourner in a foreign land, and they would be brought into bondage and afflicted for four hundred years; and the nation which they serve I will judge, says the Lord. And afterwards they will come out and serve me in this place. And he gave him the testament of circumcision; and so he begot Isaac (Acts 7:2–8). And the rest of his words proclaim the same God, who was with Joseph and with the patriarchs, who also spoke with Moses.

11. And that the whole teaching of the apostles proclaimed one and the same God, who removed Abraham, who made him the promise of the inheritance, who gave the testament of circumcision at the fitting time, who called his seed out of Egypt, preserved plainly through circumcision (for he gave it as a sign, that they might not be like the Egyptians); that this is the Maker of all things, this the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, this the God of glory: those who wish can learn it from the very words and Acts of the apostles, and can see that this is the one God, above whom there is no other. But even if there were another God above this one, we should say, by way of comparison and more than was needed: This one is better than that one. For the better is shown by his works, as we have also said before; and since they have no work of their Father to show, this one alone is shown to be God. But if anyone, sick about questions (1 Tim 6:4), thinks that what the

apostles said about God must be allegorised, let him examine our discourses above, in which we have shown one God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and have destroyed and laid bare what they say; and he will find them in harmony with the teaching of the apostles, and that it stands as they taught and were persuaded, that God, the Fashioner of all things, is one; and when he has driven from his mind so great an error and the blasphemy against God, he will also find the reason by himself, knowing both the Law according to Moses and the grace of the New Testament, both fitted to their times, bestowed by one and the same God for the profit of the human race.

12. For all who are of evil doctrine, put off by the lawgiving which is according to Moses, and thinking it unlike and contrary to the teaching of the Gospel, have not turned to inquire into the causes of the difference between the two Testaments. Since, then, they have been forsaken by the Father's love and puffed up by Satan, they have turned to the doctrine of Simon Magus, have departed in their opinions from him who is God, and have thought that they themselves had found out more than the apostles, devising another God. And the apostles, they say, proclaimed the Gospel while still thinking the things of the Jews; but they themselves are purer and wiser than the apostles. Hence Marcion too, and those who are from him, have turned to cutting up the Scriptures, rejecting some of them altogether, and, curtailing the Gospel according to Luke and the Epistles of Paul, they say that these alone are

legitimate, which they themselves have diminished. But we shall refute them, God granting, from the very things which are still kept among them, in another writing. All the rest, puffed up by the false name of knowledge, confess the Scriptures indeed, but turn their interpretations aside, as we have shown in the first book. And those who are from Marcion blaspheme the Fashioner outright, calling him the maker of evils, though the premise of their own beginning is more tolerable, since they say that there are two gods by nature, distant from each other, the one good and the other evil; but those who are from Valentinus, using more honourable names, and setting forth the one who is the Fashioner as Father and Lord and God, hold a premise, or a sect, more blasphemous, saying that he was emitted not by any of the Aeons within the Fullness, but from that defect which was cast out of the Pleroma. All this has come upon them from ignorance of the Scriptures and of the disposition of God. We shall set out, in what is to follow, both the cause of the difference between the Testaments and, again, their unity and harmony.

13. And that both the apostles and their disciples taught as the Church preaches, and that, teaching so, they were perfect, for which reason they were also called out to perfection: Stephen, teaching these things while he was still upon earth, saw the glory of God and Jesus at the right hand, and said: Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55–56). He said this and was stoned,

and so fulfilled the perfect teaching, imitating in all things the master of martyrdom, and praying for those who were killing him, and saying: Lord, do not lay this sin against them (Acts 7:60). Thus were they perfect who knew one and the same God, standing by the human race from the beginning to the end through various dispositions; as the prophet Hosea says: I have fulfilled visions, and by the hands of the prophets I have been represented (Hos 12:11). How, then, could those who gave up their lives even to death for the Gospel of Christ speak to men according to the opinion implanted in them? Had they done that very thing, they would not have suffered; but because they preached things contrary to those who did not assent to the truth, for that reason they suffered. It is plain, then, that they did not forsake the truth, but preached with all boldness to Jews and to Greeks: to the Jews, that Jesus, who had been crucified by them, is the Son of God, the judge of the living and the dead, and that he has received from the Father an eternal kingdom in Israel, as we have shown; to the Greeks, proclaiming one God who made all things, and his Son Jesus Christ.

14. And this is shown still more manifestly from the letter of the apostles, which they sent neither to the Jews nor to the Greeks, but to those from the nations who believed in Christ, to confirm their faith. For when certain men had come down from Judaea to Antioch, where too, first of all, the disciples of the Lord were called Christians because of the faith which they

had in Christ, and were urging those who had believed in the Lord to be circumcised and to perform the rest according to the observance of the Law; and when Paul and Barnabas had gone up to Jerusalem to the other apostles because of this question, and the whole church had come together, Peter said to them: Men, brothers, you know that from days of old God made choice among you, that by my mouth the nations should hear the word of the Gospel and believe; and God, who looks into the heart, bore witness to them, giving them the Holy Spirit as he did to us, and made no distinction between us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith. Now therefore why do you tempt God, by placing on the neck of the disciples a yoke which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we can be saved, in the same way as they (Acts 15:7–11).

After him James said: Men, brothers, Simon has related how God devised to take from the nations a people for his name. And so the words of the prophets agree, as it is written: After this I will return, and I will rebuild the tabernacle of David which has fallen, and I will build up its ruins, and I will raise it up, so that the rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the nations upon whom my name has been called, says the Lord, who does these things (Amos 9:11–12). His work is known to God from of old; therefore I for my part judge that those from the nations who turn to God are not to be troubled, but that they are to be commanded to abstain from the vanities of

idols, and from fornication, and from blood; and whatever they do not wish to be done to themselves, let them not do to others (Acts 15:13–20). And when these things had been said and all had agreed, they wrote to them thus: The apostles and the presbyters, brothers, to the brothers from the nations who are in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting. Since we have heard that some who went out from us have troubled you with words, unsettling your souls, though we gave them no command, saying: Be circumcised and keep the Law; it has seemed good to us, having come together, to send chosen men to you with our dearly beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who have given up their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have therefore sent Judas and Silas, who will themselves also announce our mind to you by word of mouth. For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay on you no greater burden than these things, which are necessary: that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from fornication; and whatever you do not wish to be done to you, do not do to others: if you keep yourselves from these, you will do well, walking in the Holy Spirit (Acts 15:23–29). It is plain, then, from all these things, that they did not teach that there was another Father, but gave the New Testament of liberty to those who were believing in God in a new way through the Holy Spirit. And by the very fact that they asked whether the disciples still ought to be circumcised or not, they themselves

showed plainly that they had no conception of another God.

15. Otherwise they would not have had such fear concerning the first Testament as not to wish even to eat with the heathen. For Peter too, although he had been sent to instruct them and had been struck with fear by so great a vision, nevertheless spoke to them with much fear, saying: You yourselves know that it is not right for a Jewish man to join himself or to come together with one of another race; but God has shown me to call no man common or unclean; wherefore I came without objecting (Acts 10:28–29), signifying by these words that he would not have gone to them had he not been commanded. So likewise he would not even have given baptism readily, had he not heard them prophesying when the Holy Spirit had rested upon them. And for this reason he said: Can anyone forbid water for baptising these, who have received the Holy Spirit as we also have? (Acts 10:47) He was at once persuading those who were with him and signifying that, had the Holy Spirit not rested upon them, there would have been someone to keep them from baptism.

But the apostles who were with James allowed the nations to act freely, yielding us to the Spirit of God. They themselves, however, knowing the same God, persevered in their former observances; so much so that Peter too, fearing to be blamed by them, though he had been eating with the nations before, because of the vision and because of the Spirit who had rested upon them,

yet, when certain men had come from James, separated himself and did not eat with them. And Paul says that Barnabas did this very thing as well (Gal 2:12–13). Thus the apostles, whom the Lord made witnesses of every deed and of every teaching (for everywhere Peter and James and John are found present with him), acted scrupulously with regard to the disposition of the Law which is according to Moses, signifying that it is from one and the same God. This they certainly would not have done, according to what we have said before, if they had learned from the Lord another father besides him who made the disposition of the Law.

CHAPTER 13

Against those who say that of the apostles Paul alone knew the truth.

1. As for those who say that Paul alone knew the truth, to whom the mystery was made manifest by revelation, let Paul himself convict them, when he says that one and the same God worked both in Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision and in himself for the nations (Gal 2:8). Peter, then, was the apostle of the very same God as Paul; and the God whom Peter proclaimed among the circumcision, and the Son of God, these Paul too proclaimed among the nations. For our Lord did not come to save Paul alone; nor is God so poor as to have only one apostle who knew the disposition of his Son. And Paul too, when he says: How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good news of good things, who bring good

news of peace! (Rom 10:15) made it clear that not one but many were those who brought the good news of the truth. And again, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, after first naming all who saw God after the resurrection, he added: Whether it was I or they, so we proclaim, and so you believed (1 Cor 15:11), confessing one and the same preaching of all those who saw God after the resurrection from the dead.

2. And the Lord too answered Philip, who wished to see the Father: Have I been with you so long a time, and you have not known me? Philip, he who sees me sees the Father also. How do you say: Show us the Father? For I am in the Father and the Father in me, and from now on you have known him and have seen him (John 14:7, 9–10). Those, then, to whom the Lord bore witness that they had both known and seen the Father in him (and the Father is truth): to say that these did not know the truth belongs to men who bear false witness and who are estranged from the teaching of Christ. For why did the Lord send the twelve apostles to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt 10:6), if they did not know the truth? And how did the seventy preach, unless they themselves had first known the power of the preaching? Or how could Peter be ignorant, to whom the Lord bore witness that flesh and blood had not revealed it to him, but the Father who is in heaven (Matt 16:17)? Just as, then, Paul is an apostle not from men nor through man, but through Jesus and God the Father (Gal 1:1): the

Son leading them to the Father, and the Father revealing the Son to them.

3. And that Paul complied with those who called him to the apostles about the question, and went up to them with Barnabas to Jerusalem, not without cause, but so that the liberty of the Gentiles might be confirmed by them, he himself says in the Epistle to the Galatians: Then after fourteen years I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up according to a revelation, and laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the nations (Gal 2:1–2). And again he says: For an hour we yielded to subjection, that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you (Gal 2:5). If anyone, then, examines carefully from the Acts of the apostles the time of which it is written: I went up to Jerusalem, on account of the question mentioned, he will find that the years mentioned by Paul agree. So the proclamation of Paul and the testimony of Luke concerning the apostles are in harmony and, as it were, the same.

CHAPTER 14

If Paul had known any more hidden mysteries than the others, Luke, his constant companion and the sharer and partaker of his labours, could not have been ignorant of them; nor could the truth have been hidden from him through whom alone we know many, and those most necessary, chapters of the Gospel history.

1. And that this Luke was inseparable from Paul and his fellow worker in the Gospel, he

himself makes manifest, not boasting, but drawn forth by the truth itself. For, he says, when Barnabas and John who was called Mark had parted from Paul and had sailed to Cyprus, we came to Troas; and when Paul had seen in a dream a man of Macedonia, saying: Come into Macedonia and help us, Paul; at once, he says, we sought to set out for Macedonia, understanding that the Lord had called us to bring them the good news. Sailing, then, from Troas, we set our course for Samothrace (Acts 16:8–11); and after that he carefully records all the rest of their journey as far as Philippi, and how they spoke their first discourse: For, sitting down, he says, we spoke to the women who had come together (Acts 16:13); and who believed, and how many. And again he says: But we sailed from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came to Troas, where we stayed seven days (Acts 20:6). And he relates all the rest in order with Paul, showing with all care the places and the cities and the number of days, until they went up to Jerusalem; and what befell Paul there, how he was sent bound to Rome, and the name of the centurion who took charge of him, and the figureheads of the ships, and how they suffered shipwreck, and on what island they were saved, and how they received kindness there, when Paul healed the chief man of that island, and how from there they sailed to Puteoli, and from there came to Rome, and how long they stayed at Rome. Since Luke was present at all these things, he wrote them down carefully, so that he cannot be found to be either a liar or

boastful, because all these things are established, and he is earlier than all who now teach otherwise, and is not ignorant of the truth. That he was not only a follower but also a fellow worker of the apostles, and above all of Paul, Paul himself also made manifest in his epistles, saying: Demas has forsaken me and gone to Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia; Luke alone is with me (2 Tim 4:10–11). From this he shows that Luke was always joined to him and inseparable from him. And again, in the Epistle to the Colossians, he says: Luke, the beloved physician, greets you (Col 4:14). Now if Luke, who always preached with Paul, and was called beloved by him, and brought the good news with him, and was entrusted with handing on the Gospel to us, learned nothing else from him, as has been shown from his words, how do these men, who were never joined to Paul, boast that they have learned hidden and inexpressible mysteries?

2. And that Paul simply taught what he knew, not only to those who were with him but to all who heard him, he himself makes manifest. For having called together at Miletus the bishops and presbyters who were from Ephesus and from the other neighbouring cities, since he was hastening to keep Pentecost at Jerusalem, testifying many things to them and saying what must befall him at Jerusalem, he added: I know that you will see my face no more; I testify to you therefore this day that I am clean of the blood of all. For I have not held back from proclaiming to you the whole counsel of God. Take heed, then, to your-

selves and to the whole flock, over which the Holy Spirit has set you as bishops, to rule the Church of the Lord, which he has established for himself through his own blood (Acts 20:25–28). Then, pointing to the evil teachers to come, he said: I know that after my departure grievous wolves will come among you, not sparing the flock. And from among your own selves men will arise speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them. I have not held back, he says, from proclaiming to you the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:29–30, 27). Thus the apostles, simply and grudging no one, handed on to all what they themselves had learned from the Lord. Thus, then, Luke too, grudging no one, handed on to us what he had learned from them, as he himself testifies when he says: As they handed them on to us who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word (Luke 1:2).

3. But if anyone rejects Luke, as though he had not known the truth, he will plainly be casting away the Gospel of which he deigns to be a disciple. For through him we have known very many things of the Gospel, and those more necessary, such as the birth of John, and the story of Zechariah, and the coming of the angel to Mary, and the exclamation of Elizabeth, and the descent of the angels to the shepherds and what was said by them, and the testimony of Anna and Simeon concerning Christ, and that at twelve years of age he was left behind in Jerusalem, and the baptism of John, and at what age the Lord was baptised, and that it was in the fifteenth

year of Tiberius Caesar. And in his teaching, what was said to the rich: Woe to you, rich, for you receive your consolation; and: Woe to you who are full, for you shall hunger; and you who laugh now, for you shall weep; and: Woe to you when all men bless you. For so did your fathers also to the false prophets (Luke 6:24–26); and all things of this kind we have known through Luke alone; and through him we have learned very many acts of the Lord, which all also use: such as the multitude of fishes which those who were with Peter enclosed when the Lord bade them let down the nets; and the woman who had suffered for eighteen years and was healed on the Sabbath day; and the man with dropsy, whom the Lord healed on the Sabbath day, and how he argued about his having healed on that day; and how he taught the disciples not to seek the first places at table; and that one ought to invite the poor and the weak, who have nothing to repay.

And the one who knocks at night to get loaves, and gets them because of his persistent importunity; and that, as he reclined at table in the house of a Pharisee, a sinful woman kissed his feet and anointed them with ointment, and all that the Lord said to Simon because of her about the two debtors; and the parable of that rich man who stored up what had grown for him, to whom it was also said: This night they will demand your soul of you; and what you have prepared, whose will it be? (Luke 12:20); and likewise that of the rich man who was clothed in purple and feasted splendidly, and of the poor man Lazarus; and

the answer he gave to his disciples when they said to him: Increase our faith (Luke 17:5); and the conversation he had with Zacchaeus the tax collector; and the Pharisee and the tax collector who were praying together in the temple. And the ten lepers, whom he cleansed together on the way; and that he ordered the lame and the one-eyed to be gathered from the lanes and the streets to the wedding; and the parable of the judge who did not fear God, whom the widow's persistence made avenge her. And the fig tree which was in the vineyard and bore no fruit. And there are many other things which can be found to have been said by Luke alone, which both Marcion and Valentinus use. And above all these, what he said to his disciples on the road after the resurrection, and how they knew him in the breaking of the bread.

4. They must therefore either receive the rest of what he has said as well, or renounce these things too. For those who have understanding do not grant them to receive some of the things said by Luke as being of the truth, and to reject others as though he had not known the truth. And if those who are from Marcion reject them, they will not have the Gospel (for, curtailing the one according to Luke, as we said before, they boast that they have the Gospel); and those who are from Valentinus will cease from most of their empty talk (for from it they have taken many occasions for their subtle talk, daring to interpret badly what has been well said by it); but if they are compelled to accept the rest as well, giving

heed to the complete Gospel and to the teaching of the apostles, they must repent, that they may be saved from the danger.

CHAPTER 15

He censures the Ebionites, who belittled Paul's authority, and confirms it from the writings of Luke, which must be accepted entire and whole. Then, having rebuked the hypocrisy, the wiles and the pride of the Gnostics, he concludes from what has been said so far that the apostles and their disciples knew and preached the one God, the Creator of the world.

1. And we say the same again to those who do not acknowledge Paul as an apostle: that they must either renounce the other words of the Gospel which have come to our knowledge through Luke alone, and not use them; or, if they receive them all, they are under necessity to receive also the testimony which concerns Paul, when he himself says that first the Lord spoke to him from heaven: Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? I am Jesus Christ, whom you persecute (Acts 9:4–5); and then that he said to Ananias concerning him: Go, for this man is a vessel of election to me, to carry my name among the nations and kings and the sons of Israel. For I will show him, from himself, how much he must suffer for my name (Acts 9:15–16). Those, then, who do not receive him who was chosen by God for this, to carry his name boldly, and that he was sent to the nations of which we have spoken, despise the election of the Lord and cut themselves

off from the company of the apostles. For they cannot contend that Paul is not an apostle, since he was chosen for this; nor can they show that Luke is a liar, when he proclaims the truth to us with all diligence. Perhaps it was for this very reason that God brought it about that very many things of the Gospel were shown through Luke, which all would be obliged to use: so that all, following his later testimony concerning the acts and the teaching of the apostles, and holding the rule of truth unadulterated, might be saved. His testimony, therefore, is true, and the teaching of the apostles manifest and firm, holding nothing back, for they did not teach some things in secret and others in the open.

2. For this is the scheme of dissemblers, of those who wickedly lead astray, and of hypocrites, as those who are from Valentinus do. For these men speak to the multitude on account of those who are from the Church, whom they themselves call "common churchmen", and bring in discourses by which they catch the simpler and entice them, imitating our manner of treatment, so that they may listen more often; they even complain of us that, though they think as we do, we keep away from fellowship with them without cause, and that, though they say the same things and hold the same doctrine, we call them heretics; and when they have thrown some down from the faith by the questions which they raise, and have made their hearers no longer gainsay them, to these apart they tell the inexpressible mystery of their Fullness. But all are deceived

who think they can distinguish from the truth what is plausible in words. For error is persuasive and plausible, and seeks out disguises; but truth is without disguise, and for this reason it has been entrusted to children. And if any of those who listen to them asks for answers, or contradicts them, they declare that he is one who does not contain the truth and does not have the seed from above from their Mother, and say nothing at all to him, saying that he is of the middle sort, that is, of the psychics. But if anyone, like a little sheep, gives himself up to them, and by imitating them has obtained their redemption too, such a man is puffed up, and thinks he is neither in heaven nor on earth, but has entered within the Pleroma and already embraced his angel; he struts about with a foreman's swagger and a lofty brow, with the haughtiness of a cock. And there are some among them who say that the man who comes from above ought to attain a good way of life; for this reason they also feign gravity with a certain lofty brow. But most of them, having become contemptuous, as though already perfect, living without reverence and in contempt, call themselves spiritual, and say that they already know the place of refreshment which is within their Pleroma.

3. But let us return to the same treatise. For since it has been plainly declared that those who were the preachers of the truth and the apostles of liberty called no other God, nor named any other Lord, but the only true God the Father and his Word, who holds the first place in all things, it

will have been plainly shown that they confessed the Maker of heaven and earth, who spoke with Moses and gave him the disposition of the Law, who called together the fathers, as Lord God, and knew no other. Thus the doctrine of the apostles and of their disciples concerning God has been made manifest from their own words.

CHAPTER 16

From the writings of the apostles he demonstrates that Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, true God and true man, is one and the same.

1. Since, however, there are those who say that Jesus was the receptacle of Christ, and that Christ descended upon him from above as a dove, and that, when he had made known the Unnameable Father, he entered incomprehensibly and invisibly into the Pleroma (for, they say, he was apprehended not only by no man, but not even by the Authorities and Powers that are in heaven); and that Jesus is the Son, but Christ the Father, and the Father of Christ, God; others, again, that he suffered in seeming, being by nature impassible; while those who are from Valentinus say that Jesus, the one who is of the disposition, is the very one who passed through Mary, and that upon him descended that Saviour from above, who is also called Christ because he had the names of all those who had emitted him; and that he shared with the one of the disposition something of his own power and of his own name, so that through him death might be made void, and the Father be known through that Saviour who had

descended from above, whom they also say to be himself the receptacle of Christ and of the whole Fullness: confessing one Christ Jesus with the tongue, but divided in mind (for this is their rule, as we said before, that they say that one is Christ, who was sent ahead by the Only-begotten for the correction of the Fullness; that another is the Saviour, sent for the glorification of the Father; and another the one of the disposition, who, they say, also suffered, while the Saviour, who bore Christ, went back into the Pleroma): we find it necessary to bring forward the whole doctrine of the apostles concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and to show that not only did they think nothing of the kind about him, but that they even pointed out beforehand, through the Holy Spirit, those who were to teach such things, sent in secretly by Satan to overturn the faith of some and to draw them away from life.

2. And that John knew one and the same Word of God, and that he is the Only-begotten, and that he became incarnate for our salvation, Jesus Christ our Lord, we have sufficiently shown from John's own discourse. But Matthew too, acknowledging one and the same Jesus Christ, and setting forth his generation according to man from the Virgin, as God promised David that from the fruit of his womb he would raise up an eternal King, having made the same promise to Abraham long before, says: The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham (Matt 1:1). Then, to free our mind from the suspicion concerning Joseph, he says: Now the generation

of Christ was thus. When his mother had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18). Then, when Joseph was minded to put Mary away, since she was with child, there was the angel of God standing by him and saying: Do not fear to take Mary your wife: for what she has in her womb is of the Holy Spirit. And she will bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus: for he will save his people from their sins. Now this was done that what was said by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled: Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is, God with us (Matt 1:20–23; Isa 7:14); plainly signifying both that the promise made to the fathers was fulfilled, that the Son of God was born of a virgin, and that he himself is the Saviour Christ whom the prophets preached: not, as they say, that Jesus is the one who was born of Mary, but Christ the one who descended from above. Matthew, indeed, could have said: "Now the generation of Jesus was thus"; but the Holy Spirit, foreseeing the corrupters and guarding beforehand against their deceit, says through Matthew: Now the generation of Christ was thus (Matt 1:18); and that this is Emmanuel, lest perhaps we should think him only a man (for not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God, the Word was made flesh (John 1:13–14)), or suspect that Jesus was one and Christ another, but that we should know him to be one and the same.

3. Paul interpreted this very thing, writing to the Romans: Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, predestined for the Gospel of God, which he promised through his prophets in the holy Scriptures concerning his Son, who was made to him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined Son of God in power, through the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom 1:1–4). And again, writing to the Romans about Israel, he says: Whose are the fathers, and from whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all, blessed for ever (Rom 9:5). And again in the Epistle to the Galatians he says: But when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the Law, that he might redeem those who were under the Law, that we might receive adoption (Gal 4:4–5); plainly signifying one God, who made the promise of the Son through the prophets; and one Jesus Christ our Lord, who is of the seed of David according to that generation which is from Mary; that this one was destined Son of God, Jesus Christ, in power according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead, that he might be the firstborn of the dead, as he is also the firstborn in all creation; the Son of God made Son of Man, that through him we might receive adoption, man bearing, and containing, and embracing the Son of God. For this reason Mark too says: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as it is written in the prophets (Mark 1:1–2); knowing one and the same Son of God, Jesus Christ, who

was proclaimed by the prophets, who from the fruit of David's womb is Emmanuel, the messenger of the great counsel of the Father (Isa 9:5), through whom God made the Dawn and the Just One rise for the house of David, and raised up for him a horn of salvation, and raised up a testimony in Jacob, as David says, discoursing on the causes of his generation, and set a law in Israel, that another generation might know it: the sons who shall be born of them, and they themselves, rising up, shall tell it to their sons, that they may set their hope in God and seek out his precepts (Ps 78:5–7). And again the angel, bringing the good news to Mary, says: He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord shall give him the throne of David his father (Luke 1:32); confessing that he who is the Son of the Most High is this same one, the son of David also. And David, knowing through the Spirit the disposition of his coming, by which he is Lord of all the living and the dead, confessed him Lord, seated at the right hand of the most high Father.

4. And Simeon too, he who had received an answer from the Holy Spirit that he would not see death until he had first seen Christ Jesus, taking in his hands this firstborn of the Virgin, blessed God and said: Now you dismiss your servant, Lord, according to your word, in peace: for my eyes have seen your saving power, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples, a light for the revelation of the nations, and the glory of your people Israel (Luke 2:29–32); confessing that the infant whom he was carrying

in his hands, Jesus, born of Mary, was himself Christ, the Son of God, the light of men, and the glory of Israel itself, and the peace and refreshment of those who had gone to their sleep. For already he was despoiling men, taking away their ignorance and bestowing on them his own knowledge, and making a division of those who knew him, as in Isaiah: Call, he says, his name: Swiftly despoil, quickly divide (Isa 8:3). These, then, are the works of Christ. He, then, was the Christ whom Simeon carried as he blessed the Most High; at the sight of whom the shepherds glorified God; whom John, while he was still in his mother's womb, and he in Mary's, recognising him as Lord, greeted with leaping; whom the Magi saw, and adored, and to whom they brought the gifts we spoke of before, and before whom, the eternal King, they cast themselves down, and went away by another road, no longer returning by the road of the Assyrians. For before the child knows how to call father or mother, he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria against the king of the Assyrians (Isa 8:4); showing secretly indeed, but mightily, that the Lord was fighting against Amalek with a hidden hand. For this reason too he snatched away the children who were in the house of David, who had the good lot to be born at that time, so that he might send them ahead into his kingdom; being himself an infant, he prepared infants of men as martyrs, slain according to the Scriptures for the sake of Christ, who was born in Bethlehem of Judah, in the city of David.

5. Wherefore the Lord too said to the disciples after the resurrection: O senseless men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory? (Luke 24:25–26) And again he said to them: These are the words which I spoke to you while I was still with you, that all things written about me in the Law of Moses and in the Prophets and in the Psalms must be fulfilled. Then he opened their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them: Thus it is written, that Christ should suffer and rise from the dead, and that remission of sins should be preached in his name to all nations (Luke 24:44–47). And this is he who was born of Mary. For, he says, the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected, and be crucified, and rise again on the third day (Mark 8:31). The Gospel, then, knows no other Son of Man than him who is of Mary, who also suffered; nor a Christ who flew away from Jesus before the Passion; but him who was born, Jesus Christ, it knows as the Son of God, and that this same one suffered and rose again, as John, the disciple of the Lord, confirms, saying: But these things are written, that you may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that believing you may have eternal life in his name (John 20:31); foreseeing these blasphemous rules, which divide the Lord, as far as in them lies, saying that he was made of one substance and of another. For this reason he also bore witness to us thus in his epistle: Little children, it is the last hour; and

as you have heard that the Antichrist is coming, now many antichrists have come to be: whence we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would surely have remained with us: but that they might be made manifest, that they are not of us. Know, therefore, that every lie is foreign, and is not of the truth. Who is the liar but he who denies that Jesus is the Christ? This is the Antichrist (1 John 2:18–22).

6. But since all those whom we have mentioned, although with the tongue they confess one Jesus Christ, make a mockery of themselves, thinking one thing and saying another (for their plots are various, as we have shown), they proclaim that one suffered and was born, and that this is Christ, and that one of them is of the Demiurge, he who is of the disposition, or he who is of Joseph, whom they also argue to be passible; but that the other of them descended from the invisible and inexpressible ones, and him they declare to be invisible, incomprehensible and impassible; straying from the truth, because their mind stands apart from him who is truly God: not knowing that his only-begotten Word, who is always present to the human race, united and kneaded together with his handiwork according to the good pleasure of the Father, and made flesh, is himself Jesus Christ our Lord, who suffered for us and rose again for us, and who will come again in the glory of the Father to raise up all flesh, and for the showing of salvation, and to show the rule of just judgement to all who were

made under him. There is, then, one God the Father, as we have shown, and one Christ Jesus our Lord, coming through the whole disposition and recapitulating all things in himself. Now among all things is man too, the moulding of God: and so he recapitulates man too in himself, the invisible made visible, and the incomprehensible made comprehensible, and the impassible passible, and the Word man, recapitulating all things in himself: so that, as the Word of God is prince among the supercelestial and spiritual and invisible things, so too among the visible and corporeal he may hold the rule, and, taking the first place to himself and setting himself as head of the Church, he may draw all things to himself at the fitting time.

7. For nothing is out of order or untimely with him, just as nothing is incongruous with the Father. For all things are foreknown by the Father, and are accomplished by the Son, as is fitting and consistent, at the fitting time. For this reason, when Mary was hastening towards the wonderful sign of the wine, and wished before the time to share in the cup of the compendium, the Lord, checking her untimely haste, said: What is it to me and to you, woman? My hour has not yet come (John 2:4); awaiting that hour which was foreknown by the Father. For this reason, when men often wished to seize him: No one, he says, laid hands on him: for the hour of the seizing had not yet come (John 7:30), nor the time of the Passion, which had been foreknown by the Father; as the prophet Habakkuk too says: In this, when the

years draw near, you will be known; at the coming of the time you will be shown; in this, that my soul is troubled in wrath, you will remember your mercy (Hab 3:2). And Paul too says: But when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son (Gal 4:4). By which it is plain that all things that had been foreknown by the Father our Lord accomplished in the order, the time and the hour foreknown and fitting, being indeed one and the same, but rich and manifold. For he serves the rich and manifold will of the Father, since he himself is the Saviour of those who are saved, and the Lord of those who are under lordship, and the God of the things that have been established, and the Only-begotten of the Father, and the Christ who was preached, and the Word of God incarnate, when the fullness of time had come, in which the Son of God had to become Son of Man.

8. All, therefore, are outside the disposition who, under pretext of knowledge, understand Jesus to be one and Christ another, and the Only-begotten another (and from him, in turn, the Word), and the Saviour another, whom these disciples of error say to be an emission of their Aeons, those who came to be in the diminution: who outwardly are sheep (for by the speech they have on the outside they appear like us, saying the same things as we do), but inwardly wolves. For their doctrine is murderous, fashioning many gods and feigning many fathers, but breaking up the Son of God and dividing him into many: against whom the Lord too warned us beforehand to be on our guard, and his disciple John, in

the Epistle mentioned before, commanded us to flee them, saying: Many deceivers have gone out into this world, who do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the Antichrist (2 John 7). Watch them, that you may not lose what you have wrought (2 John 8). And again in the Epistle he says: Many false prophets have gone out from the world. By this know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God. And every spirit that dissolves Jesus is not of God, but is of the Antichrist (1 John 4:1–3). Now these things are like what was said in the Gospel, that the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14). Wherefore he cries out again in the Epistle: Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ is born of God (1 John 5:1); knowing one and the same Jesus Christ, to whom the gates of heaven were opened because of his taking up in the flesh: who will also come in the same flesh in which he suffered, revealing the glory of the Father.

9. And Paul too, agreeing with these, addressing the Romans, says: Much more those who receive the abundance of grace and of justice into life shall reign through one Jesus Christ (Rom 5:17). He does not know, then, the Christ who flew away from Jesus; nor does he know the Saviour who is above, whom they say to be impassible. For if one suffered and the other remained impassible, and one was born and the other descended upon him who was born and left him again, not one but two are shown. But since the Apostle knew him as one, both him who was

born and him who suffered, Christ Jesus, he says again in the same Epistle: Do you not know that all of us who have been baptised in Christ Jesus have been baptised in his death? that as Christ rose from the dead, so we too may walk in newness of life (Rom 6:3–4).

And again, signifying that Christ suffered, and that he himself is the Son of God, who died for us and redeemed us with his blood at the time appointed beforehand, he says: For why did Christ, when we were still weak, die at the due time for the ungodly? But God commends his love in us, in that, while we were still sinners, Christ died for us: much more, being now justified in his blood, shall we be saved through him from wrath. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved in his life (Rom 5:6–10). Proclaiming most plainly that this same one who was seized, and suffered, and shed his blood for us, is the Christ, is the Son of God, who also rose again and was taken up into the heavens, as he himself says: But at once Christ died, or rather also rose again, who is at the right hand of God (Rom 8:34). And again: Knowing that Christ, rising from the dead, dies no more (Rom 6:9). (For he too, foreseeing through the Spirit the subdivisions of the evil teachers, and wishing to cut off every occasion of dissension they might have, said what has been quoted above.) But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life also to your

mortal bodies (Rom 8:11). He all but cries out to those who are willing to hear: "Do not go astray: one and the same is Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who by the Passion reconciled us to God, and rose from the dead, who is at the right hand of the Father, and perfect in all things: who, when he was beaten, did not strike back; who, when he suffered, did not threaten (1 Pet 2:23); and when he suffered tyranny, prayed the Father to forgive those who had crucified him." For he truly saved: he is the Word of God, he the Only-begotten from the Father, Christ Jesus our Lord.

CHAPTER 17

The apostles teach that it was not Christ or the Saviour, but the Holy Spirit, who descended upon Jesus. Why he descended is explained.

1. For the apostles could have said that Christ descended upon Jesus; or that that higher Saviour descended upon the one of the disposition; or that he who is from the invisible ones descended upon him who is of the Demiurge: but they neither knew nor said anything of the kind; for had they known it, they would certainly also have said it: but what was the case, that they also said, that the Spirit of God descended upon him like a dove, this Spirit of whom it was said by Isaiah: And the Spirit of God shall rest upon him (Isa 11:2), as we said before. And again: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me (Isa 61:1). This is the Spirit of whom the Lord says: For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks

in you (Matt 10:20). And again, giving the disciples the power of regeneration into God, he said to them: Go, teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit (Matt 28:19). For this Spirit he promised through the prophets to pour out in the last times upon his servants and handmaids, that they might prophesy: whence also he descended upon the Son of God, made Son of Man, growing accustomed with him to dwell in the human race, and to rest in men, and to dwell in the handiwork of God, working the will of the Father in them, and renewing them from their oldness into the newness of Christ.

2. This Spirit David asked for the human race, saying: And confirm me with the principal Spirit (Ps 51:14). And Luke says that this Spirit descended upon the disciples after the ascension of the Lord, at Pentecost, having power over all the nations for their entrance into life and for the opening of the New Testament: whence also, joined in every tongue, they sang a hymn to God, the Spirit bringing the distant tribes back to unity and offering to the Father the first fruits of all the nations. Wherefore the Lord too promised that he would send the Paraclete, who would make us fit for God. For as from dry wheat one lump cannot be made without moisture, nor one loaf, so neither could we, being many, become one in Christ Jesus without the water that is from heaven. And as dry earth, if it does not receive moisture, bears no fruit, so we too, being at first a dry tree, would never bear life as fruit without the voluntary rain

from above. For our bodies received through the washing that unity which is for incorruption, but our souls through the Spirit. Wherefore both are necessary, since both advance us to the life of God, our Lord having had mercy on that Samaritan woman, the transgressor, who did not remain with one husband but committed fornication in many marriages, and showing her and promising her living water, that she might thirst no more, nor be busied with drawing toilsome water, having in herself a drink springing up into eternal life. This gift the Lord, having received it from the Father, himself also bestowed on those who partake of him, sending the Holy Spirit into all the earth.

3. Foreseeing this grace of the gift, Gideon, that Israelite whom God chose to save the people of Israel from the dominion of foreigners, changed his request, and prophesied a future dryness upon the fleece of wool, on which alone at first there had been dew, which was a type of the people; that is, that they would no longer have the Holy Spirit from God, as Isaiah says: And I will command the clouds not to rain upon it (Isa 5:6); but that the dew, which is the Spirit of God, would be on all the earth, he who descended upon the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and power, the spirit of knowledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of God (Isa 11:2–3); whom he in turn gave to the Church, sending the Paraclete from heaven into all the earth, whence also, the Lord says, the devil was cast down like lightning. Wherefore

the dew of God is necessary to us, that we may not be burned up nor made unfruitful, and that where we have an accuser, there we may also have the Paraclete: the Lord commending to the Holy Spirit his own man, who had fallen among robbers, on whom he himself had mercy, and bound up his wounds, giving two royal denarii, so that, receiving through the Spirit the image and inscription of the Father and of the Son, we may make the denarius entrusted to us bear fruit, counting it back to the Lord multiplied.

4. The Spirit, then, descending upon the disposition foretold, and the only-begotten Son of God, who is also the Word of the Father, coming in the fullness of time, incarnate in man for man's sake, and Jesus Christ our Lord fulfilling the whole disposition according to man, being one and the same, as the Lord himself testifies, and the apostles confess, and the prophets proclaim: all the doctrines of those who devised seeming octonaries and quaternaries, and thought out subdivisions, have been shown to be lies: who do away with the Spirit, and understand Christ to be one and Jesus another, and teach that there was not one Christ but many: and if they say that these were united, they show again that the one shared in the passion, but the other remained impassible; and that the one ascended into the Pleroma, but the other stayed in the Midst; and that the one feasts and takes his delight among the invisible and unnameable ones, but the other sits beside the Demiurge, emptying him of power. Wherefore it will behove both you

and all who give heed to this writing, and are concerned for their salvation, not to yield of their own accord when they hear their discourses from outside. For, saying things like those the faithful say, as we said before, they not only think unlike things, but even contrary ones, and in every way full of blasphemies, by which they kill those who, through the likeness of the words, draw into themselves the poison of their affection, unlike the words: as if someone, giving gypsum mixed with water instead of milk, should lead astray by the likeness of the colour; as one who came before us said of all who in any way corrupt the things of God and adulterate the truth: "In the milk of God gypsum is evilly mixed."

CHAPTER 18

He returns to the argument he had taken up, and proves both from Paul's words and from the Lord's own that Christ is not to be divided from Jesus, and that the Son of God was made man not in appearance only but truly.

1. It having been plainly shown that the Word, who existed in the beginning with God, through whom all things were made, who was also always present to the human race, this same one, in the last times, according to the time appointed beforehand by the Father, united to his own handiwork, was made a passible man, every objection of those who say: "If, then, he was born at that time, Christ, then, did not exist before," is excluded. For we have shown that the Son of God did not begin then, existing always with the

Father; but when he became incarnate and was made man, he recapitulated in himself the long unfolding of men, granting us salvation in brief, so that what we had lost in Adam, that is, to be according to the image and likeness of God, this we might receive back in Christ Jesus.

2. For since it was not possible for the man who had once been conquered, and dashed down through disobedience, to be moulded anew and to win the prize of victory; and again it was impossible that he should receive salvation who had fallen under sin: the Son wrought both, being the Word of God, descending from the Father, and becoming incarnate, and descending even to death, and bringing to completion the dispensation of our salvation; and, exhorting us to believe in it without doubting, he says again: Do not say in your heart: Who has ascended into heaven? that is, to bring Christ down. Or: Who has descended into the abyss? that is, to free Christ from the dead (Rom 10:6–7). Then he adds: That if you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved (Rom 10:9). And he gave the reason for which the Word of God did these things, saying: For to this end Christ both lived and died and rose again, that he might be Lord of the living and the dead (Rom 14:9). And again, writing to the Corinthians, he says: But we proclaim Christ Jesus crucified (1 Cor 1:23). And he adds: The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the fellowship of the blood of Christ? (1 Cor 10:16)

3. But who is it that shared food with us? Is it the Christ above, whom they fabricate, who stretched himself over Horos, that is, the limit, and formed their Mother; or rather he who is Emmanuel from the virgin, who ate butter and honey, of whom the Prophet says: And he is man, and who shall know him? (Jer 17:9) This same one was proclaimed by Paul: For I delivered to you, he says, first of all, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures (1 Cor 15:3–4). It is plain, then, that Paul knows no other Christ but this one alone, who both suffered, and was buried, and rose again, who was also born, whom he also called man. For when he had said: But if Christ is proclaimed, that he rose from the dead (1 Cor 15:12), he added, giving the reason for his incarnation: For through man death, and through man the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:21). And everywhere, in the Passion of our Lord, and in his humanity, and in his being put to death, he used the name of Christ, as in this: Do not with your food destroy him for whom Christ died (Rom 14:15). And again: But now in Christ you, who were once far off, have been made near in the blood of Christ (Eph 2:13). And again: Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us; for it is written: Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree (Gal 3:13). And again: And the weak brother will perish in your knowledge, he for whom Christ died (1 Cor 8:11); signifying that it was not an impassible Christ who descended upon Jesus,

but that he himself, being Jesus Christ, suffered for us, he who lay down and rose again, who descended and ascended, the Son of God made Son of Man: as the very name also signifies. For in the name of Christ is implied he who anointed, and he himself who was anointed, and the anointing itself with which he was anointed. And the Father anointed, and the Son was anointed, in the Spirit, who is the anointing; as the word says through Isaiah: The Spirit of God is upon me, because he has anointed me (Isa 61:1); signifying both the anointing Father, and the anointed Son, and the anointing, which is the Spirit.

4. And the Lord himself makes plain who it is that suffered. For when he had asked the disciples: Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am? and Peter had answered: You are the Christ, the Son of the living God; and he had been praised by him, for flesh and blood has not revealed it to him, but the Father who is in heaven (Matt 16:13–17), he made plain that this Son of Man is the Christ, the Son of the living God: From that time, he says, he began to show the learners that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the priests, and be rejected, and be crucified, and rise again on the third day (Matt 16:21). He himself who was acknowledged by Peter as the Christ, who called him blessed because the Father had revealed to him the Son of the living God, said that he himself must suffer many things and be crucified: and then he rebuked Peter, who, according to the view of men, thought him to be the Christ and shrank from his Passion,

and said to the disciples: If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whoever wishes to save his life will lose it; and whoever loses it for my sake will save it (Matt 16:24–25). For these things Christ said plainly, he himself being the Saviour of those who for their confession would be delivered up to death and would lose their lives.

5. But if he himself was not to suffer, but was to fly away from Jesus, why did he also exhort the disciples to take up the cross and to follow him, a cross which, according to them, he himself was not taking up; rather, he was leaving behind the disposition of the Passion? For since he does not say this of the knowledge of the upper Cross, as some dare to expound it, but of the passion which he himself had to suffer, and which his disciples themselves were to suffer, he added: For whoever saves his life will lose it; and whoever loses it will find it (Matt 16:25). And since his disciples were to suffer for his sake, he said to the Jews: Behold, I send to you prophets, and wise men, and teachers, and some of them you will kill and crucify (Matt 23:34). And to the disciples he said: You will stand before governors and kings for my sake, and some of you they will scourge, and kill, and persecute from city to city (Matt 10:17–18, 23). He knew, then, both those who would suffer persecution, and he knew those who were to be scourged and slain for his sake. And so his word was not about another cross, but about the passion which he himself would suffer first, and

his disciples after him, as he exhorted them too: Do not fear those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; but fear rather him who has power to send both body and soul into Gehenna (Matt 10:28); and to keep the confessions that concern him. For he promised that he would confess before his Father those who confessed his name before men; but that he would deny those who denied him, and be ashamed of those who were ashamed of confessing him.

And though these things are so, some have gone so far in rashness as even to scorn the martyrs, and to revile those who are slain for confessing the Lord, and who endure all that was foretold by the Lord, and in this way strive to follow in the footsteps of the Lord's Passion, having become martyrs of the passible one; these too we leave to the martyrs themselves. For when their blood is required, and they obtain glory, then all who dishonoured their martyrdom will be put to shame by Christ. And from this too, that the Lord said on the cross: Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they do (Luke 23:34), the long-suffering, and patience, and mercy, and goodness of Christ are shown, in that he himself both suffered and himself excused those who had ill-treated him. For the Word of God, who said to us: Love your enemies, and pray for those who hate you (Matt 5:44), himself did this on the cross, loving the human race so much that he prayed even for those who were killing him. But if anyone were to pass judgement on them as if there were two, he will be found far better, and more

patient, and truly good, who in his very wounds and stripes, and the other things they committed against him, is beneficent and does not remember the wickedness committed against him, than he who flew away and suffered no injury nor reproach.

6. And the same thing befalls those too who say that he suffered in seeming. For if he did not truly suffer, no thanks are due to him, since there was no passion: and when we begin truly to suffer, he will appear to be leading us astray, exhorting us to be beaten and to offer the other cheek, if he himself did not first suffer it in truth; and as he led them astray, so that he seemed to them to be what he was not, so he leads us astray too, exhorting us to endure what he himself did not endure. And we shall even be above the master, while we suffer and endure what the master neither suffered nor endured. But since our Lord alone is truly master; and the Son of God is truly good and patient, the Word of God the Father made Son of Man. For he struggled and conquered: for he was man contending for the fathers, and through obedience paying off disobedience: for he bound the strong man, and loosed the weak, and gave salvation to his handiwork, destroying sin. For the Lord is most tender and merciful, and a lover of the human race.

7. He made man, then, cleave to God and united him with God, as we said before. For if man had not conquered the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been justly conquered. And again, unless God had given salvation, we

should not possess it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could not have become a partaker of incorruptibility. For it had behoved the mediator of God and men, by his kinship with both, to bring both back into friendship and concord, and to bring it about that God should assume man, and man give himself to God.

For in what way could we be partakers of his adoption of sons, unless we had received from him, through the Son, communion with him; unless his Word, made flesh, had shared with us? Wherefore he also came through every age, restoring to all communion with God. Those, therefore, who say that he was manifested in seeming, and was neither born in the flesh nor truly made man, are still under the old condemnation, pleading the cause of sin, since according to them death has not been vanquished, which reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who did not sin in the likeness of the transgression of Adam (Rom 5:14). But the Law, coming, which was given through Moses, and testifying of sin that it is a sinner, took away its kingdom, unmasking it as a robber and not a king, and showed it to be a murderer: but it laid a burden on man, who had sin in himself, showing him guilty of death. For since the Law was spiritual, it only made sin manifest, but did not destroy it: for sin was not lord over the Spirit, but over man. For it behoved him who was to kill sin and to redeem man, who was guilty of death, to become that very thing which that one was, that is, man:

who had been dragged into servitude by sin, and was held by death, so that sin might be slain by man, and man might go out from death. For as through the disobedience of one man, who was the first to be moulded from untilled earth, many were made sinners and lost life; so it behoved also that through the obedience of one man, who was the first to be born of a virgin, many should be justified and receive salvation. So, then, the Word of God was made man, as Moses too says: God, his works are true (Deut 32:4). But if, not having been made flesh, he appeared as flesh, his work was not true. But what he appeared to be, that he also was: God recapitulating in himself the ancient moulding of man, that he might kill sin, make death void, and give life to man: and for this reason his works are true.

CHAPTER 19

That Jesus Christ was not a mere man begotten of the seed of Joseph, but true God begotten of the most high Father, and true man born of the Virgin.

1. And again, those who say that he was a mere man begotten of Joseph die persevering in the servitude of the old disobedience; not yet mingled with the Word of God the Father, nor receiving freedom through the Son, as he himself says: If the Son sets you free, you will be truly free (John 8:36). But not knowing him who is Emmanuel from the Virgin, they are deprived of his gift, which is eternal life: and not receiving the Word of incorruption, they remain in mortal

flesh and are debtors to death, not receiving the antidote of life. To them the Word says, telling of his own gift of grace: I said: You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High: but you shall die like men (Ps 82:6–7). Without doubt he says it to those who do not receive the gift of adoption, but despise the incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, defrauding man of that ascent which is to the Lord, and being ungrateful to the Word of God, who was incarnate for their sake. For to this end the Word of God was made man, and he who is the Son of God the Son of Man, that [man], mingled with the Word of God and receiving adoption, might become a son of God. For we could not otherwise have received incorruption and immortality, unless we had been united to incorruption and immortality. But how could we be united to incorruption and immortality, unless incorruption and immortality had first become what we also are, so that what was corruptible might be swallowed up by incorruption, and what was mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of sons?

2. For this reason, who shall tell his generation? (Isa 53:8) since he is man, and who shall recognise him? (Jer 17:9) But he knows him to whom the Father who is in heaven has revealed him, so that he may understand that he who was born not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man (John 1:13), the Son of Man, this is the Christ, the Son of the living God. For that no one at all of the sons of Adam is called God according to him, or named Lord, we have shown from the

Scriptures. But that he himself, properly, beyond all the men who were then, is proclaimed God, and Lord, and eternal King, and Only-begotten, and Word incarnate, both by all the prophets and the apostles and by the Spirit himself, all may see who have attained even a little of the truth. But the Scriptures would not testify these things of him if, like all others, he had been only a man. But since he had in himself, beyond all others, that illustrious begetting which is from the most high Father, and also underwent that illustrious generation which is from the Virgin, the divine Scriptures testify both of him: that he is a man without comeliness and passible, and, sitting on the foal of an ass, is given vinegar and gall to drink, and was despised among the people, and descended even to death; and that he is the holy Lord, and wonderful counsellor, and comely in appearance, and mighty God, coming upon the clouds as judge of all; all this the Scriptures prophesied of him.

3. For as he was man so that he might be tempted, so too he was the Word so that he might be glorified: the Word being quiescent, so that he could be tempted, and dishonoured, and crucified, and die; but the man being swallowed up in this, that he conquers, and endures, … and rises again, and is taken up. This, then, is the Son of God, our Lord, being the Word of the Father, and the Son of Man: since from Mary, who had her descent from men and was herself a human being, he had a generation according to man, he was made Son of Man. For this reason the Lord

himself also gave us a sign in the depth below and in the height above, which man did not ask for, because he did not even hope that a virgin, while a virgin, could become pregnant and bear a son, and that this offspring would be God with us, and would descend into the lower parts of the earth, seeking the sheep that was lost, which was indeed his own handiwork, and would ascend into the height, offering and commending to the Father that man who had been found, making in himself the first fruits of the resurrection of man: so that, as the head rose from the dead, so too the rest of the body of every man who is found in life, the time of his condemnation, which was because of disobedience, being fulfilled, may rise again, growing together through the joints and bands, and strengthened by the growth of God, each of the members having its own proper and fitting place in the body. For there are many dwellings with the Father, since there are also many members in the body.

CHAPTER 20

That by the fall of man God made plain how patient, kind, merciful and mighty to save he is; and that man is therefore most ungrateful if, forgetful of his lot and of the benefit received, he gives no thanks.

1. God, then, was long-suffering when man failed, foreseeing that victory which was to be given back to him through the Word. For when power was being made perfect in weakness, it showed the kindness of God and his most mag-

nificent power. For as he patiently endured that Jonah should be swallowed by the sea-monster, not that he should be swallowed up and perish altogether, but that, being vomited out, he might be more subject to God, and glorify the more him who had given him an unhoped-for salvation, and might bring the Ninevites to a firm repentance, so that they might turn to the Lord, who would free them from death, terrified by that sign which had been wrought concerning Jonah, as the Scripture says of them: And they turned back, each from his evil way, and from the injustice that was in their hands, saying: Who knows whether God will repent, and turn away his wrath from us, and we shall not perish? (Jonah 3:8–9) So too from the beginning God was patient while man was swallowed by the great sea-monster, who was the author of the transgression, not that, swallowed up, he should perish altogether, but preparing beforehand and making ready the device of salvation, which was wrought by the Word through the sign of Jonah for those who had the same mind as Jonah concerning the Lord, and confessed, and said: I am a servant of the Lord, and I worship the Lord, the God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land (Jonah 1:9); so that man, receiving from God an unhoped-for salvation, may rise from the dead and glorify God, and say that word which was prophesied by Jonah: I cried to the Lord my God in my tribulation, and he heard me from the belly of hell (Jonah 2:3); and that he may always continue glorifying God, and giving thanks without ceas-

ing for that salvation which he has obtained from him, that no flesh may glory in the sight of the Lord (1 Cor 1:29); and that man may never form a contrary sense concerning God, thinking the incorruption that was about him to be his own by nature, and, not holding the truth, be puffed up with empty haughtiness, as though he were by nature like God. For this, making him the more ungrateful to him who had made him, both darkened the love which God had for man and blinded his understanding, so that he did not perceive what is worthy of God, comparing himself with God and judging himself equal to God.

2. This, then, was the long-suffering of God: that man, passing through all things, and receiving the knowledge of conduct, then coming to the resurrection which is from the dead, and learning by experience from what he has been freed, may always be grateful to the Lord, having obtained from him the gift of incorruption, so that he might love him the more (for he to whom more is forgiven loves more); and that he may know himself, that he is mortal and weak; and may understand God too, that he is so immortal and mighty that he gives immortality to the mortal and eternity to the temporal; and may understand also all the other powers of God shown towards himself, by which, being taught, he may perceive concerning God how great God is. For the glory of man is God; and of the workings of God, and of all his wisdom and power, the receptacle is man. As a physician is proved in those who are sick, so God too is made manifest in men.

Wherefore Paul too says: But God has shut up all things in unbelief, that he may have mercy on all (Rom 11:32); not saying this of the spiritual Aeons, but of man, who was disobedient to God and cast out from immortality, and then obtained mercy, receiving through the Son of God that adoption which is through him. For he who holds, without being puffed up or boastful, the true glory concerning the things that were made and him who made them, who is the most mighty God of all and who granted to all things that they should be, and who abides in his love, and subjection, and thanksgiving, will receive greater glory from him, receiving advancement until he becomes like him who died for him; since he too was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, to condemn sin, and to cast it, as already condemned, out of the flesh; and to call man forth into his own likeness, appointing him an imitator of God, and placing him under the Father's rule, so that he may see God; and granting man to contain the Father, the Word of God, who dwelt in man, was also made the Son of Man, that he might accustom man to receive God, and accustom God to dwell in man, according to the good pleasure of the Father.

3. For this reason, then, the sign of our salvation, he who is Emmanuel from the Virgin, is the Lord himself: since it was the Lord himself who saved them, because by themselves they could not be saved. And for this reason Paul, proclaiming the weakness of man, says: For I know that good does not dwell in my flesh (Rom 7:18); signifying that the good of our salvation is not from

us but from God. And again: Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death? (Rom 7:24) Then he brings in the deliverer: The grace of Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom 7:25). And Isaiah too says this: Be strong, he says, you slack hands and feeble knees: take courage, you who are faint of understanding, be strong, do not fear: behold, our God repays judgement, and will repay: he himself will come and save us (Isa 35:3–4). This, because we were to be saved not by ourselves but by the help of God.

4. Again, since he who saves us would be neither a mere man nor without flesh (for the angels are without flesh), he proclaimed it, saying: Neither an elder nor an angel, but the Lord himself will save them, because he loves them, and will spare them; he himself will set them free (Isa 63:9). And since this very one was to be a true and visible man, though he is the saving Word, Isaiah says again: Behold, Zion, the city: your eyes shall see our saving power (Isa 33:20). And since it was not only a man who died for us, Isaiah says: And the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, remembered his dead, who had fallen asleep in the land of burial; and he went down to them to bring them the good news of the salvation that is from him, to save them. And the prophet Amos too says the same: He himself will turn and have mercy on us: he will undo our injustices, and cast our sins into the depth of the sea (Mic 7:19). And again, signifying the place of his coming, he says: The Lord has spoken from Zion, and from Jerusalem he has given forth his voice (Amos 1:2). And that the Son

of God, who is God, will come from that part of the inheritance of Judah which lies towards the south-west, and that he who was from Bethlehem, where the Lord was born, will send forth his praise into all the earth, as the prophet Habakkuk says: God will come from the south-west, and the Holy One from Mount Ephraim. His power covered heaven, and the earth is full of his praise. Before his face shall go the Word, and his feet shall go forth in the plains (Hab 3:3–5). Signifying plainly that he is God, and that his coming is in Bethlehem, and from Mount Ephraim, which is towards the south-west of the inheritance, and that he is man. For, he says, his feet shall go forth in the plains (Hab 3:5): and this is a sign proper to man.

CHAPTER 21

He defends the prophecy of Isa 7:14 from the perverse interpretation of Theodotion, Aquila, the Ebionites and the Jews, commends the authority of the version of the Seventy translators, and finally confirms by many arguments that Christ was born of a virgin.

1. God, then, was made man, and the Lord himself will save us, himself giving the sign of the Virgin. Not true, then, is the interpretation of some, who dare to render the Scripture thus: Behold, a young woman shall have in the womb, and shall bear a son; as Theodotion of Ephesus translated it, and Aquila of Pontus, both Jewish proselytes; following whom the Ebionites say that he was begotten of Joseph: dissolving, as far

as in them lies, so great a disposition of God, and setting aside the testimony of the prophets, which God wrought. It was prophesied, indeed, before the transmigration of the people to Babylon took place, that is, before the Medes and Persians received the rule; but it was translated into Greek by the Jews themselves long before the times of the coming of our Lord, so that no suspicion remains that perhaps the Jews translated these things thus to humour us. Indeed, had they known that we would exist and would use these testimonies from the Scriptures, they would never have hesitated to burn their own Scriptures, which both declare that all the other nations share in life, and show that those who boast that they are the house of Jacob and the people of Israel are disinherited from the grace of God.

2. For before the Romans possessed their kingdom, while the Macedonians still held Asia, Ptolemy son of Lagus, wishing to adorn the library which he had built in Alexandria with the worthy writings of all men, asked the people of Jerusalem to have their Scriptures translated into the Greek tongue. And they (for they were still subject to the Macedonians at that time) sent to Ptolemy seventy elders, the most accomplished they had in the understanding of the Scriptures and in both languages, to do what he wished. But he, wishing to make trial of them, and fearing lest perhaps, by agreeing together, they should hide by their translation the truth that was in the Scriptures, separated them from one another

and commanded them all to translate the same Scripture: and this he did for all the books. And when they came together before Ptolemy and compared their translations, God was glorified, and the Scriptures were believed to be truly divine, since all of them recited the same things, in the same words and the same names, from the beginning to the end, so that even the nations present might know that the Scriptures had been translated by the inspiration of God. And it is no wonder that God wrought this in them, since in that captivity of the people which was brought about by Nebuchadnezzar, when the Scriptures had been corrupted, and the Jews, after seventy years, had gone down into their own country, then afterwards, in the times of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, he inspired Ezra the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to recall all the words of the former prophets, and to restore to the people the Law which was given through Moses.

3. Since, then, the Scriptures were translated with such truth and grace of God, from which God prepared and re-formed our faith, which is in his Son, and preserved for us the Scriptures pure in Egypt, where the house of Jacob too grew up, fleeing the famine that was in Canaan, where our Lord too was kept safe, fleeing the persecution that came from Herod; and since this translation of those Scriptures was made before our Lord came down, and was completed before Christians appeared (for our Lord was born about the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus, and Ptolemy, under whom the Scriptures were trans-

lated, was much earlier), truly shameless and bold do they show themselves who now wish to make other translations, when they are refuted by us from the Scriptures themselves and are shut up to faith in the coming of the Son of God. Firm, however, and unfeigned, and alone true is the faith which is ours, having a manifest proof from these Scriptures, which were translated in the way we said before; and the proclamation of the Church is without interpolation. For the apostles, since they are older than all these, are in harmony with the translation mentioned before, and the translation is in harmony with the tradition of the apostles. For Peter, and John, and Matthew, and Paul, and the rest in turn, and their followers, proclaimed all the prophetic things just as the translation of the elders contains them.

4. For one and the same Spirit of God, who in the prophets proclaimed what the coming of the Lord would be and of what kind, and in the elders translated well what had been well prophesied, himself also in the apostles announced that the fullness of the times of adoption had come, and that the kingdom of heaven had drawn near, and that it dwells within men who believe in him who was born of the Virgin, Emmanuel; as they themselves testify that, before Joseph had come together with Mary (while she, therefore, remained in virginity), she was found with child of the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18); and that the angel Gabriel said to her: The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you: wherefore the holy one that

will be born of you will be called the Son of God (Luke 1:35); and that the angel said to Joseph in a dream: Now this was done, that what was spoken by Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled: Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb (Matt 1:22–23). And the elders translated Isaiah as having said thus: And the Lord spoke again to Ahaz: Ask for yourself a sign from the Lord your God, in the depth below or in the height above. And Ahaz said: I will not ask, nor will I tempt the Lord. And he said: Is it not a small thing for you to offer a contest to men, and how does the Lord offer a contest? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and you shall call his name Emmanuel. He shall eat butter and honey: before he knows or chooses evil things, he will exchange them for the good: for before the infant knows good or evil, he will not consent to wickedness, that he may choose the good (Isa 7:10–16). Carefully, then, the Holy Spirit signified by what was said his generation, which is from the Virgin, and his substance, that he is God (for the name Emmanuel signifies this): and he makes plain that he is man, in that he says: He shall eat butter and honey; and in that he names him an infant, and before he knows good and evil: for all these are signs of a human infant. But that he will not consent to wickedness, that he may choose the good, this is proper to God; so that we should not, because he will eat butter and honey, understand him to be merely a bare man, nor again, because

of the name Emmanuel, suspect him to be God without flesh.

5. And in that he says: Hear, house of David (Isa 7:13), he was signifying that he whom God promised David to raise up from the fruit of his womb as an eternal king is he who was begotten of the Virgin, who was of the race of David.

For this reason, indeed, he promised a king from the fruit of his womb, which was proper to the Virgin with child; and not from the fruit of his loins, nor from the fruit of his reins, which is proper to a man who begets and to a woman who conceives by a man. The Scripture, then, set aside the generative organs of man in the promise: or rather they are not even mentioned, since he who was being born was not of the will of man. But it established and confirmed the fruit of the womb, to declare the generation of him who was to be from a virgin, as Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Spirit, testified, saying to Mary: Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb (Luke 1:42); the Holy Spirit signifying to those who are willing to hear that the promise which God promised, to raise up a king from the fruit of his womb, was fulfilled in the childbearing of the Virgin, that is, of Mary. Those, then, who alter what is in Isaiah: Behold, a young woman shall conceive in the womb; and will have it that he is the son of Joseph, let them alter what belongs to the promise, which is set down in David, where God promised him to raise up from the fruit of his womb a horn, the kingdom of

Christ. But they did not understand it: otherwise they would have dared to change this too.

6. And in that Isaiah said: In the depth below or in the height above (Isa 7:11), he was signifying that he who descended was the same who also ascended (Eph 4:10). And in that he said: The Lord himself will give a sign (Isa 7:14), he signified what was unexpected in his generation, which would not have come about otherwise, unless God, the Lord of all things, God himself, had given a sign in the house of David. For what great thing, or what sign, would there be in this, that a young woman, conceiving by a man, had given birth, which happens to all women who give birth? But since an unexpected salvation was to come about for men, with God helping, the childbearing of the Virgin too was unexpected, God giving this sign, and not man working it.

7. For this reason too Daniel, foreseeing his coming, signified that a stone cut out without hands had come into this world (for this is what without hands means); that his coming into this world was not by the working of human hands, that is, of those men who are accustomed to cut stones; that is, not by Joseph working in it, but by Mary alone co-operating with the disposition. For this stone from the earth consists of the power and the art of God. For this reason too Isaiah says: Thus says the Lord: Behold, I put into the foundations of Zion a precious stone, chosen, the highest, a cornerstone, honoured (Isa 28:16); so that we may understand that his coming accord-

ing to man is not of the will of man, but of the will of God.

8. For this reason too Moses, showing a type, cast his rod on the ground, so that, made incarnate, it might refute and swallow up all the transgression of the Egyptians, which was rising up against the disposition of God; and so that the Egyptians themselves might testify that it is the finger of God that works salvation for the people, and not the son of Joseph. For if he were the son of Joseph, how could he have more than Solomon, or more than Jonah, or be more than David, since he was begotten of the same seed and was their offspring? And why did he also call Peter blessed, because he knew him to be the Son of the living God?

9. Besides these things, he could not even be king, if he had been the son of Joseph; nor heir, according to Jeremiah. For Joseph is shown to be the son of Jehoiakim and of Jeconiah, as Matthew too sets out his generation. But Jeconiah, and those who came from him, were all disowned from the kingdom, Jeremiah saying thus: As I live, says the Lord, if Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, should become a signet on my right hand, I will pull him off from there, and deliver him into the hand of those who seek your life (Jer 22:24–25). And again: Jeconiah is dishonoured, like a vessel for which there is no use, because he has been cast out into a land which he did not know. Land, hear the word of the Lord: write this man down as a man disowned, for there shall not grow from his seed one sitting upon the

throne of David, a prince in Judah (Jer 22:28–30). And again God says concerning Jehoiakim his father: Therefore thus says the Lord concerning Jehoiakim his father, king of Judaea: There shall not be from him one sitting upon the throne of David, and his dead body shall be cast out in the heat of the day and in the frost of the night; and I will look upon him and upon his sons, and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, upon the land of Judah, all the evils that I have spoken against them (Jer 36:30–31). Those, therefore, who say that he was begotten of Joseph, and set their hope in him, make themselves disowned from the kingdom, falling under the curse and rebuke that are against Jeconiah and his seed. For this reason, indeed, these things were said of Jeconiah, the Spirit foreknowing what is said by the evil teachers: so that they may learn that he would not be born of his seed, that is, of Joseph, but that according to the promise of God an eternal king is raised up from the womb of David, who recapitulates all things in himself, and has recapitulated in himself the ancient moulding.

10. For as through the disobedience of one man sin made its entrance, and through sin death prevailed; so too, through the obedience of one man, justice, being brought in, may bear life as fruit for those men who were once dead. And as that protoplast, Adam, had his substance from untilled earth, and earth still virgin (for God had not yet sent rain, and man had not tilled the earth (Gen 2:5)), and was moulded by the hand

of God, that is, by the Word of God (for all things were made through him (John 1:3)), and the Lord took clay from the earth and moulded man: so, recapitulating Adam in himself, he himself, being the Word, rightly received from Mary, who was still a virgin, the generation of the recapitulation of Adam. If, then, the first Adam had a man for father and was born of the seed of a man, they would rightly say that the second Adam too was begotten of Joseph. But if that one was taken from the earth and moulded by the Word of God, it behoved that very Word, making the recapitulation of Adam in himself, to have the likeness of the same generation. Why, then, did God not again take clay, but caused the moulding to be wrought from Mary? So that no other moulding should come to be, nor should it be another moulding that was saved, but that the very same should be recapitulated, the likeness being preserved.

CHAPTER 22

That Christ took true flesh, conceived and born of the Virgin.

1. They err, then, who say that he received nothing from the Virgin, so that they may cast away the inheritance of the flesh, and cast away the likeness too. For if that one had his moulding and substance from the earth and by the hand and craftsmanship of God, but this one not by the hand and craftsmanship of God, then he did not preserve the likeness of the man who was made according to his image and likeness, and the craftsmanship will seem inconsistent, having

nothing in which to show its wisdom. And this is to say both that he appeared in seeming as a man when he was not a man, and that he was made man assuming nothing from man. For if he did not receive the substance of flesh from a human being, he was made neither man nor Son of Man: and if he was not made what we were, it was no great thing that he suffered and endured. But that we are a body taken from the earth, and a soul receiving spirit from God, everyone whoever he may be will confess. This, therefore, the Word of God was made, recapitulating his own handiwork in himself: and for this reason he confesses himself Son of Man, and blesses the meek, because they shall inherit the earth. And the apostle Paul too, in the Epistle to the Galatians, says plainly: God sent his Son, made of a woman (Gal 4:4). And again in the one to the Romans: Concerning his Son, he says, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined Son of God in power, according to the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom 1:3–4).

2. Otherwise his descent into Mary is superfluous. For why did he descend into her, if he was to take nothing from her? Or if he had taken nothing from Mary, he would never have partaken of the foods that were from the earth, by which the body taken from the earth is nourished; nor would his body, fasting forty days, like Moses and Elijah, have hungered, seeking its food; nor would John his disciple, writing of him, have said: Now Jesus, wearied from the journey, was sitting

(John 4:6); nor would David have proclaimed beforehand of him: And they have added to the pain of my wounds (Ps 69:27); nor would he have wept over Lazarus; nor sweated clots of blood; nor said: My soul is sorrowful (Matt 26:38); nor, when his side was pierced, would blood and water have come out. For all these are signs of the flesh that was taken from the earth, which he recapitulated in himself, saving his own handiwork.

3. For this reason Luke shows that the genealogy which runs from the generation of our Lord back to Adam has seventy-two generations; joining the end to the beginning, and signifying that it is he who recapitulated in himself all the nations dispersed from Adam onwards, and all the tongues, and the generation of men together with Adam himself. Hence Adam himself was called by Paul a type of the one to come (Rom 5:14): because the Word, the Fashioner of all things, had formed beforehand in himself the future disposition of the human race concerning the Son of God, God forming beforehand the first, animal man, namely so that he might be saved by the spiritual one. For since he who saves preexisted, it behoved that what would be saved should also come to be, so that he who saves should not be in vain.

4. In accordance with this, Mary the virgin is found obedient, saying: Behold your handmaid, Lord: be it done to me according to your word (Luke 1:38). But Eve was disobedient: for she did not obey, while she was still a virgin. As she, having indeed a husband, Adam, but being still a

virgin (for they were both naked in paradise and were not ashamed (Gen 2:25), since, having been made a little before, they had no understanding of the begetting of children; for it behoved them first to grow up and then so to multiply), becoming disobedient, was made the cause of death both for herself and for the whole human race: so too Mary, having a husband destined for her beforehand, and yet a virgin, by being obedient was made the cause of salvation both for herself and for the whole human race. And for this reason the Law calls her who was betrothed to a man, although she is still a virgin, the wife of him who had betrothed her; signifying the recirculation from Mary to Eve: because what had been tied together would not otherwise be loosed, unless the very fastenings of the binding were turned back in reverse; so that the first connections might be loosed by the second, and the second in turn set free the first. And it comes about that the first fastening is loosed by the second tying, and the second tying takes the place of the loosing of the first. And for this reason the Lord said that the first would be last, and the last first. And the Prophet too signifies this same thing, saying: In place of the fathers, sons have been born to you (Ps 45:17). For the Lord, born the firstborn of the dead (Col 1:18), and receiving into his bosom the fathers of old, regenerated them into the life of God, himself made the beginning of the living, since Adam was made the beginning of the dying. For this reason Luke too, beginning the genealogy from the Lord, carried it back to Adam, signifying

that it was not they who regenerated him, but he who regenerated them into the Gospel of life. And so too the knot of Eve's disobedience received its loosing through the obedience of Mary. For what the virgin Eve bound through unbelief, this the virgin Mary loosed through faith.

CHAPTER 23

He contends against Tatian that it was in keeping with God's justice and mercy that Adam should be the first of all to obtain salvation from Christ.

1. It was necessary, therefore, that the Lord, coming to the lost sheep, and making the recapitulation of so great a disposition, and seeking his own handiwork, should save that very man who had been made according to his image and likeness, that is, Adam, who was fulfilling the times of his condemnation, which had come about because of disobedience, which the Father has set in his own power (Acts 1:7); since the whole disposition of salvation that concerned man also came about according to the good pleasure of the Father, so that God should not be conquered, nor his art be weakened. For if the man who had been made by God that he might live, losing life, injured by the serpent that had corrupted him, were no longer to return to life, but had been wholly cast away to death, God would have been conquered, and the wickedness of the serpent would have prevailed over the will of God. But since God is unconquered and long-suffering, he showed himself long-suffering for the correction

of man and the testing of all, as we said before; and through the second man he bound the strong man, and plundered his vessels, and made death void, giving life to that man who had been put to death. For Adam became the first vessel of his possession, whom he also held under his power, that is, wickedly bringing transgression upon him, and, under the pretext of immortality, working death in him. For, promising that they would be as gods (which is not at all possible for him), he wrought death in them: whence he who had led man captive was also justly taken captive in turn by God; while man, who had been led captive, was loosed from the bonds of condemnation.

2. But this is Adam, if we must speak the truth, that first-formed man, of whom the Scripture says that the Lord said: Let us make man to our image and likeness (Gen 1:26); and we are all from him: and since we are from him, we have for that reason also inherited his name. But since man is to be saved, it is fitting that he who was first formed as man should be saved. For it is very unreasonable to say that he who was grievously injured by the enemy, and was the first to suffer captivity, is not rescued by him who has conquered the enemy, but that his sons are rescued, whom he begot in that same captivity. Nor will the enemy yet appear to be conquered, while the old spoils themselves remain with him. As if enemies had overcome some people, and led them away bound as captives, and held them in servitude for a long time, so that they begot

children among them; and someone, grieving for those who had been made slaves, were to overcome those same enemies: he will not act justly if he frees from the power of those who had led their fathers into servitude the sons of those who were led captive, but leaves subject to the enemies those very men who endured the captivity, for whose sake he also undertook the defence: the sons obtaining freedom by reason of the rescue of their fathers, but the fathers themselves, who endured the captivity itself, not being left behind. For God is neither weak nor unjust, he who helped man and restored him to his own freedom.

3. For this reason too, at the beginning of Adam's transgression, as the Scripture relates, he did not curse Adam himself, but the earth in his works; as one of the ancients says: "God transferred the curse to the earth, so that it should not remain in man." And man received as the condemnation of his transgression weariness and earthly labour, and to eat bread in the sweat of his face, and to return to the earth from which he was taken; and likewise the woman weariness, and labours, and groans, and the sorrows of childbirth, and servitude, that is, that she should serve her husband: so that, cursed by God, they should neither perish altogether, nor, remaining without rebuke, despise God. But the whole curse ran down upon the serpent, which had led them astray. And God said, it says, to the serpent: Because you have done this, cursed are you above all cattle and above all the beasts of the earth (Gen

3:14). And the Lord too says this same thing in the Gospel to those who are found on the left: Go away, you cursed, into the eternal fire which my Father prepared for the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41); signifying that the eternal fire was not prepared principally for man, but for him who led astray and made man stumble, and, I say, for him who is the prince of the apostasy, the prince of the falling-away, and for those angels who became apostates with him: which those too will justly receive who, like them, persevere in the works of wickedness without repentance and without return.

4. Just as Cain, when he had received counsel from God to be still, because he had not rightly divided the fellowship he had with his brother, but with envy and malice thought that he could lord it over him, not only did not acquiesce, but even added sin to sin, showing his mind by his deed. For what he thought, that he also did: he lorded it over him and killed him, God subjecting the just to the unjust, so that the one might be shown just by what he suffered, and the other be exposed as unjust by what he committed. And not even so was he softened, nor did he rest after the evil deed; but, being asked where his brother was, I do not know, he said: am I the keeper of my brother? (Gen 4:9); extending and multiplying the evil by his reply. For if it is evil to kill a brother, it is much worse to answer so boldly and irreverently God who knows all things, as though he could deceive him. For this reason he himself also bore the curse, because he brought forth the sin of

himself, neither revering God nor being ashamed of the fratricide.

5. But with Adam nothing of the kind happened, but everything the contrary. For, led astray by another under the pretext of immortality, he is at once seized with fear and hides himself: not as though he could escape God, but ashamed, because, having transgressed his precept, he is unworthy to come into the presence and converse of God. Now the fear of the Lord is the beginning of understanding (Ps 111:10; Prov 1:7); and the understanding of the transgression brought about repentance: and to those who repent God grants his kindness. For by the girdle he showed his repentance in deed, covering himself with fig leaves, though there were many other leaves too which would have chafed his body less: yet he made a garment worthy of his disobedience, terrified by the fear of God; and, checking the wanton impulse of the flesh, since he had lost his natural character and childlike understanding and had come to the thought of worse things, he put a bridle of continence round himself and his wife, fearing God and awaiting his coming, and as if signifying something like this: "Since," he says, "I have lost through disobedience the robe of holiness that I had from the Spirit, I now acknowledge that I am worthy of such a covering, which affords no pleasure, but bites and pricks the body." And he would surely have kept this garment always, humbling himself, had not the Lord, who is merciful, clothed them with tunics of skin instead of fig leaves. For this reason

he also questions them, so that the accusation might come to the woman; and her in turn he questions, so that she might pass the charge on to the serpent. For she told what had been done: The serpent, she said, led me astray, and I ate (Gen 3:13). But he did not question the serpent, for he knew that it had become the prince of the transgression: but he first sent the curse upon it, so that the second rebuke might come upon man. For God hated him who led man astray; but on him who was led astray he had mercy gradually and little by little.

6. Wherefore he also cast him out of paradise and removed him far from the tree of life: not grudging him the tree of life, as some dare to say, but having pity on him, so that he should not remain a transgressor for ever, nor should the sin that was about him be immortal, and the evil endless and incurable. But he checked his transgression, interposing death, and causing sin to cease, putting an end to it through the dissolution of the flesh, which would take place in the earth: so that man, ceasing at length to live to sin, and dying to it, might begin to live to God.

7. Wherefore he put enmity between the serpent and the woman and her seed, watching each other: the one, whose sole was bitten, being able also to tread on the head of the enemy; the other biting, and killing, and hindering the steps of man, until the predestined seed came to tread on its head, which was what Mary bore, of whom the Prophet says: You shall walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and you shall trample the lion and

the dragon (Ps 91:13); signifying that sin, which was raised up and spread out against man, and made him cold, would be made void together with death that reigned; and that the lion that leaps upon the human race in the last times, that is, the Antichrist, would be trampled by him; and binding that dragon, the ancient serpent, and subjecting it to the power of man, who had been conquered, to tread on all its power. Now Adam had been conquered, all life having been taken from him: for this reason, the enemy being conquered in turn, Adam received life again; and the last enemy, death, is made void (1 Cor 15:26), which first had possessed man. Wherefore, man being set free, there shall come to pass what is written: Death is swallowed up in victory; where, O death, is your victory? Where, O death, is your sting? (1 Cor 15:54–55) And this could not justly be said, if that man had not been set free over whom death first had dominion. For his salvation is the making void of death. When, therefore, the Lord gave life to man, that is, to Adam, death too was made void.

8. All, therefore, lie who contradict his salvation, always shutting themselves out from life, in that they do not believe that the sheep which was lost has been found. But if it has not been found, the whole generation of man is still held in perdition. A liar, then, is he who first introduced this doctrine, or rather this ignorance and blindness, Tatian; who became, indeed, the knot of all the heretics, as we have shown: but this he devised of himself, so that, bringing in something new be-

yond the rest, and speaking emptiness, he might make ready for himself hearers empty of faith, affecting to be held a master, and trying from time to time to use such sayings as are often found in Paul: that in Adam we all die (1 Cor 15:22); but not knowing that where sin abounded, grace has superabounded (Rom 5:20). This, then, having been plainly shown, let all blush who are from him and who quarrel about Adam, as if they gained some great thing if he is not saved, when rather they gain nothing; just as the serpent too gained nothing by dissuading man, except this, that it showed him a transgressor, having man as the beginning and material of its own apostasy; but God it did not conquer. So too those who contradict the salvation of Adam gain nothing, except this, that they make themselves heretics and apostates from the truth, and show themselves advocates of the serpent and of death.

CHAPTER 24

He briefly repeats what he has argued so far against the various impieties of the Gnostics. To the heretics, tossed by every wind of doctrine, he opposes the one doctrine of the Church, always and everywhere consistent with itself.

1. All, then, having been exposed who bring in wicked doctrines about our Maker and Moulder, who also fashioned this world, above whom there is no other God; and those who teach falsely about the substance of our Lord, and about the disposition which he made for the sake of his man, having been overthrown by

the proofs themselves; and the preaching of the Church, everywhere consistent and persevering equally, and having testimony from the prophets and from the apostles and from all the disciples, as we have shown through the beginnings, and the middles, and the end, and through the whole disposition of God, and that accustomed working which concerns the salvation of man, which is in our faith; which, having received it from the Church, we guard, and which always, by the Spirit of God, like some excellent deposit in a good vessel, grows young, and makes the very vessel in which it is grow young. For this gift of God has been entrusted to the Church, as breath was to the moulding, so that all the members, receiving it, may be given life: and in it has been disposed the fellowship of Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, and the confirmation of our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God. For in the Church, he says, God has set apostles, prophets, teachers (1 Cor 12:28), and all the rest of the working of the Spirit: of which all those are not partakers who do not run to the Church, but defraud themselves of life by evil doctrine and the worst action. For where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and all grace: and the Spirit is truth. Wherefore those who do not partake of him are neither nourished into life from the breasts of the mother, nor do they receive the most clear fountain that proceeds from the body of Christ: but they dig for themselves worn-out cisterns out of earthly ditches, and

drink foul water out of the mire, fleeing the faith of the Church lest they be exposed, and rejecting the Spirit, so as not to be taught.

2. Estranged from the truth, they deservedly wallow in every error, tossed about by it, thinking now one thing and now another about the same things at different times, and never having a settled doctrine; wishing rather to be sophists of words than disciples of the truth. For they are not founded upon the one rock, but upon sand, which has many stones in itself. For this reason they also fashion many gods, and they always have seeking as their excuse (for they are blind), but they can never find. For they blaspheme the Fashioner, that is, him who is truly God, who also grants us to find; thinking that they have found another God above God, or another fullness, or another disposition. Wherefore the light that is from God does not shine for them either, since they have dishonoured and despised God, holding him of least account because, through his love and immeasurable kindness, he came into the knowledge of men (into knowledge, however, not according to his greatness, nor according to his substance; for no one has measured it, nor handled it; but in this way, that we might know that he who made and moulded and breathed into them the breath of life, and nourishes us through the creation, establishing all things by his Word and binding them together by Wisdom, he is the only true God); but dreaming of him who is not, above this one, so that they may be thought to have found a great God, whom no

one can know as having dealings with the human race or administering earthly things: finding, namely, the God of Epicurus, who provides nothing either for himself or for others, that is, who has providence of nothing.

CHAPTER 25

That this world is ruled by the providence of the one God, who is endowed at once with infinite justice, to punish the wicked, and with goodness, to do good to the godly and bestow salvation.

1. Now God has providence of all things, and for this reason he also gives counsel; and, giving counsel, he is present to those who exercise providence over their conduct. It is necessary, then, that the things which are provided for and governed should know their director; things which indeed are not irrational nor vain, but have a perception received from the providence of God. And for this reason some of the heathen, who were less enslaved to allurements and pleasures, and were not so far carried away by the superstition of idols, moved by his providence, though faintly, were nevertheless converted, so as to say that the Fashioner of this universe is the Father who provides for all things and disposes this world of ours.

2. Again, to take away from the Father the power to rebuke and to judge, thinking it unworthy of God, and thinking that they had found a God without anger and good, they said that one judges and the other saves; not knowing that

they take away from both understanding and justice. For if the judicial one is not also good, so as to give to those to whom he ought and to reproach those whom he should, he will appear as a judge neither just nor wise. Again, the good one, if he is only good and not also one who tests on whom he is to send his goodness, will be outside justice and goodness, and his goodness will appear weak, not saving all, if it is not done with judgement.

3. Marcion himself, then, dividing God into two, and saying that one is good and the other judicial, does away with God on both sides. For this one who is judicial, if he is not also good, is not God, because he is not God who lacks goodness; and that one again who is good, if he is not also judicial, will suffer the same as this one, that it should be taken from him to be God. And how do they call the Father of all wise, if they do not also assign to him the power to judge? For if he is wise, he is also one who tests; and the power to judge belongs to him who tests; and justice follows the power to judge, that he may test justly; justice calls forth judgement; and judgement, when it is done with justice, will pass on to wisdom. The Father, therefore, will excel in wisdom above all human and angelic wisdom, since he is Lord, and judge, and just, and ruler over all. For he is also good, and merciful, and patient, and saves those whom he should: neither does the good, justly carried out, fail him, nor is his wisdom diminished: for he saves those whom he ought to save, and judges those worthy of judgement: nor

is what is just shown to be harsh, goodness, that is, going before it and preceding it.

4. God, then, who makes his sun rise kindly on all, and sends rain on the just and the unjust, will judge those who, receiving his kindness equally, did not live in like manner according to the worth of his bounty, but spent their lives in delights and luxuries against his benevolence, even blaspheming him who has conferred such great benefits on them.

5. More religious than these is Plato shown to be, who confessed that the same God is both just and good, having power over all things, himself executing judgement, saying thus: "And God indeed, as the ancient saying also is, holding the beginning, and the end, and the middle of all things that are, accomplishes rightly, going round according to nature; and justice the avenger always follows him against those who fall away from the divine law." And again he shows that the Maker and Fashioner of this universe is good. "But in the good," he says, "no envy ever arises about anything"; establishing this, the goodness of God, as the beginning and cause of the fashioning of the world; and not ignorance, nor an Aeon who went astray, nor the fruit of a defect, nor the Mother weeping and lamenting, nor another God or Father.

6. And justly will the Mother bewail them, the contrivers and devisers of such things: for they have contrived and feigned things worthy of them, upon their own heads, since their Mother is outside the Fullness, that is, outside the knowl-

edge of God, and their gathering has become an abortion, formless and without shape: for it grasped nothing of the truth; it fell into the void and into shadow; for their teaching is empty and darkened: and Horos did not allow her to enter the Pleroma; for the Spirit did not receive them into refreshment. For their Father, begetting ignorance, worked in them the passions of death. We do not slander them with these things, but they themselves affirm them, they themselves teach them, they glory in them, they think highly of the Mother, whom they say was begotten without a father, that is, without God, a female from a female, that is, corruption from error.

7. But we pray that they may not remain in the pit which they themselves have dug, but be separated from such a Mother, and go out from Bythus, and depart from the Void, and leave the Shadow: and that they may be lawfully begotten, being converted to the Church of God, and that Christ may be formed in them, and that they may know the Fashioner and Maker of this universe, the only true God and Lord of all. These things we pray for them, loving them more profitably than they think they love themselves. For the love that is from us, since it is true, is saving for them, if indeed they receive it. For it is like a harsh medicine, consuming the improper and superfluous flesh of the wound: for it makes void their pride and their puffing up. Wherefore it will not weary us to try with all our strength to stretch out a hand to them. And, beyond what has been said, we shall go on in the following book to bring forward the

words of the Lord, to see whether, convincing some of them by the very teaching of Christ, we may persuade them to cease from such error and to depart from that blasphemy which is against their Fashioner, who is also the only God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Book IV

Preface

1. In sending you, dearly beloved, this fourth book of the work that is on the exposure and overthrow of the false knowledge, we shall confirm, as we promised, through the words of the Lord what we have said before; so that you too, as you asked, may receive from us on every side the means of refuting all the heretics, and, having beaten them back in every way, may not let them go further into the depth of error nor be stifled in the sea of ignorance, but, turning them into the harbour of the truth, may make them receive their own salvation.

2. But whoever would convert them must know with care their rules, or plots. For it is not possible for anyone to cure those who are ill if he does not know the disease of those who are unwell. Wherefore those who were before us, and indeed far better than we, were nevertheless not able to contradict sufficiently those from Valentinus, because they did not know their rule, which we have handed on to you with all diligence in the first book; in which we also showed that their doctrine is the recapitulation of all the heretics. Wherefore in the second too we held them up as a kind of mirror of the whole overthrow. For those

who contradict these as they ought contradict all who are of evil doctrine; and those who overthrow these overthrow every heresy.

3. For their rule is blasphemous above all others, since they say that the Maker and Fashioner, who is the one God, as we have shown, was emitted from a defect or deficiency. And they blaspheme against our Lord too, cutting off and dividing Jesus from Christ, and Christ from the Saviour, and again the Saviour from the Word, and the Word from the Only-begotten. And just as they say that the Fashioner was emitted from a defect or deficiency, so too they have taught that Christ and Holy Spirit were emitted because of the defect, and that the Saviour is the fruit-bearing of those Aeons who were emitted from the defect; so that nothing among them is without blasphemy. In the book before this one, then, the mind of the apostles on all these things was shown: that not only did they, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word of truth (Luke 1:2), think nothing of the kind, but they also preached to us to flee such doctrines, foreseeing by the Spirit those who were going to lead the simpler astray.

4. For just as the serpent led Eve astray, promising her what he did not have himself, so these too, holding out a greater knowledge and inexpressible mysteries, and promising that reception which they say is within the Pleroma, plunge those who believe them into death, making them apostates from him who made them. And then the apostate angel, having worked

the disobedience of men through the serpent, thought that he was hidden from the Lord: wherefore God gave him the same form and the same name. But now, since the times are the last, the evil spreads among men, not only making them apostates but also setting them up as blasphemers against the Moulder by many machinations, that is, through all the heretics who have been spoken of before. For all these, though they set out from different places and teach different things, nevertheless run together to the same purpose of blasphemy, wounding mortally by teaching blasphemy against God our Maker and Nourisher, and by disparaging the salvation of man. Now man is a blending of soul and flesh, who was formed after the likeness of God and moulded by his hands, that is, by the Son and the Spirit, to whom he also said: Let us make man (Gen 1:26). This, then, is the purpose of him who envies our life: to make men unbelieving of their own salvation, and blasphemers against God the Moulder. For whatever all the heretics may have said with the utmost gravity, in the end they come to this: to blaspheme the Fashioner and to contradict the salvation of God's handiwork, which is the flesh; for whose sake, as we have shown in many ways, the Son of God made the whole disposition; and we have made it plain that no other is called God by the Scriptures except the Father of all, and the Son, and those who have the adoption.

CHAPTER 1

That Christ both knew and taught the disciples one only God and Father.

1. Since, then, this is firm and constant, that no other God and Lord was proclaimed by the Spirit except him who rules over all as God, together with his Word, and those who receive the Spirit of adoption, that is, those who believe in the one and true God and in Christ Jesus the Son of God; and that likewise the apostles called no other God of themselves, nor gave the name of Lord to any other; and much more our Lord, who also commanded us to confess no one as Father except him who is in heaven, who is one God and one Father: the things that the deceivers and most perverse sophists say are plainly shown to be false, when they say that the one whom they themselves devised is by nature both God and Father, but that the Demiurge is by nature neither God nor Father, but is so called in word only, because he rules over the creation, as these perverse grammarians say, thinking out things against God; and, passing over the teaching of Christ and divining falsehoods of themselves, they argue against the whole disposition of God. For they say that their Aeons are called gods, and fathers, and lords, and even heavens, together with their Mother, whom they call both earth and Jerusalem, naming her by many other terms besides.

2. And to whom would it not be plain that, if the Lord had known many fathers and gods, he would not have commanded his disciples to know one God and to call this same one alone

Father? Rather, he distinguished those who are gods in word only from him who is truly God, so that they might not go astray in respect of his teaching nor understand one in place of another. But if he commanded us to call one Father and God, while he himself at times confesses others as fathers and gods in the same way, he will be seen to command one thing to his disciples and to do another himself. But this is not the part of a good master, but of a seducer and an envious one. And the apostles too, according to them, are shown to be transgressors of the precept, confessing the Demiurge as God and Lord and Father, as we have shown, if he is not alone God and Father. Jesus, then, will be for them the author and master of transgression, he who commanded that one be called Father, laying on them the necessity of confessing the Demiurge as their Father, as has been shown.

CHAPTER 2

He proves by the plain testimonies of Moses and of the other prophets, whose words are Christ's, that he is one and only God, the Creator of the world, whom the Lord proclaimed and whom he said was his Father.

1. Moses, then, making in Deuteronomy a recapitulation of the whole Law which he had received from the Demiurge, speaks thus: Give heed, heaven, and I will speak; and let the earth hear the words of my mouth (Deut 32:1). Again David, saying that his help comes from the Lord: My help, he says, is from the Lord, who made

heaven and earth (Ps 121:2). And Isaiah confesses that the words come from God, who made heaven and earth and rules over them: Hear, he says, heaven, and give ear, earth, for the Lord has spoken (Isa 1:2). And again: Thus says the Lord God, who made the heaven and fixed it fast; who established the earth and the things that are in it; and who gives breath to the people that is upon it, and the Spirit to those who tread on it (Isa 42:5).

2. Again, our Lord Jesus Christ confesses this same one as his Father, in saying: I confess to you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth (Matt 11:25). Which Father would they have us understand, these who are the most perverse sophists of Pandora? Bythus, whom they feigned of themselves? or their Mother? or the Only-begotten? Or the God whom the Marcionites, or the rest, have devised? (that he is no God, we have demonstrated by many proofs) Or (what is true) the Fashioner of heaven and earth? whom the prophets too proclaimed, whom Christ too confesses as his Father, whom the Law too proclaims, saying: Hear, Israel: the Lord your God is one (Deut 6:4).

3. And that the writings of Moses are the words of Christ, he himself says to the Jews, as John has recorded in the Gospel: If you had believed Moses, you would have believed me also: for he wrote of me. But if you do not believe his writings, neither will you believe my words (John 5:46–47). He signified most plainly that the writings of Moses are his own words. If, then, those of Moses are his, then without doubt the words of the rest of the prophets are his too, as we have

demonstrated. And again the Lord himself shows that Abraham said to the rich man, concerning all those who were still alive: If they do not obey Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe him if someone should rise from the dead and go to them (Luke 16:31).

4. Now he did not tell us a fable of the poor man and the rich man; but first he taught that no one ought to give himself to luxury, nor, living amid worldly delights and many feasts, be a slave to his own pleasures and forget God. For there was, he says, a rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and delighted in splendid feasts (Luke 16:19). And of such men the Spirit spoke through Isaiah too: With lyres and drums and psalteries and pipes they drink wine; but they do not look upon the works of God, and they do not consider the works of his hands (Isa 5:12). So that we may not come into the same punishment with them, then, the Lord showed their end; signifying at the same time that those who obey Moses and the prophets would believe in him whom these had proclaimed, the Son of God, who rose from the dead and gives us life; and he demonstrates that all are from one substance, that is, Abraham and Moses and the prophets, and the Lord himself too, who rose from the dead, in whom many of those who are of the circumcision also believe, who hear Moses and the prophets proclaiming the coming of the Son of God. But those who scorn them say that they are from another substance, and they do not know the firstborn of the dead; for they understand

Christ apart, as one who remained impassible, and apart Jesus, who suffered.

5. For they do not receive from the Father the knowing of the Son, nor do they learn the Father from the Son, who teaches plainly and without parables the God who truly is. Do not swear, he says, at all, neither by heaven, for it is the throne of God, nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of his feet, nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King (Matt 5:34–35). For these things were plainly said of the Fashioner, as Isaiah too says: Heaven is my seat, the earth the footstool of my feet (Isa 66:1). And besides him there is no other God; otherwise he would not be called either God or the great King by the Lord: for such a one admits neither comparison nor any surpassing. For he who has someone superior above him, and is under the power of another, cannot be called either God or the great King.

6. Nor will they be able to say that these things were said in irony, since they are refuted by the very sayings, which show that they were said in truth. For he who was speaking was the truth, and truly he claimed his house as his own, driving out of it the money-changers, who were buying and selling, and saying to them: It is written: My house shall be called a house of prayer; but you have made it a den of robbers (Matt 21:13). And what reason had he to do and say this, and to claim his house, if he was proclaiming another God? But it was to show up the transgressors of his Father's Law. For he was not accusing the house, nor finding fault with the Law, which he

had come to fulfil; but he was rebuking those who were not using the house well, and those who were transgressing the Law. And therefore the scribes and Pharisees, who had begun from the times of the Law to despise God, did not receive his Word either, that is, they did not believe Christ; of whom Isaiah says: Your princes are disobedient, companions of thieves, loving gifts, chasing after reward, not judging for the orphans, and not attending to the judgement of the widows (Isa 1:23). And Jeremiah likewise: Those who preside over my people, he says, did not know me; they are senseless and foolish sons; they are wise in doing evil, but they have not known how to do good (Jer 4:22).

7. But all who feared God and were careful of his Law ran to Christ, and all were saved: for Go, he says to the disciples, to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt 10:6). And the Samaritans too, it says, when the Lord had stayed with them two days: many more believed because of his words, and they said to the woman: It is no longer because of your talk that we believe; for we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is truly the Saviour of the world (John 4:41–42). And Paul says: And so all Israel will be saved (Rom 11:26). And he also called the Law our tutor towards Jesus Christ (Gal 3:24). Let them not, then, ascribe the unbelief of some to the Law: for the Law did not forbid them to believe in the Son of God, but even exhorted them, saying that men are not saved from the ancient wound of the serpent in any other way than by believing in

him who, in the likeness of sinful flesh, is lifted up from the earth on the tree of martyrdom, and draws all things to himself, and gives life to the dead.

CHAPTER 3

He answers the cavils of the Gnostics: that the true God is not changed or does not cease to be because heaven, his seat, and earth, the footstool of his feet, pass away.

1. As for their malicious saying, that if heaven is the throne of God and the earth his footstool, and it has been said that heaven and earth pass away, then, when these pass away, this God too who sits upon them must pass away, and that therefore he is not the God who is above all: first, they do not know what "heaven a throne, and earth a footstool" means. For they do not know what God is, but think that he sits after the manner of a man, and is contained, and does not contain. Nor do they know what the passing away of heaven and earth is; but Paul did know it, saying: For the figure of this world is passing away (1 Cor 7:31). Next, David solves their question. For he says that, while the figure of this world passes away, not only God endures, but his servants too, speaking thus in the hundred and first psalm: In the beginning you founded the earth, Lord, and the heavens are the works of your hands. They will perish, but you will endure; and all of them will grow old like a garment, and like a covering you will change them, and they will be changed. But you are the same, and your years

will not fail. The sons of your servants shall dwell there, and their seed shall be directed for ever (Ps 102:26–29); showing plainly what the things are that pass away, and who it is that endures for ever: God with his servants. And Isaiah likewise: Lift up your eyes, he says, to heaven, and look at the earth below; for heaven has been made firm like smoke, and the earth will grow old like a garment; and those who dwell in them will die as these do. But my saving power will be for ever, and my justice will not fail (Isa 51:6).

CHAPTER 4

He answers another objection, and proves that, although Jerusalem, which was the city of the great King, was overthrown and forsaken, nothing was lost of God's supreme majesty and power: for it was done by the most wise counsel of the same God.

1. Further, they dare to say of Jerusalem, and of the Lord, that if it were the city of the great King (Matt 5:35), it would not be forsaken. But it is as if someone were to say that, if the straw were God's creation, it would never be forsaken by the wheat; and that the branches of the vine, if they had been made by God, would never be cut off when stripped of their clusters. But just as these were not made principally for their own sake, but for the sake of the fruit that grows on them, and when this has ripened and been taken away, those things which are no longer useful for bearing fruit are left behind and removed out of the way: so too Jerusalem, which had borne in

herself the yoke of servitude (by which man was tamed, who before was not subject to God, when death reigned, and, once tamed, was made fit for freedom), when the fruit of freedom had come, and had grown, and been reaped, and gathered into the barn, and when those who can bear fruit had been carried away from her and sown in all the world — as Isaiah says: The sons of Jacob shall spring up, and Israel shall flower, and the whole earth shall be filled with its fruit (Isa 27:6). For, the fruit having been sown over all the earth, she was rightly forsaken and taken out of the way, she who once had borne fruit well (for from her, according to the flesh, Christ was borne as fruit, and the apostles); but now she is no longer useful for bearing fruit. For whatever has a beginning in time must also have an end in time.

2. Since, then, the Law began with Moses, it ended accordingly with John. Christ had come to fulfil it; and for this reason the Law and the Prophets were among them until John (Luke 16:16); and so too Jerusalem, beginning from David and fulfilling her times. The lawgiving had to have an end, once the New Testament was made manifest. For God makes all things by measure and order, and nothing with him is unmeasured, since nothing is disordered either. And he spoke well who said that the immeasurable Father himself is measured in the Son: for the measure of the Father is the Son, since he also contains him. And since their ministration was for a time, Isaiah says: The daughter of Zion shall be left like a hut in a vineyard, and like a

watchman's shelter in a cucumber field (Isa 1:8). And when will these things be left? Is it not when the fruit is taken away, and only the leaves will be left, which can no longer bear fruit?

3. And why do we speak of Jerusalem, since even the figure of the whole world must pass away when the time of its passing comes, so that the fruit may be gathered into the barn, but the chaff, left behind, may be burned? For the day of the Lord is like a burning oven; and all the sinners who do unjust things shall be straw, and the coming day shall burn them (Mal 3:19). And who this Lord is who brings such a day, John the Baptist signifies, saying of Christ: He will baptise you in the Holy Spirit and fire, having his winnowing fan in his hand to cleanse his threshing floor; and he will gather the fruit into the barn, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire (Matt 3:11–12; Luke 3:16–17). For it is not one who makes the wheat and another who makes the chaff, but one and the same, who also judges them, that is, separates them. But the wheat and the chaff, being without soul and without reason, were made such by nature; whereas man, being rational, and in this like God, made free in his choice and of his own power, is himself the cause to himself that he becomes now wheat, now chaff. Wherefore he will also be justly condemned, because, though made rational, he lost true reason, and, living irrationally, set himself against the justice of God, giving himself up to every earthly spirit and serving all pleasures; as the Prophet says: Man, when he was in honour, did not understand; he was

compared to the senseless beasts, and became like them (Ps 49:13).

CHAPTER 5

He returns to the argument he had taken up, and shows that there is one God proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, whom Christ confesses as his Father, and who through his Word, one living God with him, made himself known to men in both Testaments.

1. One and the same God, then, who rolls up the heaven like a book and renews the face of the earth; who made the things of time for man's sake, so that, ripening in them, he might bear the fruit of immortality; and who brings in the things eternal over them for his kindness' sake, that he may show to the ages to come the inexpressible riches of his kindness (Eph 2:7); who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets; whom Christ confessed as his Father. And he is the Fashioner; and he is the God who is above all, as Isaiah says: I am witness, says the Lord God, and my servant whom I have chosen, so that you may know and believe and understand that I am. Before me there was no other God, and after me there will be none. I am God, and apart from me there is no one who saves. I have proclaimed, and I have saved (Isa 43:10–12). And again: I am God the first, and I am over the things to come (Isa 41:4). For he does not say these things inconstantly, nor arrogantly, nor boasting; but since it was impossible to learn God without God, he teaches men through his Word to know God. To those, then, who do not

know these things, and for this reason think they have devised another Father, one may justly say: You err, knowing neither the Scriptures nor the power of God (Matt 22:29).

2. For our Lord and master, in the answer he gave to the Sadducees, who say that there is no resurrection, and for this reason dishonour God and disparage the Law, both showed the resurrection and made God manifest, saying to them: You err, knowing neither the Scriptures nor the power of God. For concerning the resurrection of the dead, he says, have you not read what was said by God, who says: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? (Matt 22:31–32; Exod 3:6) And he added: He is not the God of the dead, but of the living (Matt 22:32); for all live to him. By these words he certainly made it manifest that he who spoke to Moses from the bush and made himself known as the God of the fathers is the God of the living. For who is the God of the living, if not he who is God, above whom there is no other God? Him too the prophet Daniel proclaimed, when Cyrus king of the Persians had said to him: Why do you not worship Bel? (Dan 14:3); for he said: Because I do not worship idols made by hands, but the living God, who established heaven and earth and has dominion over all flesh (Dan 14:4). Again he said: I will worship the Lord my God, for he is the living God (Dan 14:24). The living God, then, who was worshipped by the prophets, is the God of the living; and his Word, who also spoke to Moses, who also refuted the Sadducees, who also granted the

resurrection, showing both things to those who are blind, that is, the resurrection and God. For if he is not the God of the dead but of the living, and yet he was called the God of the fathers who sleep, beyond doubt they live to God and have not perished, since they are sons of the resurrection. And the resurrection is our Lord himself, as he himself says: I am the resurrection and the life (John 11:25). And the fathers are his sons; for it was said by the Prophet: In place of your fathers, your sons were made for you (Ps 45:17). Christ himself, then, together with the Father, is the God of the living, who spoke to Moses, who was also made manifest to the fathers.

3. And teaching this very thing he said to the Jews: Abraham your father rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad (John 8:56). What then? Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for justice (Gen 15:6; Rom 4:3): first, that he is the Maker of heaven and earth, the only God; and then, that he will make his seed like the stars of heaven. This is what is said by Paul: as lights in the world (Phil 2:15). Justly, then, leaving all his earthly kindred, he followed the Word of God, journeying as a stranger with the Word, so that he might dwell with the Word.

4. Justly too the apostles, who had their descent from Abraham, leaving the boat and their father, followed the Word of God. Justly too do we, receiving the same faith that Abraham had, take up the cross, as Isaac took up the wood, and follow him. For in Abraham man had learned beforehand, and had grown accustomed, to fol-

low the Word of God. For Abraham, following according to his faith the precept of the Word of God, with a ready mind yielded up his only and beloved son as a sacrifice to God, so that God too might be pleased to offer, for all his seed, his own beloved and only-begotten Son as a sacrifice for our redemption.

5. Since Abraham, then, was a prophet, and saw in the Spirit the day of the Lord's coming and the disposition of the Passion, through whom both he himself and all who, as he believed, likewise believe God were to be saved, he rejoiced greatly. The Lord, then, whose day Abraham longed to see, was not unknown to him; nor was the Father of the Lord: for he had learned from the Word of the Lord, and believed him; wherefore it was also reckoned to him for justice by the Lord. For faith towards God most high justifies man; and for this reason he said: I will stretch out my hand to God most high, who established heaven and earth (Gen 14:22). But all these things those who are of evil doctrine try to overthrow, on account of one saying, which indeed they have not rightly understood.

CHAPTER 6

He explains Christ's words, "No one knows the Father except the Son", etc., which the heretics abused, and proves that, as the Father reveals the Son, so, the Son revealing him, the Father was never unknown.

1. For the Lord, showing the disciples that he himself is the Word who brings about the

knowledge of the Father, and reproaching the Jews, who thought they had God while they also rejected his Word, through whom God is known, said: No one knows the Son except the Father, nor does anyone know the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal him (Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22). So Matthew set it down, and Luke likewise, and Mark the very same; for John passed over this place. But those who would be more skilled than the apostles write it thus: No one has known the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and he to whom the Son wills to reveal him; and they interpret it as though the true God had been known by no one before the coming of our Lord; and they say that the God who was proclaimed by the prophets is not the Father of Christ.

2. But if Christ began to be at the time when he made his coming according to man, and the Father remembered to provide for men from the times of Tiberius Caesar, and it was shown that his Word had not always been together with his handiwork: not even then ought another God to have been proclaimed, but the causes of so great carelessness and neglect on his part ought to have been inquired into. For no question ought to be such, and to grow so strong, as to change God and make void our faith towards the Fashioner (who nourishes us through his creation). For just as we direct our faith towards the Son, so too we ought to have a firm and immovable love towards the Father. And Justin says well in his book against Marcion: "I would not have believed the

Lord himself either, had he proclaimed another God besides our Fashioner and Maker and Nourisher. But because the only-begotten Son came to us from the one God, who both made this world and moulded us, and contains and governs all things, recapitulating his own handiwork in himself, my faith towards him is firm, and my love towards the Father immovable, God granting us both."

3. For no one can know the Father unless the Word of God, that is, unless the Son, reveals him; nor the Son, without the good pleasure of the Father. And the Son accomplishes the good pleasure of the Father: for the Father sends, and the Son is sent and comes. And the Father, who is invisible and without bounds as far as we are concerned, is known by his own Word; and though he is inexpressible, the Word himself declares him to us; and again, the Father alone knows his own Word: and that both these things are so the Lord has made manifest. And for this reason the Son reveals the knowledge of the Father through his own manifestation. For the knowledge of the Father is the manifestation of the Son: for all things are made manifest through the Word. So that we might know, then, that the Son who has come is himself the one who brings about the knowledge of the Father for those who believe him, he said to the disciples: No one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whom the Son has revealed him (Matt 11:27); teaching himself and the Father as he is, so that

we may not receive another Father except him who is revealed by the Son.

4. And this is the Fashioner of heaven and earth, as is shown from his words; and not the false Father devised by Marcion, or by Valentinus, or by Basilides, or by Carpocrates, or Simon, or the rest of the falsely so-called Gnostics. For none of them was the Son of God, but Christ Jesus our Lord, against whom they also practise a contrary discipline, daring to proclaim an unknown God. But they ought to hear this against themselves: How is he unknown who is known by them? For whatever is known even by a few is not unknown. Now the Lord did not say that the Father and the Son cannot be known at all; otherwise his coming would have been superfluous. For why was he coming here? Was it to say to us: "Do not seek God, for he is unknown, and you will not find him", as those from Valentinus lie that Christ said to their Aeons? But this is vain. But the Lord taught that no one can know God unless God teaches him, that is, that without God God is not known; and that this very thing, that he should be known, is the will of the Father. For those know him to whom the Son has revealed him.

5. And to this end the Father has revealed the Son, that through him he might be made manifest to all, and might receive into incorruption and into eternal refreshment those who, being just, believe him (and to believe him is to do his will); but those who do not believe, and for this reason flee his light, he will justly shut up in the darkness which they have chosen for themselves.

To all, then, the Father revealed himself, making his Word visible to all; and again the Word showed the Father and the Son to all, since he was seen by all; and therefore the judgement of God is just upon all who saw alike but did not believe alike.

6. For through the creation itself the Word reveals God the Creator; and through the world the Lord, the Fashioner of the world; and through the handiwork the craftsman who moulded it; and through the Son that Father who begot the Son: and all speak of these things alike, but they do not believe alike. But through the Law and the Prophets the Word proclaimed both himself and the Father alike; and the whole people heard alike, but not all believed alike. And through the Word himself, made visible and palpable, the Father was shown, even if not all believed him alike; but all saw the Father in the Son: for the invisible of the Son is the Father, and the visible of the Father is the Son. And for this reason all spoke of Christ when he was present, and named God. Even the demons, seeing the Son, said: We know you, who you are, the holy one of God (Mark 1:24); and the devil, tempting him, when he saw him, said: If you are the Son of God (Matt 4:3); all, indeed, seeing the Son and the Father and speaking of them, but not all believing.

7. For the truth had to receive testimony from all, and to be a judgement for the salvation of those who believe and for the condemnation of those who do not believe, so that all may be justly judged, and the faith in the Father and the Son

may be approved by all, that is, confirmed by all, receiving testimony from all, both from those of the household, since they are friends, and from strangers, since they are enemies. For that is the true proof, beyond contradiction, which brings forth singular evidences of testimony even from the adversaries themselves, who, at the very sight of him, manifest before them, were convinced of the matter in hand, and testified, and signified it; but afterwards broke out into enmity, and accused, and wished their own testimony not to be true. It was not, then, one who was known and another who said: No one knows the Father (Matt 11:27); but one and the same, the Father subjecting all things to him, and he receiving testimony from all that he is truly man and that he is truly God: from the Father, from the Spirit, from the angels, from the creation itself, from men, and from the apostate spirits and the demons, and from the enemy, and last of all from death itself. And the Son, ministering all things to the Father, accomplishes them from the beginning to the end, and without him no one can know God. For the knowledge of the Father is the Son; and the knowledge of the Son is in the Father, and revealed through the Son: and for this reason the Lord said: No one knows the Son except the Father, nor the Father except the Son, and those to whom the Son has revealed him (Matt 11:27). For "has revealed" was not said of the future only, as though the Word had begun to manifest the Father at that time, when he was born of Mary; but it is set down for the whole of time alike.

For the Son, being present to his own handiwork from the beginning, reveals the Father to all, to whom the Father wills, and when he wills, and as he wills: and for this reason in all and through all there is one God the Father, and one Word, the Son, and one Spirit, and one salvation for all who believe in him.

CHAPTER 7

He takes up again the discourse begun, and shows that Abraham, the Word revealing it, knew the Father and the coming of the Son of God. Hence that he rejoiced, seeing the day of Christ, in which the promises made to him were to be fulfilled. The fruit of this rejoicing flowed to his descendants, sharers in Abraham's faith, but did not reach the Jews, who rejected the Word of God.

1. And so Abraham, knowing from the Word the Father, who made heaven and earth, confessed him as God; and, taught by a showing beforehand that the Son of God would be a man among men, through whose coming his seed would be like the stars of heaven, he longed to see that day, so that he too might embrace Christ; and, seeing it through the Spirit of prophecy, he rejoiced. For this reason Simeon too, of his seed, fulfilled in deed the patriarch's joy, and said: Now you let your servant go, Lord, in peace; for my eyes have seen your saving power, which you have prepared in the face of all peoples: a light for the revelation of the nations, and the glory of the people Israel (Luke 2:29–32). And the angels too announced great joy to the shepherds keeping

watch by night (Luke 2:8–10). And Mary too says: My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in my saving God (Luke 1:46–47); the rejoicing of Abraham descending upon those who were of his seed, who kept watch, and saw Christ, and believed him; and the rejoicing turning back again and returning from the sons to Abraham, who had also longed to see the day of Christ's coming. Well, then, did our Lord bear witness to him, saying: Abraham your father rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad (John 8:56).

2. For he did not say this for Abraham's sake alone, but also to show that all who from the beginning had known God and prophesied the coming of Christ received the revelation from the Son himself, who also in the last times was made visible and passible, and spoke with the human race, so that from stones he might raise up sons to Abraham, and fulfil the promise which God had promised him, and make his seed like the stars of heaven, as John the Baptist says: For God is able from these stones to raise up sons to Abraham (Matt 3:9). And this Jesus did, drawing us away from the worship of stones, and carrying us over from hard and fruitless thoughts, and establishing in us a faith like Abraham's. As Paul too testifies, saying that we are sons of Abraham by the likeness of faith and by the promise of the inheritance.

3. It is one and the same God, then, who called Abraham and gave him the promise. And he is the Fashioner, who also through Christ prepares lights in the world, those who believe from

among the nations. You, he says, are the light of the world (Matt 5:14), that is, like the stars of heaven. Him, then, we have rightly shown to be known by no one except by the Son, and by those to whom the Son has revealed him. And the Son reveals the Father to all to whom he wills him to be known; and neither without the good will of the Father nor without the ministration of the Son will anyone know God. And for this reason the Lord said to the disciples: I am the way, the truth and the life. And no one comes to the Father except through me. If you had known me, you would surely have known my Father as well; and from now on you have known him, and have seen him (John 14:6–7). From which it is plain that he is known through the Son, that is, through the Word.

4. For this reason the Jews departed from God, not receiving his Word, but thinking that they could know the Father by himself, without the Word, that is, without the Son; not knowing as God him who spoke in human form to Abraham, and again to Moses, saying: Seeing, I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have come down to deliver them (Exod 3:7–8). For these things the Son, who is the Word of God, was preparing beforehand from the beginning, the Father not needing angels in order to make the creation and to form man, for whose sake the creation too was being made; nor again needing a ministry for the fashioning of the things that were made, for the disposition of the affairs that were according to man; but having a min-

istry abundant and inexpressible. For his own offspring and his own figuration minister to him in all things, that is, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Word and Wisdom; whom all the angels serve, and to whom they are subject. Vain, then, are those who, because it was said: No one knows the Father except the Son (Matt 11:27), bring in another, unknown Father.

CHAPTER 8

That Marcion and his followers are vain, who shut Abraham out of the salvation imparted through Christ; for Christ set free not Abraham only but his seed too, by fulfilling the Law, not by dissolving it, even when he healed on the Sabbaths.

1. Vain too is Marcion, and those who are from him, who shut Abraham out of the inheritance, to whom the Spirit bears witness through many, and now through Paul too, that he believed God, and it was reckoned to him for justice (Rom 4:3; Gen 15:6); and so does the Lord, first by raising up sons to him from stones, and by making his seed like the stars of heaven, saying: They will come from the east and the west, from the north and the south, and will recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matt 8:11; Luke 13:29); and again by saying to the Jews: When you see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the prophets in the kingdom of heaven, but yourselves cast out (Luke 13:28). It is plain, then, that those who contradict his salvation, and form another God besides him who made the promise

to Abraham, are outside the kingdom of God and are disinherited of incorruption, rejecting and blaspheming God, who brings into the kingdom of heaven Abraham and his seed, which is the Church, through Christ Jesus, to whom the adoption too is given back, and the inheritance which was promised to Abraham.

2. For the Lord was claiming his seed, loosing them from their bonds and calling them to salvation, as he did with the woman who was healed by him, saying plainly to those who did not have a faith like Abraham's: Hypocrites, does not each of you on the Sabbath day loose his ox or his ass, and lead it away, and give it water? And this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan had bound for eighteen years, ought she not to have been loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day? (Luke 13:15–16) It is plain, then, that those who believed him as Abraham did he loosed and gave life to, doing nothing outside the Law in healing on the Sabbath day. For the Law did not forbid men to be healed on the Sabbath; it even circumcised them on this day, and commanded the priests to perform their ministries for the people; and it did not forbid even the healing of dumb animals. And at Siloam too he often healed on the Sabbath; and for this reason many sat by him on the Sabbath day. For the Law commanded them to abstain from all servile work, that is, from all greed which is pursued through business and other earthly activity; but it urged that the works of the soul, which are done by judgement and good words, should be done for the help of

those who are near. And for this reason the Lord rebuked those who unjustly reproached him for healing on the Sabbath. For he was not dissolving the Law but fulfilling it, performing the work of the high priest, propitiating God for men, and cleansing lepers, healing the sick, and himself dying, so that man, exiled, might go out from condemnation and return without fear to his own inheritance.

3. Nor did the Law forbid those who were hungry to take food on the Sabbath from what lay at hand; but it forbade them to reap and gather into the barn. And therefore to those who accused his disciples because they plucked ears of grain and ate them, the Lord said: Have you not even read this, what David did when he was hungry, how he went into the house of God and ate the loaves of the presence, and gave them to those who were with him, which it was not lawful to eat except for the priests alone? (Luke 6:3–4) excusing his disciples by the words of the Law, and signifying that it is lawful for priests to act freely. Now David had been known as a priest before God, although Saul was persecuting him. For all the just have the priestly order. And all the apostles of the Lord are priests, who inherit neither fields nor houses here, but always serve the altar and God. Of them too Moses says in Deuteronomy, in the blessing of Levi: He who says to his father and his mother: I do not know you; and he did not recognise his brothers, and disowned his sons: he has kept your precepts and observed your testament (Deut 33:9). And who are they who have left father and

mother, and renounced all their kin, for the sake of the word of God and his testament, if not the disciples of the Lord? Of them again Moses: But an inheritance, he says, they shall not have. For the Lord himself is their inheritance (Num 18:20; Deut 10:9). And again: The priests, the Levites, in the whole tribe of Levi, shall have no portion nor substance with Israel: the fruits of the Lord are their substance; they shall eat them (Deut 18:1). For this reason Paul too: I do not seek, he says, the gift, but I seek the fruit (Phil 4:17). Since the disciples of the Lord, he says, had the Levitical substance, it was lawful for them, when they were hungry, to take food from the crops: For the labourer is worthy of his food (Matt 10:10). And the priests in the temple profaned the Sabbath, and were not guilty. Why, then, were they not guilty? Because, being in the temple, they were performing not worldly ministries but the Lord's, fulfilling the Law, not going beyond the Law as did the man who of his own accord brought dry wood into the camp of the Lord, who was also justly stoned. For every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and thrown into the fire (Matt 3:10; 7:19). And: Whoever violates the temple of God, God will violate him (1 Cor 3:17).

CHAPTER 9

That both Testaments have one author, one end and one principal aim.

1. All things, then, are of one and the same substance, that is, from one and the same God, as the Lord too says to the disciples: Therefore

every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven is like a man, a householder, who brings out of his treasure things new and old (Matt 13:52). He did not teach that one brings out the old things and another the new, but one and the same. For the householder is the Lord, who rules over the whole paternal household: to the servants, and those still undisciplined, handing on a fitting law; to the free men, and those justified by faith, giving suitable precepts; and to the sons opening up his inheritance. And by the scribes and teachers of the kingdom of heaven he meant his own disciples, of whom he also says elsewhere to the Jews: Behold, I send to you wise men and scribes and teachers, and some of them you will kill, and you will drive them from city to city (Matt 23:34). And the things new and old that are brought out of the treasure he calls, beyond contradiction, the two Testaments: the old, which was before, the lawgiving; and the new he shows to be the way of life according to the Gospel, of which David says: Sing to the Lord a new song (Ps 96:1; 98:1). And Isaiah: Sing to the Lord a new hymn. His beginning: his name is glorified from the height of the earth; they proclaim his mighty works in the islands (Isa 42:10–12). And Jeremiah says: Behold, I will dispose, he says, a new testament, not as I disposed it for your fathers (Jer 31:31–32) on Mount Horeb. And both Testaments one and the same householder brought forth, the Word of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who spoke both with Abraham and with Moses, and who has restored

freedom to us in newness, and has multiplied the grace that is from him.

2. For something more, he says, than the temple is here (Matt 12:6). Now "more" and "less" are not said of things that have no communion with each other, and are of contrary nature, and fight against each other; but of things that are of the same substance and share with each other, and differ only in quantity and size: as water from water, and light from light, and grace from grace. Greater, then, is the lawgiving that is for freedom than that which was given for servitude; and therefore it has been spread abroad not over one nation but over the whole world. And it is one and the same Lord who is more than the temple, and who gives to men more than Solomon and more than Jonah, that is, his own presence and the resurrection from the dead: not changing God, nor proclaiming another Father, but the very same, who always has more to measure out to those of his household; and, as their love towards God advances, he gives more and greater things, as the Lord too said to the disciples: You will see greater things than these (John 1:50). And Paul says: Not that I have already received, or am justified, or am already perfect (Phil 3:12). For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when what is perfect has come, the things that are in part will be destroyed (1 Cor 13:9–10). Just as, then, when the perfect has come, we shall not see another Father, but him whom we now long to see (For blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God (Matt 5:8)); nor shall we await another Christ and Son

of God, but him who is from the Virgin Mary, who also suffered, in whom we believe, whom we love (as Isaiah says: And they will say on that day: Behold, the Lord our God, in whom we have hoped, and we have rejoiced in our salvation (Isa 25:9). And Peter says in his Epistle: Whom, not seeing, you love, he says, in whom, not seeing him now, you have believed, you will rejoice with inexpressible joy (1 Pet 1:8)); nor do we receive another Holy Spirit, but him who is with us, and who cries: Abba, Father (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6); and in these very things we shall have growth and shall advance, so that no longer through a mirror and in riddles, but face to face, we may enjoy the gifts of God: so now too, receiving more than the temple and more than Solomon, that is, the coming of the Son of God, we have not learned another God besides the Fashioner and Maker of all things, who was shown to us from the beginning; nor another Christ, Son of God, besides him who was proclaimed by the prophets.

3. For since the New Testament was known and proclaimed by the prophets, he too who was to dispose it according to the good pleasure of the Father was proclaimed, being made manifest to men as God willed; so that those who believe in him might always advance, and ripen through the testaments to the perfection of salvation. For there is one salvation and one God; but the precepts that form man are many, and the steps that lead man to God are not few. An earthly and temporal king, though he is a man, may at times grant greater advancements to those who

are subject to him: shall it not be lawful for God, since he is the same, and wills always to grant greater grace to the human race, and constantly to honour with more gifts those who please him? But if this is advancing, to devise another Father besides him who was proclaimed from the beginning, and again, besides him who is thought to have been found second, to devise another, a third; then it will be the same man's advance to go from the third to a fourth, and from this again to another and another: and so an understanding of this kind, always thinking it advances, will never stand firm in one God. For, driven out from him who is, and turned backwards, it will always seek but never find God; but it will swim for ever in the depth of incomprehensibility, unless, converted by repentance, it returns to the place from which it had been cast out, confessing and believing one God, the Father, the Demiurge, who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, who was testified to by Christ, as he himself says to those who accused his disciples as though they did not keep the tradition of the elders: Why do you reject the precept of the Lord for the sake of your tradition? For God said: Honour your father and mother; and: He who curses father or mother, let him die the death (Matt 15:3–4). And again he says to them: And you have rejected the word of God for the sake of your tradition (Matt 15:6); Christ most plainly confessing as Father and God him who said in the Law: Honour your father and mother, that it may be well with you (Exod 20:12). For he, the truthful God, confessed

the precept of the Law to be the word of God, and called no other God than his own Father.

CHAPTER 10

That the Scriptures of the Old Testament, above all those written by Moses, everywhere make mention of the Son of God and foretold most clearly his coming and his Passion, and so flowed from one and the same Father, who inspired them.

1. Well, then, does John too record the Lord saying to the Jews: Search the Scriptures, in which you think you have eternal life: it is they who bear witness of me. And you will not come to me, that you may have life (John 5:39–40). How, then, did the Scriptures testify of him, unless they were from one and the same Father, instructing men beforehand about the coming of his Son, and foretelling the salvation that is from him? For if you believed Moses, he says, you would believe me also: for he wrote of me (John 5:46); that is, because the Son of God is sown everywhere in his Scriptures: at one time speaking with Abraham; at another with Noah, giving them the measures; at another seeking Adam; at another bringing judgement upon the Sodomites; and again, when he is seen, and directs Jacob on his way, and speaks with Moses from the bush. And it is not possible to tell the number of the places in which the Son of God is shown by Moses, the day of whose Passion he did not fail to know either; but he foretold it figuratively, naming it the Pasch; and on that very day, which had been proclaimed

by Moses so long before, the Lord suffered, fulfilling the Pasch. And he described not only the day, but also the place, and the end of the times, and the sign of the setting of the sun, saying: You may not immolate the Pasch in any other of your cities which the Lord God gives you, but in the place which the Lord your God will choose for his name to be invoked there: you shall immolate the Pasch in the evening, at the setting of the sun (Deut 16:5–6).

2. And he had already made his coming manifest, saying: A prince shall not be wanting in Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he comes for whom it is laid up; and he is the hope of the nations; binding his foal to the vine, and the ass's foal to the tendril. He shall wash his robe in wine, and his cloak in the blood of the grape; his eyes are gladdened with wine, and his teeth are whiter than milk (Gen 49:10–12). For let those who are said to search out all things inquire into the time in which the prince and the leader from Judah failed, and who is the hope of the nations, and who the vine, and who his foal, and what the garment, and what the eyes, and what the teeth, and what the wine, and let them search out each of the things said; and they will find that none other than our Lord Jesus Christ was proclaimed. Wherefore Moses, rebuking the people for being ungrateful, says: Is it thus, foolish and unwise people, that you have repaid the Lord? (Deut 32:6) And again he signifies that the Word, who from the beginning created and made them, and in the last times redeems us and gives

us life, is shown hanging on the tree, and they will not believe him. For he says: And your life shall be hanging before your eyes, and you shall not believe your life (Deut 28:66). And again: Is not this same one your Father, who possessed you, and made you, and created you? (Deut 32:6)

CHAPTER 11

That the ancient prophets and just men foreknew the coming of Christ and longed most ardently to see and hear him, he revealing himself in the Scriptures through the Holy Spirit and, without change in himself, enriching men day by day with new benefits, the later more abundantly than the earlier.

1. And that not only the prophets and many just men, foreknowing his coming through the Holy Spirit, prayed to come to that time in which they would see their Lord face to face and hear his words, the Lord made manifest, saying to the disciples: Many prophets and just men have longed to see what you see, and did not see it, and to hear what you hear, and did not hear it (Matt 13:17). How, then, did they long to hear and to see, unless they had foreknown his coming that was to be? And how could they foreknow it, unless they had first received the foreknowledge from him? And how do the Scriptures testify of him, unless all things had always been revealed and shown to believers by one and the same God through the Word: at one time when he speaks with his handiwork, at another when he gives the Law, at another when he reproaches, at another when he

exhorts, and thereafter when he sets the servant free, and adopts him as a son, and at the fitting time grants the inheritance of incorruption, for the perfecting of man? For he moulded him for growth and increase, as Scripture says: Grow and multiply (Gen 1:28).

2. And in this God differs from man, that God makes, but man is made; and he who makes is always the same, but what is made must receive a beginning, and a middle, and addition, and growth. And God does good, and good is done to man. And God is perfect in all things, equal and like to himself, since he is all light, and all mind, and all substance, and the fount of all good things; but man receives advancement and growth towards God. For as God is always the same, so man too, found in God, will always advance towards God. For neither does God ever cease to do good and to enrich man, nor does man cease to receive the benefit and to be enriched by God. For the man who is grateful to him who made him is a receptacle of his goodness and an instrument of his glorification; and again, the man who is ungrateful, and scorns the Moulder, and is not subject to his Word, is a receptacle of his just judgement; for he promised that he would give the most to those who always bear the most fruit and have more of the Lord's money: Well done, he says, good and faithful servant, because you have been faithful in a little, I will set you over much; enter into the joy of your Lord (Matt 25:21, 23); the Lord himself promising the most.

3. As, then, he has now promised to give the most to those who bear fruit, according to the bounty of his grace, but not according to a change of knowledge (for the Lord himself endures, and the same Father is revealed), so too one and the same Lord, by his coming, has granted to those who came later a greater bounty of grace than that which was in the Old Testament. For they heard through servants that the king would come, and rejoiced in a measure, inasmuch as they hoped that he would come; but those who have seen him present, and have obtained freedom and come into possession of his bounty, have greater grace and more abundant rejoicing, rejoicing at the coming of the king, as David too says: My soul shall rejoice in the Lord, it shall delight in his saving power (Ps 35:9). And for this reason, when he entered Jerusalem, all who were on the way of David in sorrow of soul recognised their king, and spread their garments under him, and adorned the way with green branches, crying out with great gladness and rejoicing: Hosanna, son of David; blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; hosanna in the highest (Matt 21:9). But when the wicked stewards, who were defrauding those beneath them and lording it over those whose reason was not firm, were jealous, and for this reason did not want the king to have come, and said to him: Do you hear what these are saying? the Lord said: Have you never read: Out of the mouth of infants and sucklings you have perfected praise? (Matt 21:16) showing that what had been said by David of the Son of

God was fulfilled in himself, and signifying that they did not know the power of Scripture and the disposition of God, but that he himself was the Christ proclaimed by the prophets, whose name is praised in all the earth, he himself perfecting praise for his Father out of the mouth of infants and sucklings: wherefore also his magnificence has been lifted up above the heavens.

4. If, then, the same one is present who was proclaimed by the prophets, God our Lord Jesus Christ, and his coming has granted a fuller grace and a greater bounty to those who received him, it is plain that the Father too is the same who was proclaimed by the prophets, and that the Son, when he came, did not bring about the knowledge of another Father, but of the same who was proclaimed from the beginning; from whom he also brought freedom to those who serve him lawfully, and with a ready mind, and with their whole heart; but to the despisers, and to those not subject to God, who pursue outward cleanness for the glory of men (things which had been handed down as a figure of things to come, the Law making a kind of sketch of a shadow, and drawing the eternal from the temporal, the heavenly from the earthly), who pretend to observe more than what has been said, as though preferring their own diligence even to God himself, but within are full of hypocrisy, and greed, and all malice: to them he brought everlasting perdition, cutting them off from life.

CHAPTER 12

That the author of both laws is the same is plainly evident from this, that Christ condemned the traditions and customs contrary to the old Law, but confirmed its highest and more eminent precepts, and taught that he himself is the end of the Mosaic Law.

1. For the tradition of the elders themselves, which they pretended to observe from the Law, was contrary to the Law given through Moses. For this reason Isaiah too says: Your innkeepers mix the wine with water (Isa 1:22); showing that the elders were mixing a watered tradition with the austere precept of God, that is, contriving an adulterated law, and one contrary to the Law, as the Lord too made manifest, saying to them: Why do you transgress the precept of God for the sake of your tradition? (Matt 15:3) And not only did they reject the Law of God through transgression, mixing the wine with water, but they also set up their own law against it, which to this day is called Pharisaic. In it they take some things away, add others, and interpret others as they please; and these their teachers use in their own particular way: and wishing to uphold these traditions, they would not be subject to the Law of God, which was training them for the coming of Christ; but they even reproached the Lord for healing on the Sabbaths, which, as we said before, the Law did not forbid. For they themselves healed in a certain respect, circumcising a man on the Sabbath; yet they did not reproach themselves for transgressing the precept of God through their tradition and the aforesaid Phari-

saic law, and for not having the precept of the Law, that is, the love which is towards God.

2. And that this is the first and greatest precept, and the next is the one towards the neighbour, the Lord taught, saying that the whole Law and the Prophets hang on these precepts. And he himself brought no other precept greater than this, but renewed this very one for his disciples, bidding them love God with their whole heart, and others as themselves. But if he had come down from another Father, he would never have used the first and highest precept of the Law, but would surely have striven in every way to bring a greater one than this from the perfect Father, and not to use the one that had been given by the God of the Law. And Paul: The fulfilment, he says, of the Law is love (Rom 13:10); and he says that, when all the rest have been made void, faith, hope and love remain, and that the greatest of all is love; and that neither knowledge without the love that is towards God avails anything, nor the comprehension of mysteries, nor faith, nor prophecy, but that all are empty and vain without love; and that love brings the perfect man to perfection; and that he who loves God is perfect, both in this age and in the one to come. For we never cease loving God; but the more we have gazed upon him, the more we love him.

3. Since, then, in the Law and in the Gospel the first and greatest precept is to love the Lord God with the whole heart, and next, like it, to love one's neighbour as oneself, one and the same founder of the Law and of the Gospel is shown.

For since the precepts of the perfect life are the same in both Testaments, they have shown the same God; who commanded particular precepts suited to each, but urged in both the same more eminent and highest precepts, without which it is not possible to be saved.

4. And whom would the Lord not confound, showing that the Law is not from another God, when he speaks thus to those who were being taught by him, the crowd and the disciples: The scribes and the Pharisees have sat on the chair of Moses. Therefore whatever they say to you, keep and do; but do not do according to their works: for they say and do not do. For they bind heavy burdens and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them even with a finger (Matt 23:2–4)? It was not, then, the Law given through Moses that he was accusing, which he was urging them to keep while Jerusalem was still safe; but he was rebuking them because they uttered the words of the Law but were without love: and for this reason they were unjust towards God and towards their neighbours. As Isaiah too says: This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men (Isa 29:13). He was not calling the Law given through Moses precepts of men, but the traditions of their own presbyters, which they had invented, and by upholding which they were rejecting the Law of God, and for this reason were not subject to his Word either. For this is what is said by Paul too of these men: For, not knowing

the justice of God, and seeking to establish their own justice, they have not submitted to the justice of God. For the end of the Law is Christ, for justice to everyone who believes (Rom 10:3–4). And how is Christ the end of the Law, if he were not also its beginning? For he who brought in the end also wrought the beginning; and he it is who says to Moses: Seeing, I have seen the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and I have come down to rescue them (Exod 3:7–8); the Word of God having been accustomed from the beginning to ascend and descend for the salvation of those who were in distress.

5. And that the Law taught beforehand that man must follow Christ, he himself makes manifest, answering thus the one who asked him what he should do to inherit eternal life: If you wish to enter into life, keep the precepts. And when he asked: Which? the Lord again: You shall not commit adultery, you shall not kill, you shall not steal, you shall not bear false witness, honour your father and mother, and you shall love your neighbour as yourself (Matt 19:17–19); setting out the precepts of the Law as steps of entry into life for those who wish to follow him: and in saying them then to one, he was saying them to all. And when he had said: All these I have done (and perhaps he had not done them, for surely it would not have been said to him: Keep the precepts), the Lord, exposing his covetousness, said to him: If you wish to be perfect, go, sell all that you have and distribute to the poor, and come, follow me (Matt 19:21); promising the portion of the apos-

tles to those who would do so: and he was not proclaiming to those who followed him another God the Father besides him who was proclaimed by the Law from the beginning; nor another Son; nor the Mother, the Enthymesis of an Aeon that was in passion and in deficiency; nor the Fullness of thirty Aeons, which has been shown to be empty and unstable; nor the fable which has been feigned by the other heretics: but he was teaching them to do the precepts which God commanded from the beginning, and to undo their old covetousness by good works, and to follow Christ. And that possessions distributed to the poor undo past covetousness, Zacchaeus made manifest, saying: Behold, half of my goods I give to the poor, and if I have defrauded anyone of anything, I restore it fourfold (Luke 19:8).

CHAPTER 13

That Christ did not dissolve the natural precepts of the Law, but rather fulfilled, extended and enlarged them; and that he took away the yoke and bonds of the old Law so that man, now free, might obey God with the boldness and piety that befit sons.

1. And that the Lord did not dissolve but extended and fulfilled the natural things of the Law, through which man is justified, and which those who were justified by faith and pleased God observed even before the lawgiving, is shown from his words. For it was said, he says, to those of old: You shall not commit adultery. But I say to you that everyone who has looked at a woman

to lust after her has already committed adultery with her in his heart (Matt 5:27–28). And again: It was said: You shall not kill. But I say to you: everyone who is angry with his brother without cause will be liable to judgement (Matt 5:21–22). And: It was said: You shall not forswear yourself. But I say to you, do not swear at all. But let your word be yes, yes, no, no (Matt 5:33–34, 37). And whatever other things are of this kind. For all these things contain not an opposition to and a dissolving of the things of the past, as those who are from Marcion clamour, but their fullness and extension, as he himself says: Unless your justice abounds more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven (Matt 5:20). And what was the "more"? First, to believe not only in the Father but also in his Son, now made manifest; for he it is who leads man into the communion and unity of God. Then, not only to say but also to do; for they said but did not do; and to abstain not only from evil works but also from the desire for them. And he taught these things not as contrary to the Law, but fulfilling the Law and fixing the ordinances of the Law in us. That would have been contrary to the Law, if he had commanded his disciples to do the very thing that the Law had forbidden to be done. And this which he commanded, to abstain not only from what the Law forbids but also from the desire for it, is not contrary, as we have said; nor is it the act of one dissolving the Law, but of one fulfilling, and extending, and widening it.

2. For the Law, being laid down for servants, trained the soul through the bodily things that were outside, drawing it as by a bond to obedience to the precepts, so that man might learn to serve God; but the Word, setting the soul free, taught that through it the body too should be cleansed willingly. This having been done, it was necessary that the bonds of servitude, to which man had now grown accustomed, should be taken away, and that he should follow God without bonds; but that the decrees of freedom should be extended further, and the subjection that is towards the king increased, so that no one, turning back, should appear unworthy of him who set him free; and that the piety and obedience towards the householder should be the same for servants and for free men, but that the free should have a greater boldness, since the working of freedom is greater and more glorious than the compliance that is in servitude.

3. And for this reason the Lord, in place of You shall not commit adultery, commanded not even to desire; and in place of You shall not kill, not even to be angry; and in place of tithing, to distribute to the poor all that one has; and to love not only our neighbours but also our enemies; and to be not only good givers and sharers, but also free givers even towards those who take away what is ours. For to him who takes your tunic, he says, give up your cloak as well; and from him who takes what is yours, do not demand it back; and as you wish men to do to you, do to them (Luke 6:29–31); so that you may not be grieved

as though unwilling to be defrauded, but that we may rejoice as having given willingly, bestowing a favour on our neighbours rather than yielding to necessity. And if anyone, he says, presses you into service for a thousand paces, go with him two more (Matt 5:41); so that you may not follow as a servant, but go ahead as a free man, showing yourself fit in all things and useful to your neighbour, not looking at their malice, but bringing your own goodness to perfection, conforming yourself to the Father, who makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust. These things, as we said before, were the work not of one dissolving the Law but of one fulfilling it and extending it in us; as if one should say: a greater working of freedom, and a fuller subjection and affection towards our liberator, fixed in us. For he did not set us free for this, that we should depart from him; for no one, placed outside the Lord's good things, can obtain for himself the nourishment of salvation; but that, having obtained more of his grace, we should love him more. And the more we have loved him, the greater the glory we shall receive from him, since we are always in the sight of the Father.

4. Since, then, all the natural precepts are common to us and to them, in them they had their beginning and origin, but in us they have received growth and fulfilment. For to assent to God, and to follow his Word, and to love him above all, and one's neighbour as oneself (and man is neighbour to man), and to abstain from

every evil deed, and whatever things of this kind are common to both, show one and the same God. And this is our Lord, the Word of God, who first drew servants to God, but afterwards set free those who are subject to him, as he himself says to the disciples: I will no longer call you servants: for the servant does not know what his lord does. But I have called you friends, because all that I have heard from the Father I have made manifest (John 15:15). For in saying: I will no longer call you servants, he signified most plainly that it is he who first established for men through the Law that servitude which is towards God, and afterwards gave them freedom. And in saying: Because the servant does not know what his lord does, he makes manifest, through his own coming, the ignorance of the servile people. And in calling his disciples friends of God, he plainly shows that he is the Word of God, following whom willingly and without bonds, because of the nobility of his faith, Abraham too became the friend of God. But neither did the Word of God take up the friendship of Abraham out of need, being perfect from the beginning: For before Abraham was, I am (John 8:58), he says; but in order that, being good, he might give eternal life to Abraham himself, since the friendship of God is the bestower of immortality on those who enter upon it.

CHAPTER 14

If God requires any homage of man, if he created man, called him and formed him by laws, he

looks to man's salvation alone; not needing man, but eager to confer his benefits on him entirely freely.

1. In the beginning, therefore, God moulded Adam, not as though he needed man, but so as to have someone on whom to bestow his benefits. For not only before Adam, but before all creation, the Word glorified his Father, remaining in him; and he himself was glorified by the Father, as he himself says: Father, glorify me with the glory which I had with you before the world was (John 17:5). Nor did he bid us follow him because he needed our ministry, but to bestow salvation on ourselves. For to follow the Saviour is to share in salvation, and to follow the light is to receive the light. Those who are in the light do not themselves illumine the light, but are illumined and made bright by it: they give it nothing, but, receiving its benefit, they are illumined by the light. So too service towards God gives God nothing, nor has God need of human homage; but he grants to those who follow and serve him life and incorruption and eternal glory, bestowing a benefit on those who serve him because they serve, and on those who follow him because they follow, but receiving no benefit from them: for he is rich, perfect, and without need. And God asks service of men for this reason: that, since he is good and merciful, he may do good to those who persevere in his service. For as far as God needs nothing, so far man needs communion with God. For this is the glory of man: to persevere and remain in the service of God. And for this reason the

Lord said to his disciples: You did not choose me, but I chose you (John 15:16), signifying that they did not glorify him by following him, but that, in that they followed the Son of God, they were glorified by him. And again: I wish that where I am, there these too may be, that they may see my glory (John 17:24); not boasting idly of this, but wishing his disciples to share in his glory, of whom Isaiah too says: From the east I will draw your seed, and from the west I will gather you; and I will say to the North: Bring them; and to the South: Do not hold them back; draw my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, all as many as have been called in my name. For in my glory I have prepared, and formed, and made him (Isa 43:5–7). This is so because wherever the carcass is, there the eagles too will gather (Matt 24:28), sharing in the glory of the Lord, who both formed us and prepared us for this: that, while we are with him, we may share in his glory.

2. So too God in the beginning moulded man for the sake of his own munificence; he chose the patriarchs for the sake of their salvation; he formed the people beforehand, teaching the unteachable to follow God; he prepared the prophets beforehand on earth, accustoming man to bear his Spirit and to have communion with God: he himself needing nothing, but offering his communion to those who need him; and for those who pleased him sketching, like an architect, the fashioning of salvation; and to those in Egypt who did not see, giving guidance from

himself; and to those who were restless in the wilderness, giving a most fitting law; and to those who entered the good land, offering a worthy inheritance; and for those who turn back to the Father, killing the fatted calf and giving the first robe: in many ways composing the human race towards the harmony of salvation. And for this reason John says in the Apocalypse: And his voice was as the voice of many waters (Rev 1:15). For the many waters are truly the Spirit, because the Father is rich, and because he is great. And the Word, passing through all these, ungrudgingly provided what was profitable to those who were subject to him, writing for every condition a law that was fitting and suited to it.

3. So too he established for the people by law the making of the tabernacle, and the building of the temple, and the choice of the Levites, sacrifices also and offerings, and admonitions, and all the rest of the service. He himself has need of none of these things; for he is always full of all good things, and has in himself every odour of sweetness and all the fumes of fragrant things, even before Moses was: but he was instructing a people prone to turn back to idols, preparing them beforehand by many callings to persevere and to serve God: calling them through things that were secondary to the first, that is, through the typical to the true, and through the temporal to the eternal, and through the carnal to the spiritual, and through the earthly to the heavenly; as it was also said to Moses: You shall make all things according to the type of the things you saw

on the mountain (Exod 25:40). For forty days he was learning to keep the words of God, and the heavenly stamps, and the spiritual images, and the prefigurations of things to come; as Paul too says: For they drank from the rock that followed them; and the rock was Christ (1 Cor 10:4). And again, after speaking of the things that are in the Law, he added: Now all these things came upon them in figure; and they were written for our correction, upon whom the end of the ages has come (1 Cor 10:11). For through types they were learning to fear God and to persevere in homage to him.

CHAPTER 15

God, who at first had been content to write the natural law, or the Decalogue, on men's hearts, afterwards found it necessary to curb the desire of the Hebrews, who abused their freedom, by the heavier yoke of the Mosaic Law, and even to lay down certain particular laws because of the hardness of their hearts.

1. So the Law was for them both a discipline and a prophecy of things to come. For God at first, admonishing them through the natural precepts which from the beginning he had implanted in men, that is, through the Decalogue (and if anyone does not do them, he has no salvation), asked nothing more of them. As Moses says in Deuteronomy: All these words the Lord spoke to the whole synagogue of the sons of Israel on the mountain, and he added nothing; and he wrote them on two tablets of stone, and gave them to me (Deut 5:22): so that those who are

willing to follow him might keep the precepts. But when they turned to the making of the calf, and went back in their minds to Egypt, desiring to be slaves instead of free men, they received the rest of servitude, suited to their desire, which did not indeed cut them off from God, but ruled them under the yoke of servitude: as Ezekiel the prophet, giving the reasons for the giving of such a law, says: And their eyes were after the desire of their heart, and I gave them precepts that were not good, and ordinances in which they shall not live (Ezek 20:24–25). And Luke too wrote that Stephen, who was the first chosen by the apostles for the deaconship, and the first slain for bearing witness to Christ, spoke thus of Moses: He received the precepts of the living God to give them to you; but your fathers would not obey him, but thrust him away and turned back in their hearts to Egypt, saying to Aaron: Make us gods to go before us; for as for Moses, who led us out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him. And they made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifices to the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their hands. But God turned, and handed them over to serve the host of heaven, as it is written in the book of the Prophets: Did you offer me sacrifices and offerings for forty years in the wilderness, house of Israel? And you took up the tent of Moloch, and the star of the god Rempham, the figures that you made to worship them (Acts 7:38–43): signifying plainly that such a law was given them not by another God, but by the same, suited to their servitude. Wherefore in

Exodus too he says to Moses: I will send my angel before you; for I will not go up with you, because you are a stiff-necked people (Exod 33:2–3).

2. And not only this; but the Lord also made plain that certain precepts were laid down for them by Moses because of their hardness and because they would not be subject, when they said to him: Why then did Moses command to give a bill of divorce and to put away a wife? He said to them: He permitted you this because of the hardness of your heart; but from the beginning it was not so (Matt 19:7–8): excusing Moses as a faithful servant, and confessing one God, who from the beginning made male and female, but rebuking them as hard and not subject. And for this reason they received from Moses the precept of divorce, suited to their hardness. And why do we say these things of the Old Testament? Since in the New too the apostles are found doing the same for the reason given above, Paul saying at once: But I say this, not the Lord (1 Cor 7:12). And again: But I say this by way of indulgence, not by way of precept (1 Cor 7:6). And again: Concerning virgins I have no precept of the Lord; but I give counsel, as one who has obtained mercy from the Lord to be faithful (1 Cor 7:25). And in another place he says: Lest Satan tempt you because of your incontinence (1 Cor 7:5). If, then, in the New Testament too the apostles are found granting certain precepts by way of pardon, because of the incontinence of some, lest such men, hardened and despairing of their salvation altogether, become apostates from God, we must not wonder

if in the Old Testament too the same God willed something of the kind to be done for the good of the people, drawing them on by the observances spoken of, so that through them they might keep the salvation of the Decalogue, and, held fast by him, might not turn back to idolatry nor become apostates from God, but might learn to love him with their whole heart. But if some, because of the disobedient and lost Israelites, say that the teacher of the Law was weak, they will find in the calling that is ours many called but few chosen, and wolves within, clothed outwardly in sheepskins; and that God has always preserved what was always free and of his own power in man, and his own exhortation: so that those who do not obey him may be justly judged, because they did not obey, and those who obeyed and believed him may be honoured with incorruptibility.

CHAPTER 16

That perfect justice was not conferred by the power of circumcision nor of the other ceremonies of the Law; and that these were abrogated by Christ, while the law of the Decalogue, by which men were always bound, remains ever in force, indeed grows stronger.

1. That God gave circumcision too, not as the completion of justice, but as a sign, so that the race of Abraham might remain recognisable, we learn from Scripture itself. For it says: God said to Abraham: Every male among you shall be circumcised, and you shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin as a sign of the testament between

me and you (Gen 17:9–11). Ezekiel the prophet says the same of the Sabbaths: And I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord who sanctifies them (Ezek 20:12). And in Exodus God says to Moses: And you shall keep my Sabbaths; for it shall be a sign with me for you throughout your generations (Exod 31:13). These things, then, were given as a sign; but the signs were not without symbolism, that is, without meaning, nor idle, as being given by a wise craftsman; but circumcision according to the flesh signified the spiritual circumcision. For we, says the Apostle, have been circumcised with a circumcision not made by hands (Col 2:11). And the prophet says: Circumcise the hardness of your heart (Deut 10:16). And the Sabbaths taught perseverance in the service of God all the day long. For we have been reckoned, says the apostle Paul, as sheep for the slaughter all the day long (Rom 8:36): that is, consecrated, and serving our faith at every time, and persevering in it, and abstaining from all avarice, not acquiring nor possessing treasures on earth. And the rest of God was also shown, as it were from the things that were made, that is, the kingdom, in which the man who has persevered in standing before God will rest and will share in the table of God.

2. And that man was not justified by these things, but that they were given to the people as a sign, is shown by the fact that Abraham himself, without circumcision and without the observance of the Sabbaths, believed God, and

it was reckoned to him for justice, and he was called the friend of God (Gen 15:6; Jas 2:23). Lot too, without circumcision, was led out of Sodom, receiving salvation from God. So too Noah, pleasing God while uncircumcised, received the measures of the world of the second generation. Enoch too, pleasing God without circumcision, though he was a man, discharged an embassy to the angels, and was translated, and is kept until now as a witness of the just judgement of God: for the angels transgressed and fell to the earth for judgement, but the man who pleased God was translated for salvation. And all the rest of the multitude of those who were just before Abraham, and of those patriarchs who were before Moses, were justified both without the things spoken of above and without the Law of Moses. As Moses himself too says to the people in Deuteronomy: The Lord your God disposed a testament in Horeb; and the Lord did not dispose this testament for your fathers, but for you (Deut 5:2–3).

3. Why then did the Lord not dispose the testament for the fathers? Because the Law is not laid down for the just (1 Tim 1:9); and the just fathers had the power of the Decalogue written in their hearts and souls, loving, that is, God who made them, and abstaining from injustice towards their neighbour: for which reason there was no need for them to be admonished by letters of correction, because they had the justice of the Law in themselves. But when this justice and love towards God had passed into oblivion and been

extinguished in Egypt, God, of necessity, because of his great benevolence towards men, showed himself by his voice, and led the people out of Egypt in power, so that man might once more become a disciple and follower of God; and he afflicted the disobedient, so that they might not despise him who made them; and he fed him with manna, so that they might receive a food for the reason, as Moses too says in Deuteronomy: And he fed you with manna, which your fathers did not know, that you might know that man does not live by bread alone, but by every word of God that proceeds from his mouth man lives (Deut 8:3). And he enjoined love towards God, and taught the justice that is towards one's neighbour, so that man might be neither unjust nor unworthy of God; preparing man beforehand through the Decalogue for his friendship, and for concord with his neighbour (which things profited man himself); God, however, needing nothing from man.

4. For this reason Scripture says: These words the Lord spoke to the whole synagogue of the sons of Israel on the mountain, and he added nothing (Deut 5:22); for, as we said before, he needed nothing from them. And again Moses says: And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God ask of you, but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord your God with your whole heart and with your whole soul? (Deut 10:12) These things made man glorious, supplying what he lacked, that is, the friendship of God; but they gave God

nothing: for God had no need of man's love. But man lacked the glory of God, which he could in no way receive except through the compliance that is towards God. And for this reason Moses says to them again: Choose life, that you may live, you and your seed, to love the Lord your God, to hear his voice, and to hold fast to him; for this is your life, and the length of your days (Deut 30:19–20). Preparing man beforehand for this life, the Lord himself spoke the words of the Decalogue in his own person to all alike: and therefore they remain with us alike, receiving extension and growth, but not abolition, through his coming in the flesh.

5. But the precepts of servitude he enjoined on the people separately through Moses, suited to their instruction; as Moses himself says: And the Lord commanded me at that time to tell you ordinances and judgements (Deut 4:14). These things, then, which were given to them for servitude and for a sign, he cancelled by the New Testament of freedom. But the things that are natural, and befitting free men, and common to all, he increased and enlarged, giving to men generously and without grudging, through adoption, to know God as Father, and to love him with the whole heart, and to follow his Word without resistance, abstaining not only from evil deeds but also from the desires for them. And he increased fear too: for sons must fear more than slaves, and have a greater love for their father. And for this reason the Lord says: Every idle word that men speak, they shall render account for it on the day of judgement (Matt 12:36); and: He who looks on

a woman to lust after her has already committed adultery with her in his heart (Matt 5:28); and: He who is angry with his brother without cause shall be liable to judgement (Matt 5:22): so that we may know that we shall render account to God not only of deeds, like slaves, but also of words and thoughts, as men who have received the power of freedom too: in which a man is tested the more, whether he reveres and fears and loves the Lord. And for this reason Peter says that we have freedom not as a cloak for malice (1 Pet 2:16), but for the testing and manifesting of faith.

CHAPTER 17

That God had no need of the old and typical offerings and sacrifices, and that men could not attain true justice through them. That therefore, these being abrogated, the new and true sacrifice of the New Testament, of the very body and blood of Christ, was instituted, to be offered throughout the world to the name of the Lord.

1. That God, not needing their service, nevertheless enjoined certain observances in the Law for their own sake, the prophets show most fully. And again, that God does not need their offering, but did this for the sake of the one who offers, man, the Lord taught plainly, as we have shown. For whenever he saw them neglecting justice and abstaining from the love of God, but thinking to propitiate God by sacrifices and the other typical observances, Samuel spoke to them thus: God does not want burnt offerings and sacrifices, but wants his voice to be heard. Behold, a good

hearing is above sacrifice, and hearing above the fat of rams (1 Sam 15:22). And David says: Sacrifice and offering you did not want; but ears you have perfected for me; burnt offerings for sin too you have not asked (Ps 40:7). He was teaching them that God wants obedience, which saves them, rather than sacrifices and burnt offerings, which profit them nothing towards justice; and at the same time he was prophesying the New Testament. And still more plainly he says of these things in the fiftieth psalm: For if you had wished for sacrifice, I would surely have given it; in burnt offerings you will not delight. A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit; a contrite and humbled heart the Lord will not despise (Ps 51:18–19).

Since, then, God needs nothing, he says in the psalm before this one: I will not take calves from your house, nor goats from your flocks. For mine are all the beasts of the earth, the cattle on the mountains and the oxen; I know all the birds of the sky, and the beauty of the field is with me. If I am hungry, I will not tell you; for the world is mine, and all that fills it. Shall I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? (Ps 50:9–13) Then, lest anyone think that he refuses these things because he was angry, he adds, giving him counsel: Immolate to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay your vows to the Most High; and call on me in the day of your trouble, and I will deliver you, and you will glorify me (Ps 50:14–15): rejecting those things by which sinners thought to propitiate God, but urging and admonishing those by which man is justified and draws near

to God. Isaiah too says the same: What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices? says the Lord. I am full (Isa 1:11). And when he had rejected burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and offerings, and new moons too, and Sabbaths, and festivals, and all the rest of the observance that goes with them, he added, urging on them the things that save: Wash yourselves, be clean, take away the wickedness from your hearts from before my eyes; cease from your malice, learn to do good, seek judgement, rescue him who suffers wrong, judge for the orphan, and do justice to the widow; and come, let us reason together, says the Lord (Isa 1:16–18).

2. For it was not as a man angered, as many dare to say, that he turned aside their sacrifices; but in pity for their blindness, and intimating the true sacrifice, by offering which they will propitiate God, so as to receive life from him. As he says elsewhere: A sacrifice to God is a troubled heart; an odour of sweetness to God is a heart that glorifies him who moulded it. For if he were rejecting these sacrifices of theirs in anger, as though they were unworthy to obtain his mercy, he would surely not be urging on these same men the things by which they could be saved. But since God is merciful, he did not cut them off from good counsel. For when he had said through Jeremiah: Why do you bring me incense from Sheba, and cinnamon from a far country? Your burnt offerings and sacrifices have not pleased me (Jer 6:20), he added: Hear the word of the Lord, all Judah. Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel: Make straight your ways and your pursuits, and

I will establish you in this place. Do not trust in yourselves, in lying words, for they will not profit you at all, saying: The temple of the Lord, it is the temple of the Lord (Jer 7:2–4).

3. And again, signifying that he did not lead them out of Egypt for this, that they should offer him sacrifices, but that, forgetting the idolatry of the Egyptians, they might be able to hear the voice of the Lord, which was their salvation and glory, he says through the same Jeremiah: Thus says the Lord: Gather your burnt offerings with your sacrifices, and eat the flesh. For I did not speak to your fathers, nor command them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices, on the day I led them out of Egypt; but this word I commanded them, saying: Hear my voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people; and walk in all my ways, whatever I shall command you, that it may be well with you. And they did not obey, nor give heed; but they walked in the thoughts of their wicked heart, and went backward, and not forward (Jer 7:21–24). And again, saying through the same prophet: But let him who glories glory in this, to understand and to know that I am the Lord, who do mercy and justice and judgement on the earth, he added: For in these is my will, says the Lord (Jer 9:23); but not in sacrifices, nor in burnt offerings, nor in offerings.

For the people had these things not principally, but as a consequence, and for the reason spoken of before; as Isaiah again says: Not to me are the sheep of your burnt offering, nor have

you glorified me in your sacrifices; you have not served me in sacrifices, nor done anything laborious with incense; nor have you bought incense for me with silver, nor did I desire the fat of your sacrifices; but in your sins and in your iniquities you stood before me (Isa 43:23–24). On whom, then, he says, shall I look, but on the humble and the quiet, and him who trembles at my words? (Isa 66:2) For fat and rich flesh will not take away your injustices from you (Jer 11:15). This is the fast that I have chosen, says the Lord. Loose every knot of injustice, untie the bonds of violent bargains, let the broken go free into rest, and tear up every unjust contract. Break your bread to the hungry with all your heart, and bring the homeless stranger into your house; if you see one naked, clothe him, and do not despise those of your own house and seed. Then your morning light will break forth, and your healings will spring up the sooner, and justice will go before you, and the glory of the Lord will surround you; and while you are still speaking I will say: Here I am (Isa 58:6–9).

And Zechariah too, among the twelve prophets, making known to them the will of God, says: Thus says the Lord almighty: Judge just judgement, and show piety and mercy each to his brother. Do not oppress the widow and the orphan and the proselyte and the poor, and let none of you remember his brother's malice in his heart (Zech 7:9–10). And again: These, he says, are the words that you shall do. Speak the truth each to his neighbour, and judge peaceable

judgement in your gates, and let none of you devise his brother's malice in his heart, and do not love a false oath: for all these things I hate, says the Lord almighty (Zech 8:16–17). And David likewise: Who is the man, he says, who wants life and loves to see good days? Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit. Turn away from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it (Ps 34:13–15).

4. From all these things it is plain that God did not seek sacrifices and burnt offerings from them, but faith and obedience and justice, for the sake of their salvation. As God, teaching them his will in Hosea the prophet, said: I want mercy more than sacrifice, and the knowledge of God above burnt offerings (Hos 6:6). And our Lord too admonished them of the same, saying: For if you had known what this means: I want mercy, and not sacrifice, you would never have condemned the innocent (Matt 12:7): bearing witness to the prophets that they preached the truth, but rebuking those men as foolish by their own fault.

5. But giving counsel to his disciples too to offer to God the first-fruits of his creatures, not as though he were in need, but so that they themselves might be neither unfruitful nor ungrateful, he took that which is bread, from the creation, and gave thanks, saying: This is my body (Matt 26:26). And the cup likewise, which is from that creation which is ours, he confessed to be his blood, and taught the new offering of the New Testament; which the Church, receiving it from the apostles, offers to God throughout the

whole world, to him who provides us with nourishment, the first-fruits of his gifts in the New Testament, of which Malachi among the twelve prophets foreshowed thus: I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord almighty, and I will not accept sacrifice from your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is glorified among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice; for my name is great among the nations, says the Lord almighty (Mal 1:10–11): signifying most plainly by these words that the former people will cease to offer to God, but that in every place sacrifice will be offered to him, and that a pure one; and his name is glorified among the nations.

6. And what other name is glorified among the nations than that of our Lord, through whom the Father is glorified, and man is glorified? And since it is the name of his own Son, and he was made man by him, he calls it his own. Just as, if a king himself paints the image of his son, he rightly calls that image his own on both counts, both because it is his son's and because he himself made it: so too the Father confesses that the name of Jesus Christ, which is glorified throughout the whole world in the Church, is his own, both because it is his Son's, and because he himself, writing it, gave it for the salvation of men. Since, then, the name of the Son is the Father's own, and the Church offers in God almighty through Jesus Christ, he rightly says on both counts: And in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice (Mal 1:11). And John in the Apoc-

alypse says that the incense is the prayers of the saints (Rev 5:8).

CHAPTER 18

That in the catholic Church alone the true and pure sacrifice is offered with simplicity and justice, namely the Eucharist, which is the very body and blood of Christ.

1. The offering of the Church, therefore, which the Lord taught to be offered throughout the whole world, has been reckoned a pure sacrifice before God and is acceptable to him: not that he needs a sacrifice from us, but because he who offers is himself glorified in what he offers, if his gift is accepted. For by a gift to a king both honour and affection are shown: and the Lord, wishing us to offer it in all simplicity and innocence, proclaimed it, saying: If, then, you are offering your gift at the altar, and you remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to your brother, and then come back and offer your gift (Matt 5:23–24). We must, then, offer to God the first-fruits of his creation, as Moses too says: You shall not appear empty before the face of the Lord your God (Deut 16:16); so that man, reckoned grateful in the very things in which he has shown himself grateful, may receive the honour that comes from him.

2. And it is not the genus of offerings that has been rejected; for there were offerings there, and there are offerings here: sacrifices among the people, sacrifices in the Church: but only the

kind has been changed, since it is offered now no longer by slaves, but by free men. For the Lord is one and the same; but the stamp of a slave's offering is its own, and that of free men is its own, so that through the offerings too the mark of freedom may be shown. For with him nothing is idle, nor without a sign, nor without meaning. And for this reason they had the tithes of their goods consecrated; but those who have received freedom set apart all that is theirs for the Lord's uses, giving it cheerfully and freely, and not the lesser things, as having the hope of greater ones; as that widow, a poor one, cast here her whole living into the treasury of God.

3. For from the beginning God looked upon the gifts of Abel, because he offered with simplicity and justice; but upon the sacrifice of Cain he did not look, because he had division in his heart, with the jealousy and malice that he bore against his brother; as God says, reproving his hidden thoughts: If you offer rightly, but do not divide rightly, have you not sinned? Be still (Gen 4:7); for God is not appeased by sacrifice. For if anyone attempts to offer only according to what is seen, cleanly and rightly and lawfully, but in his soul does not rightly divide the communion that is towards his neighbour, nor has the fear of God, he does not deceive God by the sacrifice rightly offered outwardly, while he has sin within; nor will such an offering profit him at all, but only the ceasing from the evil conceived within, lest, through the feigned action, or rather through the sin itself, it make the man a murderer of himself.

For this reason the Lord also said: Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for you are like whitewashed tombs. For outwardly the tomb appears beautiful, but within it is full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness; so you too outwardly appear just to men, but within you are full of malice and hypocrisy (Matt 23:27–28). For while they were thought to offer rightly outwardly, they had in themselves a jealousy like Cain's: for which reason they also killed the just one, passing over the counsel of the Word, as Cain did too. For to him he said: Be still; and he did not consent. And what is being still but ceasing from a purposed onslaught? And saying things like these, Blind Pharisee, he says, clean the inside of the cup, that the outside too may become clean (Matt 23:26). And they did not listen. Behold, says Jeremiah, your eyes are not good, nor your heart; but they are on your covetousness, and on just blood, to shed it, and on injustice, and on murder, to do it (Jer 22:17). And again Isaiah: You have taken counsel, he says, not through me; and a testament, not through my Spirit (Isa 30:1).

In order, then, that their inner will and thought, brought into the open, might show that God is without fault and does not work evil, he who makes hidden things manifest but is not one who works evil, when Cain would by no means be still, he said to him: To you shall be his turning, and you shall rule over him (Gen 4:7). To Pilate too he said likewise: You would have no power over me, unless it had been given you from above (John 19:11): God always permitting what is just,

so that the one, proved by what he suffered and endured, may be received, while the one who did evil, condemned by what he did, may be cast out. So it is not sacrifices that sanctify man; for God has no need of sacrifice; but the conscience of him who offers sanctifies the sacrifice, when it is pure, and causes God to accept it as from a friend. But the sinner, he says, who kills a calf for me is as if he killed a dog (Isa 66:3).

4. Since, then, the Church offers with simplicity, her gift is justly reckoned a pure sacrifice before God. As Paul too says to the Philippians: I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus what was sent from you, an odour of sweetness, an acceptable victim, pleasing to God (Phil 4:18). For we must make an offering to God, and be found grateful in all things to God the Fashioner, with a pure mind and faith without hypocrisy, in firm hope, in fervent love, offering the first-fruits of the creatures that are his. And this offering the Church alone offers pure to the Fashioner, offering to him from his creation with thanksgiving. But the Jews do not offer: for their hands are full of blood; for they have not received the Word, who is offered to God. Nor do all the synagogues of the heretics. For some, saying that the Father is another besides the Fashioner, and offering to him the created things that are ours, show him to be covetous of what is another's and desirous of what belongs to others. And those who say that the things that are ours were made out of deficiency and ignorance and passion, offering the fruits of ignorance, passion and deficiency, sin

against their Father, doing him insult rather than giving him thanks. And how will it be certain to them that the bread over which thanks have been given is the body of their Lord, and that the cup is the cup of his blood, if they do not say that he is the Son of the Fashioner of the world, that is, his Word, through whom the tree bears fruit, and the springs flow, and the earth gives first the blade, then the ear, then the full wheat in the ear?

5. And again, how do they say that the flesh goes to corruption and does not receive life, the flesh which is nourished by the body of the Lord and by his blood? Let them, then, either change their judgement, or abstain from offering the things spoken of. But our judgement agrees with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn confirms our judgement. For we offer to him what is his, fittingly proclaiming the fellowship and unity of flesh and Spirit. For as the bread which is from the earth, receiving the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies, receiving the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection.

6. For we offer to him, not as to one in need, but giving thanks to his lordship and sanctifying the creature. For just as God does not need the things that come from us, so we need to offer something to God; as Solomon says: He who has pity on the poor lends to God (Prov 19:17). For God, who needs nothing, takes our good works to himself, so as to grant us the reward of his

good things, as our Lord says: Come, blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you clothed me; sick, and you visited me; in prison, and you came to me (Matt 25:34–36). As, then, while he does not need these things, he nevertheless wills that they be done by us for our own sake, lest we be unfruitful, so the very same Word gave the people the precept of making offerings, though he did not need them, so that they might learn to serve God; so too, and for this reason, he wills that we also should offer a gift at the altar often, without ceasing. There is, then, an altar in the heavens (for our prayers and offerings are directed there), and a temple, as John says in the Apocalypse: And the temple of God was opened (Rev 11:19); and a tabernacle: For behold, he says, the tabernacle of God, in which he will dwell with men (Rev 21:3).

CHAPTER 19

That earthly things can indeed be types of heavenly things; but that the heavenly things themselves cannot without insanity be called types of other things above and unknown, nor the God known to us the type of another, unknown.

1. The gifts, and the offerings, and all the sacrifices, the people received in type, as was shown to Moses on the mountain by one and the same God, whose name is now glorified in the Church among all the nations. But it is fitting that the

earthly things, which are disposed around us, should be types of those that are heavenly, made, however, by the same God. For in no other way could he represent the image of spiritual things. But to say that the things which are above the heavens and spiritual, and, as far as we are concerned, invisible and inexpressible, are in turn types of other heavenly things and of another Pleroma, and that God is the image of another Father, is the part of men who stray from the truth, and who are altogether foolish and dull. For such men will be forced, as we have often shown, always to devise types of types and images of images, and never to fix their mind on the one and true God. For their thoughts have risen above God, since in their hearts they have overstepped the Master himself, lifted up above him and overstepping him in opinion, but in truth turning away from the true God.

2. To them one might justly say, as the word itself suggests: How far do you lift your thoughts above God, puffed up without consideration? You have heard that the heavens have been measured with the palm (Isa 40:12): tell me their measure, and recount the countless multitude of the cubits; set out for me the fullness, the breadth, and the length, and the height, the beginning and the end of the measuring round, which the heart of man does not understand, and does not comprehend. For truly great are the treasure-houses of heaven: God is immeasurable in the heart and incomprehensible in the mind, he who holds the earth in his fist. Who perceives the measure of his

right hand? Who knows his finger? Or who understands his hand, the hand that measures what is immeasurable, that stretches out with its own measure the measure of the heavens, and holds in its fist the earth with the abysses; that contains in itself the breadth and the length, and the depth below and the height above, of the whole creation, that which is seen, that which is heard and understood, and that which is invisible? And for this reason God is above every beginning, and power, and dominion, and every name that is named (Eph 1:21), of all things that have been made and created. It is he who fills the heavens and looks into the abysses, who is also with each one of us: I am, he says, a God who draws near, and not a God from afar. If a man hides in hidden places, shall I then not see him? (Jer 23:23–24) For his hand grasps all things; and it is that which illumines the heavens, illumines also the things that are under heaven, and searches the reins and hearts, and is present in our hidden and in our secret places, and openly nourishes and preserves us.

3. But if man does not comprehend the fullness and greatness of his hand, how will anyone be able to understand or know in his heart so great a God? Yet, as though they had already measured and examined him and run through him entire, they invent above him another Pleroma of Aeons and another Father; not looking up to the heavenly things, but truly descending into the depth, the Bythus, of madness: saying that their Father is bounded at the things that are outside

the Pleroma, and that the Demiurge, on the other hand, does not reach as far as the Pleroma: and so they make neither of them perfect and comprehending all things. For the one will lack the whole fashioning of the world which is outside the Pleroma, and the other the fashioning which is within the Pleroma, and neither of them will be God of all. But that no one can recount the greatness of God from the things that have been made, this is plain to all; and that his greatness does not fail, but contains all things, and reaches even to us, and is with us, everyone who thinks worthily of God will confess.

CHAPTER 20

That the one God created all things that are in the world through the Word and the Holy Spirit; and that, though invisible in this life and incomprehensible, he is nevertheless not unknown, since his works proclaim him and his Word has always offered himself in many ways to be seen and known.

1. So it is not possible to know God according to his greatness; for it is impossible that the Father should be measured; but according to his love (for it is this that leads us to God through his Word), when we obey him, we learn always that God is so great, and that it is he who by himself established and chose and adorned and contains all things; and among all things this world too, which is ours. And so we too were made, together with the things that are contained by him. And it is he of whom Scripture says: And God moulded

man, taking clay of the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life (Gen 2:7). So it was not angels who made us, nor did they mould us, nor could angels make the image of God; nor could anyone else, except the Word of the Lord, nor a Power standing far off from the Father of all things. For God did not need them in order to make what he himself had determined beforehand within himself should be made, as though he did not have his own hands. For always present with him are the Word and Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit, through whom and in whom he made all things freely and of his own will, to whom he also speaks, saying: Let us make man to our image and likeness (Gen 1:26); he himself taking from himself the substance of the creatures, and the pattern of the things made, and the figure of the adornments in the world.

2. Rightly, then, has Scripture declared, which says: First of all believe that there is one God, who established all things and completed them, and made all things to be out of what was not; who contains all, and is contained by none. And rightly too Malachi says among the prophets: Is it not one God who established us? Is there not one Father of us all? (Mal 2:10) And in accord with this the Apostle too says: One God, he says, the Father, who is above all, and in us all (Eph 4:6). And likewise the Lord: All things, he says, have been delivered to me by my Father (Matt 11:27): plainly by him who made all things (for it was not what was another's, but what was his own, that he delivered to him. And in all things nothing has

been held back: and for this reason the same is the judge of the living and the dead, having the key of David: he will open, and no one will shut; he will shut, and no one will open (Rev 3:7). For no one else, neither in heaven nor on earth nor under the earth, could open the Father's book, or see it, except the Lamb that was slain and redeemed us with his blood); receiving power over all things from the same one who made all things by the Word and adorned them by Wisdom, when the Word was made flesh; so that, as the Word of God had the first place in the heavens, so too he might have the first place on earth, because, a just man, he committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth (1 Pet 2:22); and might have the first place over the things that are under the earth, having himself become the firstborn of the dead; and that all things, as we said before, might see their king; and that in the flesh of our Lord the Father's light might meet us, and from his flesh come upon us shining, and so man might come into incorruption, surrounded by the Father's light.

3. And that the Word, that is, the Son, was always with the Father, we have shown by many proofs. And that Wisdom too, which is the Spirit, was with him before every foundation, he says through Solomon: God by Wisdom founded the earth, and prepared the heaven by prudence. By his understanding the abysses broke forth, and the clouds dropped dew (Prov 3:19–20). And again: The Lord created me the beginning of his ways for his works; before the ages he founded me, in the beginning, before he made the earth,

before he established the abysses, and before the springs of waters came forth, before the mountains were made firm; and before all the hills he begot me (Prov 8:22–25). And again: When he was preparing the heaven, I was with him, and when he made firm the springs of the abyss, when he was making strong the foundations of the earth, I was beside him, fitting things together. I was the one in whom he rejoiced, and daily I was glad before his face at every time, when he rejoiced in the world made perfect, and delighted in the sons of men (Prov 8:27–31).

4. There is, then, one God, who by the Word and Wisdom made and fitted all things: and he is the Demiurge, who also allotted this world to the human race; who, as to his greatness, is unknown to all those who have been made by him (for no one has searched out his height, neither of the ancients who have gone to their rest, nor of those who are now); but as to his love, he is always known through him through whom he established all things. And this is his Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the last times was made a man among men, so as to join the end to the beginning, that is, man to God. And therefore the prophets, receiving the prophetic charism from the same Word, preached his coming according to the flesh, through which the commingling and communion of God and man was brought about according to the good pleasure of the Father, the Word of God foretelling from the beginning that God would be seen by men, and would live with them on earth, and would converse with them,

and would be present to his handiwork, saving it and perceptible to it, and freeing us from the hands of all who hate us, that is, from every spirit of transgression; and making us serve him in holiness and justice all our days, so that man, embracing the Spirit of God, might pass into the glory of the Father.

5. These things the prophets signified prophetically, but not, as some say, that, while the Father of all is invisible, he who was seen by the prophets is another; those who say so do not know at all what prophecy is. For prophecy is the proclamation of things to come, that is, the foreshowing of what will be afterwards. The prophets, then, foreshowed that God would be seen by men; as the Lord too says: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God (Matt 5:8). But according to his greatness and his wonderful glory no one shall see God and live (Exod 33:20); for the Father is uncontainable; but according to his love and his kindness to men, and because he can do all things, he grants even this to those who love him, that is, to see God, which the prophets also prophesied. For what is impossible with men is possible with God (Luke 18:27). For man of himself does not see God. But he, because he wills it, is seen by men, by whom he wills, and when he wills, and as he wills. For God is powerful in all things: seen then through the Spirit of prophecy, and seen also through the Son adoptively, and he will be seen also in the kingdom of heaven in a fatherly way; the Spirit preparing man in the Son of God, and the Son leading him to the Father,

and the Father bestowing incorruption for eternal life, which comes to each one from his seeing God.

For as those who see the light are within the light and receive its glory, so too those who see God are within God, receiving his glory. And the glory gives them life: so those who see God receive life. And for this reason he who is uncontainable, and incomprehensible [and invisible], offers himself to men as visible, and comprehensible, and containable, so that he may give life to those who receive and see him. For as his greatness is unsearchable, so too his kindness is inexpressible: through which, being seen, he grants life to those who see him. For it is impossible to live without life; and the subsistence of life comes from participation in God; and participation in God is to see God and to enjoy his kindness.

6. Men, then, will see God, so as to live, made immortal by the vision, and reaching even to God. And this, as I said before, was made manifest figuratively through the prophets: that God will be seen by men who bear his Spirit and always await his coming. As Moses too says in Deuteronomy: On this day we shall see that God will speak to man, and he will live (Deut 5:24). For some of them saw the prophetic Spirit and his workings poured out into every kind of charism; others the coming of the Lord, and the ministration which is from the beginning, by which he did the will of the Father, the will that is in heaven and that is on earth; others again the glories of the Father suited to the times, both to those who were then seeing

and hearing, and to the men who were to hear afterwards. Thus, then, God was made manifest: for through all these things God the Father is shown, the Spirit working, the Son ministering, the Father approving, and man being brought to completion for salvation. As he says also through the prophet Hosea: I, he says, have multiplied visions, and in the hands of the prophets I have been represented (Hos 12:11). And the Apostle set out the very same, saying: Now there are divisions of charisms, but the same Spirit; and there are divisions of ministries, and the same Lord; and there are divisions of operations, but the same God who works all things in all. And to each one is given the manifestation of the Spirit for profit (1 Cor 12:4–7). But since it is God who works all things in all, what he is and how great he is is invisible and inexpressible to all that have been made by him, but he is by no means unknown: for all learn through his Word that there is one God the Father, who contains all things and gives being to all, as it is written in the Gospel: No one has ever seen God, except the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father; he has made him known (John 1:18).

7. So from the beginning the Son of the Father makes him known, since he is with the Father from the beginning; he who has shown to the human race the prophetic visions, and the divisions of the charisms, and his own ministries, and the glorification of the Father, in due sequence and order, at the fitting time, for its profit. For where there is sequence, there is also constancy; and

where there is constancy, there is also timeliness; and where there is timeliness, there is also profit: and therefore the Word became the steward of the Father's grace for the profit of men, for whose sake he made such great dispositions, showing God to men and presenting man to God; guarding the invisibility of the Father, lest man should ever become a despiser of God, and so that he should always have something towards which to advance; and again showing God visible to men through many dispositions, lest man, falling away from God altogether, should cease to be. For the glory of God is a living man, and the life of man is the vision of God. For if the showing of God through creation gives life to all who live on the earth, much more does the manifestation of the Father through the Word give life to those who see God.

8. Since, then, the Spirit of God signified things to come through the prophets, forming and fitting us beforehand to be subject to God, and since it was to come about that man should see God by the good pleasure of the Holy Spirit, it was necessary that those through whom things to come were foretold should see God, whom they themselves were intimating to men as one to be seen; so that God, and the Son of God, and the Son, and the Father, might not only be spoken of prophetically, but might also be seen by all the members, sanctified and instructed in the things of God; so that man might be formed beforehand and might practise being brought into that glory which will afterwards be revealed to those who

love God. For the prophets prophesied not by word alone, but also by vision, and by their way of life, and by the actions they performed, according to what the Spirit suggested. In this way, then, they saw the invisible God, as Isaiah says: With my eyes I have seen the King, the Lord Sabaoth (Isa 6:5); signifying that man will see God with his eyes and will hear his voice. In this way, then, they also saw the Son of God as a man, living with men, prophesying what was to come, saying that he who was not yet present was present, and proclaiming the impassible as passible, and saying that he who was then in the heavens had descended into the clay of death. And of the other dispositions of his recapitulation, some they saw through visions, some they announced by word, and some they signified in type by action; seeing visibly the things that were to be seen, proclaiming by word the things that were to be heard, performing by action the things that were to be done, but announcing all things prophetically. For this reason Moses too told the people that transgressed the Law that God is a fire, threatening that a day of fire would be brought upon them by God; but to those who had fear towards God he said: The Lord God is merciful, and compassionate, and long-suffering, and of great mercy, and truthful, keeping justice and mercy for thousands, taking away injustices and wickedness and sins (Exod 34:6–7).

9. And the Word spoke to Moses, appearing before his face, as if one were to speak to his friend (Exod 33:11). But Moses desired to see

openly him who spoke with him, and it was said to him: Stand on the high place of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand. But when my glory has passed by, then you shall see my back; but my face shall not be seen by you: for man does not see my face and live (Exod 33:20–23): signifying both things, that man is unable to see God, and that through the wisdom of God man will see him in the last times in the height of the rock, that is, in his coming according to man. And for this reason he spoke with him face to face on the height of the mountain, Elijah also being present, as the Gospel has related, restoring at the end the ancient promise.

10. So the prophets did not see the very face of God openly, but the dispositions and the mysteries through which man was to see God. As it was said to Elijah too: You shall go out tomorrow, and stand before the Lord; and behold, the Lord will pass by, and behold, a great and strong wind, which will break up the mountains and shatter the rocks before the Lord; and the Lord is not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake; and the Lord is not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire; and the Lord is not in the fire; and after the fire the voice of a gentle breeze (1 Kgs 19:11–12). For through these things the prophet, who was greatly indignant because of the transgression of the people and the slaying of the prophets, was taught to act more gently; and it was signified that the coming of the Lord according to man, after that Law which was given through Moses, would be gentle

and tranquil: a coming in which he neither broke the bruised reed nor quenched the smoking flax. And the gentle and peaceful rest of his kingdom was also shown. For after the wind that shatters the mountains, and after the earthquake, and after the fire, come the tranquil and peaceful times of his kingdom, in which the Spirit of God, in all tranquillity, gives life to man and makes him grow. And it was made still plainer through Ezekiel that the prophets saw the dispositions of God in part, but not God himself properly. For when he had seen the vision, and the cherubim, and their wheels, and had related the mystery of all their progress, and had seen the likeness of a throne above them, and above the throne the likeness as it were of the figure of a man, and the things above his loins as it were the figure of amber, and the things below as it were the sight of fire, and had made known all the rest of the vision of the thrones, lest anyone should perhaps think that he had seen God properly in these things, he added: This is the vision of the likeness of the glory of the Lord (Ezek 1:28).

11. If, then, neither Moses saw God, nor Elijah, nor Ezekiel, who saw many heavenly things, and the things they saw were likenesses of the glory of the Lord and prophecies of things to come, it is plain that the Father is indeed invisible, of whom the Lord also said: No one has ever seen God (John 1:18). But his Word, as he himself willed and for the profit of those who saw, showed the glory of the Father and set out his dispositions (as the Lord too said: The only-begotten God,

who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known (John 1:18); and the Word of the Father himself interprets him, as being rich and manifold): he was seen by those who saw him not in one figure nor in one stamp, but according to the reasons or the effect of his dispensations, as it is written in Daniel. For at one time he was seen with those who were about Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, standing beside them in the furnace of fire, and in the kiln, and setting them free from the fire: And the appearance, he says, of the fourth was like the Son of God (Dan 3:92). And at another time he is a stone cut out from the mountain without hands (Dan 2:34), and striking the temporal kingdoms and scattering them, and himself filling the whole earth. Again, this same one is seen like a Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven, and drawing near to the Ancient of days, and receiving from him all power, and glory, and kingdom. And his power, he says, is an eternal power, and his kingdom shall not perish (Dan 7:13–14).

But John too, the disciple of the Lord, seeing in the Apocalypse the priestly and glorious coming of his kingdom: I turned, he says, to see the voice that was speaking with me, and when I turned I saw seven golden lampstands, and among the lampstands one like a Son of Man, clothed in a long robe, and girded about the breast with a golden belt. And his head and his hair were white, like white wool, like snow; and his eyes like a flame of fire; and his feet like fine brass, as when it is burning in a furnace. And his voice

like the voice of waters; and he has seven stars in his right hand, and from his mouth there went forth a sword sharp on both sides, and his face like the sun shining in its power (Rev 1:12–16). For in these things he signifies something of his glory that is from the Father, like the head; something priestly, like the long robe (and for this reason Moses clothed the high priest according to this type); and something of the end, like the fine brass burning in the furnace, which is the strength of faith and the perseverance of prayers, because of the burning conflagration that comes at the end of the times.

And when John could not endure the vision (I fell, he says, at his feet as though dead (Rev 1:17), so that what is written might come about: No one sees God and lives (Exod 33:20)), the Word, giving him life and reminding him that he was the one on whose breast he had leaned at supper, when he asked who it was that was going to betray him, said: I am the first and I am the last; and I who live, and was dead, and behold, I live for ever and ever, and I have the keys of death and of the underworld (Rev 1:17–18). And after this, seeing the same Lord in a second vision: I saw, he says, in the midst of the throne and of the four living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, a lamb standing as if slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God, sent out into all the earth (Rev 5:6). And again he says of the same lamb: And behold a white horse, and he who sat on it was called faithful and true, and in justice he judges and makes war; and his

eyes were like a flame of fire, and on his head were many diadems, and he had a name written that no one knows but himself; and he was clothed in a garment sprinkled with blood, and his name is called the Word of God. And the armies of heaven followed him on white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean; and from his mouth comes forth a sharp sword, with which to strike the nations; and he will shepherd them with a rod of iron, and he treads the winepress of the wine of the fury of the wrath of God almighty; and he has on his garment and on his thigh a name written: King of kings and Lord of lords (Rev 19:11–16). Thus the Word of God always has, as it were, the lineaments of things to come, and showed to men, as it were, the outlines of the dispositions of the Father, teaching us the things of God.

12. And not only through the visions that were seen and the words that were proclaimed, but also in actions was he seen by the prophets, so that through them he might prefigure and show beforehand things to come. For this reason Hosea the prophet too took a wife of fornication, prophesying by the action that the land will commit fornication away from the Lord (Hos 1:2), that is, the men who are on the earth; and from men of this kind God will be well pleased to take to himself a Church, to be sanctified by fellowship with his Son, as that woman too was sanctified by communion with the prophet. And for this reason Paul says that the unbelieving wife is sanctified in the believing husband (1 Cor 7:14). Again, the prophet named his children Not-

obtained-mercy and Not-a-people (Hos 1:6, 9): so that, as the Apostle says, he who is not a people may become a people, and she who has not obtained mercy may obtain mercy; and, set free in the place in which she was called not a people, there they will be called sons of the living God (Rom 9:25–26). What was done by the prophet in type through an action, the Apostle shows to have been done in truth in the Church by Christ. So too Moses took an Ethiopian woman as his wife, whom he himself made an Israelite woman, foreshowing that the wild olive is grafted into the olive tree and will share in its richness. For since Christ, who was born according to the flesh, was to be sought by the people that he might be killed, but to be set free in Egypt, that is, among the nations, to sanctify those who were infants there, from which he also perfected the Church there (for Egypt was from the beginning gentile, as was Ethiopia too), for this reason the nuptials of the Word were shown through the nuptials of Moses, and through the Ethiopian wife the Church which is from the nations was made manifest; and those who disparage her, and accuse and deride her, will not be clean. For they will be lepers, and will be cast out of the camp of the just. So too Rahab the harlot, condemning herself indeed because she was a Gentile, guilty of all sins, nevertheless received the three spies who were spying out the whole land, and hid them in her house, that is, the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit. And when the whole city in which she lived had fallen into ruin at the sound of the

seven trumpeters, at the last Rahab the harlot was preserved with all her house, by faith in the scarlet sign; as the Lord too said to those who did not receive his coming, that is, to the Pharisees, who set at nought the scarlet sign, which was the Pasch, the redemption and exodus of the people from Egypt, saying: The tax collectors and harlots go before you in the kingdom of heaven (Matt 21:31).

CHAPTER 21

That the faith of Abraham and ours was one and the same; and that it was foreshown by the words and deeds of the ancient patriarchs.

1. That our faith was prefigured in Abraham, and that he was the patriarch of our faith and, as it were, its prophet, the Apostle taught most fully in the Epistle to the Galatians, saying: He then who gives you the Spirit and works mighty works among you, is it by the works of the Law, or by the hearing of faith? (Gal 3:5) Even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for justice (Gal 3:6). Know therefore that those who are of faith, these are the sons of Abraham (Gal 3:7). And Scripture, foreseeing that God justifies the nations by faith, foretold to Abraham that in him all the nations shall be blessed (Gal 3:8). So then those who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham (Gal 3:9). For these reasons he called him not only the prophet of faith but also the father of those from the nations who believe in Christ Jesus, in that his faith and ours are one and the same: he believing in things to come

as though they were already done, because of the promise of God; and we likewise beholding through faith the inheritance that is in the kingdom.

2. And the things concerning Isaac, too, are not without meaning. For in the Epistle to the Romans the Apostle says: And Rebekah too, having conceived from one bed, of Isaac our father, received an answer from the Word; that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not from works but from him who calls, it was said to her: Two peoples are in your womb, and two nations in your belly, and people shall overcome people, and the elder shall serve the younger (Rom 9:10–12; Gen 25:23). From which it is plain that not only the prophecies of the patriarchs but also Rebekah's childbearing was a prophecy of two peoples: that one is the elder and the other the younger; that one is under servitude and the other free; but that they are of one and the same father. One and the same is our God and theirs, who is the knower of hidden things, who knows all things before they come to be; and for this reason he said: Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated (Rom 9:13).

3. And if anyone will learn the deeds of Jacob too, he will find them not empty but full of dispositions: and first in his birth, how he took hold of his brother's heel and was called Jacob, that is, the supplanter; one who holds and is not held; who binds feet but is not bound; who wrestles and conquers; who holds in his hand the heel of his adversary, that is, victory. For to this

end the Lord was being born, the type of whose generation he presented, of whom John too says in the Apocalypse: He went out conquering, that he might conquer (Rev 6:2). Then he received the birthright when his brother despised it: just as the younger people, too, received Christ the first-born, when the people older in age rejected him, saying: We have no king but Caesar (John 19:15). But in Christ is every blessing: and for this reason the later people snatched from the Father the blessings of the former people, just as Jacob took away the blessing of this Esau. For which cause the brother suffered the plots and persecutions of his brother, just as the Church, too, suffers this same thing from the Jews. The twelve tribes, the race of Israel, were born in a foreign land, since Christ too was, in a foreign land, to beget the twelve-pillared foundation of the Church. The spotted sheep that were born were this Jacob's wages: and Christ's wages are the men who, from various and different nations, come together into one cohort of faith, as the Father promised him, saying: Ask of me, he says, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession (Ps 2:8). And since Jacob was becoming the prophet of the multitude of the Lord's sons, it was altogether necessary that he beget sons from two sisters, as Christ did from two laws of one and the same Father; and likewise also from handmaids; signifying that Christ would establish sons of God according to the flesh both from free men and from slaves, giving to all alike the gift of the Spirit who

gives us life. But he did all things for the sake of that younger one, with the fair eyes, Rachel, who prefigured the Church, for whose sake Christ endured: who then, through his patriarchs and prophets, prefigured and foretold the things to come, practising beforehand his own part in the dispositions of God, and accustoming his inheritance to obey God, and to be a pilgrim in the world, and to follow his word, and to foreshow the things to come. For nothing is empty, nor without a sign, with God.

CHAPTER 22

That Christ did not come for the men of one age only, but for all who, living justly and piously, had believed in him and were thereafter to believe.

1. But in the last times, when the fullness of the time of freedom had come, the Word himself through himself washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, washing the disciples' feet with his own hands. For this is the end of the human race that inherits God: that as in the beginning, through the first, we were all brought into servitude by the debt of death, so at the last, through the Last, all who from the beginning were disciples, cleansed and washed of the things of death, may come into the life of God. For he who washed the disciples' feet sanctified the whole body and brought it to cleansing. Wherefore he also served them food as they reclined, signifying those who lay in the earth, to whom he came to minister life. As Jeremiah says: The Lord,

the Holy One of Israel, remembered his dead, who had fallen asleep before in the land of burial, and he went down to them to bring them the good news of his saving power, to save them. For this reason, too, the eyes of the disciples were heavy when Christ was coming to his passion; and the Lord, finding them asleep, the first time let them be, signifying the patience of God in the sleep of men; but the second time he came and roused them and raised them up, signifying that his passion is the awakening of the disciples who sleep, for whose sake he also descended into the lower parts of the earth (Eph 4:9), to see with his eyes that which in creation was inactive; of whom he also said to the disciples: Many prophets and just men desired to see and to hear what you see and hear (Matt 13:17).

2. For it was not for those alone who believed in him in the times of Tiberius Caesar that Christ came; nor was it for those men alone who are now that the Father exercised his providence; but for absolutely all men who from the beginning, by reason of their virtue, in their own generation both feared and loved God, and lived justly and piously towards their neighbours, and desired to see Christ and to hear his voice. Wherefore at his second coming he will first rouse from sleep all such as these, and will raise up both them and the rest who will be judged, and will establish them in his kingdom. Since indeed it is one God who guided the patriarchs in his dispositions and justified the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith (Rom 3:30). For as in the

first we were prefigured and foretold, so in turn they are shaped in us, that is, in the Church, and receive the reward for the things at which they laboured.

CHAPTER 23

That the patriarchs and prophets, foreshowing the coming of Christ, built for their successors the road to faith in Christ; and that the apostles' labour was therefore less, because they gathered the fruit of another's labour.

1. For this reason the Lord said to the disciples: Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest (John 4:35). For the reaper receives wages and gathers fruit for eternal life, so that both he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together (John 4:36). For in this the saying is true, that one is he who sows and another he who reaps (John 4:37). For I sent you ahead to reap what you did not labour at: others laboured, and you have entered into their labour (John 4:38). Who, then, are those who laboured, who served the dispositions of God? It is plain that they are the patriarchs and prophets, who also prefigured our faith and sowed in the earth the coming of the Son of God, who and what he would be: so that the men who were to come later, having the fear of God, might readily receive the coming of Christ, being instructed by the prophets. And for this reason, when Joseph had learned that Mary was with child, and was thinking of putting her away secretly, the angel said to him in sleep: Do not

fear to take Mary your wife; for what she has in her womb is from the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:20). And she will bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus: for he will save his people from their sins (Matt 1:21). And he added, persuading him: Now all this was done that what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled, who says: Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel (Matt 1:22–23; Isa 7:14); persuading him by the words of the prophet and excusing Mary: showing that she was the very virgin who had been foretold by Isaiah, who would bring forth Emmanuel. Wherefore Joseph, persuaded without hesitation, both took Mary and, in all the rest of Christ's upbringing, gladly rendered his service, undertaking the journey into Egypt, and the return from there, and the removal to Nazareth. Indeed, those who did not know the Scriptures, nor the promise of God, nor the disposition of Christ, called him the boy's father. For this reason, too, the Lord himself read the prophecies of Isaiah in Capernaum: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me; he has sent me to bring good news to the poor, to heal the broken of heart, to proclaim release to captives, and sight to the blind (Luke 4:18; Isa 61:1). And, showing that he himself had been foretold through the prophecy of Isaiah, he said to them: Today this Scripture has been fulfilled in your ears (Luke 4:21).

2. For this reason, too, Philip, when he had found the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians

reading what is written: As a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is without voice, so he did not open his mouth (Isa 53:7; Acts 8:32). In his humiliation his judgement was taken away (Isa 53:8; Acts 8:33), and all the rest that the prophet went through concerning his passion, and his coming in the flesh, and how he was dishonoured by those who did not believe him: Philip easily persuaded him to believe that he was Christ Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and suffered, and whatever the prophet foretold, and that he was the Son of God, who gives eternal life to men. And as soon as he had baptised him, he departed from him. For nothing else was wanting to him who had been instructed beforehand by the prophets: he was not ignorant of God the Father, nor of the disposition of the way of life, but only of the coming of the Son of God; and when he had come to know it briefly, he went on his way rejoicing, to be the herald in Ethiopia of Christ's coming. Wherefore Philip did not labour much over him, since he had been prepared beforehand by the prophets in the fear of God. For this reason, too, the apostles, gathering the lost sheep of the house of Israel and speaking to them from the Scriptures, showed that this crucified Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God, and persuaded a great multitude, who nevertheless had the fear of God: and in one day there were baptised three thousand men, and four, and five.

CHAPTER 24

That the conversion of the nations was harder than that of the Jews; and therefore the labour of the apostles who worked at the former was greater than that of those who worked at the latter.

1. For this reason, too, Paul, since he was the apostle of the nations: I laboured, he says, more than them all (1 Cor 15:10). For their instruction was easy, since they had proofs from the Scriptures; and those who heard Moses and the prophets also readily received the firstborn of the dead and the prince of the life of God, him who by the stretching out of his hands overthrew Amalek, and gave life to man from the serpent's bite through faith in him; but the nations the Apostle first instructed, as we have shown in the book before this one, to depart from the superstition of idols and to worship one God, the Maker of heaven and earth and the Fashioner of all creation; and that his Son is his Word, through whom he established all things; and that he, in the last time made man among men, refashioned the human race, but destroyed and conquered the enemy of man, and gave to his handiwork the victory over its adversary. Moreover, even if those of the circumcision did not do the words of God, being despisers, yet they had been instructed beforehand not to commit adultery, nor fornication, not to steal, nor to defraud, and that whatever is done to the ruin of one's neighbours is evil and hated by God. Wherefore they also readily agreed to abstain from these things, since they had learned them.

2. But the Gentiles had to learn even this very thing: that deeds of this kind are evil, and ruinous, and useless, and harmful to those who do them. Wherefore he who had received the apostleship to the nations laboured more than those who proclaimed the Son of God among the circumcision. For the Scriptures helped them, which the Lord confirmed and fulfilled, coming such as he had been preached: but here there was a strange learning and a new doctrine: that the gods of the nations not only are not gods but are idols of demons; and that there is one God, who is above every principality, and dominion, and power, and every name that is named (Eph 1:21); and that his Word, invisible indeed by nature, was made palpable and visible among men, and descended even to death, the death of the cross (Phil 2:8); and that those who believe in him will be incorruptible and impassible, and will receive the kingdom of heaven. And these things were preached to the nations by word, without Scriptures; wherefore those who preached to the nations also laboured more. But again the faith of the nations is shown to be the nobler, since they follow the word of God without instruction in the Letters.

CHAPTER 25

That both Testaments were foreshown in Abraham and in Tamar's childbearing; but that the God of both Testaments is one.

1. For so it was fitting with regard to the sons of Abraham, whom God raised up to him from the

stones and made to stand beside him, who had been made the prince and the foreteller of our faith, who also received the testament of circumcision after that justification of faith which he had had in uncircumcision: that both Testaments should be prefigured in him, so that he might become the father of all who follow the Word of God and endure their pilgrimage in this world, that is, of those of the circumcision and of those of the uncircumcision who are faithful; even as Christ, the chief corner-stone (Eph 2:20), bearing all things and gathering into the one faith of Abraham those from both Testaments who are fit for the building of God. But this faith which is in uncircumcision, as joining the end to the beginning, has become both the first and the last. For before circumcision it was in Abraham and in the other just men who pleased God, as we have demonstrated; and again in the last times it has arisen in the human race through the coming of the Lord. But circumcision and the law of works occupied the times between.

2. This is shown in type through many other things too, and now also through Tamar, Judah's daughter-in-law. For when she had conceived twins, one of them first put out his hand; and as the midwife thought that he was the firstborn, she tied a scarlet sign on his hand. And when this had been done and he had drawn back his hand, his brother Perez came out first; and so, after him, that second one on whom was the scarlet, Zerah: Scripture plainly declaring that people which has the scarlet sign, that is, the faith which is in

uncircumcision, shown beforehand first in the patriarchs and afterwards withdrawn, so that his brother might be born; and then in this way the one who was first born in the second place, who is known by the scarlet sign that was on him: which is the passion of the just one, prefigured from the beginning in Abel, and described by the prophets, but perfected in the last times in the Son of God.

3. For it was necessary that some things should be foretold in a fatherly way by the fathers, others prefigured by the Law by the prophets, and others shaped according to the shaping of Christ by those who have received adoption: but all are shown in one God. For though Abraham was one, he prefigured in himself the two Testaments, in which some sowed and others reaped: For in this, he says, the saying is true, that one is the people that sows, another that which will reap (John 4:37); but one God supplies to both what is fitting, seed to the one who sows, and bread to eat to the one who reaps. Just as one is he who plants and another he who waters, but one, God, who gives the growth. For the patriarchs and prophets sowed the word concerning Christ; but the Church has reaped, that is, has received the fruit. For this reason they themselves, too, pray to have a tabernacle in her, as Jeremiah says: Who will give me in the desert a last dwelling? (Jer 9:1); so that both he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together in the kingdom of Christ, who is present to all those in whom God was well pleased from the begin-

ning, granting that his Word should be present to them.

CHAPTER 26

Christ the treasure hidden in the Scriptures, laid open by his coming and his cross; and that the exposition of the Scriptures and the truth of doctrine are to be sought from the bishops alone who in the catholic Church have the succession from the apostles.

1. If anyone, then, reads the Scriptures attentively, he will find in them the word concerning Christ and the prefiguration of the new calling.

For this is the treasure hidden in the field, that is, in this world (for the field is the world (Matt 13:38)); but the treasure hidden in the Scriptures is Christ, since he was signified through types and parables. Hence that which is according to man could not be understood before the consummation of the things that have been consummated had come, which is the coming of Christ. And for this reason it was said to the prophet Daniel: Guard the words and seal the book until the time of the consummation, until many learn and knowledge is fulfilled (Dan 12:4). For in it, when the dispersion is accomplished, they shall know all these things (Dan 12:7). And Jeremiah, too, says: In the last days they will understand them (Jer 23:20).

For every prophecy, before it has its fulfilment, is riddles and ambiguities to men. But when the time has come, and what was prophesied has come to pass, then the prophecies have a clear

and certain exposition. And for this reason, when the Law is read by the Jews in this present time, it is like a fable: for they do not have the exposition of all things pertaining to the coming of the Son of God, which is according to man; but when it is read by Christians, it is a treasure, hidden in the field, but revealed and explained by the cross of Christ, enriching the understanding of men, and showing the wisdom of God, and making known his dispositions towards man, and forming beforehand the kingdom of Christ, and announcing beforehand the good news of the inheritance of the holy Jerusalem; and foretelling that man, loving God, will advance so far as even to see God and hear his word, and from the hearing of his speech to be glorified so far that the rest cannot look upon the face of his glory, as was said by Daniel: that those who understand shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those of the many just like the stars, for ever and beyond (Dan 12:3). As we have shown, then, if anyone reads the Scriptures (for so the Lord discoursed with the disciples after his resurrection from the dead, showing them from the Scriptures themselves that Christ had to suffer and to enter into his glory, and that remission of sins should be preached in his name in the whole world (Luke 24:26, 47)), he will also be a perfect disciple, and like a householder who brings out of his treasure things new and old.

2. Wherefore it is necessary to obey the presbyters who are in the Church, those who have the succession from the apostles, as we have shown;

who with the succession of the episcopate have received the sure charism of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father; but to hold in suspicion the others, who stand apart from the principal succession and assemble in whatever place, either as heretics and of evil doctrine, or as men who divide, and proud, and pleasing themselves, or again as hypocrites, doing this for the sake of gain and vain glory. But all these have fallen away from the truth. And the heretics, bringing strange fire to the altar of God, that is, strange doctrines, will be burned up by the heavenly fire, like Nadab and Abihu. But those who rise up against the truth and urge others on against the Church of God remain in the underworld, swallowed up by the chasm of the earth, like those about Korah, Dathan and Abiram. And those who split and separate the unity of the Church receive from God the same punishment as Jeroboam.

3. But those who are believed by many to be presbyters, but serve their own pleasures, and do not put the fear of God first in their hearts, but treat the rest with insults, and are puffed up with the pride of the principal concession, and do evil in secret and say: No one sees us (Dan 13:20), will be reproved by the Word, who does not judge according to glory, nor look upon the face, but into the heart; and they will hear those words that come from Daniel the prophet: Seed of Canaan, and not of Judah, beauty has led you astray, and lust has overturned your heart; you who have grown old in evil days, now your sins have come

upon you which you committed before, judging unjust judgements: and you condemned the innocent, but let the guilty go free, though the Lord says: The innocent and the just you shall not kill (Dan 13:56, 52–53). Of whom the Lord, too, said: But if a wicked servant says in his heart: My lord delays, and begins to beat the menservants and the maidservants, and to eat and drink and be drunk, the lord of that servant will come on a day he does not know, and at an hour he does not expect, and will cut him asunder, and put his portion with the unbelievers (Matt 24:48–51; Luke 12:46).

4. From all such, then, it is necessary to stand apart; but to cleave to those who both keep the teaching of the apostles, as we said before, and, with the order of the presbyterate, show sound speech and a blameless way of life, for the confirmation and correction of the rest. As Moses, to whom so great a leadership was entrusted, relying on a good conscience, cleared himself before God, saying: I have not taken anything of any of them, coveting it, nor have I done evil to any of them (Num 16:15). As Samuel, who judged the people for so many years and bore the leadership over Israel without any pride, cleared himself at the end, saying: I have lived in your sight from my youth until now: answer me in the sight of God and in the sight of his Christ: whose calf of yours have I taken, or ass, or over whom have I lorded it, or whom have I oppressed, or if I have taken from anyone's hand a propitiation or a shoe, speak against me, and I will restore it to you (1

Sam 12:2–3). And when the people had said: You have neither lorded it over us, nor oppressed us, nor taken anything from anyone's hand (1 Sam 12:4), he called the Lord to witness, saying: The Lord is witness, and his Christ is witness this day, that you have found nothing in my hand. And they said to him: Witness (1 Sam 12:5). As Paul the apostle, too, since he had a good conscience, said to the Corinthians: For we are not like the many, adulterating the word of God, but from sincerity, as from God, before God we speak in Christ (2 Cor 2:17); we have harmed no one, we have corrupted no one, we have defrauded no one (2 Cor 7:2).

5. Such presbyters the Church nourishes, of whom the prophet, too, says: And I will give your princes in peace, and your bishops in justice (Isa 60:17). Of whom the Lord, too, said: Who then will be the faithful steward, good and wise, whom the Lord sets over his household, to give them their food in due season? (Matt 24:45) Blessed is that servant whom the Lord, when he comes, shall find so doing (Matt 24:46). Where, then, one may find such men, Paul teaches when he says: God has set in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers (1 Cor 12:28). Where, then, the charisms of the Lord have been set, there it is necessary to learn the truth, from those with whom is that succession of the Church which is from the apostles, and among whom there stands firm that which is sound and blameless in the way of life, and unadulterated and incorrupt in speech. For these both guard our faith in one God, who made all things, and

increase our love for the Son of God, who made such great dispositions for our sake, and expound the Scriptures to us without danger, neither blaspheming God, nor dishonouring the patriarchs, nor despising the prophets.

CHAPTER 27

That the falls of the ancients, which God punished, were committed to writing by his providence, so that we may be taught by them and not grow proud. That it must not therefore be concluded from this that there is another God than him whom Christ preached; rather it is to be feared lest the one and the same God, who exacted penalties from the ancients, exact heavier ones from us.

1. As I heard from a certain presbyter, who had heard it from those who had seen the apostles and from those who had been taught: that for the ancients, as to what they did without the counsel of the Spirit, the correction that came from the Scriptures was enough. For since God is not a respecter of persons, on the things that were done not according to his good pleasure he brought a fitting correction. So under David: when he suffered persecution from Saul for justice' sake, and fled from King Saul, and did not take vengeance on his enemy, and sang in psalms the coming of Christ, and instructed the nations in wisdom, and did all things according to the counsel of the Spirit, he pleased God. But when through lust he took for himself Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, Scripture said of him: But the thing that David

had done appeared wicked in the eyes of the Lord (2 Sam 11:27); and Nathan the prophet is sent to him, showing him his sin, so that, passing judgement on himself and condemning himself, he might obtain mercy and remission from Christ: And he said to him: There were two men in one city, one rich and one poor: the rich man had flocks of sheep and herds of oxen, very many; and the poor man had nothing but one little ewe lamb, which he had, and reared, and which had been with him and with his sons alike: it ate of his bread, and drank of his cup, and was to him as a daughter (2 Sam 12:1–3). And a guest came to the rich man, and he spared to take from his flock of sheep and from his herds of oxen to provide for the guest; and he took the poor man's ewe lamb and set it before the man who had come to him (2 Sam 12:4). And David was very angry with that man, and said to Nathan: As the Lord lives, the man who did this is a son of death; and he shall restore the ewe lamb fourfold, because he did this deed, and because he did not spare the poor man (2 Sam 12:5–6). And Nathan said to him: You are the man who has done this (2 Sam 12:7); and then he goes through the rest, reproaching him, and enumerating against him the benefits of God, and that he had provoked the Lord by doing this. For such a deed, he said, did not please God, but great wrath hung over his house. And David was pierced to the heart at this, and said: I have sinned against the Lord (2 Sam 12:13); and afterwards he sang the psalm of exomologesis, awaiting the

coming of the Lord, who washes and cleanses the man who had been bound by sin.

Likewise, too, concerning Solomon: while he persevered in judging rightly and in setting forth wisdom, and was building the type of the true temple, and setting forth the glories of God, and proclaiming the peace to come to the nations, and prefiguring the kingdom of Christ, and speaking three thousand parables for the coming of the Lord, and five thousand songs, saying a hymn to God, and setting forth, as natural philosophers do, the wisdom of God which is in creation, from every tree and every herb, and all the birds, and the four-footed beasts, and the fishes; and was saying: Will God truly dwell upon the earth with men, he whom the heavens cannot contain? (1 Kgs 8:27) — he pleased God, and all admired him, and all the kings of the earth sought his face, to hear his wisdom, which God had given him, and the queen of the South came to him from the ends of the earth to know the wisdom that was in him; who, as the Lord says, will rise in the judgement with the generation of those who hear his words and do not believe in him, and will condemn them: because she submitted to the wisdom proclaimed through a servant of God, but these despised the wisdom that was given by the Son of God. For Solomon was a servant; but Christ is the Son of God and the Lord of Solomon. So while he served God without offence and ministered to his dispositions, then he was glorified; but when he took wives from all the nations and allowed them to set up idols in

Israel, Scripture said of him: And King Solomon was a lover of women, and he took to himself foreign women; and it came to pass in the time of Solomon's old age that his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God (1 Kgs 11:1, 4). And the foreign women turned his heart away after strange gods (1 Kgs 11:3–4). And Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord: he did not go after the Lord, as David his father did (1 Kgs 11:6). And the Lord was angry with Solomon: for his heart was not perfect in the Lord, according to the heart of David his father (1 Kgs 11:9, 4). Scripture rebuked him sufficiently, as the presbyter said, so that no flesh may glory in the sight of the Lord.

2. And for this reason, he said, the Lord descended into the things that are beneath the earth, announcing the good news of his coming to them too, there being remission of sins for those who believe in him. And all who hoped in him believed in him, that is, those who foretold his coming and served his dispositions, the just, and the prophets, and the patriarchs: to whom he forgave their sins as he did to us, sins which we must not impute to them, if we are not to despise the grace of God. For just as they did not impute to us our incontinences, which we committed before Christ was manifested in us, so neither is it just for us to lay a charge against those who sinned before the coming of Christ. For all men are in need of the glory of God (Rom 3:23), and those who fix their gaze on his light are justified, not by themselves, but by the coming of the Lord. But their deeds, he said, were written

down for our correction, so that we might know, first, that our God and theirs is one, whom sins do not please even if they are committed by illustrious men; and then, that we may abstain from evil. For if those ancients who went before us in the charisms, for whose sake the Son of God had not yet suffered, when they offended in anything and served the lust of the flesh, were visited with such disgrace, what will those suffer who are now, who have despised the coming of the Lord and have been slaves to their own pleasures? And for them the death of the Lord was healing and remission of sins; but for the sake of those who sin now Christ will no longer die, for death will no longer have dominion over him; but the Son will come in the glory of the Father, requiring from his stewards and dispensers the money which he entrusted to them, with interest: and from those to whom he gave most he will demand most. We ought not, therefore, said that elder, to be proud, nor to find fault with the ancients; but ourselves to fear, lest perhaps, after the knowledge of Christ, doing something that does not please God, we have no further remission of sins, but be shut out of his kingdom. And therefore, he said, Paul said: For if he did not spare the natural branches, perhaps he will not spare you either, who, being a wild olive, were grafted into the richness of the olive and became a sharer in its richness (Rom 11:21, 17).

3. Likewise you see, too, the transgressions of the people described, not for the sake of those who then transgressed, but for our correction,

and so that we might know that one and the same is the God against whom they offended and against whom some now offend of those who say they have believed. And this, he said, the Apostle showed most plainly in the Epistle to the Corinthians, saying: For I do not want you to be ignorant, brothers, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all were baptised in Moses in the cloud and in the sea, all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink: for they drank from the spiritual rock that followed them; and the rock was Christ (1 Cor 10:1–4). But with most of them God was not well pleased; for they were laid low in the desert (1 Cor 10:5). These things were done as a figure of us, so that we may not desire evil things, as they too desired; nor be idolaters, as some of them were; as it is written: The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play (1 Cor 10:6–7). Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed fornication, and twenty-three thousand fell in one day (1 Cor 10:8). Nor let us tempt Christ, as some of them tempted him, and perished by serpents (1 Cor 10:9). Nor grumble, as some of them grumbled, and perished by the destroyer (1 Cor 10:10). Now all these things happened to them in a figure; but they were written for our correction, upon whom the end of the ages has come (1 Cor 10:11). Wherefore let him who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall (1 Cor 10:12).

4. Since, then, the Apostle shows without doubt and without contradiction that one and the same is the God who both judged those

things and searches out the things that are now, and shows the reason why they were written down, all those are found unlearned and rash, and moreover imprudent, who, because of the transgression of those who lived of old, and because of the disobedient hearing of most, say that one God was the God of those men, and that he is the fashioner of the world and is in lessening; but that the other is the Father handed down by Christ, and that he is the one conceived in the mind of each of them: not understanding that, as there God was not well pleased with most of those who sinned, so also here many are called, but few chosen (Matt 20:16); as there the unjust, and the idolaters, and the fornicators lost their life, so also here: the Lord proclaiming that such men are sent into eternal fire, and the Apostle saying: Do you not know that the unjust will not inherit the kingdom of God? (1 Cor 6:9) Do not be led astray: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor those who lie with males, nor thieves, nor the covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor robbers shall possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 6:9–10). And since he says this not to those who are outside but to us, lest we be cast out of the kingdom of God by doing any such thing, he added: And such indeed you were; but you have been washed, but you have been sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God (1 Cor 6:11).

And as there those who did evil were condemned and cast out, and they were bringing ruin on the rest, so here too the eye that gives

offence is plucked out, and the foot, and the hand, lest the rest of the body perish with it. And we have the precept: If any brother is named a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or rapacious, with such a one not even to take food (1 Cor 5:11). And again the Apostle says: Let no one lead you astray with empty words; for because of these things the wrath of God comes upon the sons of distrust (Eph 5:6). Do not, then, become sharers with them (Eph 5:7). And as there the condemnation of those who sinned took in the others too, because they were pleasing to them and lived together with them, so here too: a little leaven corrupts the whole lump (1 Cor 5:6). And as there the wrath of God came down upon the unjust, here too likewise the Apostle says: For the wrath of God will be revealed from heaven upon all ungodliness and injustice of those men who hold back the truth in injustice (Rom 1:18). And as there vengeance was taken by God on the Egyptians, who unjustly afflicted Israel, so here too, the Lord saying: And will not God avenge his elect, all who cry to him day and night? (Luke 18:7) Yes, I tell you, he will avenge them speedily (Luke 18:8); and the Apostle, in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, proclaiming these things: Since indeed it is just with God to repay with recompense those who afflict you, and to you who are afflicted to give rest with us, at the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven with the angels of his power, and in a flame of fire, to inflict vengeance on those who do not know God, and on those who do not obey

the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who also pay the penalty of eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his power, when he comes to be magnified in his saints, and to be wondered at in all who have believed in him (2 Thess 1:6–10).

CHAPTER 28

That those are foolish who, exaggerating the mercy of Christ and saying nothing of the judgement, and looking to the greater grace of the New Testament but forgetting the greater perfection that it requires of us, strive to set up another God than the Creator.

1. Since, then, here and there the justice of God in God's avenging is the same, there indeed in type, and for a time, and more moderately, but here in truth, and for ever, and more severely; for the eternal fire, and the wrath of God that will be revealed from heaven from the face of our Lord (as David too says: But the face of the Lord is upon those who do evil, to destroy their memory from the earth (Ps 34:17)), brings a greater punishment upon those who fall into it: the presbyters showed to be very senseless those who, from the things that befell those who once obeyed God, try to bring in another Father; setting against them, on the contrary, how great things the Lord did when he came to save those who received him, having pity on them; but keeping silent about his judgement, and about whatever will befall those who heard his words and did not do them, and that it would have been better for them not to

have been born, and that it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the judgement than for that city which did not receive the words of his disciples.

2. For as in the New Testament the faith of men towards God has been increased, receiving in addition the Son of God, that man too might become a partaker of God; so too the diligence required in the way of life has been increased, since we are commanded to abstain not only from evil works but even from the thoughts themselves, and from idle sayings, and empty speech, and scurrilous words: so too the punishment of those who do not believe the Word of God, and despise his coming, and turn backwards, has been enlarged; it has become not only temporal but also eternal. For those to whom the Lord shall say: Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire (Matt 25:41), these will always be condemned; and those to whom he shall say: Come, blessed of my Father, receive the inheritance of the kingdom which has been prepared for you for ever (Matt 25:34), these always receive the kingdom and advance; since there is one and the same God the Father, and his Word, who is always present to the human race, with various dispositions indeed, and works many things, and saves from the beginning those who are saved (for these are they who love God and, according to their kind, follow the Word of God), and condemns those who are condemned, that is, those who forget God, and are blasphemers, and transgressors of his word.

3. For these very heretics of whom we have spoken have cut themselves off, accusing the Lord in whom they say they believe. For the things they censure in God, who then judged the unbelievers for a time, and struck the Egyptians, but saved the obedient, these same will none the less recoil upon the Lord, who condemns for ever those whom he condemns, and forgives for ever those whom he forgives: and he will be found, according to their words, to have become the cause of the greatest sin for those who laid hands on him and pierced him. For if he had not come in this way, they would certainly not have become the murderers of their Lord; and if he had not sent the prophets to them, they would certainly not have killed them, nor the apostles likewise. To those, then, who reproach us and say: "If the Egyptians had not been struck with plagues, and those pursuing Israel had not been drowned in the sea, God could not have saved his people," this is the answer: If, then, the Jews had not become the murderers of the Lord (which indeed took eternal life away from them), and, killing the apostles and persecuting the Church, had not fallen into the abyss of wrath, we could not have been saved. For as they through the blindness of the Egyptians, so we too through that of the Jews have received salvation: since the death of the Lord is condemnation for those who fixed him to the cross and did not believe his coming, but the saving of those who believe in him. For the Apostle, too, says in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: For we are the sweet fragrance of

Christ to God, both among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing: to some the fragrance of death for death, to others the fragrance of life for life (2 Cor 2:15–16). To whom, then, is it the fragrance of death for death, if not to those who do not believe and are not subject to the Word of God? And who are they who then too delivered themselves up to death? Those, of course, who do not believe and are not subject to God. And again, who were saved and received the inheritance? Those, of course, who believe God and have kept the love that is towards him; like Caleb son of Jephunneh, and Joshua son of Nun, and the innocent children, who had no sense of malice. And who are they who here are saved and receive eternal life? Are they not those who love God, and who believe his promises, and have become little children in malice?

CHAPTER 29

He dissolves the argument of the Marcionites by which they tried to prove that God is the author of evils, because he blinded Pharaoh and his servants.

1. "But God," they say, "hardened the heart of Pharaoh and of his servants." Those, then, who lay this to his charge do not read in the Gospel where, when the disciples said to the Lord: Why do you speak to them in parables? (Matt 13:10), the Lord answered: Because to you it has been given to know the mystery of the kingdom of heaven; but to them I speak in parables, that see-

ing they may not see, and hearing they may not hear, understanding they may not understand, that the prophecy of Isaiah may be fulfilled in them, which says: Make the heart of this people fat, and stop their ears, and blind their eyes (Matt 13:11, 13–15; Isa 6:10). But blessed are your eyes, which see what you see, and your ears, which hear what you hear (Matt 13:16). For one and the same God brings blindness on those who do not believe but set him at nought; as the sun, which is his creature, does to those who because of some weakness of the eyes cannot behold its light; but to those who believe him and follow him he grants a fuller and greater illumination of mind. In keeping with this word, then, the Apostle too says in the Second to the Corinthians: In whom God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world, that the illumination of the Gospel of the glory of Christ may not shine (2 Cor 4:4). And again in the Epistle to the Romans: And as they did not see fit to have God in their acknowledgement, God gave them up to a reprobate understanding, to do what is not fitting (Rom 1:28). And in the Second to the Thessalonians he says plainly, speaking of the Antichrist: And therefore God will send them the working of error, that they may believe the lie: that all may be judged who did not believe the truth but consented to iniquity (2 Thess 2:11–12).

2. If, then, now too God, since he foreknows all things, has given over to their unbelief all whom he knows will not believe, and has turned his face away from such men, leaving them in the

darkness which they themselves have chosen for themselves, what wonder if then too he gave over to their unbelief Pharaoh, who would never believe, and those who were with him? As the Word says to Moses from the bush: But I know that Pharaoh king of Egypt will not let you go, except by a strong hand (Exod 3:19). And for the reason for which the Lord spoke in parables and brought blindness upon Israel, that seeing they might not see, knowing their unbelief, for the same reason he also hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that, seeing that it is the finger of God that leads the people out, he might not believe, but be hurled headlong into the sea of unbelief; supposing that their going out was brought about by a magical working, and that the Red Sea gave passage to the people not by the power of God but because it was so by nature.

CHAPTER 30

He rebuts another argument of the Marcionites, namely that the Hebrews, at God's command, despoiled the Egyptians.

1. But those who reproach and lay it to his charge that the people, when about to set out, took from the Egyptians at God's command vessels of every kind and garments, and so went away, of which the tabernacle too was made in the desert, being ignorant of the ordinances of God and of his dispositions, convict themselves, as the presbyter too used to say. For if God had not consented to this in the typical departure, today in our true departure, that is, in the faith in

which we have been established, through which we have been taken out of the number of the Gentiles, no one could be saved. For all of us are attended by some possession, small or great, which we have acquired from the mammon of iniquity. For whence come the houses in which we live, and the garments with which we are clothed, and the vessels which we use, and all the rest of the provision for the continuance of our life, if not from the things which, when we were heathen, we acquired by avarice, or received from heathen parents, or kinsmen, or friends, who acquired them by injustice? Not to mention that even now, being in the faith, we acquire. For who sells and does not wish to make a profit from the one who buys? And who buys and does not wish to be dealt with to his advantage by the one who sells? And who that trades does not trade in order to live by it? And what of those believers who are in the royal palace: do they not have their goods from the things that are Caesar's, and does not each of them give, according to his means, to those who have nothing? The Egyptians were debtors to the people not only for goods but even for their own life, because of the kindness that the patriarch Joseph had shown before; but in what are the heathen our debtors, from whom we receive both gains and advantages? Whatever they procure with labour, we, being in the faith, use without labour.

2. Besides this, the people served the Egyptians in the worst servitude, as Scripture says: And the Egyptians exercised power over the sons

of Israel with force, and made their life hateful to them with hard works, with clay and brick, and all the works that they did in the fields, in all the works by which they oppressed them with force (Exod 1:13–14); and they built fortified cities for them, labouring much and increasing their wealth for many years and by every kind of servitude, while those were not only ungrateful towards them but even wished to destroy them all. What injustice, then, was done if out of much they took a little, and they who could have had much wealth, if they had not served them, and have gone away rich, went away poor, receiving a very small wage for a great servitude? As if a free man, carried off by someone by force, and serving him for many years and increasing his wealth, should afterwards obtain some help, and seem to have some small part of what is his master's, but in truth should go away taking little out of his many labours and his great acquisition, and someone should charge him with this as though he had not acted rightly: that man would rather appear an unjust judge towards him who had been brought into servitude by force. Such, then, are those too who charge the people with taking for themselves a little out of much, and do not charge those who rendered no gratitude due for the merit of their fathers, but rather, reducing them to the heaviest servitude, gained the greatest profit from them: and they say that these acted unjustly in taking unstamped gold and silver in a few vessels, as we said before; while of themselves (for the truth shall be told, though it

may seem ridiculous to some), carrying in their belts, from the labours of others, stamped gold, and silver, and bronze, with the inscription and image of Caesar, they say that they act justly.

3. But if a comparison be made between us and them, which will appear to have received more justly? The people from the Egyptians, who were their debtors in everything; or we from the Romans and the other nations, from whom nothing of the kind is owed to us? And moreover the world has peace through them, and we walk the roads without fear and sail wherever we will. Against such, then, the word of the Lord will be fitting: Hypocrite, he says, first take the beam out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the speck out of your brother's eye (Matt 7:5). For if he who lays these things to your charge, and glories in his knowledge, is separated from the company of the Gentiles, and has nothing that is another's with him, but is simply naked and barefoot and lives without a house in the mountains, like one of those animals that feed on grass, he will deserve pardon, because he does not know the necessities of our way of life. But if he takes his share from men of the things that are called another's, and finds fault with their type, he shows himself most unjust, turning such an accusation back upon himself. For he will be found carrying about what is another's and coveting what is not his; and for this reason, he said, the Lord said: Do not judge, that you may not be judged: for with what judgement you judge, you will be judged (Matt 7:1–2). Not, surely, that we

should not correct those who sin, nor that we should consent to the things that are done ill; but that we should not judge the dispositions of God unjustly, since he has foreseen justly that all things would be to our profit. For since he knew that we would do good with our wealth, which we would have by receiving it from another: He who has two tunics, he says, let him give to him who has none; and he who has food, let him do likewise (Luke 3:11). And: For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; and I was naked, and you clothed me (Matt 25:35–36). And: When you do a work of mercy, do not let your left hand know what your right hand does (Matt 6:3); and all the other things in doing which we are justified, as those who redeem what is ours from what is another's: and I say "from what is another's" not as though the world were alien to God, but because we have such gifts by receiving them from others, just as they did from the Egyptians, who did not know God; and through these very things we raise up for ourselves the tabernacle of God: for God dwells with those who do good; as the Lord says: Make friends for yourselves from the mammon of iniquity, so that, when you are put to flight, they may receive you into the eternal tabernacles (Luke 16:9). For whatever we acquired by injustice when we were heathen, by turning it, once we have believed, to the Lord's uses, we are justified.

4. Necessarily, then, these things were practised beforehand in type, and the tabernacle of God is fashioned from them: they indeed receiv-

ing justly, as we have shown, but we being shown beforehand, who were to serve God through what is another's. For the whole departure of the people out of Egypt, which was brought about by God, was a type and image of the departure of the Church that was to be from the nations: for this reason, too, at the end, leading her out from here into his inheritance, which not Moses the servant of God, but Jesus the Son of God will give as an inheritance. And if anyone attends more diligently to what is said by the prophets about the end, and to whatever John the disciple of the Lord saw in the Apocalypse, he will find that the nations receive universally the same plagues that Egypt then received in part.

CHAPTER 31

That what Scripture does not rebuke must not rashly be charged as a crime against the ancients, but a type is to be sought in it: which is proved by the example of the incest committed by Lot.

1. Telling some such things about the ancients, the presbyter refreshed us, and said: "For those faults for which the Scriptures themselves rebuked the patriarchs and prophets, we ought not to reproach them, nor become like Ham, who mocked his father's nakedness and fell under the curse; but to give thanks to God for them, because at the coming of our Lord their sins were forgiven them": for he said that they give thanks and are glorified in our salvation. But as for the things for which the Scriptures do not rebuke them, but which are simply set down, we ought not, he said,

to become accusers (for we are not more exact than God, nor can we be above the master), but to look for a type. For nothing is idle of all the things that are set down in the Scriptures without accusation. As Lot, too, who led his daughters out of Sodom, who conceived by their father, and who left in the border-land his wife, a statue of salt to this day. For Lot, not of his own will, nor of his own carnal lust, nor receiving any sense or thought of such a thing, fulfilled the type. As Scripture says: And the elder went in and lay with her father that night; and Lot did not know when she lay down, nor when she rose (Gen 19:33). And with the younger the same: And he did not know, it says, when she had lain with him, nor when she had risen (Gen 19:35). The man, then, not knowing it, nor serving lust, the dispensation was being accomplished through which the two daughters, that is, the two synagogues, were signified as adopted into offspring by one and the same father, without the lust of the flesh. For there was no one else who could give them living seed and the fruit of sons, as it is written: And the elder said to the younger: Our father is old, and there is no one on the earth to come in to us, as is the way of all the earth: come, let us make our father drink wine, and lie with him, that we may raise up seed from our father (Gen 19:31–32).

2. Those daughters, then, in their simplicity and innocence, thinking that all men had perished like the Sodomites, and that the wrath of God had come upon the whole earth, said these things. Wherefore they too are excusable, sup-

posing that they alone had been left with their father for the preservation of the human race; and for this reason they deceived their father. But by their words it was signified that there is no other who can give the begetting of sons to the elder and the younger synagogue than our Father. And the Father of the human race is the Word of God: as Moses shows, saying: Is not this your very father, who possessed you, and made you, and created you? (Deut 32:6) When, then, did he pour out upon the human race the living seed, that is, the Spirit of the remission of sins, through whom we are given life? Was it not then, when he ate with men and drank wine on the earth? For, he says, the Son of Man came eating and drinking (Matt 11:19); and when he had lain down, he fell asleep and took his sleep. As he himself says in David: I slept, and took my sleep (Ps 3:6). And since he did this in fellowship and life with us, he says again: And my sleep became sweet to me (Jer 31:26). And the whole was signified through Lot: that the seed of the Father of all, that is, the Spirit of God, through whom all things were made, was mingled and united with flesh, that is, with his own handiwork: through which commingling and unity the two synagogues, that is, the two congregations, bearing fruit from their Father, living sons to the living God.

3. And while these things were happening, the wife remained in Sodom, no longer corruptible flesh, but a statue of salt that abides for ever, and showing, through the natural things that belong to the custom of man, that the Church too, which

is the salt of the earth, has been left behind in the border-land of the earth, suffering what is human: and while whole members are often taken away from her, the statue of salt endures, which is the foundation of faith, strengthening the sons and sending them on ahead to their Father.

CHAPTER 32

He confirms by the authority of an elder, a disciple of the apostles, that the one God is the author of both Testaments.

1. In this way, too, an elder, a disciple of the apostles, used to discourse about the two Testaments, showing that both are from one and the same God: that there is no other God besides the one who made and moulded us, and that the talk of those who say that this world of ours was made either through angels, or through any Power whatever, or by another God, has no firmness. For if once a man is moved away from the Maker of all, and grants that the creation which is ours was made by some other or through another, it is necessary that such a man fall into much incongruity and very many contradictions, for which he will give no reasons, either according to probability or according to truth. And for this reason those who bring in other doctrines hide from us the view which they themselves hold about God, knowing the brokenness and futility of their doctrine, and fearing lest, if defeated, they run the risk of being saved. But if someone believes in one God, who also made all things by

the Word, as Moses too says: God said: Let there be light, and there was light (Gen 1:3); and in the Gospel we read: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3); and the apostle Paul likewise: One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father, who is above all, and in us all (Eph 4:5–6): this man will first hold the head, from which the whole body, joined and knit together, and through every joint of the supply, according to the measure of each part, has made the growth of the body, for the building up of itself in charity (Eph 4:16; Col 2:19). And then every word will stand firm for him, if he also reads the Scriptures diligently with those who are presbyters in the Church, with whom is the apostolic teaching, as we have demonstrated.

2. For all the apostles taught that there were indeed two Testaments among two peoples; but that it is one and the same God who disposed both for the benefit of men, with regard to whom the Testaments were given, who were beginning to believe God, we have demonstrated from the very teaching of the apostles in the third book; and that the first Testament was not given idly, nor in vain, nor at random; but bending those to whom it was given into the service of God, for their benefit (for God does not need service from men); and showing a type of heavenly things, since man was not yet able to see by his own sight the things of God; and prefiguring the images of the things that are in the Church, so that our faith might become firm; and containing a prophecy of

things to come, so that man might learn that God foreknows all things.

CHAPTER 33

Whoever confesses that the one God is the author of both Testaments, and reads the Scriptures carefully with the presbyters of the Church, is truly a spiritual disciple; and, enlightened by the true knowledge which is found in the catholic Church alone, he sees through and rightly interprets whatever the prophets foretold of Christ and of the freedom of the New Testament.

1. Such a disciple, truly spiritual, receiving the Spirit of God, who from the beginning was present to men in all the dispositions of God, and proclaimed things to come, and showed things present, and recounts things past, judges all men, but is himself judged by no one. For he judges the nations, serving the creature rather than the Creator (Rom 1:25), and with a reprobate mind spending all their activity in vain. He judges also the Jews, who do not receive the Word of freedom, nor are willing to go away free, though they have their deliverer present; but out of season, outside the Law, pretend to serve God, who needs nothing, and do not recognise the coming of Christ, which he made for the salvation of men; nor are willing to understand that all the prophets proclaimed his two comings: the one, in which he became a man in affliction, knowing how to bear frailty, and sitting on the colt of an ass, the stone rejected by the builders, and led like a sheep to the slaughter, and by the stretch-

ing out of his hands overthrowing Amalek, and gathering the scattered sons from the ends of the earth into the Father's fold, and remembering his dead who had fallen asleep before, and going down to them to rescue them and to save them. And the second, in which he will come upon the clouds, bringing on the day which is like a burning oven, and striking the earth with the word of his mouth, and slaying the ungodly with the spirit through his lips, and having the winnowing fan in his hand, and cleansing his threshing-floor, and gathering the wheat into the barn, but burning the chaff with unquenchable fire.

2. He will examine also the doctrine of Marcion: how he holds that there are two gods, separated from each other by an infinite distance. Or how will he be good who draws men that are another's away from him who made them, and calls them to his own kingdom? And why does his goodness fail, not saving all? And why does he seem good towards men, but most unjust towards him who made men, taking away from him what is his? And how, if he belongs to another Father, could the Lord justly, taking bread of this creation which is ours, confess it to be his body, and declare the mixture of the cup to be his blood? And why did he confess himself the Son of Man, if he had not undergone the generation that is from man? And how could he forgive us the sins which we owe to our Maker and God? And how, if he was not flesh but appeared as a man, was he crucified, and blood and water came out of his

pierced side? And what body did the buriers bury, and what was that which rose from the dead?

3. He will judge also all those who are from Valentinus, because with the tongue they confess one God the Father, and that all things are from him, but they say that he who made all things is the fruit of deficiency or defect; and likewise, confessing with the tongue one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, by their doctrine they grant one emission of its own to the Only-begotten, another of its own to Word, and one to Christ, another to the Saviour; so that, according to them, all are said to be as if one, but each of them is understood separately and has its own emission, according to its own pairing. So it is plain that their tongues alone have come into unity; but that their judgement and understanding, searching what is deep, falling away from unity, fall into the manifold judgement of God, when they are questioned by Christ about the things they have devised for themselves; who, they say, was born later than the Pleroma of the Aeons, and they affirm that they themselves acted as midwives at his emission, which, they say, came after the lessening or deficiency and on account of that passion which took place in Sophia. But Homer, their own prophet, will accuse them, taught by whom they invented such things, he himself saying this: "For that man is hateful to me as the gates of the underworld, who hides one thing in his heart and tells another." He will judge also the empty talk of the perverse Gnostics, showing them to be disciples of Simon Magus.

4. He will judge also the Ebionites: how can they be saved unless it is God who wrought their salvation on the earth? And how will man pass into God, unless God has passed into man? And how will he leave the generation of death, if not into a new generation, given wonderfully and unexpectedly by God as a sign of salvation, the regeneration which is from the virgin through faith? Or what adoption will they receive from God, if they remain in this genesis which is according to man in this world? And how did he have more than Solomon, or more than Jonah, and how was he the Lord of David, he who was of the same substance as they? And how did he overcome him who was strong against men, who not only conquered man but also held him under his power, and conquer him who had conquered, and set free the man who had been conquered, unless he had been greater than the man who had been conquered? And who else is better and more excellent than that man who was made according to the likeness of God, but the Son of God, to whose likeness man was made? And for this reason, in the end, he himself showed the likeness: the Son of God became man, taking up into himself the ancient moulding, as we have shown in the book before this one.

5. He will judge also those who bring in a seeming. For how do they think that they themselves truly dispute, when their master was a seeming? Or how can they have anything firm from him, if he was a seeming and not truth? And how can they themselves truly share in salvation,

if he in whom they say they believe showed himself as a seeming? Everything with them, then, is seeming and not truth: and now the question will be asked whether perhaps, since they themselves too are not men but dumb animals, they are presenting to most people the shadows of men.

6. He will judge also the false prophets, who, not having received from God the prophetic grace, nor fearing God, but either for vain glory, or for some gain, or else otherwise according to the working of an evil spirit, pretend to prophesy, lying against God.

7. He will judge also those who make schisms, who are empty, not having the love of God, and looking to their own advantage rather than to the unity of the Church; and for small and any causes whatever rend and divide the great and glorious body of Christ, and, so far as in them lies, kill it; speaking peace and making war; truly straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel. For no correction can be brought about by them so great as is the harm of schism. He will judge also all those who are outside the truth, that is, who are outside the Church: but he himself will be judged by no one. For all things stand firm for him: an entire faith in one God almighty, from whom are all things; and in the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom are all things, and in his dispositions, through which the Son of God became man, a firm judgement, which is in the Spirit of God, who grants the knowledge of the truth, who has set forth the dispositions of the Father and of

the Son, according to which he was present to the human race, as the Father wills.

8. True knowledge is the teaching of the apostles, and the ancient state of the Church throughout the whole world, and the stamp of the body of Christ according to the successions of the bishops, to whom they handed down the Church which is in each place: the fullest handling of the Scriptures, which has come down to us by a keeping without forgery, receiving neither addition nor subtraction; and a reading without falsification, and a legitimate exposition according to the Scriptures, both diligent and without danger and without blasphemy; and the chief gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, and surpassing all the other charisms.

9. Wherefore the Church in every place, because of the love which she has towards God, sends on before to the Father a multitude of martyrs in every age; while all the others not only have nothing of this to show among themselves, but say that such martyrdom is not even necessary; for their doctrine, they say, is the true martyrdom: unless perhaps one or two at times, in the whole time since the Lord appeared on earth, has borne the reproach of the name together with our martyrs, as though he too had obtained mercy, and has been led away with them, as a kind of addition granted to them. For the reproach of those who suffer persecution for justice' sake, and endure all punishments, and are put to death because of the love that is

towards God and the confession of his Son, the Church alone endures purely (often weakened, and at once increasing her members and becoming whole, just as her type too, she who was Lot's, the figure made of salt): like the prophets of old, who endured persecution, as the Lord says: For so they persecuted the prophets who were before you (Matt 5:12); since, in a new way indeed, but with the same Spirit resting upon her, she suffers persecution from those who do not receive the Word of God.

10. This indeed the prophets prophesied too, along with the other things they prophesied: that all on whom the Spirit of God rests, and who obey the Word of the Father and serve him according to their power, will suffer persecution, and be stoned, and be killed. For the prophets prefigured all these things in themselves, because of their love of God and because of his word. For since they too were members of Christ, each of them, according as he was a member, so manifested his prophecy, all of them, though many, forming one beforehand, and proclaiming the things that belong to one. For just as through our members the working of the whole body is shown, but the figure of the whole man is not shown through one member, but through all: so too the prophets all prefigured one; but each of them, according as he was a member, so fulfilled the disposition, and formed beforehand that working of Christ which corresponded to that member.

11. For some, seeing him in glory, saw his glorious life at the Father's right hand; others,

seeing him coming upon the clouds as the Son of Man, and saying of him: They shall look on him whom they pierced (Zech 12:10), signified his coming, of which he himself says: Do you think that when the Son of Man comes, he will find faith on the earth? (Luke 18:8) Of which Paul too says: If indeed it is just with God to repay with tribulation those who afflict you, and you who are afflicted with rest with us, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power, and in a flame of fire (2 Thess 1:6–8). And others, calling him judge, and the day of the Lord like a burning oven, who gathers the wheat into the barns, but will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire (Matt 3:12), threatened those who were unbelieving; of whom the Lord himself too says: Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire which my Father prepared for the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41). And the Apostle too says likewise: Who shall pay the penalty of eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his power, when he comes to be glorified in his saints, and to be made wonderful in those who believe in him (2 Thess 1:9–10). And those who say: Fair in form above the sons of men (Ps 45:3); and: God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your companions (Ps 45:8); and: Gird your sword upon your thigh, O most mighty: in your comeliness and your beauty, both bend your bow, and go forward prosperously, and reign because of truth, and meekness, and justice (Ps 45:4–5); and whatever other such things have been said of him, signified

his comeliness and beauty in the kingdom, and his exultation shining above all and surpassing all who are ruled under him; so that those who hear might desire to be found there, doing what is pleasing to God.

And those who again say: He is man, and who shall know him? (Jer 17:9); and: I went in to the prophetess, and she bore a son, and his name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty (Isa 8:3; 9:5); and those who proclaimed him as Emmanuel from the virgin, made manifest the union of the Word of God with his handiwork: that the Word will be flesh, and the Son of God the Son of Man (the pure one purely opening the pure womb, that which regenerates men into God, which he himself made pure), and, having become this which we also are, he is God the Mighty, and has an inexpressible race. And those who say: The Lord has spoken in Zion, and from Jerusalem has uttered his voice (Joel 4:16); and: God is known in Judaea (Ps 76:2): these signified his coming in Judaea. And those who again say that God comes from the south-west, and from the shady and thick mountain (Hab 3:3), spoke of his coming, which is from Bethlehem (as we have shown in the book before this one); whence too he has come who rules and feeds the people of his Father. And those who say: at his coming the lame man shall leap like a deer, and the tongue of the dumb shall be clear, and the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear (Isa 35:5–6), and the feeble hands and the weak knees shall be strengthened (Isa

35:3); and: The dead who are in the tomb shall rise (Isa 26:19); and: He himself will take our weaknesses and bear our sicknesses (Isa 53:4): these proclaimed the healings that were wrought by him.

12. And some prophesied a man weak and without glory, and knowing how to bear weakness, and sitting on the colt of an ass, who would come to Jerusalem; giving his back to the scourges and his cheeks to blows; and that he would be led like a sheep to the slaughter, and be given vinegar and gall to drink, and be forsaken by his friends and by those who were near him; and stretching out his hands all the day; and that he would be mocked and cursed by those who looked on him, and his garments be divided, and lots be cast upon his vesture; and brought down into the mire of death, and all such things: they prophesied his coming according to man, as he entered into Jerusalem, in which he both suffered and was crucified, and endured all the things that had been foretold. And others, saying: The Lord, the Holy One, remembered his dead, who had fallen asleep before in the land of mire, and he went down to them to raise them up, to save them, gave the reason why he suffered all these things. And those who said: On that day, says the Lord, the sun shall set at noon, and there shall be darkness over the earth in the daylight, and I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation (Amos 8:9–10), plainly proclaimed that setting of the sun which took place from the sixth hour when he was crucified,

and that, after this had happened, those days which were their feasts according to the Law, and their songs, would be turned into mourning and lamentation, when they began to be handed over to the nations. And Jeremiah shows this same thing still more plainly, saying thus: She who bears has been brought low, her soul has grown weary: the sun has set for her while it was yet midday; she has been confounded and has suffered reproach: the rest of them I will give to the sword in the sight of their enemies (Jer 15:9).

13. And those who said that he slept, and took his sleep, and rose again, because the Lord sustained him, and those who commanded the princes of heaven to open the everlasting gates, that the king of glory might enter in, proclaimed his resurrection from the dead through the Father and his reception into heaven. And in saying: His going out is from the height of heaven, and his course to the height of heaven, and there is none that can hide himself from his heat (Ps 19:7), they proclaimed this very thing: that he was taken up thither whence he also came down, and that there is no one who escapes his just judgement. And those who said: The Lord has reigned, let the peoples be angry; he who sits upon the cherubim, let the earth be moved (Ps 99:1), prophesied in part the wrath from all the peoples which after his taking up came upon those who believed in him, and the commotion of the whole earth against the Church; and in part that, when he comes from heaven with the angels of his power, the whole earth will be moved, as he himself says:

There shall be a great earthquake, such as has not been from the beginning. And again, when he says: Whoever is judged, let him stand opposite; and whoever is justified, let him draw near to the servant of God (Isa 50:8); and: Woe to you, for you will all grow old like a garment, and the moth will eat you (Isa 50:9); and: All flesh shall be humbled, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in the highest (Isa 2:17): it is signified that after his passion God will put under his feet those who were against him, and he himself will be exalted above all, and there will be none who is justified or compared with him.

14. And those who say that God would dispose a new testament for men, not as he disposed it for the fathers at Horeb, and would give men a new heart and a new spirit; and again: And do not remember the former things; behold, I make new things, which shall now spring up, and you shall know them: and I will make a way in the desert, and rivers in the waterless land, to give drink to the chosen race, my people whom I have acquired, that it may declare my mighty works (Isa 43:18–21): they plainly proclaimed that freedom which is of the New Testament, and the new wine which is put into new wineskins, the faith which is in Christ, which proclaimed the way of justice risen up in the desert, and the rivers of the Holy Spirit in the waterless land, to give drink to the chosen race of God which he acquired, that his mighty works might be declared; but not that they should blaspheme him who, being God, did these things.

15. And all the other things which, through so long a series of Scripture, we have shown that the prophets said, he who is truly spiritual will interpret, showing for each of the things that were said to what stamp of the Lord's disposition it was spoken, and the whole body of the work of the Son of God; knowing always the same God, and always recognising the same Word of God, even though he has now been manifested to us; and always recognising the same Spirit of God, even though in the last times he has been poured out upon us in a new way, and from the creation of the world to the end upon the human race itself: from which those who believe God and follow his Word receive the salvation which is from him. But those who depart from him, and despise his precepts, and by their works dishonour him who made them, and in their mind blaspheme him who nourishes them, heap up against themselves a most just judgement. This man, then, examines all, but he himself is examined by no one; neither blaspheming his Father, nor setting aside his dispositions, nor accusing the fathers, nor dishonouring the prophets, either by saying that they were from another God, or again that the prophecies were of one substance and another.

CHAPTER 34

Against the Marcionites he proves that the prophets came from one and the same God, from this: that whatever they foretold of Christ, of the freedom of the New Testament and of the future

renewal of men, fits our one Christ, by whom all things were fulfilled, and no other.

1. And we shall say against all the heretics, and first against those who are from Marcion, and against those who are like them, who say that the prophets are from another God: Read more carefully the Gospel given to us by the apostles, and read more carefully the prophets, and you will find the whole action, and all the teaching, and the whole Passion of our Lord foretold in them. But if such a thought comes upon you that you say, "What then did the Lord bring by his coming?", know that he brought all newness, bringing himself, who had been proclaimed. For this very thing was preached: that a newness would come to renew man and to give him life. For the coming of the King is foretold by the servants who are sent, for the preparing and the readiness of those who are to receive their Lord. But when the King has come, and those who are his subjects have been filled with the foretold joy, and have received the freedom that is from him, and share in the sight of him, and have heard his words, and have enjoyed the gifts that come from him, it will no longer be asked what the new king brought beyond those who proclaimed his coming, among those, that is, who have understanding. For he brought himself, and bestowed on men the good things that had been foretold, into which the angels longed to look.

2. Then indeed the servants would have been liars, and not sent by the Lord, if Christ, coming such as he was also preached to be, had not

fulfilled their words. Wherefore he said: Do not think that I have come to destroy the Law or the Prophets: I have not come to destroy, but to fulfil (Matt 5:17). For amen I say to you, until heaven and earth pass away, not one iota or one stroke will pass from the Law and the Prophets, until all things come to pass (Matt 5:18). For by his coming he himself fulfilled all things, and he still fulfils in the Church, until the consummation, the New Testament foretold by the Law. As Paul his apostle also says in the one to the Romans: But now without the Law the justice of God has been made manifest, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets (Rom 3:21): for the just shall live by faith (Rom 1:17). And this, that the just shall live by faith, had been foretold by the prophets (Hab 2:4).

3. But how could the prophets have foretold the coming of the King, and announced beforehand the good news of the freedom given by him, and proclaimed beforehand all the things that were done by Christ, his word, his working and his Passion, and foretold the New Testament, if they received their prophetic inspiration from another God, they who, according to you, knew nothing of the inexpressible Father, and of his kingdom, and of his dispositions, which the Son of God fulfilled when he came on earth? For neither can you say that these things happened by some chance, as though they had been spoken by the prophets of some other, but had happened in like manner to the Lord. For all the prophets prophesied these same things; but neither did

they happen to any of the ancients. For if these things had happened to any of the ancients, those who came afterwards would surely not have prophesied that they were to come in the last times. Moreover, there is no one, neither of the fathers, nor of the prophets, nor of the ancient kings, in whose case any of these things was done properly and specially. For they all prophesied the sufferings of Christ; but they themselves were far from suffering in the way that these things had been foretold. And the tokens of the Lord's Passion that were foretold took place in no other. For neither did the sun set at midday when any of the ancients died, nor was the veil of the temple torn, nor did the earth quake, nor were the rocks split, nor did the dead rise, nor did any of them rise on the third day, nor was he received into heaven, nor were the heavens opened when he was taken up, nor did the nations believe in the name of any other, nor did any of them, having died and risen, open the New Testament of freedom. It was not, then, of another, but of the Lord, in whom all the signs foretold came together, that the prophets spoke.

4. But if someone, pleading for the Jews, should say that the rebuilding of the temple, which took place under Zerubbabel after they had been carried away to Babylon, and the departure of the people, which took place after seventy years, is this New Testament, let him know that the temple of stone was indeed rebuilt then (for the Law that had been made on tables of stone was still being kept), but no New Testament was

given; rather, they used the Law that was given through Moses until the coming of the Lord; but from the coming of the Lord the New Testament, which reconciles to peace, and the life-giving law went out into all the earth: For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and it shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughs, and their spears into sickles, and they will no longer learn to fight (Isa 2:3–4; Mic 4:2–3). If, then, another law and word, going forth from Jerusalem, made such peace among those nations which received it, and through them rebuked many people for their folly, it would seem to follow that the prophets spoke of another. But if the law of freedom, that is, the word of God proclaimed in all the earth by the apostles who went out from Jerusalem, wrought so great a change that he himself fashioned the swords and the lances of war into ploughs, and changed them into sickles, which he gave for reaping the grain, into instruments of peace, and men no longer know how to fight, but when struck offer the other cheek also, then the prophets did not speak these things of any other, but of him who did them. And this is our Lord, and in him the saying is true, that it is he who made the plough and brought in the sickle, that is, the first sowing of man, which was the moulding according to Adam, and the fruit-bearing gathered in the last times through the Word; and for this reason he who joined the beginning to the end, and is the Lord of both, at the end showed forth the plough, the wood joined to iron,

and so cleansed his own earth: because the firm Word, united to flesh, and fixed in such a form, cleansed the wild earth. But at the beginning he prefigured the sickle through Abel, signifying the human harvest of the just race: See, he says, how the just man perishes, and no one considers it; and just men are taken away, and no one takes it to heart (Isa 57:1). These things, then, were practised beforehand in Abel, proclaimed by the prophets, accomplished in the Lord; and in us too it is the same thing, the body following its head.

5. Against those, then, who say that the prophets are from another God, and our Lord from another Father, such things are fitting, if by some means they may at last cease from so great an unreason. For this is why we labour to bring forward the proofs that come from the Scriptures: so that, refuting them by the very words, we may, as far as lies in us, restrain them from great blasphemy and from the mad fashioning of many gods.

CHAPTER 35

That what the Valentinians and the Gnostics devised about the various sources of the Scriptures is vain and insane; and that the prophets (much less Christ) did not therefore speak inspired partly from the Height, partly from the Midst, partly from the Demiurge.

1. Against those, again, who are from Valentinus, and the rest of the falsely so-called Gnostics, who say that some of the things set down in the Scriptures were spoken at times from the

Height, because of the seed that is from there, at times from the Midst, because of the Mother, the bold Prunicus, but many from the fashioner of the world, by whom the prophets too were sent: we say that it is very unreasonable to bring the Father of all to such poverty, as though he did not have his own instruments, through which the things that are in the Pleroma might be proclaimed purely. For of whom was he afraid, that he should not signify his will properly and separately, freely and without the commingling of the spirit of him who came into being in lessening and ignorance? Or was he afraid that too many would be saved, if more had heard purely the things of the truth? Or again, was he himself powerless to prepare for himself those who would proclaim the coming of the Saviour?

2. But if, when the Saviour had come here, he sent his apostles into the world, proclaiming his coming purely and teaching the Father's will, sharing in nothing with the teaching either of the nations or of the Jews, much more, while he was in the Pleroma, would he have appointed preachers of his own, to proclaim to this world his coming that was to be, sharing in nothing with the prophecies that are from the Demiurge. But if, while he was within the Pleroma, he used those prophets who were under the Law, and through them showed what was his own, much more, when he had come here, would he have used these same men as teachers, and through them proclaimed the Gospel to us. Then let them no longer say that Peter and Paul and the rest of

the apostles proclaimed the truth, but the scribes and the Pharisees and the rest through whom the Law was proclaimed. But if at his own coming he sent forth his own apostles in the Spirit of truth, and not in the spirit of error, he did this very same thing in the prophets also: for the Word of God is always the same. And if, according to their rule, the Spirit was indeed from the Pre-eminence, a Spirit of light, and a Spirit of truth, and a Spirit of perfection, and a Spirit of knowledge, while that which is from the Demiurge was a spirit of ignorance, and of lessening, and of error, and the offspring of shadow, how could perfection and lessening, knowledge and ignorance, error and truth, light and darkness be in one and the same? But if in the prophets it was impossible for these things to be so, but they proclaimed the word of the Lord from one God and announced the coming of his Son, much more would the Lord himself never have spoken now from the principal and now from the diminution that lies beneath it, becoming at once a teacher of knowledge and of ignorance; nor would he ever have glorified as Father now the fashioner of the world, now him who is above him, as he himself says: No one puts a patch of a new garment on an old garment, nor do they put new wine into old wineskins (Luke 5:36–37). Either, then, let them too abstain altogether from the prophets, as from the old, and not say that the prophets, sent beforehand by the Demiurge, spoke some things from that newness which is according to the Pre-eminence; or else they are refuted once more by the Lord, who says

that new wine is not put into old wineskins (Luke 5:37).

3. But how could the seed of their Mother know the mysteries that were within the Pleroma, and speak of them? For the Mother, being outside the Pleroma, gave birth to this very seed; and what is outside the Pleroma they say is outside knowledge, which is ignorance. How then could that which was ignorance, a seed so conceived, proclaim knowledge? Or how did the Mother herself know the mysteries of the Pleroma, formless and shapeless, cast out like an abortion, and there fitted together and formed, and forbidden by Horos to go within, and remaining outside the Pleroma until the consummation, that is, outside knowledge? Again, saying that the Lord's Passion is a type of the extension of the upper Christ, by which, stretched out upon Horos, he formed their Mother, they are refuted in the rest, being unable to show a likeness of the type. For where was the Christ above given vinegar and gall to drink? or where were his garments divided? or where was he pierced, and blood and water came out? or where did he sweat drops of blood? and the rest of the things that befell the Lord, of which the prophets spoke. Whence, then, did either the Mother or her seed divine the things that had not yet happened then, but were about to happen?

4. Furthermore, beyond these things, they say that some things were spoken from the Pre-eminence, when they are refuted by what is related in the Scriptures about the coming of Christ.

But what these things are, they are no longer of one mind, but some give one answer, others another, about these very things. For if anyone, wishing to put them to the test, questions separately about some saying those who are eminent among them, he will find one saying that what he asks about is said of the Propator, that is, of Bythus; another, of the Beginning of all, that is, of the Only-begotten; another, of the Father of all, that is, of the Word; another again will say that it is said of one Aeon of those who are Aeons in the Pleroma; others, of Christ; and another, of the Saviour. But the more expert of them, after protracting a long silence, says that it was said of Horos; another, that Sophia, who is within the Fullness, is signified; another, that the Mother, who is outside the Fullness, is proclaimed; and another will say it is God, the fashioner of the world. So great are the differences among them about one thing, as they hold various opinions about the same Scriptures; and when one and the same saying has been read, they all, knitting their brows and shaking their heads, say that the saying is indeed exceedingly lofty, but that not all contain the greatness of the meaning that is contained in it; and that for this reason silence is a very great thing among the wise. For Sige, who is above, must, they say, be shaped through the silence that is among them. And so they all go away, as many as they are, carrying so many opinions about one thing, bearing their subtleties hidden away with them. When, therefore, they have agreed among themselves about

the things foretold in the Scriptures, then they shall be refuted by us too. For while they do not think rightly, meanwhile they refute themselves, as they do not agree about the same words. But we, following the one and only true God as our teacher, and having his words as the rule of truth, all say always the same things about the same things, knowing one God, the Maker of this universe, who sent the prophets, who led the people out of the land of Egypt, who in the last times made manifest his Son, to confound the unbelievers and to seek out the fruit of justice.

CHAPTER 36

That the prophets were sent by one and the same Father by whom Christ also was sent.

1. For whom does the Lord not refute, when he says that the prophets are from no other than his Father, and not from one substance and another, but from one and the same Father, and that no one else made the things that are in this world but his own Father, teaching thus: There was a certain man, a householder, who planted a vineyard, and put a hedge round it, and dug a winepress in it, and built a tower, and let it out to tenants, and went abroad (Matt 21:33). And when the time of the fruits drew near, he sent his servants to the tenants, to receive of his fruits (Matt 21:34). And the tenants, seizing the servants, beat one, stoned another, and killed another (Matt 21:35). Again he sent other servants, more than the first; and they did the same to them (Matt 21:36). Last of all he sent to them his only son,

saying: Perhaps they will respect my son (Matt 21:37). But the tenants, when they saw the son, said among themselves: This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and we shall have his inheritance. And they seized him and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him (Matt 21:38–39). When therefore the lord of the vineyard comes, what will he do to those tenants? (Matt 21:40) And they said to him: He will bring the evil men to an evil end, and will let out his vineyard to other tenants, who will render him the fruits in their seasons (Matt 21:41). Again the Lord says: Have you never read: The stone which the builders rejected, this has become the head of the corner? (Matt 21:42) By the Lord has it been done, and it is wonderful in our eyes (Matt 21:42). Therefore I say to you that the kingdom of God will be taken away from you, and will be given to a nation that produces its fruits (Matt 21:43). By these words he plainly showed his disciples one and the same householder, that is, God the Father, who makes all things through himself; but various husbandmen, some insolent and proud and unfruitful and slayers of the Lord, and others rendering the fruits in their seasons with all obedience; and that this same householder sends at one time servants, at another his own Son. The Father, then, by whom the Son was sent to those tenants who killed him, is the one by whom the servants too were sent. But the Son, as coming from the Father with principal authority, said: But I say to you (Matt 5:22); while the servants, as coming from

the Lord, spoke as servants; and for this reason they said: Thus says the Lord.

2. The Lord, then, whom they proclaimed to the unbelievers, is he whom Christ handed on to those who obey him; and the God who had called the former, that is, first, through the servile lawgiving, is he who took to himself the latter, that is, afterwards, through adoption. For God planted the vineyard of the human race, first through the moulding of Adam and the election of the fathers; and he handed it over to tenants through the lawgiving that is through Moses; and he put a hedge round it, that is, he marked out the bounds of their cultivation; and he built a tower, he chose Jerusalem; and he dug a winepress, he prepared a receptacle for the prophetic Spirit; and so he sent prophets before the carrying away to Babylon, and after the carrying away others again, more than the first, seeking the fruits and saying to them: Cleanse your ways and your conduct; judge just judgement, and show mercy and compassion each to his brother; do not lord it over the widow, and the orphan, and the proselyte, and the poor; and let none of you remember in your hearts the malice of his brother, and do not love a false oath (Jer 7:3; Zech 7:9–10; 8:17). Wash yourselves, be clean, take away the wickedness from your hearts, learn to do good, seek judgement, defend him who suffers violence, judge for the orphan, and do justice to the widow; and come, let us reason together, says the Lord (Isa 1:16–18). And again: Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit (Ps 34:14). Turn aside from

evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it (Ps 34:15). Proclaiming these things, the prophets sought the fruit of justice.

But since they did not believe, last of all he sent his Son, he sent our Lord Jesus Christ, whom the wicked tenants, when they had killed him, cast out of the vineyard. Wherefore the Lord God handed it over, no longer walled round but spread out over the whole world, to other tenants, who render the fruits in their seasons, the tower of election being raised up everywhere and beautiful. For everywhere the Church is illustrious, and everywhere the winepress is dug round: for everywhere there are those who receive the Spirit. For since they rejected the Son of God, and cast him out of the vineyard when they had killed him, God justly rejected them, and gave the fruit-bearing of the cultivation to the nations that were outside the vineyard. As Jeremiah the prophet also says: The Lord has rejected and cast off the nation that does these things: for the sons of Judah have done evil in my sight, says the Lord (Jer 7:29–30). And Jeremiah likewise: I set watchmen over you: Hear the sound of the trumpet; and they said: We will not hear (Jer 6:17). Therefore the nations heard, and those who pasture flocks among them (Jer 6:18). One and the same God the Father, then, who planted the vineyard, who led out the people, who sent the prophets, who sent his Son, who gave the vineyard to other tenants, to those who render the fruits in their seasons.

3. And for this reason the Lord said to his disciples, preparing us to be good workmen: Take

heed to yourselves, and watch always at every time, lest at any time your hearts be weighed down with dissipation and drunkenness and worldly thoughts, and that day come upon you suddenly (Luke 21:34). For it will come like a snare upon all who sit on the face of the earth (Luke 21:35). Let your loins therefore be girded, and your lamps burning, and you yourselves like men waiting for their lord (Luke 12:35–36). For as it happened in the days of Noah: they ate and drank, they bought and sold, they married and were given in marriage, and they did not know until Noah went into the ark, and the flood came and destroyed them all (Luke 17:26–27). And as it happened in the days of Lot: they ate and drank, they bought and sold, they planted and built, until Lot went out of Sodom; it rained fire from heaven, and destroyed them all: so will it be also at the coming of the Son of Man (Luke 17:28–30). Watch therefore, for you do not know on what day your Lord will come (Matt 24:42). So he proclaimed one and the same Lord, who in the times of Noah brought the flood upon men because of their disobedience, and in the times of Lot rained fire from heaven because of the multitude of the sins of the Sodomites, and at the last, because of this same disobedience and like sins, will bring on the day of judgement: on which, he says, it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for the city and the house that has not received the word of his apostles. And you, Capernaum, he said, will you be exalted up to heaven? (Matt 11:23) You will go down to the underworld. For

if the mighty works that have been done in you had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say to you, it will be more tolerable for Sodom on the day of judgement than for you (Matt 11:23–24).

4. Since the Word of God is always one and the same: giving to those who believe in him a spring of water for eternal life, but withering at once the unfruitful fig tree; and in the times of Noah bringing on the flood to extinguish the most wicked race of those who were men then, who could no longer bear fruit to God, since the transgressing angels had mingled with them, both to check their sins and to preserve, in the type of the ark, the moulding of Adam; and he who in the times of Lot rained on Sodom and Gomorrah fire and sulphur from heaven, an example of the just judgement of God (2 Thess 1:5), so that all might know that every tree that does not bear good fruit will be cut down and cast into the fire (Matt 3:10); and in the universal judgement dealing more tolerably with Sodom than with those who saw the mighty works that he did and did not believe in him, nor receive his teaching. For just as by his coming he gave greater grace to those who believed in him and do his will, so too he signified that those who did not believe in him would have greater punishment in the judgement, since he is just towards all alike, and will require more from those to whom he gave more: more, however, not because he showed the knowledge of another Father, as we have shown by so many and such great proofs, but because by

his coming he poured out upon the human race a greater gift of the Father's grace.

5. But if what we have said before is not enough for anyone to believe that the prophets were sent by one and the same Father by whom our Lord too was sent, let him open the mouth of his heart and, calling upon Christ Jesus the Lord as teacher, hear him saying that the kingdom of heaven is like a king who made a marriage feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been invited to the marriage (Matt 22:2–3). And when they would not obey: Again, he says, he sent other servants, saying: Tell those who have been invited: Come, I have prepared my dinner, my bulls and all my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready; come to the marriage (Matt 22:4). But they went off, making light of him, some to their own farm, others to their own business; and the rest seized the servants, and treated some shamefully and killed others (Matt 22:5–6). But when the King heard of it, he was angry, and sending his armies he destroyed those murderers and burned their city, and said to his servants: The marriage is ready, but those who were invited were not worthy (Matt 22:7–8). Go out therefore to the outlets of the roads, and as many as you find, gather them to the marriage (Matt 22:9). And his servants went out and gathered all whom they found, good and bad, and the marriage was filled with guests (Matt 22:10). But when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man not clothed in a wedding garment, and he says to him: Friend, how did you come

in here, not having a wedding garment? (Matt 22:11–12) And as he was speechless, the king said to the attendants: Take him by the feet and hands, and cast him into the darkness that is outside: there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth (Matt 22:12–13). For many are called, but few are chosen (Matt 22:14).

For by these words of his too the Lord plainly showed all things: both that the Father is the one King and Lord of all, of whom he had also said before: Do not swear by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King (Matt 5:35). And that from the beginning he prepared the marriage for his Son, and in his boundless kindness called the first through his servants to the marriage feast; and when they would not obey, he sent other servants again to call them, and not even so did they obey him, but they even stoned and killed those who proclaimed the call; and he destroyed them, sending his armies, and burned their city; and from all the roads, that is, from all the nations, he called together guests to the marriage feast of his Son, as he also says through Jeremiah: And I sent to you my servants the prophets, saying: Turn back, each one of you, from his most wicked way, and make your works better (Jer 35:15). And again through the same: And I sent, he says, to you all my servants the prophets by day and before dawn, and they did not obey me, nor did they incline their ears (Jer 7:25–26). And you shall say to them this word: This is the nation that has not obeyed the voice of the Lord, nor received instruction; faith has failed from their

mouth (Jer 7:28). The Lord, then, who has called us from everywhere through the apostles, is he who called through the prophets those who lived of old, as is shown from the Lord's words; and the prophets were not from one, and the apostles from another, even though they proclaimed to various nations; but from one and the same, some announced the Lord, others brought the good news of the Father; and some foretold the coming of the Son of God, while others proclaimed him, already present, to those who were far off.

6. Moreover, he showed that, along with our calling, we must also be adorned with works of justice, so that the Spirit of God may rest upon us. For this is the wedding garment, of which the Apostle too says: We do not wish to be unclothed, but to be clothed over, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by immortality (2 Cor 5:4). But those who have indeed been called to the supper of God, and because of their evil way of life have not received the Holy Spirit, will be cast, he says, into the outer darkness (Matt 22:13). He shows plainly that the same King himself, who has called together the faithful from everywhere to the marriage of his Son and has bestowed the incorruptible feast, commands that he who has no wedding garment, that is, the despiser, be cast into the outer darkness. For as in the first Testament with many of them he was not well pleased (1 Cor 10:5), so here too many are called, few chosen (Matt 22:14). It is not, then, one God who judges, and another, the Father, who calls together to salvation; nor one who gives eternal

light, and another who commands that those who have no wedding garment be cast into the outer darkness. But one and the same Lord, the Father of our Lord, by whom the prophets too were sent: calling together the unworthy in his boundless kindness, but examining those who have been called together, whether they have a garment fitting and suited to the marriage of his Son: for nothing unfitting, nor anything evil, pleases him. As the Lord said to him who had been healed: Behold, you have been made well; sin no more, lest something worse happen to you (John 5:14). For he who is good and just and pure and spotless will not endure anything evil, or unjust, or abominable in his bridal chamber.

And this is the Father of our Lord, by whose providence all things stand, and by whose command all things are governed; and he gives freely to those to whom it is fitting, but according to merit he distributes most fittingly against the ungrateful and those who do not perceive his kindness, a most just requiter; and for this reason he says: Sending his armies he destroyed those murderers and burned their city (Matt 22:7). And he says "his army" because all men are God's: for the earth is the Lord's, and its fullness, the world and all who dwell in it (Ps 24:1). And for this reason Paul the apostle says in the Epistle to the Romans: For there is no power but from God (Rom 13:1). And those that exist have been ordained by God (Rom 13:1). Therefore he who resists the power resists the order of God; and those who resist bring condemnation on themselves

(Rom 13:2). For rulers are not a terror to good work, but to evil (Rom 13:3). Do you wish, then, not to fear the power? (Rom 13:3) Do good, and you will have praise from it: for he is the minister of God to you for good (Rom 13:3–4). But if you do evil, fear (Rom 13:4). For not without cause does he bear the sword (Rom 13:4). For he is the minister of God, an avenger to wrath on him who does evil (Rom 13:4). Therefore be subject, not only because of wrath, but also for conscience' sake (Rom 13:5). For this is why you also pay tribute: for they are ministers of God, serving to this very end (Rom 13:6). So then both the Lord and the apostles proclaim one God the Father, him who made the lawgiving, who sent the prophets, who made all things; and for this reason he says: Sending his armies (Matt 22:7); because every man, inasmuch as he is man, is his handiwork, even though he does not know his God. For he grants to all that they may be, he who makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust (Matt 5:45).

7. And not only through what has been said before, but also through the parable of the two sons, of whom the younger squandered his substance in riotous living with harlots, he taught one and the same Father, who did not grant even a kid to the elder son, but for the sake of him who had been lost, his younger son, commanded the fatted calf to be killed, and gave him the first robe. And through the parable of those labourers who were sent into the vineyard at various times, one and the same Lord is shown: calling some

straightway at the beginning of the fashioning of the world, others after that, others about the middle of the times, others when the times were already advanced, and others again at the end; so that there are many labourers, each according to their own times, but one householder who calls them together. For there is one vineyard, since there is also one justice; and one steward, for there is one Spirit of God, who disposes all things; and likewise one wage, for all received a denarius each, the image and inscription of the king, the knowledge of the Son of God, which is incorruption. And for this reason he began to give the wage from the last, because in the last times the Lord, being made manifest, presented himself to all.

8. And the tax collector too, who surpassed the Pharisee in prayer, received testimony from the Lord that he was more justified, not because he worshipped another Father, but because with great humility, without self-exaltation and without boasting, he made exomologesis to the same God. And the parable of the two sons who are sent into the vineyard, of whom one contradicted his father and afterwards repented, when repentance profited him nothing, while the other promised to go, giving his father his promise at once, but did not go (for every man is a liar (Ps 116:11), and to will is indeed ready at hand, but to accomplish it he does not find (Rom 7:18)), shows one and the same Father. And the parable of the fig tree too, of which the Lord says: Behold, for three years now I come seeking fruit on this fig

tree, and I find none (Luke 13:7), signifying his coming through the prophets, through whom he came several times seeking from them the fruit of justice, which he did not find, made plain also that the fig tree will be cut down for the reason already given. And without a parable the Lord said to Jerusalem: Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who kill the prophets and stone those who are sent to you, how often have I wished to gather your children, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you would not? (Matt 23:37) Behold, your house is left to you desolate (Matt 23:38). For what had been said through the parable, Behold, for three years I come seeking fruit (Luke 13:7), and again plainly, How often have I wished to gather your children (Matt 23:37), will be a lie unless we understand it of his coming that is through the prophets: since he came to them once, and then for the first time. But since he who chose the patriarchs and us is the same Word of God, both visiting them always through the prophetic Spirit, and us, who have been called together from everywhere, through his coming, over and above what has been said he truly said this: Many will come from the east and the west, and will recline with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven (Matt 8:11). But the sons of the kingdom will go into the outer darkness; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth (Matt 8:12). If, then, those who through the proclamation of his apostles believe in him from the east and the west will recline with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, shar-

ing the banquet with them, one and the same God is shown, who chose the patriarchs, visited the people, and called the nations.

CHAPTER 37

That men are free and endowed with the faculty of choosing; and that there are not, therefore, some good by nature and others evil by nature.

1. And that saying of his, How often have I wished to gather your children, and you would not? (Matt 23:37), made manifest the ancient law of man's freedom: because God made him free from the beginning, having his own power, as also his own soul, to use the judgement of God voluntarily, and not compelled by God. For force does not proceed from God, but a good judgement is always present in him. And for this reason he gives good counsel to all. And he placed in man the power of election, as also in the angels (for the angels are rational), so that those who had obeyed might justly possess the good, given indeed by God, but kept by themselves. But those who have not obeyed will justly not be found with the good, and will receive the punishment they have deserved; because God gave the good kindly, but they did not keep it diligently, nor did they reckon it precious, but despised the surpassing greatness of goodness. Casting away the good, then, and as it were spitting it out, they will all deservedly fall into the just judgement of God, as the apostle Paul also testified in the Epistle to the Romans, saying thus: Or do you despise the riches of his goodness, and patience, and long-

suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leads you to repentance? (Rom 2:4) But according to your hardness and impenitent heart you are treasuring up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath and of the revelation of the just judgement of God (Rom 2:5). But glory and honour, he says, to everyone who works the good (Rom 2:10). God, then, gave the good, as the Apostle too testifies in the same epistle; and those who work it will receive glory and honour, because they have worked the good when they could have not worked it; but those who do not work it will receive the just judgement of God, because they have not worked the good when they could have worked it.

2. But if some had been made good by nature and some evil, neither would these who are good be praiseworthy, for they had been made such; nor would those be blameworthy, for they too had been so constituted. But since all are of the same nature, and able both to hold and to do the good, and able in turn to lose it and not to do it, justly even among men of sense (how much more with God) some are praised and receive a worthy testimony to their good election and perseverance, while others are accused and receive a worthy penalty, because they rejected what is just and good. And therefore the prophets exhorted men to act justly and to work the good, as we have shown by many proofs: because this lies with us, and through much negligence we have fallen into forgetfulness and stand in need

of good counsel; for which reason the good God provided good counsel through the prophets.

3. And for this reason the Lord too: Let your light shine, he said, before men, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father who is in heaven (Matt 5:16). And: Take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be weighed down with dissipation and drunkenness and worldly cares (Luke 21:34). And: Let your loins be girded, and your lamps burning, and you yourselves like men waiting for their lord, when he returns from the wedding, so that when he comes and knocks they may open to him (Luke 12:35–36). Blessed is that servant whom his lord, when he comes, finds so doing (Luke 12:43). And again: The servant who knows the will of his lord and does not do it will be beaten with many stripes (Luke 12:47). And: Why do you say to me: Lord, Lord, and do not do what I say? (Luke 6:46) And again: But if the servant says in his heart: My lord delays, and begins to beat his fellow servants, and to eat and drink and be drunk, his lord will come on a day when he does not expect him, and will cut him in pieces, and will put his portion with the hypocrites (Luke 12:45–46). And all such sayings, which show that man is free and of his own power, and that God instructs by counsel, exhorting us to subjection to himself and turning us away from unbelief, yet not compelling us by violence.

4. For if anyone will not follow the Gospel itself, it is permitted him, but it is not expedient. For disobedience to God and the loss of the good are indeed in man's power; but they bring no

slight hurt and harm. And for this reason Paul says: All things are permitted, but not all things are expedient (1 Cor 6:12; 10:23); both referring to the freedom of man, wherefore all things are permitted, God not compelling him; and showing the not expedient, so that we may not abuse our freedom as a cloak for malice: for this is not expedient. And again he says: Speak the truth, each one with his neighbour (Eph 4:25). And: Let no evil talk come out of your mouth, nor filthiness, nor foolish talk, nor scurrility, which are not to the purpose, but rather thanksgiving (Eph 4:29; 5:4). And: For you were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord: walk honestly as sons of light, not in revelling and drunkenness, not in debauchery and lusts, not in anger and jealousy (Eph 5:8; Rom 13:13). And such some of you were, but you have been washed, but you have been sanctified in the name of our Lord (1 Cor 6:11). If, then, it were not in our power to do these things or not to do them, what cause had the Apostle, and much earlier the Lord himself, to give counsel to do some things and to abstain from others? But since man is of free judgement from the beginning, and God is of free judgement, to whose likeness he was made, counsel is always given him to hold fast the good, which is brought to perfection by obedience to God.

5. And not only in works, but also in faith, the Lord kept man's choice free and of his own power, saying: Be it done to you according to your faith (Matt 9:29); showing that man's faith is his own, since he has his own judgement. And again: All

things are possible to him who believes (Mark 9:23); and: Go, be it done to you as you have believed (Matt 8:13). And all such sayings show that man is of his own power as regards faith. And for this reason he who believes him has eternal life; but he who does not believe the Son does not have eternal life, but the wrath of God will remain upon him (John 3:36). According to this reasoning, then, the Lord, both showing his own proper good and signifying that man is of his own choice and of his own power, said to Jerusalem: How often have I wished to gather your children, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you would not? (Matt 23:37) Wherefore your house will be left to you desolate (Matt 23:38).

6. But those who say what is contrary to these things themselves bring in a powerless Lord, as though he had not been able to accomplish what he wished; or again one ignorant of those who are choic by nature, as they themselves say, and of those who cannot receive his incorruption. "But he ought," one says, "to have made neither the angels such that they could transgress, nor men who would at once prove ungrateful towards him": because they were made rational, and able to examine and to judge, and not (like irrational or inanimate things, which can do nothing of their own will, but are drawn to the good by necessity and force, in which there is one sense and one habit) inflexible and without discernment, unable to be anything other than what they were made. But in that case neither would the good be sweet to them, nor fellowship with God precious,

nor the good greatly to be sought, coming about as it would without their own movement and care and effort, but implanted of itself and idly: so that they would be good of no account, because they would be such by nature rather than by will, and would have the good spontaneously, but not according to election; and for this reason they would not understand this very thing, that the good is beautiful, nor would they enjoy it. For what enjoyment of the good is there among those who do not know it? And what glory for those who have not striven for it? And what crown for those who have not won it as victors in a contest?

7. And for this reason the Lord called the kingdom of heaven violent: And those who use force, he says, seize it (Matt 11:12); that is, those who with force and contest, keeping watch earnestly, seize it. And for this reason the apostle Paul too says to the Corinthians: Do you not know that those who run in the stadium all run, but one receives the prize? (1 Cor 9:24) So run that you may obtain it (1 Cor 9:24). And everyone who contends is temperate in all things: they indeed to receive a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible (1 Cor 9:25). But I so run, not uncertainly; I so fight, not as one beating the air; but I bruise my body and bring it into subjection, lest perhaps, having preached to others, I myself should become reprobate (1 Cor 9:26–27). The good contestant, then, exhorts us to the contest for incorruption, that we may be crowned, and may reckon the crown precious, that is, the one which is acquired by us through the contest, and

not grown upon us of its own accord. And the more it comes to us through the contest, the more precious it is; and the more precious it is, so much the more let us love it always. Nor are the things that come of their own accord loved in the same way as those that are found with much care. Since, then, it was for our good to love God more, the Lord taught, and the Apostle handed on, that we should find this for ourselves with labour. And otherwise, plainly, our good would be insensible, since it would be unexercised. Nor would seeing be so desirable to us, unless we had known how great an evil it is not to see; and the experience of illness makes good health more prized; and so does comparison with darkness make light, and with death, life. So too the heavenly kingdom is more prized by those who have known the earthly. And the more it is prized, the more we love it; and if we have loved it more, we shall be more glorious with God. For our sake, then, the Lord endured all these things, so that, instructed through all things, we may be careful in all things for the future, and persevere in all love of him, reasonably taught to love God: God showing long-suffering in the apostasy of man, and man being instructed by it, as the prophet too says: Your falling-away will correct you (Jer 2:19); God predetermining all things for the perfection of man, and for the effecting and the manifestation of his dispositions, so that goodness may be shown, and justice accomplished, and the Church fitted to the figure of the image of his Son, and man at long last become mature, ripening

through so many things to see and to contain God.

CHAPTER 38

Why man was not made perfect from the beginning.

1. If anyone should say this: "What then? Could God not have made man perfect from the beginning?" Let him know that, since God is always the same and unborn, as far as he himself is concerned all things are possible to him. But the things that have been made by him, inasmuch as they afterwards had the beginning of their making, must for that very reason also be inferior to him who made them: for things that were newly made could not be unmade. And inasmuch as they are not unmade, for this very reason they also fall short of the perfect. For inasmuch as they are later, so far are they also infantile; and inasmuch as they are infantile, so far are they also unaccustomed and unexercised for perfect discipline. For as a mother is indeed able to give perfect food to an infant, but he is not yet able to take food stronger than he is, so too God himself was indeed able to give perfection to man from the beginning, but man was powerless to take it: for he was an infant. And for this reason our Lord, in the last times, recapitulating all things in himself, came to us, not as he himself was able, but as we were able to see him. For he himself could have come to us in his inexpressible glory; but we could not have borne the greatness of his glory. And for this reason, as to infants, he who

was the perfect bread of the Father gave himself to us as milk, which was his coming according to man, so that, nourished as it were at the breast of his flesh, and accustomed by such nursing to eat and drink the Word of God, we might be able to contain in ourselves him who is the bread of immortality, who is the Spirit of the Father.

2. And for this reason Paul says to the Corinthians: I gave you milk to drink, not food: for you were not yet able to take food (1 Cor 3:2); that is, you have learnt the coming of the Lord which is according to man, but the Spirit of the Father does not yet rest upon you, because of your weakness. For where there is jealousy and discord among you, he says, and dissensions, are you not carnal, and do you not walk according to man? (1 Cor 3:3) That is, the Spirit of the Father was not yet in them, because of their imperfection and the weakness of their way of life. As, then, the Apostle was able to give food (for those on whom the apostles laid hands received the Holy Spirit, who is the food of life), but they were not able to receive it, because they still had a weak and unexercised understanding of the way of life towards God; so too in the beginning God was indeed able to give perfection to man, but man, being newly made, could not receive it, or receiving it contain it, or containing it hold it fast. And for this reason the Word of God was made an infant together with man, though he was perfect, not for his own sake, but because of the infancy of man, being made thus containable, in the measure that man was able to contain him. The impossibility and

the want, then, were not on God's side, but on the side of him who was newly made, man; because he was not unmade.

3. And with regard to God, power and wisdom and goodness are shown together: power and goodness, in that he voluntarily established and made the things that were not yet; wisdom, in that he made fitting and harmonious the things that are. And some things, receiving growth because of his boundless kindness, and enduring for a long time, carry off the glory of the unmade, God bestowing ungrudgingly what is good. For inasmuch as they have been made, they are not unmade; but inasmuch as they endure for long ages, they will take on the power of the unmade, God freely bestowing on them everlasting endurance. And so God will have the pre-eminence in all things, since he alone is unmade, and first of all, and is himself the cause of all things that they may be; but all the rest remain in subjection to God. And subjection to God is endurance in incorruption; and incorruption is the glory of the unmade. Through this order, then, and such harmony, and such guidance, man, made and moulded, is established after the image and likeness of the unmade God: the Father being well pleased and commanding; the Son ministering and forming; the Spirit nourishing and giving increase; and man little by little advancing and coming to the perfect, that is, becoming near to the unmade. For the unmade is perfect; and this is God. And man had first to be made, and having been made to grow, and having grown to be

strengthened, and having been strengthened to multiply, and having multiplied to gain strength, and having gained strength to be glorified, and having been glorified to see his Lord. For it is God who is to be seen; and the vision of God is productive of incorruption; and incorruption makes one to be near to God (Wis 6:19).

4. Altogether unreasonable, then, are those who do not await the time of growth, and ascribe the weakness of their own nature to God. Knowing neither God nor themselves, insatiable and ungrateful, unwilling to be first what they have also been made, men capable of passions, but overstepping the law of the human race, before they become men they already wish to be like God the Maker, and that there should be no difference between the unmade God and man now made: they are more irrational than the dumb animals. For these do not hold it against God that he did not make them men; but each thing, in that it has been made, gives thanks because it has been made. For we hold it against him that we were not made gods from the beginning, but first men, and then at length gods: although God did this according to the simplicity of his goodness, lest anyone should think him envious or grudging. I said, he says, You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High (Ps 82:6). But since we could not endure to bear the power of divinity: But you, he says, shall die like men (Ps 82:7); setting forth both: the kindness of his gift, and our weakness, and that we were of our own power. For according to his kindness he gave the good

well, and made men like himself, of their own power; but according to his providence he knew the weakness of men, and what would come of it; but according to his love and power he will overcome the substance of the nature that was made. For nature had first to appear, and afterwards what is mortal to be overcome and swallowed up by immortality, and what is corruptible by incorruptibility, and man to become after the image and likeness of God, having received the knowledge of good and evil.

CHAPTER 39

That the faculty of discerning good from evil was put into man, so that by his own will and election, compelled by no force, he may carry out God's commandments, in order to be made perfect by him, and may turn from himself the evils prepared for the rebellious.

1. And man received the knowledge of good and evil. And it is good to obey God, and to believe him, and to keep his precept; and this is the life of man: just as not to obey God is evil, and this is his death. Since God showed long-suffering, then, man came to know both the good of obedience and the evil of disobedience, so that the eye of the mind, receiving experience of both, may make the election of the better with discernment, and may never become slothful or neglectful of God's precept; and that, learning by experience that what takes life from him, that is, not obeying God, is evil, he may never even try it; and that, knowing that what preserves his life,

obeying God, is good, he may guard it diligently with all earnestness. For this reason too he had twofold senses, having the knowledge of both, so that he may make the election of the better with learning. But how could he have had learning of the good, not knowing what is contrary to it? For the grasp of things that lie before us is firmer and beyond doubt than conjecture drawn from surmise. For as the tongue receives experience of sweet and bitter through taste, and the eye discerns through sight what is black from white, and the ear knows the differences of sounds through hearing, so too the mind, receiving learning of the good through experience of both, is made firmer for its preservation, obeying God: first rejecting disobedience through repentance, because it is bitter and evil; then learning by comprehension what kind of thing is contrary to the good and to sweetness, so that it may never even try to taste disobedience to God. But if anyone shuns the knowledge of both these things, and the twofold senses of knowledge, he secretly kills himself as man.

2. How, then, will he be a god, who has not yet been made man? And how perfect, who has been made only lately? And how immortal, who in a mortal nature did not obey his Maker? For you must first keep the order of man, and then afterwards share in the glory of God. For it is not you who make God, but God who makes you. If, then, you are the work of God, await the hand of your craftsman, who does all things in due time; in due time, that is, as far as concerns you,

who are being made. Offer him your heart soft and pliable, and keep the shape with which the craftsman shaped you, having moisture in yourself, lest, becoming hard, you lose the imprints of his fingers. And keeping the framework, you will ascend to the perfect: for the clay that is in you is hidden by the craftsmanship of God. His hand fashioned the substance in you; he will coat you within and without with pure gold and silver, and will so adorn you that the King himself will desire your beauty (Ps 45:12). But if, hardening yourself at once, you reject his art, and prove ungrateful towards him because you were made a man, then, made ungrateful to God, you have lost at once both his art and life. For to make is proper to the kindness of God; but to be made is proper to the nature of man. If, then, you hand over to him what is yours, that is, faith in him and subjection, you will receive his art, and you will be a perfect work of God.

3. But if you do not believe him, and flee from his hands, the cause of imperfection will be in you, who did not obey, and not in him who called. For he sent those who should call to the marriage; but those who did not obey him deprived themselves of the royal supper. The art of God, then, does not fail, for he is able from stones to raise up sons to Abraham (Matt 3:9); but he who does not attain to it is himself the cause of his own imperfection. For neither does the light fail because of those who have blinded themselves; but while it remains such as it is, those who have been blinded through their own fault are set in gloom.

Nor will the light subject anyone to itself by great necessity; nor will God compel him who does not wish to hold fast his art. Those, then, who have departed from the Father's light and have transgressed the law of freedom have departed through their own fault, having been made of free choice and of their own power.

4. And God, foreknowing all things, prepared fitting dwellings for both: to those who seek the light of incorruptibility and run back to it, kindly granting this light which they desire; but for the others, who despise it, and turn away from it, and flee from it, and as it were blind themselves, he prepared darkness suited to those who oppose the light; and on those who flee from being subject to him he imposed a fitting punishment. Now subjection to God is eternal rest; so that those who flee from the light may have a place worthy of their flight, and those who flee from eternal rest may have a dwelling suited to their flight. And since with God all things are good, those who of their own judgement flee from God defraud themselves of all good things; and being defrauded of all the good things that are with God, they will consequently fall into the just judgement of God. For those who flee from rest will justly live in punishment; and those who have fled from the light will justly inhabit darkness. And just as with this temporal light those who flee from it give themselves over to darkness, so that they themselves become for themselves the cause of being deprived of the light and inhabiting darkness, and the light is not

the cause for them of such a way of life, as we said before; so those who flee from the eternal light of God, which contains in itself all good things, are themselves the cause for themselves of inhabiting eternal darkness, deprived of all good things, having become for themselves the cause of such a dwelling.

CHAPTER 40

That one and the same God the Father inflicts penalties on the reprobate and grants rewards to the elect.

1. One and the same God the Father, then, who prepares the good things that are with him for those who desire fellowship with him and persevere in subjection to him; but who prepares eternal fire for the devil, the prince of the falling-away, and for the angels who fell away with him: into which, says the Lord, those will be sent who have been set apart on the left. And this is what was said by the prophet: I am the jealous God, making peace and creating evils (Isa 45:7): making peace, and friendship, and building unity for those who repent and turn to him; but preparing eternal fire and the outer darkness for those who do not repent, but flee from his light: which are indeed evils to those who fall into them.

2. But if the Father who gives rest were one, and the God who prepared the fire another, their sons would have been as different as they: the one sending into the Father's kingdom, the other into the eternal fire. But since one and the same Lord has shown that the whole human race will

be separated in the judgement, as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats (Matt 25:32), and to some he will say: Come, blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you (Matt 25:34), but to others: Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire which my Father prepared for the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41); one and the same Father is most plainly shown, making peace and creating evils (Isa 45:7), preparing for both what is fitting: as also one judge sends both to the fitting place. As the Lord made plain in the parable of the tares and the wheat, saying: As the tares are gathered and burned with fire, so will it be at the consummation of the age (Matt 13:40). The Son of Man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all scandals and those who do iniquity, and will cast them into the furnace of fire: there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth (Matt 13:41–42). Then the just will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (Matt 13:43). The Father, then, who prepared the kingdom for the just, into which his Son took the worthy, is he who also prepared the furnace of fire, into which the angels sent by the Son of Man will cast, according to the command of God, those worthy of it.

3. For he sowed good seed in his field: And the field, he says, is the world (Matt 13:38). But while men were sleeping, the enemy came, and sowed tares over among the wheat, and went away (Matt 13:25). For from that time this angel became an apostate and an enemy, from the time

when he envied God's handiwork and set about making him an enemy to God. Wherefore God too set apart from his company him who of himself secretly sowed the tares, that is, the transgression which he himself brought in; but he took pity on man, who had received disobedience carelessly indeed, but to his harm, and turned back the enmity, by which the other had wished to make him an enemy to God, upon the author of the enmity himself, taking away his own enmity, which was against man, and turning that enmity back and sending it back upon the serpent. As Scripture too says that God said to the serpent: And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and the seed of the woman (Gen 3:15). He will tread on your head, and you will watch for his heel (Gen 3:15). And the Lord recapitulated this enmity in himself, being made man from a woman and treading on his head, as we have shown in the book before this one.

CHAPTER 41

Those who do not believe God and do not obey him are angels and sons of the devil; not by nature, however, but by imitation. The epilogue of this book, and the aim of the next.

1. Since he spoke of certain angels of the devil, for whom eternal fire has been prepared, and again says of the tares: The tares are the sons of the evil one (Matt 13:38), it must be said that he has ascribed to him who is the prince of this transgression all who belong to the falling-away. But it is not he who made either angels or men

by nature. For the devil is found to have made nothing at all, since he himself too is a creature of God, as are the rest of the angels. For God made all things, as David too says: For he spoke, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created (Ps 148:5).

2. Since, then, all things were made by God, and the devil became the cause of falling-away for himself and for the rest, Scripture has justly always called those who persevere in the falling-away sons of the devil and angels of the evil one. For a son, as one before us also said, is understood in two ways: one according to nature, in that he is born a son; another, according to what he has been made, is reckoned a son; although there is a difference between one born and one made. For the one is born of him, the other is made by him, whether according to creation or according to the teaching of doctrine. For he who has been taught by someone is called, in word, the son of him who teaches, and the latter his father. According to nature, then, that which is according to creation, so to speak, we are all sons of God, because we were all made by God. But according to obedience to the word and to teaching, not all are sons of God, but those who believe him and do his will. But those who do not believe and do not do his will are sons and angels of the devil. And that this is so, he said in Isaiah: I have begotten sons and exalted them, but they have despised me (Isa 1:2). And again, where he calls them alien sons, thus: Alien sons have lied to me (Ps 18:45). For according to nature they are sons, because they

were made by him; but according to their works they are not sons.

3. For just as among men sons who are disobedient to their fathers and are disowned are by nature still their sons, but by law are estranged, for they do not become heirs of their natural parents, in the same way with God those who do not obey him, being disowned by him, have ceased to be his sons. Wherefore they cannot receive his inheritance either; as David says: Sinners are estranged from the womb; their wrath is after the likeness of the serpent (Ps 58:4–5). And for this reason the Lord called those whom he knew to be the offspring of men thus: brood of vipers (Matt 23:33), because, after the likeness of these animals, they go about in wiles and harm the rest. Beware, he says, of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt 16:6). And speaking of Herod too: Tell, he says, this fox (Luke 13:32); signifying his wicked cunning and guile. Wherefore David the prophet says: Man, set in honour, has been made like the beasts of burden (Ps 49:21). And again Jeremiah: They have become horses mad after mares; each one neighed after his neighbour's wife (Jer 5:8). And Isaiah, proclaiming in Judaea and disputing with Israel, called them rulers of Sodom and people of Gomorrah (Isa 1:10), signifying that there was among them a transgression like that of the Sodomites, and the same sins that had been theirs, calling them by the same name because of their like deeds. And because they had not been made so by God by nature, but were men who could also act

justly, the same prophet said, giving them good counsel: Wash yourselves, be clean, take away the wickedness from your souls before my eyes, cease from your iniquities (Isa 1:16). That is to say, because they themselves, transgressing and sinning in the same way, received the same rebuke as the Sodomites. For if they turned, and repented, and ceased from malice, they could be sons of God and obtain the inheritance of incorruption, which is bestowed by him. According to this reasoning, then, he called angels of the devil and sons of the evil one those who believe the devil and do the things that are his. And all of these were made from the beginning by one and the same God. But when they believe and persevere in being subject to God and keep his teaching, they are sons of God; but when they have fallen away and transgressed, they are enrolled under the devil as their prince, to him who became the cause of falling-away first for himself and then for the rest.

4. And since the words of the Lord are many, but all proclaim one and the same Father, the Maker of this world, it was necessary for us too, because of those who are held in many errors, to refute them by many things, if by any means, refuted by many, they might be converted to the truth and be saved. And it is necessary for this treatise, in the one that follows, after the words of the Lord, to add the teaching of Paul too, and to examine his mind, and to expound the Apostle, and to explain whatever has received other interpretations from the heretics, who do

not understand at all what was said by Paul, and to show the madness of their senselessness; and from the same Paul, out of whom they bring questions against us, to make manifest that they are liars, but that the Apostle is a preacher of the truth, and taught all things in harmony with the proclamation of the truth: one God the Father, he who spoke to Abraham, who made the lawgiving, who sent the prophets beforehand, who in the last times sent his Son, and gives salvation to his handiwork, which is the substance of the flesh. Setting out, then, in another book the remaining words of the Lord, which he taught concerning the Father not through parables but simply in the plain words themselves, and the exposition of the Epistles of the blessed Apostle, we shall, God granting it, present to you the whole work of the reproof and overthrow of the knowledge falsely so called; exercising both ourselves and you, in five books, in contradicting all the heretics.

Book V

Preface

All the heretics having been exposed, dearly beloved, in the four books which we published for you before this one, and their teachings brought to light; those, too, having been overthrown who devised irreligious doctrines, partly from the teaching proper to each of them, which they have left in their writings, and partly from reason, advancing by proofs of every kind; and the truth having been shown, and the proclamation of the Church made manifest, which the prophets proclaimed, as we have demonstrated, but Christ brought to perfection, and the apostles handed on, from whom the Church received it and, alone guarding it well throughout the whole world, has handed it on to her children; and all the questions which the heretics put to us having been solved, and the teaching of the apostles explained, and many things made manifest which were both said and done by the Lord in parables: in this fifth book of the whole work, which is on the exposure and overthrow of the knowledge falsely so called, we shall try to set out proofs from the rest of the teaching of our Lord and from the apostolic letters, as you asked of us, obeying your command (since we too have been placed

in the ministry of the word), and labouring in every way, according to our power, to furnish you with very many aids against the objections of the heretics, and to draw back those who stray and turn them to the Church of God; and also to strengthen the understanding of the neophytes, that they may keep steadfast the faith which they have received well guarded by the Church, so that they may in no way be turned aside by those who try to teach them ill and to lead them away from the truth. It will be necessary both for you and for all who are to read this writing to read more attentively what we have said before, so that you may know the very plots against which we raise our contradictions. For so you will both contradict them in due form and have contradictions against them ready to hand, casting away their doctrines like dung by the heavenly faith, and following the only true and firm teacher, the Word of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, who because of his immense love became what we are, that he might perfect us to be what he himself is.

CHAPTER 1

Christ alone could teach us divine things and redeem us; and the same, that he might restore us, not in opinion but in very deed, assumed flesh from the Virgin Mary by the working of the Holy Spirit; against the vanities of Valentinus and of Ebion.

1. For we could not have learned the things of God in any other way, unless our teacher, being the Word, had been made man. For no other

could make known to us the things of the Father except his own Word. For who else has known the understanding of the Lord? Or who else has been his counsellor? (Rom 11:34) Nor, again, could we have learned in any other way than by seeing our teacher and receiving his voice through our own hearing, so that, becoming imitators of his works and doers of his words, we might have communion with him, receiving growth from him who is perfect and is before all creation. We who were but lately made, made by him who alone is most excellent and good, and by him who has the gift of incorruptibility, into that likeness which is towards him; predestined, indeed, to be, we who were not yet, according to the foreknowledge of the Father, and made the beginning of the making: we have received, in the times foreknown, according to the ministry of the Word, who is perfect in all things; since the mighty Word and true man, reasonably redeeming us by his own blood, gave himself as a redemption for those who had been led into captivity. And since the apostasy ruled over us unjustly, and, though by nature we were almighty God's, estranged us against nature, making us its own disciples, the Word of God, mighty in all things and not failing in his justice, turned justly against the apostasy itself as well, redeeming from it what is his own; not by force, as it had at the beginning ruled over us, insatiably seizing what was not its own, but by persuasion, as it befitted God to receive what he willed by persuading and not by applying force: so that neither should what is just be bro-

ken, nor the ancient moulding of God perish. The Lord, then, having redeemed us by his own blood, and given his soul for our soul and his flesh for our flesh, and poured out the Spirit of the Father for the union and communion of God and man, bringing God down to men through the Spirit and in turn bringing man up to God through his incarnation, and in his coming giving us incorruption firmly and truly through communion with him: all the teachings of the heretics have perished.

2. For vain are those who say that he appeared in seeming. For these things did not happen in seeming, but in the substance of truth. But if, when he was not man, he appeared as man, then neither did he remain what he truly was, the Spirit of God, since the Spirit is invisible; nor was there any truth in him, for he was not that which he seemed. Now we have said before that Abraham and the rest of the prophets saw him prophetically, prophesying through vision what was to come. If, then, he has appeared now too in such a way, not being what he seemed, a kind of prophetic vision has come about for men, and we must await another coming of his, in which he will be such as he has now been seen prophetically. And we have shown that it is the same thing to say that he was seen in seeming and that he received nothing from Mary. For he would not truly have blood and flesh, by which he redeemed us, unless he had recapitulated in himself the ancient moulding of Adam. Vain, then, are those who are from Valentinus, who teach this as

dogma in order to exclude the salvation of the flesh and to reject the moulding of God.

3. Vain also are the Ebionites, who do not receive into their soul by faith the union of God and man, but persevere in the old leaven of generation, and will not understand that the Holy Spirit came upon Mary and the power of the Most High overshadowed her; wherefore what was begotten is holy, and the Son of the Most High God, the Father of all, who wrought his incarnation and showed forth a new generation; so that, as through the former generation we inherited death, so through this generation we might inherit life. These, therefore, reject the commingling of the heavenly wine, and will have it to be water of this world only, not receiving God into their commingling, but persevering in him who was overcome, Adam, and was cast out of paradise; not considering that, as from the beginning of our moulding in Adam the breathing of life which came from God, united to the handiwork, animated man and showed him to be a rational animal, so at the end the Word of the Father and the Spirit of God, made one with the ancient substance of the moulding of Adam, made man living and perfect, containing the perfect Father; so that, as in the animal we all died, so in the spiritual we may all be made alive. For Adam never escaped the hands of God, to which the Father, speaking, says: Let us make man to our image and likeness (Gen 1:26). And for this reason at the end, not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man (John 1:13), but of the good

pleasure of the Father, his hands brought a living man to perfection, so that Adam might become according to the image and likeness of God.

CHAPTER 2

Christ did not come to what was another's when he visited us with his grace and granted our flesh to be capable of salvation, truly pouring out his blood for us and showing us his true flesh in the Eucharist.

1. Vain also are those who say that God came to what was another's, as though coveting what was another's, so as to present the man who had been made by another to that God who had neither made nor created him, but who had even been bereft from the beginning of any fashioning of men of his own. Not just, then, was the coming of him who, according to them, came to what was another's; nor did he truly redeem us by his own blood, if he was not truly made man, restoring to his handiwork what was said in the beginning, that man was made according to the image and likeness of God; not snatching by guile what was another's, but assuming what was his own, justly and kindly: justly as regards the apostasy, redeeming us from it by his own blood; and as regards us who have been redeemed, kindly. For we gave him nothing beforehand, nor does he desire anything from us, as though he were in need; but we are in need of communion with him; and therefore he kindly poured himself out, to gather us into the bosom of the Father.

2. And utterly vain are those who despise the whole disposition of God, and deny the salvation of the flesh, and spurn its regeneration, saying that it is not capable of incorruptibility. But if this is not saved, then neither did the Lord redeem us by his blood, nor is the cup of the Eucharist the fellowship of his blood, nor is the bread which we break the fellowship of his body. For blood does not exist except from veins and flesh and the rest of the substance that is according to man, which the Word of God truly became. By his own blood he redeemed us, as his Apostle also says: In whom we have redemption through his blood, the remission of sins (Col 1:14). And since we are his members, and are nourished by means of creation, and he himself supplies creation to us, making his sun rise and sending rain as he wills (Matt 5:45), the cup, which is a creature, he affirmed to be his own blood, which was shed, from which he increases our blood; and the bread, which is from creation, he affirmed to be his own body, from which he increases our bodies.

3. When, then, both the mixed cup and the bread that has been made receive the word of God and become the Eucharist of the blood and body of Christ, from which the substance of our flesh grows and is constituted, how can they deny that the flesh is capable of the gift of God, which is eternal life, the flesh which is nourished by the blood and body of Christ and is a member of him? As the blessed Apostle also says in the Letter to the Ephesians: For we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones (Eph 5:30); not saying

this of some spiritual and invisible man, for a spirit has neither bones nor flesh (Luke 24:39), but of that disposition which is according to the true man, which consists of flesh and sinews and bones; which is nourished from the cup, which is his blood, and grows from the bread, which is his body. And just as the vine-stock, laid in the ground, bears fruit in its own time, and the grain of wheat, falling into the ground and being dissolved, rises manifold through the Spirit of God, who contains all things; and then by wisdom they come to the use of man, and, receiving the word of God, become the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ: so also our bodies, nourished from it, and laid in the ground, and dissolved in it, will rise again in their own time, the Word of God granting them resurrection, to the glory of God the Father, who surrounds this mortal with immortality and freely gives incorruption to the corruptible, since the power of God is made perfect in weakness (2 Cor 12:9); so that we may never be puffed up and lifted up against God, as though we had life of ourselves, taking on an ungrateful mind; but that, learning by experience that it is from his greatness, and not from our own nature, that we have endurance for ever, we may never fall away from the glory that is about God as he is, nor be ignorant of our own nature; but that we may know both what God can do and what benefit man receives; and that we may never stray from the true understanding of the things that are, and of how they are, that is, of God and of man. And is it not perhaps for this

reason, as we said before, that God allowed dissolution to come about in us, so that, instructed in all things, we may be careful in all, ignorant neither of God nor of ourselves?

CHAPTER 3

In the weakness of human flesh the power and glory of God shine out, who will make our body a sharer in resurrection and immortality, since he formed it from the slime of the earth; and he will grant the enjoyment of the everlasting age to that on which he bestows this small and common life.

1. And the Apostle shows most plainly that man was delivered over to his own weakness, lest, being lifted up, he should ever fall away from the truth, when he says in the second Letter to the Corinthians: And lest I should be exalted above measure by the loftiness of the revelations, there was given me a goad of the flesh, an angel of Satan, to buffet me. And concerning this I asked the Lord three times that it might depart from me; and he said to me: My grace is sufficient for you, for power is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly, then, will I rather glory in weaknesses, that the power of Christ may dwell in me (2 Cor 12:7–9). "What then?" someone will say, "did the Lord, then, will his Apostle to be buffeted so, and to endure such weakness?" Yes, says the word. For power is made perfect in weakness (2 Cor 12:9), making him better who through his weakness comes to know the power of God. For how would man have learned that he himself is weak and by nature mortal, but God immortal

and mighty, unless he had learned by experience what is in each? (For to learn one's own weakness by enduring it is no evil at all; rather, it is even good not to go astray as to one's own nature. But to be lifted up against God, and to take to oneself the presumption of one's own glory, making man ungrateful, brought much evil upon him): so that he should not take away from himself the truth and the love together, that love which is towards him who made him. And the true experience of both, which is of God and of man, put knowledge into him, and increased his love towards God. And where there is increase of love, there a greater glory is brought to perfection by the power of God for those who love him.

2. They reject, then, the power of God, and do not consider what the word is, those who look at the weakness of the flesh but do not consider the power of him who raises it from the dead. For if he does not give life to what is mortal, and does not bring the corruptible back to incorruption, God is no longer mighty. But since he is mighty in all these things, we ought to consider our beginning: that God took slime from the earth and formed man. And indeed it is much more difficult and more incredible, from bones and sinews and veins and the rest of the disposition that is according to man, when they did not exist, to make it come to be, and indeed to make man animal and rational, than to make whole again what has been made and then dissolved into the earth, for the reasons we have given before, though it has gone back into that from which man too, at the

beginning not yet made, was made. For he who at the beginning made him who was not come to be, when he willed, will much more, if he wills, give back again those who have already been to the life which is given by him. And the flesh will be found a receiver of the power of God, and capable of it, the flesh which from the beginning received the art of God. And one thing was made the eye that sees, another the ear that hears, another the hand that feels and works, another the sinews close-knit on every side and holding the limbs together, another the arteries and veins, the passages of blood and of spirit; another again the various inward parts; another the blood, the bond of soul and body. What then? There is no telling the number of the whole fashioning that is according to the members of man, which was made in no other way than out of the great wisdom of God. And the things that partake of the wisdom of the Lord partake also of his power.

3. The flesh, then, is not without a share in the wisdom and power of God. For his power, which gives life, is made perfect in weakness, that is, in the flesh. And let those who say that the flesh is not capable of the life which is given by God tell us whether they say this while living now and partaking of life, or whether, having nothing at all of life, they will confess themselves dead at present. And if they are dead, how do they move, and speak, and do the other things which are the works not of the dead but of the living? But if they live now, and their whole body partakes of life, how dare they say that the flesh is not a partaker

of life, while they confess that they have life at present? It is as if someone, holding a sponge full of water or a torch of fire, were to say that the sponge cannot partake of water, nor the torch of fire. In the same way these men too, saying that they live, and saying that they bear life, and exulting in their members, afterwards contradict themselves and say that their members are not thoroughly capable of life. But if this temporal life, though it is much weaker than that eternal life, is nevertheless so mighty as to give life to our mortal members, why will not that life which is eternal give life to the flesh, which has already practised beforehand and grown accustomed to bearing life? And that the flesh is a partaker of life is shown from this, that it lives: for it lives in so far as God wills it to live. And that God is mighty to give it life is plain. For it is by his giving life to us that we live. And so, since the Lord is mighty to give life to his handiwork, and the flesh can be given life, what remains to prevent it from receiving incorruption, which is a long life without end, bestowed by God?

CHAPTER 4

They are deceived who, besides the Fashioner of the world, feign another God the Father, who must be weak and useless, or malicious and envious, if he either cannot or will not give eternal life to our bodies.

1. And those who invent another Father besides the Demiurge, and call him good, do not perceive what they are doing: they bring him in

as weak and useless and negligent, not to say spiteful and envious, in that they say that our bodies are not given life by him. For when they say that those things which, as is plain to all, endure immortal, such as the spirit and the soul and things of that kind, are given life by the Father, but that the other thing, which is given life in no other way unless God grants it, is abandoned by life: this shows their Father either powerless and weak, or envious and spiteful. For since the Demiurge gives life even here to our mortal bodies, and promises them resurrection through the prophets, as we have shown, who is shown to be more mighty, and stronger, and truly good? The Demiurge, who gives life to the whole man, or their Father falsely so called? He pretends to give life to the things which are immortal by nature, to which living belongs by their own nature; but those which need help from him in order to live he does not kindly give life to, but negligently leaves to death. Is it, then, that their Father does not give life to these too though he can give it, or that he cannot? If it is because he cannot, he is no longer mighty, nor perfect above the Demiurge; for the Demiurge gives, as one may see, what he cannot give. But if he does not give though he can give, then he is shown to be no longer a good Father, but an envious and malicious one.

2. And if they should name some cause for which their Father does not give life to bodies, that very cause must appear greater than the Father, since it holds his kindness in check; and his kindness will be made weak because of the cause

which they allege. And that bodies can receive life, all may see. For they live in so far as God wills them to live; and they can no longer say that they are by no means able to contain life. If, then, it is because of necessity and some other cause that those things are not given life which can partake of life, their Father will be a servant of necessity and of a cause, and no longer free and of his own power in his judgement.

CHAPTER 5

The long life of the ancients, the translation of Elijah and Enoch with their own bodies, together with the preservation of Jonah, and of Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, in the gravest dangers, plainly show that God can raise our bodies to eternal life.

1. And that bodies endure for a long time, as long as it pleased God that they should be well, let them read the Scriptures, and they will find that those who were before us passed beyond seven hundred, and eight hundred, and nine hundred years; and their bodies attained length of days, and partook of life as long as God willed them to live. But what are we to say of those men? For Enoch, pleasing God, was translated in the body in which he pleased him (Gen 5:24), foreshowing the translation of the just. And Elijah was taken up just as he was, in the substance of the handiwork (2 Kgs 2:11), prophesying the taking up of the fathers; and the body did not hinder them at all in their translation and taking up. For by those hands by which they were moulded in the begin-

ning, by these same hands they received their taking up and translation. For the hands of God had grown accustomed in Adam to fit together, and to hold, and to carry his handiwork, and to bear it and to set it wherever they willed. Where, then, was the first man placed? In paradise, of course, as Scripture says: And God planted paradise in Eden towards the east, and placed there the man whom he had moulded (Gen 2:8). And from there he was cast out into this world, because he did not obey. Wherefore the presbyters, who are disciples of the apostles, say that those who were translated were translated there (for paradise has been prepared for just men, and for those who have the Spirit; into which Paul the apostle too was carried, and heard inexpressible words (2 Cor 12:4), as far as we are concerned at present); and that those who were translated remain there until the consummation, beginning together the incorruption.

2. But if anyone should think it impossible that men should last for such long times, and that Elijah was not taken up in the flesh, but that his flesh was consumed in the fiery chariot, let him consider that Jonah was cast into the deep and swallowed into the belly of the sea-monster, and was spat out again safe on to the land at the command of God (Jonah 1–2). Hananiah too, and Azariah and Mishael, sent into the furnace of fire burning sevenfold, were not harmed at all, nor was the smell of fire found on them (Dan 3). The hand of God, then, which was present with them, accomplishing in them things unlooked for and

impossible to the nature of man: what wonder if in those who were translated it wrought something unlooked for, serving the will of the Father? And this is the Son of God, as Scripture says that King Nebuchadnezzar said: Did we not send three men into the furnace? And behold, I see four walking in the midst of the fire, and the fourth is like the Son of God (Dan 3:91–92). Neither, then, the nature of any of the things that have been made, nor the weakness of the flesh, will be stronger than the will of God. For God is not subject to the things that have been made, but the things that have been made are subject to God; and all things serve his will.

Wherefore the Lord also says: The things that are impossible with men are possible with God (Luke 18:27). Just as, then, to the men who are now, who do not know the disposition of God, it seems incredible and impossible that any man could live so many years, and yet those who were before us did live, and those who were translated do live, as a pattern of the length of days to come; and that men came out safe from the belly of the sea-monster and from the furnace of fire, and yet they did come out, led forth as by the hand of God, as a showing of his power: so now too, though some, not knowing the power and the promise of God, contradict their own salvation, thinking it impossible that God, raising bodies, can give them endurance for ever, yet the unbelief of such men will not make void the faithfulness of God.

CHAPTER 6

God will save the whole and perfect man, consisting of body and soul and joined together, since the Word assumed him and adorned him with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, whose temples our bodies are and are called.

1. And God will be glorified in his handiwork, adapting it to be conformable and consonant with his Servant. For by the hands of the Father, that is, by the Son and the Spirit, it is man, and not a part of man, that is made according to the likeness of God. Now the soul and the Spirit can be a part of man, but by no means man: the perfect man is the commingling and union of the soul that takes up the Spirit of the Father, and this mixed with that flesh which was moulded according to the image of God. For this reason the Apostle too says: We speak wisdom among the perfect (1 Cor 2:6); calling perfect those who have received the Spirit of God and speak in all tongues through the Spirit of God, as he himself also spoke. Just as we have also heard many brothers in the Church who have prophetic charisms, and through the Spirit speak in all tongues, and bring to light for profit the hidden things of men, and declare the mysteries of God; whom the Apostle also calls spiritual, being spiritual by participation in the Spirit, but not by the defrauding and taking away of the flesh, nor by the Spirit itself alone, bare.

For if anyone takes away the substance of the flesh, that is, of the handiwork, and understands

the spirit by itself alone, bare, what is such is no longer a spiritual man, but the spirit of man or the Spirit of God. But when this Spirit, mingled with the soul, is united to the handiwork, because of the outpouring of the Spirit the man is made spiritual and perfect; and this is he who was made according to the image and likeness of God. But if the Spirit is lacking to the soul, he who is such is truly animal, and, being left carnal, will be imperfect, having the image indeed in the handiwork, but not taking up the likeness through the Spirit. And just as this man is imperfect, so again, if anyone takes away the image and spurns the handiwork, he can no longer understand a man, but either some part of a man, as we said before, or something else besides man. For neither is the moulding of the flesh by itself a perfect man, but the body of a man and a part of a man. Nor is the soul itself by itself a man, but the soul of a man and a part of a man. Nor is the Spirit a man: for he is called Spirit, and not man. But the commingling and union of all these makes the perfect man.

And for this reason the Apostle, explaining himself, has made plain the perfect and spiritual man of salvation, saying thus in the First Letter to the Thessalonians: May the God of peace sanctify you perfect; and may your spirit and soul and body be kept whole without reproach for the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ (1 Thess 5:23). And what cause, indeed, had he to pray for an entire and perfect endurance for these three, that is, the soul and the body and the Spirit, until

the coming of the Lord, unless he knew of the making whole again and the union of the three, and of their one and the same salvation? For this reason he also calls perfect those who present the three without reproach to the Lord. Perfect, then, are those who have both had the Spirit of God remaining in them, and kept their souls and bodies without reproach before God, that is, keeping that faith which is towards God, and guarding that justice which is towards their neighbour.

2. Hence he also says that the handiwork is the temple of God: Do you not know, he says, that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone violates the temple of God, God will destroy him. For the temple of God is holy, and that temple you are (1 Cor 3:16–17); plainly calling the body the temple in which the Spirit dwells. As the Lord too says of himself: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. But this, he says, he spoke of his body (John 2:19, 21). And he knows that our bodies are not only a temple, but also the temple of Christ, saying thus to the Corinthians: Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them the members of a harlot? (1 Cor 6:15) He does not say this of some other, spiritual man; for such a one does not embrace a harlot: but he said that our body (that is, the flesh which continues in holiness and purity) is members of Christ; and that when it embraces a harlot, it becomes the members of a harlot. And for this reason he said: If anyone violates the temple of God, God will

destroy him (1 Cor 3:17). To say, then, that the temple of God, in which the Spirit of the Father dwells, and the members of Christ do not partake of salvation, but are brought down to perdition: how is that not the greatest blasphemy? And that our bodies are raised not out of their own substance but by the power of God, he says to the Corinthians: But the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. And God both raised the Lord and will raise us by his power (1 Cor 6:13–14).

CHAPTER 7

Since Christ rose in our flesh, it follows that we shall rise in the same; since also the resurrection promised to us is not to be referred to spirits, immortal by nature, but to bodies, mortal of themselves.

1. As, then, Christ rose in the substance of the flesh, and showed his disciples the marks of the nails and the opening of his side (and these are the tokens of his flesh, which rose from the dead), so, he says, he will raise us too by his power (1 Cor 6:14). And again he says to the Romans: But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life also to your mortal bodies (Rom 8:11). What, then, are the mortal bodies? Are they the souls? But souls are incorporeal, as compared with mortal bodies. For God breathed into the face of man the breath of life, and man became a living soul (Gen 2:7); and the breath of life is incorporeal. But they cannot say that the breath

of life itself is mortal either. And for this reason David says: And my soul shall live for him (Ps 22:31), since its substance is immortal. Nor can they say that the Spirit is the mortal body. What, then, remains to be called the mortal body, except the handiwork, that is, the flesh, of which the word also speaks, that God will give it life? For it is this that dies and is dissolved, but not the soul, nor the Spirit. For to die is to lose the vital capacity, and to become thenceforth without breath, and lifeless, and without memory, and to perish into those things from which it also had the beginning of its substance. And this does not befall the soul, for it is the breath of life; nor the Spirit, for the Spirit is uncompounded and simple, and cannot be dissolved, and he is himself the life of those who receive him. It remains, then, that death is shown to concern the flesh, which, after the soul has gone out, becomes breathless and lifeless, and little by little is dissolved into the earth from which it was taken. This, then, is mortal. And it is of this that he says: He will give life also to your mortal bodies (Rom 8:11). And for this reason he says of it in the first to the Corinthians: So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it will rise in incorruption (1 Cor 15:42). For what you sow, he says, is not given life unless it first dies (1 Cor 15:36).

2. And what is it that is sown like a grain of wheat and rots in the earth, but the bodies which are laid in the earth, in which seeds too are cast? And for this reason he said: It is sown in dishonour, it will rise in glory (1 Cor 15:43). For

what is more dishonourable than dead flesh? Or again, what is more glorious than the same flesh when it rises and receives incorruption? It is sown in weakness, it rises in power (1 Cor 15:43): in its own weakness, since, being earth, it goes into the earth; but in the power of God, who raises it from the dead. It is sown an animal body, it will rise a spiritual body (1 Cor 15:44). He has taught beyond doubt that his discourse is neither of the soul nor of the Spirit, but of bodies brought to death. For these are the animal bodies, that is, bodies that partake of a soul; and when they have lost it, they are brought to death; then, rising through the Spirit, they become spiritual bodies, so that through the Spirit they may have life that remains for ever. For now, he says, we know in part, and we prophesy in part; but then face to face (1 Cor 13:9, 12). This is what was also said by Peter: Whom, though you have not seen him, you love; in whom, though you do not see him now either, you believe; and believing you will exult with inexpressible joy (1 Pet 1:8). For our face will see the face of the living God, and will rejoice with inexpressible joy, that is, when it sees its own joy.

CHAPTER 8

The gifts of the Holy Spirit which we receive prepare us for incorruption, make us spiritual and set us apart from the carnal, who are signified in the Law by the clean and unclean animals.

1. But now we receive some part of his Spirit, for perfection and preparation for incorruption, growing accustomed little by little to contain

and to bear God; which the Apostle also called a pledge (that is, a part of the honour which has been promised us by God), in the Letter to the Ephesians, saying: In whom you also, having heard the word of truth, the Gospel of your salvation, in whom, believing, you were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance (Eph 1:13–14). So, then, this pledge, dwelling in us, already makes us spiritual, and the mortal is swallowed up by immortality: For you, he says, are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you (Rom 8:9). And this comes about not by the casting away of the flesh, but by the communion of the Spirit. For those to whom he wrote were not without flesh; but they had taken up the Spirit of God, in whom we cry: Abba, Father (Rom 8:15). If, then, now, having the pledge, we cry Abba, Father, what will it be when, rising again, we see him face to face; when all the members pour forth abundantly a hymn of exultation, glorifying him who raised them from the dead and gave them eternal life? For if the pledge, embracing man into itself, already makes him say Abba, Father, what will the whole grace of the Spirit do, which will be given to men by God? It will make us like him, and will perfect us by the will of the Father; for it will make man according to the image and likeness of God.

2. Those, then, who have the pledge of the Spirit and do not serve the lusts of the flesh, but subject themselves to the Spirit and live reasonably in all things, the Apostle justly calls

spiritual, since the Spirit of God dwells in them. But incorporeal spirits will not be spiritual men; but our substance, that is, the union of soul and flesh, taking up the Spirit of God, brings the spiritual man to perfection. But those who reject the counsel of the Spirit, and serve the pleasures of the flesh, and live irrationally, and, unbridled, throw themselves headlong into their own desires, having no breathing of the divine Spirit at all, but living in the manner of swine and dogs: these the Apostle justly calls carnal, since they mind nothing but carnal things. And the prophets too, for this same reason, liken them to irrational animals, saying, because of their irrational way of life: They have become horses mad after the females, each of them neighing after his neighbour's wife (Jer 5:8). And again: Man, when he was in honour, was made like the beasts (Ps 49:13). This is because by his own doing he is made like the beasts, imitating an irrational life. And we too, in common usage, call men of this kind beasts and irrational cattle.

3. And the Law foretold all these things figuratively, sketching man from the animals: whatever, it says, has a double hoof and chews the cud, it declares clean; but whatever has not both, or one of these, it sets apart as unclean (Lev 11:2–3; Deut 14:3–8). Who, then, are the clean? Those who make their way firmly by faith towards the Father and the Son; for this is the steadiness of those who have the double hoof: and who ponder the oracles of God day and night, that they may be adorned with good works; for this is the virtue

of those who chew the cud. And unclean are those that neither have a double hoof nor chew the cud, that is, those who neither have faith in God nor ponder his oracles: and this is the abomination of the heathen. And those that chew the cud but do not have a double hoof are themselves unclean too; and this is the figurative description of the Jews, who have the oracles of God in their mouth, but do not fix the steadiness of their root in the Father and in the Son: and for this reason their race is slippery. For animals with a single hoof slip easily; but those that have a double hoof are steadier, the cloven hoofs following each other in turn as they go, and the one hoof supporting the other. And unclean likewise are those that have a double hoof but do not chew the cud: and this, plainly, is the showing of all the heretics, and of those who do not ponder the oracles of God nor are adorned with works of justice; to whom the Lord too says: Why do you say to me, Lord, Lord, and do not do what I tell you? (Luke 6:46) For such men say that they believe in the Father and the Son, but they never ponder the oracles of God as they ought, nor are they adorned with works of justice; but, as we said before, they have taken up the life of swine and dogs, giving themselves over to uncleanness, and gluttony, and every other carelessness. Justly, then, all such men, who because of their unbelief and self-indulgence do not attain the divine Spirit, and by various stamps cast the life-giving Word out from themselves, and walk irrationally in their own lusts, the Apostle called carnal and animal

(1 Cor 2:14; 3:1); the prophets called them beasts and wild animals; common usage has interpreted them as cattle and irrational creatures; and the Law declared them unclean.

CHAPTER 9

How the place of the Apostle which the heretics abused is to be understood: Flesh and blood shall not possess the kingdom of God.

1. And this is what is also said by the Apostle among other things: That flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50). This is what all the heretics bring forward in their madness, and from it they try to hold us back and to show that the moulding of God is not saved; not perceiving that there are three things of which, as we have shown, the perfect man consists, flesh, soul and Spirit: one of them saving and shaping, which is the Spirit; another which is united and formed, which is the flesh; and that which is between these two, which is the soul; which at times, following the Spirit, is lifted up by him, and at times, consenting to the flesh, falls into earthly lusts. As many, then, as do not have that which saves and forms, and the unity, these will consequently be and be called flesh and blood, since they do not have the Spirit of God in them. And for this reason such men are also called dead by the Lord: for leave, he says, the dead to bury their own dead (Luke 9:60); since they do not have the Spirit who gives life to man.

2. But as many as fear God and believe in the coming of his Son, and by faith establish the

Spirit of God in their hearts, these will justly be called men, and clean, and spiritual, and living to God: for they have the Spirit of the Father, who cleanses man and lifts him up into the life of God. For as the flesh is weak, so the Spirit is willing, as the Lord has testified (Matt 26:41). He is mighty to accomplish whatever he has in readiness. If, then, anyone mingles this willingness of the Spirit, as a goad, with the weakness of the flesh, it is altogether necessary that what is strong should overcome what is weak, so that the weakness of the flesh is swallowed up by the strength of the Spirit; and that he who is such is no longer carnal, but spiritual, because of the communion of the Spirit. So, then, the martyrs bear witness and despise death, not according to the weakness of the flesh, but according as the Spirit is willing. For the weakness of the flesh, swallowed up, shows the Spirit mighty; and the Spirit in turn, swallowing up the weakness, possesses the flesh as an inheritance in himself: and from both is made a living man; living because of the participation of the Spirit, and man because of the substance of the flesh.

3. The flesh, then, without the Spirit of God is dead, not having life, and cannot possess the kingdom of God: irrational blood, like water poured out on the ground. And for this reason he says: As is the earthly, such are the earthly (1 Cor 15:48). But where the Spirit of the Father is, there is a living man; rational blood, kept by God for vengeance; flesh possessed by the Spirit, forgetful indeed of itself, but taking up the

quality of the Spirit, made conformable to the Word of God. And therefore he says: As we have borne the image of him who is from the earth, let us also bear the image of him who is from heaven (1 Cor 15:49). What, then, is the earthly? The handiwork. And what is the heavenly? The Spirit. As, then, he says, we once lived without the heavenly Spirit in the oldness of the flesh, not obeying God, so now, receiving the Spirit, let us walk in newness of life, obeying God. Since, then, without the Spirit of God we cannot be saved, the Apostle exhorts us to preserve the Spirit of God by faith and a chaste way of life, so that we may not, by becoming without participation in the Holy Spirit, lose the kingdom of heaven; and he cried out that flesh alone and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God.

4. For if we must speak the truth, the flesh does not possess, but is possessed; as the Lord too says: Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the earth by inheritance (Matt 5:5); as though the earth were possessed by inheritance in the kingdom, the earth from which the substance of our flesh also comes: and for this reason he wills the temple to be clean, that the Spirit of God may delight in it, as the bridegroom in the bride. As, then, the bride cannot take the bridegroom, but can be taken by the bridegroom, when the bridegroom has come and received her: so too this flesh by itself, that is, alone, cannot possess the kingdom of God by inheritance; but it can be possessed by inheritance in the kingdom by the Spirit. For he who lives possesses by inheri-

tance the things of the dead man; and it is one thing to possess by inheritance, and another to be possessed by inheritance. For the one rules, and is over, and disposes of the things which he possesses by inheritance, as he himself wills; but they are subject, and obey, and are ruled by him, and are under the dominion of him who possesses. What, then, is it that lives? The Spirit of God, of course. And what are the things of the dead man? The members of man, of course, which also decay in the earth. And these are possessed by the Spirit, carried over into the kingdom of heaven. And it was for this reason too that Christ died, that the testament of the Gospel, opened and read to the whole world, might first make his servants free, and afterwards establish them as heirs of what was his, the Spirit possessing them by inheritance, as we have demonstrated. For he who lives possesses by inheritance, and the flesh is acquired by inheritance. So that we may not lose life by losing the Spirit who possesses us, the Apostle, exhorting us to the fellowship of the Spirit, said, in accordance with the reasons stated above: That flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50). As if he were saying: "Do not be deceived: if the Word of God does not dwell in you, and the Spirit of the Father is not in you, but you have lived vainly and at random, then, being only this, flesh and blood, you will not be able to possess the kingdom of God."

CHAPTER 10

He proves the foregoing by a comparison drawn from the wild olive, whose quality only, not its nature, is changed by grafting; he shows also that man without the Spirit can neither bear fruit nor possess the kingdom of God.

1. This is so, that we may not, by gratifying the flesh, reject the grafting of the Spirit: But you, he says, being a wild olive, were grafted into the good olive, and became a sharer in the fatness of the olive (Rom 11:17, 24). As, then, the wild olive, when grafted, if it remains in what it was before, a wild olive, is cut down and cast into the fire (Matt 7:19); but if it keeps the graft and is changed into a good olive, it becomes a fruitful olive, as though planted in the paradise of a king: so men too, if by faith they advance to better things, and take up the Spirit of God, and make his fruit spring forth, will be spiritual, as though planted in the paradise of God. But if they reject the Spirit, and persevere in what they were before, willing to be of the flesh rather than of the Spirit, it is most justly said of such men that flesh and blood do not possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50); as if one were to say that the wild olive is not taken into the paradise of God. Wonderfully, then, has the Apostle shown our nature and the whole disposition of God in that discourse which is about the flesh, and blood, and the wild olive. For as the olive, neglected and left for a time in the wilderness, and bearing wild fruit, becomes of itself a wild olive; or again, the wild olive, receiving care and being grafted, returns to the former fruitfulness of its nature: so men too, when they are set in

negligence, and bear the lusts of the flesh as wild fruit, are by their own doing made unfruitful in justice. For while men sleep, the enemy sows the stuff of tares (Matt 13:25); and for this reason the Lord commanded his disciples to watch (Matt 24:42; 25:13). And again, men who are unfruitful in justice, and as it were overgrown with briars, if they receive care, and receive the word of God as a graft, come to the former nature of man, that which was made according to the image and likeness of God.

2. But as the wild olive, when grafted, does not lose the substance of its wood, but changes the quality of its fruit, and receives another name, being now called not a wild olive but a fruitful olive: so man too, grafted by faith and taking up the Spirit of God, does not lose the substance of the flesh, but changes the quality of the fruit of his works, and receives another name, signifying that change which is for the better, and is now called not flesh and blood, but a spiritual man. But again, as the wild olive, if it does not receive the graft, remains useless to its master because of its wild quality, and is cut down as an unfruitful tree and cast into the fire; so too man, not taking up by faith the graft of the Spirit, remains what he was before: being flesh and blood, he cannot possess the kingdom of God by inheritance. Well, then, does the Apostle say: Flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50); and: Those who are in the flesh cannot please God (Rom 8:8); not rejecting the substance of the flesh, but drawing in the infusion of the Spirit.

And for this reason he says: This mortal must put on immortality, and this corruptible put on incorruption (1 Cor 15:53). And again he says: But you are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in you (Rom 8:9). And he shows it still more plainly, saying: The body indeed is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of justice. But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life also to your mortal bodies because of his Spirit who dwells in you (Rom 8:10–11). And again in the Letter to the Romans he says: For if you live according to the flesh, you will die (Rom 8:13); not repelling from them the way of life that is in the flesh, for he himself was in the flesh when he wrote to them; but cutting off the lusts of the flesh, those which bring man to death. And for this reason he added: But if by the Spirit you put to death the works of the flesh, you will live. For whoever are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God (Rom 8:13–14).

CHAPTER 11

On the works of the carnal and of the spiritual; and that the spiritual washing is to be referred not to the substance of bodies, but to the way of life of the former life.

1. And he has also made plain what the very works are which he calls carnal, foreseeing the calumny of unbelievers; and, explaining himself, lest a question should be left for those who handle what he says in unbelief, he speaks thus

in the Letter to the Galatians: Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are adulteries, fornications, uncleanness, self-indulgence, idolatry, sorceries, enmities, strifes, jealousies, angers, rivalries, animosities, provocations, dissensions, heresies, envies, drunkenness, revellings, and things like these; of which I forewarn you, as I also forewarned you, that those who do such things shall not possess the kingdom of God (Gal 5:19–21). Thus he proclaims more plainly to those who hear what is meant by: Flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50). For those who do those things, truly walking according to the flesh, cannot live to God. And again he brought in the spiritual actions which give life to man, that is, the grafting of the Spirit, saying thus: But the fruit of the Spirit is charity, joy, peace, patience, goodness, kindness, faith, gentleness, continence, chastity: against these there is no law (Gal 5:22–23). As, then, he who has advanced to better things and has wrought the fruit of the Spirit is in every way saved because of the communion of the Spirit; so too he who has remained in the works of the flesh spoken of above, being truly reckoned carnal, since he does not take up the Spirit of God, will not be able to possess the kingdom of heaven. As again the Apostle himself bears witness: Or do you not know, he says to the Corinthians, that the unjust shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived, he says: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor the effeminate, nor those who lie with men, nor thieves, nor the covetous, nor

drunkards, nor revilers, nor robbers shall possess the kingdom of God. And such indeed you were, he says; but you have been washed, but you have been sanctified, but you have been justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God (1 Cor 6:9–11). He shows most plainly by what things man perishes, if he persists in living according to the flesh, and by what, on the other hand, he is saved. And the things that save, he says, are the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Spirit of our God.

2. Since, then, he has there enumerated the works of the flesh, which are without the Spirit, and which are deadly, consistently with what he had said before, at the end of the Letter he cried out in sum: As we have borne the image of him who is from the slime, let us bear also the image of him who is from heaven. For this I say, brothers, that flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:49–50). Now what he says, As we have borne the image of him who is from the slime, is like that saying: And such indeed you were; but you have been washed, but you have been sanctified, but you have been justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God (1 Cor 6:11). When, then, did we bear the image of him who is from the slime? When, of course, the works of the flesh spoken of above were being wrought in us. And when, again, the image of the heavenly one? When, of course, he says: You have been washed, believing in the name of the Lord, and receiving his Spirit. And we have been washed, not of the substance

of the body, nor of the image of the handiwork, but of the former way of life of vanity. In the very members, then, in which we were perishing, working the things of corruption, in those same members we are made alive, working the things of the Spirit.

CHAPTER 12

On the difference between death and life, between the breath of life and the life-giving Spirit; and how the same substance of the flesh which died comes to life again.

1. For as the flesh is capable of corruption, so also of incorruption; and as of death, so also of life. And these give way to each other, and the two do not remain in the same place, but the one is driven out by the other, and when the one is present, the other perishes. If, then, death, taking possession of man, drove life out of him and showed him dead, much more will life, taking possession of man, drive out death, and restore man living to God. For if death brought him to death, why should not life, when it comes, have given man life? As Isaiah the prophet says: Death, being strong, has swallowed up (Isa 25:8). And again: God has taken away every tear from every face (Isa 25:8). And the former life was cast out, because it had been given not through the Spirit, but through the breath.

2. For the breath of life, which makes man animal, is one thing; and the life-giving Spirit, who makes him spiritual, is another. And for this reason Isaiah says: Thus says the Lord, who made

heaven and fixed it, who made firm the earth and the things that are in it, and gave breath to the people that is upon it, and the Spirit to those who tread on it (Isa 42:5); saying that the breath is given in common to all the people that is upon the earth, but the Spirit properly to those who tread down earthly lusts. For this reason Isaiah himself, again distinguishing the things said before, says: For the Spirit shall go forth from me, and every breath I have made (Isa 57:16). He reckons the Spirit as belonging properly to God, who in the last times poured him out upon the human race through the adoption of sons; but he shows the breath as common to the creation, and a thing made. Now that which has been made is other than he who made it. The breath, then, is temporal; but the Spirit everlasting. And the breath, after increasing for a little while and remaining for some time, then departs, leaving breathless that in which it was before. But the Spirit, surrounding man within and without, inasmuch as he remains for ever, never leaves him. But not first what is spiritual, says the Apostle (saying this as to us men), but first what is animal, then what is spiritual (1 Cor 15:46), according to reason. For man had first to be moulded, and, having been moulded, to receive a soul; and then, in this way, to receive the communion of the Spirit. Wherefore also the first Adam was made by the Lord a living soul, the second Adam a life-giving spirit (1 Cor 15:45). As, then, he who was made a living soul, turning aside to the worse, lost life; so again

the same man, returning to the better, taking up the life-giving Spirit, will find life.

3. For it is not one thing that dies and another that is given life; as neither is it one thing that is lost and another that is found; but the very sheep which had been lost the Lord sought and found (Luke 15:4–6). What, then, was it that was dying? Surely the substance of the flesh, which had lost the breath of life and had become breathless and dead. This, then, the Lord came to give life to; so that, as in Adam we all die, since we are animal, in Christ we may live, since we are spiritual, putting off not the handiwork of God, but the lusts of the flesh, and taking up the Holy Spirit; as the Apostle says in the Letter to the Colossians: Put to death, therefore, your members which are upon the earth (Col 3:5). And what these are he himself has set out: Fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil desire, and covetousness, which is idolatry (Col 3:5). The putting off of these the Apostle proclaims, and he says that those who work such things, as being only flesh and blood, cannot possess the kingdom of heaven. For their soul, inclining to the worse and descending into earthly lusts, has come to share the same name as these have; and, bidding us put these off, he says again in the same Letter: Stripping yourselves of the old man with his works (Col 3:9). And he said this not to remove the old moulding: otherwise we would have had to kill ourselves and be separated from the way of life here.

4. But the Apostle himself too, being the very one who had been moulded in the womb and

had come forth from the womb, wrote to us: And to live in the flesh is the fruit of work (Phil 1:22); he confessed it, saying so in the Letter to the Philippians. And the fruit of the work of the Spirit is the salvation of the flesh. For what other visible fruit is there of the invisible Spirit than to make the flesh ripe and capable of incorruption? If, then, to live in the flesh, this is for me the fruit of work (Phil 1:22), he certainly did not despise the substance of the flesh when he had said: Stripping yourselves of the old man with his works (Col 3:9); but he made plain the stripping off of our former way of life, that which grows old and is corrupted: and for this reason he added: And putting on the new man, who is renewed for knowledge, according to the image of him who created him (Col 3:10). In saying, then, who is renewed for knowledge, he showed that the very man who was before a man of ignorance, that is, ignorant of God, is renewed through the knowledge which is towards him. For the knowledge of God renews man. And in saying according to the image of the Creator, he made plain the recapitulation of that man who in the beginning was made according to the image of God.

5. And that the Apostle was the same, who had been born from the womb, that is, the ancient substance of the flesh, he himself said in the Letter to the Galatians: But when it pleased God, who set me apart from my mother's womb and called me through his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might bring the good news of him among the nations (Gal 1:15–16); it was not one

who had been born from the womb, as we said before, and another who brought the good news of the Son of God; but that same man who before was in ignorance and persecuted the Church, when the revelation had been made to him from heaven and the Lord had spoken with him, as we have shown in the third book, brought the good news of the Son of God, Christ Jesus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, his former ignorance having been driven out by his later knowledge: just as the blind whom the Lord healed lost their blindness, but received the substance of their eyes perfect, and received sight in those very eyes with which before they did not see, the darkness alone being driven out from their sight, but the substance of the eyes preserved; so that, seeing again through the eyes through which they had not seen, they might give thanks to him who had made their sight whole again; and he who was healed of the withered hand (Luke 6:6–10), and absolutely all whom he healed, did not change the members which had come forth from the womb at the beginning, but received those same members whole.

6. For the Fashioner of all things, the Word of God, who also moulded man from the beginning, finding his handiwork impaired by wickedness, healed it in every way: on the one hand member by member, as each is in his handiwork; and on the other he made man whole again, sound and entire, all at once, preparing him perfect for himself for the resurrection. And what cause, indeed, had he to heal the members of the flesh and to

restore them to their former stamp, if the things which had been healed by him were not to be saved? For if the benefit from him was temporal, he bestowed nothing great on those who were healed by him. Or how do they say that the flesh is not capable of the life which comes from him, the flesh which received healing from him? For life is brought about through healing, and incorruption through life. He, then, who confers healing confers life too; and he who confers life also surrounds his handiwork with incorruption.

CHAPTER 13

We have the greatest proof of the resurrection in the dead raised by Christ; and our hearts are shown to be capable of eternal life by this, that they now receive the Spirit of God.

1. For let those who say the contrary, that is, who contradict their own salvation, tell us: the dead daughter of the high priest, and the widow's son, who was being carried out dead near the gate, and Lazarus, who had been four days in the tomb: in what bodies did they rise? (Mark 5:22; Luke 7:12; John 11:39) In those very same bodies, of course, in which they had also died. For if not in the very same, then neither were they the very same who had died that rose. But indeed the Lord, he says, took the hand of the dead man and said to him: Young man, I say to you, arise. And the dead man sat up; and he commanded that something be given him to eat, and gave him to his mother (Luke 7:14–15; Mark 5:41, 43). And Lazarus he called with a loud voice, say-

ing: Lazarus, come forth; and the dead man came out, he says, bound feet and hands with bandages (John 11:43–44). This is a symbol of that man who had been bound in sins. And for this reason the Lord said: Loose him, and let him go (John 11:44). As, then, those who were healed were healed in the members which had suffered before, and the dead rose in the same bodies, their members and bodies receiving healing, and that life which was given by the Lord, who by temporal things forms beforehand eternal ones, and shows that it is he who can give both healing and life to his handiwork, so that his word about the resurrection too may be believed: so also at the end, when the Lord cries out at the last trumpet (1 Cor 15:52), the dead will rise, as he himself says: The hour will come in which all the dead who are in the tombs will hear the voice of the Son of Man, and will come forth, those who have done good to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil to the resurrection of judgement (John 5:28–29).

2. Vain, then, and truly wretched are those who will not look at things so manifest and clear, but flee the light of truth, blinding themselves like the tragic Oedipus. And as in the wrestling school those unpractised in contending with others, seizing some one part of the body with both hands, fall because of what they hold, and in falling think that they are winning, because they hold on obstinately to the member they seized first, while on top of having fallen they are laughed at as well: so too the heretics, taking two expressions from Paul, Flesh and blood cannot

possess the kingdom of God (1 Cor 15:50), have neither perceived the meaning of the Apostle nor examined the force of the expressions; but, holding on to the bare expressions, they die over them, overthrowing, as far as in them lies, the whole disposition of God.

3. For so they will say that this was said properly of the flesh, and not of carnal works, as we have demonstrated, showing the Apostle himself to be saying things contrary to himself. For immediately, in the same Letter, he speaks thus, pointing expressly to the flesh: For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality. And when this mortal has put on immortality, then shall come to pass the word that is written: Death is swallowed up in victory. Where, O death, is your sting? Where, O death, is your victory? (1 Cor 15:53–55) And these things will justly be said then, when this mortal and corruptible flesh, about which death is, and which is weighed down by a certain dominion of death, rising up into life, has put on incorruption and immortality. For then death will truly be overcome, when the flesh which is held by it has gone out from its dominion. And again he says to the Philippians: But our way of life is in heaven, from which we also await the Saviour, the Lord Jesus, who will transfigure the body of our lowliness, conformed to the body of his glory, as he is able according to the working of his power (Phil 3:20–21). What, then, is the body of lowliness which the Lord will transfigure, conformed to the body of his glory? It is plain that it is the body

which is flesh, which is also humbled when it falls into the earth. And its transfiguration is that, though it is mortal and corruptible, it becomes immortal and incorruptible; not according to its own substance, but according to the working of the Lord, who can surround the mortal with immortality, and the corruptible with incorruptibility. And for this reason he says in the second to the Corinthians: That what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. And he who perfects us for this very thing is God, who has given us the pledge of the Spirit (2 Cor 5:4–5); saying this most plainly of the flesh: for neither is the soul mortal, nor the Spirit. And the mortal is swallowed up by life when the flesh too, no longer dead, but living and incorrupt, endures, singing a hymn to God, who perfects us for this very thing. That we may be perfected for this, then, he says well to the Corinthians: Glorify God in your body (1 Cor 6:20). God is the one who brings about incorruptibility.

4. And that he says these things not of some other body, but of the body of flesh, he says to the Corinthians plainly, beyond doubt and without any ambiguity: Always carrying about in our body the putting to death of Jesus, that the life of Jesus Christ may be made manifest in our body. For we who live are always being delivered to death for Jesus' sake, that the life of Jesus too may be made manifest in our mortal flesh (2 Cor 4:10–11). And that the Spirit embraces the flesh, he says in the same Letter: For you are a letter of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but

with the Spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone, but on fleshly tablets of the heart (2 Cor 3:3). If, then, fleshly hearts now become capable of the Spirit, what wonder if in the resurrection they contain that life which is given by the Spirit? Of which resurrection the Apostle says in the Letter to the Philippians: Being made conformable to his death, if by any means I may attain to the resurrection which is from the dead (Phil 3:10–11). In what other mortal flesh, then, can life be understood to be made manifest, except in this substance, which is also put to death for the sake of the confession that is towards God? As he himself said: If, according to man, I fought with beasts at Ephesus, what does it profit me, if the dead do not rise? (1 Cor 15:32) For if the dead do not rise, neither has Christ risen; and if Christ has not risen, our preaching is vain, and your faith too is vain. And we are found false witnesses of God too, because we have testified that he raised Christ, whom he did not raise. For if the dead do not rise, neither has Christ risen. And if Christ has not risen, your faith is vain: for you are still in your sins. Then those too who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished. If in this life we are only hoping in Christ, we are the most pitiable of all men. But now Christ has risen from the dead, the first-fruits of those who sleep: for since through a man came death, through a man also the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:13–21).

5. In all these things, then, as we said before, either they will say that the Apostle holds views contrary to himself as regards that saying, Flesh

and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God; or again they will be compelled to make malicious and forced expositions of all the sayings, so as to turn aside and change the meaning of the sayings. For what sound thing will they have to say, if they try to interpret otherwise what he writes: For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality; and: That the life of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal flesh; and all the rest, in which the Apostle plainly and clearly proclaims the resurrection and incorruption of the flesh? So those who will not understand one thing well will be compelled to interpret so many things badly.

CHAPTER 14

Unless the flesh were to be saved, the Word would not have assumed flesh of the same substance as ours; wherefore we would not have been reconciled through him either.

1. And because it was not against the very substance of flesh and blood that the Apostle said that they do not possess the kingdom of God, the same Apostle has everywhere used the name of flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ: partly to establish him as man (for he himself called himself the Son of Man), and partly to confirm the salvation of our flesh. For if the flesh were not to be saved, the Word of God would by no means have been made flesh. And if the blood of the just were not to be required, the Lord would by no means have had blood. But since blood has had a voice from the beginning, God said to

Cain, when he had killed his brother: The voice of your brother's blood cries out to me (Gen 4:10). And since their blood was to be required, he said to those who were with Noah: For your blood, the blood of your souls, I will require at the hand of all the beasts (Gen 9:5). And again: Whoever sheds the blood of man shall be poured out for his blood (Gen 9:6). And likewise the Lord too said to those who were to shed his blood: All the just blood that is shed upon the earth shall be required, from the blood of Abel the just to the blood of Zechariah the son of Barachiah, whom you killed between the temple and the altar; yes, I tell you, all these things shall come upon this generation (Luke 11:50–51; Matt 23:35–36). Thus he pointed to the recapitulation, which was to be in himself, of the shedding of the blood of all the just and the prophets from the beginning, and to the requiring of their blood through himself. And this would not be required unless it were also to be saved; nor would the Lord have recapitulated these things in himself, unless he himself too had been made flesh and blood according to the original moulding, saving in himself at the end that which had perished in the beginning in Adam.

2. But if the Lord became incarnate for some other disposition, and brought flesh from another substance, then he has not recapitulated man in himself; and further, he cannot even be called flesh. For flesh is truly the succession, made from the slime, of the first moulding. But if he had to have his matter from another substance, the Father would from the beginning

have wrought that his dough should be made from another substance. But now the saving Word has become that which man was, the man who had perished; bringing about through himself communion with him, and the seeking out of his salvation. And that which had perished had blood and flesh. For the Lord, taking slime from the earth, moulded man; and it is for his sake that the whole disposition of the Lord's coming is. He himself, then, also had flesh and blood, recapitulating in himself not some other, but that original moulding of the Father, seeking out that which had perished. And for this reason the Apostle says in the Letter to the Colossians: And you, though you were once estranged, and enemies to his thought in evil works, have now been reconciled in the body of his flesh, through his death, to present yourselves holy and chaste and without blame in his sight. Reconciled, he says, in the body of his flesh (Col 1:21–22); because the just flesh reconciled that flesh which was held in sin, and brought it into friendship with God.

3. If, then, anyone in this sense calls the Lord's flesh other than our flesh, because it did not sin, nor was deceit found in his soul, while we are sinners, he says rightly. But if he feigns another substance of flesh for the Lord, the word of reconciliation will no longer hold good for him. For that is reconciled which was once in enmity. But if the Lord brought flesh from another substance, then that has not been reconciled to God which through transgression had been made an enemy. But now, through fellowship with himself, the

Lord has reconciled man to God the Father, reconciling us to himself through the body of his flesh, and redeeming us by his blood, as the Apostle says to the Ephesians: In whom we have had redemption through his blood, the remission of sins (Eph 1:7). And again to the same: You, he says, who once were far off, have been brought near in the blood of Christ (Eph 2:13). And again: The enmities in his flesh, making void the law of precepts by decrees (Eph 2:14–15). And in every Letter the Apostle plainly testifies that we have been saved through the flesh of our Lord and his blood.

4. If, then, flesh and blood are what give us life, it was not said properly of flesh and blood that they cannot possess the kingdom of God, but of the carnal acts spoken of above, which, turning man aside to sin, deprive him of life. And for this reason he says in the Letter to the Romans: Do not let sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, so that you obey it; nor present your members to sin as weapons of injustice; but present yourselves to God as alive from the dead, and your members to God as weapons of justice (Rom 6:12–13). With the very members, then, with which we served sin and bore fruit for death, with these same members he wills us to serve justice, that we may bear fruit for life. Mindful, then, dearly beloved, that you have been redeemed by the flesh of our Lord and given back by his blood, and holding the head, from which the whole body of the Church, fitted together, grows (Col 2:19), that is, the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, and con-

fessing him as God, and firmly receiving him as man, and using also these proofs which are from the Scriptures, you easily overthrow, as we have demonstrated, all those doctrines of the heretics which were contrived afterwards.

CHAPTER 15

By the testimonies of Isaiah and Ezekiel he proves the resurrection, and that the same God who created us will raise us up.

1. And that he who in the beginning created man promised him a second generation after his dissolution into the earth, Isaiah says thus: The dead shall rise again, and those who are in the tombs shall rise, and those who are in the earth shall rejoice. For the dew that is from you is health to them (Isa 26:19). And again: I will call you, and you shall be called in Jerusalem, and you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall spring up like grass, and the hand of the Lord shall be known to those who worship him (Isa 66:13–14). And Ezekiel too says thus: And the hand of the Lord came upon me, and the Lord led me out in the Spirit, and set me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of bones; and he led me round about over them in a circle, all round, and behold, there were very many on the face of the plain, very dry. And he said to me: Son of man, do these bones live? And I said: Lord, you know, who made them. And he said to me: Prophesy over these bones, and you shall say to them: Dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord to these bones: Behold, I bring upon you

the spirit of life, and I will put sinews upon you, and bring back flesh upon you, and stretch skin over you, and I will put my Spirit into you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am the Lord. And I prophesied, as the Lord commanded me. And it came to pass, as I prophesied, and behold, an earthquake; and the bones were brought together, each to its joint; and I saw, and behold, sinews and flesh were growing upon them, and skins came up over them from above, and there was no spirit in them. And he said to me: Prophesy to the spirit, son of man, and say to the spirit: Thus says the Lord: Come from the four winds, and breathe into these dead, and let them live. And I prophesied, as the Lord commanded me, and the spirit entered into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, a very great gathering (Ezek 37:1–10).

And again he himself says: Thus says the Lord: Behold, I will open your tombs, and I will bring you out of your tombs, and I will bring you into the land of Israel; and you shall know that I am the Lord, when I open your graves, to bring my people back out of the graves; and I will put my Spirit into you, and you shall live, and I will set you in your own land; and you shall know that I am the Lord. I have spoken, and I will do it, says the Lord (Ezek 37:12–14). Since, then, the Demiurge even here gives life to our dead bodies, as one may see, and promises them resurrection, and raising up from the graves and tombs, and gives them incorruption; for according to the tree of life, he says, shall their days be (Isa 65:22); he

alone is shown to be God who does these things, and he himself the good Father, kindly giving life to those who do not have life of themselves.

2. And for this reason the Lord showed himself, and the Father too, most plainly to his disciples; lest, namely, they should seek another God besides him who moulded man and gave him the breath of life; and lest they should go on to such madness as to invent another Father above the Demiurge. And therefore all the others, on whom infirmities came because of their transgression, he healed by a word; and to them he also said: Behold, you have been made well; sin no more, lest something worse happen to you (John 5:14); showing that infirmities have come upon men in consequence of the sin of disobedience. But to him who had been blind from birth he gave sight no longer by a word, but by an act; not doing this idly or at random, but to show the hand of God, that which moulded man in the beginning. And therefore, when the disciples asked him for what cause he had been born blind, whether by his own fault or his parents', he said: Neither has this man sinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God may be made manifest in him (John 9:3). And the work of God is the moulding of man. For he made it by an act, as Scripture says: And the Lord took slime from the earth, and moulded man (Gen 2:7). Wherefore the Lord too spat on the ground, and made clay, and smeared it on the eyes (John 9:6); showing how the ancient moulding was made, and making manifest, to those who can understand, the hand of God, by which

man was moulded from the slime. For what the Word, the Craftsman, had omitted to mould in the womb, this he filled up in the open, so that the works of God might be made manifest in him, and we might no longer look for another hand by which man was moulded, nor another Father; knowing that the hand of God which moulded us in the beginning, and moulds us in the womb, in the last times sought us out when we were lost, gaining back his own, and taking the lost sheep upon his shoulders, and with joy restoring it to the fold of life.

3. And that the Word of God moulds us in the womb, he says to Jeremiah: Before I moulded you in the womb, I knew you, and before you came forth from the womb, I sanctified you, and I appointed you a prophet among the nations (Jer 1:5). And Paul likewise says: But when it pleased him who set me apart from my mother's womb, that I might bring the good news of him among the nations (Gal 1:15–16). Since, then, we are moulded in the womb by the Word, this same Word formed sight for him who had been blind from birth, showing openly him who is our Moulder in secret, since the Word himself had been made manifest to men; and setting forth the ancient moulding of Adam, both how he was made and by what hand he was moulded, showing the whole from the part. For the Lord who formed the sight is he who formed the whole man, serving the will of the Father. And since man, made in transgression in that moulding which was after Adam, needed the washing of regeneration, after

he had smeared the clay on his eyes, he said to him: Go to Siloam, and wash (John 9:7); restoring to him at once both the moulding and the regeneration which is through the washing. And for this reason, having washed, he came seeing, that he might both know his Moulder, and the man learn who it was that had given him life.

4. So those too who are from Valentinus fall to the ground, who say that man was not moulded from this earth, but from fluid and poured-out matter. For from the same earth out of which the Lord formed eyes for him, out of this, it is plain, man was also moulded in the beginning. For it would not have been consistent that the eyes were moulded from one source and the rest of the body from another; as neither is it consistent that one moulded the body and another the eyes. But the very same who moulded Adam in the beginning, with whom the Father also spoke: Let us make man after our image and likeness (Gen 1:26), manifesting himself to men in the last times, formed sight for him who had been blind from Adam. And for this reason Scripture, signifying what was to come, says that when Adam had hidden himself because of his disobedience, the Lord came to him in the evening, and called him out, and said to him: Where are you? (Gen 3:9) That is, that in the last times the very same Word of God came to call man, reminding him of his works, living in which he had been hidden from the Lord. For as then God spoke to Adam in the evening, seeking him out, so in the last times,

by the same voice, he visited his race, seeking it out.

CHAPTER 16

Since our bodies return to the earth, it follows that they have their substance from it. Likewise, by the coming of the Word the image of God appeared more clearly in us.

1. And since the moulding of Adam was from this earth of ours, Scripture says that God said to him: In the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread, until you return to the earth from which you were taken (Gen 3:19). If, then, our bodies return after death into some other earth, it follows that they also have their substance from it. But if into this very earth, it is plain that from it too their handiwork was made; as the Lord also made plain, forming eyes from this same earth. And so, the hand of God having been shown truly and clearly, by which Adam was moulded and we too have been moulded; and since the Father is one and the same, whose voice from the beginning to the end is present to his handiwork; and the substance of our handiwork having been plainly shown through the Gospel: we must no longer seek another Father besides this one, nor another substance of our moulding besides the one foretold and shown by the Lord, nor another hand of God besides this one, which from the beginning to the end forms us, and fits us for life, and is present to its handiwork, and perfects it according to the image and likeness of God.

2. And this Word was shown then, when the Word of God was made man, likening himself to man and man to himself, so that through the likeness to the Son man might become precious to the Father. For in times past it was said that man had been made according to the image of God, but it was not shown. For the Word, according to whose image man had been made, was still invisible. And for this reason he also easily lost the likeness. But when the Word of God was made flesh, he confirmed both: for he both showed the true image, himself becoming that which was his image, and, making the likeness firm, he restored it, making man like the invisible Father through the visible Word.

3. And not only by what has been said before did the Lord make manifest both the Father and himself, but also by his very Passion. For, undoing that disobedience of man which had been committed at the tree in the beginning, he became obedient even to death, and the death of the cross (Phil 2:8), healing the disobedience committed at the tree by the obedience that was at the tree. But he would not have come to loose, through the same, that disobedience which had been committed towards our Moulder, if he were proclaiming another Father. And since, by the very things through which we did not hear God and did not believe his word, through these same he brought in obedience and assent to his word, by these he plainly showed God himself, whom in the first Adam we offended, not doing his precept, and with whom in the second Adam we

were reconciled, being made obedient even to death. For we were not debtors to some other, but to him whose precept too we had transgressed from the beginning.

CHAPTER 17

God and Lord, the Father and Creator of all things, is one and alone, who loved us in Christ, gave precepts and remitted our sins to us; Christ proved himself to be his Son and Word when he pardoned sins.

1. And this is the Demiurge, who according to love is Father; according to power, Lord; according to wisdom, our Maker and Moulder: and transgressing his precept we became his enemies. And for this reason in the last times the Lord restored us to friendship through his incarnation, having become the mediator of God and men (1 Tim 2:5): propitiating for us the Father, against whom we had sinned, and consoling our disobedience by his obedience; and giving to us the converse and the subjection that are towards our Maker. Wherefore he also taught us to say in prayer: And remit to us our debts (Matt 6:12); assuredly because this is our Father, whose debtors we were, having transgressed his precept. But who is this? Is it some unknown one, a Father who never gave a precept to anyone? Or is it the God who is proclaimed by the Scriptures, to whom too we were debtors, having transgressed his precept? Now the precept was given to man through the Word: For Adam heard, it says, the voice of the Lord God (Gen 3:8, 10). Rightly, then,

his Word says to man: Sins are remitted to you (Matt 9:2); the same one against whom we had sinned in the beginning giving the remission of sins at the end. Or if it was the precept of one that we transgressed, and it was another who said: Your sins are remitted to you (Matt 9:2), such a one is neither good, nor true, nor just. For how is he good who does not give of his own? Or how is he just who seizes what is another's? And how were sins truly remitted, unless he himself against whom we sinned gave the remission, through the inmost mercy of our God, in which he has visited us (Luke 1:78), through his Son?

2. Wherefore also, when the paralytic had been healed, the crowds, seeing it, it says, glorified God, who had given such power to men (Matt 9:8). Which God, then, did the crowds standing round glorify? Was it the unknown Father invented by the heretics? And how could they glorify one who at that time was not known by them from the first? It is plain, therefore, that the Israelites glorified the God who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, who is also the Father of our Lord; and for this reason he taught men in understanding, by the signs that he did, to give glory to God. But if he had come from another Father, while men, seeing his mighty works, glorified another Father, he was making them ungrateful towards that Father who had sent the healing. But since the only-begotten Son had come from him who is God for the salvation of men, he both challenged the unbelieving, by the mighty works he did, to give

glory to the Father; and to the Pharisees, who did not receive the coming of his Son and for this reason did not believe in the remission that was done by him, he said: That you may know that the Son of Man has power to remit sins (Matt 9:6); and when he had said this, he ordered the paralytic man to take up the pallet on which he lay and to go into his house: by what he did confounding the unbelieving, and signifying that he himself is the voice of God, through which man received the precepts which he overstepped, and became a sinner; for the paralysis followed from sins.

3. Remitting sins, then, he healed the man, and plainly showed himself, who he was. For if no one can remit sins but God alone, and yet the Lord remitted them and healed men, it is plain that he was the Word of God made Son of Man, receiving from the Father the power of the remission of sins, since he was man and since he was God: so that, as man he suffered with us, so as God he might have mercy on us and remit to us our debts, which we owe to God our Maker. And for this reason David foretold: Blessed are they whose iniquities are remitted, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord has not imputed sin (Ps 32:1–2), foreshowing the remission that comes through his coming, by which he blotted out the bond of our debt and fastened it to the cross (Col 2:14): so that, as through a tree we became debtors to God, through a tree we may receive the remission of our debt.

4. This was shown in a sign through many others too, and indeed through the prophet Elisha. For when the prophets who were with him were cutting wood to build the tabernacle, and the iron, flying off the axe, had fallen into the Jordan and could not be found by them, Elisha, coming to the place and learning what had happened, threw a piece of wood into the water; and when he had done this, the iron of the axe floated up, and those who had lost it before took it from the surface of the water: the prophet showing by the deed that the firm word of God, which we had carelessly lost through a tree and could not find, we were to receive again through the disposition of the tree. And that the word of God is like an axe, John the Baptist says of it: Even now the axe is laid to the root of the trees (Matt 3:10). And Jeremiah likewise says: The word of the Lord, like a double axe cleaving the rock (Jer 23:29). This word, then, hidden from us, the disposition of the tree made manifest, as we said before. For since we lost it through a tree, through a tree it was made manifest again to all, showing in itself the height, and the length, and the breadth; and, as one of the elders said, gathering the two peoples to one God by the stretching out of the hands. Two hands, because there were also two peoples scattered to the ends of the earth; but one head in the middle, since there is also one God, above all and through all and in us all.

CHAPTER 18

God the Father and his Word created by their own power and wisdom all the creatures which they use, not out of defect or ignorance: otherwise the Son of God, who received all power from the Father, would never have assumed flesh.

1. And such, or so great, a disposition he accomplished not through creations that were another's, but through his own: not through things that were made out of ignorance and defect, but through things that had their substance from the wisdom and power of his Father. For he is neither unjust, so as to covet what is another's, nor needy, so as not to give life to his own through his own, using his own creation for the salvation of man. For the creation would not have borne him, if what belonged to ignorance and defect had emitted it. For that the very Word of God incarnate was hanged upon the tree we have shown in many ways; and the heretics themselves confess him crucified. How, then, could an emission of ignorance and defect bear him who contains the knowledge of all things, and is true and perfect? Or how did a creation hidden from the Father and far separated from him bear his Word? And if it was made by angels too, whether they were ignorant of the God who is above all things or knew him, since the Lord has said: I am in the Father, and the Father is in me (John 14:11), how could the fashioning of angels endure to carry the Father and the Son together? And how did the creation that is outside the Pleroma contain him who contains the whole Pleroma? Since, then, all these things are impossible and have no proof,

that alone is the true proclamation of the Church: that his own creation, which subsists by the power and the art and the wisdom of God, bore him (which indeed, according to invisibility, is borne by the Father, while according to visibility, on the contrary, it bears his Word); and this is the Word.

2. For the Father, bearing the creation and his Word together, and the Word, borne by the Father, grant the Spirit to all, as the Father wills: to some according to creation, which is made; to others according to adoption, which is from God, which is generation. And thus one God the Father is shown, who is above all things, and through all things, and in all. Above all things is the Father, and he is the head of Christ; through all things is the Word, and he is the head of the Church; in us all is the Spirit, and he is the living water which the Lord grants to those who rightly believe in him, and love him, and know that there is one Father, who is above all things, and through all things, and in us all (Eph 4:6). John too, the disciple of the Lord, bears witness to these things, speaking thus in the Gospel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:1–3). Then he said of the Word himself: He was in this world, and the world was made through him, and the world did not know him. He came to his own things, and his own did not receive him. But as many as received him, he gave them power

to become sons of God, to those who believe in his name (John 1:10–12). And again, signifying his dispensation according to man, he said: And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us. And again he added: And we have seen his glory, glory as of the Only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth (John 1:14). Showing plainly to those who are willing to hear, that is, to those who have ears, that there is one God the Father above all, and one Word of God, who is through all, through whom all things were made; and that this world is his own, and was made through him by the will of the Father, and not through angels; nor through apostasy, and deficiency, and ignorance; nor through some power of Prunicus, whom some also call Mother; nor through some other maker of the world who was ignorant of the Father.

3. For the Maker of the world is truly the Word of God: and he is our Lord, who in the last times was made man, existing in this world, and who according to invisibility contains all things that were made, and is fixed in the whole creation, since he is the Word of God governing and disposing all things; and for this reason he came invisibly to his own, and was made flesh, and hung upon the tree, that he might recapitulate all things in himself. And his own did not receive him (John 1:11): men, as Moses showed this very thing among the people: And your life shall be hanging before your eyes, and you shall not believe your life (Deut 28:66). Those, then, who did not receive him did not receive life. But as many

as received him, he gave them power to become sons of God (John 1:12). For it is he who has from the Father power over all things, since he is the Word of God and true man: sharing reasonably in the invisible things, and perceptibly laying down the law that each and every thing should endure in its own order; and reigning plainly over visible and human things, and bringing upon all the just judgement they deserve: as David too, signifying it plainly, says: Our God will come manifestly, and will not keep silence (Ps 50:3). Then he also made manifest the judgement that is brought on by him, saying: A fire shall burn before him, and round about him a mighty tempest. He shall summon the heaven from above, and the earth, to discern his people (Ps 50:3–4).

CHAPTER 19

With Eve, disobedient and a transgressor, the Blessed Virgin Mary, her advocate, is compared; and various and discordant heresies are recounted.

1. Of the Lord, then, manifestly coming to his own, with his own creation, which is carried by him, carrying him, and making the recapitulation of that disobedience which was at the tree through the obedience which is at the tree, and of that leading astray undone by which the virgin Eve, already destined for a husband, was evilly led astray, the Virgin Mary, already under a husband, was through the truth well given the good news by the angel. For as the one was led astray by an angel's speech, so as to flee from

God, having transgressed his word, so the other received the good news by an angelic speech, so as to bear God, obeying his word. And if the one had disobeyed God, yet the other was persuaded to obey God, that the Virgin Mary might become the advocate of the virgin Eve. And as the human race was bound to death through a Virgin, it is saved through a Virgin: the scales evenly set, virginal disobedience by virginal obedience. For moreover, the sin of the protoplast receives amendment through the correction of the first-born, the serpent's prudence being overcome in the dove's simplicity, and those bonds being loosed by which we had been bound to death.

2. All the heretics are unlearned, and ignorant of the dispositions of God, and unaware of his disposition which is according to man, since they are blind about the truth; they themselves contradict their own salvation: some bringing in another Father besides the Demiurge; others saying that the world and its substance were made by certain angels; certain others that it, far off and widely separated from him who according to them is the Father, flowered from itself and was born of itself; others that it had its substance from defect and ignorance within the things that are contained by the Father; others despise the manifest coming of the Lord, not receiving his incarnation; others again, ignorant of the dispensation of the Virgin, say that he was begotten of Joseph; and some say that neither the soul nor the body can receive eternal life, but only the inner man. And they will have it that this is the

understanding that is in them, which alone, too, they determine ascends to the perfect; others say that, while the soul is saved, their body does not partake of the salvation which is from God, as we said in the first book. In which we also related the plots of them all, and in the second showed their weakness and instability.

CHAPTER 20

The shepherds to whom the apostles entrusted the churches, who have one and the same doctrine of salvation, are to be heard; the heretics are to be shunned; and in the mysteries of faith one must be wise with sobriety.

1. For all these are much later than the bishops to whom the apostles handed over the churches; and this we made manifest with all diligence in the third book. The heretics we have spoken of, then, since they are blind to the truth, are under the necessity of walking astray, now by one road and now by another; and for this reason the footprints of their doctrine are scattered without harmony and without consistency. But the path of those who are of the Church goes round the whole world, since it has the firm tradition from the apostles, and gives us to see that the faith of all is one and the same, all teaching one and the same God the Father, and believing the same disposition of the incarnation of the Son of God, and knowing the same gift of the Spirit, and meditating on the same precepts, and keeping the same form of the order that concerns the Church, and expecting the same coming of the

Lord, and awaiting the same salvation of the whole man, that is, of soul and body. And the preaching of the Church is true and firm, in which one and the same way of salvation is shown in the whole world. For to her the light of God has been entrusted, and for this reason the wisdom of God, by which he saves all men, is sung in the way out, acts boldly in the streets, is preached on the tops of the walls, speaks steadfastly in the gates of the city (Prov 1:20–21). For everywhere the Church preaches the truth: and this is the heptamyxos lamp, carrying the light of Christ.

2. Those, then, who abandon the proclamation of the Church accuse the holy presbyters of lack of skill, not considering how much more a religious unlettered man is worth than a blasphemous and shameless sophist. And such are all the heretics, and those who think they find something more besides the truth: following the things said before, making their way variously, and in many forms, and feebly, not always holding the same opinions about the same things, they are led about like the blind by the blind: they will justly fall into the pit of ignorance that lies hidden beneath, always seeking and never finding the truth. We must, then, flee their opinions and watch more intently, lest we be harmed by them anywhere; and take refuge in the Church, and be brought up in her bosom, and be nourished with the Scriptures of the Lord. For the Church has been planted, a paradise in this world. You shall eat, then, food from every tree of paradise, says the Spirit of God (Gen 2:16); that

is, eat from every Scripture of the Lord: but with an understanding lifted up do not eat, nor touch any heretical dissension. For they confess that they themselves have the knowledge of good and evil; and they hurl their impious understandings above the God who made them. They think, then, above what the measure of perception is. Wherefore the Apostle too says: Not to be wise above what one ought to be wise, but to be wise with prudence (Rom 12:3); so that we may not, eating their knowledge, which is wise above what it ought, be cast out of the paradise of life: into which the Lord brings those who obey his command, recapitulating in himself all things that are in the heavens, and that are on earth (Eph 1:10): but the things that are in the heavens are spiritual, while the things that are on earth are the disposition according to man. These things, then, he recapitulated in himself, uniting man to the Spirit and placing the Spirit in man; he himself was made the head of the Spirit, and gives the Spirit to be the head of man: for through him we have seen, and heard, and speak.

CHAPTER 21

Christ is the head of all that was foretold; it was fitting that he should assume man, be sent by the Father, the Creator of all things, and be tempted by Satan, that he might fulfil the promises and carry off a glorious and complete victory.

1. So then, recapitulating all things, he recapitulated them: both challenging our enemy to war,

and crushing him who in the beginning had led us captive in Adam, and treading upon his head, as you have it in Genesis that God said to the serpent: And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he will watch for your head, and you will watch for his heel (Gen 3:15). For from then on, he who was to be born of a woman, a Virgin, after the likeness of Adam, was proclaimed as watching for the head of the serpent. And this is the seed of which the Apostle speaks in the Letter to the Galatians: The law of deeds was laid down until the seed should come to whom it was promised (Gal 3:19). And he shows it still more plainly in the same Letter, saying thus: But when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son, made of a woman (Gal 4:4). For the enemy would not have been justly overcome, unless he who overcame him had been a man of a woman. For it was through a woman that he gained the mastery over man from the beginning, setting himself up as man's adversary. For this reason the Lord too confesses himself the Son of Man, recapitulating in himself that original man from whom the moulding that is according to the woman was made: so that, as through a man who was overcome our race went down into death, so again through a man who overcame we may go up into life. And as death won the palm against us through a man, so again we may win the palm against death through a man.

2. But the Lord would not have recapitulated in himself that ancient and first enmity against

the serpent, fulfilling the promise of the Demiurge and accomplishing his precept, if he had come from another Father. But since he is one and the same who moulded us in the beginning and sent his Son at the end, the Lord accomplished his precept, made of a woman, both destroying our adversary and perfecting man according to the image and likeness of God. And for this reason he destroyed him by no other means than by the sayings of the Law, using the precept of the Father as his helper for the destruction and the exposure of the apostate angel. First, fasting forty days, like Moses and Elijah, he afterwards hungered, that we might understand him to be a true and firm man; for it is proper to man to hunger when he fasts; and then, that the adversary might have somewhere to engage him. For since in the beginning, through food, he led man astray, when he was not hungry, to transgress the precept of God, at the end he could not persuade him who was hungry not to await the food which was from God. For when he tempted him and said: If you are the Son of God, say that these stones become loaves (Matt 4:3), the Lord repelled him by the precept of the Law, saying: It is written: Man does not live by bread alone (Matt 4:4; Deut 8:3). To his words, If you are the Son of God, he made use of this confession of man, which blinded him, and by his Father's saying made void his first assault. The filling of man, then, which took place in paradise through a double tasting, was undone by the want that was in this world.

But he, driven off by the Law, himself tried again, through a lie, to make a lawful encounter. For, leading him to the highest pinnacle of the temple, he said: If you are the Son of God, throw yourself down. For it is written that he has given his angels charge concerning you, and they shall bear you up in their hands, lest you strike your foot against a stone (Matt 4:6; Ps 91:11–12); hiding a lie through Scripture, which all the heretics do. For that he has given his angels charge concerning him was written; but throw yourself down no Scripture said: the devil brought this persuasion of himself. The Lord therefore refuted him lawfully, saying: It is written again: You shall not tempt the Lord your God (Matt 4:7; Deut 6:16); showing by the voice which is in the Law, as regards what is according to man, that man ought not to tempt God; and as regards him, that in the man who was seen he should not tempt the Lord his God. So the pride of understanding that was in the serpent was undone by the humility that was in the man; and the devil had now been twice overcome from Scripture, when he was exposed counselling things contrary to the precept of God, and was shown by his own judgement to be the enemy of God.

And he, greatly refuted and, as it were, gathering himself together, marshalling in a lie all the power he had, the third time showed him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, as Luke records: All these things I will give you, because they have been delivered to me, and I give them to whom I will, if you fall down and worship me (Luke 4:6–

7). The Lord, then, exposing who he was: Go, he says, Satan; for it is written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and him alone shall you serve (Matt 4:10). Laying him bare by this name, and showing who he himself was. For Satana, a Hebrew word, signifies apostate. And so, overcoming him the third time, he drove him off from himself for the rest, as lawfully overcome: and the transgression of the precept of God which had been in Adam was undone through the precept of the Law, which the Son of Man kept, not transgressing the precept of God.

3. Who, then, is the Lord God to whom Christ bears witness, whom no one shall tempt, and whom all must worship, and serve him alone? In every way he is, without doubt, the God who also gave the Law. For these things had been foretold in the Law, and by the pronouncement of the Law the Lord showed that the Law indeed proclaims from the Father the Word of the Lord; while the apostate angel of God is destroyed by his voice, exposed for what he was, and overcome by the Son of Man keeping the precept of God. For since in the beginning he persuaded man to transgress the precept of the Maker, he therefore had him in his power; and his power is transgression and apostasy, and with these he bound man fast; it was necessary, conversely, that through man himself he should in turn be overcome and bound fast with the same bonds with which he had bound man, so that man, loosed, might return to his Lord, leaving the bonds, that is, transgression, to him by whom he himself had been bound.

For his binding became man's loosing, since no one can enter the house of the strong man and plunder his goods, unless he first binds the strong man himself (Matt 12:29). Contrariwise, then, the Lord exposed him by the speech of the God who made all things, and subjected him through the precept (and the precept of God is the Law): his man showed him to be a fugitive, and a transgressor of the Law, and an apostate from God; and afterwards the Word bound him fast as his own fugitive, and plundered his goods, that is, the men who were held by him, whom he himself was using unjustly. And he was justly led captive who had unjustly led man captive; and man, who had before been led captive, was drawn out of the power of his possessor, according to the mercy of God the Father, who had pity on his handiwork and gave it salvation, making it whole again through the Word, that is, through Christ; so that man may learn by experience that it is not from himself but by the gift of God that he receives incorruption.

CHAPTER 22

The true Lord and one God is declared by the Law, and manifested in the Gospel through Christ his Son; him alone we must worship, and from him we must expect all good things, not from Satan.

1. Since, then, the Lord plainly shows that the true Lord and one God is he who had been declared by the Law (for the God whom the Law had proclaimed, him Christ shows to be the Father,

whom alone the disciples of Christ must serve), and since he makes our adversary void through the pronouncements that are in the Law (and the Law commands us to praise God the Demiurge and to serve him alone): we must no longer seek another Father besides him, or above him; for one is God, who justifies the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith (Rom 3:30). For if there were some other perfect Father above him, he would by no means have destroyed Satan through this one's words and precepts. For ignorance cannot be dissolved by another ignorance, just as defect cannot be made void by defect either. If, then, the Law is from ignorance and defect, how could the pronouncements that are in it set free from diabolical ignorance, and overcome the strong man? For the strong man cannot be overcome by one who is less, nor by an equal, but by him who can do more. And the Word of God can do more, above all things, who in the Law cries out: Hear, Israel: the Lord your God is one God (Deut 6:4), and: You shall love the Lord your God with all your soul (Deut 6:5), and: Him shall you worship, and him alone shall you serve (Deut 6:13). And in the Gospel, destroying the apostasy through these same pronouncements, he both overcame the strong man by the Father's voice, and confesses the precept of the Law to be his own pronouncements, saying: You shall not tempt the Lord your God (Matt 4:7; Deut 6:16). For not by another's, but by his own Father's pronouncement he destroyed the adversary and overcame the strong man.

2. And us, loosed through this very precept, he taught, when we hunger, to await the food which is given by God; and, when we are placed in the height of every charism, or trust in works of justice, or are adorned with surpassing greatness of ministry, by no means to be lifted up, nor to tempt God, but to think humbly in all things, and to have at hand: You shall not tempt the Lord your God (Deut 6:16); as the Apostle also taught, saying: Not minding high things, but agreeing with the lowly (Rom 12:16); not to be caught by riches, nor by worldly glory, nor by the present show; but to know that you must worship the Lord your God and serve him alone, and not believe him who falsely promised what was not his, saying: All these things I will give you, if you fall down and worship me (Matt 4:9). For he himself confesses that to worship him and to do his will is to fall from the glory of God. And what sweet or good thing can he share who has fallen? Or what else can one who is such hope for or expect, except death? For to him who has fallen death is near. Then, too, he will not grant even the things he promised. For how will he grant them to one who has fallen? Then, too, since God rules over men, and over him himself; and without the will of our Father who is in heaven not even a sparrow shall fall to the ground. That, then, which he said: All these things have been delivered to me, and I give them to whom I will (Luke 4:6), he said as one lifted up into pride. For the creation is not under his power, since he himself too is one of the creatures. Nor will he himself assign the kingdom

of men to men; but it is according to the order of God the Father that all other things, and those that concern men, are disposed. But the Lord says: The devil is a liar from the beginning, and did not stand in the truth (John 8:44). If, then, he is a liar and does not stand in the truth, it is clear that he was not speaking the truth in saying: All these things have been delivered to me, and I give them to whom I will (Luke 4:6), but speaking a lie.

CHAPTER 23

The devil is accustomed to lies; led astray by them, Adam sinned on the sixth day of creation, on which he was at last restored through Christ.

1. For he was already accustomed to lie against God for the leading astray of men. For when in the beginning God had given man much food, and had commanded him not to eat from one tree only, as Scripture says that God said to Adam: From every tree that is in paradise you shall eat food; but from the tree of knowing good and evil, from it you shall not eat; but on the day you eat of it, you shall die by death (Gen 2:16–17); he, lying against the Lord, tempted man, as Scripture says that the serpent said to the woman: Why has God said: You shall not eat from every tree of paradise? (Gen 3:1) And when she had exposed the lie and had simply repeated the precept, saying: We shall eat from every tree of paradise; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of paradise God said: You shall not eat of it, nor touch it, lest you die (Gen 3:2–3); having learnt the precept of God

from the woman, he used cunning and deceived her again by lying talk, saying: You shall not die by death. For God knew that on the day you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil (Gen 3:4–5). First, then, in the paradise of God he argued about God as though God were absent: for he did not know the greatness of God. Then afterwards, learning from her that the Lord had said they would die if they tasted of the tree mentioned, speaking a third lie he said: You shall not die by death (Gen 3:4). But that God is truthful and the serpent a liar was shown by the outcome, death following upon those who had eaten. For together with the food they also took death to themselves, because they ate in disobedience; and disobedience to God brings on death. For this reason from then on they were handed over to it, made debtors of death.

2. On that very day, then, on which they ate, they also died, and became debtors of death, since the day of creation is one. For there was evening, it says, and there was morning, one day (Gen 1:5). And on this very day they ate, and on this very day they also died. But according to the cycle and course of the days, by which one is called the first, another the second, another the third, if anyone wishes to learn carefully on which of the seven days Adam died, he will find it from the disposition of the Lord. For recapitulating the whole man in himself from the beginning to the end, he recapitulated his death also. It is plain, therefore, that the Lord underwent death,

obedient to the Father, on the day on which Adam died, disobedient to God. And on the day on which he died, on that day he also ate. For God said: On the day you eat of it, you shall die by death (Gen 2:17). Recapitulating this day in himself, then, the Lord came to his Passion on the day before the Sabbath, which is the sixth day of creation, on which man was moulded; giving him through his Passion the second moulding, that which is from death. Some, again, carry the death of Adam back into the thousandth year: for since the day of the Lord is as a thousand years (2 Pet 3:8), he did not go beyond the thousand years, but died within them, fulfilling the judgement on the transgression. Whether, then, it is according to the disobedience, which is death; or because from then on they were handed over and made debtors of death; or according to the one and the same day on which they ate and died, since the day of creation is one; or according to this cycle of days, because they died on the very day on which they also ate, that is, the Preparation, which is called the pure supper, that is, the sixth day of the week, which the Lord too showed by suffering on it; or according to his not having gone beyond the thousand years, but having died within them: according to all that is signified, then, God is truthful, for those who tasted of the tree died; while the serpent was shown to be a liar and a murderer, as the Lord says of him: He is a murderer from the beginning, and did not stand in the truth (John 8:44).

CHAPTER 24

On the devil's perpetual lie; on the powers we must obey, and on the earthly empires, in so far as they are established by God and not by the devil.

1. As, then, he lied in the beginning, so too at the end he was lying, saying: All these things have been delivered to me, and I give them to whom I will (Luke 4:6). For it was not he who determined the kingdoms of this world, but God: For the heart of the king is in the hand of God (Prov 21:1). And through Solomon too the Word says: By me kings reign, and the mighty hold fast to justice. By me princes shall be exalted, and by me tyrants rule the earth (Prov 8:15–16). And Paul the apostle too says on this very point: Be subject to all the higher powers: for there is no power but from God. And those that are have been disposed by God (Rom 13:1). And again he says of them: For not without cause does he bear the sword; for he is the minister of God, an avenger to wrath on him who does evil (Rom 13:4). And that he did not say these things of the angelic powers, nor of invisible princes, as some dare to expound, but of the powers which are according to man, he shows, saying: This is why you also pay tributes: for they are ministers of God, serving to this very end (Rom 13:6). And this the Lord too confirmed, not doing what the devil was urging him to do, but ordering the tribute to be given to the collectors of the tributes for himself and for Peter: since they are ministers of God, serving to this very end (Rom 13:6).

2. For since man, departing from God, grew so savage as to think even his kinsman his enemy, and to live without fear in every kind of disturbance, and murder, and avarice, God laid upon him a human fear (for they did not know the fear of God), so that, subjected to the power of men and bound by their law, they might attain to some measure of justice and restrain one another, fearing the sword set out in the open, as the Apostle says: For not without cause does he bear the sword: for he is the minister of God, an avenger to wrath on him who does evil (Rom 13:4). And for this reason the magistrates themselves too, having the laws as a garment of justice, will not be called to account for whatever they have done justly and lawfully, nor will they pay penalties. But whatever they have done for the overthrow of what is just, unjustly, and impiously, and against the law, and in the manner of tyrants, in these things they will also perish; the just judgement of God reaching to all equally and failing in nothing. For the benefit of the Gentiles, then, the earthly kingdom was established by God (but not by the devil, who is never at rest at all; indeed, who does not wish even the nations themselves to live in tranquillity), so that, fearing the kingdom of men, men might not devour one another like fishes, but through the enactments of laws might beat back the manifold injustice of the Gentiles. And in this respect those who exact tributes from us are ministers of God, serving to this very end (Rom 13:6).

3. The powers that are have been ordained by God (Rom 13:1): it is plain that the devil lies when he says: They have been delivered to me, and I give them to whom I will (Luke 4:6). For by whose command men are born, by his command kings too are appointed, suited to those who at that time are ruled by them. For some of them are given for the correction and benefit of their subjects and the preservation of justice; others for fear, and punishment, and rebuke; others for mockery, and insult, and pride, according as these also deserve; the just judgement of God, as we said before, coming upon all equally. But the devil, since he is an apostate angel, can do only this, which he made plain in the beginning: lead astray and draw away the mind of man to the transgressing of the precepts of God, and little by little blind the hearts of those who would try to serve him, so that they forget the true God, and worship him himself as God.

4. And as, if some apostate, seizing a region as an enemy, should throw into confusion those who are in it, so as to claim for himself the glory of a king among those who do not know that he is an apostate and a robber; so too the devil, since he is one of those angels who were set over the spirit of the air, as the apostle Paul made manifest in the Letter to the Ephesians, envying man, became an apostate from the divine law: for envy is foreign to God. And since his apostasy was exposed through man, and man became the testing of his judgement, for this reason he set himself up more and more as man's adversary, envying his life and

wishing to shut him up in his apostate power. The Word of God, the Craftsman of all things, overcoming him through man and showing him to be an apostate, conversely subjected him to man, saying: Behold, I give you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy (Luke 10:19); so that, as he gained the mastery over man through apostasy, so again through man returning to God his apostasy may be made void.

CHAPTER 25

The fraud, the pride and the tyrannical reign of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and Paul.

1. And not only through the things that have been said, but also through those that will be under Antichrist, it is shown that, being an apostate and a robber, he wills to be adored as God; and that, though he is a slave, he wills to be proclaimed king. For he, taking up all the power of the devil, will come not as a just king, nor as one lawful in subjection to God, but impious, and unjust, and without law, as an apostate, and wicked, and a murderer, as a robber, recapitulating in himself the diabolical apostasy; and setting idols aside, to persuade men that he himself is God, but lifting himself up as the one idol, having in himself the manifold error of the other idols, so that those who adore the devil through many abominations may serve him through this one idol; of whom the Apostle, in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, speaks thus: For unless the

falling-away comes first, and the man of sin is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and lifts himself up above all that is called God, or is worshipped, so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God (2 Thess 2:3–4). Plainly, then, the Apostle shows his apostasy, and that he is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, that is, above every idol (for these are the ones that are indeed so called by men, but are not gods), and that he himself will try in the manner of a tyrant to show himself God.

2. Beyond this he has also made manifest that which we have shown in many ways, that the temple in Jerusalem was made by the disposition of the true God. For the Apostle himself, in his own person, called that temple definitively the temple of God. Now we have shown in the third book that no one is called God by the apostles in their own person except him who is truly God, the Father of our Lord; by whose command this temple which is in Jerusalem was made, for the reasons which we have given; and in it the adversary will sit, trying to show himself as Christ, as the Lord also says: But when you see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of through Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let him who reads understand), then let those who are in Judaea flee to the mountains; and let him who is on the housetop not come down to take anything from the house. For then there will be great affliction, such as has not been

from the beginning of the world until now, nor will there be (Matt 24:15–17, 21).

3. And Daniel, looking to the end of the last kingdom, that is, to the last ten kings among whom the kingdom of those men is divided, upon whom the son of perdition will come, says that ten horns are born to the beast, and that another, a little horn, is born in their midst, and that three of the former horns are rooted out before his face. And behold, he says, eyes like the eyes of a man in this horn, and a mouth speaking great things, and its look greater than the rest. I was watching, and that horn was making war against the saints, and prevailing against them, until the Ancient of days came, and gave judgement to the saints of the most high God; and the time came, and the saints obtained the kingdom (Dan 7:8, 20–22). Afterwards, in the explanation of the visions, it was said to him: The fourth beast will be a fourth kingdom on the earth, which will rise above the other kingdoms, and will devour the whole earth, and trample it, and cut it to pieces. And its ten horns: ten kings will arise; and after them will arise another, who will surpass in evils all who were before him, and will bring low three kings, and will speak words against the most high God, and will wear down the saints of the most high God, and will think to change times and law; and it will be given into his hand until a time of times and half a time (Dan 7:23–25), that is, for three years and six months, in which he will come and reign over the earth. Of him again the apostle Paul also, in the second to the Thessalo-

nians, proclaiming at the same time the cause of his coming, speaks thus: And then the wicked one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the spirit of his mouth, and will destroy by the presence of his coming; whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying portents, and in every leading astray of wickedness for those who perish, because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them the working of error, that they may believe the lie, that all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but consented to iniquity (2 Thess 2:8–12).

4. And the Lord too said this likewise to those who did not believe him: I have come in the name of my Father, and you have not received me; when another comes in his own name, him you will receive (John 5:43), calling Antichrist "another", who is alien to the Lord; and he is the unjust judge of whom the Lord spoke, who did not fear God, nor respect man (Luke 18:2), to whom the widow who had forgotten God, that is, the earthly Jerusalem, fled, to be avenged of the enemy. And this he will do in the time of his reign: he will transfer the kingdom to her, and he sits in the temple of God, leading astray those who adore him, as if he himself were Christ. Wherefore Daniel says again: And the sanctuary will be made desolate; and sin was given in sacrifice, and justice was cast down on the earth; and he did, and prospered (Dan 8:11–12). And the angel Gabriel, explaining his vision, said of this

very one: And in the last time of their kingdom a king will arise, very shameless of face, and understanding questions, and his power is strong, and wonderful; and he will corrupt, and direct, and do, and destroy the mighty, and the holy people; and the yoke of his collar will be directed; deceit is in his hand, and he will be exalted in his heart, and by deceit he will destroy many, and he will stand for the perdition of many, and he will crush them as eggs in the hand (Dan 8:23–25). Then he also signifies the time of his tyranny, in which time the saints will be put to flight, who offer a pure sacrifice to the Lord: And in the half of the week, he says, the sacrifice and the libation will be taken away, and into the temple the abomination of desolation, and until the consummation of the time a consummation will be given upon the desolation (Dan 9:27); and half a week is three years and six months.

5. From all these things are made manifest not only the things of the apostasy, and those of him who recapitulates in himself all the diabolical error, but also that the Father is one and the same God, proclaimed by the prophets, and manifested by Christ. For if the Lord confirmed what was prophesied by Daniel concerning the end, saying: When you see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of through Daniel the prophet (Matt 24:15) (and the angel Gabriel gave Daniel the explanation of the visions; and he is the archangel of the Demiurge, and this same one announced to Mary the good news of the manifest coming and incarnation of Christ), one

and the same God is shown most manifestly, who sent the prophets, and sent the Son beforehand, and called us into his knowledge.

CHAPTER 26

Because John and Daniel foretold the dissolution and desolation of the Roman empire, which will precede the end of the world and the eternal kingdom of Christ, the Gnostics are refuted who feign another Father than the Demiurge, the instruments of Satan, through whose work he now openly blasphemes God.

1. Still more manifestly, concerning the last time and the ten kings who are in it, among whom the empire that now reigns will be divided, John, the disciple of the Lord, signified it in the Apocalypse, setting forth what the ten horns were which were seen by Daniel, and saying that it was told him thus: And the ten horns which you saw are ten kings, who have not yet received a kingdom, but will receive power as kings for one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and give their power and authority to the beast. These will fight with the Lamb, and the Lamb will conquer them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings (Rev 17:12–14). It is plain, therefore, that of these he who is to come will slay three, and the rest will be subjected to him, and he himself the eighth among them; and they will lay Babylon waste, and burn her with fire, and give their kingdom to the beast, and put the Church to flight; and after that they will be destroyed by the coming of our Lord. For since the kingdom must

be divided and so perish, the Lord says: Every kingdom divided against itself will be laid waste; and every city or house divided against itself will not stand (Matt 12:25). The kingdom, then, and the city, and the house must be divided into ten; and therefore he has already prefigured the partition and division.

And Daniel says carefully that the end of the fourth kingdom is the toes of the feet of that image which was seen by Nebuchadnezzar, upon which came the stone cut out without hands; and as he himself says: The feet, part indeed of iron, and part of clay, until the stone was cut out without hands, and struck the image upon the feet of iron and clay, and broke them in pieces to the end (Dan 2:33–34). Then afterwards, in the explanation, he says: And because you saw the feet and the toes, part indeed of clay and part of iron, the kingdom will be divided, and there will be in it something of the root of iron, as you saw iron mixed with earthenware. And the toes of the feet, part indeed of iron, and part of clay (Dan 2:41–42). The ten toes of the feet, then, are the ten kings among whom the kingdom will be divided: of whom some indeed will be strong and active, or energetic, but others sluggish and useless, and they will not agree; as Daniel also says: Some part of the kingdom will be strong, and part of it will be brittle. Since you saw iron mixed with earthenware, there will be minglings in the seed of men, and they will not be joined to one another, as iron does not mingle with earthenware (Dan 2:42–43). And that there will be an

end, he says: And in the days of those kings the God of heaven will raise up a kingdom which for ever will not be corrupted, and his kingdom will not be left to another people. It will crush and winnow all kingdoms, and it will itself be exalted for ever. As you saw that a stone was cut out from the mountain without hands, and it crushed the earthenware, the iron, and the bronze, and the silver, and the gold. The great God has signified to the king what is to come after these things; and the dream is true, and its interpretation faithful (Dan 2:44–45).

2. If therefore the great God signified the things to come through Daniel, and confirmed them through the Son; and Christ is the stone which was cut out without hands, who will destroy the temporal kingdoms and bring in the eternal one, which is the resurrection of the just (The God of heaven, he says, will raise again a kingdom which for ever will never be corrupted): let those be refuted and come to their senses who reject the Demiurge, and do not agree that the prophets were sent beforehand by that Father from whom the Lord also came, but assert that the prophecies were made by different Powers. For what was foretold by the Demiurge alike through all the prophets, this Christ accomplished at the end, serving the will of his Father, and fulfilling the dispositions concerning the human race. Those, then, who blaspheme the Demiurge, either in so many words and openly, as those from Marcion, or by overturning the meaning, as those from Valentinus and all who

are falsely said to be Gnostics, let them be recognised by all who worship God as instruments of Satan, through whom Satan now, and not before, has been seen to curse God, who prepared eternal fire for every apostasy. For he does not dare by himself to blaspheme his Lord openly; just as in the beginning too he led man astray through the serpent, as if hiding from God. Justin said well that before the coming of the Lord Satan never dared to blaspheme God, since he did not yet know his own condemnation; for it was in parables and allegories that this had been said of him by the prophets. But after the coming of the Lord, learning plainly from the words of Christ and of his apostles that eternal fire has been prepared for him, who departed from God of his own will, and for all who persevere in apostasy without repentance, through men of this kind he blasphemes that God who brings the judgement, as one already condemned, and imputes the sin of his apostasy to his Creator, and not to his own will and judgement; just as those who overstep the laws and pay the penalty complain of the lawgivers, but not of themselves. So too these men, full of a diabolical spirit, bring countless accusations against our Maker, who both gave us the Spirit of life and laid down a law suited to all; and they will not have the judgement of God be just. Wherefore they also devise some other Father, who neither cares for nor provides for the things that concern us, or who even consents to all sins.

CHAPTER 27

On the judgement to come through Christ; on communion with God and separation from him; and on the eternal punishments of the unbelieving.

1. For if the Father does not judge, either it does not concern him, or he consents to all that is done; and if he does not judge, all will be on an equal footing and will be reckoned in the same state. Superfluous, then, will be the coming of Christ, and contradictory, in that he would not judge. For he came to divide a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law (Matt 10:35); and, when two are in one bed, to take the one and leave the other; and, of two women grinding at the mill, to take the one and leave the other; at the end to command the reapers to gather first the tares, and bind them in bundles, and burn them with unquenchable fire, but to gather the wheat into the barn; and to call the lambs into the prepared kingdom, but to send the goats into the eternal fire, which was prepared by his Father for the devil and his angels. And what then? Did the Word come for the fall and for the resurrection of many (Luke 2:34)? For the fall, indeed, of those who do not believe him, whom he also threatened with a greater condemnation in the judgement than that of Sodom and Gomorrah; but for the resurrection of those who believe and do the will of his Father who is in heaven. If, then, the coming of the Son comes

alike upon all, but is judicial and a discerner of believers and unbelievers, since by their own judgement the believers do his will, and by their own judgement the disobedient do not come to his teaching: it is plain that his Father too made all alike, each having his own judgement and a free understanding; and he looks upon all things and provides for all, making his sun rise on the evil and the good, and sending rain on the just and the unjust (Matt 5:45).

2. And to all who keep their love towards him he grants his own communion. And communion with God is life and light, and the enjoyment of the good things that are with him. But upon all who by their own judgement depart from him he brings the separation which they have chosen. And separation from God is death; and separation from light is darkness; and separation from God is the loss of all the good things that are with him. Those, then, who through apostasy have lost what has been spoken of, being bereft of all good things, live in every punishment; God not punishing them principally of himself, but the punishment following them, because they are bereft of all good things. Now the good things from God are eternal and without end; and for this reason the loss of them too is eternal and without end: just as, in a boundless light, those who have blinded themselves or have been blinded by others are always deprived of the delight of the light; not that the light brings on them the punishment of blindness, but that blindness itself brings calamity upon them. And for this

reason the Lord said: He who believes in me is not judged (John 3:18), that is, he is not separated from God; for he is united to God through faith. But he who does not believe, he says, has already been judged, because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God (John 3:18), that is, he has separated himself from God by a voluntary judgement. For this is the judgement, that the light has come into this world, and men loved darkness rather than the light. For everyone who does evil hates the light, and does not come to the light, lest his works be exposed. But he who does the truth comes to the light, that his works may be made manifest, because he has worked in God (John 3:19–21).

CHAPTER 28

On the distinction between the godly and the ungodly; on the apostasy to come under Antichrist; and on the consummation of the world.

1. Since, then, in this world some run to the light and through faith unite themselves to God, but others depart from the light and separate themselves from God, the Word of God came, bringing to all a dwelling suited to them: to those who are in the light, that they may enjoy it and the good things that are in it; but to those who are in darkness, that they may share in the calamities that are in it. And for this reason he says that those who are on the right are called into the kingdom of the Father, but that those who are on the left he will send into the eternal fire. For they have deprived themselves of all good things.

2. And for this reason the Apostle says: Because they did not receive the love of God, that they might be saved, therefore God will also send them into the working of error, that they may believe the lie, that all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but consented to iniquity (2 Thess 2:10–12). For when he comes, and of his own judgement recapitulates the apostasy in himself, and works whatever he will work by his own will and choice, and sits in the temple of God, so that those who will be led astray by him may adore him as Christ: wherefore he too will justly be cast into the lake of fire (Rev 19:20); God foreknowing all things according to his providence, and at the fitting time sending in him who was to be such, that they may believe what is false, and that all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but consented to iniquity (2 Thess 2:11–12).

Of his coming John signified thus in the Apocalypse: And the beast which I had seen was like a leopard, and its feet as of a bear, and its mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the dragon gave it his power, and his throne, and great authority; and one of its heads as if slain to death, and the wound of its death was healed, and the whole earth wondered after the beast; and they adored the dragon, because he gave authority to the beast; and they adored the beast, saying: Who is like that beast, and who can fight with it? And there was given to it a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy, and authority was given to it for forty-two months. And it opened its blas-

phemous mouth against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and those who dwell in heaven. And authority was given to it over every tribe, and people, and tongue, and nation. And all who dwell upon the earth adored it, whose name is not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. If anyone has ears, let him hear. If anyone leads into captivity, into captivity he will go. If anyone kills with the sword, he must be killed by the sword. Here is the endurance and the faith of the saints (Rev 13:2–10).

Then afterwards, of his armour-bearer too, whom he also calls the false prophet: He spoke, he says, like a dragon, and he exercised all the authority of the first beast in his sight; and he makes the earth and those who dwell in it adore the first beast, whose wound of death was healed. And he will do great signs, so that he even makes fire come down from heaven to the earth in the sight of men, and he will lead astray those who dwell upon the earth (Rev 13:11–14). This, so that no one may think that he does the signs by divine power, but by magical working. And it is no wonder if, demons and apostate spirits serving him, he does signs through them, by which he leads astray those who dwell upon the earth. And he will command, he says, an image of the beast to be made, and he will give spirit to the image, so that the image even speaks; and those who will not have adored it he will cause to be killed. And a mark too, he says, he will cause to be given on the forehead and on the right hand, so that no one

may buy or sell except him who has the mark of the name of the beast, or the number of its name; and that the number is six hundred and sixty-six (Rev 13:15–18), that is, six times a hundred, and ten six times, and six units; for the recapitulation of all his apostasy, which has come about in six thousand years.

3. For in as many days as this world was made, in so many thousands of years is it consummated. And for this reason the Scripture of Genesis says: And the heaven and the earth were consummated, and all their adornment. And God consummated on the sixth day all his works that he made, and rested on the seventh day from all his works that he made (Gen 2:1–2). And this is both a narrative of things done before, as they were done, and a prophecy of things to come. For if the day of the Lord is as a thousand years (2 Pet 3:8), and in six days the things that were made were consummated, it is plain that their consummation is the six-thousandth year.

4. And for this reason at every time man, moulded in the beginning by the hands of God, that is, of the Son and of the Spirit, is made according to the image and likeness of God, the chaff indeed being cast away, which is the apostasy, but the wheat being taken into the barn, which is those who bear fruit to God by faith. And therefore tribulation is necessary for those who are saved, so that, being in a manner ground, and made fine, and kneaded together with the Word of God by patience, and fired, they may be fit for the banquet of the king. As one of ours said,

condemned to the beasts on account of his martyrdom for God: "For I am the wheat of Christ, and I am ground by the teeth of the beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of God."

CHAPTER 29

That all things were made for the benefit of men; and on the deceits, the wickedness and the apostate violence of Antichrist, prefigured from the flood onwards and in the persecution of Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael.

1. We have given in the books before this one the reasons why God allowed these things to be so; and we have shown that all such things were made for the sake of the man who is saved, ripening for immortality that which is of his own choice and of his own power, and preparing him to be more fit for eternal subjection to God. And for this reason creation is spent upon man: for man was not made for its sake, but creation was made for the sake of man. But the nations, which themselves did not lift up their eyes to heaven, nor gave thanks to their Maker, nor were willing to see the light of truth, but, like blind mice hidden in the depth of folly, the word justly reckoned as a drop from a jar, and as the turn of a scale, and as nothing (Isa 40:15, 17); useful and fitting for the just in so far as the stalk is useful for the growth of the wheat, and its chaff, by burning, for the working of gold. And therefore, when at the end the Church is suddenly taken up from here, there will be, he says, tribulation such as has not been from the beginning, nor will be

(Matt 24:21). For this is the last contest of the just, in which, when they overcome, they are crowned with incorruption.

2. And for this reason in the beast that comes there takes place a recapitulation of all iniquity and of every deceit, so that all apostate power, flowing together and shut up in it, may be sent into the furnace of fire. And fittingly its name too will have the number six hundred and sixty-six, recapitulating in himself all the commingling of wickedness that was before the flood, which came about from the angelic apostasy. For Noah was six hundred years old, and the flood came upon the earth, destroying the uprising of the earth because of the most wicked generation that was in the times of Noah. And recapitulating too all the error since the flood, the deviser of idols, and the slaying of the prophets, and the burning of the just. For that image which was set up by Nebuchadnezzar had a height of sixty cubits and a breadth of six cubits; on account of which Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, not adoring it, were sent into the furnace of fire, prophesying, through what befell them, that burning of the just which is to be at the end. For that whole image was a prefiguration of this coming, decreeing that he alone be adored by absolutely all men. So the six hundred years of Noah, under whom the flood came because of the apostasy, and the number of the cubits of the image, on account of which the just were sent into the furnace of fire, signify the number of the name of him into whom is recapitulated all the apostasy of six thousand

years, and injustice, and wickedness, and false prophecy, and deceit; on account of which a flood of fire too will come.

CHAPTER 30

The number of the name of Antichrist is certain; but nothing is to be rashly affirmed about it, since it can be fitted to many names; and why it was not explained openly by the Holy Spirit; and on his reign and death.

1. These things being so, and this number being set down in all the ancient and most approved and old copies, and those who saw John face to face bearing witness to it, and reason teaching us that the number of the name of the beast, according to the reckoning of the Greeks, by the letters that are in it, will have six hundred, and sixty, and six, that is, tens equal to hundreds, and hundreds equal to units (for the number six, a digit, kept alike, shows the recapitulations of all the apostasy, of that which was at the beginning, and that in the middle times, and that which will be at the end): I do not know how some have erred, following common usage, and have set aside the middle number of the name, taking away fifty, and wanting there to be one ten instead of six tens. And this, I think, was a fault of the copyists, as is wont to happen, since numbers too are set down by letters: the Greek letter which expresses the number sixty was easily spread out into the letter iota of the Greeks; and afterwards some received this without examination; others, in simplicity and in the common way, used the

number ten; but some through ignorance even dared to seek out names having the false number of error. But to those who did this in simplicity and without malice we think that pardon is given by God. But as many as, for vainglory, set down names containing the false number, and have determined that the name devised by themselves is that of him who is to come: such men will not come out without loss, since they have led astray both themselves and those who believe them. And the first loss is to fall away from the truth, and to reckon that which is not as if it [were]; and then, that for him who adds to or takes away from Scripture there will be no small punishment, into which he who is such must fall. And another danger, and no ordinary one, follows those who falsely presume to know his name. For if these think one thing, and he comes having another, they will easily be led astray by him, as though he of whom they ought to beware were not yet present.

2. Such men, therefore, must learn, and return to the true number of the name, that they may not be counted in the place of the false prophets. But, knowing the sure number which has been proclaimed by Scripture, that is, six hundred and sixty-six, let them await first the division of the kingdom into ten; then afterwards, when these are reigning and beginning to set their affairs in order and to increase their kingdom, let them recognise that he who comes unexpectedly, claiming the kingdom for himself, and who will terrify those spoken of, having a name containing

the said number, is truly the abomination of desolation. The Apostle says this too: When they say: Peace and safety, then sudden destruction will come upon them (1 Thess 5:3). And Jeremiah made manifest not only his sudden coming, but also the tribe from which he will come, saying: From Dan we shall hear the sound of the swiftness of his horses; at the sound of the neighing of the running of his horses the whole earth will be shaken; and he will come, and devour the earth and its fullness, and the city, and those who dwell in it (Jer 8:16). And for this reason this tribe is not numbered in the Apocalypse with those that are saved.

3. It is therefore more certain and without danger to await the fulfilment of the prophecy than to suspect and divine any names whatever, since many names can be found having the said number; and none the less this same question will remain. For if the names that are found having this number are many, which of them he who comes will bear is the question. Now, it is not for lack of names having the number of his name that we say these things, but out of fear of God and zeal for the truth; for the name EYANΘAΣ has the number in question; but we affirm nothing about it. But the name ΛATEINOΣ too has the number six hundred and sixty-six; and it is very likely, since the last kingdom has this name. For it is the Latins who now reign; but we will not boast of this. But TEITAN too, its first syllable written with the two Greek vowels ε and ι, is of all the names that are found among us the most worthy

of credit. For it has the said number in itself, and it is of six letters, each syllable consisting of three letters; and it is ancient and remote; for none of our kings was called Titan, nor do any of the idols which are publicly worshipped among the Greeks and the barbarians have this name; and this name is thought divine among many, so that even the sun is called Titan by those who now hold sway; and it carries a certain show of vengeance, and of one who inflicts punishment, because he pretends to avenge those who have been ill-treated. And besides, it is an ancient name, and worthy of credit, and royal, and more than that, tyrannical. Although, then, this name Titan has so much to commend it, yet it has plausibility, so that from among many we may gather that perhaps he who comes will be called Titan. We, however, will not put ourselves at risk over it, nor will we pronounce with assurance that he will have this name, knowing that, if it had been needful for his name to be proclaimed openly at the present time, it would have been made known by him who also saw the Apocalypse. For it was not seen long ago, but almost in our own age, towards the end of Domitian's reign.

4. Now he has shown this number of the name, that we may beware of him when he comes, knowing who he is; but he kept silent about his name, because it is not worthy to be proclaimed by the Holy Spirit. For had it been proclaimed by him, perhaps it would even endure for a long time. But now, since he was, and is not, and will ascend from the abyss, and goes into

perdition (Rev 17:8), as one who is not, so neither has his name been proclaimed; for of that which is not, the name is not proclaimed. But when this Antichrist has laid waste all things in this world, reigning for three years and six months, and has sat in the temple in Jerusalem, then the Lord will come from heaven on the clouds, in the glory of the Father, sending him and those who obey him into the lake of fire, but bringing to the just the times of the kingdom, that is, the rest, the hallowed seventh day, and restoring to Abraham the promise of the inheritance: in which kingdom, the Lord says, many coming from the east and the west will recline with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

NOTE FROM THE LIBRARY. ON THE SOULS OF THE JUST AFTER DEATH THE CHURCH TEACHES OTHERWISE THAN THE CHAPTER THAT FOLLOWS

Those who die in God's grace and friendship and are perfectly purified live for ever with Christ. They are like God for ever, for they "see him as he is," face to face:

By virtue of our apostolic authority, we define the following: According to the general disposition of God, the souls of all the saints . . . and other faithful who died after receiving Christ's holy Baptism (provided they were not in need of purification when they died, . . . or, if they then did need or will need some purification, when they have been purified after death, . . .) already before they take up their bodies again and before the general judgment - and this since the Ascen-

sion of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ into heaven - have been, are and will be in heaven, in the heavenly Kingdom and celestial paradise with Christ, joined to the company of the holy angels. Since the Passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, these souls have seen and do see the divine essence with an intuitive vision, and even face to face, without the mediation of any creature.

Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1023; Benedict XII, Benedictus Deus (1336): DS 1000.

CHAPTER 31

The keeping of our bodies is confirmed by the death, resurrection and ascension of Christ; meanwhile the souls of the saints await that time, to receive perfect and consummate glory.

1. But since some of those who are reckoned to have believed rightly pass beyond the order of the advancement of the just, and are ignorant of the movements of the practice for incorruption, having heretical notions in themselves: for the heretics, despising the moulding of God, and not accepting the salvation of their flesh, and despising too the promise of God, and passing beyond God altogether in their understanding, say that as soon as they have died they pass beyond the heavens and the Demiurge, and go to the Mother, or to him who is feigned by them as Father. Those, then, who reject the whole resurrection, and as far as in them lies remove it from the midst, what wonder is it if they do not know the order of the resurrection either, not willing to

understand that, if these things were as they say, the Lord himself, in whom they say they believe, would certainly not have made his resurrection on the third day, but, expiring upon the cross, would at once have gone away above, leaving his body to the earth? But in fact he spent three days where the dead were, as the prophet says of him: The Lord remembered his holy dead, those who had fallen asleep before in the land of burial, and he went down to them, to draw them out and to save them. And the Lord himself: As Jonah, he says, remained three days and three nights in the belly of the sea-monster, so will the Son of Man also be in the heart of the earth (Matt 12:40). And the Apostle too says: Now that he ascended, what is it but that he also descended into the lower parts of the earth? (Eph 4:9) David too said this, prophesying of him: And you have delivered my soul from the lower hell (Ps 86:13). And rising on the third day, he said to Mary, who saw him first and adored him: Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples and say to them: I ascend to my Father and your Father (John 20:17).

2. If, then, the Lord kept the law of the dead, that he might become the firstborn from the dead, and stayed until the third day in the lower parts of the earth; then afterwards, rising in the flesh, so that he even showed the prints of the nails to his disciples, so ascended to the Father: how are they not put to shame who say that the underworld is this world, which is ours, and that their inner man, leaving the body here, ascends

into the supercelestial place? For since the Lord went away into the midst of the shadow of death (Ps 23:4), where the souls of the dead were, then afterwards rose bodily, and after the resurrection was taken up, it is plain that the souls of his disciples too, for whose sake the Lord also worked these things, will go away into an invisible place appointed for them by God, and will stay there until the resurrection, awaiting the resurrection; then, receiving their bodies, and rising perfectly, that is, bodily, as the Lord also rose, so will they come into the presence of God. For no disciple is above his master; but everyone will be perfect as his master (Luke 6:40). Just as, then, our Master did not at once fly away and depart, but, awaiting the time of his resurrection appointed by the Father (which was also made manifest through Jonah), rising after three days was taken up; so we too must await the time of our resurrection appointed by God and foretold by the prophets, and so, rising, be taken up, as many as the Lord shall have accounted worthy of this.

NOTE FROM THE LIBRARY. THE CHURCH HAS REJECTED THE DOCTRINE OF AN EARTHLY KINGDOM OF THE JUST BEFORE THE JUDGEMENT, WHICH CHAPTERS 32 TO 36 TEACH

The Antichrist's deception already begins to take shape in the world every time the claim is made to realize within history that messianic hope which can only be realized beyond history through the eschatological judgement. The

Church has rejected even modified forms of this falsification of the kingdom to come under the name of millenarianism, especially the "intrinsically perverse" political form of a secular messianism.

Catechism of the Catholic Church, 676.

CHAPTER 32

In the flesh in which the saints endured many hardships here they will receive the fruits of their labours; above all since the whole creation awaits this, and God promises it to Abraham and to his seed.

1. Since, then, the minds of some are carried over by heretical discourses, and they are ignorant of the dispositions of God, and of the mystery of the resurrection of the just and of the kingdom, which is the beginning of incorruption, the kingdom through which those who have been worthy grow accustomed little by little to contain God: it is necessary to say concerning them that the just, as the first, must, rising in this creation which is renewed, at the appearing of God, receive the promise of the inheritance which God promised to the fathers, and reign in it; and that after that the judgement must take place. For in that creation in which they laboured or were afflicted, proved in every way by endurance, it is just that in it they should receive the fruits of their endurance; and in that creation in which they were slain for the love of God, in it they should be brought to life; and in that creation in which they endured servitude, in it they should reign.

For God is rich in all things, and all things are his. The creation itself, then, made whole again to its former state, must serve the just without hindrance; and the Apostle made this manifest in the one to the Romans, saying thus: For the expectation of creation awaits the revelation of the sons of God. For creation was subjected to vanity, not willingly, but because of him who subjected it, in hope; for creation itself too shall be set free from the servitude of corruption into the freedom of the glory of the sons of God (Rom 8:19–21).

2. So, then, the promise of God which he promised to Abraham also remains firm. For he said: Look up with your eyes, and see from this place where you now are, towards the north, and the south-west, and the east, and the sea; for all the land which you see I will give to you and to your seed for ever (Gen 13:14–15). And again he says: Arise, go through the land in its length and in its breadth, for I will give it to you (Gen 13:17); and he did not receive an inheritance in it, not even a footprint, but was always a stranger and a sojourner in it. And when Sarah his wife died, and the Hittites were willing to give him a place freely to bury her, he would not accept it, but bought a tomb, giving four hundred didrachmas of silver, from Ephron son of Seor the Hittite; awaiting the promise of God, and not wishing to seem to receive from men what God had promised to give him, saying to him again thus: To your seed I will give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates (Gen 15:18). If, then, God promised him the inheritance of the earth, and

he did not receive it in all his sojourning, he must receive it with his seed, that is, those who fear God and believe in him, at the resurrection of the just.

And his seed is the Church, receiving through the Lord the adoption to God, as John the Baptist said: For God is able from the stones to raise up sons of Abraham (Luke 3:8). And the Apostle too says, in the one to the Galatians: But you, brothers, are sons of the promise according to Isaac (Gal 4:28). And again in the same he says plainly that those who have believed in Christ receive Christ, the promise of Abraham, saying thus: To Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. And he does not say: And to seeds, as of many, but as of one: And to your seed, which is Christ (Gal 3:16). And again, confirming what had been said, he says: As Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him for justice. You know, then, that those who are of faith, they are the sons of Abraham. And Scripture, foreseeing that God justifies the nations by faith, foretold to Abraham that in you all the nations shall be blessed. So those who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham (Gal 3:6–9). So, then, those who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham, and these are the sons of Abraham. Now God promised the inheritance of the earth to Abraham and to his seed; and neither Abraham nor his seed, that is, those who are justified by faith, now take their inheritance in it; but they will receive it at the resurrection of the just. For God is true

and firm; and for this reason he called blessed the meek, for they shall inherit the earth (Matt 5:5).

CHAPTER 33

He confirms his thesis by the promises in which Christ undertook to drink of the generation of the vine in his Father's kingdom, and promised at once a hundredfold reward and banquets; which the blessing of Jacob had also foreshown long before, as Papias and the elders interpreted it.

1. For this reason, coming to the Passion, that he might announce to Abraham and to those with him the good news of the opening of the inheritance, having given thanks, holding the cup, and having drunk from it and given it to the disciples, he said to them: Drink of it, all of you. This is my blood of the New Testament, which will be poured out for many for the remission of sins. And I say to you, from now on I will not drink of the generation of this vine until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father (Matt 26:27–29). Certainly he himself will renew the inheritance of the earth, and make whole again the mystery of the glory of the sons; as David says: Who renewed the face of the earth (Ps 104:30). He promised to drink of the generation of the vine with his disciples, showing both things: the inheritance of the earth, in which the new generation of the vine is drunk, and the carnal resurrection of his disciples. For the flesh that rises new is the same that also received the new cup. Nor can he be understood as drinking

of the generation of the vine when set above in a supercelestial place with his own; nor again are those who drink it without flesh: for the drink which is received from the vine is proper to the flesh, and not to the spirit.

2. And for this reason the Lord said: When you give a dinner or a supper, do not invite the rich, nor friends, and neighbours, and kinsmen, lest they in turn invite you, and a recompense be made by them; but invite the lame, the blind, the beggars, and you will be blessed, because they have nothing to repay you with: for you will be repaid at the resurrection of the just (Luke 14:12–14). And again he says: Whoever has left fields, or houses, or parents, or brothers, or children for my sake will receive a hundredfold in this age, and in the age to come will inherit eternal life (Matt 19:29). For what are the hundredfold returns in this age, and the dinners given to the poor, and the suppers that are repaid? These are in the times of the kingdom, that is, on the seventh day, which is hallowed, on which God rested from all the works which he made, which is the true Sabbath of the just, on which they will do no earthly work, but will have a table prepared by God set beside them, feeding them with every kind of dish.

3. As the blessing of Isaac also contains, with which he blessed his younger son Jacob: Behold, he says, the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field which God has blessed (Gen 27:27). And the field is the world (Matt 13:38); and therefore he added: May God give you of the

dew of heaven and of the fertility of the earth, abundance of wheat and wine. And may nations serve you, and princes adore you; and be lord of your brother, and the sons of your father will adore you. He who curses you will be cursed, and he who blesses you will be blessed (Gen 27:28–29). If, then, anyone does not take these things as referring to what was fixed beforehand for the kingdom, he will fall into great contradiction and contrariety, as the Jews, falling into it, are brought into utter aporia. For not only in this life did the nations not serve this Jacob; but even after the blessing he himself set out and served his uncle Laban the Syrian for twenty years; and not only was he not made lord of his brother, but he himself adored Esau, his brother, when he returned from Mesopotamia to his father, and offered him many gifts. And how did he inherit an abundance of wheat and wine here, he who, because of the famine that came upon the land in which he dwelt, moved into Egypt, subject to Pharaoh, who then reigned in Egypt? The blessing spoken of, therefore, belongs without contradiction to the times of the kingdom, when the just, rising from the dead, will reign; when the creation too, renewed and set free, will bear an abundance of every kind of food, from the dew of heaven and from the fertility of the earth; as the presbyters remember, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, that they heard from him how the Lord used to teach about those times, and said: "The days will come in which vines will grow, each having ten thousand branches, and on one

branch ten thousand boughs, and on one branch ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand clusters, and on each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape, when pressed, will give twenty-five metretes of wine. And when one of the saints takes hold of one of those clusters, another will cry out: 'I am a better cluster; take me, bless the Lord through me.'" In like manner, that a grain of wheat too will produce ten thousand ears, and each ear will have ten thousand grains, and each grain five double pounds of clear, clean fine flour; and the other fruits too, and seeds, and grass, in the proportion that answers to these; and that all the animals, using those foods which are taken from the earth, will become peaceful and in harmony with one another, subject to men with all subjection.

4. And Papias too, a hearer of John, a companion of Polycarp, a man of old, bears witness to these things in writing, in the fourth of his books; for five books were composed by him. And he added, saying: "But these things are credible to those who believe." And that, "when Judas the traitor", he says, "did not believe, and asked: 'How then will such growths be brought to pass by the Lord?'", the Lord said: "Those who come into them will see." So Isaiah, prophesying these times, says: And the wolf will feed with the lamb, and the leopard will lie down with the kid, and the calf and the bull and the lion will feed together, and a little child will lead them. And the ox and the bear will feed together, and their young will be together; and the lion and the ox

will eat straw. And the infant child will put his hand into the hole of the asps and into the den of the young of the asps, and they will do no harm, nor will they be able to destroy anyone on my holy mountain (Isa 11:6–9). And again, recapitulating, he says: Then wolves and lambs will feed together, and the lion will eat straw like the ox, and the serpent earth as bread; and they will not harm nor trouble on my holy mountain, says the Lord (Isa 65:25). Nor am I unaware that some try to transfer these things to the wild, who, from different nations and of various works, believe, and, when they have believed, agree with the just. But even if this is so now in some men, who from various nations come to one mind of faith, none the less at the resurrection of the just it will be so with those animals, as has been said: for God is rich in all things. And when creation has been brought back, all the animals must obey and be subject to man, and return to the first food given by God (as, indeed, they had been subject to Adam in obedience), the fruit of the earth. Besides, it is not possible now to show a lion feeding on straw. But this signified the greatness and richness of the fruits. For if the lion, an animal, feeds on straw, what will the wheat itself be like, whose straw will be fit food for lions?

CHAPTER 34

He closes his view of the temporal and earthly kingdom of the saints after the resurrection with various testimonies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Daniel, and with the parable of the watchful

servants, whom the Lord promises that he will serve.

1. Isaiah himself proclaimed plainly that such joy will be at the resurrection of the just, saying thus: The dead shall rise again, and those who are in the tombs shall rise, and those who are in the earth shall rejoice. For the dew that is from you is health to them (Isa 26:19). Ezekiel too says this same thing: Behold, I will open your tombs, and bring you out of your tombs, when I bring my people out of the graves; and I will give the Spirit in you, and you shall live; and I will set you upon your land, and you shall know that I am the Lord (Ezek 37:12–14). And again the same says thus: Thus says the Lord: I will gather Israel from all the nations where they have been scattered, and I will be sanctified in them in the sight of the sons of the nations; and they shall dwell upon their land, which I gave to my servant Jacob, and they shall dwell upon it in hope, and they shall build houses, and plant vineyards, and dwell in hope, when I execute judgement on all who dishonoured them, on those who are round about them; and they shall know that I am the Lord their God, and the God of their fathers (Ezek 28:25–26). Now we showed a little before that the Church is the seed of Abraham; and for this reason, that we may know that in the New Testament, after the Old, he who will gather out of all the nations those who are to be saved will be raising up sons of Abraham from the stones, Jeremiah says: Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, and they shall no longer say: The Lord

lives, who brought the sons of Israel out of the north and from every region to which they had been driven; he will restore them to their land, which he gave to their fathers (Jer 23:7–8).

2. Since the whole creation, according to the will, will be for increase and growth, that it may bear and nourish such fruits, Isaiah says: And there shall be upon every high mountain and upon every lofty hill water running through on that day, when many shall perish, when walls shall fall. And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, sevenfold that of the day, when he heals the bruising of his people, and heals the pain of his wound (Isa 30:25–26). Now the pain of the wound is that by which man was struck in the beginning, disobedient in Adam, that is, death, which God will heal, raising us from the dead and restoring us to the inheritance of the fathers, as Isaiah again says: And you shall trust in the Lord, and he will make you go over all the earth, and will feed you with the inheritance of Jacob your father (Isa 58:14). This is what was said by the Lord: Blessed are those servants whom the Lord, when he comes, shall find watching. Amen I say to you, that he will gird himself, and make them recline, and passing by he will serve them. And if he comes in the evening watch and finds them so, blessed are they, for he will make them recline, and will serve them; whether in the second or in the third, blessed are they (Luke 12:37–38). And John too says this same thing in the Apocalypse: Blessed and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection (Rev 20:6). And Isaiah too

proclaimed the time in which these things will be: And I said, he says, How long, Lord? Until the cities are made desolate so as not to be inhabited, and the houses so that there are no men, and the land shall be left desert. And after these things God will put us men far off, and those who remain shall be multiplied upon the earth (Isa 6:11–12). And Daniel too says this very thing: And the kingdom, and the power, and the greatness of those things that are under heaven was given to the saints of the most high God, and his kingdom is everlasting, and all principalities shall serve and obey him (Dan 7:27). And lest the promise spoken should be thought to be for this time, it was said to the prophet: And you, come, and stand in your lot at the consummation of days (Dan 12:13).

3. And since the promises were proclaimed not only to the prophets and the fathers, but to the churches gathered together from the nations, which the Spirit also calls islands, both because they are set in the midst of turmoil, and endure the tempest of blasphemies, and are a saving harbour for those in peril, and are the refuge of those who love the height and try to escape Bythus, that is, the depth of error, Jeremiah says thus: Hear the word of the Lord, you nations, and proclaim it to the islands that are far off; say that God will winnow Israel, will gather him, and will guard him, as one who feeds the flock of his sheep; for the Lord has redeemed Jacob, and has delivered him from the hand of one stronger than he. And they shall come and rejoice on mount

Zion, and they shall come to good things, and to a land of wheat, and wine, and fruits, and animals, and sheep; and their soul shall be like a fruitful tree, and they shall hunger no more. And then the virgins shall rejoice in the assembly of young men, and the old men shall rejoice; and I will turn their mourning into joy, and set them in exultation, and I will magnify them, and make drunk the soul of the priests, the sons of Levi; and my people shall be filled with my good things (Jer 31:10–14). Now we showed in the book above that all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and priests, who also profaned the Sabbath in the temple and are without blame. Such promises, then, most manifestly signify the feasting of this creation in the kingdom of the just, which God promises that he himself will serve.

4. Further, concerning Jerusalem and him who reigns in it, Isaiah says: Thus says the Lord: Blessed is he who has seed in Zion, and household in Jerusalem. Behold, a just king shall reign, and princes shall rule with judgement (Isa 31:9–32:1). And of the preparation with which it will be rebuilt, he says: Behold, I will prepare for you a carbuncle stone, and sapphire for your foundations, and I will make your battlements of jasper, and your gates of crystal stone, and your enclosure of chosen stones, and all your sons taught of God, and your sons in much peace; and in justice you shall be built (Isa 54:11–14). And again the same says: Behold, I make Jerusalem an exultation, and my people; and the voice of weeping shall no longer be heard in it, nor the voice of

crying; and there shall no longer be there one untimely, or an old man who does not fill out his time. For the young man shall be a hundred years old; but the sinner who dies shall be a hundred years old, and he shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and dwell in them themselves; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat their fruits themselves, and drink the wine. And they shall not build and others dwell; nor shall they plant and others eat. For according to the days of the tree of life shall be the days of the people in you; for the works of their labours shall grow old (Isa 65:18–22).

CHAPTER 35

He contends that the foregoing testimonies cannot be understood by allegory of heavenly goods alone, but are to be fulfilled after the coming of Antichrist and the resurrection, in the earthly Jerusalem; and to the earlier prophecies he adds others from Isaiah, Jeremiah and John's Apocalypse.

1. But if some try to allegorise these things, which are of this kind, they will not be able to be found in harmony with themselves on all points, and they will be refuted by the very expressions that differ, since when the cities of the nations have been made desolate, and so that they are not inhabited, and the houses, because there are no men, and the land shall be left desert; for behold, Isaiah says, the day of the Lord comes, incurable, full of fury and wrath, to make the city of the earth desert, and to destroy the sinners out

of it (Isa 6:11; 13:9). And again he says: Let him be taken away, so that he may not see the glory of the Lord (Isa 26:10); and when these things have been done, God, he says, will remove men far, and those who are left shall be multiplied on the earth. And they shall build houses, and dwell in them themselves, and they shall plant vineyards, and eat of them themselves (Isa 6:12; 65:21). For all these other things were spoken without dispute of the resurrection of the just, which takes place after the coming of Antichrist and the destruction of all the nations under him, in which the just will reign on the earth, growing by the vision of the Lord; and through him they will grow accustomed to contain the glory of God the Father, and will receive in the kingdom converse and communion with the holy angels, and the unity of spiritual beings; and of those whom the Lord will find in the flesh, expecting him from heaven, who have suffered tribulation, and have also escaped the hands of the wicked one. And they are those of whom the prophet says: And those who are left shall be multiplied on the earth.

And as many of the believers as God has prepared for this, to multiply those who are left on the earth, and to come under the kingdom of the saints, and to serve this Jerusalem and the kingdom in it, Jeremiah the prophet signified, saying: Look round towards the east, Jerusalem, and see the joy that comes to you from God himself. Behold, your sons will come, whom you sent forth; they will come gathered from the east to

the west by the word of that Holy One, rejoicing in the brightness that is from your God. Put off, Jerusalem, the garment of mourning and of your affliction, and put on the beauty of the brightness that is from your God for ever; put round you the double cloak of the justice that is from your God; set upon your head the mitre of eternal glory. For God will show your splendour to the whole that is under heaven. For your name shall be called by God himself for ever: Peace of justice and of glory to him who worships God. Arise, Jerusalem, and stand on high, and look round towards the east, and see your sons gathered from the rising of the sun to the west by the word of that Holy One, rejoicing in the very remembrance of God. For they went out from you on foot, while they were led by enemies. God will bring them, carried with glory as a throne of the kingdom, in to you. For God has decreed that every high mountain and the everlasting heaps be brought low, and that the valleys be filled up, to make the ground of the earth level, so that Israel may walk safely in the glory of God. And the woods have woven shades, and every sweet-smelling tree, for Israel itself, by the precept of God. For God will go before with joy in the light of his brightness, with the mercy and justice that are from him (Bar 4:36–5:9).

2. But all such things cannot be understood of the regions above the heavens: For God, he says, will show your splendour to the whole that is under heaven; but of the times of the kingdom, when the earth has been brought back by Christ and Jerusalem rebuilt after the stamp of the

Jerusalem that is above, of which the prophet Isaiah says: Behold, I have painted your walls on my hands, and you are always in my sight (Isa 49:16). And the Apostle too, writing to the Galatians, says likewise: But that Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all (Gal 4:26); not saying this of the thought of an errant Aeon, nor of some Power which departed from the Pleroma, and of Prunicus; but of the Jerusalem which is drawn on the hands. And John saw it in the Apocalypse descending upon the new earth. For after the times of the kingdom, I saw, he says, a great white throne, and him who sat upon it, from whose face the earth and heaven fled, and there is no place for them (Rev 20:11). And he now sets out the things that belong to the general resurrection and judgement, saying that he saw the dead, great and lesser. The sea, he says, gave up the dead that it had in it, and death and the underworld gave up the dead that they had with them, and the books were opened. But the book of life too, he says, was opened, and the dead were judged by the things that were written in the books, according to their works; and death and the underworld were sent into the lake of fire, the second death (Rev 20:12–14). And this is what is called Gehenna, which the Lord called eternal fire. And if anyone, he says, was not found written in the book of life, he was sent into the lake of fire (Rev 20:15).

And after this he says: I saw a new heaven and a new earth. For the first heaven and earth have passed away; and the sea is no more. And I saw

the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard, he says, a great voice from the throne saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and he will dwell with them, and they will be his peoples, and God himself with them will be their God. And he will wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, nor mourning, nor crying, nor shall there be pain any longer, for the first things have passed away (Rev 21:1–4). And Isaiah too says this very thing: For there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, and they shall not remember the former things, nor shall they come into their heart; but they shall find joy and exultation in it (Isa 65:17–18). And this is what was said by the Apostle: For the fashion of this world passes away (1 Cor 7:31). And likewise the Lord too says: Earth and heaven shall pass away (Matt 24:35).

When these things, then, pass away upon the earth, John, the disciple of the Lord, says that the new Jerusalem above comes down, as a bride adorned for her husband; and that this is the tabernacle of God, in which God will dwell with men. Of this Jerusalem that Jerusalem is an image which is in the former earth, the Jerusalem in which the just practise incorruption beforehand and are prepared for salvation. And the type of this tabernacle Moses received on the mountain; and nothing can be allegorised, but all things are firm, and true, and have substance, made by God for the enjoyment of just men. For just as it is truly God who raises man, so too man truly

rises from the dead, and not allegorically, as we have shown through so many things. And as he truly rises, so too he will truly practise incorruption beforehand, and will grow and flourish in the times of the kingdom, that he may become capable of the glory of the Father. Then, when all things have been renewed, he will truly dwell in the city of God. For he who sat upon the throne said, he says: Behold, I make all things new. And the Lord says: Write all things, for these words are faithful and true. And he said to me: They are done (Rev 21:5–6). And rightly so.

CHAPTER 36

Men will truly be raised, and the world will not be utterly destroyed: but there will be various dwellings of the saints according to the worth of each, and all things will be subjected to God the Father: and so he will be all in all.

1. For since men are true, their planting too must be true, and must not pass away into things that are not, but advance in the things that are. For neither the substance nor the matter of creation is destroyed (for true and firm is he who established it); but the figure of this world passes away (1 Cor 7:31), that is, the things in which transgression took place; for man has grown old in them. And for this reason this figure was made temporal, God foreknowing all things; as we have shown in the book before this one, and we have shown, as far as was possible, the cause of the fashioning of the temporal things of the world. And when this figure passes away, and man is

renewed and flourishes for incorruption, so that he can no longer grow old, there will be a new heaven and a new earth, in which the new man will endure, ever holding new converse with God. And because these things will endure for ever without end, Isaiah says: For as the new heaven and the new earth, which I make, endure in my sight, says the Lord, so shall your seed and your name stand (Isa 66:22). And as the presbyters say, then those who have been worthy of the way of life in the heavens will pass there, that is, into the heavens; others will enjoy the delights of paradise in safety; and others will possess the beauty of the city: but everywhere God will be seen, and as those who see him will be worthy.

2. And that there is this distinction of dwelling between those who bore fruit a hundredfold, and those who bore sixtyfold, and those who bore thirtyfold: of whom some will be taken up into heaven, others will live in paradise, others will dwell in the city; and that for this reason the Lord said that there are many dwellings with the Father. For all things are God's, who grants to all a fitting dwelling; as his Word says, that it has been allotted to all by the Father according as each is worthy, or will be. And this is the banquet hall in which those who feast, called to the wedding, will recline. The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, say that this belongs to the order and disposition of those who are saved, and that by steps of this kind they advance, and that they ascend through the Spirit [to] the Son, and through the Son to the Father; the Son thereafter yielding

his work to the Father, as was also said by the Apostle: For he must reign until he puts all enemies under his feet. Death, the last enemy, will be destroyed (1 Cor 15:25–26). For in the times of the kingdom the just man, being upon the earth, will forget to die any more. But when he says, he says, All things are subjected, plainly except him who subjected all things. And when all things have been made subject to him, then the Son himself will be subject to him who subjected all things to him, that God may be all in all (1 Cor 15:27–28).

3. Carefully, then, John foresaw the first resurrection of the just, and the inheritance of the earth in the kingdom; and in harmony the prophets too prophesied concerning it. For the Lord too taught these things, promising that he would have the mixture of the cup new in the kingdom with his disciples. And the Apostle too confessed that the creation will be free from the servitude of corruption, into the freedom of the glory of the sons of God. And in all these things, and through all things, the same God the Father is shown, who moulded man, and promised the inheritance of the earth to the fathers, who brought it out at the resurrection of the just, and fulfils the promises for the kingdom of his Son; afterwards bestowing in a fatherly way those things which neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor have they come up into the heart of man (1 Cor 2:9). For the Son is one, who accomplished the will of the Father; and the human race is one, in which the mysteries of God are accomplished, whom the angels long to see (1 Pet 1:12), and they are not

able to search out the wisdom of God, through which his handiwork, conformed and made one body with the Son, is made perfect: that his offspring, the firstborn Word, may descend into the thing made, that is, into the handiwork, and be contained by it; and the thing made in turn may contain the Word, and ascend to him, passing beyond the angels, and will be made according to the image and likeness of God.